Puzzle 4: the IBV position and Passive in Teke-Kukuya

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BaSIS brainstorm
Leiden University, Sat 9th Nov 2019
Puzzle 4: Outline

1. Introduction to the Kukuya language

2. Focus and the Immediate Before Verb (IBV) position

3. Variation of subject marking

4. Functional passive constructions and inversion

5. Puzzles
1. The Kukuya language
1.1 The Teke Group

- Narrow Bantu, Guthrie code B70 group
- Spoken in Congo, Gabon and DRC
- North Teke (B71, Tege, Tege-Kali, Njiningi) (140000 speakers)
- Central Teke (B72, B74, 45000 for Ngungwei, 20000 for Eboo)
- West Teke (B73, Tsaayi, Iyaa, Tyee) (120000 speakers)
- East Teke (B75-76, Bali, Ng’ee, Tio) (200000 speakers)
- South Teke (B77-78, 39000 speakers for B77 Kukuya)
  Fuumu (B78, 8200 in Congo)

(Ethnologue, 2000)
1.2 Kukuya language

Language status: 6a (Vigorous), use in daily life

Sources:


Four Gospels of Bible translated in 1979; SIL works

No detailed grammar

Spoken in the Plateau Department of the Republic of Congo

(Djambala, Lékana)
1.3 fieldwork in Congo

Period: May-September 2019

Communication language: French

Informants: five native speakers

Locations: Brazzaville and Lékana

Methodology: translation, visual stimuli (QUIS), natural dialogue/discussion, story telling…

Dative database
1.4 Kukuya Phonology: syllable structure and tone

• Syllable structure: CV CVV CVCV CVVCV CVCVCV
• Five stem tone melodies: H L HL LH LHL
• Kukuya stems receive one of the five fixed tonal melodies independently of the number of TBUs they contain
• Kukuya assigns an accent on the first mora of each stem

(Paulian 1975; Hyman 1987)
1.4 Kukuya Phonology: Prosodic Domain

- the postlexical prosodic domain: consisting of a stem and any prefix(es) that may follow
- the domain-initial tone is absolutely immutable of any preceding (floating) tone

(CV-)CVCVCV

(CV-CVCVCV)
1.4 Kukuya fact file:

Noun Classes: 1-10, 14, infinitive class
No locative classes
No object marking (only resumptive pronoun)
No verbal derivation suffixes
basic word order: SVO
not Pro-drop language: an independent personal pronoun must appear
2. Focus and the Immediate Before Verb position
2.0 Basic word order

The basic word order in Kukuya is SVO.

(1) Ngo ka-dzá ntúmá, mi-kiené mí-siil-i mu mfúlá.
1.panther 1.PRS-eat 1.messenger 4.message 4-remain-PST PREP 3.road
The panther eats the messenger, the messages remained on the way.
2.1 subject focus

• subject wh-question: pseudo-cleft or questioned in-situ, the corresponding answer can be SVO or OSV.

(2) Wǔ ka-wá me báana ma-bhíele na?
   1.RM 1.PRS-give 1SG.PRN 2.children 6-care who
   Who takes care of the children for me?

(3) -Ná ndé  á-siim-í mú-bhiíi?
   who 3SG.PRN 1-attack-PST 1-hunter
   -Who attacked the hunter?

   -Mu-bhií kí-mbúlí kí-siim-i.
     1-hunter 7-lion 7-attack-PST
   -The lion attacked the hunter.
2.1 subject focus

• subject corrective focus: pseudo-cleft or in-situ

(3) Ba-mbHumburu ba-yaŋ ngwalí naa?
2-policemen 2-come.PST 9.morning early
Did the policemen arrive early this morning?

Ba-ba-yaŋ ma-féneme ngwalí naa.
2.RM-2.SM-come.PST 6-doctor 9.morning early
No, it was the doctors who arrived early.
2.1 subject focus

• **contrastive focus**

1.RM eat.PST 5-apple 1-woman 1.RM eat.PST 5.banana 1.man
The woman ate the apple and the man ate the banana.
2.1 subject focus

- subject wh-phrase in subordinate clause

   3SG.PRN 1SM-think 3SG.say 1.RM kill.PST 1-king who
   He thinks about who killed the king. (He already has a group of suspects.)

