FOCUS AND RELATIVIZATION: THE CASE OF KIHUNG'AN[1]

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1. Introduction

In recent years two approaches to the analysis of stress-focus constructions in English have emerged. These two approaches coincide with the two approaches to deep structure in Transformational Linguistics. For example, consider the sentences:

(1)   John bought a chair

(2)   John bought a <u>chair</u>

(3)   <u>John</u> bought a chair

While sentence (1) is neutral, (2) and (3) are semantically more complex, and may be paraphrased by (4) and (5), respectively:

(4)   The thing that John bought is <u>a chair</u>

(5)   The person who bought a chair is <u>John</u>

In other words, stress-focused sentences involve presupposed sentences which may be given in the form of relative clauses, as in (4), (5) above. For sentences (2) and (3), the corresponding presuppositions are, respectively:

(6)   John bought something

(7)   Someone bought a chair

Given its presupposition, the stress-focused sentence supplies -- in its predicate -- the identity of the unidentified constituent, i.e. 'chair' in (2), (4) and 'John' in (3), (5).

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[1]Kihung'an (pronounced [kĭhùŋàn]) is a Bantu language spoken in southwestern Congo (Kinshasa). I will use the tonal markings / ´ , ` , and ' / to indicate HIGH, LOW and MID tone, respectively. I am greatly indebted to S. Y. Kuroda for his kindness and patience in going over earlier drafts of this paper. I have also benefitted a great deal from comments from Talmy Givón. Neither of them may agree with the analysis presented below, for which -- as well as for inadvertent errors -- I am solely responsible.

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(11) a. an ex-convict with a red shirt

      b. with a red shirt

      c. a red shirt

      d. shirt

Chomsky then concludes that focus must be a property of surface structure, thus purporting to justify the existence of surface interpretation semantic rules.

Since the derivation of stress-focused constructions from cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences remains semantically attractive, it is of interest to see whether languages other than English offer more syntactic evidence to support it. Languages in which both semantic or syntactic parallelisms between focus constructions, cleft or pseudo-cleft and relative clauses are quite numerous. For recent discussion, see Robinson [1972] and Schachter [1971].[3] In this paper I will concern myself almost exclusively with Kihung'an, a language in which interesting syntactic features are shared by stress-focus constructions (here manifesting themselves as tone-focus), cleft/pseudo-clefts and relative clauses. Further, I will also show that several of the rules required for deriving focus constructions from pseudo-clefts in Kihung'an have independent justification in the grammar of this language. In addition, I will also show how this treatment may be generalized to WH-questions in Kihung'an, which share the presuppositional structure of cleft and pseudo-cleft.

One may of course argue that this analysis may apply only to Kihung'an and not to English, where comparable syntactic support for the 'relative clause and predicate' analysis does not exist. It seems to me unlikely, however, that given the universal nature of the semantic structure involved, languages should be analyzed differently on purely syntactic grounds. It is also very likely that a language may have had more syntactic evidence to support this semantic parallelism in the past and then lost it, and it is an open question whether a language of this kind has

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[3]See also Awobuluyi [1972] for Yoruba, Callender [1971] for Old Egyptian and Langacker [1971] for French. Langacker also argues that WH-questions are structurally related to cleft sentences in French.

The first approach to the analysis of focus construction corresponds
to Generative Semantics and may be found in Postal [1971] or Lakoff [1965].
Both propose deriving stress-focused sentences from their corresponding
cleft sentences, which exhibit the very same presuppositional structure.
Taking this approach, (2) and (3) above will be derived from,
respectively:

(8)   It was a <u>chair</u> that John bought

(9)   It was <u>John</u> who bought a chair

Since the underlying relation between cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions
has been noted (see for example Akmajian [1970]), a variant of this approach
may also derive both stress-focus and cleft constructions from pseudo-
clefts, such as (4) and (5) above. In English this approach has two things
going for it. First, it accounts for the correct semantic interpretation
in terms of presuppositions. Second, it accounts for the stress, since
post-copular predicates in English are stressed under 'normal' intonation,
while subject and object nominals are not.

A radically different approach, loosely corresponding to interpretative
semantics, has been taken by Chomsky [1968]. He defines the focus as "a
phrase containing the intonation center" and the presupposition as "an
expression derived by replacing the focus with a variable" [1968: 205].
He offers two objections to the 'relative clause and predicate' approach
of Postal and Lakoff. First, that it has no syntactic support but only a
semantic justification involving presuppositions. Second, that many cases
do not yield to 'relative clause and predicate' analysis without consider-
able artificiality. For example, for the sentence:

(10)   It was an ex-convict with a red shirt that he was warned to look
       out for

Chomsky points out that either of the expressions in (11) below may be put
in stress-focus:[2]

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[2]Given Chomsky's definition, one would expect the entire phrase (i.e.
'ex-convict with red shirt') to be the focus in (10), regardless of what
constituent bears the stress. Item (11), however, shows that the focus may
vary with the 'intonation center' or, in other words, it is identified
with it.

Unlike English, however, Kihung'an provides enough evidence that contrastive sentences involve relative clauses and, therefore, that the syntactic similarity between them and their neutral counterparts is only superficial. Let us first examine the relative clause.

2.1. Relative clauses in Kihung'an

Given sentence (11a) above, the following represents an object relative clause derived from it:

(14)   kit ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon...[6]

chair pro -buy-past K. yesterday

'The chair that Kipese bought yesterday'

The object relative pronoun ki agrees in gender and number with the head noun kit 'chair'.[7]

Two properties of relative clauses are of particular interest here. The first involves negation. In unembedded sentences the negative particle lo is used, as in:

(15)   lo i-mween kit

neg I-saw chair

'I didn't see the chair'

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[6]As may be seen here, the subject of the embedded clause must be postposed in object relativization. For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Givón [1972b]. Givón, using my data, also argues that the relative pronoun in (14) must be bound to the verbal word, but I see no conclusive evidence why this has to be the case, and have therefore left it free. Unlike other elements attached to the verbal word, the object relative pronoun may be deleted under certain conditions. On the other hand, it may still turn out that Givón's analysis is correct.

[7]This is in line with the characteristic grammatical agreement in Bantu, see for example Givón [1972a], Guthrie [1948, 1953], van den Eynde [1969]. The rules require that predicate verbs and adjectives agree with the gender-number of the subject noun (as expressed in its prefix, henceforth PA), and that modifiers and pronouns agree with the gender-number of the head noun. In Kihung'an, for example:

    bit bi-min by-ool bi-beeng bi i-swiim-in zoon bi-bir-ir
    chairs PA-my PA-red pro I-buy-past yesterday PA-get-lost-past
    'My two red chairs that I bought yesterday got lost'

thus changed in such a fundamental way, from a stage in which such deep semantic facts were represented in the Deep Structure, to a stage in which they are determined by surface interpretation rules. The structure of WH-questions in Kihung'an seems to be undergoing such a change right now.

