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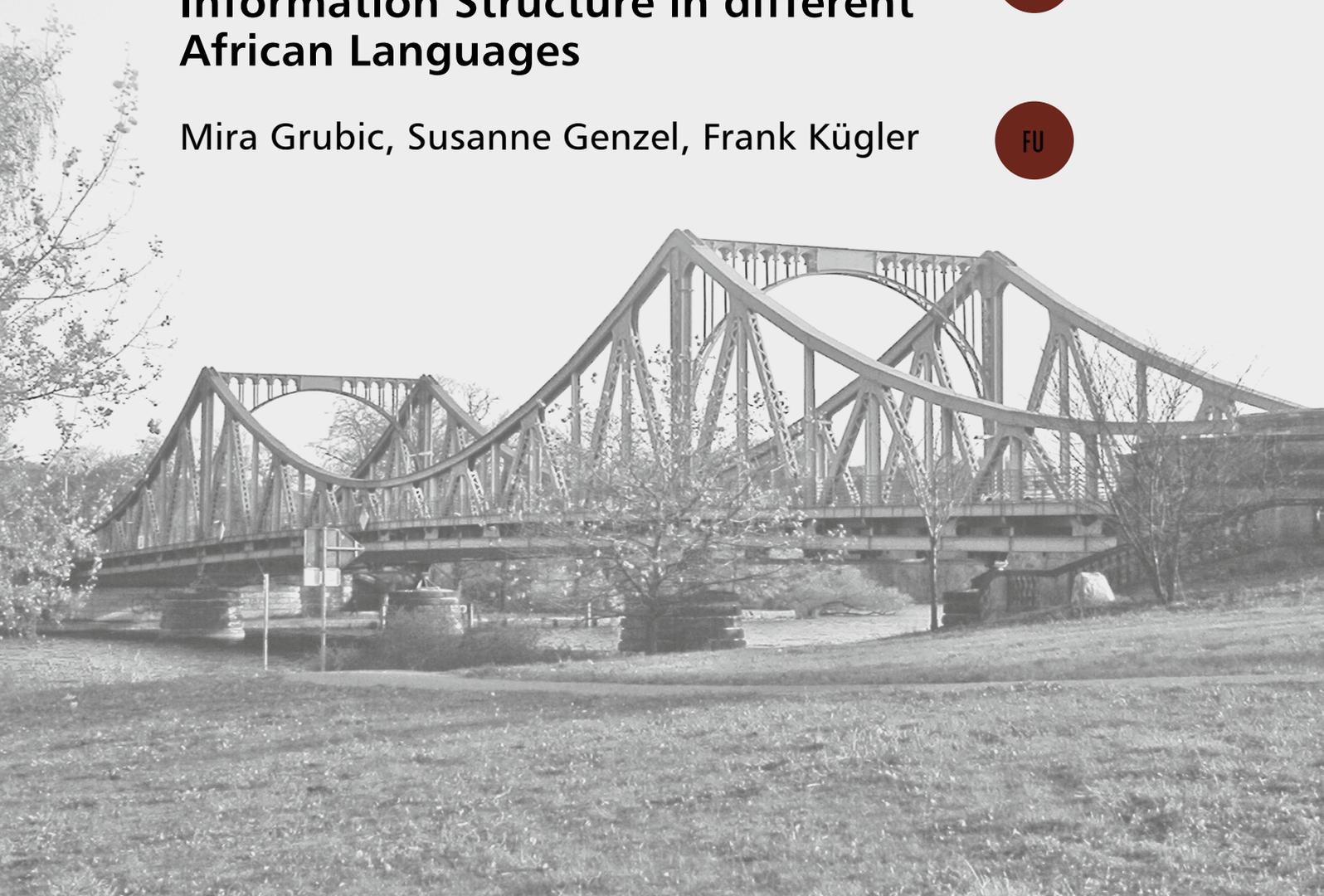
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Linguistic Fieldnotes I: Information Structure in different African Languages

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Mira Grubic, Susanne Genzel, Frank Kügler

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Preface

This is the 13th issue of the working paper series *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure* (ISIS) of the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 632. It is the first part of a series of Linguistic Fieldnote issues which present data collected by members of different projects of the SFB during fieldwork on various languages or dialects spoken worldwide. This part of the Fieldnote Series is dedicated to data from African languages. It contains contributions by Mira Grubic (A5) on Ngizim, and Susanne Genzel & Frank Kügler (D5) on Akan. The papers allow insights into various aspects of the elicitation of formal correlates of focus and related phenomena in different African languages investigated by the SFB in the second funding phase, especially in the period between 2007 and 2010.

Svetlana Petrova

Ngizim Fieldnotes*

Mira Grubic

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This chapter presents field notes of the West Chadic language Ngizim, spoken in North-East Nigeria. In Ngizim, subject focus is indicated by subject inversion, whereas the word order of sentences with focused non-subjects can remain unchanged. The goal of the field work was to find out more about focus marking in Ngizim.

Keywords: Information Structure, Ngizim

1 Preface

Ngizim is a West Chadic (Afroasiatic) language of the B branch (Newman, 1977), spoken in Yobe State, North-East Nigeria, in and around the town of Potiskum, by around 80'000 speakers, according to a 1993 census (Gordon, 2005).

Early descriptions of Ngizim include word lists in Koelle (1854), Meek (1931), and Kraft (1981), but most work on Ngizim has been done by Russell Schuh, including a grammar (1972), a dictionary (Adamu and Garba, 2009), descriptions of its phonology (1971a,1978), verbal system (1971c,1977b), determiner system (1977a), and information structure (1971b,1982).