   3SG.PRN 1SM-think 3SG.say who 1SM-kill.PST 1-king
   He thinks about who killed the king. (He has no idea.)
2.2 object focus

- **Object wh-question**: always triggers **SOV** word order and the questioned object appears at **IBV** position, and so does the object in the corresponding answer.

(6) Maria kí-má ká-swaakí matsíka mu nkunkólo?
Maria **7-what** 1SM-wash-PST yesterday PREP 9.evening
What did Maria wash yesterday?

Ndé ali ma-sáni ká-swaak-í.
3SG.PRN AUX.PST **6-plate** 1SM-wash-PST
She washed plates.
2.2 object focus

- **Object wh-question:**

(7) Mu-kái ná ká-béer-i?
   1-woman **who** 1SM-beat-PST
   Who did the woman beat?

   Mu-kái balaká ká-béer-i.
   1-woman **1.man** 1SM-beat-PST
   She beated the man.
2.2 object focus

- **Object focused in cleft:**
  (8) -Kukí ná kí-ɲwíni ká-lak-í nkuma?
  PREP who 7-old.person 1SM-tell-PST 5.history
  To whom did the old man tell the history?

  (9) Ndé ka-tsuomó ndíri mbuká taará ká-fúúm-i
  3SG.PRN 1SM-think.PRS 3SG.say 5.bed 1.father 1SM-buy-PST
  ku dzándu.
  PREP 9.market
  He thinks that it was a bed that father bought in the market.
2.3 adjunct focus

- **adjuncts wh-phrase**: in most cases appears at **IBV** position, the non-focused object optionally moved in front of the focused adjunct; also found at clause-initial/final position (cleft?)

(10) Maria munkí ká-swaak-í ma-sáni?
Maria **when** 1SM-wash-PST 6-plate
When did Maria wash the plates?

Ndé ma-sáni matsíka mu nkunkólo ká-swaak-í.
3SG.PRN 6-plate **yesterday PREP 9.evening** 1SM-wash-PST
She washed the plates yesterday evening.
2.3 adjunct focus

- adjuncts wh-phrase:

(11)a. We ma-ndáká máa kuní á-yúk-i bóri
    2SG.PRN 6-problem 6.DEM.II \textbf{where} 2SG-hear-PST 3PL.say
    mbuurú á-kwî mu báa?
    1.person 1-die.PST PREP 9.fever
    Where did you hear that the man died of fever?

b. We á-yúk-i bóri mbuurú mu báa
    2SG.PRN 2SG-hear-PST 3PL.say 1.person PREP 9.fever
    kuní ká-kwî?
    \textbf{where} 1-die.PST
    You heard that where the man died of fever?
2.3 adjunct focus

• adjuncts wh-phrase at clause-initial: cleft?

(12) Munkí ndé ká-mwáal-i ma-dzá mu ntséke?
    when 3SG.PRN 1SM-water.PST 6-water PREP 10.fields
    When did he water the fields?

    Ndé ma-dzá mu ntséke matsíka ká-mwáali.
    3SG.PRN 6-water PREP 10.fields yesterday 1SM-water.PST
    He watered the fields yesterday.
2.3 adjunct focus

- **adjuncts wh-phrase at clause-final**

  (13) Ka me mboo urú ka-báká nkúnu má, me yía kan-tsúuka búni?
  EMP 1SG.PRN 1.person 1SM-have 9.accident 1SG.PRN 9.DEM.II
  1SG- solve how
  If the person meets accident, how do I handle that?
2.4 IBV focus position?

