

## Chapter 6

# Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal

Hasiyatu Abubakari<sup>1</sup>

### 1 Introduction

Predicate Focus Construction is one of the many concepts in linguistics that has received considerable attention in the literature with several contributions from West African languages. Notable among these are the Kwa languages such as Ewe(gbe) (Ameka, 1992), Akan (Boadi, 1974), Fɔn(gbe) (Lefebvre 1992) Yoruba (Manfredi 1993) among others. At the time of this work, only two Maba languages are known to have received such attention. These are Buli (Hiraiwa 2005a) and Dagaare (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008). The need for more work to fill the gap on Predicate Cleft Constructions (henceforth PCCs) in Maba languages cannot be overemphasized. It is in this light that this work aims at exploring the various patterns of PCCs in Kusaal. On the interaction between PCCs and SVCs, three predicate cleft patterns are observed. It is possible to cleft  $V_1$  or  $V_2$  or the  $V_1 + V_2$  complex. It is also possible to cleft the object in SVCs with either  $V_1$  or  $V_2$  or both  $V_1 + V_2$ . The questions this article seeks to answer include: (1) what are the structural properties of PCCs in Kusaal, and (2) how do we account for the observed patterns/properties of PCCs in the language? The structure of this work is as follows. In section 2 the various properties of PCCs in Kusaal are discussed. Section 3 looks at the interaction of PCCs and SVCs in Kusaal. Section four provides an analysis of PCCs in Kusaal by building on the work of Hiraiwa (2005a, b) and Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008). Finally, section 5 summarizes the work.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> **Corresponding author:** Hasiyatu Abubakari, Department of Public Relations, University of Professional Studies, Accra, P.O. Box LG 149, Accra, Ghana. **Email:** abu.hasiyatu@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> This paper is a revised version of aspects of my MPhil thesis submitted to the University of Tromsø, Norway. Kúsáál is a Maba language spoken in Ghana, Burkina Faso and Togo. Data in this work is gathered from speakers of the Agole Dialect which is spoken in Bawku and its surrounding villages.

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## 2. Predicate Cleft Constructions

PCCs in Kusaal involve the movement of the verb to the left periphery position, which is directly followed by the contrastive focus marker **kà**.<sup>3</sup> It will be observed that not only can the verb be fronted, but the verb and the object can be pied-piped to the left periphery position in Kusaal. Speakers often drop the copula in PCCs in this language. In order to show that the copula is optional, I put it in brackets in the data used in this paper. The subsequent subsections look at the various properties of PCCs as they occur in Kusaal.

### 2.1 Properties of Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal

#### 2.1.1 Focus Interpretation

Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal receive a contrastive focus interpretation with another predicate in the same construction after they have been moved to the left periphery position. These semantic interpretations of PCCs are attestations that they are focus constructions.

- (1) a. **Pu'a' lá dàà k̄va'a dáam**<sup>4</sup>  
 woman DEF PST brew daam  
 'The woman brewed *daam*'

- b. (Lì àné) **k̄va'àb** **kà** **pu'a' lá dàà k̄va'a dáam.**  
 (it is) brew:NML FOC woman DEF PST brew daam  
 'It is brewing that the woman did of **daam**' (as opposed to e.g. selling it).

In this example, (1b), the verb **k̄va'a** 'brew' is contrastively focused and as such moved to the left periphery of the entire sentence and assigned with a contrastive focus interpretation. The predicate cleft sentence in the above illustration depicts a situation where someone asked "Did you say the woman SOLD **daam**?" In denying the statement the speaker answers "No, It is BREWING that she brewed **daam**". Another possible context where (1b) can be used is in answering the Yes-No question in (2).

<sup>3</sup> The particle **kà** is an ex-situ contrastive focus particle in Kúsààl. It occurs immediately after any item fronted to the left periphery of any construction. Focused *wh*-questions are equally followed by the particle **kà** (Aboh 2007, Abubakari 2016). Fronting of any sort to the left in Kúsààl forces a contrastive focus interpretation of the focused constituent (Abubakari 2011).

<sup>4</sup> **Daam** is the name for a locally brewed drink in the Upper East Region of Ghana.

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- (2) a. (Fù yèlì yé) pu'a' lá dàà kūōs dáám bée?  
 2SG say COMP woman DEF PST sell daam Q.marker  
 ‘(Did you say that) the woman sold *daam*’
- b. Pu'a' lá dàà kūā'ā dáám bée ò dàà kūōs dáám?  
 woman DEF PST brew daam or 3SG PST sold daam  
 ‘Did the woman brew **daam** or she sold **daam**?’

Example (1b) is used as an answer to the questions in (2a and 2b). PCCs in this language can also be used to answer focused *wh*-Questions as in (3).

- (3) a. Bó kà nídíp lá māālè?  
 what FOC people DEF work  
 ‘What did the people do?’
- b. (Lì àné) kúób kà nídíp lá kūā pòòg lá.  
 (it is) clear:NML FOC people DEF clear farm DEF  
 ‘It is clearing the farm that the people did.’

### 2.1.2 Nominalization of clefted predicates

In Kusaal as in (4), just like Buli in (5) and Dagaare in (6), clefted predicates are morphologically nominalised. After nominalising the dislocated verb, the original copy still gets to be pronounced. The reasons for the nominalization and double pronunciation of focused predicates will be discussed in section 4.

- (4) a. Pu'a'b là dàà kūā pòòg lá wùsà.  
 women DEF PST clear:PERF farm DEF all  
 ‘The women cleared the entire farm.’
- b. Kúób kà pu'a'b lá dàà kūā pòòg lá wùsà.  
 Clear:NML FOC women DEF PST clear:PERF farm DEF all  
 ‘It is clearing that the women cleared the entire farm.’

In (4b) the verb **kua** ‘clear’ receives a contrastive focus interpretation and moves to the left periphery. It is obligatorily nominalised to **kuob**. Below are illustrations of nominalisation in PCCs in Buli (5) and Dagaare (6) respectively.