One may also argue that the 'relative clause and predicate' analysis must be wrong, since it derives three surface constructions from one underlying representation. This type of an argument is best countered by asserting that when several surface constructions share <u>some</u> (or most) of their semantic structure, they do not necessarily share <u>all</u> of it. This is particularly true at the level of <u>topic</u>, which is the most likely level where stress-focus, cleft and pseudo-cleft differ from each other semantically (for further discussion see Shopen [1972]).

2. Tone-focus in Kihung'an

Sentences (11a), (12) and (13) below are comparable to the English sentences (1), (2) and (3) above:

(11a)   Kìpès ká-swíím-ín kìt zòòn[4]

      Kipese -buy-past chair yesterday

      'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'

(12)   Kìpès ká-swíím-ín <u>kít</u> zóónó

      Kipese -buy-past chair yesterday

      'Kipese bought a <u>chair</u> yesterday'

(13)   <u>Kìpés</u> a-swíím-ín kìt zóónó

      Kipese -buy-past chair yesterday

      '<u>Kipese</u> bought a chair yesterday'

Sentence (12) is contrastive on the object, kìt 'chair'; sentence (13) is contrastive on the subject, Kipese; sentence (11a) is neutral[5].

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[4]Except in certain environments, which need not be specified here, the final vowel is always deleted in Kihung'an. When it does appear, it is almost always identical with the preceding vowel, thus suggesting vowel harmony.

[5]Sentence (11a) could also have a <u>contrastive</u> reading, e.g. 'Kipese bought a chair <u>yesterday</u>', but this is not the reading intended here. The a/ka prefixal alternation doesn't concern us here. Roughly speaking, it has to do with the <u>subject</u> being in focus in one case but not in the other. A systematic investigation of this will not be pursued here.

In object relativization, on the other hand, the OP may not appear:[9]

(21)   *kit ki a-ki-swiim-in Kipes zoon
          chair pro PA-it-buy-past Kipese yesterday

It is only natural that this restriction does not apply to subject relativization, where one may get either (22) or (23):

(22)   muut wu a-ki-swiim-in kit zoon
          person pro PA-it-buy-past chair yesterday
          'The person who bought the chair yesterday

(23)   muut wu a-ki-swiim-in zoon
          person pro PA-it-buy-past yesterday
          'The person who bought it yesterday'

2.2. Negation and OP in tone-focus constructions

    While tone-focus constructions in Kihung'an superficially resemble neutral sentences in their word order, they follow the relative (rather than unembedded) pattern in negation:

(24)   Kìpès ká-khóón-ín kù-súúm kít zóónó
          Kipese PA-fail-past to-buy chair yesterday
          'Kipese did not buy a chair yesterday'
          (i.e.: 'What Kipese did not buy yesterday is a chair')

And the use of the negative particle lo here is as ungrammatical as it was in relative clauses:

(25)   *Kìpès ló ka-swíím-ín kít zóónó

Similarly:

(26)   Kìpés a-khóón-ín kù-súúm kìt zóónó
          Kipese PA-fail-past to-buy chair yesterday
          'Kipese didn't buy a chair yesterday'
          (i.e.: 'The person who did not buy a chair yesterday was Kipese')

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    [9]This is unlike many other Bantu languages, such as Dzamba or Tswana, which require the presence of the object 'infix' pronoun in object relativization. The situation in Swahili is a bit more complex, with the object pronoun required in some patterns but not in others, where its presence or absence may be used to signal a semantic distinction.

In relative clauses, on the other hand, the particle lo may not be used. Rather, the negative verb -khoon- 'fail' is used instead, as in:[8]

(16)   kit ki a-khoon-in Kipes ku-suum
        chair pro PA-fail-past K. to-buy
        'the chair that Kipese didn't buy'

        *kit ki lo a-swiim-in Kipes

(17)   kit ki a-khoon-in ku-suum Kipes kye (ki-e) ki-beeng
        chair pro PA-fail-past to-buy K. PA-is PA-red
        'The chair that Kipese failed to/didn't buy is red'

        *kit ki lo a-swiim-in Kipes kye ki-beeng

(18)   lo i-mween kit ki a-khoon in Kipes ku-suum
        not I-saw chair pro PA-fail-past K. to-buy
        'I didn't see the chair that Kipese failed to/didn't buy'

        *lo i-mween kit ki lo a-swiim-in Kipes

The second relevant property of relative clauses involves the 'infix' object pronoun. In unembedded sentences in Kihung'an the object pronoun (OP) may be used as a definitizer (as in (19) below) or as a pronoun (as in (20) below):

(19)   Kipes ka-ki-swiim-in kit zoon
        Kipese PA-it-by-past chair yesterday
        'Kipese bought the chair yesterday'

(20)   Kipes ka-ki-swiim-in zoon
        Kipese PA-it-buy-past yesterday
        'Kipese bought it yesterday'

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[8]The arrows below indicate that the two elements involved may come in either order. Like several other Bantu languages, Kihung'an tolerates a considerable measure of freedom in word order (a notion which is yet to be properly characterized, and may indeed be inappropriate, given 'stylistic' considerations such as discourse structure and topic assignment). For example, (i) and (ii) below correspond to (11a) and (12), respectively:

        (i) kit Kipès ká-swíîm-ín zòòn   'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'
        (ii) kít Kìpès ká-swíîm-ín zóónó   'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'

(32)   (kiim) ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon (kwe/*kye) kít
        (thing) pro PA-buy-past Kipese yesterday (is) chair
        'What Kipese bought yesterday is a/the chair'

(33)   (muut) wu a-swiim-in kit zoon (kwe/*ke) Kìpés
        (person) pro PA-buy-past chair yesterday (is) Kipese
        'The one who bought a/the chair yesterday is Kipese'

So far as presuppositional structure is concerned, cleft and pseudo-cleft
sentences are identical with tone-focus sentences.

