WH-QUESTIONS IN KITHARAKA[*]

Peter Kinyua Muriungi
Universitetet i Tromsø

This paper explores question formation in Kitharaka (E54; Bantu; Kenyan) within the crosslinguistic approach developed in Sabel (2000, 2002, 2003). According to Sabel, variation in the positioning of wh-phrases in languages can be explained if it is assumed that wh-movement is universally triggered by [+wh] and [+focus] features, both of which are [+interpretable] and can be specified as [±strong]. For Kitharaka, I argue that wh-movement is triggered by a strong [+focus] feature in a functional head (Foc). The strong [+focus] feature on a focus head is morphologically manifested by a focus marker which attaches to a fronted wh-phrase, and in case of long wh-movement, by the focus markers that may appear on embedded clauses crossed by overt wh-movement. Wh-*in situ* occurs when no strong [+focus] features are introduced in the syntax (Muriungi 2003, 2004).

1.   The Basics: Simple Sentence Structure and Focus.

Kitharaka is an SVO Bantu language spoken by one of the groups of Central Bantu of Kenya called the (A)Tharaka. Therefore, in a simple main clause affirmative sentence, the subject comes first, then the verb and the object.

---

(1)   Maria   *n*-a-ra-k-ir-e   nyomba   'Maria built a house'[1]
        Maria   f-sm-pn-build-perf-fv   house

(1) is the most unmarked/neutral sentence form, and it contains the focus marker
as the first of the verbal prefixes. It denotes focus on the whole sentence or the
VP, and can thus be used felicitously as an answer to an S-question (2) or a VP
question (3).

(2)   I-mbi   i-ri   na   thiina   'What is the problem?'
        f-what   sm-be with   problem

(3)   N-ata   Maria a-ra-ruth-ir-e   'What did Maria do?'
        f-what   Maria sm-pn-do-perf-fv

In fact the general requirement in Kitharaka is that a sentence should al-
ways contain at least one focus. Thus even in the absence of the preverbal focus

---

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

f	focus particle	**neg**	negation
pres	present tense	**fut**	future tense
pc	current past (today past)	**pr**	remote past
pn	near past (= yesterday past)	**loc**	locative
1st sg	first person singular	**1st pl**	first person plural
2nd sg	second person singular	**vs**	verb stem
sm	subject marker	**om**	object marker
perf	perfective	**hab**	habitual
appl	applicative marker	**rec**	reciprocal
rel	relative	**pass**	passive marker
fv	final vowel		

Angle brackets containing a syntactic item, e.g. <who>, indicate the base position of that
item. Small caps indicate non-wh focus. A and B indicate members in a conversational ex-
change and # indicates a discourse-inappropriate sentence.
    Although not much has been done on the Kitharaka sound system, orthographic 'i' rep-
resents the phonemes [i] and [e], 'a' is [a], 'e' is [ɛ], 'u' is [u] or [o], 'o' is [ɔ]. Also, 'b' may
be identified as [β], 'g' as [ɣ] and 'th' as [ð]. The sequences 'ng', 'nd' and 'mb' indicate the
prenasalized consonants. The Kitharaka examples in this paper will be provided in Kitharaka
orthography. Kitharaka is a tonal language, but since it does not appear to me at present that
tone has a crucial influence on the subject at hand, tones will not be indicated.

marker, a post-verbal element must be interpreted as the focus. In (4), the post-verbal wh-phrase and the object are the focus.

(4) Maria a-k-ir-e   **mbi**   'What did Maria build?'
      Maria sm-build-perf-fv what

      Maria a-k-ir-e   NYOMBA   'Maria built A HOUSE'
      Maria sm-build-perf-fv house

When there is a post-verbal focus (wh, or non-wh) the focus marker cannot remain in the preverbal position.

(5) *Maria *n*-a-k-ir-e   **mbi**   'What did Maria build?'
       Maria   f-sm-build-perf-fv what

      *Maria *n*-a-k-ir-e   NYOMBA   'Maria built A HOUSE'
       Maria   f-sm-build-perf-fv house

In fact, even when there is wh-extraction in main clauses, the focus marker in the preverbal position is obligatorily absent, as in (6). In these sentences, however, the focus marker obligatorily appears on the fronted wh-phrase or focus, as in (7).

(6) ***I*-mbi** Maria *n*-a-k-ir-e   <mbi>
       f-what   Maria   f-sm1-build-perf-fv
      'What did Maria build?'

      ***I*-NYOMBA**   Maria *n*-a-k-ir-e   <nyomba>
       f-house   Maria   f-sm-build-perf-fv
      'Maria built A HOUSE'

(7) **I-mbi**   Maria   a-k-ir-e   <mbi>
       f-what   Maria   sm1–build–perf–fv
      'What did Maria build?'

      I-NYOMBA   Maria a-k-ir-e   <nyomba>
       f-house   Maria sm-build-perf–fv
      'Maria built A HOUSE'

The requirement for overt focus in every clause entails some interesting restrictions for intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs obligatorily must have the preverbal focus marker, except when the subject is focused or there is a post-verbal adverb.

(8)   a. Ncugu   *n*-a-rir-ir-e   'Ncugu cried'
          Ncugu   f-sm-cry-perf-fv

      b. *Ncugu a-rir-ir-e   'Ncugu cried'
          Ncugu   sm-cry-perf-fv

      c. I-NCUGU   a-rir-ir-e   'NCUGU cried'
          f-Ncugu   sm-cry-perf-fv

      d. Ncugu   a-rir-ir-e   RUKIIRI   'Ncugu cried in the MORNING'
          Ncugu   sm-cry-perf-fv   morning

The ungrammaticality of (8b) follows from the fact no post-verbal element gets the focus associated with the absence of the preverbal focus marker.

1.1 Some restrictions of tense and focus. There are two main sentence types that do not contain the preverbal focus marker in their neutral form: sentences in the present perfect tense, and sentences in the future. Present perfect sentences never ever take the preverbal focus marker. This follows from the simple fact that a sentence with the focus marker would convey a present progressive reading (cf. (9a) and (9b)).

(9)   a. Karimi   *n*-a-ku-rir-a   'Karimi is crying' (Present progressive)
          Karimi   f-sm-pres-cry-fv

      b. Karimi   a-ku-rir-a   'Karimi has cried' (Present perfect)
          Karimi   sm-pres-cry-fv

The future marker also generally does not take the preverbal focus marker, but when it does, it gives rise to a *must* reading. The neutral form of the sentence is therefore the one without the focus marker.

(10) Karimi a-ka-rug-a kathoroko
       Karimi   sm-fut-cook-fv   beer
       'Karimi will prepare Kathoroko (a traditional Tharaka beer)'

       Karimi   *n*-a-ka-rug-a   kathoroko
       Karimi   f-sm-fut-cook-fv beer
       '*Karimi will prepare Kathoroko' (✓Karimi *must* prepare Kathoroko)

I discuss the exceptions concerning the distribution of the focus marker, the present perfect and the future in section 10 of this paper.

1.2 The main generalizations. Exceptions in section 1.1 aside, the data in (1-8) leads to the following conclusions:

> i. that there can be maximally only one focus marker per clause in Kitharaka (cf. 6)
> ii. that each sentence must contain at least one focus (see the restrictions on intransitive verbs) and
> iii. foci in Kitharaka can be post or preverbal.

We discuss question formation in Kitharaka in section 2, in light of these conclusions.

2.   Question-Formation Strategies.

Descriptively, Kitharaka uses four strategies to form questions: full wh-movement/wh-*ex situ* (11), wh-*in situ* (12), partial wh-movement (13), and the intermediate strategy where the wh-phrase appears immediately after the subject, (14). The wh-phrase may also appear between a fronted object-topic, and the subject, (15).

(11) **N-uu**   John   a-ring-ir-e <uu>   (Full wh-movement)
       f-who   John   sm-beat-perf-fv
       'Who did John beat?'

       I-mbi   g-ug-ir-e   ati   John   n-a-ring-ir-e <mbi>
       f-what   2nd sg-say-perf-fv that John   f-sm-beat-perf-fv
       'What did you say that John beat?'

(12)   John   a-ring-ir-e   **(g)uu**²   (Wh-*in situ*)
       John   sm-beat-perf-fv   who
       'Who did John beat?'

       G-ug-ir-e   ati   John   a-ring-ir-e   **mbi**
       2ⁿᵈ sg-say-perf-fv   that   John   sm-beat-perf-fv   what
       'What did you say that John beat?'

(13)   G-ug-ir-e   ati   **n-uu** John   a-ring-ir-e \<uu>   (Partial wh-
       2ⁿᵈ sg-say-perf-fv that f-who   John   sm-beat-perf-fv   movement)
       'Who did you say that John beat?'

(14)   John   **n-uu**   a-ring-ir-e \<uu>   (Intermediate
       John   f-whos   m-beat-perf-fv   strategy)
       'Who did John beat?'

       G-ug-ir-e   ati   John   **i-mbi**   a-ring-ir-e   \<mbi>
       2ⁿᵈ sg-say-perf-fv   that   John   f-what   sm-beat-perf-fv
       'What did you say that John beat?'

(15)   John   a-ug-ir-e   ati   kaari gaka, **i-mbi**   Maria
       John   sm-say-perf-fv   that   girl   this   f-what   Maria

          a-ka-nenk-e-er-e
          sm-om-give-appl-perf-fv

       'What did John say that this girl, Maria gave to her?'

It should be noted that in partial wh-movement, in the intermediate strategy and in the sentence form with the wh-phrase between the fronted object-topic and the subject, the object-topic, the subject and the wh-phrase follow the complementiser.

The data in (11-15) show Kitharaka to be a mixed type of language with respect to question formation, allowing full wh-movement (like English), wh-*in situ* (like Chinese) partial wh-movement (like Iraqi Arabic) and the intermediate strategy (like Kikuyu). Kitharaka also allows wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by matrix verbs, see (16) and (17).

---

² The *g* attached to this wh-phrase does not have any semantic value. In fact some speakers do
   not use it in speech. For the time being, I analyze it as a consonant inserted to avoid hiatus.

(16)   n-ti-iji   Munene   a-gur-ir-e   **mbi**
           1st sg-neg-know   Munene   sm-buy-perf-fv   what

          n-ti-iji   **i-mbi**   Munene   a-gur-ir-e   <mbi>
           1st sg-neg-know   f-what   Munene   sm-buy-perf-fv
          'I don't know what Munene bought'

(17)   Tu-ri-ama   Munene   a-ka-aja   **ri**
           1st sg-pres-wonder   Munene   sm-fut-come   when

          Tu-ri-ama   **i-ri**   Munene   a-ka-aja   <ri>
           1st sg-pres-wonder   f-when   Munene   sm-fut-come
          'We wonder when Munene will come'

In this respect Kitharaka resembles Zulu which allows wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by matrix V, as in (18), but differs significantly from French which never allows wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by matrix verbs, as in (19).

(18)   [CP   Ngi-buze   [CP ukuthi   **y-ini**   uPeter   a   -yi-thengile-yo]]
                1st sg-asked   that   cop-what 9Peter   1arc1a-oc9-bought -rs

          [CP   Ngi-buze   [CP ukuthi uPeter   a   -yi -thengile-yo-**ni**]]
                1st sg-asked   that   9Peter   1arc1a-oc9-bought -rs -what
          'I asked what Peter bought'   (Zulu; Sabel & Zeller 2004)

(19)   *Je ne sais pas [CP [elle a recontré **qui**]]
          'I don't know who she has met'

          Je ne sais pas [CP **qui** [elle a recontré]]
          'I don't know who she has met'   (French; Rizzi 1996)

I should add here that the focusing positions available for wh-phrases in Kitharaka are also available for other focused items such as determiner phrases, adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, adjective phrases, and verb phrases. Thus in addition to focus *in situ* and *ex situ*, DPs, AdvPs, PPs, AdjPs and VPs can undergo partial and intermediate focus movement (see Muriungi 2004 for some relevant examples).

3.   Morphology and Wh-Question Formation.

3.1 Focus marking. Whenever a wh-phrase is moved in Kitharaka, it must have the particle *n/i*. The sentences in (11-15) are therefore ill-formed if the fronted wh-phrase does not have the particle.

(20) ***uu**   John   a-ring-ir-e <uu>
        who   John   sm-beat-perf-fv
        'Who did John beat?'

      *mbi g-ug-ir-e   ati   John   n-a-ring-ir-e <mbi>   (Full wh-
        what 2nd sg-say-perf-fv that John   f-sm-beat-perf-fv   movement)
      'What did you say that John beat?'

(21) ***g-ug-ir-e**   ati   **uu**   John a-ring-ir-e <uu>   (Partial wh-
     2nd sg-perf-fv that   who   John sm-beat-perf-fv   movement)
    'Who did you say that John beat?'

(22) ***John**   **uu** a-ring-ir-e <uu>
     John   who sm-beat-perf–fv
    'Who did John beat?'

      *G-ug-ir-e   ati John **mbi** a-ring-ir-e <mbi> (Intermediate
       2nd sg-say-perf-fv that John   what   sm-beat-perf-fv   strategy)
      'What did you say that John beat?'

(23) ***John**   a-ug-ir-e   ati kaari gaka,   **mbi**   Maria
     John   sm-say-perf-fv that girl   this   what   Maria

      a-ka-nenk-e-er-e
      sm-om-give-appl-perf-fv

    'What did John say that this girl, Maria, gave to her?'

       The particle on a moved wh-phrase occurs as *n* when the wh-phrase begins with a vowel, and as *i* when the wh-phrase begins with a consonant. These two particles are allomorphic manifestations of the same particle, the Kitharaka focus marker (see section 7 for a defense of this terminology). As we already saw in section 1, these particles are obligatorily absent on an *in situ* focus or wh-phrase.

(24)   *John a-ring-ir-e   **n-uu**   'Who did John beat?'
       John   sm-beat-perf-fv   f-who

       *John a-ring-ir-e I-MARIA   'John beat MARIA'
       John   sm-beat-perf-fv   f-Maria

Recall also the observation that there can be maximally only one focus marker per
clause, and that an object (and generally a postverbal adjunct) can only be a focus
in the absence of the preverbal focus marker (section 1).

3.2 Tense marking. I provided above most of the examples containing wh-
questions in the current (today) past tense.[3] For these questions and those in the
near (yesterday) past, (25), and remote past, (26), the marking of tense is mor-
phologically the same under wh-extraction and wh-*in situ*.