- (5) a. Atîm dè mǎngò-kǔ dīēm. (Buli)  
 Atî ate mango-DEF yesterday  
 ‘Atîm ate the mango yesterday.’ (Hiraiwa 2005a: 554)
- b. (ka) dē-kā/-tāāli/àtî Atîm dè mǎngò dīēm.  
 FOC eat-NML.SG/-NML.PLC Atîm ate mango yesterday  
 ‘It is eating(s) that Atîm ate a mango yesterday.’

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- (6) a. **Dākōraá' bōng ka' nì da' da' la' boó.** (Dagaare)  
 Dākōraá' know COMP 1SG PST buy FOC goat  
 'Dākōraá' knows that I bought a goat.' (Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008: 804))
- b. **daáo' la' kà Dākōraá' bōng ka' nì da' da' la' boó.**  
 Buy:NML FOC COMP Dākōraá' know COMP 1SG PST buy FOC goat  
 'It is buying that Dākōraá' knows that I did to a goat (as opposed to e.g. selling it).'

### 2.1.3 Long-distance predicate clefting

Long distance predicate clefting is possible in Kusaal as illustrated in example (7b) below.

- (7) a. **Àsíbí mī' yé pu'a' lá kūa'ā dáám.**  
 Asibi know COMP woman DEF brew daam  
 'Asibi knows that the woman brewed daam.'
- b. **(Lì àné) kūa'āb kà Àsíbí mī' yé pu'a' lá kūa'ā dáám**  
 (it is) brew:NML FOC Asibi know COMP woman DEF brew daam  
 'It is brewing that Asibi knows the woman did (as opposed to e.g. selling daam).'

However, predicate clefting out of an island is not possible. This is attested from the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (8b).

- (8) a. **Pu'a' lá kúl, ká bà nán dī dííb lá.**  
 woman DEF go\_home CONJ 3PL before eat food DEF  
 'The woman went home before they ate the food'
- b. **\*(Lì àné) dít kà pu'a' lá kúl ká bà nán**  
 (it is) eat.NML FOC woman DEF go\_home CONJ 3PL. before  
**dī dííb lá**  
 eat food DEF  
 \*'It is eating that the woman went home before they ate the food.'

### 2.1.4 Object pied-piping

The object, as demonstrated in (9), can be optionally pied-piped in predicate cleft constructions in Kusaal. In such occurrences, it is moved to the left periphery and its original copy is not pronounced. Anytime the object is pied-piped, it precedes the nominalised predicate and both (object and predicate) receive the contrastive focus interpretation.

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- (9) (Lì àné) dáám kúà'àb kà m̃ dàà kūa'ā (\*lì/\*dáám).  
 (it is) daam brew:NML FOC 1SG PST brew (it/daam)  
 (LIT.) 'It is brewing daam that I did (as opposed to e.g. selling daam).'

Pied-piping in Kusaal, just as indicated by Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) for Dagaare, is also not due to incorporation. This is because the head can be moved alongside several other elements.

- (10) Dáám lá/dáám bédègɔ́ kánná kúà'àb kà m̃ dàà kūa'ā.  
 Daam DEF/daam plenty DEM brew:NML FOC 1SG PST brew  
 (LIT.) 'It is brewing that plenty daam that I did.'

There is no limitation on the syntactic size of a pied-piped object. The example in (10) for instance involves a definite DP with an accompanying adjective. This occurrence should not be misconstrued as evidence of multiple focusing which, in fact, is ungrammatical in Kusaal as demonstrated in (11).

- (11) \*súug<sub>i</sub> lá ní'ím<sub>j</sub> kà ò nók t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> nwāe  
 knife DEF meat FOC 3SG take.PERF cut  
 'It is the knife, meat that he took and cut.'
- 

The ungrammaticality of (11) shows that (9) and (10) are derived by moving larger syntactic constituents. Object pied-piping involves the movement of an entire “object-predicate” complex which receives a semantic focus interpretation with another Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008).

## 2.2 Summary

It has so far been demonstrated that PCCs in Kusaal involve the fronting of the predicate to the left periphery of the entire construction followed by the contrastive focus particle *kà*. Fronted predicates correlate with a contrastive focus interpretation with or without another predicate in the same construction. Fronted predicates are obligatorily nominalized, with the original copy still pronounced at the base origin. Long distance predicate clefting as well as object pied-piping are all permissible in Kusaal. What is ungrammatical is multiple focusing. Next is a discussion on the interaction between serial verb constructions and predicate cleft constructions.

## 3 Serial Verb Constructions and Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal

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As a Mabilia language of West Africa, Kusaal is among several attested serializing languages in the literature in which series of verbs are used to express single or consecutive events without any overt markers of subordination or coordination. The verbs in SVCs in Kusaal share single tense node, same subject and object with the latter (object) only possible when the verbs are two or three place predicate verbs (Abubakari 2011; Bodomo 1993; Collins 1997). Using the various tests for SVCs in the literature (Bodomo 1997; Collins 1997; Hiwaira and Bodomo 2008), I illustrate that object-sharing SVCs in Kusaal are true SVCs distinct from Coordinating Constructions in the language.

### 3.1 *The single tense marker test and the empty pronoun test*

Preverbal particles are used in marking the remoteness of activities or events in Kusaal. The particle **sa** codes events that are a day old, **daa** codes events that are two days old but less than a year and **da** codes events that are more than a year old (Abubakari 2011). In SVCs, only a single particle can be used to express time, and the said particle must occur after the subject and before the first verb, with its scope spreading across the entire construction (12a). Coordinating constructions on the other hand can have different particles coding different time frames. The examples in (12) further show that SVCs do not have an overt pronoun after the second verb (12a) but the use of an overt pronoun after the second verb is licit in a coordinating construction as in (12b).

