Morphological focus and its agreement features in Kakabe

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1. Introduction

Up to this moment, there has been little research on the morphological expression of focus, as compared to focus marking through prosody or word order. For languages that signal focus morphologically, the accounts rarely go beyond stating that the focus marker is adjoined to the focused constituent. In particular, the question of the distribution of the morphological focus marker with respect to the boundaries of the focus constituent that can be a DP, a VP or an IP, is rarely addressed. There are some notable exceptions, for example, Hartmann and Zimmermann (2007; 2009) provide a detailed analysis of morphological focus marking in Chadic languages. But even they do not approach, for example, the issue of how givenness affects focus marking, a question that is, nevertheless, central for the research on prosodic focus.

The issues concerning the position of sentence stress in relation to discourse-givenness and to the boundaries of focus constituents have been among the main concerns of Optimality Theory accounts of focus (e.g. Truckenbrodt 1995; Büring 2016). These accounts are mostly formulated based on data from languages that mark focus prosodically and/or syntactically rather than morphologically. At the same time, since the constraints and principles formulated in them are supposed to be universal, they are expected to apply to languages irrespective of the mode of expression of focus. Büring (2010) and Féry (2013) explicitly address the question of morphological focus and both suggest that morphological focus is subject to the same constraints as non-morphological focus. Following Büring's (2010) FOCUSPROMINENCE constraint, that builds on Truckenbrodt (1995), focus is always realized as structural prominence that is defined on the prosodic structure.

This paper explores the distribution of focus particle (FP) in Kakabe, a Mande language. The research on this little-known and understudied language is based on the data that I have been collecting in Guinea since 2008, and apart from elicitation it is supported by a large corpus of natural texts. By its distribution, on the first approach, FP appears to show striking similarities to sentence stress as the marker of focus, for

example in English. Example (1) shows that FP follows the direct object in two cases: first, when only the object DP is in focus and, second, when the whole VP is in focus. The same way, sentence stress falls within the focus constituent on the direct object in the English sentence equivalents. Small capitals indicate the word that bears the sentence stress and the underlining indicates the extent of focus. As can be seen, sentence stress targets the same word as FP.

(1) *À   ka   kɔ̀réɛ̀   lè   sàn.*
      3SG PFV.TR rice.ART **FP** buy
     (What did he buy?) 'He bought RICE.'
     (Whad did he do?) 'He **bought** RICE.'

Strikingly, Kakabe FP also appears to follow the pattern of the distribution of sentence stress with respect to givenness. In languages like English, when a discourse given constituent is part of focus, it is avoided by the sentence stress. The same is found for FP in Kakabe: thus, in (2) FP does not appear on the direct object that is part of VP focus because of its givenness.

(2) *À   ka   Séku gbàsi lè.*
      3SG PFV.TR Seku hit   **FP**
     (What did Seku's mother do?) 'She HIT Seku$_G$.'

Therefore, the hypothesis by Büring (2010) and Féry (2013), according to which morphological focus markers are determined on the prosodic structure the same way as stress is rather compelling. However, under closer investigation, FP appears to manifest properties that cannot be easily fitted into the prosodic prominence account of focus. I show that FP does not behave like stress with respect to CP boundaries and CP types, and that FP is attracted to the DP as illustrated in (1) not because of its prosodically-prominent position but because of its syntactic categorization.

After I explore the possibility of accounting of FP distribution in terms of prosodic hierarchy and show that it encounters some unresolvable difficulties, I proceed to the formulation of my proposal. I posit for Kakabe a Focus operator as it is done in the Cartographic approach (e.g. Rizzi 1997, Belletti 2001, Aboh 2006) but differing from it in that Foc in Kakabe can be in various locations in the syntactic tree (see Section 5.3). In my analysis, Foc operator enters Agree relation with two other elements in the structure: with the head of CP above it and with the DP below it. It is therefore structurally close to Q-operator in the Q-based theory (Cable 2006, 2010), an element that also agrees with CP and, in part of languages, with the wh-word in its c-command. Agreement is understood in the lines of the probe-goal approach (Chomsky 2000, 2001), with the representation of feature types as in feature valuation theory of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007). I demonstrate how the pattern of FP distribution follows from the

conditions on Agree, such as locality, superiority and activity conditions. The feature type theory allows to provide an account of the interrelation between focus marking and distinct types of CPs.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 provides general information about Kakabe and its grammatical features that are relevant for the discussion. Section 3 outlines the main facts about the distribution of FP in Kakabe. Section 4 provides an attempt to apply the prosodic account of focus to the Kakabe focus particle and points out the difficulties that are encountered. Section 5 proposes the alternative, agreement-based, account for the presented Kakabe evidence, and outlines the comparison with the Q-based theory and focus in the Cartographic approach. The Foc/DP agreement part of the proposal is explored on the Kakabe data in Section 6, and Section 7 investigates the relationship between CP and Foc. Finally, Section 8 raises the question of how the agreement analysis of focus proposed in the paper can be applied to other languages with morphological focus marking.

2. Kakabe and the general information about the language

2.1. Sociolinguistic information and the data

Kakabe is a little-known Mande language spoken by approximately 50 000 people in Guinea. It is subject to dialectal variation with Northern Kakabe (NK), Western Kakabe (WK) and Central Kakabe (CK) as main dialectal zones. Phenomena related to the expression of focus, which is the main object of this study, are mostly the same across these dialectal zones.

The present research is based on first-hand data collected during my fieldwork in 2008-2020. It relies on a corpus of 20 thousand words with a large number of speakers and consisting of natural texts of various genres. The corpus contains about two thousand occurrences of FP. The most part of the corpus is available online.[1] Apart from the corpus data, the investigation of the distribution of FP relies on elicitation and grammaticality judgement by at least two speakers. In the paper, examples originating from corpus are provided with a reference by which they can be found in the corpus.

2.2. Kakabe basics

Kakabe is a tonal language, with H and L, floating L tones and downdrift (see the discussion about downdrift and prosodic boundaries in Section 4.2). The distance between the underlying (lexical) tones and their surface realization can be rather

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[1] The corpus is available at the ELAR archive: https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI43300, as well as at the Pangloss collection: https://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/pangloss/corpus/search.php?keywords=kakabe and the Corporan collection: https://corporan.huma-num.fr/Archives/corpus.php

important, and multiple tonal processes are applied to lexical tone. The lack of tonal marker on certain syllables in the second line of transcription reflects the absence of any underlying tone. The transcription provided in the examples represents only tones before the application of tonal rules, except for some cases where they are due to grammatical tone.

Kakabe shows typical for Mande languages S(aux)OVX word order, where X stands for any non-direct complement or adjunct.[2] Adverbs most frequently appear rightmost, but can also be placed leftmost, and a limited number of them can appear between the subject and the auxiliary. Nothing can intervene between the auxiliary and the VP, nor between the object and the verb.

(3) *À   sí   nìngéè   sàn   mànsáà   yen   sínàn.*
    3SG POT   cow.ART   buy   chief.ART   BNF   tomorrow
    'He will buy a cow for the chief.'

Kakabe has a very rigid word order that cannot be modified by information structure. Wh-phrases are always in situ:

(4a) *Yɔ́n   (de)   kà   nìngéè   sàn?*
     who   FP   PFV.TR   cow.ART   buy
    'Who bought the cow?'

(4b) *À   ká   fɛ́n   dè   sàn?*
     3SG   PFV.TR   what   FP   buy
    'What did he buy?'

4c. *À   kà   nìngéè   sàn   míntɔ?*
     3SG   PFV.TR   cow.ART   buy   where
    'Where did he buy the cow?'

TAM and polarity categories are expressed cumulatively by a paradigm of auxiliary markers which are referred to as predicative markers in the Mandeist tradition. They are presented in Table 1. The paradigm contains the existential copula *bi* and the negative existential copula *béle*. Perfective aspect in intransitive clauses is encoded by the suffix *-ta* on the verb, whereas in transitive clauses it is expressed by

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[2]SOVX word order is typologically unusual but typical for Mande languages. It does not occur in languages unrelated to Mande languages, except for the languages of the Senufo and Gur family, as well as in several other languages which are in contact with Mande (Nikitina 2011).

the post-subject auxiliary *ka*.[3] The contrast between focused perfective *báti* and the non-focused *ka/-ta* perfective is discussed in Section 7.4.

	Affirmative	Negative
perfective	*báti* (focused), *ka* tr./ *-ta* intr.	*máa*
stative-resultative	*bi -len* (NK, WK)	*béle -len* (NK, WK)
	bi -nden (CK)	*béle -nden* (CK)
imperfective	*bi -la*	*béle -la*
potential	*si*	*tée*
subjunctive	*ni*	*káni*
imperative	*Ø*	
temporal/conditional	*máni*	–
infinitive	*kà*	

Table 1. Kakabe inflectional paradigm

3. The observed facts about the placement of FP

I use the term 'focus' as equivalent to the syntactic constituent that is F-marked and that can be identified through Question and Answer Congruence (Rochemont 2011).

In general, FP *lè*/*dè* (the *dè* allomorph appears after nasals) is placed either at the right edge of focus or at the right edge of some constituent within focus. The only exception to this is that, when focus is part of an embedded CP, FP appears elsewhere; this case is dealt with in Section 4.5. Apart from this exception, FP is always at the right of focus if it is coextensive with a DP, cf. (5a) and (5b). Focus constituent is always in situ.

(5a) *Kàyéè   lè ká   nìngéè   sàn.* **Subject focus**
    man.ART **FP** PFV.TR cow-ART buy
    (Did the man or the woman buy the cow?) '**The man** bought the cow.'

(5b) *Kàyéè   ká   nìngéè   lè sàn.* **Object focus**
    man.ART PFV.TR cow-ART **FP** buy
    (Did the man buy the cow or the goat?) 'The man bought **the cow**.'

Next, when focus is broader than a DP, for example, when the whole VP is in focus as in (6), FP can appear inside focus. Taking for the moment only the cases where focus

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[3]The transitivity split, with the differentiation of the perfective in transitive constructions and the perfective in intransitive constructions is a feature shared by Mokole languages as well as all Manding languages (a group within Mande, which is closest to Mokole). A diachronic account of the transitivity split is suggested in Creissels (1997).

does not include discourse-given elements, in general, FP appears on a DP rather than on the verb.

(6) *À   ka   kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀   lè   tàbi.*   **VP focus**
    3SG PFV.TR rice.ART **FP** prepare

    (What did he do?) 'He **prepared the rice**.'

The same is found for sentence focus where focus is the whole IP. Here again, FP appears after the DP (7).

(7) *Mónbilè lè   bèe-ta.*   **IP focus**
    car.ART **FP** crash-PFV.I

    (What happened?) '**The car crashed**' [kkec_av_narr_150124_ak1_124].

When a focused IP contains more than one DP, FP appears on the one that is linearly first. Thus, in (8a) FP follows the subject DP, whereas the construction with FP following the object in (8b) cannot have the IP-focus interpretation.

(8a) *Mùsa lè   ka   Sɛ́ku gbàsi.*
    Musa **FP** PFV.TR Seku hit

    (What happened?) '**Musa has hit Seku**.'

(8b) *Mùsa ka   Sɛ́ku lè   gbàsi.*
    Musa PFV.TR Seku **FP** hit

    (What did Musa do?/Who did Musa hit?) 'Musa hit **Seku**.'

    #(What happened)? '**Musa has hit Seku**.'

See also an example from natural text, with three DPs inside an IP-focus:

(9) *Túlâ-n   dè ká   ɲàaréè-nù súbɛ   tólóɲè   là.*
    mouse.ART-PL **FP** PFV.TR cat.ART-PL choose game.ART OBL

(Beginning of a story:) **The mice chose the cats to have a party** [tula_SNKeita_2009_003].

To summarize, in VP or IP focus, FP is attracted to a DP inside it. However, this attraction can be counteracted by the discourse status of the DP in question. There is an ever growing literature dedicated to the problem of givenness with respect to focus (e.g. Schwarzschild 1999; Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006; Büring 2016; see Rochemont 2016 for an overview). In general, the authors agree that part of the focus phrase can be given. In what follows, givenness, 'G-markedness' is indicated following the principles of 'F plus G notation' model from Büring (2016). In this model, all that is not focus is G-marked. Thus, in (10), the subject is G-marked and out of Focus.

(10) *(What did Mary do?) She$_G$ **killed BILL.***

Crucially, focus constituent can contain a G-marked constituent (in the examples below, I omit the G-marking that signals givenness outside of focus for its obviousness and display it only on given constituent inside focus). Let us look at an example. In (11), the DP *Bill* is already activated due to the preceding context, whereas the lexical content of the verb is new (see the discussion of this example in Arregi 2016: 194). Therefore, a G-marked constituent is part of focus in (11).

(11) *(What did Bill's mother do?) She **KILLED Bill**G.*

The whole content of the focus phrase can be given as the focused but discourse-given object, as in (8) from Schwarzschild (1999: 145).

(12) *(Who did Bill's mother praise?) She praised **HIM**G.*

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate givenness in focused IPs. In (13) from Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006: 146), the whole sentence is focus and at the same all given (except for the word *too*). Therefore, the whole IP is F-marked and G-marked at the same time. Finally, (14) from Zubizarreta and Nava (2011: 659) is an instance of IP-focus that contains both G-marked and non-G marked subconstituents: *covers* is given, the rest is not (except for the locutor subject which is always given by default).

(13) *Jack said the American president drinks. What did Gilles say about the French president?*
*He said [**the French president drinks TOO**]G.*
(14) *Why are these notebooks missing their covers?*
***Because I'm drawing PICTURES on the [covers]**G*

As can be seen by comparing (10) and (11), givenness can affect the position of the sentence stress. By default, in English, the sentence stress falls on the rightmost element in the focus phrase, as in (10). However, when the rightmost element is G-marked, stress appears elsewhere, as in (11) and (14). As for (13), where sentence stress is on *too,* Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006: 146) argue that the presence of this word is due to a repair mechanism: since all the other words are given, placement of the sentence stress on any of them would violate the Destress Given (DG) constraint, and this is avoided by the insertion of *too* which is not given and hosts the stress.

Let us now turn to Kakabe. Analogously to sentence stress in English, FP in Kakabe does not appear on a given DP inside a focus. Thus, in (15) FP appears after the verb, since the object DP is given.

(15) *À ka Séku gbàsi lè.*
　　3SG PFV.TR Seku hit 　FP
　(What did Seku's mother do?) 'She **hit Seku**G.'

See also (16) representing an excerpt from a natural narrative in which the speaker explains how he and his friends managed to take gasoline from tanks. The referent of *rèzèrwárùnú* 'the tanks' appears first in (16a). Therefore, when it appears again in (16b), it is already activated. The utterance in (16b) addresses the QUD 'What did we do to get the gasoline?' therefore, its focus is the VP *rèzèrwárùnú sɔ̀gɔ́* 'pierce the tanks'.

(16a) *Gàzwál   mín b-áà   búutɔ̀, rèzerwár-nù búutɔ̀,*
      gasoline-ART REL be-3SG inside tank.ART-PL   inside
   'The gasoline that was there, in the tanks,
(16b) *mà ká   wò fóo   wíide, pàsɛ́ mà kà*
      1PL PFV.TR that UNIV empty how 1PL PFV.TR

rèzerwárù-nú_G sɔ̀gɔ́   lè
tank.ART-PL   pierce FP

we took it all: we **pierced the tanks**G.' [kkec_av_narr_150124_ak1_077].

