

Morphology and information structure in the comparative analysis of additive focus marking

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Analyses of additive focus particles to date have predominantly been concerned with examples from European languages such as German *auch*, English *too*, or French *aussi* (e.g. König 1991, Reis & Rosengren 1997, Krifka 1999, Sæbø 2004, Beck 2007, Lenertová & Sudhoff 2007, Winterstein 2010, amongst others; cf. also Lee & Pan 2010 on Cantonese *tim*). These particles are typically monomorphemic, without internal structure, and their morphology has not played a significant role for their analysis.

However, across the world's languages, a variety of formal expressions of focus particles are found, including morphologically complex forms. Swahili, for example, has three additive focus particles, two of which are morphologically complex. We will focus on forms like *na*+Pron as seen in (1), which are composed of a conjunction/comitative preposition and a pronominal clitic. In *naye* in (1), the class 1 pronominal clitic *-ye* agrees with the class 1 noun *Sadru*.

- (1) Sadru **na-ye** a-li-tamk-a kwa sauti
1.Sadru CONJ-RC1 SM1-PST-speak-FV with voice
'Sadru, too, spoke loudly' (Swahili) (Lem Yar 110:020)

The meaning of (1) is that someone else, in addition to Sadru, spoke loudly. The Swahili additive focus marker is similar to the more familiar examples in two respects. It is associated with a topic and it presupposes a context which contains the proposition asserted holding of some other referent. However, here these two characteristics are encoded more transparently in the morphological form of the marker: the conjunction requires the establishment of some contextually supplied parallel proposition, while the pronominal clitic marks the association with the topic.

Constructions similar to the Swahili example in (1) are found in related Bantu languages, as well as without Bantu, including Kinande (Bantu D42, Schneider-Zioga 2015), Tswana (Bantu S31, Creissels 1996: 110), Romanian (Schulte 2006), Bulgarian (Tania Kuteva, p.c.) and Swedish (Erik Magnusson Petzell, p.c.).

In this talk we present cross-linguistic examples of additive focus marking, with specific focus on Bantu languages. Domains of variation include the form and nature of the conjunction/preposition, the nature of the pronominal element (pronominal clitic, full pronoun, possessive pronoun, complex pronoun, or, in a related construction, full lexical noun), the order of conjunction/preposition and pronoun and syntactic restrictions on the position of the particle (e.g. post-topic or clause-final).

The results of the study chart the variation in morphological form and syntactic restrictions of additive focus marking, and provide evidence for different typological generalisations. More generally, the talk will demonstrate 1) the interaction of conjunctions/prepositions and pronominal elements for information structure and the interpretation of additive focus, 2) dimensions of variation of additive focus marking, 3) the value of detailed cross-linguistic studies of morphosyntactic microvariation, in particular of lesser-described languages, and 4) the particular perspective on the interaction of morphosyntactic structure and information structure additive focus markers provide.