The data presented in this field note collection are part of the data elicited in November/December 2009 in Potiskum, Yobe State with one speaker, Malam Usman Babayo Garba. The elicitation procedure followed the guidelines for

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semantic fieldwork presented in Matthewson (2004), by which the informants are asked to translate or judge sentences in a given context. The main advantages of this method — apart from yielding negative evidence — is that it allows the researcher to control the discourse context, which cannot be controlled in free speech.

1.1 The Ngizim Language

1.1.1 Phonology

Ngizim is a tone language with two tones: H and L, falling and rising tones are analyzed as combinations thereof. Schuh (1972, 6f) identifies the short vowels a, i, u, ə, the long vowels a, e, o, and the following consonants.

obstruent:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	lateral	velar	labialized velar	laryngeal velar
<i>stop:</i>							
voiceless	p	t	c		k	kw	
voiced	b	d	j		g	gw	
glottalized	ɸ	ɗ	'y				
prenasal.	md	nd			ŋg	ŋgw	
<i>fricative:</i>							
voiceless	f	s	š	tl			h
voiced	v	z	ž	dl			

sonorant:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	lateral	velar	labialized velar	laryngeal velar
nasals	m	n	ny				
flap		r					
trill		ř					
continuant				l			
semivowel	(w)		y			w	

When possible, the field notes follow these writing conventions. Please note, however, that in the data presented here, the marking of vowel length and tone is omitted, since the sentences have not been recorded yet.

1.1.2 Sentence Structure

The word order of Ngizim is SVO, with following adverbials. There is no agreement or overt case marking. In all-new sentences, this word order seems to be relatively fixed, with the exception of adverbials, which have a more variable word order (cf. section 3.1). Another change in word order occurs when indirect objects are pronominal: then they precede direct objects (cf. the following example from Schuh (1972, 46).

- (1) a. kaa raura ii-ci Audu
 2SG.AUX call.NMLZ for-3SG Audu
 ‘you will call Audu for him’
- b. kaa raura ii-ci iyu
 2SG.AUX call.NMLZ for-3SG 1SG.IP
 ‘you will call me for him’
- c. kaa raura-gaa
 2SG.AUX call.NMLZ-1SG.BP
 you will call me’

In the following two sections, the structure of the Ngizim verb and NP will be presented, respectively.

1.1.3 The Ngizim Verb

According to Schuh (1972, 18), tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are indicated by the verb tone, suffigation, and the form of auxiliary pronouns. The following table presents Schuh’s descriptions of the TAMs that are used in the data pre-

sentend here: the perfective, progressive, and future. The progressive and future share the same form.

	Verb form	AUX form:
Perfective:	LH + -w suffix	perfective aux pronouns
Progressive:	Verbal noun	imperfective aux pronouns
Future:	Verbal noun	imperfective aux pronouns

(2) Nən ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘A man has built a house.’

(3) Nən a ləma wənduwa.
 Person IPFC build.NMLZ house
 ‘A man is building a house.’

Verbal extensions are used to further indicate where or how an action takes place. The totality extension, indicating that an action has been done completely, or to all objects, occurs frequently in our data, more often than one would expect the totality meaning, a fact that was also mentioned by Schuh (2005a, 9). Schuh suggests that the totality extension is also used to express ‘auxiliary focus’ (Schuh, 2005a; Hyman and Watters, 1984). This is investigated in section 4.7. It is indicated by the following suffixes Schuh (1972, 28):

Transitive V, following DO:	suffix -náa
Transitive V, no following DO:	suffix -dù
Intransitive V:	linker -n- + bound suffix pronoun.

The form occurring in intransitive sentences is called the ‘intransitive copy pronoun’, we gloss the whole of it as ICP.

1.1.4 The Ngizim DP

Bare nouns in Ngizim can have an indefinite or definite meaning, like in the related language Hausa. Definiteness and indefiniteness can however be overtly

expressed, by determiners ‘dagai’, meaning ‘some’, ‘a certain’, or the suffixes ‘-w’/‘-gu’¹, which indicate that the referent has been referred to before. In the following example we see both an example of the overt indefinite determiner and the overt definite determiner.

- (4) Nən dagai ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
 person DET build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 ‘A certain person built a house.’

Modifiers also follow the noun, e.g. example (5) from Schuh (1972, 166).

- (5) waka gazbər sirin tiyu
 tree tall two DEM
 ‘Those two tall trees’

Apart from the auxiliary pronoun mentioned above, there are two other pronominal forms: (i) independent pronouns, used e.g. as DO pronouns in verbal sentences (but are often omitted in subject position), or as subject pronouns in equational sentences, and (ii) bound pronouns, used e.g. to form the ICP, the reflexive pronouns, and the Ngizim equivalent of ‘only’ (Schuh, 1972, 478).

Indep.:

1SG	íyû	1PL	jà/wà
2SG	cì/kəm	2PL	kùn
3SG	ácî/átû	3PL	ákšî

Bound:

1SG	-g-âa(nái)	1PL	-(áa)-jà/-(áa)-wà
2SG	-(áa)-cì/-(áa)-kəm	2PL	-(áa)-kùn
3SG	-górî/-gárâ	3PL	-(áa)kšî

The independent pronoun and the bound pronoun will be glossed as IP and BP, respectively.

¹ According to Schuh (1972, 167) the difference between the two definite suffixes is phonological: ‘-gu’ follows consonants, diphthongs, and vowels e and o; ‘-w’ follows all other vowels.