Finally, (17) illustrates the case where the whole focused constituent is given. In this case, since nothing else is available, FP is hosted by the G-marked pronoun.

(17) *Ǎndè lè_G báà   sàn-na kà à dí ǹ bólo.*
     3PL.LG FP be-3SG buy-GER INF 3SG give 1SG hand
(Do you buy your clothes yourself or do your parents buy you clothes?)
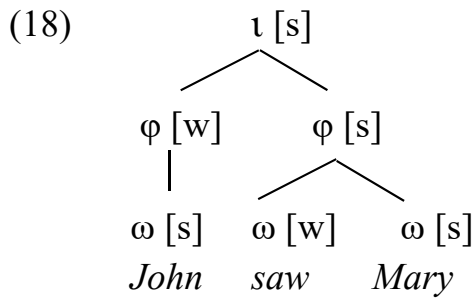It is them who buy me clothes. (kkec_av_conv_131207_talk01_228)

The pattern of placement of FP as it is presented so far, shows striking similarities as compared to the distribution of prosodic markers of focus in languages like English. The next section provides an attempt to apply to the case of Kakabe the standard account of prosodic focus realization.

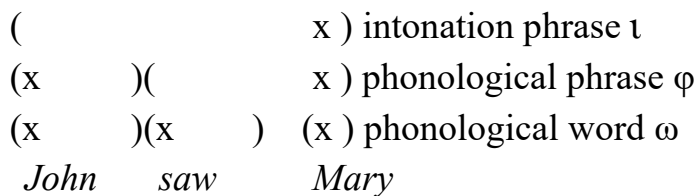## 4. Focus as prosodic prominence

4.1. Background

The prosodic hierarchy of Nespor and Vogel (1986) is widely accepted as the standard representation of phonological structure. In this representation, the levels relevant to focus realization are, bottom up, phonological word (ω), phonological phrase (φ), intonation phrase (ι) and utterance. The hierarchical structure can be viewed as a metrical tree (14), with prosodic units representing nodes at each corresponding level. Each node has exactly one strong daughter, which is the head at the lower level; a prosodic unit marked as strong can have only weak sister(s). In (18) *John* and *Mary* are heads at the level of ω, and *Mary* is also the head at the level of PP φ, in contrast to *John*. Each strong ω receives phrasal stress and each strong φ receives sentence stress.

(18)

```
                 ɩ [s]
              ╱       ╲
        φ [w]          φ [s]
         │            ╱     ╲
       ω [s]     ω [w]      ω [s]
       John       saw        Mary
```

The same can be represented as a bracketed metrical grid in (19) with "x" standing for the metrical beat at each hierarchical level. At ω level, each ω corresponds to the most prominent syllable from the level below, *Ma-* in *Mary*. Next, at φ level, each φ is headed by the most prominent ω: *Mary* in *saw Mary*. Finally, ɩ is headed by the most prominent φ. In English, the highest prosodic prominence, corresponding to the maximal number of the superposed heads 'x' is translated as the sentence stress on the corresponding syllable

(19) Stress assignment with neutral (=IP) focus:

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(                    x ) intonation phrase ɩ
(x        )(         x ) phonological phrase φ
(x        )(x      )  (x ) phonological word ω
 John       saw       Mary
```

Next, the prosody-syntax interface is subject to the mapping constraints WRAP and STRESSXP (Truckenbrodt 1995, the formulation is taken from Samek-Lodovici 2005: 699):

(20) WRAP: Each lexically headed XP is contained inside a phonological phrase.

　　　STRESSXP: Each lexically headed XP must contain a phrasal stress (where phrasal stress refers to the head of a phonological phrase).

In accordance with WRAP, *saw Mary* in (19) is phrased as one φ with one phrasal head, which in English is translated into phrasal stress. This phrasal stress assignment respects, at the same time, STRESSXP, because *Mary* is included in the lexical projection of the verb.

The designation of strong/weak elements among sisters is defined by the right vs. left-headedness parameter. Depending on the language, head is the leftmost or rightmost element within a constituent. As can be seen from the representation in (19), English is right headed both at the level of phonological phrase (rightmost ω is the head within the φ *saw Mary*) and at the level of ɩ phrase, with the rightmost φ *saw Mary* being the head as opposed to φ *John*. To take an example of a left-headed language, in Hungarian, both φ phrases and ɩ phrases are left headed (Szendroi 2003).

Now let us turn to the focus-prosody interface. This mapping is regulated by the STRESS-FOCUS constraint (Samek-Lodovici 2005: 697, based on Truckenbrodt 1995):

(21) STRESSFOCUS: For any XP_F and YP in the focus domain of XP_F, XP_F is prosodically more prominent than YP.

In the case of IP focus as in (18), focus does not interfere with the default prosody as resulting from prosodic constraints. Since, by definition, the whole IP is F-marked, it will at any case include the constituent that is mapped to the prosodic unit with the sentence stress. When, on the other hand, focus is narrower than IP, some repair mechanism may be required for XP_F to be aligned with the prosodic unit that receives the sentence stress. In English this is done through the operation of *stress shifting* (see, e.g. Reinhart 2006: 148), that due to Strict Layering prosodic constraint (Selkirk 1995) also implies the insertion of an additional ι boundary to the left of XP_F. Thus, Subject focus in (22) results in prosodic structure with a sentence stress on *John.* Additionally, all phrasal heads after focus undergo deletion in English (Büring 2010)

(22) Stress assignment with subject DP (narrow) focus:

```
(x )            ✹ )         intonation phrase ι
(x )     (      ✹ )         phonological phrase φ
(x      )(x )( x )          phonological word ω
 JOHN   saw Mary (as in an answer to 'Who saw Mary?)
```

Finally, another non-prosodic constraint interfering with default stress assignment concerns givenness already discussed in Section 3: DESTRESSGIVEN (Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006; Selkirk 2007) or GIVENNES REALIZATION (Büring 2016: 173). Roughly speaking, this constraint prohibits the G-marked constituent to carry the sentence stress[4]. Going back to the example (10) discussed earlier and reproduced in (23), stress appears not on the rightmost prosodic word Bill but on *killed* since *Bill* is given from the context.

(23) (What did Bill's mother do?) She KILLED Bill_G

4.2 Kakabe FP as prosodic prominence

Going back to FP in Kakabe, let us assume that the pattern of its distribution is, underlyingly, due to the same constraints as the distribution of sentence stress. In other words, we can assume that FP is the spell-out of the prominence defined on the prosodic structure and, at the same time, subject to focus-related and givenness constraints.

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[4] The way this constraint functions can vary depending on how givenness and focus are represented in syntactic structure, see for discussion Büring (2016: Ch7).

Let us look again at FP in an IP focus utterance where, as said above, the prosodic structure is default (24). Under the assumed logic, the position of FP in (24) indicates that ɩ phrase is left-headed in Kakabe since FP is found in the leftmost φ.

(24) (x   )   intonation phrase ɩ
    (x   )(x   )   phonological phrase φ
    (x   )(x   )(x   )   phonological word ω
    Mùsa lè ka   Sɛ́ku gbàsi.
    Musa   **FP** PFV.TR Seku hit
    (What happened?) '**Musa hit Seku**.'

Next, in (25) with VP focus, focus phrase is mapped onto the second φ and the prosodic head must be within this φ. Since this is not the case in the default prosodic structure (24), the latter needs to be amended. One can assume that this is done via the shift of the ɩ head from the left φ to the right φ, as represented in (25).

(25) (x̶   (x   )   intonation phrase ɩ
    (x   )(x   )   phonological phrase φ
    (x   )(x   )(x)   phonological word ω
    Músà   ka   Sɛ́kù lè gbàsi.
    Musa   PFV.TR Seku **FP** hit
    'What did Musa do? Musa **hit Seku**.'

The configuration in (25) allows us to define the default head orientation at the φ level. The φ phrase that has become the head of ɩ phrase due to stress shift consists of two words, as opposed to only one word in the head φ in (24). Therefore, assuming that FP spells out the right boundary of the most prominent word within ɩ, the fact that it appears after the first word within focus indicates that φ is left-headed the same way as ɩ phrase is. Thus, we end up with the left-headed default prosodic structure of Hungarian type as analysed by (Szendroi 2003: 44).

(26) Possible parametrization for Kakabe:
a. ALIGN-FOC-ɩ-L: Align a focus with the left boundary of an intonation phrase.
b. ALIGN-FOC-φ-L: Align a focus with the left boundary of a prosodic phrase.

Next, as already discussed, Kakabe FP displays the same sensitivity to givenness as sentence stress. Again, if we consider FP as a reflex of prominence, the interference of givenness with the placement of FP follows from DESTRESSGIVEN. Thus, in (27) focus is coextensive with VP, therefore, the propsodic phrase (*Sɛ́ku gbàsi*)$_\varphi$ to which this VP is mapped, must be the more prominent φ in ɩ. Next, due to (26b) the leftmost word, i.e. *Sɛ́ku* must be the head within the phrase, yet, this word is G-marked and therefore cannot bear sentence stress. Accoridngly, a two-step derivation takes place.

First, ɩ head shifts from *Mùsa* to the second φ *Séku gbàsi* due focus on VP (STRESSFOCUS). Second, since φ in Kakabe is left-headed, the main prominence would be assigned to *Séku* and not to *gbàsi*. Yet, *Séku* is G-marked and this would violate DESTRESSGIVEN, therefore, the main prominence is on *gbàsi*.

(27) (⚹   ⚹   (x   ) intonation phrase ɩ
     (x   (x   (x   ) phonological phrase φ
     (x   )(x   )(x   ) phonological word ω
     Músà   ka   Sékù_G   gbàsí   lè.
     3SG   PFV.TR   Seku   hit   **FP**
     (What did Seku's mother do?) She **hit Seku_G**.

To summarize, so far, Kakabe data fits well the claim that Prominence is the universal prosodic property of focus advanced Truckenbrodt (2005) and Büring (2010)[5].

4.3. No conclusive phonological evidence in favour of the prosodic account

It should be noted that Kakabe does not provide any conclusive evidence as to the existence of phonological correlates for FP placement (assuming as has been done above that it spells out prosodic prominence). To begin with, Kakabe has no stress, neither at the level of φ, nor at the level of ɩ[6]. Even though, in general, lexical tone and stress are not mutually exclusive, and there are languages that have both (see e.g. Yip 2002: 256), nevertheless, Kakabe belongs to the category of languages that have lexical tone only.

Nevertheless, Kakabe phonology does have an indicator of ɩ boundary which is downdrift, or automatic downstep (for the discussion of terminology; see Connell & Ladd 1990; Yip 2002: 147ff): in a sequence of alternating H and L tones, every next H is pronounced lower than the preceding one. Crucially, the domain of its realization in Kakabe is ɩ, accordingly, the left boundary of ɩ is preceded by downdrift reset. Going

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[5]The presented Kakabe evidence also complies with Féry's (2013) modification of the 'Focus as Prominence' proposal. She proposes that focus is rather Prosodic Alignment than Prosodic Prominence. At any case, the difference between the two versions is not essential for the present discussion. Characteristically, in her discussion of focus particles, Féry (2013) mentions only cases of narrow DP focus.

[6] Stress is understood here as such rhythmical structuring of the prosodic unit, whereby one syllable is singled out as the strongest (Hayes 1995). Therefore, the presence of a phrasal stress means having one culminative syllable that per phonological phrase, and the presence of a sentence stress implies having one such syllable intonation phrase. This strength can have varying phonetic correlates, such as length, pitch, intensity. Stress often serves as the attractor of tone in languages that have both stress and lexical tone. None of these are found in Kakabe.

back to FP, the phonological word to which FP is right-adjoined is expected to be preceded by downdrift reset considering the rule formulated in (26): since both ι and φ are left-headed, FP must be right-adjoined to the leftmost word within ι. This is, however, not what is found in the data. Thus, no downdrift reset is found before *Sέkù* in (25) nor before *gbàsí* in (27). Even though, under the assumed analysis, they must be ι-leftmost, their respective H tones are pronounced lower than the first H tones of the intonation phrase.

Still, the absence of any correlation between downdrift reset and FP does not oblige us to dismiss the prosodic account. For example, one can suppose that the position of ι head as in (24) and (25) simply results from the 'swap' operation, whereby the head changes its position without the insertion of an additional boundary (see Büring 2010 for the proposal about the 'swap' strategy as opposed to boundary insertion strategy). Another way of rescuing the prosodic account is to assume, following Féry (2013), that focus alignment with prosodic phrases is parametrized with respect to the level of its application: it is aligned either with ι or φ depending on the language. Under this approach, one can suppose that Kakabe is an φ-alignment language. This means that only ALIGN-FOC-φ-L (26b) and not ALIGN-FOC-ι-L (26a) should apply to Kakabe. Yet, here again, no straightforward evidence for the existence of any phonological cues of the presence of a φ-boundary before the word with FP can be found[7].

Finally, the presence of prosodic cues could strengthen the hypothesis of the prosodic nature of Kakabe FP, yet, it is not required, because metrical structure can be understood in an abstract way. To summarize: I do not find any phonology-internal evidence of the involvement of prosody in focus marking, yet, this alone does not require us to abandon the prosodic account of FP.

4.4 Attraction to DP and the absence of prosodic alignment

As demonstrated above, no supporting evidence for the prosodic analysis of FP can be found in the domain of phonological processes that exist in Kakabe. However, since prosodic prominence can be understood abstractly, it can still hold. What is more critical for this analysis is that the placement of FP inside a focus constituent appears to be due exclusively to the attraction to DP as a syntactic category, whereas the

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[7] Kakabe has a partial tone-leveling operation of the type HLH => H⁺H where an L tone between two H tones becomes a downstepped H. Its domain is φ, accordingly, tones are cannot be levelled across a φ boundary. However, a word with FP to its right does not create an obstacle for this operation. Neither is it necessarily preceded by a partial downdrift reset which is another φ-boundary indicator (partial downdrift reset is opposed to full downdrift reset preceding ι phrases, as discussed above; on partial reset see e.g. Berg et al. 1992 and Truckenbrodt 2002).

alignment with a prosodic boundary proves to be dispensable altogether under closer investigation.

Let us consider first examples (28a) and (28b). Both represent VP-focus sentences with each focused VP containing a DP. Crucially, the DP is preverbal in (28a) and postverbal in (28b). From the alignment constraint, one would expect FP to right-adjoin to the leftmost word within the VP. However, in both cases FP is placed immediately after the DP. Hence, (28b) violates the alignment constraint.

(28a) *À   ka   nìngéè   lè   sàn.*
     3SG   PFV   cow.ART   **FP**   buy
  (What did he do?) 'He **bought a cow**.'

(28b) *À   dòn-ta   bópὲ   lè   tɔ.*
     3SG   enter-PFV.I   house.ART   **FP**   in
  (What did he do?) 'He **entered the house**.'

This alone, however, does not refute the prosodic analysis for FP. The fact that arguments are more often stressed in prosodic focus languages has been known for a long time, see, for example. Gussenhoven (1992), Ladd (1996: 246ff). This property of arguments is particularly tangible in such languages as German that manifest VO and OV word order alternation. Thus, in (29a) and (29b) sentence stress is placed on DP rather than on verb independently of its position with respect to the verb. To account for this phenomenon, Schwarzschild (1999: 173) proposes HEADARG constraint, and (Büring 2001: 14) A/P (ARGUMENT-OVER-PREDICATE) constraint. This constraint, as can be seen in (29), is ranged higher than the alignment with a prosodic boundary.

(29) German: VP focus and stress on argument
   a. *Sie liest ein BUCH.* b. *Sie hat ein BUCH gelesen.*
    She reads a book.   She has a book read.

What is crucial for our discussion is that for the account of sentence stress distribution both HEADARG and the alignment constraints are necessary. Prosodic alignment determines the word that hosts sentence stress when more than one DP is present inside a focus, or when focus has more than one word and neither of them is a DP. Since German is a prosodically right-headed language (Féry 2011), in (30), with IP focus including three DPs, it is the rightmost DP that receives sentence stress. Sentence in (31) has VP focus that includes two prosodic with neither of them being a DP, and, in line with the prosodic head alignment characterizing this language, main stress is on the rightmost word.

(30) German: IP focus with three DPs (Féry 2011: 1906)
Annemarie hat dem Nachbarn ihr neues Kombi gezeigt
'Annemarie showed the neighbour her new station wagon.'

(31) German: VP focus including two non-DP words
Er <u>fing</u> an zu SINGEN
'He started to sing.'

Differently from German, Kakabe does not align FP with respect to any prosodic boundary. When three DPs are present in an IP focus, as in (32), FP follows the first DP, which would suggest the leftmost alignment of the prosodic head. However, when no DP is present inside a focus, FP appears at its right edge, rather than after the first prosodic word.

(32) ***Mùsa lè ka Sɛ́ku gbàsi lúumɛ̀ tɔ.***
    Musa **FP** PFV.TR Seku hit   market.ART place
(What happened?) '**Musa hit Seku at the marketplace**.'

(33) ***À fɔ́lɔ-ta à bòri-la lè.***
    3SG start-PFV.TR 3SG run-GER **FP**
(What did he do?) 'He **started running**.'

Another piece of evidence against the relevance of prosodic alignment for FP comes from constructions with focus involving complex DPs. As shown in (34), when focus is coextensive with a complex DP, FP is placed at the end of it. Yet, if FP followed the alignment with the left boundary of intonation phrase, one would expect it to appear after the first DP. The contrast between (32) and (34) is rather suggestive of the irrelevance of prosody for the placement of FP: both start with two DPs mapped on two phonological phrases, but FP is placed after the first DP in (32) and after the second DP in (34).

(34) ***Mànsáà lá mùséè lè gbàndiya-ta.***
    chief.ART POSS wife.ART **FP** fall.il-PFV.I
(Who fell ill?) '**The chief's wife** fell ill.'

The same placement of FP is found in IP focus with a complex (non-given) subject:

(35) ***Mànsáà lá mùséè lè gbàndiya-ta.***
    chief.ART POSS wife.ART **FP** fall.il-PFV.I
(What happened?) '**The chief's wife fell ill**.'

Consider also (36) showing that, no matter how many DPs are included in the complex DP, FP always appears at the right edge of the whole DP.

(36) *Mànsáà   lá   mùséè   la   nìngéè   lè   gbàndiya-ta.*
      chief.ART POSS wife.ART POSS cow.ART FP fall.ill-PFV.I
(Who fell ill?) '**The cow of the chief's wife** fell ill.'
(What happened?) '**The cow of the chief's wife fell ill**.'

It should be noted that there is no ban on the placement of FP inside of a complex DP, meaning that the position of FP as in (34) and (35) cannot be due to the impossibility for FP to appear DP-internally. FP is found inside a complex DP in the context when the focus is narrowed to the first DP which is the possessor as in (37). Importantly, such a construction cannot have the interpretation with focus on the complex DP as a whole.

(37) ***Mànsáà*   *lè*   *la*   *mùséè*   *gbàndiya-ta.***
      chief.ART **FP** POSS wife.ART fall.ill-PFV.I
Whose wife fell ill?) '**The chief's** wife fell ill.'
#(Who fell ill?) '**The chief's wife** fell ill.'

The same as what has been said about possessor DPs is true for coordinate structures with DPs. If focus includes the whole coordinate DP structure, FP is placed at its right edge (38a), whereas the construction with *lè* after the first DP is possible but allows only the interpretation with the narrow focus DP as in (38b).

(38a) *Ǹ*   *ka*   ***támaatè***   ***nin***   ***bàntárà***   ***lè***   *sàn.*
       1SG PFV.TR tomato.ART and cassava.ART **FP** buy
  (What did you buy?) 'I bought **tomatoes and cassava**.'
(38b) *Ǹ*   *ka*   ***támaatè***   ***lè***   *nin*   *bàntárà*   *sàn.*
       1SG PFV.TR tomato.ART **FP** and cassava.ART buy
(You bought cassava and what?) I bought **tomatoes** and cassava.
#(What did you buy?) 'I bought **tomatoes and cassava**.'

To sum up, the evidence presented above strongly suggests that FP is attracted to DP as a syntactic category, and otherwise, i.e. when no DP is present in a focus, is placed at the end of focus phrase, rather than being governed by prosodic constraints in any context.

4.5. Ban on FP in embedded CPs

The next context in which FP shows different behaviour as compared to sentence stress focus involves embedded clauses. Strikingly, when a focus phrase is inside an adverbial purpose clause as in (39), FP appears not to the right of focus embedded in this clause, but instead at the end of the matrix clause. The structure with FP inside an adverbial clause as in (39b) is considered inadmissible or at least less preferable as compared to (39a). Besides, structures with FP inside and adverbial clause never occur in texts.

(39a) À   ka   ǹ   mániɲinka lè *[CP* ǹ   ni   **kɔ̀réɛ̀**   sàn*]*.
       3SG PFV.TR 1SG ask   FP   1SG SBJV rice.ART buy

    (What did he ask you to buy?) 'He asked me to buy **rice**.'

    (Litt. "He asked me that I should by rice").

(39b) ??À   ka   ǹ   mániɲinka *[CP* ǹ   ni   kɔ̀réɛ̀   lè sàn*]*.
       3SG PFV.TR 1SG ask   1SG SBJV rice.ART **FP** buy

FP is not allowed either inside relative clauses or conditional antecedents, for illustrations see Section 7.6.

Note that the construction with FP at the end of a matrix clause can also have interpretations with focus extending over larger constituents:

(40) À   ka   ǹ   mániɲinka lè *[CP* ǹ   ni   **kɔ̀réɛ̀**   sàn*]*.
    À   ka   ǹ   mániɲinka lè *[CP* ***ǹ***   ***ni***   ***kɔ̀réɛ̀***   ***sàn]***.
    À   ka   ***ǹ***   ***mániɲinka*** ***lè*** *[CP* ***ǹ***   ***ni***   ***kɔ̀réɛ̀***   ***sàn]***.
    À   **ka**   ***ǹ***   ***mániɲinka*** ***lè*** *[CP* ***ǹ***   ***ni***   ***kɔ̀réɛ̀***   ***sàn]***.
      3SG PFV.TR 1SG ask   FP   1SG SBJV rice.ART buy

(What did he ask you to buy?/What did he ask you to do?/What did he do/What happened?) 'He asked me to buy rice.'

The prosodic account of focus does not predict any restrictions on focus marker related to clause subordination. And indeed, there appear to be none in languages signaling focus with sentence stress. In language like English and German focus on a subconstituent is itself in situ and is *marked in situ* by stress. [8] Thus, in (41a) a noun embedded in a subordinate clause is in focus, and, accordingly, this noun hosts the sentence stress (see the discussion of this example in Gussenhoven 1994: 90). The stress patterns in (41b) and (41c) show that, in contrast to Kakabe (40), sentence stress can also appear on a word embedded in a subordinate clause in the case of broader focus including a subordinate clause.

(41) a. (What ex-convict wearing something red was he warned to look out for?)

    He was warned to look out for an ex-convict in a red SHIRT.

    b. (What was going on?) **He was warned to look out for an ex-convict in a red SHIRT.**

    c. (What did he do ?) He **was warned to look out for an ex-convict in a red SHIRT**.

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[8] A detailed discussion of focus embedded within a subordinate clause in German can be found, for example in Ludwig, Salfner, and Schenner (2012), see also (Drubig 1994; Drubig 2003).

Let us summarize. We have seen that there are similarities between the assignment of sentence and the placement of FP in Kakabe, namely, therefore, the hypothesis advanced in Büring (2010) and Féry (2013) according to which prosody is the universal underlying principle of focus realizations seems at first very compelling. However, apart from givenness sensitivity and the preference of arguments over predicates, FP displays properties that do not fit into this account unless numerous stipulations are made. For this reason, I propose a different analysis in the following sections.

5. Focus projection

5.1. The proposal

In the core of the current proposal lies the assumption that focus is represented in the syntactic structure by Foc operator with its own functional projection. As argued in more detail later (Section 5.3), it differs from the Foc projection of the Cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997) in that it can be in multiple locations in the syntactic tree. Nevertheless, I share the basic insight of that approach that focus is essentially related to CP.

The next central component of the proposal is that Foc operator enters into an agreement relation with two other elements in the syntactic structure: (i) with CP above it and (ii) with DP below it. These agreement relations are conditioned by the presence of two features on FocP head. The feature that it shares with C is Foc and the feature that it shares with DP will be referred to as D-feature. Focus projection FocP can dominate any non-terminal element of the clause in Kakabe, taking the XP that corresponds to the logical focus as its complement, its head is aligned to the right.

Assuming that in Kakabe CP head is on the left (judging by the more frequent leftmost position of complementizers) and FocP head is on the right (judging by the placement of FP), Foc projection and its relations with CP and DP can be represented as in (42).

(42) Focus operator in Kakabe

$[_{CP} C_{[Foc]} \ldots [[DP_{[D]} \ldots Foc, _{[D, Foc]} FocP]]$

As already mentioned, Foc projection can take as complement not only DPs but other XPs as well such as IPs, VPs, and PPs. Thus, in examples below, Foc operator dominates an IP, a VP and a PP, respectively. As can be seen, FP appears in FocP head only in (44), whereas in (43) and (45) it appears on the DP insider the FocP. As argued in detail in Section 6, the placement of FP in the head of FocP is default, whereas its appearance on DP is due to successful D-agreement.

(43) *[[Mónbilè lè bèe-ta* ₍ₚ₎FocP*]*.   IP focus
    car.ART   FP   crash-PFV.I

   (What happened?) '**The car crashed**.'

(44) *À ka* [[*Séku gbàsi*VP*] lè* FocP*]*   VP focus
    3SG   PFV.TR   Seku   hit   FP

   (What did Seku's mother do?) 'She **hit Seku**.'

(45) *À bòyi-ta* [[*kɔ́lɔɲɛ̀ lè tɔ*PP*]*FocP*]*   PP focus
    3SG   fall-PFV.I   well.ART   FP   in

   (Where did he fall?) 'He fell **in a well**.'

The fact that FocP does not take as complements terminal elements is seen, for example, from the impossibility to place FP after the auxiliary or complementizer, occupying I⁰ and C⁰, respectively. Thus, FP is not possible after the potential auxiliary *si* in (46a), nor after the complementizer in (46b), neither is it admitted after the head of coordinate construction, as shown in (46c).

(46a) **À si lè tága sáarè tɔ.*
    3SG   **POT**   **FP**   go   city.ART   in
   Intended meaning: 'He **WILL** go to the city.'

(46b) **Kàtáa lè ì fɔ́lɔ-ta báara-la mà béle*
    since   **FP**   2SG   start-PFV.TR   work-GER   1PL   be.NEG

ɲɔgɔnyén-na.
see.each.other-GER

   Intended meaning: '**SINCE** you go to the city, do no not see each other.'

(46c) **À ka kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀ ànín dè bàntárà sàn.*
    3SG   PFV.TR   rice.ART   **and**   **FP**   cassava.ART   buy
   'He bought rice **AND** cassava.'

5.2. Bi-partite Agreement chain in Q-based theory (Cable 2010)

The bipartite architecture of focus represented in the syntactic structure with FocP as a vantage point as in (42) is parallel to the representation of the Q operator phrase in Q-based theory (Cable 2006; 2010; see also Hagstrom 1998; Kishimoto 2005). Q operator appears in interrogative utterances and it can be lexified by an overt Question (Q) particle. Cable notes that Q-particle is not restricted to questions, and it should not be confounded with the interrogative complementizer head, which also has a tradition of being referred to as 'Q'. Crucially for our discussion, at least in some languages, this operator agrees both with the C head above it and with a wh-word under it.

An example of a language that uses an overt Q particle is Tlingit (Na-Dene) where Q-particle *sá* is used in interrogative sentences:

(47) Q-particles in Tlingit (Cable 2010: 7,8)

  a. *Daa   sá   i   éesh   al'óon?*
     what   Q   your father he.hunts.it
     'What is your father hunting?'

  b. *Aadóo   yaagú   sá   ysiteen?*
     who   boat   Q   you.saw.it
     'Whose boat did you see?'

Q-particle accompanies the wh-word, but it is not necessarily adjacent to it, cf. (47a) and (47b). This indicates that the Q-projection with the particle in its head dominates the phrase containing wh-word and not just the wh-word. In Cable's analysis of Tlingit Q-particle takes the phrase containing the wh-operator as complement, thus projecting the phrase minimally containing the Q-particle and its sister (Cable 2010: 38). Next, QP is the target of movement to CP through agreement with C. The interrogative C head agrees with the Q particle *sá*, as a result, the QP headed moves to CP, hence its leftmost position in (47).

Q operator is present in all languages but is overt only in some. Thus, English sentence (48a) has the structure (48b) with Q that is not spelled-out. One of the main advantages of Q-theory, is that it reduced pied-piping to simply phrasal movement.

(48) The Pied-Piping Structures of English Under the Q-Based Theory (Cable 2010: 143)

    a. Whose father's cousin's uncle did you meet at the party?
    b. [QP [[[[whose] father's] cousin's] uncle] Q] did you meet at the party?

What is particularly relevant in Q-based theory in relation to the current analysis is that Q particle can agree not only with C but also with the wh-word c-commanded by it. The idea of Q/wh-agreement is taken by Cable from the analysis of interrogatives in Japanese and German by Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002). But differently from the agreement between C and Q, the agreement between Q and wh-operator is subject to parametric variation. For example, wh-word agree with Q particle in German and English but not in Japanese and Tlingit.

Q/wh-agreement has important consequences in the form of restrictions on the possible position of the wh-word for the languages that have it. Thus, in English, a Q/wh-agreement language, no pied-piping past island is possible, as can be seen in (49). In contrast to that, Q does not agree with wh-operators in Tlingit and, as predicted, pied-piping past islands is possible, as shown in (50). The ungrammaticality of the construction in English is expected because, under the standard assumption, the agreement cannot apply across islands. In Tlingit, on the other hand, wh-word does not bear Q feature, and therefore is not required to agree with Q.

(49) No pied-piping past islands in English (Cable 2010: 144)

    a. * [$_{DP}$ A fish [$_{CP}$ that is how big]] do you want?

    b. * [$_{DP}$ A book [$_{CP}$ that who wrote]] did you buy?

(50) Pied-piping past islands in Tlingit (Cable 2010: 143)

  a. *[[Wáa   kwligeyi $_{CP}$] xáat $_{NP}$] sá i   tuwáa   sigóo?*

    how   it.is.big.REL   fish   Q   your spirit.at it.is.happy

    Literally: 'A fish that is how big do you want?'

To conclude, the relationship between Foc operator and DP in its c-command in Kakabe is parallel to the Q/wh-agreement posited in the Q-based theory. As is demonstrated in the remained of the paper, representing focus as an agreeing operator allows us to provide a unified account of the properties of FP and the restrictions that govern its distribution. But before proceeding to the further exploration of the expression of focus in Kakabe, some words need to be said about the analysis postulated here and the Cartographic approach, which is done in the following section.

5.3. Foc operator in the Cartographic approach

The other dominant account of focus apart from the prosody-syntax account discussed in Section 4 is the one where it is represented as a separate location in the syntactic structure within the cartography (e.g. Rizzi 1997; 2004; Belletti 2001; Aboh 2004; 2016; Haegeman 2012). Below is provided the outline of the main points of the cartographic representation of focus in comparison to the current proposal.

Rizzi (1997) and his followers posit a focus projection, FocP, in the left periphery, which is the CP decomposed into a number of projections as in (51). Some constituent lower in the structure can bear a focus feature due to which it enters into a relationship with the focus projection.

(51) Structure of clausal left periphery (following Rizzi 1997):

[$_{ForceP}$ ... [$_{TopP}$ ... [$_{FocP}$ ... [$_{FinP}$ ... [$_{IP}$ ... XP$_F$]]]]]

The main motivation for this representation of focus comes from languages where focus constituents always appear in the left periphery and are accompanied by a focus particle. The relationship between the focus phrase and focus projection therefore appears to be straightforward: focus phrase moves to its specifier, whereas the focus particle is a lexification of the head of the focus projection. This type of focus expression is found, for example, in Kwa languages. Thus, in Gungbe (Kwa < Niger-Congo), the focused XP appears in the left periphery of the clause, cf. (52a) and (52b) with focused subject and focused object are leftmost, correspondingly. Next, there is a focus particle *wè* that appears to the right of the focused XP, which, according to the standard cartographic analysis, appears in the head of the focus projection.

(52) Gungbe (Aboh 2004: 237)

 a. *Sɛ́ná* **wɛ̀** *xìá* *wémà.*

    Sena FP read-PRF book

    '**Sena** read a book.'

 b. *Wémà* **wɛ̀** *Sɛ́ná* *xìá.*

    book FP Sena read-PRF

    'Sena read **a book**.'

Belletti (2001; 2002) proposes that Foc projection can also be found lower than CP, namely in the vP periphery, as in (53).

(53) vP < FocusP < (TopicP) < (TopicP) < VP.

Her proposal is motivated by the evidence from Italian where focus in question-answer pairs appears to the right of the verb. Consider the position of the subject focus constituent in the answer in (54b).

 (54) a. *Chi ha parlato?* b. *ha parlato Gianni*

        who has spoken   has spoken Gianni

    Who has spoken? **Gianni** has spoken.

Aboh (2007) adds to the discussion evidence from Aghem, a Grassfield Bantu language, where focus is placed in the position immediately after verb. Building on Belletti's analysis, he proposes that the position of focus projection is subject to parametric variation: depening on the language, it can be in the articulated complementizer periphery or, lower, in the vP periphery. Accordingly, languages where focus is in the complementizer layer can be referred to as high-focus languages, and the ones with focus in the verbal layer instantiate the low-focus type.

Turning now to Kakabe, let us suppose that there is a focus projection in the CP, and a focus feature on the focus constituent similarly to Gungbe. As for the in situ position of focus in Kakabe, it can be dealt with through positing EPP on C. In line with Miyagawa's (2001) influential analysis, the wh-in-situ phenomenon is due to the absence of EPP feature on C. In languages like English, C has EPP feature that requires wh-phrases to move to its specifier. In languages like Japanese, on the other hand, C lacks EPP, and no overt movement of wh-phrase takes place. The same can be assumed for the focus XP and Focus projection in the left periphery: Gungbe has EPP on Foc projection whereas Kakabe does not have it. As for the low-focus phrase option posited for Aghem, it is ruled out for Kakabe because of the focused subject consturction, where focus appears before auxiliary and is therefore higher than *v*P.

The main point that the current analysis shares with the cartographic respresentation (in the version of Rizzi 1997) is that CP plays a role in the expression of focus. The existence of a relationship between CP and focus allows to account for

the asymmetry between root and embedded clauses with respect to the possibility of focus expression that is found in Kakabe. For a particular type of embedded clauses, such as adverbial subjunctive CPs illustrated in (55), the focalization a subconstituent can not be expressed in situ. FP appears not next to such a subconstituent but instead in the matrix clause, cf. (55a) with an 'ex situ' FP as opposed to (55b) with in situ focus in a root clause:

(55) a. Focus embedded in adverbial CP => FP raised to matrix clause

*À   ka   ǹ   manìninka lè [CP ǹ   ni   **kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀**   sàn].*
3SG PFV.TR 1SG ask   **FP**   1SG SBJV rice.ART buy

(What did he ask you to buy?) 'He asked me to buy **rice**.'

(Litt. "He asked me that I should by rice").

   b. Focus in a root clause => FP in situ

Ǹ   ka   kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀   lè sàn.
1SG PFV.TR rice.ART **FP** buy

(What did you buy?) 'I bought **rice**.'

The embedded vs. root clause asymmetry with respect to focus is addressed in the so-called CP truncation analysis developed by Haegeman (2003; 2010; 2012). In this line of research, whereas root clauses have a full CP structure, certain types of embedded clauses have truncated CP, where Topic, Focus and Force projections are missing:

(56) Root vs. Adverbial clauses according to Haegeman (2010: 632)
   a. Root clauses: Top Focus Force Mod Fin IP
   b. Adverbial clauses: Sub Mod Fin IP

Apart from the subordinate vs. root CP asymmetry, the focus-in-CP approach is also well-suited to deal with the ban on multiple foci, that as shown in Section 7.3 is present in Kakabe. However, some questions are difficult to tackle with the version of cartographic representation as described above. First, it does not provide any instruments to deal with broad focus. Under this approach, focus is a phrase with Foc feature, but nothing is said about the relationship between the elements within focus phrase (or rather, it is implicitly assumed that focus particle will always appear either at the left or at the right of the whole focus constituent). Second, returning to example (55), though the truncation analysis does predict that focus should be treated differently two types of CP, the exact way in which focus is dealt with in the subordinate CPs is not applicable to Kakabe. If there is no focus projection, no focus can be present inside the CP that lacks this projection. But if there were no focus in (55a) then nothing would motivate the presence of FP in the matrix clause: as follows from the context, the focused constituent is in the root clause rather than in the matrix clause. To conclude,