• IBV focus in narratives

(14) Ngiemé ndíri a wu-mó ndíri ndúku, ka ki-bhiimá
   1.bat 3SG.say PREP 1-other 3SG.say 1.friend EMP 7-corpse
   kíí maamá mu píriba lî-dziiká?
   7.CONN 1.mother PREP 9.night 1PL.FUT-bury
The bat says to the sunshine "are we going to bury the corpse of mother AT NIGHT?"

(15) We ka mbuurú á-ma-múna ku ntáli, ka
   2SG.PRN EMP 1.person 2SG-PERF-see PREP 9.other.place NEG
   bu  ni
   14.PRN NEG
You must have found other person, isn’t it?
2.4 IBV focus position?

• IBV focus as the answer to a question

(16) *Ndé ma-láala ká-wî me ma-tíri.
3SG.PRN 6-orange 3SG-give.PST 1SG.PRN 6-three
He gave me three oranges.

(17) (How many oranges did he give you?)
Ndé ma-tíri ká-wî me ma-láala.
3SG.PRN 6-three 3SG-give.PST 1SG.PRN 6-orange
He gave me three oranges.
2.4 IBV focus position?

• **Mbuun B87**

  (18) ɔ-káár nké ká-wó-kon?
  NP₁-woman **what** SM₁-PST-plant
  ‘What did the woman plant?’
  ɔ-káár a-sáŋ ká-wó-kon
  NP₁-woman **NP₆-millet** SM₁-PST-plant
  ‘The woman planted millet.’ (Bostoen & Mundeke 2012)

• see also Nsong (B85d) (Muluma and Bostoen 2014) Kisikongo (H16a) (De Kind 2014)
2.5 SOV and predicate focus

• **predicate focus: object fronting to IBV**

Gabriel 1SM-prepare-PST 1.chicken 1SM-eat.PST    Gilbert 1SM-PERF-write-PST 5.book
Gabriel cooked and ate the chicken.               Gilbert has written a book.

Ambú, ndé wúna ntsúú ká-dzí.  Ambú, ndé búkú káa-bák-i.
no 3SG.PRN only 1.chicken 1SM-eat.PST      no 3SG.PRN 5.book 1SM-get-PST
No, he only **ATE** the chicken.             No, he **GOT** a book.
2.5 SOV and predicate focus

**predicate focus**: predicate doubling: infinitive fronting to IBV; cannot co-occur with focused object/adjunct fronting; infinitive fronting seems to have evolved into a progressive construction

(21) Maamá á-dzwî ba-n tabá á-ték-i.
    1.mother 1SM-kill.PST 2-goat 1SM-sell-PST
    Mother killed and sold the goats.

    Ambú, ndé bó wúna ki-téke káa-ték-i.
    no 3SG.PRN 2.PRN only INF-sell 1SM-sell-PST
    No, she only SOLD them. (SoA focus)

(22)*We kí má ki-dzá kan-dzá?
    1SG.PRN 7-what INF-eat 1SG.PRS-eat
    What are you eating?
2.5 SOV and predicate focus

• **predicate focus**: predicate doubling: infinitive fronting to IBV; **cannot** co-occur with focused object/adjunct fronting; infinitive fronting seems to have evolved into a progressive construction

(23) Gilbert ka ká-wî we mi-pará ni.
    Gilbert NEG 3SG-give.PST 2SG.PRN 4-moeny NEG
    Gilbert did not give you money.

    Ndé me mi-pará kí-wá kâ-wî.
    3SG.PRN 4-money INF-give 3SG.give.PST
    He DID give me money.              (truth focus)
2.4 SOV and contrastive/corrective focus

- **corrective focus**: always trigger SOV word order

(24) Maamá ka-bíra konío kukí Kinshasa.

1.mother 1SM-drive.PRS 5.truck PREP Kinshasa

Mother drives to Kinshasa.

Ndé konío ku Kampala ká-bíra.

3SG.PRN 5.truck PREP Kampala 1SM-drive.PRS.

No, she drives to Kampala.

(25) Ngaŋwâ maamá matsíka á-yók-i mu-kiiké ma-dzá mu nkunkólo?