(25)   **N-uu**   John a-ra-ring-ir-e <uu>   (Near past tense)
       f-who   John   sm-pn-beat-perf-fv
       'Who did John beat?'

       John   a-ra-ring-ir-e   **(g)uu**
       John   sm-pn-beat-perf-fv   who
       'Who did John beat?'

(26)   **N-uu** John   a-a-ring-ir-e <uu>   (Remote past tense)
       f-who   John   sm-pr-beat-perf-fv
       'Who did John beat?'

       John   a-a-ring-ir-e   **(g)uu**
       John   sm-pr-beat-perf-fv   who
       'Who did John beat?'

There is, however, an interesting phenomenon which occurs in the marking
of present tense. When a present tense verb is overtly crossed by a moved wh-
phrase, the tense form appears as *ku*. When there is no movement across the verb,

---

[3] The current past tense, a tense which describes a past event that has occurred within today,
   does not have an overt tense marker. The only overt marker of pastiness in this tense is the
   perfective aspect marker *ir*.

the tense form must appear as *ri* (27a-b, 28a-b). The tense forms cannot be mixed in the same sentence; see (27c) and (28c).

(27)   a.   **I-mbi**   u-*ku*-thugania   ati   John   n-a-*ku*-ring-a<mbi>
             f-what   2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-pres-beat-fv
             'What do you think that John is beating?'

     b.   ***I-mbi**   u-*ri*-thugania   ati   John   n-a-*ri*-ring-a <mbi>
             f-what   2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-pres-beat-fv
             'What do you think that John is beating?'

     c.   ***I-mbi**   u-*ku*-thugania   ati   John   n-a-*ri*-ring-a<mbi>
             f-what   2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-pres-beat-fv
             'What do you think that John is beating?'

(28)   a.   U-*ri*-thugania   ati   John   a-*ri*-ring-a   **uu**
             2nd sg–pres-think   that   John   sm-beat-fv   who
             'Who do you think that John is beating?'

     b.   ***U-*ku*-thugania**   ati   John   a-*ku*-ring-a   **uu**
             2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   sm-pres-beat-fv   who
             'Who do you think that John is beating?'

     c.   ***U-*ri*-thugania** ati   John   a-*ku*-ring-a   **uu**
             2nd sg-pres-think that   John   sm-beat-fv   who
             'Who do you think that John is beating?'

Similar changes are also observed with relativization, topicalization and focalization. These syntactic processes obligatorily take the *ku/gu* form.

(29)   Muntu   ura   a-*gu*-ta-a   ruji
         person   that   sm-pres-fetch-fv   water
         'The person who is fetching water'

     *Muntu   ura   a-*ri*-ta-a   ruji   (Relativization)
           person   that   sm-pres-fetch-perf-fv water
         'The person who is fetching water'

(30) Ruji, Makena   n-a-*gu*-ta-a
      water Makena   f-sm-pres-fetch-fv
      'As for water, Makena is fetching'

      *Ruji,   Makena a-*ri*-ta-a   (Topicalization)
        water   Makena sm-pres-fetch-fv
      'As for water, Makena is fetching'

(31) I-RUJI   Makena a-*gu*-ta-a
      f-water   Makena sm-pres-fetch-fv
      'Makena is fetching WATER'

      *I-RUJI   Makena a-*ri*-ta-a   (Focalization)
        f-water   Makena sm-pres-fetch-fv
      'Makena is fetching WATER'

Lastly, the *ri* and *ku* alternation occurs in present tense verbs taking infinitives as complements. The *ku* form takes the focus marker, but the *ri* form cannot.

(32) a. Kendi a-*ri*-end-a   ku-mama   'Kendi wants to sleep'
         Kendi   sm-be-want-fv 15-sleep

      b. *kendi *n*-a-*ri*-ind-a   ku-mama   'Kendi wants to sleep'
         Kendi f-sm-be-want-fv   15-sleep

(33) Kendi   *n*-a-*ku*-end-a   ku-mama   'Kendi wants to sleep'
      Kendi   f-sm-pres-want-fv 15-sleep

Both (32a) and (33) denote focus on the infinitive verb and are therefore appropriate as answers to (34).

(34) N-ata   Kendi   a-*ku*-end-a   ku-ruth-a
      f-what   Kendi   sm-pres-want-fv 15-do-fv
      'What does Kendi want to do?'

      Kendi   a-*ri*-end-a   ku-ruth-a ata
      Kendi   sm–pres–want–fv 15-do-fv   what
      'What does Kendi want to do?'

The simple fact here is that *ri* appears when there is an *in situ* focus, the *ku* form when there is wh-related movement (relativization, topicalization, focalization, wh-movement).

3.3 Negation. Kitharaka has two forms of negation, *ti* and *ta*. *Ti* is the most common negative form and it appears in all negative declarative sentences in the present tense, current (today) past, and near (yesterday) past. All these sentence types have the negative morpheme between subject agreement and tense (sentences not provided for space reasons).

The future tense marker usually never co-occurs with negation. Thus in the presence of negation, the future tense marker disappears.

(35)   Karimi   a-ka-rug-a   kathoroko
       Karimi   sm-fut-cook-fv   beer
       'Karimi will prepare Kathoroko (a traditional Tharaka beer)'

       Karimi   a-ti-rug-a   kathoroko
       Karimi   sm-fut-cook-fv   beer
       '*Karimi will not prepare Kathoroko'

       *Karimi   a-*ti-ka*-rug-a   kathoroko
        Karimi   sm-neg-fut-cook-fv   beer
       'Karimi will not prepare Kathoroko'

When the future prefix combines with negation, it gives rise to a meaning of roughly the form 'don't'. This use of negation and the future is common in imperatives.

(36)   U-*ti-ka*-rongo-e   'Don't cheat'
       2nd sg-neg-fut-cheat-fv

       U-*ti-ka*-thungiir-e   'Do not commit adultery'
       2nd sg-neg-fut-enter-fv

Question formation interacts with negation is some interesting ways. I showed that an affirmative verb without the focus marker allows both wh-*in situ* and *ex situ* (see (25) and (26)). Contrary to this, a negative verb forces wh-extraction (this observation holds for the two allomorphs of negation).

(37) **N-uu**   John   a-ti-ra-ring-a   <uu>   (Full wh-movement)
      f-who   John   sm-neg-pn-beat-fv
      'Who didn't John beat?'

      John   **n-uu**   a-ti-ra-ring-a   <uu>   (Intermediate wh-movement)
      John   f-who   sm-neg-pn-beat-fv
      'Who didn't John beat?'

      *John   a-ti-ra-ring-a   **(g)uu**   (Wh- *in situ*)
       John   sm-pn-beat-fv   who
      'Who didn't John beat?'

The *ti* form also occurs freely in negative questions in the current (today) past, the near (yesterday) past, and the present perfect.

    The other negative marker *ta* occurs in very restricted syntactic environments. First, it occurs in all negative sentences in the remote past tense, be they declarative sentences, as in (38b), wh-questions, as in (38c), or relative clauses, as in (38d). The *ti* form cannot occur in these sentences.[4]

(38) a. Ciimba   n-i-a-rug-ir-e   nkima   mwanka muthiru   (Affir-
        lion   f-sm-pr-cook-perf-fv food   year   finished   mative)
        'The lion cooked food last year'

     b. Ciimba   i-ta-a-rug-a   nkima   mwanka   muthiru
        lion   sm-neg-pr-cook-perf-fv food   year   finished
        'The lion didn't cook food last year'

     c. **I-mbi** ciimba i-ta-a-rug-a <mbi>   mwanka   muthiru
        f-what   lion   sm-neg-pr-cook-perf-fv year   finished
        'What didn't the lion cook last year?'

---

[4] All affirmative declarative sentences in the past come with the perfective marker *ir*. In the negative, the perfective disappears. Irrespective of tense, all negative declarative sentences in Kitharaka come with the final vowel *a* suffixed on the verb.

d. Ciimba   ira   \<ciimba\>   i-ta-a-rug-a   nkima
    lion   that   sm-neg-pr-cook-perf-fv   food

      mwanka   muthiru
      year   finished

    'The lion which didn't cook last year'

The *ta* negative form also occurs in subordinate *without*-clauses. The use of the *ta* tense form in the subordinate *without*-clause is not conditioned by the tense of the matrix clause. The use of *ti* here is unacceptable.

(39)   Kinyua   a-a-kuruk-ir-e   kigerio   a-ta-thom-eet-e
       Kinyua   sm-pr-pass-perf-fv   exam   sm-neg-read-st-fv
       'Kinyua passed the exam without having read'

       *Kinyua   a-a-kuruk-ir-e   kigerio   a-ti-thom-eet-e
        Kinyua   sm-pr-pass-perf-fv   exam   sm-neg-read-st-fv
       'Kinyua passed the exam without having read'

Finally, *ta* occurs with present tense *ku*-marked verbs which have a moved wh-phrase or focus within the clause in which these verbs occur, as in (40-43). *Ti* cannot occur in this context.

(40)   **N-uu** \<uu\> a-*ta-ku*-ring-a   Maria   'Who isn't beating Maria?'
      f-who   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv   Maria

      I-MURIMI   a-*ta-ku*-ring-a   Maria   'MURIMI isn't beating Maria?'
      f-Murimi   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv   Maria

(41)   **N-uu**   Murimi   a-*ta-ku*-ring-a   \<uu\>   'Who isn't Murimi beating?'
      f-who   Murimi   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv

      I-MARIA   Murimi   a-*ta-ku*-ring-a \<Maria\>
      f-Maria   Murimi   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv
      'Murimi isn't beating MARIA'

(42) **N-ata** Murimi   a-*ta*-*ku*-ruth-a   'What isn't Murimi doing?'
      f-what Murimi   sm-neg-pres-do-fv

I-KU-RING-AN-A   Murimi   a-*ta*-*ku*-ring-an-a
f-15-beat-rec-fv   Murimi   sm-neg-pres-beat-rec-fv
'Murimi isn't BEATING'

(43) **I-mbi** u-*ta*-*ku*-thugania   ati   Munene   n-a-ku-ringa <mbi>
      f-what   2nd sg-neg-pres-think   that Munene   f-sm-pres-pres-beat-fv
      'What don't you think Munene is beating?'

   *I-mbi   u-*ti*-*ku*-thugania   ati   Munene n-a-ku-ringa <mbi>
    f-what   2nd sg-neg-pres-think   that Munene   f-sm-pres-pres- beat-fv
   'What don't you think Munene is beating?' (*Ti* occurs as a clausemate
                                   to matrix wh)

   U-*ri*-thugania   ati   **i-mbi**   Munene   a-*ta*-ku-ringa   <mbi>
   2ndsg-pres-think   that f-what   Munene   sm-neg-pres-pres-beat-fv
   'What do you think Munene isn't beating?'

   *U-*ri*-thugania   ati   **i-mbi**   Munene   a-*ti*-ku-ringa <mbi>
    2nd sg-pres-think   that   f-what   Munene   sm-neg-pres-pres-beat-fv
   'What do you think Munene isn't beating?'   (*Ti* occurs as clausemate
                                   to embedded wh)

   *I-mbi   u-*ta*-*ku*-thugania   ati   Munene a-*ta*-*ku*-ringa   <mbi>
    f-what   2nd sg-neg-pres-think   that Munene   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv
   'What don't you think Munene isn't beating'
        (*Ta* occurs in matrix as well as embedded wh-phrase)

3.4   Subject agreement. Harford (1997) shows that in Kitharaka, the class 1
subject agreement marker, which is usually *a*, may occur as *u* (relative) in subject
relative clauses.

(44)   I-mb-on-ir-e   muntu   ura   *a*-ca-ir-e   mwatu
       f-1sg-see-perf-fv   person   that   sm-carve-perf-fv bee hive
       'I saw the person who carved the hive'

I-mb-on-ir-e   muntu   ura   *u*-ca-ir-e   mwatu
f-1sg-see-perf-fv   person   that   rel-carve-perf-fv   bee hive
'I saw the person who carved the hive'

Harford then goes on to provide examples where a focused DP occurs with a verb marked with relative agreement. A related example is given in (45).

(45) I-MUNTU   UJU   u-ra-ca-ir-e   mwatu
      1-person   this   rel-pn-carve-perf-fv bee hive
      'THIS PERSON carved a bee hive'

Harford uses data such as these to argue that the construction following a fronted focused XP (or wh-phrase) is a relative clause. The presence of the relative clause is taken to motivate a cleft syntax for these constructions. For me, the sentences that contain relative agreement are highly marked (in fact, almost ungrammatical). The fully gramatical sentences contain the subject agreement marker *a* used in regular declarative sentences. This change in subject agreement might actually point to a potential diachronic view for the Kitharaka focus and wh-constructions. That the continued preference for the subject agreement marker *a* as opposed to the relative *u* is a potential indication of the grammaticalization of the Kitharaka focus construction from a biclausal cleft construction to a monoclausal sentence. In fact, Heine and Reh (1983) and Givón (1990) agree that there is a general tendency for focus constructions to change, across languages, from biclausal structures (with a relative clause part) to monoclausal sentences with independent focus marking particles (see also Drubig 2003 for related views and additional references).

To sum up, I have shown in this section that wh-questions in Kitharaka come with a number of morphological properties. One is that overtly moved wh-phrases bear the focus marker, while *in situ* wh-phrases cannot. The other is that present tense verbs crossed by wh-movement bear the tense marker *ku* while those not crossed bear *ri*. Negative verbs require obligatory movement of the wh-phrase. *Without* clauses, the remote past, and negative present tense *ku*-marked verbs, clausemate of a moved wh-phrase, require the negative allomorph *ta*. For the dialect of Kitharaka that Harford investigated, wh-related extractions of subjects may permit change of subject agreement from *a* to the relative *u* (*w* before vowels).

The correlation between changes in verbal morphology and the presence or lack of wh-extraction is not unique to Kitharaka. In Duala, an SVO Bantu lan-

guage (Epée 1976), there is a particle *no* which occurs following the verb of the clause in which the wh-phrase ends up. This particle does not occur with wh-*in situ*. Similarly, in Kikuyu (Clements 1984), wh-movement (and other types of A bar movements) force the subject agreement marker for class 1 (typically, singular human subjects) to change from *a* to *o*. Furthermore, in Kikuyu, the negative form of the verb in declarative sentences is *ti*, while under wh-related extractions (focus, wh, relative clauses), the verbal negation form is *ta*. The distribution of the allomorphs of negation is therefore much more systematic in Kikuyu than in Kitharaka, its close relative. I return to these issues related to verbal morphology later in the paper. For now, I point the main questions raised by the data on questions (also focus) in Kitharaka which require closer investigation.