these are the reasons why Foc in the proposed analysis is closer to Cable's (2006, 2010) Q-particle than to Foc projection in Cartography. In what follows, I will first outline the implementation of D-agreement that takes place between Foc and a DP in its domain (Section 6). After that follows the analysis of Foc-feature agreement that holds between C head and Foc projection (Section 7).

6. Foc/D-agreement

6.1. FP assignment and D-agreement

The standard approach to structural case in the recent literature is that it is assigned to a DP by a nearby functional category when the Agree relation in the sense of Chomsky (2000, 2001) holds between a DP and this category (for recent overviews, see e.g. Baker 2015; Bárány 2018). T^0 assigns Nominative case and v^0 assigns Accusative case to respective DPs that they agree with.

Parallel to case assignment by T^0 and v^0, in Kakabe Foc^0 assigns FP to a DP thorough D-agreement relation that holds between them. In what follows I show that D-Agreement, and, accordingly, FP assignment is subject to conditions that commonly hold for Agreement. First, applied to the case of Kakabe, DP must be in the c-command domain of Foc. Second, no other DP can intervene between the DP candidate for FP assignment and Foc (intervention condition). Third, Foc and DP must be clausemates due to locality condition: the candidate DP cannot be separated from Foc by any CP boundary. Fourth, the assignment of FP is subject to Activeness condition. As will be argued, givenness condition that disallows FP to appear on a G-marked DP is parallel to the activeness condition in T agreement when the verb fails to agree with the nearby DP if the latter is assigned a non-structural case.

Agreement is understood here in the sense of *Agree* operation in the Minimalist Program as a probe-goal relationship:

(57) *Agree* (following Chomsky 2000; 2001)
    (i) An unvalued feature *F* (a probe) on a head H scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a goal) with which to agree.
    (ii) If the goal has a value, its value is assigned as the value of the probe.

Based on this definition (58) formulates the operations of D-Agreement and of the FP-assignment resulting from it:

(58) Kakabe Foc/D-Agreement and FP assignment
    (a) *D-Agreement*:
Foc has unvalued D-feature and acts as probe.
DP has valued D-feature and act as goals in the domain of Foc.

(b) *FP-assignment:*

When D-feature is valued in Foc projection, it assigns FP to the DP with the goal feature.

Somewhat anticipating the discussion, when one of the conditions on Agree between Foc operator and DP is not met or, simply, when no DP is present in the domain of Foc operator, the valuation process fails, and FP is not assigned to a DP. In this case, Default agreement in the sense of Preminger (2009, 2014) takes place. Default agreement is discussed in 6.4, but before that we will first consider how the conditions on Agreement determine the distribution of FP in Kakabe.

6.2. Intervention condition

To begin with, Foc/D-agreement is subject to intervention condition, according to which probe has to be valued by the closest goal. According to (58b), the assignment of FP is spelled out as enclitization to the corresponding DP. In the case of VP focus, as in (59), FP appears on the object DP due to the successful D-feature valuation as presented below (the Foc features on FocP and CP are left out for the moment).

(59) VP focus and FP assignment

*Músà ka   **Sɛ́ku lè gbàsi.***
Musa PFV.TR Seku **FP** hit
(What did Musa do?) 'Musa **hit Seku**.'
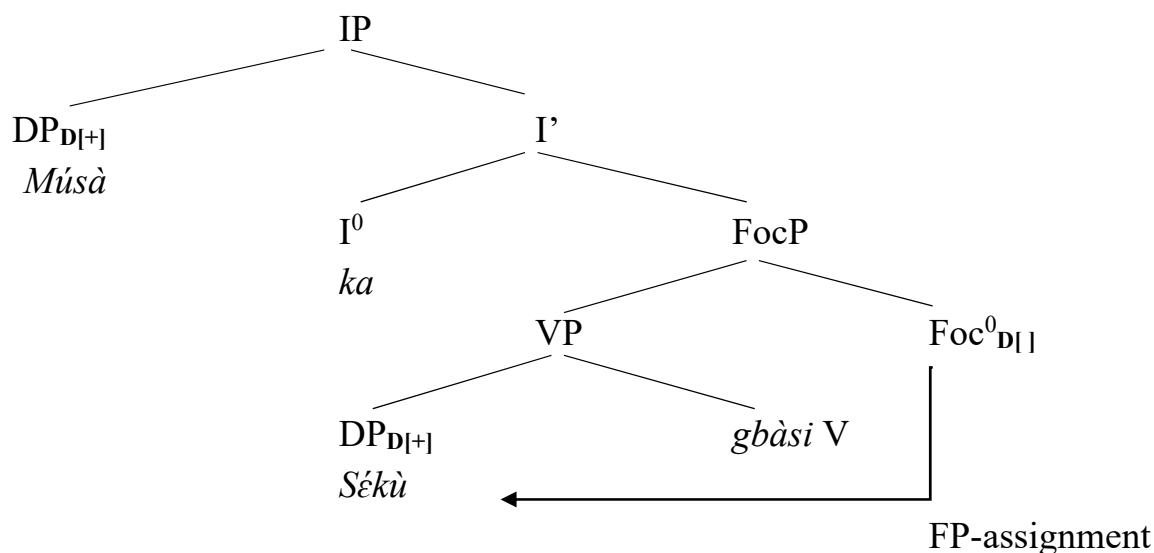
FP cannot appear in (59) on the subject DP *Musa* because the latter is not in the c-command domain of Foc. In contrast to that, in (60) below, Foc takes the whole IP as its complement and, therefore, D-feature on the subject DP is the closest goal that it agrees with. It is also the only one due to intervention condition.

Let us now look at cases when focus is on the whole complex DP, as in (61a), or higher, as in (61b). Here, the intervention condition predicts FP to be right adjoined to

the head DP and not to the possessor DP which is lower in the structure. This is what is attested.

(61) Agreement and FP assignment with Foc over a complex DP

a. *Ǹ   ka   [[mànsáà la   nìngéè   lè DP]FocP] màyita.*
   1SG   PFV   chief.ART   POSS   cow.ART   FP   sell
   (What did you sell?) 'I sold the **chief's cow**.'

b. *Ǹ   ka   [[[mànsáà la   nìngéè   lè DP] màyita VP]FocP].*
   1SG   PFV   chief.ART   POSS   cow.ART   FP   sell
   (What did you do?) '**I sold the chief's cow**.'

FP can appear after the first DP only when Foc operator takes as complement exclusively the possessor DP, as in (62).

(62) *Ǹ   ka   [[mànsáà lè DP]FocP] la   nìngéè   màyita.*
     1SG   PFV   chief.ART   FP   POSS   cow.ART   sell
     (Whose cow did you sell?) 'I sold the **CHIEF**'s cow.'

Example (63) illustrates the placement of FP in a postpositional phrase (PP). Here, Foc takes as complement a PP and FP is right-adjoined to the DP inside the PP.

(63) *Wò   bi   táa-la   [[mótè   lè   tɔPP]FocP]*
     2PL   be   go-GER   motorcycle.ART   FP   in

káa   [[mɔ́nbilè   lè   tɔ PP]FocP]?
or   car.ART   FP   in
   'Do you go on motorbike or by car? [kkec_av_conv_131207_talk01_162]

6.3. Givenness and the Activity condition

As demonstrated earlier, FP fails to appear on a G-marked DP if it can appear elsewhere within the focus constituent. For this reason, FP appears on a non-given object DP in (64a) as opposed to (64b) where the DP is given.[9]

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[9] It should be noted that the givenness effect on the placement of FP is represented in a simplified form in the present paper for the reason of space limitations. As I argue at length elsewhere, rather than being a binary feature, givenness on DPs is instead a system of hierarchically structured features, such as [±locutor], the recency of appearance of the referent in the discourse, disrupted vs. continuous referent. Accordingly, when more than one DPs are in agreement domain, and the DP highest in the structure is given, FP can appear on the lower DP that has less 'givenness points'. Thus, in (i) with IP-focus, the FP on the subject is ruled out, because, being a locutor, it is located topmost on the givenness scale. Therefore, FP is assigned to the object DP instead a demonstrative pronoun, which is a non-locutor even

(64a) *À   ka   Sékù lè gbàsi.*   VP focus and non-given Object
    3SG PFV.TR Seku **FP** hit

  (What did Musa do?) He **hit Seku**.

(64b) *À   ka   Sékù*~G~ *gbàsi lè.* VP focus and given Object
    3SG PFV.TR Seku   hit   **FP**

  (What did Seku's mother do?) 'She **hit Seku**~G~.'

Under the agreement account of FP assignment proposed here, this givenness effect can be attributed to activity condition on agreement or something structurally analogous to it: G-markedness makes a DP inactive for agreement.

Activity condition as it is formulated for φ-feature agreement (Chomsky 2001) has it that agreement is blocked by a non-structural case assigned to the DP. Consider (65) from Icelandic discussed by Preminger (2014: 130) and originally from Sigurðsson (1996). The DP with dative case is unable to agree with the finite verb, and therefore no agreement between the subject and the verb takes place in (65a). This contrast with the case where the same verb stem, used in the meaning 'walk hand in hand' takes nominative instead of dative argument, and the φ-features of the argument appear on the verb form (65b).

(65) Agreement in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1996)
  a. *Strákunum   leiddist/*leiddust.*   Dative => Agreement blocked
    boy.the.PL.DAT   were.bored.3SG/*3PL
    'The boys were bored.'

  b. *Strákarnir   leiddust/*leiddist*   Nominative => Agreement
    boy.the.PL.NOM   walked.hand.in.hand.3PL/*3SG
    'The boys walked hand in hand.'

Another clear example of such a differential agreement can be found in Hindi-Urdu (Bhatt 2005). Hindi is a split ergative-accusative language: depending on the construction, agents can be ergative or non-marked (nominative), whereas objects can be marked accusative or non-marked (absolutive). One sentence can combine two

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though activated. In (ii), on the other hand, both the subject and the object DPs are locutors, therefore, FP appears on neither of them and is instead placed after the verb.

(i) *Ǹ   ká   kè lè tàrán kɔ̀nkɛ́ɛ̀   kùn   téèmà.*
    1SG PFV.TR this FP find   mountain.ART head between
    (The hare asked: 'What has happened?' He boy said:) 'I found it on the top of the mountain' [tale_Mammadou-Boyi-Konde_23dec2011_059].

(ii) *Àn   bí   wò kɔ́n-dén   dè tún.*
    3PL be   2PL dislike-PC.ST FP only
    (They didn't give it to you.) 'It is just because they didn't like you.'

marked as well as two unmarked arguments or have only one of them with a marked case. The verb agrees with the structurally most prominent argument that is not case-marked overtly. Accordingly, when both are marked, a default agreement marker, namely, that of masculine singular, appears on the verb. Thus, (66a) combines two non-overtly case marked arguments, and since nominative argument is more salient, it triggers agreement on the verb. In (66b), on the other hand, the agent is ergative, hence overtly marked, and the object is non-marked and transmits the values of its φ-features to the verb. Finally, in (66c) both arguments are overtly case-marked, so none of them is accessible for agreement and default agreement marker appears on the verb.

(66) Hindi-Urdu agreement (Bhatt 2005: 759, 768)

  a. Nominative subject, Accusative object, both non-overtly case-marked

Rahul   *kitaab*   *par:h-taa*   *thaa.*

Rahul.**M**   book.F   read-HAB.M.SG   be.PST.**M.**SG

  'Rahul used to read (a/the) book.'

  b. Ergative subject, Accusative object, only object is non-overtly case-marked

Rahul-ne   *kitaab*   *par:h-ii*   *thii.*

Rahul-ERG   book.**F**   read-PFV.F   be.PST.**F.**SG

  'Rahul had read the book.'

  c. Ergative Subject, overtly marked accusative object

Mona-ne   *is*   *kitaab-ko*   *par:h-aa*   *thaa*

Mona.F-ERG   this.OBL   book-ACC   read-PFV.M.SG   be.PST.M.SG

  'Mona had read this book.'

Preminger (2014: 160) analyses such systems where case forms are distributed into those that can trigger agreement as opposed to those that cannot do it as *case discrimination.* Thus, in Icelandic, unmarked case is accessible for agreement, whereas dependent case is not. See also the discussion of case discrimination in (Bárány 2018). We will return later to the question of default agreement that takes place when no DP can be accessed for agreement.

The discrimination between DPs with respect to FP assignment as in (64) is also reminiscent of Differential Object marking (DOM) phenomenon, known since (Bossong 1991); for a detailed description see (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011). The parallel is even closer considering that DOM is concerned with the discourse status of the object. In languages with DOM, topical/specific objects display overt marking whereas non-specific and non-topical are unmarked. This can involve the dependent marking i.e. Accusative case as opposed to none on the DP, or head marking, i.e. presence or absence of object agreement marker on the verb. To illustrate the latter, in

Palauan (Austronesian) verbs agree with objects, but only if they are both singular and specific, cf. (67a) and (67b).

(67) Palauan differential object agreement (Woolford 2000: 218)
 a. *Te-'illebed-ii*   *a*   *bilis*   *a*   *rengalek.*
    SUBJ.3PL-PRF.hit-**OBJ.3SG**   the   dog   the   children
    'The kids hit the dog.'

 b. *Te-'illebed*   *a*   *bilis*   *a*   *rengalek.*
    SUBJ.3PL-PRF.hit   the   dog   the   children
    'The kids hit a dog/the dogs/some dog.'

To summarize, the dependence between discourse status of a DP and the possibility to assign FP to it enters into a wider range of phenomena that can be described as discrimination between DPs with respect to their ability to enter into agreement.

6.4. Locality condition

Finally, agreement is subject to locality condition which means that it cannot cross the CP boundary (Chomsky 2000, 2001)

Thus, in (68), *wótè* 'money' is the DP that is expected to host FP, considering the above discussion. It is inside a focused VP, therefore c-commanded by Foc operator, and it is the first non-given DP in the domain of operator. Nevertheless, as can be seen, FP cannot appear on it. This restriction is due to the fact that the D feature of Foc operator cannot probe for its valued counterpart on DP across the CP boundary.

(68) *À*   *ká*   *ǹ*   **maɲìninka** **lè** *[CP* **ǹ**   **ni**   **wótè**
    3SG   PFV.TR   1SG   ask   **FP**   1SG   SBJV   money.ART

dí   ***à***   ***bólo].***
give   3SG   to
    (What did he do?) 'He **asked me to give him money**.'

*À   *ká*   *ǹ*   *maɲìninka* *[CP* *ǹ*   *ni*   *wótè*   *lè*
3SG   PFV.TR   1SG   ask   1SG   SBJV   money.ART   **FP**

dí   *à*   *bólo].*
give   3SG   to

Compare it to (69), where a non-given DP also follows the verb and is under Foc operator, but, in contrast to (68), it is not separated by a CP boundary from Foc. As expected, FP appears on this postverbal DP inside the postpositional phrase.

(69) *À*   *ká*   *[ǹ*   *maɲìninka* *[dèɛmárè* *lè* *la*PP*]* *VP].*
    3SG   PFV.TR   1SG   ask   help.ART   **FP**   OBL
    (What did he do?) 'He **asked me for help**.'

At the end of the section we will return to the question why in (68) FP appears after the verb in the matrix clause rather than at the end of the embedded CP.

6.5. Default Agreement

As demonstrated above, D-feature of Foc probes for a valued D-feature on DP, and in certain situations the valuation is successful which leads to the placement of FP on DP. However, as has been shown, there are also numerous cases when the DP does not meet the required conditions or when there is simply no DP in the c-command of Foc. Chomsky's (2000, 2001) version of Agree needs to be successful, otherwise the derivation does not converge. Preminger's (2009; 2014) approach to agreement minimally differs from Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Agree in that, for him, it is a *fallible* operation, meaning that it is allowed to fail. In his model, when a probe attempts to value its features and fails to do so, the derivation, nevertheless, does not crash since probe can get a default value. This is what is found in the examples from Icelandic and Hindi-Urdu cited earlier. When no DP with an unmarked (structural) case is available, the verb form is assigned a default agreement value (65a) for Icelanding and (66c) for Hindi-Urdu. The example with DOM in (67) from Palauan, where no value is assigned to the verb, could also be interpreted along these lines.

Going back to Kakabe, as can be seen in the examples given earlier, when the D-probing of Foc fails to find a valid goal and therefore, FP is not placed on a DP, it is placed elsewhere. The default outcome is the merger of FP with the head of Foc. On the model of the FINDφ(*f*) operation in Preminger (2014: 159), the D-Agreement Foc in Kakabe can be defined as follows:

(70) D-Agreement in Kakabe:

Given an unvalued feature D on Foc, look for an XP bearing valued instance of D. Upon finding such an XP, check whether its discourse status is acceptable with respect to activity condition.

yes => assign FP to the DP with the goal feature

no => merge FP with the Foc^0

Examples (71) and (72) illustrate the default outcome of Foc/D Agreement in Kakabe. In both cases, FP is linearized sentence finally, but this results from two different positions of Foc operator. In (71) Foc operator takes as complement VP and since no DP is present in it, FP is in Foc^0. In (72), the complement of Foc is IP, and the DP in subject position is G-marked, therefore, agreement is blocked and, again FP appears in Foc^0.[10]

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[10] It should be noted that, as already mentioned, under the current analysis, Foc operator can take as complement only non-terminal elements. Therefore, the system does not

(71) VP focus (72) IP focus

À   [[*sɔnkɔ-ta*$_{VP}$]   *lè*$_{FocP}$]   [$_{IP}$[*ǹ*   *bòyi-ta*]   *lè*$_{FocP}$].

3SG   cry-PFV.TR   **FP**   1SG   fall.down-PFV.TR   **FP**

     (What did he do?) 'He cried.' (What happened?) 'I fell down.'

The default agreement is also the outcome in (64b) where VP focus contains a G-marked object DP, with which Foc does agree because of its givenness, and therefore FP appears after the verb.

A special case of default agreement is represented by a situation when Foc immediately dominate a DP that is G-marked as in (73). FP linearly appears after such DP, since nothing else is present under Foc operator, but, since agreement is blocked, it appears not on DP in the syntactic structure but in the default Foc^0 position.