1.2 Glosses

The following glosses from the Leipzig glossing rules were used.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AUX	auxiliary
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EXCL	exclusive
F	feminine
INCL	inclusive
IPFC	imperfective
M	masculine
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominalizer / nominalization
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
Q	question particle / marker
REL	relative
SG	singular

The following additional glosses were used.

BP	Bound suffix pronoun
EXPL	Expletive
FOC	'Focus marker'
ICP	Intransitive copy pronoun
IP	Independent pronoun
PRT	Particle
STV	Stative predicate
TOT	Totality extension

2 Field Notes

The field notes are structured into two chapters. In the first chapter, data elicited to test some properties of all-new sentences are presented. These are (i) the possible positions of adjuncts, (ii) the status of the preverbal subject, (iii) the scope of sentence negation, and (iv) equational sentences. The possible positions of adjuncts (section 3.1) were mainly elicited as a prerequisite for the construction of sentences in the focus part — to see which basic sentences are grammatical. The status of the preverbal subject (section 3.2) was investigated to test the hypothesis that the preverbal subject is the canonical topic in Ngizim, and that the incompatibility of its topic status with a focus interpretation thus forces the subject to invert when it is focused. The aim of the sentence negation section 3.3 was to find out more about the position of sentence negation, in preparation for future work on the position of the inverted subject. The data on equational sentences in section 3.4 were elicited as a preparation for the elicitation of the pseudocleft construction, which is compared with the subject focus construction in subsequent sections. The second, larger chapter contains the data in which a part of the sentence is narrowly focused. The first and largest part of this contains the subject focus data (4.1), followed by focus on the direct object (4.2), the indirect object (4.3), on an adjunct (4.4), verb focus (4.5), VP focus (4.6), TAM focus (4.7) and Verum focus (4.8). In each of these parts, the possible word orders and morphological marking are tested. The predicate focus parts (4.5 - 4.8) additionally test nominalization of the verb as a verb-specific strategy of focus marking.

3 All-New

This section contains data which appear in all-new contexts, i.e. in contexts in which no part of the sentence is given. To control for the appropriate information

structure, the question in example (6) was used.

- (6) Wakatəw-n tam?
 happen.PFV-FOC what
 ‘What happened?’

In the following, we see two intransitive sentences (7/8), two transitive sentences (9/10), and two ditransitive sentences (11/12). As mentioned in Schuh (1972, 28), all-new contexts often induce the so-called ‘totality extension’ (cf. section 1.1.3), especially in verbs like ‘die’ (7), which intrinsically encode totality.

- (7) Agudəm mətə-ngəri.
 Agudəm die.PFV-ICP
 ‘Agudəm died.’
- (8) Jajua nguməw.
 Jajua answer.PFV
 ‘Jajua answered.’
- (9) Na ləmə-na wənduwa.
 1SG.AUX build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘I built a house.’
- (10) Jala dəur-əw Anja.
 Jala call.PFV Anja
 ‘Jala called Anja.’
- (11) Anja bar-na agogo i Jala.
 Anja give.PFV-TOT watch to Jala
 ‘Anja gave a watch to Jala.’
- (12) Na wana-na wakita i Jala.
 1SG.AUX send.PFV-TOT letter to Jala
 ‘I sent a letter to Jala.’

Since the ICP is formed by adjoining a bound pronoun suffix to the subject, it agrees in gender with the subject (compare (13) to (14)).

- (13) Ama mətə-ngara.
 woman die.PFV-ICP
 ‘A woman died.’

The all-new word order of Ngizim seems to be strictly S V O, no subject-focus-like word orders are permitted.

- (14) Mayim məti-ngəri.
 boy die.PFV-ICP.3SG.M
 ‘A boy died.’

- (15) *Məti-ngəri mayim.
 die.PFV-ICP boy
 (intended:) ‘A boy died.’

The word order of objects with respect to each other might be more flexible.

- (16) Na wana-na wakita i Jala.
 1SG.AUX send.PFV-TOT letter to Jala
 ‘I sent a letter to Jala.’

- (17) Na wana-na i Jala wakita.
 1SG.AUX send.PFV-TOT to Jala letter
 ‘I sent a letter to Jala.’

3.1 Position of adverbials

Adverbials can occur at the end of the sentence, between subject and verb², or in initial position.

- (18) Mamadi ləməw-na wənduwa i kun Nigeria.
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT house at in Nigeria
 ‘Mamadi built a house in Nigeria.’

² The ‘adverbial’ in (23) might however be a nominal modifier — thanks to Andreas Haida for this suggestion.

- (19) Anja ɖauri-na Jala da kun wənduwa.
Anja call.PFV-TOT Jala from inside house
'Anja called Jala from inside the house.'
- (20) Anja da kun wənduwa ɖauri-na Jala.
Anja from inside house call.PFV-TOT Jala
'Anja called Jala from inside the house.'
- (21) Da kun wənduwa Anja ɖauri-na Jala.
from inside house Anja call.PFV-TOT Jala
'Anja called Jala from inside the house.'
- (22) Maleka ika-na Anja na tabaro.
Maleka see.PFV-TOT Anja with glasses
'Maleka saw Anja with glasses.'
- (23) Maleka na tabaro ika-na Anja.
Maleka with glasses see.PFV-TOT Anja
'Maleka saw Anja with glasses.'
- (24) Na tabaro Maleka ika-na Anja.
with glasses Maleka see.PFV-TOT Anja
'Maleka saw Anja with glasses.'