- (12) a.    **Àdúk dà dā' ná'áfù kūōs \*(lí)**  
           Aduk PST buy.PERF cow sell.PERF it  
           ‘Aduk bought a cow and sold it.’
- b.    **Àdúk dà dā' ná'áfù ká (sà) kūōs (lí).**  
           Aduk PST buy.PERF cow CONJ PST sell.PERF it  
           ‘Aduk bought a cow and sold it.’

The single tense test is more evident when aspectual morphemes are used in SVCs in Kusaal. Whilst all the series of verbs in SVCs must have the same aspectual suffix morpheme (13a), coordinating constructions can have different aspectual suffix morphemes in which contexts the conjunction is also obligatorily required as in (13b). This is one difference between SVCs in Kusaal and Dagaare: in the latter, a construction that is not a typical SVC can have different aspectual suffix morphemes and yet a conjunction is also not obligatory as in (13c).

- (13) a.    **Bà ẓṭné kēnné àní dīt múí lá.**  
           3PL run.IMPERF go.IMPERF DEM eat.IMPERF rice DEF  
           ‘They ran there to eat the rice always.’
- b.    **Bà ẓ kēŋ àní (\*ká) dīt múí lá.**

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3PL run.PERF go.PERF DEM CONJ eat.IMPERF rice DEF

‘They ran there and are eating the rice.’

c. **Ba zo gaa di-re la.** (Dagaare)

3PL run.PERF go.PERF eat-IMPERF la

They ran there and they are now eating.’ (Bodomo 1997:112-113)

### 3.2 The negation test

In Kusaal SVCs, the negative particle **pu/bo** must obligatorily occur before  $V_1$  and its scope spreads across the entire construction.

(14) a. **Bà pú dūg dííb dī.**

3PL NEG cook.PERF food eat.PERF

‘They did not cook food and eat.’

b. **\*Bà dūg dííb pú dī.**

3PL cook.PERF food NEG eat.PERF

(Lit.) ‘They cooked food and did not eat it.’

c. **\*Bà pú dūg dííb pú dī.**

PL NEG cook.PERF food NEG eat.PERF

(Lit.) ‘They did not cook food and did not eat it.’

In overt coordinating constructions, on the other hand, the negative particle can occur before the  $V_2$  as in (15a) compared to (14b). This is another major difference between SVCs and overt coordinating constructions in Kusaal.

(15) a. **Bà dūg dííb ká pú dī.**

3PL cook.PERF food CONJ NEG eat.PERF

‘They cooked food and did not eat it.’

b. **Bà pú dūg ká dííb pú dī.**

3PL NEG cook.PERF CONJ food NEG eat.PERF

‘They cooked and ate/There is no instance when they cooked and did not eat.’

(Lit. They did not cook food and did not eat it)

Double negation in coordinate constructions where the negative particle precedes both  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  results in a positive interpretation, as in (15b).

### 3.3 The extraction test

Unlike SVCs that are not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967) as shown by the possibility of extracting the object (16a), it is ungrammatical to extract the object in overt coordinate structures as in (16b-c) in Kusaal.

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- (16) a. **Bó kà bà sà dūg dī.**  
 what FOC 3PL PST cook.PERF eat.PERF  
 ‘What did they cook and eat?’
- b. **\*Bó kà bà sà dūg ká dī lí.**  
 what FOC 3PL PST cook.PERF CONJ eat.PERF it  
 ‘What did they cook and then eat.’
- c. **\*Bó kà bà sà dūg ká dī.**  
 what FOC 3PL PST cook.PERF CONJ eat.PERF  
 ‘What did they cook and eat?’

From the various tests illustrated above, object-sharing SVCs in Kusaal demonstrate features that clearly set them apart from overt coordinating constructions in the language. Having shown that object-sharing SVCs in Kusaal are true SVCs, I will now discuss interactions between SVCs and PCCs in Kusaal.

The interaction between serial verb constructions and predicate cleft constructions has so far received quite little attention among languages (cf. Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008 for Dagaare; Manfredi n.d. for Yoruba; Stewart 2001 for Edo; Lefebvre and Brosseau 2002 for Fongbe; Kandybowicz 2006 for Nupe; and Hiraiwa 2005a, 2005b for Buli). Most of these languages do not allow the clefting of  $V_2$  and or object pied-piping. The table below is taken from Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) and it shows a cross-linguistic variation of the possible pied-piping patterns between PCCs and SVCs.

Table. 1. Cross-linguistic Variation of PCCs and SVCs (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008)

|                    | Buli | Yoruba | Edo  | Nupe | Fongbe | Dagaare |
|--------------------|------|--------|------|------|--------|---------|
| V                  | o.k. | o.k.   | o.k. | o.k. | o.k.   | o.k.    |
| $V_1 + \text{Obj}$ | o.k. | o.k.   | *    | *    | *      | o.k.    |
| $V_2$              | *    | *      | o.k. | *    | o.k.   | o.k.    |
| $V_2 + \text{Obj}$ | *    | *      | *    | *    | *      | o.k.    |
| $V_1 + V_2$        | o.k. | o.k.   | *    | (*)  | *      | o.k.    |

In this section, I intend to demonstrate the possibility of pied-piping the verbs as well as the object in SVCs in Kusaal. Object-sharing SVCs in Kusaal have three possible predicate cleft patterns. It is possible to either have  $V_1$  clefted excluding  $V_2$ , or  $V_2$  clefted excluding  $V_1$ , or both  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  clefted together.

- (17) a. **Ò dàà sēn' ní'ím ɔnb.**

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3SG PST roast meat chew

‘He roasted meat and chewed it.’

b. (Lì àné) sén'ép kà ò dàà sēn' ní'ím ōnb.

(it is) roast.NML FOC 3SG PST roast meat chew

‘It is roasting that he did and chewed meat (as opposed to e.g. boiling it)’.