(46) a. What is the exact syntactic category of the particles *n* and *i* which appear on a fronted wh-phrase and foci?
      b. Why is it that the particles *n* and *i* occur only with wh/ focus movement but never with wh/ focus *in situ*?
      c. Why is the marking of present tense sensitive to the presence, *ku* versus lack, *ri* of wh-related movement?
      d. Why do *ku*-marked verbs, clausemate to a moved wh-phrase, require the negative morpheme *ta* and not *ti*?
      e. Why does negation force wh-movement?
      f. Why is it that the present perfect and the future cannot freely co-occur with the focus marker?
      g. Why does the future disappear in the presence of negation?

As one can easily see, the number of issues raised by the Kitharaka data is more than can be exhaustively discussed in a single paper. This paper will deal mainly with issues (46a-c) and only tentatively speculate on the others. In an attempt to bring the core issues/questions to the fore, I provide in the next section, additional distributional facts of the particles *n* and *i*, by first looking at asymmetries in question formation in Kitharaka and then at multiple questions and long/cyclic wh-movement.

4. Asymmetries in Question Formation in Kitharaka.

Kitharaka exhibits systematic asymmetries in question formation. An object wh-phrase can be left *in situ* in the postverbal position without a focus marker, as in (12), but a subject wh-phrase cannot appear without a focus marker, whether it

occurs in a simple sentence (cf. (47a) vs. (47b)), or in a complex sentence, as in (48a) vs. (48b).

(47) a. ***Uu**   a-ring-ir-e   Samueli
           who   sm-beat-perf-fv   Samuel

    b. **N-uu**   \<uu\> a-ring-ir-e   Samueli   'Who beat Samuel?'
           f-who   sm-beat-perf–fv   Samuel

(48) a. ***Mary**   a-ug-ir-e   ati   **uu**   a-ring-ir-e   Samueli
           Mary   sm-say-perf-fv   that who   sm-beat-perf-fv   Samuel

    b. Mary   a-ug-ir-e   ati   **n-uu** \<uu\> a-ring-ir-e   Samueli
           Mary   sm-say-perf-fv that   f-who   sm-beat-perf-fv   Samuel
           'Who did Mary say beat Samueli?'

The ban on occurrence of a subject wh-*in situ* holds not only for regular subjects but also for derived subjects (Muriungi 2004). Thus the derived subject of a passive must obligatorily bear the focus marker, as in (49).

(49) ***Uu**   a-kis-ir-w-e   i-Karimi   'Who was kissed by Karimi?'
           who sm-kiss-perf-pass-fv by-Karimi

    N-uu \<uu\> a-kis-ir-w-e   i-Karimi
           F-who   sm-kiss-perf-pass-fv by-Karimi

Subject foci must therefore always be moved. We know that the subject wh-phrase has been moved because like a moved wh-object (11), the subject wh-phrase bears a marker, *n-*. The subject wh-phrase therefore obligatorily vacates the subject position in Kitharaka.

The ban on the occurrence of a wh-phrase in the subject position is a robust crosslinguistic generalization holding for languages such as Kikuyu (Bergvall 1987), Dzamba (Bokamba 1976), Kinyarwanda (Maxwell 1981), Zulu (Sabel and Zeller, 2002, 2004), Malagasy (Sabel 2003) and Tagalog (Richards 1997). In fact the ban on occurrence of a wh-phrase in the subject position follows from a more general condition prohibiting the occurrence of a focus in the subject position. Thus a subject DP cannot be focused *in situ*. (50b) is therefore not a felicitous answer to the subject wh-question in (50a). The felicitous answer must have the

subject focus string-vacuously moved and therefore marked with the particle *i* as in (50c) (see also Green and Jaggar 2003 footnote 17, and references cited therein for related restrictions on subject foci in Hausa, Miya and Somali).[5]

(50) a. **I-mbi** y-urag-ir-e   nkamiira
        f-what sm-kill-perf-fv   camel
        'What killed the camel?'

      b. *NJOGU   y-urag-ir-e   nkamiira
         elephant sm-kill-perf-fv   camel

      c. I-NJOGU <njogu>   y-urag-ir-e   nkamiira
         F-elephant   sm-kill-perf-fv camel
         'THE ELEPHANT killed the camel'

Note, however, that a logical subject can be questioned in place when it is post-verbal in locative inversion structures.

(51) Mbaa ino   ku-in-ag-a   **ba-o**
      bar   this sm-sing-hab-fv   who
      'Who sings in this bar?' (Question)

      Mbaa ino   ku-in-ag-a   TUARI TUTHONGI MUNO
      bar   this sm-sing-hab-fv   girl   beautiful very
      'In this bar sings VERY BEAUTIFUL GIRLS' (Answer)

Data such as (51) actually show that that the postverbal position is a real focus position in Kitharaka. This piece of data also shows that the failure of the subject

---

[5] The incompatibility of the subject position and the focus has a long history. Thus Givón (1976) has demonstrated that in subject-prominent languages, subjects are associated with topic functions such as referentiality and definiteness. Givón (1976) has further argued that subjects in languages with strong subject verb agreement are the end result of a grammaticalization process where the subject, originally a topic, got reanalyzed as the subject of the sentence. In a similar vein, it has been claimed that subject agreement in languages with strong subject agreement is a result of a diachronic process where a pronoun, originally expressing anaphoric agreement with a dislocated topic, got reassigned a subject agreement function (cf. Bresnan and Mchombo 1987 and references cited therein).

to be questioned in place when it is occurs in non-inverted structures is related to the properties of the syntactic position it occupies (see footnote 5).

Another asymmetry, also crosslinguistically attested, is observed with Kitharaka adverbs. Place and time wh-adjuncts can be left *in situ*, as in (52). However, manner and reason wh-adjuncts cannot, as in (53). They must always be moved and therefore be focus marked; see (54).[6]

(52)   Victor   a-thi-ir-e   **ku**   'Where did Victor go?'
       Victor   sm-go-perf-fv   where

       Victor   a-thi-ir-e   **ri**   'When did Victor go?'
       Victor   sm-go-perf-fv   when

(53)   *U-ri   **ata**   'How are you?'
        2nd sg-be   how

       *U-ri-ring-a   mwana   **mbi nontu**   'Why are you beating the child?'
        2nd sg-pres-beat-fv   child   why

(54)   **N-ata**   u-ri <ata>   'How are you?'
       f-how   2nd sg-be

       I-mbi nontu   u-ku-ring-a   mwana   <mbi nontu>
       f-why   2nd sg-pres-beat-fv   child
       'Why are you beating the child?'

Finally, while extraction of argument wh-phrases across a *whether* wh-island produces an acceptable sentence in Kitharaka, extraction of manner and reason wh-phrases produces a very marginal sentence.

---

[6] See also Tsai (1994) for related observations for Chinese and Sabel (2003) for Malagasy. The ban on the *in situ* occurrence of manner and reason wh–phrases has been attributed to the fact that they lack a position for a variable (cf. Reinhart 1993, Chomsky 1995). Such wh-phrases must therefore move to create an operator-variable set-up which is necessary for interpretation. On the other hand, argument wh-phrase have a position for a variable and can therefore be interpreted by being co-indexed and c-commanded by the higher scopal position, a mechanism referred to as unselective binding (see Chomsky 1995).

(55) a. **N-uu**   u-ku-ama   kethira   Victor n-a-thok-ir-i-e
    f-who 2^{nd}sg-pres-wonder whether   Victor   f-sm-invite-perf-vs-fv
    'Who do you wonder whether Victor invited?'[7]

  b. **N-uu**   u-ku-ama   kethira   n-a-thok-ir-i-e   Maria
    f-who 2nd sg-pres-wonder whether   f-sm-invite-perf-vs-fv Maria
    'Who do you wonder whether s/he invited Maria?

  c. ?? **N-ata**   u-ku-ama   kethira   n-a-kar-ir-e   \<ata\>
     f-what 2nd sg-pres-wonder whether   f-sm-behave-perf-fv
    'How do you wonder whether s/he behaved?'

The standard explanation for the patterns of ungrammaticality in the sentences in (55) has been that since wh-arguments have a referential index, their traces can be licensed through binding, a syntactic relation that can occur at a distance (Rizzi 1990). On the other hand, since manner wh-adjuncts never contain a referential index, the only way for their trace to be properly licensed is through antecedent government, a syntactic relation requiring local chain links. The establishment of local chain links in (55c) is barred by the intervening A' specifier (occupied by *whether*). *How* therefore never gets to antecedent-govern its trace, because it is too far away; (55c) thus crashes (cf. Rizzi 1990).[8] Otherwise stated, nonreferential phrases such as *how* can only undergo cyclic wh-movement while referential ones are okay with long wh-movement (cf. Cinque 1990).

5. Multiple Questions.

Multiple questions in Kitharaka are possible as long as four requirements are met.

---

[7] For reasons of space, I give only sentences with an object wh-phrase and a manner wh-adjunct. The reader is referred to Muriungi (2003) for more data on extraction from islands including extractions from Complex NPs.

[8] Other factors that have been invoked to explain the acceptability of extraction of argument including time and place wh-phrases over manner and reason wh-adjuncts from weak islands include their DP hood, case, individuation and richness in internal structure (see Starke 2001 and references cited therein).

(56) a. Subject, manner, and reason wh-phrases always be moved (see the asymmetries)

b. Moved wh-phrases bear the focus particle (the usual requirement)

c. Only one wh-phrase is moved to the wh-Spec position, Spec FocP for Kitharaka (see section 9).

d. When two wh-phrases are left *in situ*, this should respect the order: Indirect object>Direct object>Place adjunct>Time adjunct[9]

I demonstrate these patterns with a few examples.

(57) **N-uu** \<uu\>   a-gur-ir-e   **mbi**
    f-who   sm-buy-perf-fv what
    'Who bought what?'

    *I-mbi   uu a-gur-ir-e \<mbi\>   (Subject wh-phrase not
    f-what   who sm-buy-perf-fv   moved)
    'What did who buy?'

    *N-uu   i-mbi \<uu\>   a-gur-ir-e\<mbi\>   (Two wh-phrases
    f-who   f-what   sm-buy-perf-fv   moved)
    'Who bought what?'

(58) Ta-mb-ir-a   **i-mbi   nontu** Munene a-thi-ir-e   **ku** \<mbi nontu\>
    just-1st sg-tell-fv f-why   Munene sm-go-perf-fv   where
    'Tell me why Munene went where?'

    *Ta-mb-ir-a   i-ku   Munene   a-thi-ir-e   \<ku\> **mbi   nontu**
    just-1st sg-tell-fv f-where Munene   sm-go-perf-fv why
    'Tell me why Munene went where?'   (Reason wh-adjunct not moved)

---

[9] There is a greater preference for not leaving more than two wh-phrases *in situ*.

(59) Ta-mb-ir-a   **n-ata**   Munene a-ik-ir-e   **mbi** <ata>
just-1st sg-tell-fv f-how   Munene   sm-put-perf-fv what
'Tell me how Munene put/fixed what?'

??Ta-mb-ir-a   **i-mbi**   Munene   a-ik-ir-e <mbi> ata
 just-1st sg-tell-fv   f-what   Munene   sm-put-perf-fv   how
'Tell me what Munene put/fixed how?'   (Manner wh-adjunct not moved)

(60) Munene   a-gur-ir-e   **mbi** **ku**   (Both wh-phrases
Munene   sm-buy-perf-fv what   where   left *in situ*)
'What did Munene buy where?'

I-mbi   Munene   a-gur-ir-e <mbi> ku   (Object moved; ad-
f-what   f-what   Munene   sm-buy-perf-fv   where   junct left *in situ*)
'What did Munene buy where?'

I-ku   Munene a-gur-ir-e   mbi <ku>   (Adjunct moved;
f-where   Munene sm-buy-perf-fv   what   object left *in situ*)
'Where did Munene buy what?'

5.1 A prediction. The conditions in (56a-c) predict that there should be no direct way of saying 'why did who leave?' as both the reason wh-adjunct and the subject wh-phrase require being moved, and only one wh-phrase can be moved to the wh-Spec position. This prediction is correct.[10] The only sensible way to ask this question is to have two conjoined wh-questions.

(61) **N-uu**   a-th-ir-e   na **i-mbi nontu** a-th-ir-e
f-who   sm-go-perf-fv and f-why   sm-go-perf-fv
'Who went and why did he/she go?'

5.2. An apparent counterexample to (56a-c). There is one sentence type that appears to go against the geneneralization in (56a-c). This sentence contains a subject without F-marking, and another wh-phrase moved to its left, which bears the focus marker, as in (62a). The subject cannot appear with focus marking, see (62b), and neither can the wh-subject appear in front of the wh-object, as in (62c). Importantly, the subject wh-phrase cannot occur *in situ* in the absence of the

---

[10] I thank David Odden for bringing this prediction to my attention.

fronted focus-marked object wh-phrase, as in (62d). A sentence with a fronted subject wh-phrase and an *in situ* object wh-phrase is okay, as in (62e).

(62) a. N-ibuku **ririku** kaana **kariku** ga-tembur-ir-e
          f-book   which   child   which   sm-tear-perf-fv
          'Which book did which child tear?'

  b. *N-ibuku **ririku** i-kaana **kariku** ga-tembur-ir-e
          f-book   which   f-child   which   sm-tear-perf-fv
          'Which book did which child tear?'

  c. *I-kaana **kariku** ibuku **ririku** ga-tembur-ir-e
          f-child   which   book   which   sm-tear-perf-fv
          'Which book did which child tear?'

  d. *Kaana **kariku** ga-tembur-ir-e ibuku **ririku**
          child   which   sm-tear-perf-fv book   which
          'Which child tore which book?'

  e. I-kaana **kariku** ga-tembur-ir-e ibuku **ririku**
          f-child   which   sm-tear-perf-fv book   which
          'Which child tore which book?'