9.truth 1.mother yesterday 1SM-wash-PST 3-baby 6-water PREP 9.evening

Did mother wash the baby yesterday evening?

Ambú, ndé mu-kiiké ma-dzá ali l éle ká-yók-i.

no 3SG.PRN 3-baby 6-water AUX.PST day.before.yesterday 1SM.PST-wash-PST

No, she washed the baby the day before yesterday.
2.4 SOV and contrastive/corrective focus

- **contrastive focus:**

(26) -Ná kí-má ká-tsiina?
  who 7-what 1SM-push
  -Mu-kái kí-rí ká-tsiina, balaka tábulu ká-tsiina.
  1-woman **7-chair** 1SM-push.PRS
  1.man **5.table** 1SM-push.PRS
  -Who pushes what?
  -The girl pushes the chair and the boy pushes the table.
2.5 focus particles

- **focus particle “only”:** commonly but not necessarily triggers SOV word order, SVO is also acceptable

(27) Mu-loí á-wî báana wúna ma-nkúru.
    1-teacher 1SM-give.PST 2.children **only 6-pen**
    The teacher gave the children only PENS.

(28) Gabriel wúna ndzulí ká-búnunm-i mu mámpa.
    Gabriel **only 1.cat** 1SM.PST-feed-PST PREP 6.bread
    Gabriel fed only the CAT bread.
2.5 focus particles

- **non-exclusive particle “even” “all”**: both SOV and SVO allowed

(29) Ba-sinuwá sé mvá ba-dzá.
   2-chinese even 1.dog 2-eat
   The Chinese eat even dog.

(30) Ba-sinuwá ba-dzá sé mvá.
   2-chinese 2-eat even 1.dog
   The Chinese eat even dog.

(31) Me bi-lóko bvié ám-péen-i.
   1SG.PRN 8-thing 8.all 1SM-lose-PST
   I have lost all the things.
2.6 interpretational differences with SOV and SOV

- SOV and SVO and (in)definiteness?

   3SG.PRN 1-woman 1SM-search.PRS
   He looks for a wife.

   b. Ndé ká-saká mu-káli.
   3SG.PRN 1SM-search.PRS 1-woman
   He looks for the/his wife.

(33) We ka mбуurú á-ma-múna ku ntáli, ka bu ni.
   2SG.PRN EMP 1.person 2SG-PERF-see PREP 9.other.place NEG 14.PRN NEG
   You have found another person, isn’t it?
2.6 interpretational differences with SOV and SOV

• SOV and SVO and (in)definiteness?

(34)a. Me kí-lóko kan-tsaká ki-nywâ.
1SG.PRN 7-thing 1SG.PRS-find INF-drink
I'm looking for something to drink.

b. Me kan-tsaká kí-lóko ki-nywâ.
1SG.PRN 1SG.PRS-find 7-thing INF-drink
I'm looking for the thing to drink.
2.6 interpretational differences with SOV and SOV

• incorporation?

(35) a. Me ka n-dzií ndzú ki-dzá ni.
   1SG.PRN NEG 1SG-like 9.peanut INF-eat NEG
   I do not like peanut-eating.

   b. Me ka n-dzií ki-dzá ndzú ni.
   1SG.PRN NEG 1SG-like INF-eat 9.peanut NEG
   I do not like to eat peanuts.

(36)a. Me ká mún-i ntaalí ni.
   1SG.PRN NEG 1.SM.see-PST 1.snake NEG
   I never saw a snake.

   b. Me ka ntaalí á-mún-i ni.
   1SG.PRN NEG 1.snake 1SM-see-PST NEG
   I did not see the snake. (I saw something else)
2.7 preliminary observation on IBV in Kukuya

- IBV seems to be a dedicated/preferred but not the only focus position in Kukuya (also postverbal)
- there is not only one preverbal position for object/adjunct fronting but only one preverbal focus position which is IBV
- IBV can be used for new information/contrastive/corrective focus
- IBV is more limited to object/adjunct focus (subject can be focused at IBV as new information?)
- exclusive focus needs not to be at IBV
- …
3. Variation of subject marking
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

(37)a. Taará ná á-béer-i?
   1.father who 1SM-beat-PST
   The father is beaten by whom? (Who beat father?)

b. Taará ná ká-béer-i?
   1.father who 1SM-beat-PST
   Who did the father beat?
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

- alternation of two sets of subject marking in all the three persons which co-varies with tense

- Paradigm (alternation A)

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<table>
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<td>preverbal focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

- Is this alternation sensitive to constituent order or to focus? Or both? Or none? Or else?