When looking at pronominal subjects, one can see that when the adverbial is placed between the subject and the verb, the subject must be the independent pronoun.

- (25) Na ɖauri-na Jala da kun wənduwa.
1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT Jala from inside house
'I called Jala from inside the house.'
(Comment: Here, Jala is inside, not I).

- (26) *Na da kun wəduwa ɖauri-na Jala.
 1SG.AUX from inside house call.PFV-TOT Jala
 (intended:) ‘I called Jala from inside the house.’
 (Comment: Here, I am inside, not Jala).
- (27) Iyu da kun wənduwa na ɖauri-na Jala.
 1SG.IP from inside house 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT Jala
 ‘I called Jala from inside the house.’
 (Comment: Either of us can be inside.).
- (28) Da kun wənduwa na ɖauri-na Jala.
 from inside house 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT Jala
 ‘I called Jala from inside the house.’

3.2 The status of preverbal subjects

The goal of this section was to check for a possible topic status of preverbal subjects. Sentences (29)–(32) show that subjects which are bad topics can nevertheless be placed in a preverbal subject position.

- (29) Nən tawake ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person every build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Every person built a house.’
- (30) Ndawa rap ləməw-na wənduwa.
 people few build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Few people built a house.’
- (31) Gid ndawa ɖauri-na Maleka.
 all people call.PFV-TOT Maleka
 ‘All people called Maleka.’
- (32) Ndiwa-w mak ləma-na wənduwa-w.
 people-DET all build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 ‘All people build the house.’

Endriss and Hinterwimmer (2006) note that indefinite topics tend to be interpreted as generic in sentences with generic tense, this was found for Ngizim subjects in (33).

- (33) Gəmsək jagadlau na yadgawa.
 male lion have mane
 ‘A male lion has a large mane.’

(Comment: This is a statement about lions in general)

They also note that topical material cannot be interpreted in the nuclear scope of an adverbial quantifier, it has to be interpreted in its restrictor. The following examples were elicited in order to test whether this is the case in Ngizim. It seems, however, that ‘fatawanke’ means something like ‘very often’, rather than ‘always’, and that this test is therefore not applicable.

- (34) Fatawanke ndak dak Pataskəm a zəba ndak dak
 always people from Potiskum IPFC marry.NMLZ people from
 Leilei.
 Leilei

‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei’

(Comment: it is possible that people from Leilei may marry people from Garbawa, or that people from Potiskum marry people from Ngojin.)

- (35) Fatawanke a zəba ndak dak Leilei ndak dak
 always IPFC marry.NMLZ people from Leilei people from
 Pataskəm.
 Potiskum

‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei.’

(Comment: It is possible that people from Leilei may marry people from Garbawa, or that people from Potiskum marry people from Ngojin.)

- (36) Fatawanke ndak dak Pataskəm a zəba ndak dak
 Always people from Patiskum IPFC marry.NMLZ people from
 Leilei na laktu ɗagai nən a zəba ndak dak
 Leilei and time some people IPFC marry.NMLZ people from
 Garbawa.
 Garbawa
 ‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei, and some-
 times they marry people from Garbawa.’
- (37) Fatawanke a zəbu ndak dak Leilei nən ndak
 Always IPFC marry.NMLZ people from Leilei FOC people
 dak Patiskum na laktu ɗagai nən ndak dak Garbawa.
 from Patiskum and time some FOC people from Garbawa
 ‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei, and some-
 times they marry people from Garbawa.’

3.3 The Scope of Sentence Negation

In Ngizim, sentence negation is expressed by a final negation marker ‘bai’. In this section, we tested whether it takes scope over the preverbal subject.

- (38) Nən ləməw wənduwa bai.
 person build.PFV house NEG
 ‘Nobody built a house.’

(Comment: This cannot mean ‘A man did not build a house’)

In the previous example a preverbal bare noun subject meaning ‘a person’ was interpreted in the scope of negation, the following sentences show that this is not possible with other quantificational subjects. Similar examples were found for the related language Tangale.

- (39) Gid ndawa-w ɖauri Maleka bai.
 all people-DET call.PFV Maleke NEG
 ‘All the people did not call Maleka.’
 (Comment: Nobody called her.)
- (40) Gid ndiwa-w ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 all people-DET build.PFV house-DET NEG
 ‘All the people did not build the house.’
- (41) Ndiwa-w mak ləma-na wənduwa-w bai.
 people-DET all build.PFV-TOT house-DET NEG
 ‘All the people did not build the house.’
- (42) Ndiwa-w jəgap ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 people-DET some build.PFV house-DET NEG
 ‘Some people did not build the house.’

When the subject is inverted, it is interpreted in the scope of the following negation marker.

- (43) Ləməw wənduwa nən nən bai.
 build.PFV house FOC person NEG
 ‘Nobody built a house.’
- (44) ɖauri Maleka nən ndawa gid bai.
 call.PFV Maleka FOC people all NEG
 ‘It is not the case that all people called Maleka.’
- (45) Ləma wənduwa-w ndiwa-w gid bai.
 build.PFV house-DET people-DET all NEG
 ‘It is not the case that all people built the house.’
- (46) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən nən ɖagai bai.
 build.PFV-TOT house FOC person DET NEG
 ‘It is not the case that a man/human being built the house.’

The negation cannot follow the subject immediately.