(clefting of V<sub>1</sub>)

c. (Lì àné) ónbíd kà ò dàà sēn' ní'ím ōnb.

(it is) chew.NML FOC 3SG PST roast meat chew

‘It is chewing that he roasted and did to meat (as opposed to e.g. throwing it away)’ (clefting of V<sub>2</sub>).

d. (Lì àné) sén'ép né ónbíd kà ò dàà sēn' ní'ím ōnb.

(it is) roast CONJ chew.NML FOC 3SG PST roast meat chew

‘It is roasting and chewing that he did to meat (as opposed to e.g. buying something else)’ (clefting of V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>)

The interpretations in (17) are contrastive due to the contrastive focusing of the clefted predicates. What is happening is nothing different from our earlier predicate clefting examples. More significantly, the object in object-sharing SVCs can equally be pied-piped with V<sub>1</sub> or V<sub>2</sub><sup>5</sup> or V<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub> as illustrated in (18).

(18) a. (Lì àné) ní'ím sén'ép kà ò sēn' ōnb.

it is) meat roast.NML FOC 3SG roast chew

‘It is roasting meat that he did and chewed (as opposed to e.g. boiling rice).’

(clefting of V<sub>1</sub> + OBJ)

b. (Lì àné) ní'ím ónbíd kà ò sēn' ōnb.

(it is) meat chew.NML FOC 3SG roast chew

‘It is chewing meat that he roasted and did (as opposed to throwing away and not something else).’ (clefting of V<sub>2</sub> + OBJ)

c. (Lì àné) ní'í m sén'ép né ónbíd kà ò sēn' ōnb.

<sup>5</sup> It is important to mention that respondents were divided over the possibility of pied-piping the object and the V<sub>2</sub> during my field work for data collection. The opponents gave the reason that ‘it was not natural for people to say that’. Those who admit the possibility of pied-piping V<sub>2</sub> + Object based their argument on the context and the desired interpretation. I include V<sub>2</sub> + object because (1) it is not ungrammatical, and (2) it pragmatically qualifies as a speech utterance in the language as long as the right context is created. Data in this work was mainly solicited based on context. The desired utterances and interpretation are based on pragmatics.

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(it is) meat roast CONJ chew.NML FOC 3SG roast chew

‘It is roasting meat and chewing it that he did (as opposed to doing something else.)’ (clefting of  $V_1 + V_2 + \text{OBJ}$ )

Since I indicated earlier that pied-piping is not as a result of multiple fronting, it therefore means that the object in (18) can form a syntactic constituent with either  $V_1$  or  $V_2$ . The pied-piped object is part of the elements that receive contrastive focus interpretation. For example (18a) shows that HE ROASTED MEAT and chewed it and NOT that he boiled rice and ate it. Example (19) is used for further illustration.

- (19) a. **Bípuŋ lá dáá kūa'ā dáám kūōs.**  
 lady DEF PST brew daam sell  
 ‘The lady brewed daam and sold it.’
- b. **(Lì àné) dáám kúa'àp kà bípuŋ lá dáá kūa'ā kūōs.**  
 (it is) daam brew.NML FOC lady DEF PST brew sell  
 ‘It is brewing daam that the lady did and sold.’
- c. **(Lì àné) dáám kuòsùk kà bípuŋ lá dáá kūa'ā kūōs.**  
 (it is) daam sell.NML FOC lady DEF PST brew sell  
 ‘It was selling daam that the lady **brewed** and did.’
- d. **(Lì àné) dáám kúa'àp né kuòsùk kà bípuŋ**  
 (it is) daam brew.NML CONJ sell.NML FOC lady  
**lá dáá kūa'ā kūōs.**  
 DEF PST brew sell  
 ‘It was brewing and selling daam that the lady did.’

To confirm the assertion that the object when pied-piped forms a syntactic constituent with the clefted predicate, SVCs that do not have shared objects are used for illustrations as below.

- (20) a. **Ṁ dáá kēnnà dī<sup>6</sup> púá.**  
 1SG PST come marry woman  
 ‘I came and married a woman.’
- b. **(Lì àné) púá díír kà m̀ dáá kēnnà dī.**  
 (it is) woman marry.NML FOC 1SG PST come marry  
 (LIT) ‘it is marrying a woman (marriage) that I came and did.’  
 ‘It is marriage I came and performed.’
- c. **\*Púá kén kà m̀ dáá kēnnà dī.**  
 Woman come.NML FOC 1SG PST come marry  
 \* ‘It is coming woman that I did and marry.’

<sup>6</sup> The verb *di* ‘marry’ also means ‘eat’, and the word *diib* is ‘food’ in the language.

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In (20),  $V_1$  is an intransitive verb and as such the object is not shared. (20c) is therefore ungrammatical since the object cannot be clefted with  $V_2$ .

- (21) a. **Ò nɔ̃k sʊ'ʊg lá nwā'ē ní'ím.**  
 3SG take.PERF knife DEF cut meat  
 'He cut meat with the knife.'
- b. (Lì àné) **ní'ím nwá'áb kà ò nɔ̃k sʊ'ʊg lá nwā'ē.**  
 (it is) meat cut.NML FOC 3SG take.PERF knife DEF cut  
 'It is cutting meat that he took the knife and did.'
- c. \***ní'ím nókím kà ò nɔ̃k sʊ'ʊg lá nwā'ē.**  
 meat take.NML FOC 3SG take.PERF knife DEF cut  
 (LIT) 'It is taking meat that he did the knife and cut.'
- d. \***súúg lá nwá'áb kà ò nɔ̃k nwā'ē ní'ím.**  
 knife DEF cut.NML FOC 3SG take.PERF cut meat  
 'It is the knife cutting that he took and did meat.'