(38) Wúna me maamá ká-wî me ma-tabíri.
    only 1SG.PRN 1.mother 1SM-give.PST 1SG.PRN 6-gift
    It is only to me that mama gave gifts.

(39) Ndé ka-tsuomó ndírí mbuká taará ká-fúúm-i ku dzándu.
    3SG.PRN 1SM-think.PRS 3SG.say 5.bed 1.father 1SM-buy-PST
    PREP 9.market
    He thinks that it was a bed that father bought in the market.
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

(40) Ngaŋwâ maamá matsíka á-yók-i mu-kíiké ma-dzá mu 9.truth 1.mother yesterday 1SM-wash-PST 3-baby 6-water PREP nkunkólo? 9.evening
Did mother wash the baby yesterday evening?

Ambú, ndé mu-kíiké ma-dzá ali léle no 3SG.PRN 3-baby 6-water AUX.PST day.before.yesterday ká-yók-i.
1SM.PST-wash-PST
No, she washed the baby the day before yesterday.
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

(41) We kuní á-fúúm-í ntaba?
2SG.PRN where 2SG-buy-PST 1.goat
Me ám-fúúm-í ntaba ku Babíla.
1SG.PRN 1SG-buy-PST 1.goat PREP Babila
Where did you buy the small goat?
I bought the small goat in Babila.

(42) We ná á-mún-i ku mu-súru?
2SG.PRN who 2SG-see-PST PREP 3-forest
Ku mu-súru, me á-mún-i ba-kái bá-ka-tólo nkwî.
PREP 3-forest 1SG.PRN 1SG-see-PST 2-women 2-PROG-chop 9.firewood
Who did you see in the forest?
In the forest I saw women cutting the firefood.
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

(context: two men talk about sharing, one says if you share with someone else you will get repaid someday…)

(43) Kã ngáŋwǎ, yǐ lak-í we yii kabi yía, me
ali án-kab-i mbuurú nguumó.
AUX.PST 1SG-share-PST 1.person 1.one
That is true, what you said, I did share with one person.
3.1 alternation of subject marking in SVO and SOV

- alternation of subject marking in Mbuun
- only for 3SG and SOV

Table 1: The behaviour of Class 1 subject markers

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>non-object focus</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bostoen and Mundeke 2012)
3.2 subject marking in other foci

• **contrastive focus**: alternation of subject marking  (alternation B)

(44) (What did mother do to the clothes and the quilt?)
Ndé tí bí-ko bvii, ndé á-swaak-í mbúlu.
3SG.PRN throw.PST 8-clothes 8.DEM.II 3SG.PRN 1SM-wash-PST 9.quilt
She threw the clothes and washed the quilt.

(45) (What did grandmama give to the two girls Maria and Bergena?)
Ndé wî María ma-sabúnu, ndé á-wî Bergena bvi-kídza.
3SG.PRN give.PST Maria 6-soap 3SG.PRN 1SM-give.PST Bergena 8-food
She gave Maria soap and gave Bergena food.
3.2 subject marking in other foci

- **with focus particle “even”**: null subject marking

(46) Ló  bu  sé  Daniel dzí    bú-ka.
    today CONJ even Daniel **eat.PST 14-cassava**
    Today even Daniel ate cassava.

(47) Ló  bu  Gilbert  búnum-i  se  bi-ndoomó  mu  bviibi.
    today CONJ Gilbert **feed-PST even 8-sheep PREP 8.grass**
    Today Gilber fed even the SHEEP grass.