- (47) *Gid ndawa bai ɖauri-na Maleka.
all people NEG call.PFV-TOT Maleka
(intended:) ‘All the people did not call Maleka.’
- (48) *Gid ndiwa-w bai ləməw wənduwa-w.
all people-DET NEG build.PFV house-DET
(intended:) ‘Not all the people built the house.’
- (49) *Ndiwa-w mak bai ləma-na wənduwa-w.
people-DET all NEG build.PFV-TOT house-DET
(intended:) ‘Not all people built the house.’

There is however one example in which the negation occurs between the noun and the quantifier.

- (50) Gid bai ndiwa-w ləməw wənduwa-w.
all NEG people-DET build.PFV house-DET
‘Not all the people built the house.’

This section contains a lot of additional data that was offered by the informant, due to the fact that the sentences tested were not the most natural way to express the intended meaning. The most natural way to express ‘nobody’ uses a negative existential ‘go’ (‘There is no...’).

- (51) Go nən ləməw wənduwa.
there.is.no person build.PFV house
‘No man built a house.’
- (52) Go nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w.
there.is.no person that build.PFV house-DET
‘Nobody built the house.’
- (53) Go nən ɖagai ləməw-na wənduwa.
there.is.no person DET build.PFV-TOT house
‘Nobody built a house.’

Another kind of sentence offered by the informant uses the positive existential ‘na’ (‘There is...’), as seen in the following example.

- (54) Na nən ɖagai (mi wara) ləməw wənduwa-w.
 there.is person DET that build.PFV house-DET
 ‘It is a certain person that built the house.’

Here again, scope differences with respect to the negation can be observed.

- (55) Na nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 there.is person that build.PFV house-DET NEG
 ‘There is somebody who didn’t build the house.’

- (56) Na nən ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 there.is person build.PFV house-DET NEG
 ‘There is no man that built the house.’

- (57) Na nən bai mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w.
 there.is person NEG that build house-DET
 ‘Nobody built the house.’

With embedded clauses, a final negation marker can belong to to the matrix clause or to the embedded clause.

- (58) Na tuman-gu bai ma Maleka a ɖaura na
 1SG.AUX think-EXPL NEG that Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ with
 Mamadi.
 Mamadi
 ‘I don’t think Maleka will call Mamadi.’

- (59) Na tuman-gu ma Maleka a ɖauri na Mamadi
 1SG think-EXPL that Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ with? Mamadi
 bai.
 NEG
 (i) ‘I don’t think Maleka will call Mamadi.’
 (ii) ‘I think Maleka will not call Mamadi.’

- (60) Na kuma bai ma Maleka ɗauri Mamadi.
1SG hear.PFV NEG that Maleka call.PFV Mamadi
'I didn't hear that Maleka called Mamadi.'
- (61) Na kuma bai ma Maleka ɗaurəw Mamadi.
1SG hear.PFV NEG that Maleka call.PFV Mamadi
'I didn't hear that Maleka called Mamadi.'
- (62) Na kuma bai ma Maleka ɗauri-na Mamadi.
1SG hear.PFV NEG that Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
'I didn't hear that Maleka called Mamadi.'
- (63) Na kuma-na Maleka ɗaurəw Mamadi bai.
1SG hear.PFV-TOT Maleka call.PFV Mamadi NEG
'I heard that Maleka didn't call Mamadi.'

3.4 Equational sentences

In preparation for the elicitation of pseudoclefts in section 4, some equational sentences were elicited. In equational sentences in Ngizim, there is no copula. The subject pronouns are independent pronouns. 'iyu' may be shortened to 'i' when non-final (Schuh, 1972, 37).

- (64) I malam.
1SG.IP teacher
'I am a teacher.'
(Comment: Said as answer to a question 'Who are you?')
- (65) Iyu malam.
1SG.IP teacher.
'I am a teacher.'
- (66) Malam-gu iyu.
teacher-DET 1SG.IP
'The teacher is me.'

- (67) *Malam-gu i.
 teacher-DET 1SG.IP
 (intended:) ‘The teacher is me.’

The subject pronoun can be followed by a particle ‘ro’, meaning ‘as for’.

- (68) Iyu ro malam.
 1SG.IP PRT teacher.
 ‘As for me, I am a teacher.’

Equational sentences in which the subject contains a relative clause were tested next. Relative Clauses are marked by a relative marker ‘mi wara’, ‘wara’, or ‘mi’ — in the latter case, the verb must be nominalized (cf. (72) vs (73)). In this first set of sentences, the subject head noun is also the subject of the relative clause.

- (69) Nən mi wara ɖaurəw Anja ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person that call.PFV Anja build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’
- (70) Nən mi wara ləma-na wənduwa-w ɖaurəw Anja.
 person that build.PFV-TOT house-DET call.PFV Anja
 ‘The person that built the house called Anja.’
- (71) Nən mi wara ləməw-na wənduwa ɖauri-na Anja .
 person that build.PFV-TOT house call.PFV-TOT Anja
 ‘The person that built a house called Anja.’
- (72) *Nən mi ləməw wənduwa ɖauri-na Anja.
 person that build.PFV house call.PFV-TOT Anja
 (intended:) ‘The person that built the house called Anja.’

The head noun is optional, see other examples below.

- (73) Mi ləma wənduwa ɖauri-na Anja.
 that build.NMLZ house call.PFV-TOT Anja
 ‘He who is building the house called Anja.’

In the following set of examples, the relative clause head is the object of the relative clause³. The relative clause is marked by ‘mi wara’. Again, relative clauses without head noun were judged to be grammatical.