    As far as negation is concerned, clefts and pseudo-clefts -- much like
tone-focus sentences in Kihung'an -- take the negative -khoon-, charac-
teristic of relative clauses, rather than the normal particle lo. Thus,
for object focus:

(34)   (kwe) kít Kipes ka-khoon-in ku-suum zoono
        (it's) chair Kipese PA-fail-past to-buy yesterday
        'It's a/the chair that Kipese didn't buy yesterday'

        *(kwe) kít Kipes lo ka-swiim-in zoono

(35)   (kiim) ki a-khoon-in Kipes ku-suum zoon (kwe) kít
        (thing) pro PA-fail-past Kipese to-buy yesterday (is) chair
        'What Kipese didn't buy yesterday is a/the chair'

        *(kiim) ki lo a-swiim-in Kipes zoon (kwe) kít

Similarly, for subject focus:

(36)   (kwe) Kìpés (wu) ka-khoon-in ku-suum kit zoono
        (it's) Kipese (pro) PA-fail-past to-buy chair yesterday
        'It's Kipese who didn't buy a/the chair yesterday'

        *(kwe) Kìpés (wu) lo a-swiim-in kit zoono

(37)   (muut) wu ka-khoon-in ku-suum kit zoon (kwe) Kìpés
        (person) pro PA-fail-past to-buy chair yesterday (is) Kipese
        'The one who didn't buy a/the chair yesterday is Kipese'

        *(muut) wu lo a-swiim-in kit zoon (kwe) Kìpés

But not:

(27) *Kìpés ló a-swíím-ín kìt zóónó

Stress-focus constructions also follow the relative pattern in that they reject the OP in object relativization:

(28) *Kìpès ká-kí-swíím-ín kít zóónó
      Kipese PA-it-buy-past chair yesterday

As expected from the discussion above, however, the OP is acceptable if the subject (rather than object) is in focus:

(29) Kìpés a-kí-swíím-ín (kit) zóónó
      Kipese PA-it-buy-past (chair) yesterday
      'Kipese bought it yesterday'
      (i.e.: 'The person who bought it (the chair) yesterday was Kipese')

As seen above, neutral sentences accept both the lo negative and the OP. As we shall see below, cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences share the relative pattern with tone-focus sentences in both respects.

3. Cleft and pseudo-cleft in Kihung'an

Much like tone-focus sentences, clefting in Kihung'an may be used to either focus on the object, as in:

(30) (kwe) kít Kipes ka-swiim-in zoono
      (it's) chair Kipese PA-buy-past yesterday
      'It's a/the chair that Kipese bought yesterday'

or on the subject, as in:

(31) (kwe) Kìpés a-swiim-in kit zoono
      (it's) Kipese PA-buy-past chair yesterday
      'It's Kipese who bought a/the chair yesterday'

Similarly with pseudo-cleft sentences:[10]

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[10]Note the ungrammaticality of the copula kye (ki-e) and ke (ka-e). The copula in pseudo-clefts do not exhibit grammatical agreement with the subject (kiim 'thing' and muut 'person', respectively). The significance of this will be discussed later on.

where the relative clause stands for the presupposition and the predicate, ki+i 'chair', for the (object) noun in focus.

4. The derivation of focusing constructions

Given the underlying structure in (40) above, one must consider the derivation of tone-focus, clefts and pseudo-clefts from it. It turns out that most of the (transformational) operations necessary for this already have independent justification in Kihung'an. Those are illustrated below.

4.1. Copula deletion

The copula, in the present tense, is optionally deleted in Kihung'an as in many other Bantu languages. Thus, for example:

(41) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ki+ kye ki-beeng} \\ \text{ki+ ki-beeng}\end{array}\right\}$ 'The chair is red'

Similarly:

(42) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{mwaan wu ke kidi} \\ \text{mwaan wu kidi}\end{array}\right\}$ 'This child is an idiot'

In tone-focus, as seen earlier, no copula appears. In cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences it appears optionally.

4.2. Relative pronoun deletion

Object relative pronouns in Kihung'an may be optionally deleted, and if they are deleted the subject of the embedded clause is not postposed:

(43) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{ki+ ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon...} \\ \text{ki+ Kipes a-swiim-in zoon...}\end{array}\right\}$ 'The chair (that) Kipese bought yesterday'

The same is true with object cleft sentences:

(44) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{(kwe) k\u00edt ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoono} \\ \text{(kwe) k\u00edt Kipes a-swiim-in zoono}\end{array}\right\}$ 'It's a/the chair (that) Kipese bought yesterday'

A similar deletion may be shown in subject-focus cleft sentences:

(45) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{(kwe) K\u00edp\u00e9s wu a-swiim-in ki+ zoono} \\ \text{(kwe) K\u00edp\u00e9s a-swiim-in ki+ zoono}\end{array}\right\}$ 'It's Kipese (who) bought a/the chair yesterday'

The same parallelism with tone-focus and relative clause is observed with respect to the OP. Object-focus clefts and pseudo-clefts cannot take it, as is shown in:

(38) *(kwe) kít Kipes ka-ki-swiim-in zoono[11]

   (it's) chair Kipese PA-it-buy-past yesterday

   *(kwe) kít ki ka-ki-swiim-in Kipes zoono[11]

   (it's) chair pro PA-it-buy-past Kipese yesterday

(39) *(kiim) ki a-ki-swiim-in Kipes zoon (kwe) kít

   (thing) pro PA-it-buy-past Kipese yesterday (is) chair

Given the syntactic similarities between relative clauses, on one hand, and focus, cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences on the other, one must conclude that syntactically too a relative clause is involved in focus constructions. This is in addition to the semantic arguments already mentioned. Taken together, the evidence strongly suggests deriving all three constructions from a similar underlying source which closely resembles the structure of a pseudo-cleft. Thus, for sentences (12), (30) and (32), the following underlying structure is suggested (this is without forgetting that at some discourse/stylistic level, perhaps involving topic, they may still differ):

(40)

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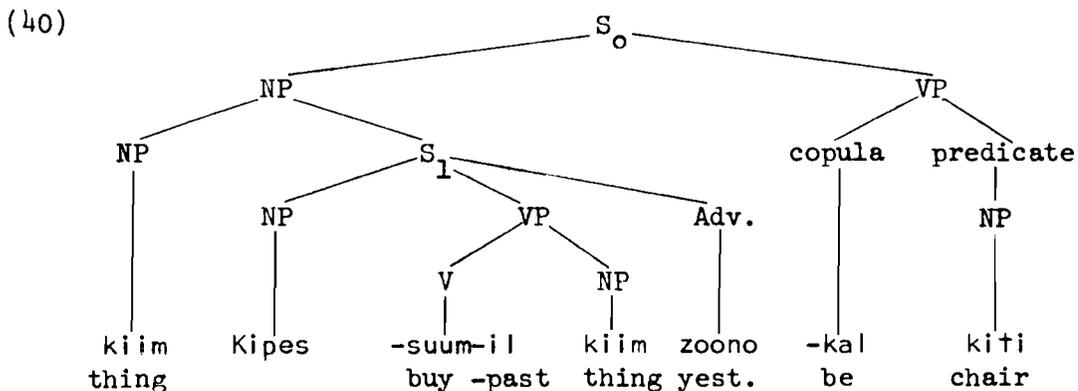
[11]The object relative pronoun ki is present only if the subject of the embedded sentence (i.e. subject of the object relative clause) is postposed. If the subject is not postposed, the object relative pronoun is deleted. For further discussion of this, see Givón [1972b].