For reasons of space, I will not discuss these patterns here, nor will I provide the full paradigm. But the basic facts are as follows. Constructions of the type in (62a) are acceptable when the subject wh-phrase is D-linked.[11] Thus the sentence would be ungrammatical if *which child* was replaced by bare *who*. The example in (62d) is instructive. Even though D-linked, a subject wh-phrase cannot be left *in situ*. We are forced to make one conclusion here. The subject wh-phrase attracts the object wh-phrase, which attaches to its left. The whole cluster then moves to the wh-Spec position in Kitharaka, Spec FocP (see section 9). Otherwise put, the only reason why the subject wh-phrase appears as though it is *in situ* is because it is moved as part of a wh-cluster (for recent ideas on wh-cluster formation, see Sabel 2003, 2001, Grewendorf 2001).

---

[11] A wh-phrase is Discourse-linked when the speaker and hearer know or have in mind a specific set of alternatives from which the answer to the question can be picked form (cf. Pesetsky 1987).

6. The Focus Particles and Long wh-Movement.

All categories of wh-phrases in Kitharaka can be moved from an embedded sentence to the initial position of the matrix sentence. This kind of movement comes with two requirements, first, that the moved wh-phrase bears the particle *n* or *i*, and second that all the verbs in the embedded clauses which the wh-phrase passes through bear the particle *i* or *n*, except the verb of the clause in which the wh-phrase occurs (Muriungi 2003, 2004).

(63) **N-uu**   u-ku-thugania   ati[12] John   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   Lucy
     f-who 2^{nd}sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-say-perf-fv   Lucy

       n-a-ring-ir-e <uu>
       f-sm-beat-perf-fv

  'Who do you think that John said Lucy beat?' (Object)

     N-uu   u-ku-thugania   ati   John   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   Lucy **n**-a-ug-ir-e
     f-who 2^{nd}sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-say-perf-fv   Lucy   f-sm-say-perf-fv

     ati <uu>   *n*-a-ring-ir-e   Tomu
     that   f-sm-beat-perf-fv   Tom

  'Who do you think that John said Lucy said beat Tom?' (Subject)

---

[12] Any of the embedded CPs may or may not have a complementizer, whether there is an immediately following subject trace or not. Kitharaka does not therefore have *that* trace effects. This is already expected because since Perlmutter (1971) it has been known that most null subject languages (Kitharaka is one) do not portray any asymmetries with respect to wh extraction across overt complentizers. The general approach to lack of *that* trace effects is that since (Bantu) *pro* drop languages have strong agreement, then this agreement properly licenses the subject trace in Spec AgrsP through the usual Spec head agreement (see Biloa 1995). See, however, Rizzi (1990) for an explanation based on the possibility of extraction from the inverted subject position (for *pro* drop languages) and variation in the governing properties of null versus overt C (for languages like English).

(64) **I-ku**   u-ku-thugania   ati   chibu   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   borisi
       f-where   2nd sg-pres-think   that   chief   f-sm-say-perf-fv   police

           n-i-on-ir-e   Lawrence <ku>
           f-sm-see-perf-fv   Lawrence

       'Where do you think that the chief said the police saw Lawrence?'

       I-ri   u-ku-thugania   ati   chibu   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   borisi
       f-when   2nd sg-pres-think   that   chief   f-sm-say-perf-fv   police

           n-i-thaik-ir-e   Lawrence <ri>
           f-sm-arrest-perf-fv   Lawrence

       'When do you think that the chief said the police arrested Lawrence?'

(65) **I-mbi nontu**   chibu   a-ug-ir-e   borisi   *n*-i-thaik-ir-e
       f-why   chief   sm-say-perf-fv   police   f-sm-arrest-perf-fv

           Lawrence <mbi nontu>
           Lawrence

       'Why did the chief say the police arrested Lawrence?'

       N-ata   chibu   a-ug-ir-e   borisi   *n*-i-thaik-ir-e
       f-how   chief   sm-say-perf-fv   police   f-sm-arrest-perf-fv

           Lawrence <ata>
           Lawrence

       'How did the chief say the police arrested Lawrence?'

The marking of verbs with focus markers occurs not only when there is long wh-movement, but also when there is long DP, AdvP, PP, VP and AdjP focus movement. An example with an object DP will demonstrate this.

(66) N-INGOI   u-ku-thugania   ati   John   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   Lucy
       f-donkey   2ndsg-pres-think   that John   f-sm-say-perf-fv   Lucy

           n-a-ring-ir-e   <ingoi>
           f-sm-beat-perf-fv

       'Its is A DONKEY you think that John said Lucy beat'

Example (66) reminds us of the familiar parallelism between focus and wh-movement (cf. Kiss 1995).

While focus markers occur on the embedded verbs when there is long wh-movement, they cannot occur with wh/ focus *in situ*.[13] Examples (67) and (68) show embedded wh-*in situ* and focus occuring without preverbal focus marking.

(67) U-ri-thugania   ati   John   a-ug-ir-e   Lucy   a-ug-ir-e
      2ⁿᵈ sg-pres-think that   John   sm-say-perf-fv   Lucy   sm-say-perf-fv

      Pat   a-ring-ir-e   **uu**
      Pat   sm-beat-perf-fv   who

'Who do you think that John said Lucy said Pat beat?'

      U-ri-thugania   ati   chibu   a-ug-ire   borisi   y-on-ir-e
      2ⁿᵈ sg-pres-think that   chief   sm-say-perf-fv   police   sm-see-perf-fv

      Lawrence   **ku**
      Lawrence   where

'Where do you think that the chief said the police saw Lawrence?'

      U-ri-thugania   ati   chibu   a-ug-ir-e   borisi   i-thaik-ir-e
      2ⁿᵈ sg-pres-think that   chief   sm-say-perf-fv   police   sm-arrest-perf-fv

      Lawrence   **ri**
      Lawrence   when

'When do you think that the chief said the police arrested Lawrence?'

---

[13] There is one exception to this general pattern: echo questions.

(i)   N-u-ku-thugania   ati   John   n-a-gur-ir-e   mbi
      f-2ⁿᵈ sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-buy-perf-fv   what
      'You think John bought what!'

Sentence (i) is appropriate in this context: John has two wives. Wife A tells Wife B that John bought a kilo of meat. Wife B starts to complain, suspecting that John might have bought two kilos of meat. Wife A responds with (i), meaning 'why the hell don't you believe me!' This sentence breaks all the observations we have made so far regarding the distribution of the focus marker. For example, the focus marker occurs with an *in situ* wh-phrase (but note, an echo one!). In addition the sentence breaks the observation that embedded wh-*in situ* does not co-occur with any focus marker on the verbs. I will not discuss such examples in this paper.

(68) U-ri-thugania   ati   John   a-ug-ir-e   Lucy   (DP *in situ* focus)
      2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   sm-say-perf-fv   Lucy

      a-ug-ir-e   Pat   a-ring-ir-e   INGOI
      sm-say-perf-fv   Pat   sm-beat-perf-fv   donkey

      'You think that John said Lucy said Pat beat A DONKEY'

The data in (69) and (70) demonstrate that *in situ* wh-phrases and foci cannot occur with preverbal focus marking.

(69) *U-ri-thugania   ati   John   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   ati   Lucy   *n*-a-ug-ir-e
      2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-say-perf-fv   that   Lucy   f-sm-say-perf-fv

      ati   Pat   *n*-a-ring-ir-e   **uu**
      that   Pat   f-sm-beat-perf-fv   who

      'Who do you think that John said Lucy said Pat beat?'

      *U-ri-thugania   ati   chibu   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   borisi   *n*-i-on-ir-e
      2nd sg-pres-think   that   chief   f-sm-say-perf-fv   police   f-sm-see-perf-fv

      Lawrence   **ku**
      Lawrence   where

      'Where do you think that the chief said the police saw Lawrence?'

      *U-ri-thugania   ati   chibu   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   borisi   *n*-i-thaik-ir-e
      2nd sg-pres-think   that   chief   f-sm-say-perf-fv   police   f-sm-arrest-perf-fv

      Lawrence   **ri**
      Lawrence   when

      'When do you think that the chief said the police arrested Lawrence?'

(70) *U-ri-thugania   ati   John   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   ati   (DP focus *in situ*)
      2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   f-sm-say-perf-fv   that

      Lucy   *n*-a-ug-ir-e   ati   Pat   *n*-a-ring-ir-e   INGOI
      Lucy   f-sm-say-perf-fv   that   Pat   f-sm-beat-perf-fv   donkey

      'You think that John said Lucy said Pat beat A DONKEY'

The particles *n* and *i* therefore seem to be involved in marking points in the sentence structure where the wh-phrase stops on its way to the final landing site.

Further evidence for this claim comes from the observation that when there is partial and intermediate wh-movement in embedded clauses, particle marking only occurs on the verbs that are between the gap of the moved wh-phrase and the wh-phrase, never on the verb(s) of the clause(s) above the wh-phrase.

(71) U-ri-thugania   ati   **n-uu** John a-ug-ir-e   Lucy   *n*-a-ring-ir-e \<uu\>
2nd sg-pres-think that f-who John sm-say-perf-fv Lucy   f-sm-beat-perf-fv
'Who do you think that John said Lucy beat?'

*N-u-ri-thugania   ati   **n-uu** John a-ug-ir-e   (Object partial
f-2nd sg-pres-think that f-who John sm-say-perf-fv   wh-movement)
    Lucy *n*-a-ring-ir-e \<uu\>
    Lucy f-sm-beat-perf-fv

'Who do you think that John said Lucy beat?'

(72) U-ri-thugania   ati   John **n-uu** a-ug-ir-e   Lucy *n*-a-ug-ir-e \<uu\>
2nd sg-pres-think that John f-who sm-say-perf-fv Lucy f-sm-say-perf-fv
    n-a-ring-ir-e   Tomu?
    f-sm-beat-perf-fv Tom

'Who do you think that John said Lucy said beat Tom?'

*Nu-ri-thugania   ati   John **n-uu** a-ug-ir-e   Lucy
f-2nd sg-pres-think that   John f-who   sm-say-perf-fv Lucy
    n-a-ug-ir-e \<uu\> *n*-a-ring-ir-e   Tomu?
    f-sm-say-perf-fv   f-sm-beat-perf-fv   Tom

'Who do you think that John said Lucy said beat Tom?' (Subject)

While facts from long, partial, and intermediate wh-movement point in the direction that the markers *i* and *n* are associated with cyclicity, there is a potential objection for this, arising from sentences such as in (73). In (73a), the matrix verb has an applicative marker; therefore, it requires an applied object which is *Mukothima*. As in most other Bantu languages, there is a requirement that the applied object occurs adjacent to the verb. (73b), with the applied object in the sentence final position, is therefore ungrammatical.

(73) a. Kaburi   n-a-ug-i-ir-e   Mukothima ati Muthuuri
          Kaburi   f-sm-say-appl-perf-fv   Mukothima   that Muthuuri

          n-a-ca-ir-e   mwatu   Marimanti
          f-sm-carve-perf-fv   beehive   Marimanti

      'Kaburi said at Mukothima that Muthuuri carved a bee hive at
          Marimanti'

  b. *Kaburi n-a-ug-i-ir-e   ati Muthuuri n-a-ca-ir-e
          Kaburi   f-sm-say-appl-perf-fv   that Muthuuri   f-sm-carve-perf-fv

          mwatu   Mukothima   Marimanti
          beehive   Mukothima   Marimanti

      'Kaburi said at Mukothima that Muthuuri carved a beehive at
          Marimanti'

We are certain, therefore, that in (73) the origin of the locative is the matrix
clause. With wh-movement, we expect no focus marker on the verb of the em-
bedded clause since no cyclic movement occurs through it. The example in (74),
however, appears to go against this prediction.

(74) **I-ku**   Kaburi   a-ug-i-ir-e <ku> ati Muthuuri   *n*-a-ca-ir-e
          f-where   Kaburi   sm-say-appl-perf-fv   that Muthuuri   f-sm-carve-perf-fv

          mwatu   Marimanti
          beehive   Marimanti

      'Where did Kaburi say that Muthuuri carved a bee hive at Marimanti?'

(74) does not actually constitute a counterexample to the generalization that focus
markers indicate cyclic movement. What (74) demonstrates is that the focus
marker, other than marking cyclicity, has another function: that of indicating fo-
cus of various types. In (74) above, the focus marker indicates that the lower
sentence is an all information focus sentence (cf. section 1). In other words, the
embedded sentences in (74) is a sentence that would normally answer an S-
question such as *what happened?*.

One way of achieving the predicted marking of cyclicity is to control for
the situation in (74), so that in addition to *wh*-focus, we also have another embed-
ded focus domain which does not involve any movement. Kitharaka *in situ* object
focus is an ideal scenario for testing this.

(75) a. **I-ku**   Kaburi   a-ug-i-ir-e <ku> ati Muthuuri a-ca-ir-e
f-where Kaburi   sm-say-appl-perf-fv that Muthuuri sm-carve-perf-fv

      MWATU   Marimanti
      beehive   Marimanti

    '**Where** did Kaburi say that Muthuuri carved a BEEHIVE at Marimanti?'

    b. **I-ku*   Kaburi   a-ug-i-ir-e <ku> ati Muthuuri *n*-a-ca-ir-e
f-where Kaburi   sm-say-appl-perf-fv that Muthuuri f-sm-carve-perf-fv

      MWATU   Marimanti
      beehive   Marimanti

    '**Where** did Kaburi say that Muthuuri carved a BEEHIVE at Marimanti?'

    c. **I-ku*   Kaburi   *n*-a-ug-i-ir-e <ku> ati Muthuuri a-ca-ir-e
f-where Kaburi   f-sm-say-appl-perf-fv that Muthuuri sm-carve-perf-fv

      MWATU   Marimanti
      beehive   Marimanti

    '**Where** did Kaburi say that Muthuuri carved a BEEHIVE at Marimanti?'

In (75b), the focus marker cannot occur in the most deeply embedded clause because there is no focus movement. In (75c), the focus marker can also not occur in the matrix clause because there are never two focus markers in the same clause (see section 9 for a structural explanation).

    In light of this conclusion, consider (76).

(76) a. **I-ku** John a-ug-ir-e   ati Kaburi *n*-a-ug-i-ir-e <ku>
f-where John sm-say-perf-fv that Kaburi f-sm–say-appl-perf-fv

      ati   Muthuuri a-ca-ir-e   MWATU Marimanti
      that   Muthuuri sm-carve-perf-fv beehive Marimanti

    'Where did John say that Kaburi said that Muthuuri carved a BEEHIVE at Marimanti?'

b. ***I-ku**   John a-ug-ir-e   ati Kaburi *n*-a-ug-i-ir-e <ku> ati
   f-where John sm-say-perf-fv that Kaburi f-sm-say-appl-perf-fv that

   Muthuuri   *n*-a-ca-ir-e   MWATU Marimanti
   Muthuuri   f-sm-carve-perf-fv beehive Marimanti

'Where did John say that Kaburi said that Muthuuri carved a BEEHIVE at Marimanti?'