(48) Mwáana  wu-kái  ló  bu  swaak-í  sé  kí-puu.
    1.child  1-female today CONJ **wash-PST even 7-hat**
    The girl even washed the hat today.
3.3 subject marking in “thetic” sentences

• use of relative marking and alternation of subject marking

(49) Báana mukimá bá-li ya buokó?
   2.children why 2SM-be AUX.have 14.fear
   Why the children are frightened?

   Mu-ŋaaní wǔ ká-dzie ŋa kalá mbalí.
   1-crocodile 1.RM 1SM.PRS-walk PREP inside 9.yard
   A crocodile is walking in the yard.

(50) Kí-má kí-sî?
   7-what 7-do.PST
   What happened?

   Mpúku (wǔ) súruk-i kulá nzó.
   1.rat 1.RM fall-PST PREP.on 9.house
   A rat fell from the roof.
3.3 subject marking in “thetic” sentences

• use of relative marking and alternation of subject marking

(51) (Why is the old woman crying?)
Mwáana aa ndé (wű) kwî.
1.child 1.CONN 3SG.PRN 1.RM die.PST
Her son died. (the speaker does not see her son)

Mwáana aa ndé á-kwî.
1.child 1.CONN 3SG.PRN 3SM-die.PST
Her son died. (the speaker sees her son’s body)
3.4 summary and puzzles on subject marking

alternation A
• obligatory in IBV focus
• sensitive to focus as well as word order (to different extent)
• related to term focus and predicate focus
• never occurs in subject focus

alternation B
• three forms of subject marking (null, non-focus, focus)
• null subject marking expresses focus on the verb? (Tege B71)
• origin and distribution?
4. Functional passive constructions
4.1 OSV

- OSV passive

(52) Nkiní ba-nzulí bá-dzí.
   5.corn 2-cat 2-eat.PST
   The corn is eaten by the cats.

(53) Ndíri me mu-káli me báana ki-mbúli á-dzí.
   3SG.say 1SG.PRN 1-wife 1SG.PRN 2.children 7.lion 1SM-eat.PST
   (He) says "my wife and my children were eaten by the lion."
(54) Mu-kálí ká-tsuomó nziimí mu-lúmi aa ndé wǔ-ye
1-women 1SM-think.PRS much 1-husband 1.CONN 3SG.PRN 1.RM-go
mbhií ndíri ki-mbúli ka kí-dzá.
3.hunting 3SG.say 7-lion EMP 7-eat
The wife worries about the husband who went hunting being eaten by lion.
4.1 OSV and subject focus?

(55) -Ná ndé á-siim-í mú-bhiíí?

who 3SG.PRN 1-attack-PST 1-hunter

-Mu-bhií kí-mbúlí kí-siim-i.

1-hunter 7-lion 7-attack-PST

-Who attacked the hunter?
-Who attacked the hunter?
4.1 OSV and cleft

(56) Ko lía nkíma á-tsilik-i.
  5.banana 5.DEM.II 1.monkey 3SG.PST-cut-PST
It was the banana that the monkey cut.
4.2 3PL impersonal passive

(57) Mbǎ báa-dzíib-i mu ki-fúlá.
3.fire 3PL-extinguish-PST PREP 5-wind
The fire is extinguished by the wind.

(58) *Ndé bá-béer-i mu mbuurú.
3SG.PRN 3PL-beat-PST PREP 1.person
?He was beaten by someone.
4.2 3PL impersonal passive

(59)*Ma-ntséke báa-pfuk-í má-dza mu ná?
6-field 3PL-water-PST 6-water PREP who
?The fields are watered by whom?

(60) Bi-ndomó bâ-dzí mu ki-mbúli.
8-sheep 3PL-eat.PST PREP 7-lion
The sheep were eaten by lion.
4.3 status of the fronted object

- promotional or not?