Thus, sentence (50) may represent an <u>intermediate</u> between tone-focus and
cleft. Notice also the possible variants, all with the same object focus:

(51)   (kwe) kít kiim ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon
        'It's a <u>chair</u>, the thing that Kipese bought yesterday'

(52)   (kwe) kít ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon
        'It's a <u>chair</u>, what Kipese bought yesterday'

One may thus consider (51) and (52) as earlier intermediates in the deri-
vation of (50), and thus ultimately of the tone-focus sentence (49). As
we shall see later on, a similar range of intermediates is also found in
WH-questions. Although sentence (50) may resemble, in its syntactic
order, a topicalized structure, it clearly could not be, since 'chair'
is there in focus, and a noun cannot be topic and in focus at the same
time, being that predicates are never in topic position.

From the discussion above it seems that most of the syntactic rules
through which one may derive either cleft or tone-focus constructions in
Kihung'an from the (pseudo-cleft like) underlying structure given in (40)
exist in the language. Further, the existence of syntactic intermediates
such as (50), (51) and (52) above strongly suggests that in essence this
manner of derivation has not only syncrhonic validity but perhaps also
some diachronic support. While many details of the required <u>pruning</u> and
predicate-lowering conventions (for discussion see Ross [1967]) have yet
to be elaborated, it seems to me that the following sequence can be
tentatively proposed. Beginning with (40) above, one applies the relevant
relativization rules, including subject-postposing, to obtain a pseudo-
cleft with the head-noun intact, as in (53):

(53)   kiim ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon kwe kít
        'The thing that Kipese bought yesterday is a chair'

Optional copula deletion yields:

(54)   kiim ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon kít
        'The thing that Kipese bought yesterday (is) a chair'

Tone-focus sentences of course show no relative pronoun. As we shall see
later on, WH-questions exhibit a similar optional deletion of a relative
pronoun.

One may further argue that both copula deletion and relative-pronoun
deletion are involved in the embedding of adjectives as modifiers in
Kihung'an (and Bantu in general)[12]. In Kihung'an the optionality of these
rules is attested in the existence of all three variants in (46) below:

(46)   kit ki-beeng 'the red chair'
       kit ki ki-beeng 'the red chair' (lit.: 'the chair that red')
       kit ki kye ki-beeng 'the chair that is red'

4.3. Head-NP deletion

In Bantu languages the subject of a sentence may be anaphorically
deleted, pending a suitable discourse environment, after grammatical
agreement has applied:

(47)   Kipes ka-swiim-in kit zoon   'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'
          ka-swiim-in kit zoon   '(He) bought a chair yesterday'

In this case, one may argue (see e.g. Givón [1972a, part 2]) that the
agreement morpheme (ka) serves as an anaphoric pronoun. A similar deletion
also applies to object nouns, following ('infix') object pronominalization:

(48)   Kipes ka-ki-swiim-in kit zoon   'Kipese bought the chair yesterday'
       Kipes ka-ki-swiim-in zoon   'Kipese bought it yesterday'

4.4. Optional movement and deletion in focusing

Of considerable interest is the following 'stylistic' movement rule,
by which the tone-focused object noun is preposed. Thus, given the normal
tone-focus sentence (49), one also finds its paraphrase (50):

(49)   Kipes ka-swiim-in kít zoon
       'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'

(50)   kít Kipese ka-swiim-in zoon
       '(It's) a chair (that) Kipese bought yesterday'

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[12]For details, see Takizala [ms].

5. <u>The complex-sentence and neg-raising argument</u>

Sentences with complex verb phrases turn out to present no further difficulty for the analysis suggested above. Thus, consider the following examples of tone-focus, cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences:

<u>tone-focus</u>:

(61) <u>beet</u> tu-mon-aak ni beet lo tu-biing

    <u>we</u>   PA-see-prog that we neg PA-win

    '<u>We</u> think that we will not win'

<u>cleft</u>:

(62) kwe <u>beet</u> (ba) tu-mon-aak ni beet lo tu-biing

    it's we (who) PA-think-prog that we neg PA-win

    'It's <u>we</u> who think that we will not win'

(63) <u>beet</u> baat ba $\begin{cases} \text{tu-mon-aak ni beet lo tu-biing}^{13} \\ \text{ba} \end{cases}$

    <u>we</u>   people who PA-think-prog that we neg PA-win

    'It's <u>we</u> (who are) the people who think that we will not win'

(64) <u>beet</u> ba tu-mon-aak ni beet lo tu-biing

    <u>we</u>   who PA-think-prog that we neg PA-win

    $\begin{cases} \text{'It's \underline{we} who think that we will not win'} \\ \text{'\underline{We} are (the ones) who think that we will not win'} \end{cases}$

<u>pseudo-cleft</u>:

(65) (baat) ba $\begin{cases} \text{tu-mon-aak ni beet lo tu-biing kwe } \underline{\text{beet}}^{13} \\ \text{ba-} \end{cases}$

    (people) who PA-think-prog that we neg win be <u>we</u>

    '(The people) who think that we will not win are <u>we</u>'

---

[13]The prefix-agreement variation ba-/tu- exemplifies how a language may be caught in the middle of grammatical re-analysis. In this case, it is caught in the middle between an overt relative-clause analysis (of cleft and pseudo-cleft) and a tone-focus analysis. Thus, for the pseudo-cleft sentence (65) 'The people who think that we will not win are we', we expect the agreement ba- to correspond with the head noun baat 'people'. But we already get the alternation with tu-, which agrees with beet 'we'. In the cleft sentence (63), where beet 'we' has been fronted but the head of the relative clause is still baat 'people', we again get the alternation. In the clefts (62) and (64), however, where the underlying

Optional head-noun deletion yields:

(55)   ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon kít
       'What Kipese bought yesterday is a chair'

Predicate-fronting rule may now yield a cleft-like construction:

(56)   kít ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon
       'It's a chair, what Kipese bought yesterday'