The focus marker can occur in the middle clause in (76a) because this is the embedded clause in which the wh-phrase *when* originates. The focus marker cannot, however, occur in the most deeply embedded sentence, because no movement has occurred, as in (76b).

Consider next an even more problematic case. In (77a), the wh-phrase has moved from the most embedded clause, and as predicted, there is overt focus marking. In (77b), however, where there is an *in situ* focus in the second embedded sentence, the focus marker cannot appear, even though the wh-phrase has been extracted from a clause lower than that of the *in situ* non-wh focus.

(77) a. **I-mbi** u-ku-thugania ati Mary *n*-a-ra-ir-ir-e   Makena igoro
      f-what 2nd sg-pres-think that Mary f-sm-pn-tell-perf-fv Makena yesterday

      ati Gatundu *n*-a-a-ij-ir-e   mwanka muthiru <mbi>
      that Gatundu f-sm-pr-steal-perf-fv year   finished

      'What do you think that Mary told Makena yesterday that Gatundu stole last year?'

   b. **I-mbi** u-ku-thugania ati Mary (*n)-a-ra-ir-ir-e MAKENA
      f-what 2nd sg-pres-think that Mary sm-pn-tell-perf-fv Makena

      IGORO   ati Gatundu *n*-a-a-ij-ir-e <mbi> mwanka   muthiru
      yesterday that Gatundu f-sm-pr-steal-perf   year   finished

      'What do you think that Mary told MAKENA YESTERDAY that Gatundu stole last year?'

The obligatory absence of the focus marker in the embedded clause is understandable. The absence of the preverbal focus marker indicates that a post-verbal element is in focus. In (77b) *Makena* and *yesterday* are the focus. The focus status of these two phrases can be established by building a Kitharaka sentence that has phrases which contrast with focused ones in (77b), 'What do you think that Mary

told MAKENA YESTERDAY,' as opposed to telling MUNENE LAST WEEK that Ga-
tundu stole. The presence of the focus marker (77b) would obscure the fact that
'Makena' and 'yesterday' are the focus. Intuitively, therefore, there is a conflict
between conveying a focusing reading and conveying cyclicity effects; the fo-
cusing effect wins. I assume therefore that even in cases such as (77b), wh-
movement occurs cyclically–only now, cyclic marking cannot occur because of
the conflict.

I take it, therefore, that the morphemes *i* and *n* may, but do not obligatorily,
mark cyclic movement.

(78)   *i* and *n* may mark cyclicity[14]

Having shown the distribution and the functions of the particles *i* and *n*, we are
now in a position to address question (46a):

(46)   a.   What is the exact syntactic category of the particles *n* and *i* which ap-
           pear on a fronted wh-phrase and foci?

7.   The Status of the Kitharaka Particles *n* and *i*.

It is crucial that we determine the exact syntactic category of the particle *n/i* be-
cause this will influence the structure to be assigned to Kitharaka focus construc-
tions. Note for example that if it were established that these particles are copular
verbs, this would make a biclausal cleft analysis of Kitharaka wh-questions al-
most automatic, with the added assumption that the subject of the upper clause is
occupied by a pleonastic similar to *it* in English (cf. Bergvall 1987).

It has been argued in prior studies that the Kitharaka particles *n* and *i* are
copular verbs which function as auxiliaries (Mbeeria 1993: 89 footnote 12). Har-
ford (1997) calls these particles predicative. I think these particles are better ana-
lyzed as focus particles. Let us investigate more closely the distribution of these
particles.

I already demonstrated that the Kitharaka particles *n* and *i* are not restricted
to wh-questions. They also occur in the preverbal position in declarative sen-

---

[14] See McCloskey (1979, 2000, 2002), and Torrego (1983, 1984) for a variety of other ways
through which cyclicity is conveyed for example by quantifier float in embedded Spec CPs
(West Ulster English), changes in the complementiser (Irish) and subject verb inversion ef-
fects (Spanish).

tences, as in (79), in the pre-predicate position in copular constructions (80), and attached to a fronted XP in focus constructions, as in (81).

(79) Bernardo   *n*-a-nyu-ir-e   iria   'Bernardo drank milk'
       Bernardo   f-sm-drink-perf-fv   milk

      Kiura   *i*-ki-r-ir-e   mati   'The frog ate leaves.'
      Frog   f-sm-eat-perf-fv   leaves

(80) Karimi   *I*-MUBIASARA   'Karimi is A BUSINESSWOMAN'
      Karimi   f-business woman

      David   *N*-OBISA   'David is AN OFFICER'
      David   f-officer

(81) I-MATI   kiura   ki-r-ir-e   <mati>   'The frog ate LEAVES'
      f-leaves   Frog   sm-eat-perf-fv

      N-IRIA   Bernardo   a-nyu-ir-e <iria>   'Bernardo drank MILK'
      f-milk   Bernardo   sm-drink-perf-fv

All the sentences in (79-81) have a focused constituent. We can determine whether there is a focus in these sentences by using the familiar method of question-answer pairs. The sentences in (79) can be used as an answer to a VP question (what did Bernardo do? what did the frog do?), or an S-question (what happened?). The sentences in (80) are appropriate for a question that asks about the predicate (what kind of work does Colomba/David do?). The sentences in (81), on the other hand, can be answers to an object question (what did the frog eat?, what did Bernardo drink?) or a VP question (what did the frog do? what did Bernardo do?). Note that from these patterns of question-answer pairs, we can conclude that focus projects in Kitharaka. Observe also that the fact that focus projects makes a cleft analysis of the Kitharaka focus construction impossible. It is a well-known pattern among languages that a cleft focus cannot project (cf. Schwarz 2003). Thus in English, (82a) and (82b) are not a felicitous question-answer pair.

(82) a. What did Bernardo do?
      b. # It is milk that Bernardo drank

Since for Kitharaka, a sentence with a fronted particle-marked object can be used for VP focus, it doesn't seem like we are dealing with a cleft construction. Furthermore, Schwarz (2003) claims, following a suggestion by Anna Szabolsci (pc) that crosslinguistically, it is very uncommon for clefts to participate in multiple questions:

(83)   *Who is it that sold what?

(84)   *Wer ist es, der was verkauft hat   (Schwarz 2003: 61)

We saw for Kitharaka that constructions with the particles *n* and *i* participate in multiple questions (section 5). This is again evidence that we might not be in the vicinity of a cleft. The absence of a cleft analysis of the Kitharaka focus construction makes it very unlikely that the particles *n* and *i* are copulas. This is, however, not all there is to say about these particles. The distributional facts from the copular paradigm show that *n* and *i* cannot be copular verbs. There is also syntactic evidence from co-occurrence patterns with negation that strongly suggests that *n* and *i* can only be focus-marking elements. I turn to these facts in the next section.

7.1. The distribution of the copula in the present and past tenses. The copular verb in Kitharaka varies with the person and tense. Below, I provide the copula as it is used with different persons in the present and past tenses.

Table 1:	**Forms of the copular verb in Kitharaka (given in IPA)**			
Person	Present copula	Present pl.	Past sg.	Past pl.
1st	n-de	to-re	nd-a-re	to-a-re
2nd	o-re	βo-re	w-a-re	βo-a-re
3rd	?i/n	?i/n	a-a-re	βa-a-re
	a-re	βa-re		

Descriptively, the copular verb in Kitharaka consists of three parts; a part that marks person and number, a part that marks tense, and a part that represents the 'be' reading (re).

(85)   Person/Number>Tense>Be

The present tense form of the copula does not have overt tense inflection.

If we assume that *n/i* is the third person present tense copula, the pattern observed with other copulas breaks. First, the third person copula will not conform to the pattern in (85), as there is no part that resembles 'be' (*re*). Secondly, the past forms will appear as though they do not derive from the present forms, contra what can be seen for the other copulas. One might then wonder whether there are forms that the past forms could be said to be derived from. The answer is positive: there exist forms such as *ari* and *bari*. These forms are used to show location, accompaniment and possession. The locative use is exemplified in (86) and (87).

(86) Munene   a-ri   ikumbi-ni   'Munene is in the granary'
      Munene   sm–be   granary-loc

(87) Munene   na Mfana   ba-ri ikumbi-ni
      Munene   and Mfana   sm-be granary-loc
      'Munene and Mfana are in the granary'

The particles *n* and *i* cannot therefore be copular verbs because they do not fit the copular paradigm. In light of this conclusion, and the data in table 1, consider the sentences in (88).

(88) a. Colomba   I-MWARIMU   'Colomba is A TEACHER'
          Colomba   f-teacher

      b. Colomba   n-a-a-re   mwarimu   'Colomba was a teacher'
          Colomba   f-sm-pr-be teacher

In (88a) the 'copula' occurs between the two NPs. (88b) shows that a past tense copula can co-occur with *n*. This is straightforward evidence that *n* cannot be a copula.

(89a) and (89b) are even more problematic for an approach that treats *n* and *i* as a copula because we have *i* co-occurring with the 1st person copula (cf. Table 1).

(89) a. *I*-to-re   arimu   ka   'We are real teachers'
        f-1st pl-be   teachers   really

   b. *I*-n-de   mwarimu ka   'I am a real teacher'
        f-1st sg-be   teacher   really

   c. *I-n   obisaa   ka   'He/she is a real officer'
        f- is?   officer   really

Note that while *n* can co-occur with a genuine 3rd person copula in the past tense, as in (88b), co-occurrence is never possible between *i* and *n* (89c). Assuming *n* to be our phonologically determined copula in (89c), that is, *n* occurs when the immediately following word begins with a vowel and *i* when it begins with a consonant, the failure of *i* and *n* to co-occur already goes against the pattern observed in (89a) and (89b) where *i* can occur before other copulas. (89c) is only grammatical in the absence of *i*.[15] From this mismatch between the behaviour of *i* and *n* on the one hand, and other copulas on the other, it seems reasonable to conclude that *n* and *i* are not performing a copular verb function.

It should be noted here that the forms in (89a) and (89b) can occur without *i*, as in (90). It is therefore not the case that these copular verb forms are tied to the presence of these particles.

(90) to-re   arimu   ka   'We are real teachers'
        1st pl-be   teachers   real

   n-de   mwarimu ka   'I am a real teacher'
        1st sg-be   teacher   real

The fact that the particles *n* and *i* play a different role from the copula can also be seen from the interaction of the focus particle and the negative morpheme.

---

[15] David Odden has pointed out to me that (89c) could be ruled out on purely phonological grounds, by the ban on word-final codas. Note, however, that if *n* was our phonologically determined form of the copula, and there was a language internal requirement that only the focus marker *i* can precede this form of the copula, nothing would prevent the insertion of a vowel after *n* to create a syllable with the form CV. In fact, vowel insertion is a regular syllabification process done to most borrowed words in Kitharaka in order to create good syllabic units and it is hard to see how such a process could only be constrained to apply to borrowed words.

The observation in Kitharaka is that the focus marker and the negative morpheme occur in complementary distribution. Thus in (91c) where the focus particle co-occurs with negation, the sentence is completely unacceptable. The ungrammaticality occurs whether the *ti* or the *ta* allomorph of negation is used. Note that while the focus marker precedes the subject prefix (91a), the negative morpheme occurs after the subject prefix (91b). The ungrammaticality of (91c) cannot therefore be attributed to the claim that negation and focus are competing for the same syntactic position, and neither can it be based on the allegation that the wrong form of negation has been used.

(91) a. Paul   *n*-a-rug-ir-e   nkima   'Paul cooked food'
          Paul   f-sm-cook-perf-fv   food

      b. Paul   a-*ti*-ra-rug-a   nkima   'Paul did not cook food'
          Paul   sm-neg-pn-cook-fv   food

      c. *Paul *n*-a-*ti/ta*-ra-rug-a   nkima   'Paul did not cook food'
          Paul   f-sm-neg-pc-cook-fv food

A similar restriction also holds for the predicative copular sentences. The focus marker obligatorily disappears when negation is added (cf. (92-94)).

(92) Colomba   *i*-mwarimu   'Colomba is a teacher'
      Colomba   f-teacher

      David   *n*-obisa   'David is an officer'
      David   f-officer

      Colomba   *n*-a-a-ri   mwarimu   (Only the focus marker present)
      Colomba   f-sm-pr-be   teacher
      'Colomba was a teacher'

(93) a. Colomba   *ti*-mwarimu   'Colomba is not a teacher'
          Colomba   neg-teacher

b. David t^{16}-obisa   'David is not an officer'
    David   neg-officer

c. Colomba   a-ta-a-ri   mwarimu   (Only negation is present)
    Colomba   sm-neg-pr-be teacher
    'Colomba was not a teacher'

(94) *Colomba   *n-ti*-mwarimu   'Colomba is not a teacher'
      Colomba   f-neg-teacher

      *David   *n-t*-obisa   'David is not an officer'
      David   f-neg-officer

      *Colomba   *n*-a-*ta*-a-ri   mwarimu   (Negations and focus)
      Colomba   f-sm-neg-pr-be   teacher
      'Colomba was not a teacher'

Note that when there is a genuine copula, it remains intact after negation, as in (93c). This pattern also obtains for the other persons.

(95) n-de   muritwa   (Non-negated sentence)
      1st sg-be   student
      'I am a student'

      n-*ti*-re   muritwa   (Negated sentence)
      1st sg-neg-be   student
      'I am not a student'

(96) o-re   muritwa   (Non-negated sentence)
      2nd sg-be   student
      'You are a student'

      o-*ti*-re   muritwa   (Negated sentence)
      2nd sg-neg-be student
      'You are not a student'

---

[16] The [i] that forms part of the negative morpheme deletes in this example.

An approach that takes *n* and *i* to be copular verbs would be hard-pressed to explain why the copular cannot co-occur with negation. One the other hand, an approach like ours which takes the particles to be focus markers has a simple answer: the failure of co-occurrence is semantic. Both the focus particles and negation have a focusing function, therefore negation cannot occur under the scope of the focus marker. In fact, Marchese (1983) claims that this failure of co-occurrence between negation and assertive focus, negation and imperatives is an African areal feature. For some elaboration on this view see Bearth (1999).