- (74) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa agogo.
 thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa watch
 ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’
- (75) Nən mi wara Anja daurəw ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person that Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The person that Anja called built a house.’
- (76) Nən mi wara Anja dauri-na ləma-na wənduwa.
 person that Anja call.PFV-TOT build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The person that Anja called built a house.’
- (77) Mi wara Anja daurəw ləməw-na wənduwa.
 that Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The one that Anja called built a house.’
- (78) Wara Anja daurəw ləməw-na wənduwa.
 that Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

‘Baci’ (= ‘One who has/does’) can be used in cases in which the subject of the relative clause is also the subject of the matrix clause. The verb must be nominalized.

- (79) * Baci daurəw Anja ləməw-na wənduwa.
 one.who.does call.PFV Anja build.PFV-TOT house
 (intended:) ‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

³ Example (76) was tested twice, and judged to be ungrammatical once, but in all other cases, this structure was accepted.

- (80) Baci ɗaura Anja ləməw-na wənduwa.
 one.who.does call.NMLZ Anja build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The one that called Anja built a house.’
- (81) * Baci Anja ɗaurəw ləməw-na wənduwa.
 one.who.does Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
 (intended:) ‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

The complex subject can be followed by a determiner, but not by a ‘focus marker’. This is tested here because of an analysis proposed by Schuh (2005b) in which the ‘focus marker’ ‘nən’ stems from a definite determiner, and actually does not mark the following constituent as focused, but marks the preceding part as given or backgrounded.

- (82) Nən mi wara ɗaurəw Anja-w ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person that call.PFV Anja-DET build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’
- (83) Nən mi wara ɗaurəw Anja-gu ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person that call.PFV Anja-DET build.PFV-TOT
 ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’
- (84) * Nən mi wara ɗaurəw Anja n ləməw-na wənduwa.
 person that call.PFV Anja FOC build.PFV-TOT house
 (intended:) ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’
- (85) * Wara Anja ɗaurəw n ləməw-na wənduwa.
 that Anka call.PFV FOC build.PFV-TOT house
 (intended:) ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’
- (86) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa-w agogo.
 thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa watch
 ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

- (87) Agogo wara Jala barəw i Shuwa-w ga tləmatak.
watch that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa-DET with spoiled
'The watch that Jala gave to Shuwa is a spoiled one.'
- (88) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa n agogo.
thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC watch
'The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.'
- (89) * Wara Jala barəw i Shuwa n agogo.
that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC agogo
(intended:)'The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.'

4 Focus

4.1 Subject-Focus

In Ngizim, questioned or focused subjects are usually inverted, with a preceding particle glossed as FOC here. It is often proposed that these structures might be pseudoclefts, so many of the constructions in this section were tested for pseudoclefts as well. Focus was elicited using either answers to *wh*-questions, or corrective answers.

- (90) a. Məti n tai?
die.PFV FOC who
'Who died?'
- b. Məti n Gədantu.
die.PFV FOC Gədantu
'Gədantu died.'
- (91) a. dəurəw Nyabe n tai?
call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
'Who called Nyabe?'

- b. $\text{d\text{a}ur\text{ə}w}$ Nyabe n Anja .
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
 ‘Anja called Nyabe.’
- c. O'o , $\text{d\text{a}ur\text{ə}w}$ Nyabe n Maleka .
 no call.PFV Nyabe FOC Maleka
 ‘No, Maleka called Nyabe.’

The ‘focus’ particle is near to obligatory, cf. examples (92) and (94d) - but see examples (106), (108), (112) and (113b) for counterexamples. The particle has to be adjacent to the wh-subject (cf. 95).

- (92) * $\text{M\text{ə}ti-ngara}$ tai?
 die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F who
 (intended:) ‘Who died?’
- (93) $\text{M\text{ə}ti-ngara}$ n tai?
 die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F FOC who
 ‘Who (f) died?’
 (Comment: This is possible if one knows that it was a woman)
- (94) a. $\text{d\text{a}ur\text{ə}w}$ Nyabe n tai?
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
 ‘Who called Nyabe?’
- b. $\text{d\text{a}ur\text{ə}w}$ Nyabe n Anja .
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
 ‘Anja called Nyabe.’
- c. $\text{d\text{a}ur\text{ə}w}$ Nyabe $n\text{ə}n$ Anja .
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
 ‘Anja called Nyabe.’
- d. * $\text{d\text{a}ur\text{ə}w}$ Nyabe Anja .
 call.PFV Nyabe Anja
 (intended:) ‘Anja called Nyabe.’

- (95) * Məti n madavən tai?
 die.PFV FOC last.year who
 (intended:) ‘Who died last year?’

Answers were sometimes presented with preverbal subjects, and a question with initial wh-element was accepted⁴.

- (96) a. Məti-ngara n tai?
 die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F FOC who
 ‘Who died?’
 b. Gədantu məti-ngara.
 Gədantu die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F
 ‘Gədantu died.’
- (97) a. Nguma n tai a da lakwtu?
 answer.PFV FOC who at on time
 ‘Who answered quickly?’
 b. Alambazam nguməw-na jayan.
 Alambazam answer-TOT quickly
 ‘Alambazam answered quickly.’
- (98) a. Tai ləməw wənduwa-w madavən?
 who build.PFV house-DET last.year
 ‘Who built a house last year?’
 b. Mamadi ləməw wənduwa-w madavən.
 Mamadi build.PFV house-DET last.year
 ‘Mamadi built a house last year.’

In contrast to what was observed in Schuh (2005a, 14), the totality extension was possible with questioned subjects. The ‘focus marker’ could not be left out in this case.