If this movement rule had applied without copula deletion, one may get
the cleft:

(57)   kwe kít ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon
       'It's a chair, what Kipese bought yesterday'

If, in addition, relative-pronoun deletion had applied, one may get the
cleft without subject postposing:

(58)   kwe kít Kipes a-swiim-in zoon
       'It's a chair that Kipese bought yesterday'

    For the derivation of tone-focus sentences, however, fewer rules are
necessary. Beginning with (55), to which copula deletion and head-noun
deletion have already applied, one also applies relative-pronoun deletion,
which results in the movement of the subject noun back to its original
place, to yield:

(59)   Kipes ka-swiim-in zoon kít

Which is, in turn, a mere stylistic variant of the tone-focus construction:

(60)   Kipes ka-swiim-in kít zoon
       'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'

Thus, in terms of existing rules of the language, as well as in terms of
the existence of surface forms resembling to quite an extent the putative
intermediates in the derivation, deriving both cleft and tone-focus con-
structions in Kihung'an from pseudo-cleft like underlying structures does
not appear to be very costly.

(68) kwe <u>beet</u> (ba) tu-khoon-aak ku-mon ni beet tu-biing

it's <u>we</u> (who) PA-fail-prog to-think that we PA-win

'It's <u>we</u> who don't think that we'll win'

*kwe <u>beet</u> (ba) lo tu-mon-aak ni beet tu-biing

(69) <u>beet</u> baat ba $\begin{cases} \text{tu-khoon-aak ku-mon ni beet tu-biing} \\ \text{ba-} \end{cases}$

<u>we</u> people who PA-fail-prog to-think that we PA-win

'It's <u>we</u> (who are) the people who don't think that we'll win'

*<u>beet</u> baat ba lo $\begin{cases} \text{tu-mon-aak ni beet tu-biing} \\ \text{ba-} \end{cases}$

(70) <u>beet</u> ba tu-khoon-aak ku-mon ni beet tu-biing

<u>we</u> who PA-fail-prog to-think that we PA-win

'It's <u>we</u> who don't think that we'll win'

'<u>We</u> are (the ones) who don't think that we'll win'

*<u>beet</u> ba lo tu-mon-aak ni beet tu-biing

(71) (baat) ba $\begin{cases} \text{tu-khoon-aak ku-mon ni beet tu-biing kwe } \underline{beet} \\ \text{ba-} \end{cases}$

(people) who PA-fail-prog to-think that we PA-win be <u>we</u>

'(The people) who don't think that we'll win are <u>we</u>'

*(baat) ba lo $\begin{cases} \text{tu-khoon-aak ku-mon ni beet tu-biing kwe beet} \\ \text{ba-} \end{cases}$

Thus, if neg-raising is considered a valid (stylistic) rule of Kihung'an, then at the stage when this rule operates, the structure of focus sentences must involve a relative clause, since the raised NEG appears in the form appropriate to relative clauses.

6. The anaphoric deletion argument

I have mentioned above that under the appropriate discourse conditions, subject and object nouns in Kihung'an may be deleted, after agreement or pronominalization have applied. However, the same does <u>not</u> apply when the noun in question is in focus, either through tone-focus, cleft or pseudo-cleft. Thus, for subject nouns:

Sentences (61) through (65) above may be all represented by the underlying structure in (66) below:

(66)

```
                                S
                              /   o  \
                           /           \
                        NP              VP
                      /    \          /    \
                   NP       S      copula   predicate
                   |      /   1\        \         |
                   |    NP      VP       \        NP
                   |    |      /   \      \        |
                   |    |     V     S      \       |
                   |    |     |    / 2\     \      |
                 baat  baat -mon-aak  lo beet -biing -kal  beet
                people people think-prob neg we  win    be   we
```
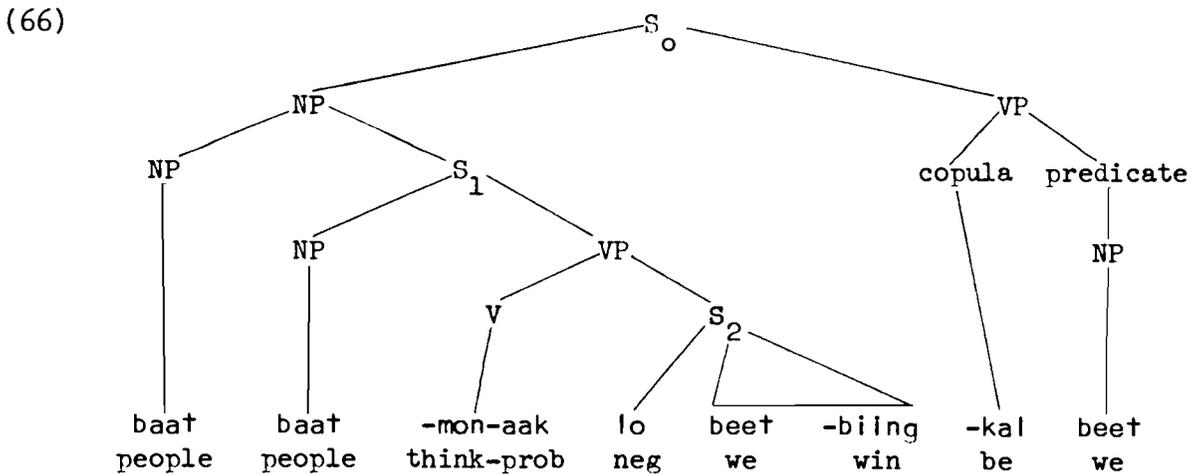
Now, the verb -mon- 'think' is a neg-raising verb. (The arguments in support of neg-raising in Kihung'an are the same as those for English and will not be repeated here.) That is, the meaning of a sentence remains the same whether the negative is in the complement of 'think' or on 'think' itself. In Kihung'an, when the negative is in the complement of 'think', as in (61)-(65) above, one obtains the normal lo negative particle. However, if the negative is 'raised' to the higher clause, only -khoon- 'fail' may be used, regardless of whether a relative clause overtly appears on the surface. Thus, sentences (67)-(71) below correspond to (61)-(65) above, respectively.

(67)   beet tu-khoon-aak ku-mon ni beet tu-biing

       we   PA-fail-prog to-think that we PA-win

       'We don't think that we'll win'

       *beet lo tu-mon-aak ni beet tu-biing

---

baat 'people' has been deleted, we get obligatorily tu-, agreeing with the fronted beet 'we', and this represents already, in terms of the prefix agreement, the same situation as in the tone-focus sentence (61), where no superficial evidence of the relative pronoun (ba) has survived. The existence of intermediate forms of this type lends credence to the hypothesis of deriving focus constructions from (pseudo-) clefts, since it suggests that this process may have in fact occurred diachronically.