(73)   *[Ňdè*   G   *lè*   *FocP]*   *ka*   *kɔrɛ́ɛ̀*   *sàn.*

     1SG.LG   FP   PFV.TR   rice.ART   buy

     (Who bought the rice?) 'It is **me** who bought the rice.'

Finally, it is necessary to comment on the position of FP in the case of a subordinate CP included in focus, where FP appears to be before the CP discussed in relation to locality condition in (68). The seemingly internal position of FP with respect to the focus phrase that is found there, is due to the fact that CP undergoes extraposition, and (68) therefore had the representation as in (74). In line with this analysis, the subordinate CP is base-generated in VP and then undergoes extraposition to an IP-adjoined position before spell-out. Therefore, FP does appear at the end of focus phrase and not inside it, if the base structure is concerned. Accordingly, probing for D-feature on a DP and the licencing of FP on this DP takes place after the extraposition, otherwise the CP would be extraposed with the FP.

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distinguish between narrow V-focus and a VP-focus with a G-marked direct object. This analysis for VP is supported by the evidence from incomplete complements of 'or' as well as be incomplete answers with FP. As is shown in examples below, the pronominal object cannot be omitted in either of the elliptical contexts.

(i)   *À*   *ka*   *à*   *tɛ̀gɛ*   *lè*   *káa*   *à*   *fàra*   *lè?*   –   *À*   *fàra*   *lè.*

     3SG   PFV.TR   3SG   cut   FP   or   **3SG**   tear   FP   **3SG**   tear   FP

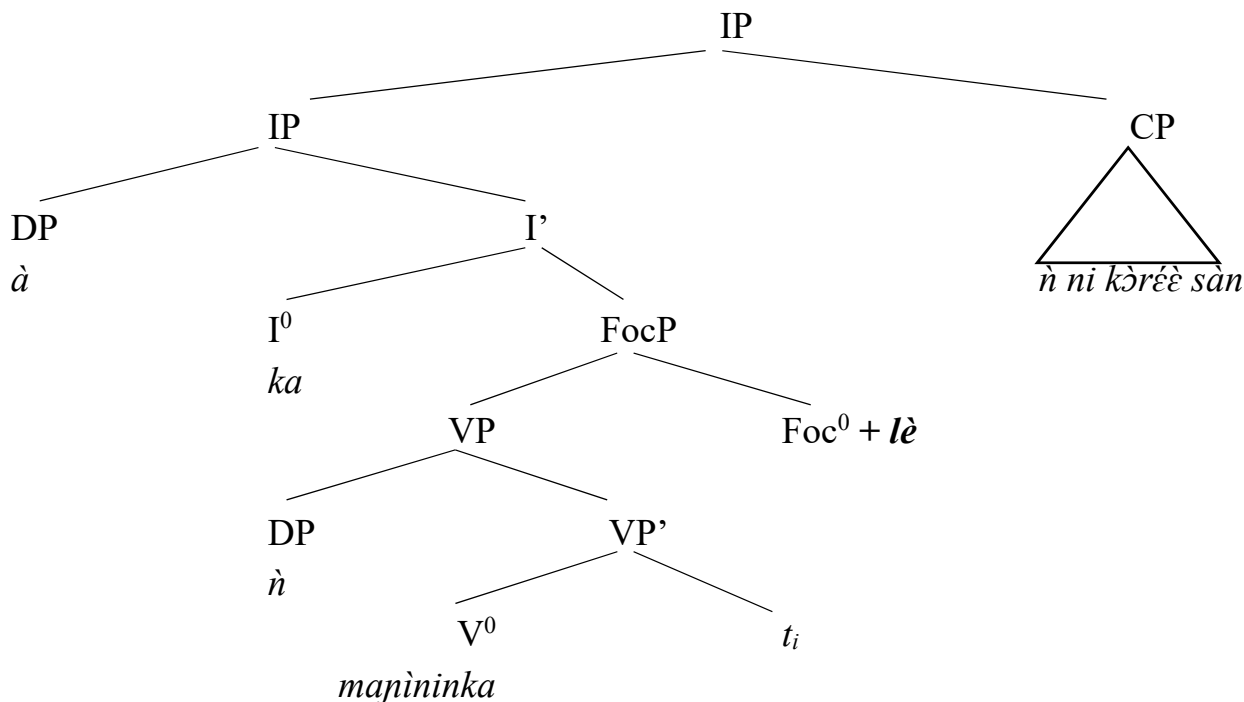   'Did he cut it or tear it? (He) cut it.'

(ii)   **À*   *ka*   *à*   *tɛ̀gɛ*   *lè*   **káa fàra**   *lè?*   –   ****Fàra***   *lè.*

     3SG   PFV.TR   3SG   cut   FP   or   tear   FP   tear   FP

(74) Prosodic extraposition of subordinate CP

À   ká   [$_{VP}$ à   maɲìninka t_i lè] [$_{CPi}$ ǹ   ni   kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀   sàn].
3SG PFV.TR   3SG ask   FP   1SG SBJV rice.ART buy

(What did he do?) He **asked me to buy rice**.

IP
├── IP
│   ├── DP
│   │   └── *à*
│   └── I'
│   ├── I⁰ — *ka*
│   └── FocP
│   ├── VP
│   │   ├── DP — *ǹ*
│   │   └── VP'
│   │   ├── V⁰
│   │   └── t_i
│   │   *maɲìninka*
│   └── Foc⁰ + *lè*
└── CP
    △
    ǹ ni kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀ sàn

Extraposition of sentential complements is triggered by a conflict between the mapping constraints and prosodic well-formedness (Büring 2013: 870). CPs require to be mapped onto a separate intonation phrase, which is problematic when the CPs is inside another CP. In order to improve this situation, the embedded CP is extraposed to the right of the utterance. Evidence that supports the existence of this motivation for extraposition in Kakabe is that, in this language, the extraposed CPs are preceded by downdrift reset. And, as already argued in Section 4.3, downdrift reset is an indication of intonation phrase boundary.

7. C/Foc agreement

This section analyses the restrictions on the distribution of FP that, as I argue, follow from the agreement between C and Foc projections. These restrictions can be grouped into three types: (i) a ban on FP inside adverbial and relative CPs as opposed to root clauses and speech verb CP complements; (ii) a ban on multiple FP instances within one CP; (iii) incompatibility within one CP of FP and the focused perfective auxiliary.

The distinction between feature types in feature valuation theory by Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) are crucial for the analysis of the relationship between FocP and CP. Therefore, before proceeding to the analysis of these three groups of cases, the

following section provides the outline of feature valuation theory that will be used in the analysis.

7.1. Feature valuation theory (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007)

The core element of feature theory of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) is that interpretability and valuation are feature properties independent from one another. It therefore differs from Chomsky's (2000, 2001) representation of features and agreement that posits a biconditional relation between feature values: interpretable features are valued, whereas uninterpretable features are unvalued: "A feature Foc is uninterpretable iff Foc is unvalued".

The interpretability property defines whether a feature makes a contribution to semantics or not (only interpretable instances of F do), and this property cannot be inspected by syntax. The valuation property, on the other hand, is visible to syntax. For example, the number and gender feature is valued in the lexical entries of nouns, whereas determiners and adjectives are lexically unvalued and receive their values from nouns through agreement. Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) dispense with Chomsky's biconditional that ties together interpretability and valuation and assume instead that these two feature properties are independent from one another. Therefore, in their model, the following feature types are possible:

(75) Features types (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007: 269)

   *u*F*val* uninterpretable, valued   *i*F*val* interpretable, valued

   *u*F [ ] uninterpretable, unvalued   *i*F [ ] interpretable, unvalued

To give an example, the interpretable instance of tense feature, *i*T[] on the Tns head 'learns its value' from the uninterpretable but valued instance of tense on *v*, *u*T*val*.

The second basic component of their theory is that Agreement is viewed as 'feature sharing', an approach current in Minimalist and HPSG frameworks. Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) make a distinction between *occurrences* of F and *instances* of F. Occurrences of F are distinct Fs present in the syntactic structure that might undergo agreement but have not done so yet. Instances of F, on the other hand, are the output of Agree. The application of Agree results in the replacement of the unvalued instance of F that acts as probe by another instance of F as formulated in (76).

(76) Agree as feature sharing (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007: 268)

   (i) An unvalued feature F(a probe) on a head H at syntactic location α (Fα) scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a goal) at location β (Fβ) with which to agree.

   (ii) Replace Fα with Fβ, so that the same feature is present in both locations.

If the goal F has a value, the outcome of Agree, following (56), is that this value is present both in the location of the goal and in the location of the probe: the unvalued probe is replaced with the valued instance of the goal. Going back to the example of tense feature, before Agree, Tns has unvalued T whereas after Agree it has a valued instance of T, which is a copy of the valued T located on *v*.

Agree is constrained by an LF-interface restriction based in the *Radical Interpretability* principle adopted from (Brody 1997: 143-144). According to this restriction, each feature must receive a semantic interpretation in some syntactic location. Within the feature sharing approach to agreement as formulated in (76), this means that an uninterpretable valued F *must* enter into Agree relation with an interpretable instance of F (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007: 272). Thus, tense feature on *v* must agree with tense feature on T head, because it is in this location that it can obtain an interpretation. On the other hand, valuation is a precondition for interpretability. This means that interpretable but unvalued features are compelled to act as probes and, accordingly, it rules out structures where an interpretable unvalued feature can find no valued counterpart in its domain. From this follows that for every occurrence of a valued uninterpretable F there must be an interpretable unvalued occurrence of F that can probe for it. Resuming the above said, the interpretability condition can be formulated as in (77).

(77) Interpretability condition on Agreement (based on Pesetsky and Torrego 2007)

Every occurrence of *uFval* must be probed by *i*F[ ]

From (77) follows, for example, that *uFval* is licensed in a CP only if this CP contains an occurrence of F that is interpretable and not yet valued. This will be crucial for the analysis of Kakabe that follows.

The raising of the subject in raising infinitival constructions as in (78) is triggered by the fact that otherwise *Mary* cannot be interpreted. The proposal of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) is that *v* in infinitival clauses has an uninterpretable instance of T, as opposed to *v* of a finite clause. Accordingly, the interpretation of the T feature on *Mary* can occur only when it raises to the matrix clause.

(78) Mary seemed to like the play.

7.2. CP types and FP licensing

Let us now turn to Kakabe. Adverbial CPs display obligatory raising of FP to the matrix clause, whereas CPs of the type of speech verb complements allow focus to be realized *in situ*, the same way as it is possible in a root clause. In what follows I propose an analysis of this phenomenon in terms of Agreement and feature valuation.

Example (79) shows that FP cannot appear inside and embedded adverbial clause when focus is on an argument inside this embedded CP. As can be seen, FP appears

instead before the embedded clause. Interpretations with broader focus, e.g. VP focus are also possible, as shown in (79a).

(79a) Object focus in an adverbial CP => FP raised to matrix clause

À	ka	ǹ	manìɲinka	lè	[*CP*	ǹ	ni	**kɔ̀réὲ**	**sàn**].
À	ka	ǹ	manìɲinka	lè	[*CP*	ǹ	ni	**kɔ̀réὲ**	**sàn**].
3SG	PFV.TR	1SG	ask		FP	1SG	SBJV	rice.ART	buy

(What did he ask you to buy?) He asked me to buy RICE.

(What did he ask you to do?) He asked me to BUY RICE.

(Litt. "He asked me that I should by rice").

(79b) *à ka ǹ manìɲinka [*CP* ǹ ni kɔ̀réὲ lè sàn]*

  3SG PFV.TR 1SG ask 1SG SBJV rice.ART **FP** buy

Apart from adverbial subjunctive clauses, FP are infelicitous inside relativized CPs, conditional antecedents as well as preposed temporal-adverbial CPs. The illustrations are given in Section 7.6 which analyses the exact position of FP resulting from raising.

Importantly, as already mentioned, not all subordinate clauses disallow the internal placement of FP. Thus, in (80) FP appears *in situ*, i.e. adjacent to the DP in focus inside the subordinate speech report.

(80) Object focus inside a Speech report CP => in situ FP

À	ka	à	[*VP* fɔ́	[*CP*	(kó)	Músà	ka	[kɔ̀réὲ	lè]*FocP*]
3SG	PFV.TR	3SG	say		QU	Musa	PFV.TR	rice.ART	**FP**

sàn].
 buy

  'He said that it was **rice** that Musa bought.'

Note that the case illustrated in (79) is different from the case that we were dealing with in Section 6.3, reproduced in (81) for convenience.

(81)

À	ká	[[ǹ	manìɲinka	lè	[*CP* ǹ	ni	wótè	dí
3SG	PFV.TR	1SG	ask	**FP**	1SG	SBJV	money.ART	give

à bólo] *VP*]*FocP*].
3SG to

  (What did he do?) 'He **asked me to give him money**.'

In (81), FP is assigned by Foc located in the matrix clause, and FP cannot be licensed on the DP inside the adverbial clause because of the CP boundary (locality restriction).[11] In cases like (79), on the other hand, Foc operator originates inside the

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[11]As discussed in Section 6.5, the adverbial CP is extraposed before spell-out, but is nevertheless base-generated in the VP that is the complement of Foc operator.

imbedded CP taking the focused DP inside it as complement, therefore there is no CP boundary to separate the two and Foc/DP agreement is not blocked. Therefore, the reason FP appears not adjacently to the DP inside the adverbial clause is different.

The existence of this contrast is confirmed by the fact that speech verb complements that, as has been shown in (80), can focus its subconstituents with a FP in situ, at the same time, cannot have a FP inside if it is assigned from Foc operator of the matrix clause, as shown in (82). In other words, as it is expected, locality condition is violated just the same by the presence of clause boundary, irrespectively if this clause is a speech verb complement or a subjunctive clause.

(82) Speech report CP embedded under Foc ≠ (80)

À   ka   à   fɔ́   lè   [CP(kó) Músà ka   kɔ̀réè   sàn].
3SG   PFV.TR 3SG say **FP** QU   Musa PFV.TR rice.ART buy
(What did he do?) 'He **said that it was rice that Musa bought**.'

All the above said indicates that there are two types of subordinate CPs with respect to the acceptability of licensing FP inside it: (i) CPs like speech verb complements that are not subject to focus-related restriction and (ii) CPs like adverbial or relative clauses that do not allow FP inside. Feature valuation theory by (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007) outlined earlier is well-suited to treat this contrast.

I propose for Kakabe that the head of CP has an unvalued instance of Foc feature that can be of two types: interpretable unvalued *i*Foc[ ] and uninterpretable unvalued *u*Foc[ ]. As for Foc operator, it has the valued but uninterpretable counterpart of the feature, *u*Foc+. Therefore, in the syntactic structure, focus receives lexical valuation on the Foc operator but is interpreted on C. And since, as just said, not all CPs contain a C head with an interpretable instance Foc, therefore, interpretation is not possible in all of them. Next, when the interpretation is not possible, in order to avoid violating the interpretability condition (77), Foc operator moves to the matrix clause (or, alternatively, to the edge of the embedded CP as argued in 7.5). This final position is where OpF licenses FP.

In line with this analysis, no restrictions are attested on FP inside a gerund constituent, as can be seen in (83). Gerunds only have VP structure and do not introduce an additional CP. Therefore, Foc operator and its features inside a gerund VP remain visible for the CP features of the root clause.

(83) *À   fɔ́lɔ-ta   [sòbéè   lè   dàmu-la VP].*
     3SG   start-PFV.I   meat.ART **FP** eat-GER
(What did he start eating?) 'He started eating **meat**.'

My analysis of the contrast between CPs follows the logic of Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) Agree account of how CP are typed in relation to wh-phrases.

Examples from their paper reproduced below show that a wh-phrase have to match with a specific type of CP:

(84) Wh-phrases and clause types (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007: 271)

    a. I wonder [what Mary bought __]. (interrogative)

    b. *the book [what Mary bought __] (relative)

(85) a. I wonder [why she left]. (interrogative)

    b. the reason [why she left] (relative)

    c. *John left [why Mary left]. (free relative)

In their analysis, this matching between CP type and wh-type is explained by agreement through shared Q feature. Interrogative CPs have an interpretable unvalued Q feature, $C_{iQ[\ ]}$, whereas declarative CPs bear an uninterpretable unvalued Q feature, $C_{uQ[\ ]}$. *What* is a wh-phrase that bears a valued Q probed by its unvalued counterpart on C. Next, C with uninterpretable Q, even though it cannot interpret the valued Q of the wh-phrase, can serve as an intermediate landing site in the successive cyclic movement in cases like (86).

(86) What do you think [__ we should do __]?

Going back to Kakabe, it follows from the interpretability condition on agreement (77) that the valued instance of Foc on Foc operator must agree with its interpretable counterpart. However, when Foc is under a CP with unvalued Foc on C, the required agreement is impossible. The *i*Foc[ ] on C of the main clause, obviously, cannot agree directly with *u*Foc+ of the operator in the embedded clause for the locality reason. The impossibility of interpretation through Agree within a subordinate CP is, therefore, a trigger for the raising of Foc operator to the matrix CP.

It should be noted that the ban on in situ focus marking in embedded clauses attested in Kakabe is part of a more general cross-linguistic tendency. Restrictions on the expression of information-structure categories within subordinate clauses have been reported for a number of unrelated languages, including Tundra Yukagir (Matić 2014), Aghem (Hyman and Polinsky 2009) and Somali (Saeed 2004: 269-270). In languages where overt marking of information-structure categories such as topic and focus is not allowed inside a subordinate clause, the corresponding meanings are either left unspecified or are expressed indirectly (Matić et al. 2014: 14). Quite tellingly, the languages that are reported to have restrictions on the expression of focus in an embedded clause all mark focus morphologically. In contrast to that, there is no such restriction on the prosodic focus marker. As already mentioned in Section 4.5, languages like English put the sentence stress on the focus constituent irrespectively of whether focus is in the root or in a subordinate clause (illustrated in example 41). This