Example (21) is an instrumental SVC where both  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  are transitive verbs. It is ungrammatical to cleft  $V_1$  **nɔ̃k** 'take' with the second object **ní'ím** 'meat' just as it is ungrammatical to cleft  $V_2$  **nwā'ē** 'cut' with the first object **sʊ'ʊg lá** 'the knife'. The same condition also applies in cases involving benefactive SVCs as illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. **Ò dáá sēn' ní'ím tīsī mà.**  
 3SG PST roast meat give 1SG.ACC  
 'He roasted meat for me.'
- b. (Lì àné) **ní'ím sēn'ép kà ò dáá sēn' tīsī mà.**  
 (it is) meat roast.NML FOC 3SG PST roast give 1SG.ACC  
 'It is roasting meat that he did for me.'
- c. \*(Lì àné) **ní'ím tísíd kà ò dáá sēn' tīsī mà.**  
 (it is) meat give.NML FOC 3SG PST roast give 1SG.ACC  
 'It is for meat that he roasted for me.'

In the above illustration, it is ungrammatical to pied-pipe  $V_2$  **tīsī** 'give' with the direct object **ní'ím** 'meat'. It must however be indicated that it is possible to pied-pipe the object in resultative SVCs.

- (23) a. **Ì dáá dā'ē Àsíbí lɔ̃b.**  
 1SG PST push Asibi throw  
 'I pushed Asibi and got her down.'
- b. **Àsíbí dá'ád kà ò dáá dā'ē lɔ̃b.**

Citation: Hasiyatu Abubakari. (In Print). Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal. In James Essegbey, Dalina Kallulli and Adams Bodomo (eds.): *The grammar of verbs and their arguments: a cross-linguistic perspective*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

Asibi push.NML FOC 1SG PST push throw

‘It is pushing Asibi that I did and got her down.’ (clefting of V<sub>1</sub>)

c. **Àsíbí lóbíd kà m dàá dā'ē lōb.**

Asibi throw.NML FOC 1SG PST push throw

‘It is getting down Asibi that I pushed and did.’ (clefting of V<sub>2</sub>)

Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) point out the possibility that these pied-piping patterns may be due to some form of linear adjacency condition instead of syntactic constituency. For instance, one could claim that the ungrammaticality of (20c) and (21c) may be due to the fact that they are not linearly adjacent to each other in the underlying form. This argument cannot hold of the ungrammaticality of (21d) and (22c). This is so because the objects and the verbs that are clefted in examples (21) and (22) are indeed adjacent before any movement occurs. To show the irrelevance of linear adjacency, consider the illustration below which involves the double-object construction.

(24) a. **Àkúdà tīsī Àsíbí gbàná lá.**

Akuda give.PERF Asibi books DEF

‘Akuda gave Asibi the books.’

b. **\*Àkúdà tīsī gbàná lá Àsíbí.**

Akuda give.PERF books DEF Asibi

‘Akuda gave Asibi the books.’

c. **Gbàná lá tísíd kà Àkúdà tīsī Àsíbí.**

books DEF give.NML FOC Akuda give Asibi

‘It is giving the books that Akuda did to Asibi.’

It must be noted that the word order between an indirect object and a direct object in Kusaal is very rigid, just as noted for Dagaare by Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008), and possibly most other Mabilia languages (i.e. V IO DO). Compare the data below from Kusaal and Dagaare.

(25) a. **Àtìbílà tīsī Àyòmpókà gbàŋ lá.**

Atibila give.PERF Ayompoka book DEF

‘Atibila gave Ayompoka the book.’

b. **\*Àtìbílà tīsī gbàŋ lá Àyòmpókà**

Atibila give book DEF Ayompoka

‘Atibila gave the book to Ayompoka.’

c. **Gbàŋ lá tísíd kà Àtìbílà tīsī Àyòmpókà.**

book DEF give.NML FOC Atibila give.PERF Ayompoka

‘It is giving the book that Atibila did to Ayompoka.’

(26) a. **Dakóráá' kò lá' Dére à gánè.**

Dagaare

Citation: Hasiyatu Abubakari. (In Print). Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal. In James Essegbey, Dalina Kallulli and Adams Bodomo (eds.): *The grammar of verbs and their arguments: a cross-linguistic perspective*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

Dakóráá' give FOC Déré D book

'Dakóráá' gave Déré the book.' (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008, 809)

- b. \*Dakóráá' kò la' a gañè Déré. Dagaare

Dakóráá' give FOCD book Déré

'Dakóráá' gave Déré the book.' (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008, 809)

- c. a gañè koó' la' ka Dakóráá' kò Déré. Dagaare

D book give.NML FOCCOMP Dakóráá' give Déré.

'It is giving the book that Dakóráá' did to Déré.' (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008, 809)

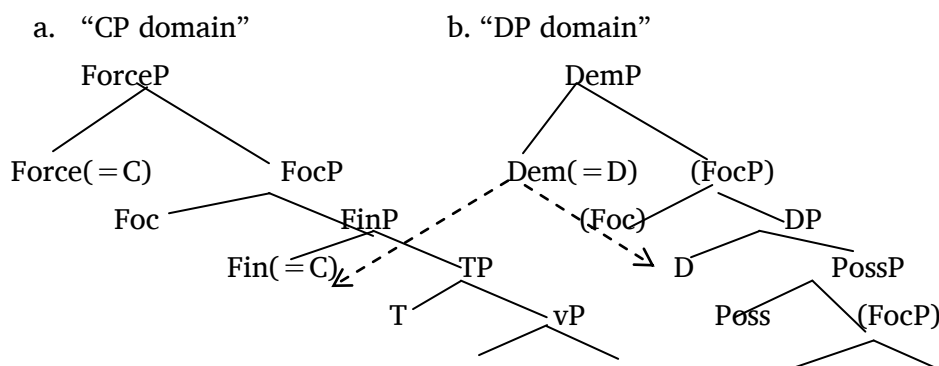
### 3.4 Summary

From the data and argument presented in this section, Kusaal shows the flexibility of clefting both the object and the verb to the left in SVCs. It is possible to cleft,  $V_1$ ,  $V_2$ , or  $V_1 + V_2$ . It is also possible to cleft  $V_1 +$  the object as well as  $V_2 +$  the object.