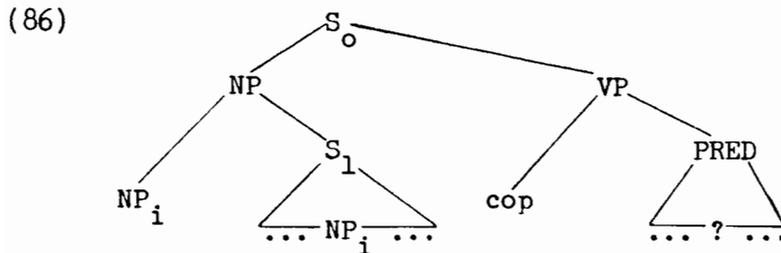(77) Kipes ka-swiim-in kit zoon   ==⇒ Kipes ka-<u>ki</u>-swiim-in kit zoon
      'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'   'Kipese bought <u>the</u> chair
                                            yesterday'

                                      ==⇒ kipes ka-<u>ki</u>-swiim-in zoon
                                          'Kipese bought <u>it</u> yesterday'

but not for object focus sentences:

(78) Kipes ka-swiim-in <u>kit</u> zoon   =≠⇒ *Kipes ka-<u>ki</u>-swiim-in <u>kit</u> zoon
      'Kipese bought a <u>chair</u> yesterday'=≠⇒ *Kipes ka-<u>ki</u>-swiim-in-zoon

Both restrictions, i.e. on both pronominalization and deletion, may now
be explained quite independently of the restriction on object pronominali-
zation in relative clauses. The 'infix' object pronoun in Kihung'an is
used either as a definitizer or as anaphoric pronoun. Both processes are
<u>discourse phenomena</u>, depending upon establishing the noun in question as
<u>topic</u> in previous discourse. However, as I have just argued above, a
noun in focus <u>cannot</u> be a topic noun. Now, if at the time when anaphoric
object pronominalization and deletion applies the noun in focus is still
in a <u>predicate</u> position, a natural explanation emerges for these restric-
tions: a predicate noun cannot be anaphorically deleted, since it contains
the <u>new</u> information. Nor can it be replaced by a pronoun, since seman-
tically it has not been mentioned in previous discourse, and syntactically
the pronominalization process in question applies only to object nouns
but not to predicates in Bantu. Thus, the restrictions on deletion and
pronominalization of both subject and object nouns turn out to involve
the very same explanation, one which is consonant with the 'relative
clause and predicate' analysis of focus constructions.[14]

7. WH-questions

The semantic relation between WH-questions, on one hand, and focusing
sentences and relative clauses on the other, has been noted before (for
some discussion of this subject in Bantu see Myers [1971] and Heny [1971]).

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[14]For further discussion of object-infixation in Kihung'an, see
appendix 1., below.

(72)   Kipes ka-swiim-in kit zoon   ==⇒   ka-swiim-in kit zoon
        'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'   '(He) bought a chair yesterday'

but not:

(73)   Kìpés a-swiim-in kit zoon   =≠⇒   *a-swiim-in kit zoon
        'Kipese bought a chair yesterday'

nor:

(74)   kwe Kìpés (wu) a-swiim-in kit zoono =≠⇒ *kwe (wu) a-swiim-in kit
        'It's Kipese who bought a chair yesterday'   zoono

nor:

(75)   (muut) wu a-swiim-in kut zoon kwe Kìpés   =≠⇒
        '(The man) who bought a chair yesterday is Kipese'

                                    *(muut) wu a-swiim-in kit zoon kwe

Data of this kind are not readily explained under the Chomsky [1968] analysis.
The 'relative clause and predicate' analysis, on the other hand, explains
them quite naturally. Anaphoric deletion applies only to a noun previously
mentioned in discourse. Or, in other words, to a topic noun. Nouns in
focus, however, present the new information in the sentence, the one con-
tained in the predicate. Thus, notice (as may also be seen from the
pseudo-cleft (75) above) that predicate nouns in Bantu (as well as in any
other language) may not be anaphorically deleted:

(76)   muut wu Kìpés   =≠⇒   *muut wu
        'This man (is) Kipese'

At the stage where anaphoric deletion applies, then, the noun in focus must
still be in predicate position -- and thus undeletable.

    Let us now consider object nominals. It has already been mentioned
before that (anaphoric) object pronominalization may not apply to focused
constructions, just as it does not apply to relative clauses. Thus, for
neutral sentences, one may get:

Much like relative clauses and focus constructions, WH-questions do not allow object-pronoun infixation (or, for that matter, the deletion of the interrogative pronoun itself, which corresponds to the noun in focus):

(85)   *na Kipes ka-mu-mweene?   *'Who did Kipese see him?'

   *na wu ka-mu-mweene Kipes? $\begin{cases} \text{*'Who is it that Kipese saw him?'} \\ \text{*'Who is it that saw him Kipese?'} \end{cases}$

The reason for this restriction must be identical to the one discussed in the preceding section. The schematic underlying structure for WH-questions may be thus represented by (86) below (in which the performative structure 'I request you' has been omitted), which corresponds to the underlying structure for focus constructions given in (40), above:

(86)

```
                   S
                    o
         NP                      VP
                                        PRED
    NP          S
      i          1        cop       /\
            /\            ... ? ...
          ...NP...
              i
```

The difference between focus sentences and WH-questions may be then traced down to their different performative function. Given an identical presupposition (expressed in the relative clause modifying the subject noun of the construction), focus constructions <u>supply</u> ('state') the new information, while WH-questions <u>request</u> for it. Otherwise, the syntactic parallelism shown above tends to support the 'relative clause and predicate' analysis of focus constructions.

7.1. Some possible difficulties

An analysis proposed by Akmajian [1970] poses an apparent difficulty for the 'relative clause and predicate' approach to which, I have claimed above, the Kihung'an data lend considerable support. Akmajian has offered a rather similar analysis, but one involving a <u>head-less</u> relative clause. He rejects the full-relative-clause analysis because of difficulties raised by pseudo-cleft sentences such as (87) below, which are better paraphrased by sentences such as (88), in which a relative pronoun (locative pronoun) appears:

Thus, it may be shown that a WH-question involves the same presuppositional structure as stress-focus, cleft or pseudo-cleft, which may be likewise expressed by the presence of a relative clause. For example, compare sentences (79) (focus) and (80) (WH) below:

(79)   <u>Kipese</u> bought chair = Presupposed: 'Someone bought a chair'
                                     Asserted: 'That person is <u>Kipese</u>'

(80)   <u>Who</u> bought a chair? = Presupposed: 'Someone bought a chair'
                                     Querried: 'That person is <u>who</u>?'

