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Word order, information structure and agreement in Teke-Kukuya Li, Z.

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English summary

The first part of the thesis provides a grammar sketch of this language as a reference source for general readers and for Bantuists as well as typologists. The second part presents and discusses the interactions between word order variation and information structure, with particular interest in the IBV focus position, its historical origin and structural representation and the class 1 SM alternation that is associated with the use of the focus position.

The grammar sketch in chapter 2 first introduced the phonology of the language, including segmental phonology and the prosodic system. Compared with many other Teke varieties, Kukuya shows less phonological reduction, such as the preservation of CV- shape nominal prefixes and optional vowel nasalisation. The language employs five fixed tone patterns which are mapped onto certain prosodic domains. Interestingly, the postlexical prosodic domain in Kukuya consists of a stem with the following prefix. The stem-initial prominence is also discussed, which can be reflected in the facts that only the stem-initial consonant has the full inventory and the tone on the stem-initial syllable is always stable and not subject to tone change rules. The description on the nominal morphology shows that Kukuya is typical of a Bantu language in that it makes use of the noun class system including locative classes, and I also introduced the nominal derivation rules such as the formation of diminutives. I also presented the functions of the adnominal modifiers in the noun phrase

and their concord patterns with the head noun. The verb shows less agglutinative morphology than in a prototypical Bantu language, since object marking and verbal extensions are completely lost, which is a tendency attested more widely in northwestern Bantu. Both segmental and tonal strategies are attested in expressing TAM distinctions. In the introduction of the clause structure, I presented the agreeing *say*-complementisers, the structure of relative clauses, as well as different kinds of adverbial clauses.

Chapter 3 contributes to a description of the expression of information structure in Kukuya. The chapter is mainly concerned with different kinds of word order variation in the language that are influenced by information structure. I first discussed the canonical word order of the language and what discourse functions it can have. Then I provided an overview on the functions and interpretation of the dedicated IBV focus position, showing that the IBV position is available for arguments including subject and object, as well as for adjuncts to get focused. The IBV focused element often has an identificational/contrastive focus reading. I also introduced different kinds of topical elements in the preverbal domain, proposing the distinction between primary and secondary topics. I presented two specific constructions that can function as the equivalent of a passive, namely the OSV and the impersonal *ba*-constructions. The language also makes use of cleft constructions to express focus. I presented the structure and functions of the basic cleft, (reverse) pseudo-cleft and the so-called reduced cleft. In general, the Kukuya language behaves as a discourse-configurational language.

Chapter 4 continued the discussion on the IBV focus strategy, and concentrated on the investigation of its historical origin. I hypothesised that the IBV focus construction originates from a cleft, and I corroborated this hypothesis by presenting segmental and tonal evidence that connects these two constructions. I showed that the two constructions share many grammatical properties such as the H tone prefix on the focused element, the class 1 SM alternation and the H tone insertion on the SM, as well as the verb-final H tone in the context of non-subject focus. Based on these shared features, I proposed a grammaticalisation pathway from a basic cleft to the IBV focus construction, arguing that the latter is developing from a biclausal cleft towards a monoclausal focus construction. At the

end of the chapter I also made reference to some other West-Coastal Bantu languages in which the IBV focus position is also attested, displaying some micro-variation with regard to this focus strategy.

The syntactic analysis of the IBV focus construction and the associated class 1 SM allomorphy is given in chapter 5. I first discussed the structural representation of the canonical SVO order, deciding the structural position of the verb and the grammatical subject. Then I discussed the structural position of the IBV focused element. I showed that the IBV element undergoes A'-movement, and there is one unique IBV position that is available for both focal subject and focal non-subject. I compared the low FocP and the high FocP approaches to accommodate the IBV focus element, and proposed that the IBV element is located in the specifier of a high FocP which is in the extended TP domain above TP. The rest of the chapter investigated the syntax of the class 1 SM alternation. Since this allomorphy is a shared grammatical feature with the cleft/relative constructions and the subject agreement patterns in relatives are also interesting in Kukuya syntax, I first presented the subject agreement morphology in subject and non-subject relatives. Based on the Defective Goal approach and the distinction between Full and Minimal Agree, I proposed the presence of an extra [Person]-layer on certain pronouns and provided an analysis of the agreement asymmetries between preverbal and postverbal subjects. I also generalised the lexical insertion rules for the spell-out of SMs. At the end of the chapter, I probed the structure of the reduced cleft and the IBV focus construction, investigating the class 1 SM alternation in both constructions. I proposed that the initial topical element in the IBV focus construction is always base-generated and under non-subject focus it can control a clause-internal ϕ P that function as the true argument of the verb. The SM *ka-* is spelled out as a result of the agreement between T and the ϕ P that equals to the 3rd [Person] feature.