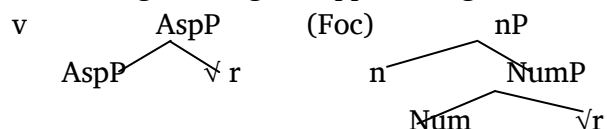
## 4 Theoretical assumptions on PCCs

Several approaches have been proposed in the literature regarding the syntactic derivation of PCCs (see Harbour 2008, Kandybowicz 2006, Manfredi 1993 Hiraiwa 2005a 2005b). What is adopted in this work is the proposal of Hiraiwa (2005a and 2005b) to explain important concepts such as the double pronunciation and nominalization of predicates in the event of PCC in Kusaal. Aspects of this proposal will be reviewed to reflect the data in Kusaal. According to Hiraiwa (2005a, 2005b), much important research on the parallelism between DPs and CPs has indicated that the DP domain and the CP domain show a significant amount of structural similarities. He proposes the following symmetric structure between CP and DP by building on Rizzi (1997)'s articulated left periphery.

(27) CP/DP Parallelism (Hiraiwa 2005a, 2005b. cf Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008:813)

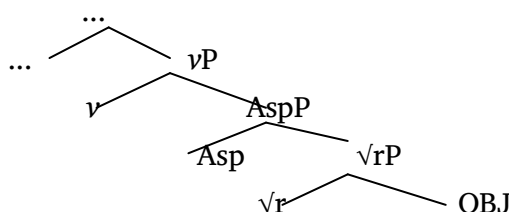


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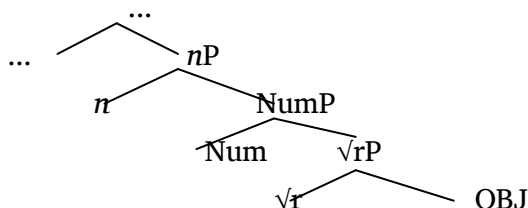


It was indicated earlier that the predicated element in Kusaal gets pronounced in both the focus and original positions in much the same way as in Dagaare. This form of “predicate doubling”, according to Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008), is one common but significant feature of PCC cross-linguistically. To explain why this happens in Mabia languages, Hiraiwa (2005a, 2005b) proposes, following Marantz 1997, 2007; Arad 2005; Embick & Marantz 20008, among others, that syntactic categories such as verbs and nouns are decomposed into a root ( $\sqrt{\phantom{x}}$ ) plus a category-determining head  $v/n$ .

(28) a. Verb:  $v$  + Root



b. Noun:  $n$  + Root



(Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008:814)

The root in (28a) and (28b) are both dominated by  $v$  and  $n$  respectively.

Following Hiraiwa (2005a, 2005b), Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008), and Abels (2001), it is claimed that PCCs in Kusaal aim at Asp— $\sqrt{r}$ —instead of  $v$ -Asp- $\sqrt{r}$  as in the case of Dagaare. This is supported by the few instances where case-marking is observed in Kusaal. Though morphological case is not a syntactic characteristic of Kusaal, as is also the case in several Mabia languages, there is a distinction in the form of the first person pronoun which has **m** for the nominative/genitive form and **ma** for the accusative.<sup>7</sup> The pronoun in example (29b) takes the nominative form. This is attributed to the fact that the fronted predicate in PCCs (once nominalised) is unable to assign the accusative case.

<sup>7</sup> Dagaare has the same evidence of case marking where *n* is used for the nominative and *ma'* for the accusative (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008:814-815)

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- (29) a. **Bípuŋ lá nwe' \*m̃/mà**  
 lady DEF beat.PERF 1SG (NOM/GEN)/1SG(ACC)  
 'The lady beat me.'
- b. **M̃/\*mà nwè'b kà bípuŋ lá nwe'.**  
 1SG (NOM/GEN)/1SG(ACC) beat.NML C lady DEF beat.PERF  
 'It is beating me that the lady did.'

Hiraiwa (2005a, 2005b) argues “that the burden of the interface conditions naturally carries to  $\nu$  in the sense that the “verbalizer”—being affixal—cannot be stranded without a  $\sqrt{r}$  at Spell-Out.” Adopting this under the suggested theory of CP/DP Symmetry means that at Spell-Out the  $\nu$  head is supposed to determine the category of its complement. This is what necessitates the phonological realization of the original predicate, which is the complement of  $\nu$ .