Thus, while the performative involved is different ('declare' for focus, 'request' for WH), the remainder of the semantic structure is the same.

     Much like focus constructions, WH-questions in Kihung'an require negation with -khoon- -- the one typical of relative clauses -- rather than with the normal (lo) neg-marker:

(81)   khi Kipes ka-swiim-in?   'What did Kipese buy?'
       khi Kipes ka-khoon-in ku-suum? 'What didn't Kipese buy?'
       *khi Kipes lo ka-swiim-in?

(82)   na Kipes ka-mweene?   'Who did Kipese see?'
       na Kipes ka-khoon-in ku-mon?   'Who didn't Kipese see?'
       *na Kipes lo ka-mweene?

Further, one may show that these WH-questions further resemble relative clauses in that relative pronouns may optionally appear in them, much like they may appear in the corresponding cleft sentences. Thus, (83) below paraphrases (81), while one reading of the ambiguous (84) paraphrases (82):

(83)   khi ki ka-swiim-in Kipes?   'What (is it) that Kipese bought?'

(84)   na wu ka-mweene Kipes?   {'Who (is it) that Kipese saw?'
                                 {'Who (is it) who saw Kipese?'

The obligatory subject-postposing in (84) above creates the ambiguity[15].

_____

[15]And subject postposing, in turn, is motivated by the presence of the relative pronoun, in contrast with (81) and (82) where it is not present. For further discussion, see Givón [1972b].

may be handled by the 'relative clause and predicate' analysis[16]. Multiple-focus sentences of the kind discussed by Chomsky [1968] may be found in Kihung'an, as in:

(92) muut wu a-fuun-aak Anglais <u>phiim</u>   'This man speaks English <u>well</u>'
                                                  (not <u>poorly</u>)

(93) muut wu a-fuun-aak <u>Anglais</u> phiim   'This man speaks <u>English</u> well'
                                                  (not <u>French</u>)

(94) muut wu <u>a-fuun-aak</u> Anglais phiim   'This man <u>speaks</u> English well'
                                                  (not <u>reads</u>)

Their corresponding negatives must take -khoon- rather than lo, thus again suggesting that a relative clause is involved:

(95) muut wu a-khoon-aak ku-fuun Anglais <u>phiim</u>

      'This man doesn't speak English <u>well</u>'

      muut wu a-khoon-aak ku-fuun <u>Anglais</u> phiim

      'This man doesn't speak <u>English</u> well'

      muut wu a-khoon-aak <u>ku-fuun</u> Anglais phiim

      'This man doesn't <u>speak</u> English well'

---

[16]Take for example (i) below, taken from Chomsky [1968, ex. 52i]:

  (i) No, he was warned to look for an <u>automobile</u> salesman

As Chomsky [1968] points out, it would indeed be quite artificial to derive it from:

  (ii) *No, the thing that he was warned to look out for a salesman
        was an <u>automobile</u>

The artificiality of the paraphrases -- though not its acceptability -- decreases, however, with:

  (iii) ?No, the thing that he was warned to look out for a
         salesman of was an <u>automobile</u>

The inacceptability of (iii), however, arises from a violation of Ross's <u>Complex NP Constraint</u>, rather than any deep semantic reason. It may be easily paraphrased by:

  (iv) Presupposed: He was warned to look for a salesman who sells
                      <u>something</u>
        Asserted: What that salesman sells is <u>automobiles</u>

Thus, I think that Chomsky [1968] has raised difficulties which pertain to more superficial constraints and to lexicalization, but not to the validity of the semantic claims made by the 'relative clause and predicate' analysis.

(87)   *The place where John beats his wife is <u>in the garden</u>

(88)   Where John beats his wife is <u>in the garden</u>

This solution, it seems to **me**, suffers from a considerable drawback, in that it generalizes on the exceptional case while treating the general case as an exception:

(89)   The $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{one} \\ \text{person} \end{Bmatrix}$ who got killed was <u>John</u>

       *Who got killed was <u>John</u>

       The person to whom I gave the book was <u>John</u>
       *(To) whom I gave the book was (to) <u>John</u>

In addition, note the instances, below, in which both variants are admissible:

(90)   The thing that I saw was an <u>armadillo</u>
       What I saw was an <u>armadillo</u>

       How he did it was <u>by working hard</u>
       The way he did it was <u>by working hard</u>

From this data it seems clear that the significance of these restrictions is at best superficial, and should better be expressed at the level of the <u>lexicon</u>, where specific restrictions on lexicalization, of precisely the same type, ought to be expressed. That these restrictions are superficial and highly lexical-specific is also apparent from the fact that while in the case of non-human direct objects (in (90) above) both the 'headed' and 'headless' relative clauses are accepted, the same is not true for <u>human</u> direct objects:

(91)   The person (whom) I saw was <u>John</u>
      *Whom I saw was <u>John</u>

8. <u>Discussion</u>

(a) The difficulty raised by Chomsky [1968] concerning the possibility of multiple-focusing in one sentence (see examples (10), (11) above) still remains. It seems to me, however, that much of the apparent difficulty

analysis holds for Kihung'an and the languages surveyed by Schachter [1971], Myers [1971] and Heny [1971], to mention only a few, but not for English. It seems to me, however, that adopting a highly language-specific solution such as Chomsky's [1968] for phenomena as seemingly universal -- certainly at the semantic level and to quite an extent at the syntactic level as well -- as focusing constructions turn out to be, does little to convey the underlying generalizations of language structure.

(d) The plausibility of the analysis presented here is enhanced, it seems to me, by the real possibility that the derivation of clefts, stress-focus sentences and WH-questions from pseudo-cleft like constructions has in fact taken place diachronically in Kihung'an (and very likely in other languages as well). The presence of several intermediate forms in Kihung'an, with or without the head of the relative clause, with or without the copula and with or without the relative pronoun, tends to lend credence to this diachronic hypothesis.

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Finally, it seems that the semantic structure of these sentences may be characterized reasonably well by pseudo-cleft like constructions, as in e.g.:

(92')   The way he speaks English is good

(93')   The language he speaks well is English

(94')   The thing he does well with English is speak it

The underlying presuppositions and assertions involved are thus:

(92")   P: He speaks English in a certain way
         A: That way is good

(93")   P: He speaks some language well
         A: That language is English

(94")   P: He does something well with English
         A: What he does is speak it well

While the accuracy of paraphrastic formulae of this kind is not complete, I think they clearly suggest that, at least in principle, Chomsky's [1968] objections are not extremely damaging to the analysis at which they are directed.