To sum up, the claim I make for Kitharaka is the following.

(97) a. In predicative present tense copula sentences with a third person subject, the focus marker precedes a null copula
      b. Focus marker>Null copula>Predicative NP/Adjective

7.2 The problem case. Both the approach that takes the particles *n* and *i* to be copular verbs or to be focus particles would have to answer one question: why is it that these particles are obligatory in predicative sentences in the 3rd person present tense?

(98) Karimi   *(i)-MUBIASARA   'Karimi is a BUSINESSWOMAN'
      Karimi   f-businesswoman

      David   *(n)-OBISA   'David is AN OFFICER'
      David   f-officer

For the copular approach the answer is simple: The particles *n* and *i* are copular verbs, serving a linking role in the copular construction. For the approach that takes the particles to be focus markers, the answer is not straightforward.

I do not have an answer to why the focus markers are obligatory. I can only speculate that there is a parameter that is responsible for the fact that some languages can allow the NP and the predicate to occur next to each without any linking element (Russian (Klaus Abels pc), Egyptian Arabic (Green 1997 and references cited therein)), and those that require obligatory presence of some linking element (Kitharaka, Kikuyu). In the absence of an overt copular verb in Kitharaka, then the presence of the focus marker becomes obligatory. The obligatory attachment of the focus marker has the interesting property that it denotes focus on the predicate, similar to what the preverbal focus marker does (cf.

(79)). Thus a copular construction having the pre-predicate focus marker can be followed by another sentence that negates the focus constituent, the predicate.

(99)   Karimi   I-MUBIASARA   'Karimi is A BUSINESSWOMAN'
       Karimi   f-business woman

       Ari   Karimi   kinya   I-MWARIMU   'No, Karimi is also A TEACHER '
       no   Karimi   also   f-teacher

Kiss (1998, 1999) has argued following Donka Farcas (p.c) that in a dialogue pair, only exhaustive focus can be negated. The fact that the constituent following the focus marker in (99) allows this kind of negation possibly means that the predicate phrase contains an exhaustive focus.[17] Furthermore the fact that the sentence with the focus marker in the pre-copula position is felicitous only as an answer to a particular wh-question is itself evidence that there is a focus on the predicate. Thus (100b) is felicitous as an answer to (100a), but (100c) is not.

(100) a.   David   n-uu
           David   f-uu
           'Who is David?' or 'What kind of work does David do?'

      b.   David   I-MUBIASARA
           David   f–businessman
           'David is A BUSINESSMAN'

      c.   #I-DAVID   mubiasara
            f-David   businessman
           'It's DAVID who is a businessman'

(100c) is only felicitous as an answer to (101).

---

[17] Kiss (1998, 1999) identifies two types of focus, information focus and identification focus. Information focus merely provides new non-presupposed information while an identification focus identifies the exhaustive subset of a situationally or contextually given set for which the predicate holds.

(101) N-uu mubiasara   'Who is the businessman?' (Between you
     f-who businessman   two people, or among you 3 or more people)

If question-answer pairs are a good way of identifying focus as has been argued by among others Halliday (1967), then the sentence with the focus marker in the pre–copula position clearly always has the focus on the predicate. We may attribute this focusing effect to the adjacency of the focus marker and the predicate.

     To sum up, the particles *n* and *i* are better analyzed as focus markers because their distribution is sensitive to information structure. The evidence provided from the interaction between these particles and negation also strongly favours an account that takes these particles to be focus markers. Facts from focus projection, multiple questions and the copular paradigm also point to the direction that we might not be dealing with a copula in focus and wh-questions in Kitharaka.

     Having gotten some grip on what the particles *n* and *i* are, we are now in a position to address question (46b):

(46)   b. Why is it that the particles *n* and *i* occur only with wh/ focus movement
          but never with wh/ focus *in situ*?

8.   Focus and Wh-Movement.

The idea that wh-phrases are focused has its roots in the semantic claim that in a wh-question, the wh-phrase is the focus while the other parts of the sentence contain information which is presupposed to be known (cf. Takizala 1972, Thwing & Watters 1987, Horvath 1986, 1995, Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, among others). Thus Horvath (1995) argues that wh-phrases are focused because when they ask for information about a particular constituent, they highlight that particular constituent as the one for which the predicate will hold. Horvath (1986) in fact states that it is a universal principle that all non-echo wh-phrases are assigned a focus feature. Kiss (1995) further shows that the focus status of wh-phrases is confirmed by the fact they compete for the same syntactic position with non-wh focus across a number of languages and are marked by similar particles. The view that wh-phrases are inherently focused is also defended by Kwidai. Kwidai (1999: 214) defines focusing as an operation of indexical assertion, "the means by which a speaker attempts to render an entity in the discourse salient for the hearer(s)". He then goes on to argue that wh-phrases inherently contain a [+focus] feature because they serve as placeholders for indexical assertion.

Sabel (2000) has integrated the semantic claim that wh-phrases are focused into the syntax by claiming that wh-phrases universally check [+focus] and [+wh] features. Specifically, Sabel argues, that wh-movement is universally triggered by [+wh] and [+focus] features both of which are [+interpretable] and can be specified as [± strong]. In addition, Sabel claims, in the spirit of Minimalism (cf. Chomsky 1995), that since [+focus] and [+wh] features are [+interpretable], they need to be checked only when they are strong.[18]

Sabel (2000) uses the idea that wh-movement is triggered by [+wh] and [+focus] features to account for the cross-linguistic positioning of wh-phrases in natural languages. His claim is that languages are parameterized with regard to the strong feature that causes wh-movement. For some languages, the strong feature triggering movement is a strong [+wh] feature; for others it is a strong [+focus] feature. The issue then is how to determine the feature responsible for movement in a particular language. Sabel argues that we can determine the feature responsible for movement because [+wh] and [+focus] features have different properties. His speculation is that [+wh] and [+focus] features differ because while [+wh] features are only found in the position where the wh-phrase takes scope, [+focus] features are found in matrix and embedded Cs. The immediate conclusion for this is that languages that require obligatory movement of the wh-phrase to the sentence initial position (English) have a strong [+wh] feature as the trigger for movement, and those allowing partial wh-movement (Zulu, Malagasy) the strong [+focus] as the trigger.

Sabel further speculates that whenever a [+wh] feature occurs in matrix C, a [+focus] feature co-occurs with it, and in case of long wh-movement, in all embedded Cs. Successive cyclic wh-movement is therefore attributed to the [+focus] features in the embedded Cs, not to [+wh] features. In fact languages such as Bahasa Indonesia and Tuki (also Kitharaka, see section 9) confirm Sabel's observations because whenever there is long wh-movement, the focus markers occur not

---

[18] Interpretable features are those features which carry some semantic content, for example wh features and the *phi* features of nominals. On the other hand, unintepretable features such as structural case do not carry any meaning. The crucial Minimalist assumption is that since uninterpretable features do not enter the interpretive component of the grammar (LF), they must be checked and thereby eliminated before this interface level. The other assumption is that strong features whether uninterpretable or interpretable need to be checked overtly when they are introduced in a derivation, weak features on the other hand may procrastinate and be checked at the level of LF. The checking of strong features therefore involves overt syntactic movement, and this has the effects of displacement.

only in the C of the matrix clause, but also the Cs of the embedded sentences, as in (102) and (103).

(102) [CP   Tane **owu**   Puta a-mu-dza [CP   ee   **owu**   vadzu
        Where Foc   Puta   SP-PL-say   that Foc   children

           va-mu-enda <tane>]]?
           SP-PL-go

     'Where did Puta say that the children went?' (Tuki; Sabel 2003: 236)

(103) [CP   Siapa **yang** Bill   harap [CP   **yang** <siapa> akan   membali
        Siapa Foc   Bill   hope   Foc   will   buy

          baju   untunknya]]?
          clothes   for him

     'Who does Bill hope will buy clothes for him?' (Bahasa Indonesia;
                            Sabel 2003: 237)

Sabel (1998) also shows that we can predict fairly accurately the feature responsible for wh-movement because there seems to be a correlation between partial wh-movement and wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by a matrix verb in optional wh-*in situ* languages. Sabel's observation is that optional wh-*in situ* languages cluster into those languages that allow partial wh-movement and wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by matrix verbs (Iraq Arabic, Malagasy, Zulu), and those that allow neither partial wh-movement nor wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by matrix V (Duala, French). Sabel's conjecture is that for those languages where the trigger for movement is a [+wh] feature, matrix verbs selecting an interrogative CP obligatorily select a strong [+wh] feature, even though the [+wh] feature may be weak in non-selected environments. Wh-*in situ* in embedded questions is therefore not expected in such languages (e.g. French).[19] For those other languages where the trigger for movement is a [+focus] feature and not a [+wh] feature, the CP selected will have a weak [+wh] feature. The relevant feature responsible for movement will be a [+focus] feature and given that for some languages, this feature can be optionally strong, wh-*in situ* and *ex situ* is predicted to be fine in embedded questions. Absence of wh-*in situ*

---

[19] See however Boškovič (2001) for an explanation based on possibilities of LF insertion of phonologically null or phonologically realized complementiser.
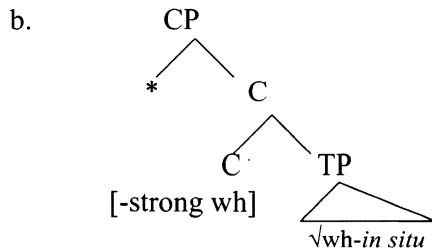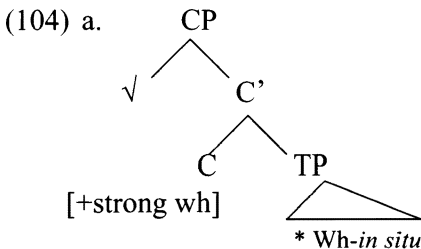
in questions selected by matrix V is therefore seen as a signal that the feature responsible for wh-movement is a [+wh] feature (English, French).

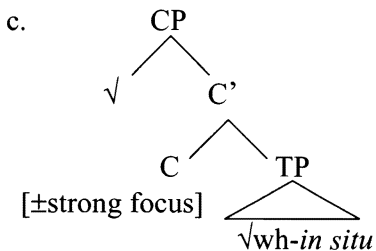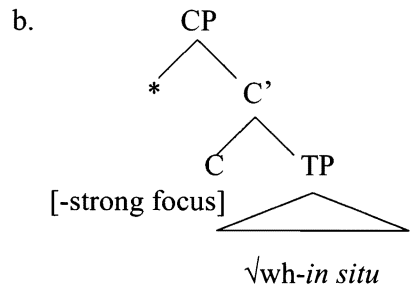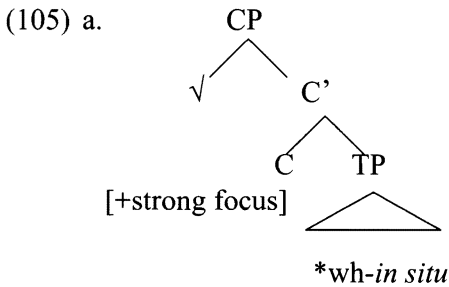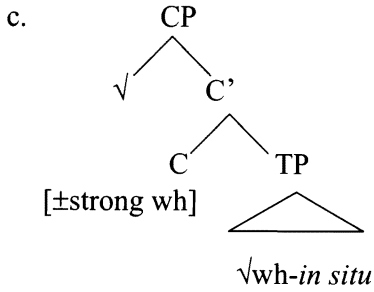The feature typology of Sabel predicts the types of languages given in Table 2.

Table 2: Types of Languages[20]

Feature [+Focus]	[+wh]	Strong	Weak	Strong/weak
Strong		G1	German	G2
Weak		English	Chinese	Duala/French
Strong/weak		G3	Kikuyu/ Kitharaka	G4

Languages with strong [+wh] features (English) will only allow full wh-movement, as in (104a). Those with only weak features will allow only wh-*in situ*, (104b). Languages where the [wh] feature can be optionally weak (Duala, French) will allow wh *in situ* as well full wh-movement but never partial wh-movement and wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by matrix V, (104c). Languages where the [focus] feature is always strong (German) will allow partial in addition to full wh-movement, but will never allow wh-*in situ*; see (105a). In a language where the focus feature is always weak, the wh-phrase will always remain *in situ*, as in (105a). A language where the [+focus] feature can be weak or strong (Kikuyu) has more options: partial wh-movement, full wh-movement and wh-*in situ* in embedded questions, as in (105c).

(104) a.

CP
√   C'
     C   TP
[+strong wh]
          * Wh-*in situ*

b.

CP
*   C
     C·   TP
[-strong wh]
          √wh-*in situ*

---

c.

```
            CP
          /    \
         √      C'
              /    \
             C      TP
        [±strong wh]   /\
                      /__\
                   √wh-in situ
```

(105) a.

```
            CP
          /    \
         √      C'
              /    \
             C      TP
      [+strong focus]  /\
                      /__\
                   *wh-in situ
```

b.

```
            CP
          /    \
         *      C'
              /    \
             C      TP
      [-strong focus]  /\
                      /__\
                   √wh-in situ
```

c.

```
            CP
          /    \
         √      C'
              /    \
             C      TP
      [±strong focus]  /\
                      /__\
                   √wh-in situ
```

Sabel's feature system is good because it can generate almost all the patterns observed crosslinguistically. However it is weak in another respect. It generates languages which are not attested, or which one would not even know how to identify (G1, G2, G3, G4).[21] I show in the next section how Kitharaka fits into the overall picture.

---

[21] As far as I can see, the unattested patterns can be excluded by stipulating that [+wh] and [+focus] features should not be bundled in a way such that the effects of one feature, for example, [+focus] obscures the effects of the other, [+wh]. In fact Bošković (1999) has shown that [+focus] and [+wh] features make a different contribution.

9. Wh-Movement in Kitharaka as Focus Movement.

Recall that in partial wh-movement, as in (13), the wh-phrase occurs in a non-initial position—in fact, after the C of an embedded sentence. Furthermore, recall that Kitharaka allows wh-*in situ* in embedded questions selected by interrogative selecting verbs, as in (106).

(106) N-ti-ji   a-ka-gur-a   **mbi**
     1st sg-neg-know   sm-fut-buy-fv   what

     N-ti-ji   **i-mbi**   a-ka-gur-a   <mbi>
     1st sg-neg-know   what   sm-fut-buy-fv
     'I do not know what s/he will buy'

Thus, the immediate conclusion for Kitharaka is that the trigger for wh-movement is a strong [+focus] feature, not a strong [+wh] feature. If the [+wh] feature was strong, the wh-phrase would always be forced to move to the sentence initial position. The [+wh] feature is therefore always weak in Kitharaka.