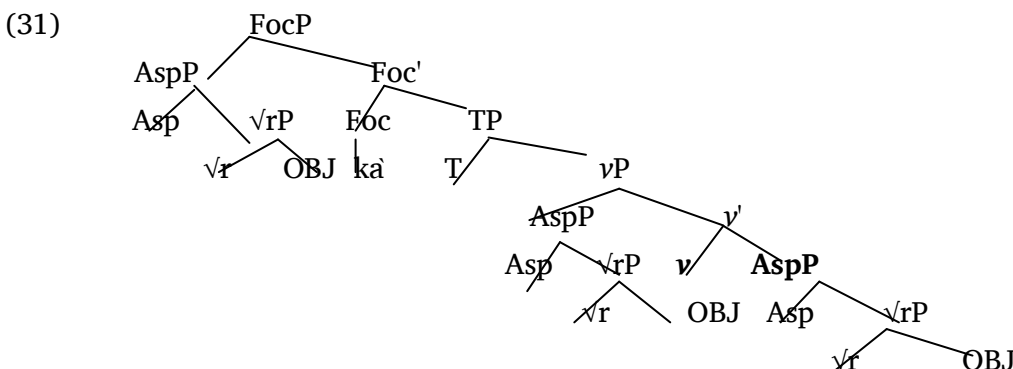
In explaining the nominalization of focused predicates in PCCs, Lefebvre (1992:60) proposes that “the availability of predicate clefting in a given grammar is correlated with the presence of syntactic positions for clausal determiners within S(=IP).” She supports her claim with languages such as Fon (A), Yoruba, Gun, Haitian Creole in which predicate clefting and clausal determiners are observed as against other languages including Fon (B) and Ewe where neither predicate clefting nor clausal determiners are available. DeGraft (1994) shows, however, that Lefebvre’s (1992) proposal appears to be too strong because there are languages such as Russian, Hebrew and Yiddish that lack clausal determiners but in which PCCs are observed. The latter observation then reveals that a language is more likely to have PCCs when it has clausal determiners and not vice-versa. This is captured by the generalization of Hiraiwa (2005a, 2005b) that in languages that a clausal determiner is allowed, focused predicates in PCCs are nominalised. He further argues that the element that undergoes movement in PCC languages does not have any categorial status. The clausal determiner D/C (Force) in the CP/DP parallel geometry, as illustrated in (27), performs the role of a categorial determiner in the CP/DP symmetry and causes nominalization. The availability of clausal determiners in relative clauses is widespread across Mabia languages including Dagaare, Gurenɛ, Dagbani, Buli among others (see Hiraiwa et al 2017). Example (30) is an illustration of the use of clausal determiner in Kusaal relative clauses. The definite determiner **la** heads the relative clause in the construction (Abubakari 2018).

- (30) **Àkúdà nyē búúg kàné ká Àsíbí dā' lá.**  
 Akuda see.PERF goat REL C Asibi buy.PERF DEM  
 'Akuda saw the goat which Asibi bought.' (Relative clause)

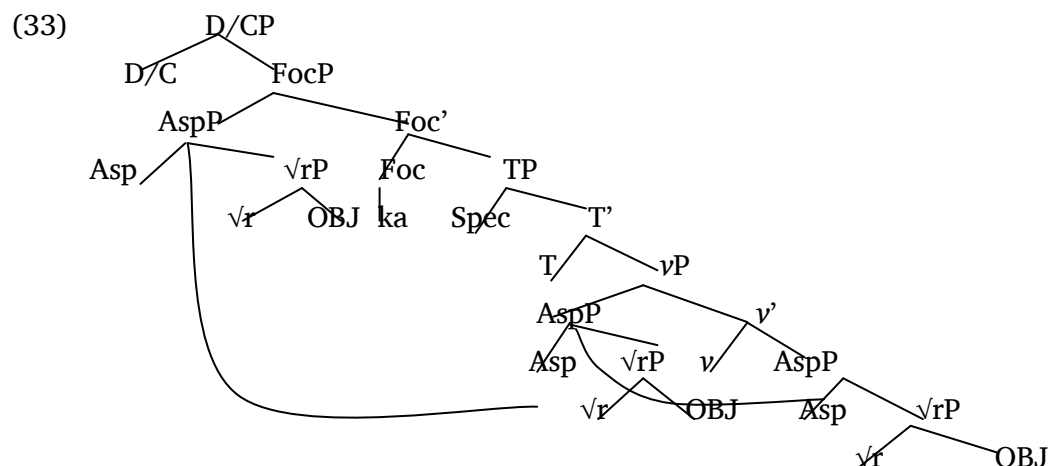
#### 4.1 Derivation of PCCs in Kusaal

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The figure in (4) is a structural representation of PCCs in Kusaal. The particle *kà* functions as the focus head (see Abubakari 2016a) and TP merges with Foc'.



The claim here following Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) is that AspP (VP) is what moves in PCCs in Kusaal. AspP, which is the complement of  $\nu$  undergoes successive-cyclic focus movement to [Spec,FocP]. The highest C = (Force) is then merged with FocP. In the DP/CP parallelism it has been argued that C serves as a clausal determiner and as such a categorial determiner. This causes the nominalization of the root in the focused position. However, it must be indicated that the lowest copy of AspP needs to be realised to prevent  $\nu$  from getting stranded. The status of  $\nu$  as a categorial determiner also causes the realisation of the root in the original position as a verb.



Citation: Hasiyatu Abubakari. (In Print). Predicate Cleft Constructions in Kusaal. In James Essegbey, Dalina Kallulli and Adams Bodomo (eds.): *The grammar of verbs and their arguments: a cross-linguistic perspective*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag

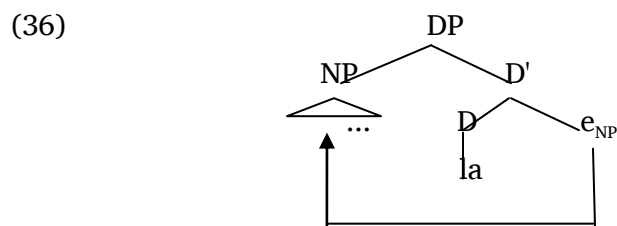
What is equally explainable in Kusaal using the proposal of Hiraiwa and Bodomo is the pied-piping of the object in PCCs. Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) demonstrate that the realisation of object pied-piping is due to the “higher pronunciation of a copy of the object”. No object pied-piping can take place should the original copy of the object be pronounced.

- (34) a.  $[_{\text{AspP}} \dots \text{OBJ}] \text{ C} \dots \nu [_{\text{AspP}} \dots \text{OBJ}]$  (object pied-piping)  
 b.  $[_{\text{AspP}} \dots \text{OBJ}] \text{ C} \dots \nu [_{\text{AspP}} \dots \text{OBJ}]$  (no pied-piping) Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008:817)

As demonstrated in example (25a, b), the pied-piped object must obligatorily come before the nominalised predicate in PCCs in Kusaal, as is also the case in Dagaare.