is in line with the general argument developed in the present paper, namely, that morphological focus is an element determined on the syntactic structure, as opposed to sentence stress signalling focus in languages like English and related to syntax only via prosody. Accordingly, since sentence stress is not an element directly determined by syntax, Foc feature on C does not affect it.[12]

In other words, in Kakabe, but possibly in languages with morphological focus more generally, focus marking is a root clause phenomenon. It has been known at least since Hooper and Thompson (1973) that root clause phenomena are allowed in some embedded clauses, that are therefore not 'truly subordinate'; see for overview Heycock (2006). Hooper and Thompson's (1973) proposal associates root clause phenomena with assertion and with their own illocutionary force. Sentential complements of verbs of saying are commonly recognized to be asserted, cf. the acceptability of focus marking inside complements of 'say' in Kakabe as opposed to adverbial and relative clause.

To conclude, in the framework of feature valuation theory, the specific behaviour of subordinate clauses with respect to focus translates as the uninterpretable character of Foc feature on C in the periphery of a subordinate clause. One of the advantages of this representation, for the case of Kakabe, is that it explains the raising of FP to the matrix clause as motivated by the need to be probed by an interpretable feature of the root clause.

7.3. Ban on multiple foci

The next piece of evidence in favour of positing Foc feature on C and its valued counterpart on Foc operator is the ban on multiple foci that exists in Kakabe. Consider (87), where, following from context, both direct and indirect object DPs should be focused. However, FP can appear only on the direct object (87a) and FP on both direct and indirect object is not allowed as shown in (87b). Finally, (87c) demonstrates that FP can be placed only on the higher DP of the two, therefore, the structure with FP on the postverbal DP is infelicitous in the context where focus is on a higher DP as well.

(87a) *Ò'óyè   ǹ   ka   bàâ   lè   dí   Músà   bólo.*
     no   1SG   PFV.TR   goat.ART   FP   give   Musa   to
    (Did you give a cow to Alseniy?) 'No, I gave a **GOAT** to **MUSA**.'

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[12]It should be noted that, even though subordinate clauses show no restriction on the prosodic expression of focus, languages with prosody as the main correlate of focus expression can also have syntactic focus-related phenomena that are subject to these restrictions. For example, Bocci (2008) shows that Italian has contrastive focus left dislocation operation which is not available in subordinate clauses as opposed to root clauses.

(87b) *Ò'óyè ǹ ka bàâ lè dí Músà lè bólo.
      no 1SG PFV.TR goat.ART **FP** give Musa **FP** to

(87c) Ò'óyè ǹ ka bàâ dí Músà lè bólo.
      no 1SG PFV.TR goat.ART give Musa **FP** to

#(Did you give a cow to Alseniy?) 'No, I gave a **GOAT** to **MUSA**.'

OK(Did you give a cow to Alseniy?) 'No, I gave a goat to **MUSA**.'

See also (88) from a natural text, where the context imposes a discontinuous focus on subject and then on the locative object, whereas FP appears only on the subject DP in the first clause:

(88) Dóo-n dè nà-la à ɲín-na mà yen,
     other-PL **FP** come-GER 3SG look.for-GER 1PL for

mà béle táa-la à ɲín-na kàn do.
1PL be.NEG go-GER 3SG look.for-GER place some

'Others come to our place to look for them [for the shoes], we do not go to look for them in a different place' [kkec_av_conv_131220_mosquee6_102].

The ban on multiple FPs demonstrated in (87b) is expected within the C/Foc agreement account. If more than one Foc feature is present in the domain of one CP, only the goal feature closest to the probe feature on C can be interpreted through valuation. This is so because, first, the closest occurrence of the feature is probed first and, second, once an unvalued instance of a feature is valued, it stops probing. The other valued Foc instances would therefore be left with their Foc features uninterpreted, which goes against the interpretability requirement (58). Hence the restriction in (89).[13]

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[13]The licensing of FP is parallel in some respects to wh-phrase movement in languages like English. Multiple wh-phrases can be present in a sentence but only the one closest to C moves to Spec,CP. According to the standard account, wh-movement is triggered by Q feature (or wh-feature, depending on the approach) on C, and the wh-phrase closest to C moves to Spec,CP, whereas the lower wh-phrase cannot move there.

(i) a. Who bought what?
   b. *What who bought?

However, there is a significant difference between the two phenomena. In the case of wh-phrases more than one instance of them is possible, but only among these wh-phrases can be attracted to Spec,CP (as opposed, for example to Bulgarian, where multiple wh-phrases appear in Spec,CP, see Bošković 2002). In Kakabe, on the other hand, only one occurrence of Foc is possible following the restriction formulated in (89). Alternatively, one could suppose that instead of the restriction on the number of Foc operators within one CP as in (89), there is a restriction on the number of FP licensed by feature valuation. This would imply

(89) Maximum one Foc operator in the domain of $C_{iFoc[\ ]}$

From (89) follows that the language simply does not have a way to express multiple foci inside one CP. In line with that, the double foci interpretation for the structure in (87a) with FP after the object DP, is one of the interpretations along with, whereas in languages like English these interpretations are mapped onto two structures distinct by their stress pattern.

(87') *Ò'óyè   ǹ   ka   bàâ   lè   dí   Músà   bólo.*
      no   1SG PFV.TR goat.ART FP give Musa to
(Did you give a cow to Musa?) 'No, I gave a **GOAT** to Musa.'

Going back to the generalization in (89), the specification of the CP type in as $C_{iFoc[\ ]}$, namely, that its head bears an interpretable unvalued instance of Foc, is necessary since clauses with uninterpretable instances of Foc are not able to satisfy the interpretability requirement. In what follows, it will be shown that this restriction bears a more general character since it involves not only Foc occurrences but also concerns Foc feature that can be present on an auxiliary.

7.4. FP and the perfective focus split[14]

The marking of the perfective aspect in Kakabe is characterized by what can be called 'focus split' that is instantiated in the contrast between the inflectional markers *báti* and *ka/-ta*. Their aspectual value is identical and they differ by their relationship to focus (as for the *ka* vs. *-ta* distinction, *ka* is used with transitive predicates, whereas the suffix *-ta* appears on intransitive predicate, see Section 2). The utterance with the auxiliary *báti* in (90a) has the interpretation with the focus on the aspectual value of accomplishment or on the truth value. (90a) is appropriate, for example, in a situation

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that multiple occurrences of Foc operator are admitted in a CP, but only the Foc feature of the higher Foc operator is successfully valued, and this successful valuation licenses FP. However, this would violate the interpretability restriction (77).

It should be noted that the case of multiple wh-phrases may pose problems to the valuation theory of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007). As has been mentioned in Section 7.3, they posit valued but uninterpreted Q feature on wh- and an interpretable but unvalued Q on C in interrogative sentences. They then take it as granted that the uninterpreted valued Q feature cannot remain uninterpreted: "uninterpretable Q on a wh-phrase must enter an Agree relation with interpretable Q on C" (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007: 272). However, in cases like (i) only one of the two Q features receives interpretation through Q-probing by C.

[14] *Editor's note:* Alexandra also published a lengthy text dealing with this topic: Vydrina, Alexandra. 2020b. Operator focus in discourse and grammar: the two perfectives in Kakabe. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 41(1). 99–145.

where the listener expects the meat to be prepared, therefore the accomplishment of this event and not the content of the event is at issue. By contrast, when the auxiliary *ka* is used, as in (90b), the aspectual value of perfectivity is not in focus. Crucially, *báti* cannot co-occur with FP, as shown in (90c).

(90a) *À* **bátí** *sòbéè* *tàbi.* Aspect/polarity focus
     3SG PFV.F meat.ART prepare

  (Has he prepared the meat or is he still doing it?)

  (Has he prepared the meat or hasn't he?)

  'He HAS prepared the meat.'

(90b) *À* **ká** *sòbéè* *lè* *tàbi.*
     3SG PFV.TR meat.ART FP prepare

  (What did he prepare?) 'He prepared THE MEAT.'

(90c) **À* *báti* *sòbéè* *lè* *tàbi.*
     3SG PFV.F meat.ART **FP** prepare

Apart from the restriction to co-occur in the same CP with FP, *báti* is also banned from interrogatives with wh-words (91a), as opposed to polarity questions (91b) where *báti* and not *ka/-ta* is used:

(91a) *Ì* *kà* *(*báti)* *fɛ́n* *sàn?* wh-interrogative
     2SG PFV.TR PFV.F what buy

  'What did you buy?'

(91b) *Ì* *bátí* *nìngéè* *sàn?* polarity interrogative
     2SG PFV.TR cow.ART buy

  'So, have you bought the cow (as expected)?'

Next, *báti* is excluded from relativized clauses (92a) and from conditional antecedents (92b): only *ka* can be used in such environments.

(92a) Relativized clause

[_{REL}À *ká* *(/*báti)* *nìngéè* *mín* *sàn]* *ànu* *báti* *wò* *dàmu.*
3SG PFV.TR PFV.F cow.ART REL buy 3PL PFV.F that eat

  'They have eaten the cow that he bought.'

(92b) Conditional antecedent

[_{COND} *S-àa* *ká* *(/*báti)* *nìngéè* *sàn]* *àn* *si* *wò* *dàmu.*
     if-3SG PFV.TR PFV.F cow.ART buy 3PL POT that eat

   'If he buys a cow, they will eat it.'

The pattern of distribution of the two Kakabe perfectives indicates that, within the framework adopted in the present paper, *báti* should be analysed as lexically specified for valued Foc feature, uFoc+. The *ka/-ta* perfective, on the other hand, bears an uninterpretable and unvalued Foc. From this analysis naturally follows that I^0 heads

with [*báti, u*Foc+] cannot appear in CPs that have another instance of *u*Foc+, and Foc operator does have such a valued instance of Foc. In other words, the ungrammaticality of (90c) is explained by the fact that there are two uninterpreted but valued Foc, one on I^0, and on Foc^0, whereas there is only one interpretable counterpart on C^0 for feature valuation, as presented in (93).

(93) * $C_{iFoc[\ ]}$ … I_{uFoc+} … Foc $_{uFoc+}$

Therefore, the restriction of in (89) can be reformulated in a more general way as in (94) which can be considered as a subconstraint following from the interpretability constraint (77).

(94) Maximum one X^0 of the type [*u*Foc+] in the domain of $C_{iFoc[\ ]}$

Let us now look again at (91a). As Beck (2006) and Cable (2010), inter alia, claim, wh-words are obligatorily focused when functioning as interrogative operators in wh-questions. Therefore, the incompatibility of *báti* with wh-words in (91a) is due to the same reason as the incompatibility between *báti* and FP or between two instances of FPs under one CP. All these cases lead to a situation where one of the valued Foc features remains uninterpreted.

Finally, the ban on *báti* in a conditional protasis or a relative clause as shown in (92) is due to the same reason as the raising of Foc operator from embedded clauses to the matrix clause: the impossibility for *u*Foc+ to receive valuation under $C_{uFoc[\ ]}$. However, the outcome for the focused perfective *báti* is different as compared to Foc operator. For Foc operator, the problem of the impossibility to receive an interpretation of its feature within a subordinate CP is resolved through raising to the matrix clause. As for *báti*, it cannot raise to the matrix clause for the obvious reason that the I^0 of the matrix clause is already occupied by a lexical head, therefore, it is simply unacceptable in this environment.

There is one last point that should be added about the distribution of the two perfectives. There is a specific type of conditional where *báti* is allowed in the antecedent CP; it is illustrated in (95a) and (95b).

(95a) *Sì   ì   báti   nà   háray   à   bì   díya-la   lè   dóndèn.*
      if   2SG   **PFV.F**   come   so   3SG   be   please-GER   FP   little

    'If you have come here, it is because you like it' [sajoya_SNKeita_2009_031].

(95b) *S-àa   báti   ɔ̀ya,   à   àrɛti!*
      if-3SG   **PFV.F**   finish   3SG   stop

    'If (as you say) it is finished, stop now!' [tale_mammadu-boyi-konde2_23dec2011_140]

Haegeman (2003) refers to the conditional of the type (95) as premise-conditionals as opposed to the event-conditional corresponding to (92b). An event-conditional, according to her definition, contributes to event structure, it modifies the main clause event. A premise-conditional, on the other hand, structures the discourse: "it makes manifest a proposition that is the privileged context for the processing of the associated clause" (Haegeman 2003: 319). See also Bhatt and Pancheva (2006: 671) for a similar analysis of two types of conditionals. Crucially, according to Haegeman (2003), the respective antecedents of these two types of conditionals differ by their internal syntax, namely, by the type of their left periphery. As already discussed in Section 5.1, Haegeman (2003, 2006, 2010) proposes that CP can be complete or truncated. Event-conditional antecedents belong to the second type and have a reduced CP that does not contain Force, Topic nor Focus projections, whereas the premise-conditionals belong to the first type and have a complete left periphery, including Focus (Haegeman 2003: 335). As already argued, the truncation analysis whereby Focus is absent altogether from the clause does not fit Kakabe evidence, therefore, instead the opposition between CP types is assumed to follow from the distinctions between the types of Foc features as outlined above. But despite the difference in the exact analysis of CP types, the opposition between the two types of conditionals points into the same direction, namely that Foc expression is affected in true subordinates as opposed to other types of embedded CPs.

In relation to the more general question of focus marked jointly with TAM and polarity, it should be noted that this phenomenon is found in grammars of many African languages. Waters (1979) and Hyman and Watters (1984) were the first to attract attention to the fact that focus can target inflectional categories, mainly on the data of Bantu languages. The exact way in which focus is involved in the inflectional paradigm differs across languages. There are languages where the focus split appears across multiple TAM categories. For example, in Hausa (Chadic), both perfective and imperfective have different focused and non-focused forms. In KiRundi (Bantu), the focus split is present in three TAM categories: Immediate Past, Recent Past and Future. In Efik (Bantu), it is present in past, present and future, but not in progressive (examples of these three languages are cited from Hyman & Watters 1984: 249). It is now commonly accepted that the conjoint/disjoint alternation, which is typical of Eastern Bantu languages, has to do with differences in information structure, correlating directly or indirectly with constituency (Hyman and Watters 1984; (Güldemann 2003; Watters 2010; Van der Wal 2017). In all the reported cases the same distributional restrictions are attested: focused TAM or polarity forms are excluded from conditionals antecedents, wh-interrogatives, relativized clauses and they are incompatible with argument focus.

7.5. Landing site for Foc

The last question that will be addressed in this section is that of the landing site for Foc operator after it raises to the matrix clause for the reasons discussed above. We have already seen a case where an adverbial clause appears to the right of the matrix clause, an example is reproduced in (96). It has been argued in Section 4.5, that adverbial clauses undergo a phonologically conditioned extraposition to the right. Therefore, the position of FP in (96) can be interpreted in the following way. The necessity to escape from the CP with the uninterpretable Foc feature triggers the raising of Foc operator to the matrix CP where the feature becomes interpretable. One can assume that the operator raises to the position where it adjoins to the closest XP node that dominates this CP. In the case of (96) this XP is VP since the adverbial clause is base-generated in the position of postverbal argument inside a VP. After that, the adverbial CP is extraposed to the right.