- **Tests on subjectivalization** in Mbuun (Boetoen and Mundeke 2011)
  
a. It can be indefinite.
b. It can be an inherently focussed *wh*-word.
c. It can be the antecedent of a direct relative in which the antecedent corresponds to the grammatical subject of the relative clause.
d. It is available for subject-to-object raising.
e. It is available for subject-to-subject raising.
f. It allows the dislocation of a second NP to its left.
g. It triggers a passive reading as part of a relative clause.
h. It triggers a passive reading as part of a sentential complement.
4.3 status of the fronted object

a. It can be indefinite.
   (61) Kilóko se kí-mó me ka ntsî ni.
   7-thing even 7-one 1SG.PRN NEG 1SG-do.PST NEG
   I did not do anything. (Nothing is done by me.)

   (62) Mbuurú me ka kámúni ni.
   1.person 1SG.PNR NEG 1SG-see-PST NEG
   I saw nobody. (Nobody was seen by me.)

   (63) Mbuurú mvá á-tsú-i.
   1.person 1.dog 3SG.PST-bite-PST
   Somebody was bitten by dog.
4.3 status of the fronted object

b. It can be an inherently focussed *wh*-word.

(64) Kíma báa-kúna?
   what 3PL-plant.PRS
   What is planted?

cleft?
4.3 status of the fronted object

f. It allows the dislocation of a second NP to its left. (?)

(65) Ndíri me mu-káli me báana ki-mbúli á-dzí.
3SG.say 1SG.PRN 1-wife 1SG.PRN 2.children 7.lion 1SM-eat.PST
(He) says "my wife and my children were eaten by the lion."
4.3 status of the fronted object

g. It triggers a passive reading as part of a relative clause?

(66) Mu-kái \textit{wu-kí-píí} miili mbǎ ka ká-kukí dzíe ni.
\begin{tabular}{lllllllll}
1-woman & 1.RM-7-burn & 4.legs & 9.fire & NEG & 3SG-can & 3SG.walk & NEG & ni \\
\end{tabular}
The woman whose legs are burnt by fire cannot walk well.

(67) Mwáana \textit{wu-kí-bír-í} \textit{mvá bvi-kídza} bu ká-lilá ká-kínima mu ntsíe.
\begin{tabular}{llllllllllll}
1.child & 1.RM-7-rob-PST & 1.dog & 8.food & PREP & 1SM.PRS-cry & 1SM.PRS-roll & PREP & 9.ground & \\
\end{tabular}
The child whose food is robbed by a dog is crying and rolling on the ground.
(The child from whom the dog robbed the food is crying and rolling on the ground)
4.3 status of the fronted object

• with resumptive pronoun

(68) Mbuurú wu-yámba taará a-wî ndé ko.
1.man 1RM-beggar 1.father 1SM-give.PST 3SG.PRN 5.banana
To the beggar, the father has given a banana.

(69) Mbúka yií am-fú-u me mi-pará mbuurú ka
9.place 9.DEM.I 1SM.put-PST 1SG.PRN 4-money 1.people NEG ká-
swoon-i yó ni.
3SG-find-PST 9.PRN NEG
The place where I dispose the money is not found by anyone.
4.3 status of the fronted object

- **without resumptive pronoun**

(70) Nkiní ba-nzulí bá-dzí.
   5.corn 2-cat 2-eat.PST
   The corn is eaten by the cats.

(71) Ndíri me mu-káli me báana ki-mbúli á-dzí.
   3SG.say 1SG.PRN 1-wife 1SG.PRN 2.children 7.lion 1SM-eat.PST
   (He) says "my wife and my children were eaten by the lion."
5. puzzles
5. puzzles

• Whether and to what extent the prosodic domain may be related to the IBV focus position?
• Is OSV and ba- promotional passive?
• What determines the alternation of subject marking?
• Why IBV focus? (the verb in Teke doesn't raise high enough to precede the low FocusP above vP?)
• What key data are lacking?
• Tone
References

Koen Bostoen & Leon Mundeke. 2012. Subject marking, object-verb order and focus in Mbuun (Bantu, B87), Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, 30:2, 139-154