⁴ Andreas Haida suggested that the subject in (97) might be a contrastive topic rather than a focus.

(99) Məti-ngara n tai?
die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F FOC who
'Who died?'

(100) * Məti-ngara tai?
die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F who
(intended:)'Who died?'

Questioned or focused subjects cannot occur between the verb and the direct object.

(101) * Ləməw n tai wənduwa-w madavən?
build.PFV FOC who house-DET last.year
(intended:)'Who built a house last year?'

A questioned or focused subject can precede adjuncts of any kind.

(102) Məti n tai madavən?
die.PFV FOC who last.year
'Who died last year?'

(103) Nguma n tai a da lakwtu?
answer.PFV FOC who at on time
'Who answered quickly?'

(104) a. Ngumo n tai da kun wənduwa-w?
answer.PFV FOC who from inside house-DET
'Who answered from inside the house?'
b. Ngumo n Jajua da kun wənduwa-w.
answer.PFV FOC Jajua from inside house-DET
'Jajua answered from inside the house.'

(105) a. Ləməw wənduwa-w n tai madavən?
build.PFV house-DET FOC who last.year
'Who built a house last year?'

- b. Ləməw wənduwa-w n Mamadi madavən.
 build.PFV house-DET FOC Mamadi last.year
 ‘Mamadi built a house last year.’

A questioned or focused subject can also follow adjuncts of any kind.

- (106) Mətəw madavən tai?
 die.PFV last.year who
 ‘Who died last year?’

- (107) a. Nguməwn da kun wənduwa-w n tai?
 answer.PFV from inside house-DET FOC who
 ‘Who answered from inside the house?’
 b. Nguməwn da kun wənduwa-w n Jajua.
 answer.PFV from inside house-DET FOC Jajua
 ‘Jajua answered from inside the house.’

- (108) Ləməw wənduwa-w madavən tai?
 build.PFV house-DET last.year who
 ‘Who built a house last year?’

Sometimes, the offered sentences contained an initial adjunct.

- (109) a. Madavən mətī n tai?
 last.year die.PFV FOC who
 ‘Who died last year?’
 b. Madavən mətī n Gədantu.
 last.year die.PFV FOC Gədantu
 ‘Gədantu died last year.’

- (110) Gusəku mətī n tai?
 now die.PFV FOC who
 ‘Who died suddenly?’

- (111) Madavən ka gusəsku məti n tai?
 last.year at now die.PFV FOC who
 (intended:) ‘Who died suddenly last year?’
 (Comment: This means: ‘Last year at this time, who died?’)
- (112) Madavən ləməw wənduwa-w tai?
 last.year build.PFV house-DET who
 ‘Who built a house last year?’

When the inverted focused/questioned subject is a pronoun, it must be the independent pronoun, in contrast to all-new sentences, which only use the auxiliary pronoun. Similarly, the pronoun used in a pseudocleft construction is also the independent pronoun.

- (113) a. Ləməw wənduwa n tai?
 build.PFV house FOC who
 ‘Who built a house?’
- b. Na ləməw wənduwa-w iyu.
 1SG.AUX build.PFV house-DET 1SG.IP
 ‘I built a house.’
- c. *Ləməw wənduwa-w iyu.
 build.PFV house-DET 1SG.IP
 (intended:) ‘I built a house.’
- (114) a. dəurəw Nyabe n tai?
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
 ‘Who called Nyabe?’
- b. dəurəw Nyabe n Anja.
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
 ‘Anja called Nyabe.’
- c. O’o, na dəurəw Nyabe nən iyu.
 no 1SG.AUX call.PFV Nyabe FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘No I called Nyabe.’

- (115) a. $\text{ɖaurəw Nyabe n tai?}$
 call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
 ‘Who called Nyabe?’
- b. $\text{Na ɖaurəw Nyabe nən iyu.}$
 1SG.AUX call.PFV Nyabe FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘I called Nyabe.’
- (116) * $\text{Ləməw wənduwa-w nən iyu.}$
 build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
 (intended:) ‘I built a house.’
- (117) $\text{Na ləməw wənduwa-w n iyu.}$
 1SG.AUX build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘I built a house.’
- (118) $\text{Mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən iyu.}$
 that build.PFV house-DET person 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that built the house was me.’
- (119) $\text{Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w n iyu.}$
 person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that built the house was me.’
- (120) $\text{Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən iyu.}$
 person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that built the house was me.’
- (121) $\text{Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w iyu.}$
 person that build.PFV house-DET 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that built the house was me.’
- (122) $\text{Ləməw wənduwa-w nən ci.}$
 build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.M.IP
 ‘You (m) built the house.’

- (123) Ləməw wənduwa-w nən kəm.
 build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.F.IP
 ‘You (f) built the house.’
- (124) Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən ci.
 person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.M.IP
 ‘The person that built a house was you (m).’
- (125) Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən kə.
 person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.F.IP
 ‘The person that built a house was you (f).’
- (126) a. Ləməw wənduwa n tai?
 build.PFV house FOC tai
 ‘Who built a house?’
- b. Ləməw wənduwa n aci.
 build.PFV house FOC 3SG.M.IP
 ‘He built a house.’
- (127) Ləməw wənduwa-w nən ja.
 build.PFV house-DET FOC 1PL.EXCL
 ‘We built the house.’
- (128) Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən wa.
 people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 1PL.INCL
 ‘The people that built this house are we.’
- (129) Ləməw wəndauwa nən wa.
 build.PFV house FOC 1PL.INCL
 ‘We built the house.’
- (130) Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən wa.
 people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 1PL.INCL
 ‘We are the people that built this house.’