     The fact the wh-phrase occupies a position after the complementiser also raises the question of which position the wh-phrase moves to. Muriungi (2003) has shown that the field between the complementiser and the subject can host topics in addition to focused phrases. Furthermore, Muriungi has shown that there is a strict ordering of the elements after C in that the topic must precede the focus, (107).[22]

(107) a. John   a-ug-ir-e   ati   ibuku   riri   **n-uu**   a-(ri)-gur-ir-e
         John   sm-say-perf-fv   that   book   this   f-who   sm-(om)-buy-perf-fv
         'Who did John say that this book, he bought it?'

      b. *John   a-ug-ir-e   ati   **n-uu**   ibuku   riri   a-(ri)-gur-ir-e
         John   sm-say-perf-fv   that   f-who   book   this   sm-(om)-buy-perf-fv
         'Who did John say that this book, he bought it?'

---

[22]Kitharaka focus and topics differ in that while a fronted focus bears a focus marker, a fronted topic appears in its bare form. Focus also seems to form a single uninterrupted phonological domain with the following sentence, while the topic is characteristically severed from the following sentence by a pause.

Building on work by Rizzi (1997), Muriungi (2003, 2004) argues that the Kitharaka Complementiser system needs to be split into the heads Force°, Top°, and Foc°. The complementiser occupies Force°, the topic Spec TopP, and the focus Spec FocP.[23] Thus the sentence in (107a) is given the representation in (108).

(108)

```
TP
├── John
└── T'
    ├── T°
    └── VP
        ├── V°
        │   augire
        └── ForceP
            └── Force'
                ├── Force°
                │   ati
                └── TopP
                    ├── ibuku riri
                    └── Top'
                        ├── Top°
                        └── FocP
                            ├── n-uu
                            └── Foc'
                                ├── Foc°
                                └── TP
                                    └── T'
                                        ├── T°
                                        └── VP
                                            └── V°
                                                a(ri)gurire
```

---
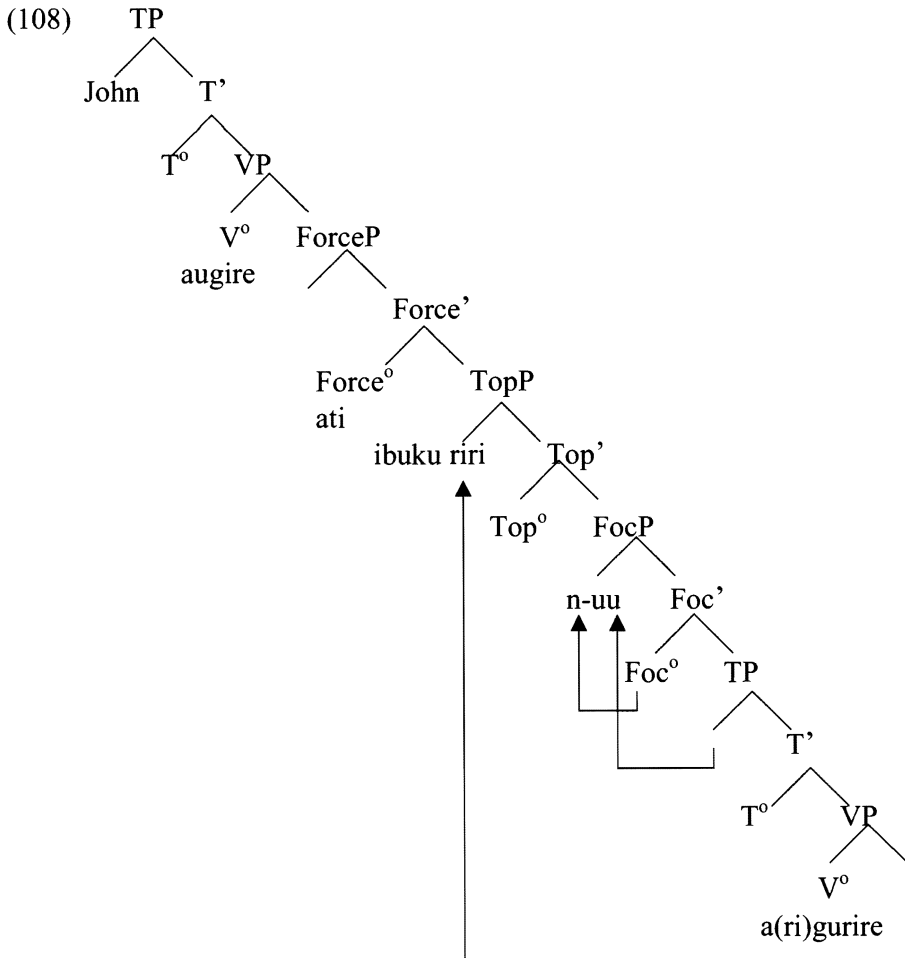
[23] In this respect Kitharaka resembles other languages requiring a split C-system for example Italian (Rizzi 1997), Hungarian (Puskas 1997) Gungbe (Aboh 2004), Kikuyu (Schwarz 2004), Hausa (Green 1997) among others.

For Kitharaka, therefore, Foc and not C is the locus of the strong [+focus] features. Merging Foc with TP introduces a strong feature into the derivation causing the wh-phrase to move to its Spec to check this strong focus feature. Having been checked, the focus marker, morphologically a proclitic moves and attaches to the left of the element in Spec FocP (Muriungi 2003) (see also Green 1997, Schwarz 2003, 2004 for a similar conclusion for Kikuyu). This kind of conclusion is forced anyway if we assume that in all languages, specifiers precede heads in the underlying structure (Kayne 1994). On the other hand, the topic moves to Spec TopP to check a strong [+topic] feature in Top. One could argue along the lines of Rochemont (1998), that the strong topic feature is realized by the pause that follows the topic.

The same structure as the one in (108) will hold for full wh-movement except that then, there will be no Force and Topic projections, as they will not be part of the numeration (the syntactic elements from which the derivation will be constructed).

The analysis of the intermediate strategy will also be the same except that for this case, the highest functional projection will be TopP. The subject will then move to Spec TopP and the focus Spec FocP. The focus does not therefore move to the position after the subject in the intermediate strategy (Muriungi 2003). The structure for (109) is as shown in (110).

(109) John **n-uu**   a-ring-ir-e   <uu>   'Who did John beat?'
      John   f-who   sm-bear-perf-fv

Wh-phrases in Kitharaka therefore always move to a uniform landing site, Spec FocP, whether in full wh-movement, intermediate strategy or partial wh-movement (Muriungi 2003).

(110)

```
                    TopP
                   /    \
               John      Top'
                        /    \
                     Top°      FocP
                             /      \
                          n-uu       Foc'
                           ↑  ↑     /     \
                           |  |  Foc°      TP
                           |  |             \
                           |  |              T'
                           |  |            /    \
                           |  |          T°      VP
                           |  |                 /  \
                           |  |               V°
                           |            aringire
```
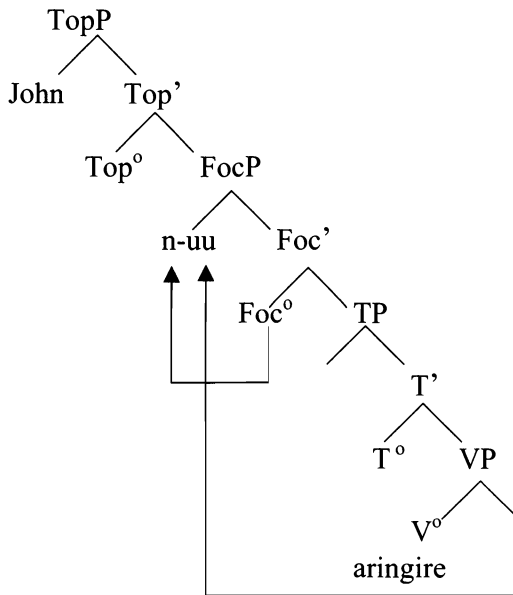
One would naturally expect the framework adopted here to explain the obligatoriness of the movement of subject, manner and reason wh-phrases. The immediate answer that comes to mind is that these types of wh-phrases always contain a strong [+focus] feature. In fact an approach in terms of feature strength is suggested by Sam Epstein (p.c) to Bošković (1999) to explain the ungrammaticality of a sentence such as *I wonder who left how/why*. This approach is, however, undesirable, as it is not clear why a subject wh-phrase would have to have a strong [+wh] (focus feature in our case), while a wh-object, which is a DP just like the wh-subject would not. I will therefore adopt the proposal I hinted at earlier: that the subject position in Kitharaka has topic properties and is therefore incompatible with a focus (see footnote 6); that manner and reason wh-adjuncts must always move because they lack a position for a variable (Reinhart 1993, Chomsky 1995).

Another telling piece of evidence that wh-movement in Kitharaka is focus movement comes from the observation that a moved wh-phrase and a moved focused XP cannot co-occur in the same clause.

(111) *I-Karimi   i-mbi   a-gur-ir-e <mbi>
      f-karimi   f-what   sm-buy-perf-fv
      'What did Karimi buy?'

(112) *I-mbi   i-Karimi <karimi> a-gur-ir-e <mbi>
      f-what   f-Karimi   sm-buy-perf-fv
      'What did Karimi buy?'

The sentences in which the subject focus precedes the object wh-phrase and in which the order of these two phrases are reversed are ungrammatical. We cannot therefore blame the ungrammaticality to superiority effects. In the framework I am following here, it could be argued that there is just one focus position and maximally only one focused phrase can move there (cf. section 5 on multiple questions). Alternatively, it could be conjectured that once the strong [+focus] feature in Foc has been checked by one of the focused phrases, movement of a second focused phrase is not possible as there is no trigger.

Let me address the issue of cyclic movement and the occurrence of the focus marker on V. The claim I will make here is that the focus markers that appear as though they are superficially attached to the verb are in a much higher position, in Foc. In these types of constructions, therefore, the subject is always a topic (see also footnote 5). Building on work by Baker (2003) where any verbal morphology related to some XP indicates that such an XP is in a dislocated position, it can be conjectured that since subjects in Bantu comes with an obligatory subject agreement marker, they are always in a dislocated A-bar position. In fact, this observation is strongly suggested by the fact that the subject always comes before the preverbal focus head in Kitharaka.[24] In short, the cyclic focus markers are always in Foc, and the wh-phrase moves successive cyclically through the Spec position of Foc, checking all the strong features in the embedded Focs. The only reason why the wh-phrase does not occur in its bare form in the matrix Foc is that after the checking of the strong focus feature in the matrix Foc, the focus marker moves and attaches to the wh-phrase in its specifier. Focus markers will not ap-

---

[24]One would expect adverb placement facts from Kitharaka to convey whether indeed the F-marker is in a position higher than the subject. Such evidence, however, is unfortunately not available for Kitharaka due to its agglutinative nature. The fact is that Kitharaka adverbs tend to cluster in the post verbal and the pre-focus marker position.

The relative ordering of clausal adverbs is: Usually-already-(always)-(Focus marker)-VERB-well-completely-(always)-anymore. One can easily see that adverb placement facts will not help to directly locate the position of the focus marker.

pear when the wh-phrase is left *in situ* because there will be strong [+focus] fea-
ture in Focs with no checker in their domain (Spec FocP).
The cases with predicate focus and preverbal focus will also follow naturally
from this account. All that needs to be maintained is that the subject is always in a
topic position above FocP, and that the focus marker possibly cliticizes to a null
operator in Spec FocP.

10.   Verbal Morphology and Question-Formation.

Let us consider next the array of changes that occur on the verb when there is
question formation. We start with question (46c):

(46)   c.   Why is the marking of present tense sensitive to the presence, *ku* versus
            lack, *ri* of wh-related movement?

The data of (113) and (114) remind us of the facts motivating this question, wh-
movement co-occuring with the *ku* present tense marker and wh-*in situ* with *ri*.

(113) **I-mbi**   u-*ku*-thugania   ati   John n-a-*ku*-ring-a \<mbi\>
        f-what   2nd sg-pres-think   that   John f-sm-pres-beat-fv
        'What do you think that John is beating?'

        *I-mbi   u-*ri*-thugania   ati   John n-a-*ri*-ring-a \<mbi\>
         f-what   2nd sg-pres-think   that   John f-sm-pres-beat-fv
        'What do you think that John is beating?'

(114) U-*ri*-thugania   ati   John   a-*ri*-ring-a   **uu**
        2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   sm-beat-fv   who
        'Who do you think that John is beating?'

        *U-*ku*-thugania   ati   John   a-*ku*-ring-a   **uu**
         2nd sg-pres-think   that   John   sm-pres-beat-fv   who
        'Who do you think that John is beating?'

I also observed that the *ku* form occurs when there is focalization, topicalization
and relativization. The simple observation here is that *ku* conveys that a wh-
operator has moved through the clause in which it appears. *Ri* on the other hand
shows that no such movement has occurred. I take it therefore that *ku* marks some

agreement with an A-bar moved wh-operator, while *ri* marks agreement with an operator that is *in situ* at PF.

There is an interesting pattern that follows from my analysis of the tense marker *ku* and *ri* as related to presence versus absence of wh-related movement. We saw earlier that the presence of negation on the verb forces overt movement of the wh-phrase. Since there is movement, we predict that negation (whatever allomorph) should co-occur with *ku* but not *ri*. This is generally the case.

(115) ***N-uu**   Maria   a-*ti-ri*-ring-a
        f-who   Maria   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv
        'Who isn't Maria beating?'

        N-uu   Maria   a-*ta-ri*-ring-a   (breaks the prediction)
        f-who   Maria   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv
        'Who can Maria *never* beat?'

(116) a. **N-uu**   Maria   a-*ta-ku*-ring-a   'Who isn't Maria beating?'
        f-who   Maria   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv

      b. ***N-uu**   Maria   a-*ti-ku*-ring-a   'Who isn't Maria beating?'
        f-who   Maria   sm-neg-pres-beat-fv

The neat prediction is destroyed by the fact that *ta* combines with *ri* to form a complex that means 'never'. We observed a related fact with the future *ka*, which never combines with the focus marker, but when it does combine with it, this gives rise to a 'must' reading. I return to these facts shortly.

