

Strategies for exhaustive focus marking in Hehe
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This presentation is about linguistic forms through which exhaustive focus is marked in Hehe (G62). Hehe is a language spoken in Tanzania. The question of modeling focused constituents has raised attention among Bantuists. However, a great variation is witnessed across Bantu both on the number of strategies instantiating exclusive/exhaustive focus and their syntax. In this study, I present six strategies whose meaning trigger exhaustive interpretation as particle ‘only.’ These strategies are ‘clefting,’ ‘CV marker,’ ‘predicate doubling,’ particles *swe*, *ng’ani*, and ‘*hela*.’ I also present particle *na* whose positioning determines both scalar and additive reading. Finally, I present several diagnostic tests to verify the exhaustiveness of each strategy. To unveil the situation, I present examples (1-16) followed by a brief explanation.

(1) **Ye**-Kilonge ye-a-li-e.
1REL-1.Kilonge 1.REL-1SM-eat-PFV
‘It is (*only) Kilonge who ate.’

(2) Va-a-li-e **ga**-ma-harage.
3PL.SM-PST-eat-PFV EXH-6-bean
‘They ate only beans.’

Context: Ulimite kumihago na kufuka?

Did you cultivate both to the east and to the west?

(3) Nda, ndi-lim-ite **ku**-ku-mihago
No, 1.SG.SM-cultivate-PFV EXH-17-east
‘No, I have cultivated only to the east.’

(4) N-i-kimbil-a **ku**-ku-kimbila
1SG.SM-PRES-run-FV EXH-15-run
‘I only.run.’

(5) Tu-a-lim-ite **swe**.
1PL.SM-PST-dig-PFV only
‘We only cultivated.’

Context: In the village where mixed crop cultivation is practiced (maize, beans, and sunflower). One is seen with one type of seeds, say maize. Astonishingly, the neighbor asks:

(6) Kumbindawuli u-i-vial-a ma-sebele **ngani**?
Why 2SG.SM-PRES-SOW-FV 6-maize only
‘Why are you sowing only maize?’

Q: U-mu-ana a-fwal-ite ki-ki?
AUG-1-child 1SM-wear-PFV 7-what
‘What did the child wear?’

(7) A-a-fwal-ite gwanda **ng’ani**.
1SM-PST-wear-PFV 9.shirt only
‘S/he wore only a shirt.’

Context: in the village council where both men and women had to meet and discuss about the development of their village. What about the meeting/ attendance?

(8) Va-sile va-mwayuva **ng’ani**.
3SM-come-PFV 3-women only
‘Only women came.’

Context: the farming and harvesting seasons are over. One asks, ‘What are you doing these days?’

(9) Tu-i-li-a **hela**.
1PL.SM-PRES-eat-FV only
‘We are only eating.’ (Not working).

Context: Tengelimala visits Twilumba and after just a short period of time Tengelimala seems to be in hurry. Twilumba asks the visitor ‘why do you look too hurry?’

(10) Ndi-i-hungil-a **hela**.
1SM-PRES-great-FV only
‘I am only greeting.’ (Not doing anything else).