(b) I have shown that the data of Kihung'an strongly support the more abstract, 'relative clause and predicate' analysis of focus sentences rejected by Chomsky [1968]. Clear syntactic data link tone-focus, clefts, pseudo-clefts and relative clauses together. For data of this type Chomsky's analysis can give no natural explanation.

(c) The fact that similar syntactic support is also found for linking focusing constructions (and relative clauses) with WH-questions strengthens the analysis. This is so because WH-questions share much of the presuppositional-semantic structure of focusing constructions, in which the presupposed sentence is represented as a relative clause. Thus, the fact that the syntactic analysis proposed here meshes well with the semantic analysis in all three cases, should be considered as additional support for its viability. One may of course wish to argue that this type of an

APPENDIX 1:   <u>Object Pronoun Infixation in Kihung'an</u>

Sentences (1), (2) below are related to the topicalized sentences (3), (4), respectively:

(1)   ?Kipes bu ka-yis-ir ayi kit

  Kipese asp. PA-come-past with chair

  'Kipese came with a chair'

(2)   Kipes bu ka-ki-swiim-in kiti

  Kipese asp. PA-it-buy-past chair

  'Kipese bought the chair'

(3)   kit Kipes bu ka-yis-ir akyo

  chair Kipese asp. PA-come-past with-it

  'The chair, Kipese came with it'

(4)   kit Kipes bu ka-ki-swiim-in

  chair Kipese asp. PA-it-buy-past

  'The chair, Kipese bought it'

While the topicalized sentence (4) is an <u>infixed</u> object pronoun, the topicalized sentence (3) as a preposition-bound object pronoun, and infixation in this case is ungrammatical, e.g.:

(5)   *kit Kipes bu ka-<u>ki</u>-yis-ir ayi

  chair Kipese asp. PA-<u>it</u>-come-past with

Now, notice that the restriction on the appearance of object pronouns in relative clauses applies only to infixed object pronouns, as in (6) below, but not on preposition-bound object pronouns:

(6)   kit ki a-swiim-in Kipes zoon

  chair pro PA-buy-past Kipese yesterday

  'The chair that Kipese bought yesterday'

  *kit ki a-<u>ki</u>-swiim-in Kipes zoon

  chair that PA-<u>it</u>-buy-past Kipese yesterday

In contrast, an object pronoun must appear if the relativized object is prepositional, as in:

Givón, T. 1972b. "Pronoun attraction and subject postposing in Bantu", in Papers from the Eighth Regional Meeting, supplement. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, University of Chicago

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(2) ákwà màs̩r̩ Úcè   ==⟩ á'kwá 'más̩r̩ Úcè
     cloth please Uce   cloth please Uce
     'The cloth pleased Uce'   'The cloth that pleased Uce'

In focus construction, the same tonal change appears in object-focus as
seen in the relative clause in (1) above:

(3) ọ́ bụ̀ ákwà kà Ú'cé n̩yèrè nwó'ké
     it is cloth Uce gave man
     'It's cloth that Uce gave the man'

In contrast, no tonal change appears in subject-focus constructions. as
seen from (4) below (compared with (2)):

(4) ọ́ bụ̀ ákwà màs̩r̩ Úcè
     it is cloth please Uce
     'It's cloth that pleased Uce'

To begin with, it is significant that in the object-focus (3) the relative
tone does appear. Part of its absence in (4), further, may be readily
explained. Notice first that the relative tone of the subject relative
clause in (2) appears in two places: on the head noun ('cloth') and on
the verb itself ('please'). In the object relative (1), on the other
hand, the relative tone appears on the underlying subject of the embedded
clause. Now, notice that 'cloth' in (4) does not, under the 'relative
clause and predicate' analysis, arise from the relative clause (whose
underlying form is 'Something pleases Uce'). Rather, it is the trans-
ported predicate noun brought into focus. Our analysis would in fact
predict this behavior. In contrast, the subject 'Uce' in (3) does arise
from inside the underlying relative clause ('Uce gave something to the
man'). It is thus not an accident that it does indeed preserve the
characteristic relative tone. The only fact which remains to be explained
is the non-relative tone on the verb in (4). This may necessitate positing
some kind of analogical leveling, of the type discussed earlier above in
connection with WH-questions in Kihung'an. But the Igbo data are not
necessarily as damaging to our analysis as one may have assumed at first
glance.

(7)   Kipes ka-di-ir ayi mbeel   ==⟹ mbeel yi a-di-ir ayo Kipes
      Kipese PA-eat-past with knife   knife pro PA-eat-past with-it Kipese
      'Kipese ate with a knife'   'The knife that Kipese ate with'

(8)   Kipes ka-yis-ir ayi mwaan   ==⟹ mwaan wu a-yis-ir ando Kipes
      Kipese PA-come-past with child   child pro PA-come-past with-him
      'Kipese came with a child'   Kipese
                                         'The child that Kipese came with'

It thus seems that the restriction on anaphoric object pronouns in relati-
vization in Kihung'an applies only to the infix pronouns, but not to other,
prep-bound pronouns. The appearance of anaphoric object pronouns in
relativization is widely attested in Bantu. Swahili allows the infix OP
in relativization. Both Dzamba and Tswana require them obligatorily.
The 'double pronominalization' shown in prep-object relativization in
Kihung'an is also attested in Bantu (see for discussion Givón [1971,
1972b]. What this suggests is that the restriction on object pronominali-
zation in Kihung'an relativization is a superficial restriction, specifically
applying to the infix OP but not to others. This is important because, as
argued in section 6. above, the restrictions on the appearance of object
pronouns in focusing constructions (also in WH-questions, see section 7.,
above) are independently motivated by the semantics of the underlying
construction involved. This restriction is therefore not related to rela-
tivization, as I have erroneously suggested above.

APPENDIX 2:   Is Igbo an exception to the 'relative clause
              and predicate' analysis?

     Robinson [1972] has argued that in Igbo (Nigeria) one should not
postulate an underlying relative clause for focus sentences. There are
no surface relative pronouns in Igbo, and a relative clause is charac-
terized by a tonal change, as shown in:

(1)   Úcè ŋyèrè ŋwó'ké ákwà   ==⟹ ákwà Úc'é ŋyèrè ŋwó'ké
      Uce gave man cloth   cloth Uce gave man
      'Uce gave the man cloth'   'The cloth that Uce gave the man'