(116a) is striking in another respect: it has the *ta* allomorph of negation, and this *ta* occurs with *ku*, the morpheme we have associated with wh-extraction. Recall from section 3 that *ta* occurs only in present tense *ku*-marked verbs that are clausemates of the wh-phrase. The data is repeated here for convenience.

(117) **I-mbi**   u-*ta-ku*-thugania   ati   Munene   n-a-ku-ringa <mbi>
     f-what   2nd sg-neg-pres-think   that Munene   f-sm-pres-pres-beat-fv
     'What don't you think Munene is beating?'

     *I-mbi   u-*ti-ku*-thugania   ati   Munene n-a-ku-ringa <mbi>
     f-what   2nd sg-neg-pres-think   that Munene f-sm-pres-pres-bear-fv
     'What don't you think Munene is beating?' (*Ti* occurs as a clausemate to
        matrix wh)

     u-*ri*-thugania   ati   **i-mbi**   Munene a-*ta*-ku-ringa <mbi>
     2nd sg-pres-think   that f-what   Munene sm-neg-pres-pres-beat-fv
     'What don't you think Munene is beating?'

     *u-*ri*-thugania   ati   **i-mbi**   Munene a-*ti*-ku-ringa <mbi>
      2nd sg-pres-think   that f-what   Munene sm-neg-pres-pres-beat-fv
     'What you think Munene isn't beating?'   (Ti occurs as clausemate to
        embedded wh)

The Kitharaka negative morpheme *ta* behaves like the Duala focus particle
no which occurs only on the verb of the clause in which the wh-phrase ends, but
not on the verbs of the embedded clauses. I think this distribution of *ta* also points
to the fact the *ta* is wh-movement related, similar to the *ta* of Kikuyu. Specula-
tively, *ta* possibly marks some strict, local A-bar agreement between the verb and
the wh-phrase/focus. I leave the exact details of this local relation for future in-
vestigation.

    Some other generalization needs to be drawn for the *ta* occurring in the re-
mote past and *without* clauses. This generalization appears elusive at the moment.
As Harford (1997, footnote 10) has observed, the forms of negation in Kitharaka
do not portray a very systematic distribution.

    Let us recap this section by speculating on possible approaches to the re-
maining four questions.

(46) d. Why *do* ku-marked verbs, clausemate to a moved wh-phrase, require the
         negative morpheme *ta* and not *ti?*
     e. Why does negation force wh-movement?
     f. Why is it that the present perfect and the future cannot freely co-occur
         with the focus marker?
     g. Why does the future disappear in the presence of negation?

For (46d), I have claimed that although negation is a pretty chaotic syntactic category in Kitharaka, there is some evidence that *ta* possibly marks some kind of local A-bar agreement relation between the verb and the wh-phrase/focus, a relation yet to be fully articulated.

Obligatory wh-movement in the presence of sentential negation (46e) might possibly be tied to the fact that *in situ* wh-phrases might be required to move at LF, to create appropriate logical structures for interpretation. Since negation is one of the things that blocks LF wh-movement (cf. Beck 1996), then wh-phrases would always be forced to move in the overt syntax as movement at LF would be impossible. Otherwise put, an intervening NegP A' Specifier at LF would act a barrier preventing antecedent government of the trace of the LF moved wh-phrase (cf. Rizzi 1990).

The co-occurrence restrictions/patterns between the present perfect and future with the focus marker on the one hand and the future and negation on the other, (46f-g) does not, I think, follow from any restriction that verbs in the future or present perfect cannot be focused with the focus marker *nî* or negation *ti* or *ta*. The restrictions follow from the way the system as a whole is organized. The simple data facts we have observed for Kitharaka are follows:

(118) a. The focus marker and *ku* tense marker conveys present progressive (Section 1)
   b. *Ku* tense marker minus the focus marker conveys present perfect (Section 1)
   c. The future *ka* and the focus marker means 'must' (Section 1)
   d. The future *ka* and negation conveys some 'don't' meaning especially in imperatives (Section 3)

It follows quite transparently that a future meaning cannot be conveyed by a sequence of the future with negation or the focus; these forms are used to communicate the lexicalized meanings of 'don't' and 'must' respectively. Similarly, the focus marker cannot be used in the present perfect as there would be no way to distinguish the present perfect and the present progressive. The conclusion that needs to be drawn here is that although morpheme combinations and orders are determined by syntactic compositionality (see Baker 1985), or templaticity (Hyman 2003), there are times when expected morpheme combinations cannot occur because of the need to reduce ambiguities in the system.

The issues related to verbal morphology and question formation such as the changes in tense forms, obligatory movement with negation and the co-occurrence restrictions between negation, and focus and tense require more detailed and careful investigation. I will explore these issues in subsequent papers.

11.   Summary.

I have argued in this paper that wh-movement in Kitharaka is triggered by a strong focus feature. The strong focus feature is morphologically realized by the focus marker *i* and *n*. Wh-*in situ* occurs when there is no focus marker, hence no strong focus feature to trigger movement. I have also shown that wh-questions in Kitharaka triggers some form of wh-agreement on the verb, and this is manifested in two forms: present tense changes (*ku* with wh-movement, *ri* with wh-*in situ*), and the negative morpheme *ta* which occurs with *ku*-marked present tense verbs that are clausemates of a moved wh-phrase/foci.

REFERENCES

Aboh, Enoch. 2004. *The Morphosyntax of Complement Head Sequences: Word order and Clausal Structure of Kwa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Baker, Mark. 1985. "The Mirror Principle and morphosyntactic explanation". *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 373-415.

Baker, Mark. 2002. "Agreement, dislocation and partial configurationality". Manuscript, Rutgers University. *Formal Approaches to Function in Grammar: In Honour of Eloise Jelinik*, ed. by Andrew Carnie, Heidi Harley and Mary Ann Willie. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 107-132.

Bearth, Thomas. 1999. "The contribution of African linguistics towards a general theory of focus: update and critical review". *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 20: 121-156.

Beck, Sigrid. 1996. "Quantified structures as barriers for LF movement". *Natural Language Semantics* 4: 1-56.

Bergvall, Victoria. 1987. *Focus in Kikuyu and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Havard University, Ph.D. dissertation.

Biloa, Edmond. 1995. *Functional Categories and the Syntax of Focus in Tuki*. München, Newcastle: Lincom Europa.

Bokamba, Eyamba. 1976. *Question Formation in Some Bantu Languages*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Ph.D. dissertation.

Boškovič, Zeljko. 1999. "On multiple feature checking: multiple Wh-fronting and multiple head movement". *Working Minimalism*, ed. by Samuel Epstein & Nobert Hornstein. Cambridge: MIT Press. Pp. 159-187.

Boškovič, Zeljko. 2001. *On the Nature of the Syntax-Phonology Interface: Cliticization and Related Phenomena*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bresnan, Joan & Sam Mchombo. 1987. "Topic pronoun and agreement in Chichewa." *Language* 63: 741-782.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A-bar Dependencies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Clements, George N. 1984. "Binding domains in Kikuyu". *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 14:37-56.

Drubig, Bernhard. 2003. "Towards a typology of focus and focus constructions". *Linguistics* 41: 1-40.

Epée, Roger. 1976. *Generative Syntactic Studies in Duala*. Ithaca: Cornell University, Ph.D. dissertation.

Givón, Talmy. 1976. "Topic Pronoun and grammatical agreement." *Subject and Topic*, ed. by Charles N. Li. New York: Academic Press. Pp. 149-188.

Givón, Talmy. 1990. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*. Vol. II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Green, Melanie & Philip Jaggar. 2003. "Ex situ and in situ focus in Hausa: Syntax semantics and Discourse." *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar II: Selected Papers from the Fifth Conference on Afroasiatic Languages, Paris 2000,* ed. by Jacqueline Lecarme. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 197- 213.

Green, Melanie. 1997. *Focus and Copular Constructions in Hausa*. London: SOAS, Ph.D. dissertation.

Grewendorf, Günther. 2001. "Multiple wh-fronting". *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 87-122.

Halliday, Michael. 1967. "Notes on transitivity and theme in English, part 1". *Journal of Linguistics* 3: 37-81.

Harford, Carolyn. 1997. "Empty operator raising in Kitharaka". *Studies in African Linguistics* 26: 111-129.

Heine, Bernd & Reh Mechthild. 1983. "Diachronic observations on completive focus marking in some African languages." *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 5: 7-44.

Horvath, Julia. 1986. *FOCUS in the Theory of Grammar and the Syntax of Hungarian*. Dordrecht. Foris.

Horvath, Julia. 1995. "Structural focus, structural case and the notion of feature assignment". *Discourse Configurational Languages*, ed. by Katalin Kiss. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 28-64.

Hyman, Larry. 2003. "Suffix ordering in Bantu: a morphocentric approach". *Yearbook of Morphology* 2002: 245-281.

Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Kiss, Katalin. 1995. *Discourse Configurational Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kiss, Katalin. 1998. "Identification focus and information focus". *Language* 74: 245-73.

Kiss, Katalin. 1999. "The English cleft construction as Focus Phrase". *Boundaries of Morphology and Syntax*, ed. by Lunella Mereu. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 271-229.

Kwidai, Ayeshai. 1999. "Word order and focus positions in Universal Grammar". *The Grammar of Focus*, ed. by Rebuschi George & Laurice Tuller. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 213-244.

Marchese, Lynell. 1983. "On the assertive Focus and the inherent focus nature of negatives and imperatives: evidence from Kru". *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 5: 115-129.

Maxwell, Edith. 1981. "Question strategies and hierarchies of grammatical relations in Kinyarwanda." *Proceedings of the 17th Annual Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Berkeley, California, University of California. Pp. 166-177.

Mbeeria, Kithaka. 1993. *Kitharaka Segmental Morphophonology with Special Reference to the Noun and the Verb*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi, Ph.D. dissertation.

McCloskey, James. 1979. *Transformational Syntax and Model Theoretic Semantics: A Case Study of Modern Irish*. Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

McCloskey, James. 2000. "Quantifier float and wh-movement in an Irish English". *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 57-84.

McCloskey, James. 2002. "Resumption, successive cyclicity and the locality of operations". *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, ed. by Samuel Epstein & T. Daniel Seeley. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 184-226.

Muriungi, Peter. 2003. *Wh-Questions in Kitharaka*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, M.A. thesis.

Muriungi, Peter. 2004. "Wh-movement in Kitharaka as focus movement". Proceedings of the Conference on the Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics of Questions held as part of 16th ESSLLI, University of Nancy, France. ed. by Ileana Comorovski and Manfred Krifka. ESSLI. Pp. 9-15.

Perlmutter, David. 1971. *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT, Ph.D. dissertation.

Pesetsky, David. 1987. "Wh-*in situ*: movement and unselective binding". *The Representation of (In)definiteness*, ed. by Eric Reuland & Alice Ter Meulen. Cambridge: MIT Press. Pp. 98-129.

Puskas, Geneveva. 1997. "Focus and the CP domain". *The New Comparative Syntax*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman. London and New York: Longman. Pp. 145-164.

Reinhart, Tanya. 1993. "Wh *in situ* in the framework of the Minimalist program". Manuscript, Tel Aviv University. Lecture at Utrecht Linguistics Colloquium.

Rochemont, Michael. 1998. "Phonological focus and structural focus". *Limits of Syntax*, ed. by Peter Culicover & Louise McNally. New York: Academic Press. Pp. 337-364.

Richards, Norvin. 1997. *What Moves Where, When in Which Language*. Cambridge: MIT, Ph.D. dissertation.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1996. "Residual verb second and the wh-criterion". *Parameters and Functional heads: Essays in Comparative Syntax*, ed. by Adriana Belleti & Luigi Rizzi. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 69-90.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery". *Elements of Grammar: Handbook of Comparative Syn*tax. ed. by Liliane Haegeman. Dordrecht: Kluwer. Pp. 281-337.

Rudin, Catherine. 1988. "On multiple questions and multiple wh-fronting". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 445-501.

Sabel, Joachim. 1998. *Principles and Parameters of WH-Movement*. Habilitationsschrift, University of Frankfurt am Main.

Sabel, Joachim. 2000. "Partial wh-movement and the typology of wh-questions". *Wh-Scope Marking*, ed. by Uli Lutz, Gereon Müller & Arnim von Stechow. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 409-446.

Sabel, Joachim. 2001. "Deriving multiple head and phrasal movement". *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 532-547.

Sabel, Joachim. 2002. "Wh-Questions and Extraction asymmetries in Malagasy". *Proceedings of AFLA 8* (MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 44), ed. by Andrea Rackowski & Norvin Richards Cambrige, MA: MIT. Pp. 309-324.

Sabel, Joachim. 2003. "Malagasy as an optional wh-fronting language". *Multiple Wh-fronting*, ed. by Cedric Boeckx & Grohmann Kleanthes. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 229-254.

Sabel, Joachim & Jochen Zeller. 2002. "On subject-object asymmetries in wh-question formation". Manuscript, University of the Witwatersrand and University of Frankfurt am Main.

Sabel, Joachim & Jochen Zeller. 2004. "Wh-question formation in Nguni". Manuscript, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa and Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Belgium.

Schwarz, Florian. 2003. *Focus Marking in Kikuyu*. Berlin: Humboldt University, M.A. thesis. Published in *Questions and Focus*, ed. by Regine Eckardt, *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 30: 41-118

Schwarz, Florian. 2004. "Kikuyu Focus Constructions: Syntactic and Semantic Issues". Paper presented at The Workshop on Topic Focus and Information Structure in Bantu Languages, University of Amsterdam and ZAS Berlin.

Starke, Michal. 2001. *Move Dissolves into Merge*. Geneva: University of Geneva, Ph.D. dissertation.

Takizala, Alexis. 1972. "Focus and relativization: the case of Kihung'an". *Studies in African Linguistics* 3: 259-287.

Torrego, Esther. 1983. "More effects of successive cyclic movement". *Linguistic Inquiry* 14: 561-565.

Torrego, Esther. 1984. "On inversion in Spanish and some of its effects". *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 103-129.

Thwing, Rhoda and John Watters. 1987. "Focus in Vute." *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*: 9: 5- 121.

Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. 1994. "On nominal islands and LF extraction in Chinese". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12: 121-175.

Centre for Advanced Study in Theoretical Linguistics
Universitetet i Tromsø
9013, Tromsø, Norway
peter.muriungi@hum.uit.no