- (35) a. **Pu'a' díír kà m dàá dī (\*ò/pu'a).**  
 woman marry.NML FOC 1SG PST marry (3SG/woman)  
 (Lit.) ‘It is getting married (to a woman) that I did.’  
 b. **\*Díír pu'a' kà m dàá dī (\*ò/\* pu'a)**  
 marry.NML woman FOC 1SG PST marry (3SG/woman)  
 (Lit.) ‘It is getting married (to a woman) that I did.’

This means that the object **pu'a'** ‘woman’ in (35) must come before the root **díír** ‘marriage’ in PCCs in Kusaal (fig.4). This occurrence is argued to be triggered by movement. In Kusaal as is also the case in most Mabia languages the DP is predominantly head-final as in (36).



The DP in Kusaal is only preceded by the possessor, as shown in (37), unlike in Dagaare where both the determiner and the possessor precede the noun root.

- (37) **Dáú lá bíís ànú lá.**  
 man DEF children five DEF  
 ‘The man’s five kids.’

Another evidence of movement was demonstrated earlier in example (29) where it was shown that a pied-piped object pronoun receives an obligatory nominative/genitive case marking. The example in (38) is used as further evidence where the 2SG object clitic pronoun **-if** ‘2SG.ACC’ is nominalized after fronting to the nominative form **fv** ‘2SG.NOM’.

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- (38) a. **Bà** **pū:s-íf.**  
 3PL/NOM/ACC greet.PERF-2SG/ACC  
 ‘They greeted you.’
- b. **Fù** **kà** **bà** **pū:sī.**  
 2SG/NOM FOC 3PL/NOM/ACC greet.PERF  
 ‘It was you that they greeted.’

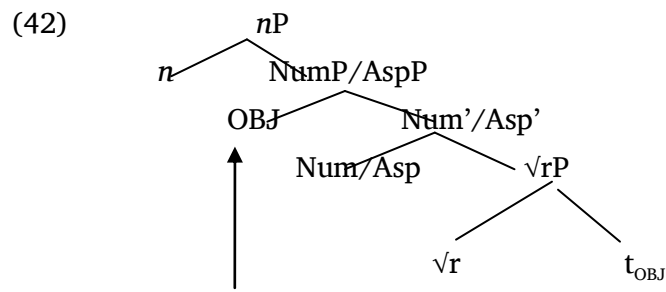
The various instances of movements within the DP follow the argument of Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) that within a DP in Kusaal, “the licensing position for a noun phrase is its specifier position and a noun phrase moves there from its original position. The root first undergoes head-movement to adjoin to *Num*, and then the whole DP undergoes movement to [Spec, DemP].” This is illustrated with the examples in (39), which is a possessive DP, and (40), which is the derivation of (39).

- (39) **Àsíbì gbànà banná.**  
 Asibi books Dem  
 ‘Those books of Asibi.’
- (40) a. [<sub>DemP</sub> [<sub>Dem</sub> banna] [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> [Asibi [<sub>NumP</sub> -a [<sub>√r</sub> gban-]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>DemP</sub> [<sub>Dem</sub> banna] [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> [Asibi [<sub>NumP</sub> [<sub>√r</sub> gban-] -a t<sub>√r</sub>]]]]  
 c. [<sub>DemP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> [Asibi [<sub>NumP</sub> [<sub>√r</sub> gban-] -a t<sub>√r</sub>]]] [<sub>Dem'</sub> [<sub>Dem</sub> banna] t<sub>DP</sub>]]

In cases involving gerunds in Kusaal as in Dagaare, it is also feasible to have two arguments where the subject must occur before the object as exemplified in (41).

- (41) **Àsíbì káwén sén'ép.**  
 Asibi's corn roast.NML  
 ‘Asibi's roasting of corn.’

From all indications, the position of the pied-piped object in PCCs in Kusaal is not so distinct from what is observed in Dagaare and the proposal in Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) can be applied to explain this phenomenon. It is assumed that the object in PCCs in Kusaal is located in a lower position thus [Spec, AspP/NumP] and the movement of the object takes place at the CP phase level. This movement takes place at the same time with the focus movement of AspP to [Spec, FocP]. In Fig. 6 the fronted AspP is noted to be categorially neutral; this is because the root does not have a category-determining head since it is no longer c-commanded by the phase head *v*. The higher phase head C/D serves as the closest categorial determiner. Categorical determination and the AspP-internal movement take place simultaneously (Chomsky 2004, 2008, cf Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008). A DP within a DP or a gerund as in (40) and (41) respectively can only be assigned the nominative/genitive case-marking since they lack *v* (see Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008:817-819).



## 5 Conclusion

This paper has explored the various patterns of PCCs in Kusaal. It has been shown that focus predicates, which receive contrastive focus interpretations, are moved to the left periphery of the entire construction followed by the contrastive focus particle **kà**. Clefted predicates are obligatorily nominalised in Kusaal and they also receive double pronunciations. On the interaction between PCCs and SVCs, three predicate cleft patterns are demonstrated. It is possible to cleft  $V_1$  or  $V_2$  or  $V_1 + V_2$  complex. It is also possible to cleft the object with either  $V_1$  or  $V_2$  or both  $V_1 + V_2$ . This study has found out that generally, the pattern of PCCs and SVCs in Kusaal is to a great extent identical to what happens in Dagaare (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008). It will be interesting to have similar research on various other Mabilia languages to ascertain whether this trend can be considered as one of the typological similarities among these languages. This will, to a large extent, serve as empirical evidence and pave the way for the suggestion that the object in object-sharing SVCs (at least in Mabilia languages) is symmetrically shared.

## Abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, SG = singular, ACC = accusative, CONJ = conjunction, PL = plural, COMP = complementizer, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, GEN = genitive, IMPERF = imperfective, PST = past, Q = question, FOC = focus particle, NEG = negation, NML = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, PERF = perfect, REL = relativiser, V = verb

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