(96) Object focus in an adverbial CP => FP raised to matrix clause

*À   ka   [ǹ   manìɲinka tᵢ lè] [$_{CP}$ ǹ   ni   **kɔ̀rɛ́ɛ̀**   sàn]ᵢ.*
3SG PFV.TR 1SG ask   FP   1SG SBJV rice.ART buy

(What did he ask you to buy?) 'He asked me to buy **rice**.'

Let us now look at relativization. The most common strategy of relativization in Kakabe is correlativization, as illustrated in (97a). A head-internal relative clause precedes the root clause, and a resumptive determiner *wò* appears in the position of the relativized argument in the root clause. When focus is on a DP inside such a preposed relative clause, FP is spelled out on the resumptive pronoun in the main clause (97a). Again, FP is not possible within the relative clause, as shown in (97b).

(97a) *[$_{REL}$Sàâ   kà   kàyéè   mín kìn] ànu ka   wò   lè*
        snake.ART PFV.TR man.ART REL bite 3PL PFV.TR that FP

lakɛ̀ndɛya.
heal

  'They healed the man who the **snake** bit' (not the man bitten by the scorpion), Litt.: "The snake bit that man, they healed HIM".

(97b) *$^{??}$[$_{REL}$Sàâ   lè   kà   kàyéè   mín kìn] ànu ka   wò*
        snake.ART **FP** PFV.TR man.ART REL bite 3PL PFV.TR that

(lè) lakɛ̀ndɛya.
FP   heal

The placement of FP appears on the resumptive demonstrative can be easily explained within Bhatt's (2003) analysis of correlatives. According to this analysis, the relative clause is base-generated in the position adjoined to the DP that it modifies and

is then fronted to an IP-adjoined position. Transposing this analysis to Foc operator and relativization in Kakabe, first, Foc operator raises to escape from the relativized CP where its Foc feature cannot be interpreted, after which it is adjoined to the closest XP above this CP which is the relativized DP. Finally, the relative clause is fronted, leaving behind Foc operator adjoined to the DP in the matrix clause.

Next, (98) illustrates the case of a focus DP inside an adverbial clause that is preposed to the matrix clause. As can be seen, FP in this case is placed at the end of the adverbial clause, just before the matrix clause. This can be interpreted in a way that Foc operator raises to the specifier of the embedded CP (providing that right-branching specifiers are possible, cf. the SPEC-RT constraint in (Grimshaw 1997). And since, according to Chomsky (2001), the specifier position is the edge of a phase that is, therefore, visible to the higher CP, this renders the moved element visible to the agreement features of the matrix C.
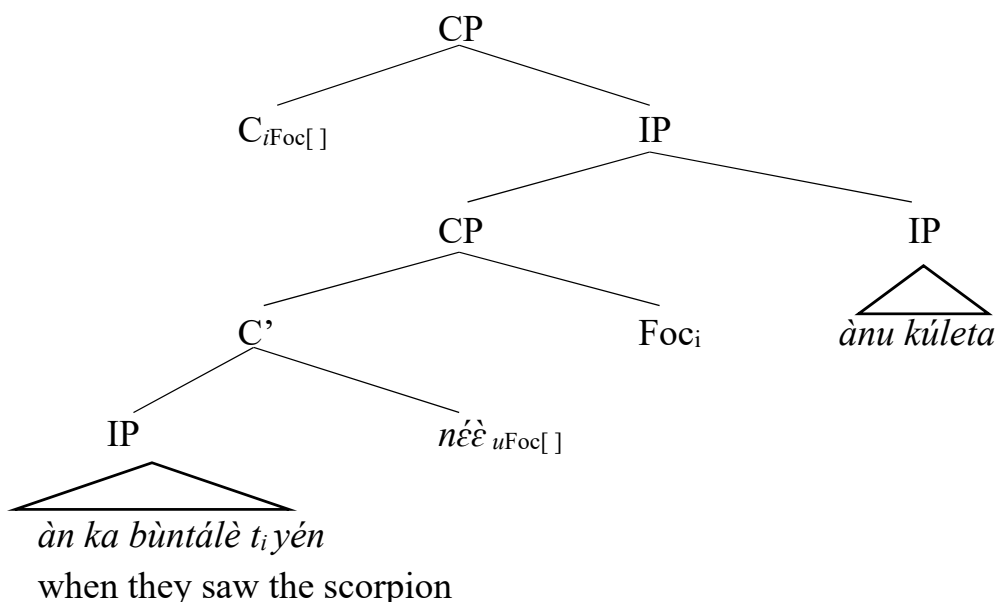
(98a) VP focus in an adverbial CP => FP raised to matrix clause
Ò'óyè àn ka bùntálè yén néὲ lè ànu kúle-ta.
 no   3PL PFV.TR scorpion.ART seen when **FP** 3PL cry-PFV.I

   (Is it when they saw a snake that they cried?)

   'No, it is when they saw **a scorpion** that they cried.'

(98b) *??Ò'óyè àn ka bùntálè lè yén néὲ ànu kúle-ta*
     no   3PL PFV.TR scorpion.ART **FP** see when 3PL cry-PFV.I

when they saw the scorpion

The same position of FP, i.e. linearly at the end of embedded CP and, supposedly, in its Specifier, is found for conditional antecedents. Consider (99) where the conditional antecedent contains a focused object and the FP appearing at the end of the dependent clause.

(99) *Ò'óyè, sì ì ka nὲtɛkólè dàmu lè, ì si*
      no   if   2SG   PFV.TR   locust.beans.ART   eat   **FP**   2SG   POT

kɛ́ndɛya.
heal

     (If I eat mangoes, I will get better?) 'No, If you eat **locust beans**, you will get better.'

??Ò'óyè, sì ì ka nὲtɛkólè lè dàmu, ì si kɛ́ndɛya.
no   if   2SG   PFV.TR   locust.beans.ART   **FP**   eat   2SG   POT   heal

This raises the question why, in the cases of extraposed adverbial CPs (96) and relative CPs (98), Foc raises to the XP immediately dominating the embedded CP, whereas in (98) and in (99) it moves to the specifier of this CP. Supposedly, this is related to the extraposition requirement imposed in Kakabe CPs base-generated in VP or a DP. There may be a restriction according to which CPs cannot be extraposed together with the Foc operator, therefore, it needs to move higher than the extraposed CP.

To conclude, further research may clarify the nature of the difference in the placement of Foc in preposed adverbials as compared to the case of correlatives and the adverbial CP extraposed to the right. At any case, the analysis according to which Foc needs to raise for the reason of feature visibility appears to be valid for the both cases.

8. Conclusion and extensions of the analysis

The agreement analysis proposed for Kakabe may be extended to other languages. As already discussed in Section 7.2, several languages with morphological focus are reported to have restrictions on the expression of focus in embedded clauses. It has been argued in the paper that these restrictions follow from the agreement between C and Foc. Apart from that, this agreement relationship is also appropriate to treat the incompatibility that holds between inflectional markers and DP focus found in numerous languages in Africa (Section 7.4).

Let us now look at whether the second part of the proposed analysis, namely, postulating a D-feature on Foc, can be extended to other languages. Positing the D-feature on Focus operator is indeed in line with certain general tendencies observed for languages with morphological focus marking. Thus, if a language shows the pattern of DP/VP and DP/IP focus syncretism (where DP is part of VP and IP respectively), then it is the DP inside the constituent that hosts the marker. Moreover, in the case of DP/IP focus syncretism, it is the subject, the structurally higher DP that hosts the focus marker. This pattern is discussed as 'anti-pied-piping' by Branan and Erlewine (2019).

The syncretism between object DP/VP syncretism and, at the same time, between subject DP and IP focus found, for example, in Miyara Yaeyaman (Ryukyuan), that marks focus with the particle =*du* (Davis 2013):

(100) Miyara Yaeyaman (Ryukyuan) =du focus marker (Davis 2013: 33)
 a. *Hajasi-san=du   ziroo=ba   bari.*   subject/IP focus syncretism
   Hayashi-san=**du**   Jiro=ACC   hit
   (Who hit Jiro?) **Hayashi-san** hit Jiro.
   (What happened?) **Hayashi-san hit Jiro**.

 b. *Kunu   midun-pïto=o   izï=ba=du   fai*   object/VP focus syncretism
   this   female-person=TOP   fish=ACC=**du**   eat
   (What did that woman eat?) This woman ate **fish**.
   (What did that woman do?) This woman **ate fish**.

To cite another example, Konkonba uses two particles to mark focus. The particle *lá* is right adjoined to the object DP in object and VP focus (Schwarz 2007: 126). In the cases of IP focus and subject focus, a particle *lé* follows the subject (Schwarz 2007: 131). See Assman et al. (2019) and Branan and Erlewine (2019) for more examples of languages that have the pattern of morphological focus marking characterized by object/VP and subject/IP syncretism. This pattern find in our analysis is attributed to the existence of the D-feature on the focus operator.

An interesting pattern is found, Gùrùntùm, a Chadic language. This language marks focus with the FP *á* that precedes the focus constituent, see the subject focus in (101). Strikingly, in difference to the languages discussed so far, a structure where FP *á* precedes the object as in (101b), has not only the object focus and VP-focus interpretations, but also the interpretation with the focus on verb only. The same type of syncretism, whereby no distinction is made between V, VP and object focus is found in Tangale, another Chadic language (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007).

(101) Gùrùntùm (Hartmann and Zimmermann 2009: 1347, 1355)
 a. *Á   rèená   wum   kwálíngálá-ì.*
   FP   king   chew   cola.nut-DEF
   (Who is chewing the cola nut?) '**The king** chewed the cola nut.'

 b. *Tí   bà   wúm   á   kwálíngálá.*
   3SG   PROG   gather   FP   cola.nut
   (What is he chewing?) He is chewing **cola nut**.
   (What is he doing with the cola nut?) He is **chewing** cola nut.
   (What is he doing?) He is **chewing cola nut**.

This pattern can be rather easily accounted for within the framework proposed in the present paper. As has been argued for Kakabe, Foc operator can take as its

complement only an XP and not terminal a node such as I^0 or V^0. One can assume that the same is true for Gùrùntùm and Tangale. In other words, for these languages narrow V focus is a case of V plus G-marked object focus. Gùrùntùm and in Tangale are then different as compared to Kakabe in that their focus operator has a 'stronger' D-feature that is not blocked by the givenness of a DP, and therefore FP is licenced before the DP even if it is G-marked.

Another piece of evidence supporting the analysis where focus bears a D-feature comes from languages where VP or V focus is possible only through nominalization. This is the pattern used in languages that analyses Manfredi (1993): Vata (Kru), Igbo (Igboid), Yoruba (Yoruboid) and Haitian creole (French creole). In all the four languages the focalization of a verb required the verb to be nominalized. A nominalized copy of the verb appears in the sentence along with the non-nominalized instance of the verb. In Igbo this nominalized copy stays in situ (102). In the other three languages discussed in the paper, the nominalized copy of the verb moves to CP, as it is illustrated for Haitian Creole (103).

Verb focus in Igbo (Manfredi 1993: 10)
(102) *Ézè   bu-ru   íbu   è-bú.*
      Eze   carry-ØASP   load   **NOM**-carry
   'Eze **carried** a load.'

Verb focus in Haitian Creole (Manfredi 1993: 16)
(103) *Se   manje   li   mange   pen.*
      COP   eat-**NOM**   3SG   eat   bread
   'S/he **ate** bread.'

There are languages that show a focus marking strategy that can be seen as the reverse in comparison to the strategy employed in Gùrùntùm and Tangale, namely, that of signaling focus on the auxiliary or the verb and never on a DP. This is typical, for example, of Atlantic languages; see for overview and discussion (Robert 2010). Thus, in Wolof focus is always marked jointly with the person-aspect marker. There is a three-way contrast between subject focus (104a), object focus (104b), and verb focus (104c) encoded in the person-aspect marker.

Focus marking in Wolof (McLaugnlin 2004: 247)
(104a) ***Maa-y***   *lekk jën*
        1SG.SFOC-IPFV   eat   fish
    '**I** eat fish.'
(104b) *Jën   **laa-y***   *lekk.*
        fish   1SG.OFOC-IPFV   eat
    'I eat **fish**.'

(104c) **Dama-y** *lekk jën.*
      1SG.VFOC-IFPV   eat   fish

'I **eat** fish.'

For our analysis, this means that the presence of D-feature on Foc is subject to parametric variation. In cases like that of Wolof, one can assume that the focus operator has a fixed location in I^0. It may also agree with the focused DP, but in a distinct way, as compared to DP/Foc agreement in Kakabe.

It should be admitted that for the moment it is difficult to judge about how most of the criteria discussed on the Kakabe data are applied to other languages with morphological focus simply because detailed descriptions are very few. In particular, givenness is almost never discussed in this context when morphological focus languages are concerned. The same concerns focus in embedded clauses which is crucial in order to be able to judge about the effect of the CP boundary. Still, considering what has been said in this section, it appears that at least for some languages with morphological focus, the proposed agreement account might be helpful to explain the pattern of the distribution of their focus markers. And the investigation of Kakabe focus marking could be a starting point for the exploration of these parameters in relation to morphological focus.

Abbreviations

ØASP – zero aspect

ACC – accusative case

ART – referential article

BNF – benefactive

COP – copula

DAT – dative case

DEF – definite article

DIM – diminutive

ERG – ergative case

F – (a) focus, (b) feminine

FD – focus domain

FP – focus particle

G – given

GER – gerund

IDENT – identificational copula

INCL – inclusive

INF – infinitive

IPFV - imperfective

LG – long form of pronouns

M - masculine

NEG – negation

NOM – (a) nominative case, (b) nominalization marker

OBJ – direct object index

OBL – oblique

OF – operator focus

OFOC – object focus

PASS – passive

PC.ST – stative participle

PFV.OF – perfective with operator focus

PFV.I – intransitive perfective (without operator focus)

PFV.TR – transitive perfective (without operator focus)

PL – plural

POSS – possessive

POT – potential

PRF - perfect

PROG - progressive

PST – past

Q – interrogative

QU – quotative marker

QUD – question under discussion

REL – relativizer

SF – sentence focus

SBJV – subjunctive

SG – singular

SBJV – subjunctive

SFOC – subject focus

SUBJ – subject index

TOP – topic

UNIV – universal quantor ('all')

VFOC – verbal focus

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Alexandra Vydrina

Morphological focus and its agreement features

The paper explores the morphological expression of focus on the example of Focus Particle (FP) in Kakabe. The analysis addresses questions that are rarely if ever investigated with respect to morphological focus:

i) how FP is related to the boundaries of a focus constituent, in particular, VP and IP focus;

ii) how givenness affects the position of FP;

iii) FP with respect to types of CP and CP boundaries.

I demonstrate that, even though FP resembles prosodic focus in some respects, its distribution cannot be fitted into a prosodic account of focus, contra Büring 2010 and Féry 2013.

More specifically, I propose that Kakabe has a Focus operator located lower than CP. Similarly to Cable's (2006, 2010) Q-operator that can be involved a bi-partite agreement relationship, Foc operator agrees at a time with C^0 above it and with the DP below it. I demonstrate how the pattern of FP distribution follows, in particular, from

the conditions on Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001), such as locality, superiority and activity conditions.

Keywords: Kakabe language, focalization, morphological focus, focus particle, givenness

Alexandra Vydrina
La focalisation morphologique et ses caractéristiques d'accord

L'article porte sur l'expression morphologique du focus au moyen de la particule focalisante (FP) en kakabé. Dans cette analyse, sont traitées des problématiques qui sont rarement étudiées en lien avec le focus morphologique :

i) la position de FP par rapport aux frontières du constituant focalisé, en particulier au groupe verbal (VP) et au groupe de flexion (IP) ;

ii) l'impact du statut du « donné » sur la position de FP ;

iii) FP par rapport aux types de CP et les limites de CP.

Je montre que, bien que FP ressemble à certains égards au focus prosodique, sa distribution ne s'intègre pas entièrement dans une explication prosodique du focus, contrairement aux affirmations de Büring (2010) et Féry (2013).

Plus précisément, je propose qu'en kakabé l'opérateur de focalisation est situé plus bas que CP. De la même façon que l'opérateur Q de Cable (2006, 2010), qui peut être impliqué dans une relation d'accord bipartite, l'opérateur de focalisation s'accorde simultanément avec C^0, qui est positionné au-dessus, et avec DP, qui se situe au-dessous. Je montre comment le modèle de distribution de FP respecte les conditions de l'Accord (Chomsky 2000, 2001) comme la localité, la supériorité et l'activité.

Mots-clés : langue kakabé, focalisation, focus morphologique, particule focalisante, statut du donné

Александра Валентиновна Выдрина
Морфологический фокус и его согласовательные признаки

В данной статье исследуется морфологическое выражение фокуса на примере фокусной частицы в какабе. Рассматриваются вопросы, которым редко уделяют внимание в связи с морфологическим выражением фокуса:

1) как соотносится фокусная частица с границами фокализуемой составляющей, в особенности применительно к случаям фокализации глагольной группы (VP) и минимальной клаузе (IP);

2) каким образом свойство «данное» влияет на позицию фокусной частицы;

3) фокусная частица по отношению к разным типам расширенной клаузы (CP) и границам CP.

Я показываю, что хотя фокусная частица и похожа в некоторых отношениях на просодический фокус, её дистрибуция не вполне следует модели просодического фокуса, вопреки мнению Бюринга и Фери (Büring 2010, Féry 2013).

В частности, я предлагаю считать, что оператор фокуса в какабе находится ниже CP. Аналогично оператору Q в (Cable 2006, Cable 2010), который находится в двусторонних отношениях согласования, оператор фокуса согласовывается одновременно с находящимся выше его C^0 и с находящимся ниже него DP. Я показываю, как модель дистрибуции фокусной частицы выводится, в частности, из условий согласования (Chomsky 2000, 2001), таких как локальность, превосходство и активность.

Ключевые слова: язык какабе, фокализация, морфологический фокус, частица фокализации, данное