- (131) Ləməw wənduwa tku nən kun.
 build.PFV house DEM FOC 2PL.IP
 ‘You built this house.’
- (132) Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən kun.
 people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 2PL.IP
 ‘You are the people that built this house.’
- (133) Ləməw wənduwa tku aksi.
 build.PFV house DEM 3PL.IP
 ‘They built this house.’
- (134) *Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən aksi.
 person that build.PFV house DEM FOC 3PL.IP
 (intended:) ‘The people that built this house were them.’
 (Comment: This is plural, so it cannot be ‘nən’ = person)
- (135) Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən aksi.
 people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 3PL.IP
 ‘The people that built this house were them.’

A postposed subject can optionally ‘split’ a complex direct object (139–140). Examples (141) and (142) show that the relative clause can also follow additional elements (cf. also section 4. in Schuh (1972), who analyzes this as extraposition). The same can happen in pseudoclefts (144).

- (136) Na ta-na abə mi wara Dluma bənəw.
 1SG.AUX eat.PFV-TOT food that Dluma cook.PFV
 ‘I ate the food that Dluma prepared.’
- (137) Ta abən mi wara Dluma bənəw n tai?
 eat.PFV food that that Dluma cook.PFV FOC who
 ‘Who ate the food that Dluma prepared?’

- (138) Ta abən mi wara Dluma bənəw n Bauya.
eat.PFV food that Dluma cook.PFV FOC Bauya
'Bauya ate the food that Dluma prepared.'
- (139) Ta abən n tai mi wara Dluma bənəw?
eat.PFV food FOC who that Dluma cook.PFV
'Who ate the food that Dluma prepared?'
- (140) Ta abən n Bauya mi wara Dluma bənəw.
eat.PFV food FOC Bauya that Dluma cook.PFV
'Bauya ate the food that Dluma prepared.'
- (141) Bauya ta-na abən garvaca mi wara Dluma bənəw.
Bauya eat.PFV-TOT food yesterday that Dluma cook.PFV
'Bauya ate the food yesterday that Dluma prepared.'
- (142) Bauya ta-na abən-gu garvaca mi wara Dluma
Bauya eat.PFV-TOT food-DET yesterday that Dluma
bənəw.
cook.PFV
'Bauya ate the food yesterday that Dluma prepared.'
(Comment: Out of different food by different women, Bauya selected
Dluma's food.)
- (143) Nən mi wara ta abən mi wara Dluma bənəw n
person that eat.PFV food that Dluma cook.PFV FOC
Bauya.
Bauya
'The person that ate the food that Dluma prepared was Bauya.'
- (144) Nən mi wara ta abən n Bauya mi wara Dluma
person that eat.PFV food FOC Bauya that Dluma
bənəw.
cook.PFV
'The person that ate the food that Dluma prepared was Bauya.'

There is a focus construction involving a preverbal subject and a focused resumptive pronoun in postverbal position Schuh (1972, 252). This construction was elicited for a pseudocleft construction here.

- (145) Tai ləməw wənduwa-w madəvan?
 who build.PFV house-DET last.year
 ‘Who built a house last year?’
- (146) *Mamadi nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w madəvan.
 Mamadi person that build.PFV house-DET last.year
 (intended:) ‘Mamadi is the person that built a house last year.’
- (147) Mamadi nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w madəvan nən
 Mamadi person that build.PFV house-DET last.year FOC
 aci.
 3SG.M.IP
 ‘Mamadi, he is the person that built a house last year.’

The following sentences test subject focus and pseudocleft constructions with embedded sentences.

- (148) Anja ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa.
 Anja that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Anja said Jala built a house.’
- (149) Anja ma (iyu) na ləməw-na wənduwa.
 Anja that 1SG.IP 1SG.AUX build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Anja said that I built a house.’
 (Comment: I refers to the speaker, not to Anja)
- (150) a. Tai raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa?
 who say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Who said Jala built a house?’
- b. Anja raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa.
 Anja say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Anja said Jala built a house.’

- (151) a. # Raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa n tai?
 say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC who
 (intended) ‘Who said that Jala built a house?’
 (Comment: It means ‘He said that Jala built a house for who?’)
- b. # Raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa n Anja.
 say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC Anja
 (intended:) ‘Anja said that Jala built a house.’
 (Comment: This means ‘He said that Jala built a house for Anja’,
 or ‘According to Jala, the house was built by Anja’)
- c. # Raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa nən Anja.
 say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC Anja
 (intended:) ‘Anja said that Jala built a house.’
 (Comment: The building of the house is done by Anja)
- (152) Anja nən mi wara raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa.
 Anja person that say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘Anja is the one that said that Jala built a house.’
 (Comment: Here, Anja is male)
- (153) Anja atu mi wara raməw ma Jala ləməw-na
 Anja 3SG.F.IP that say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT
 wənduwa.
 house
 ‘Anja is the one that said that Jala built a house.’
 (Comment: Here, Anja is female)
- (154) Nən mi wara raməw ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa n
 person that say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC
 Anja.
 Anja
 ‘The one that said that Jala built a house was Anja.’

- (155) Nən mi wara raməw n Anja ma Jala ləməw-na
 person that say.PFV FOC Anja that Jala build.PFV-TOT
 wənduwa.
 house
 ‘The one that said that Jala built a house was Anja.’
- (156) Nən mi wara raməw ma Anja ɖaurəw Mamadi aci Jala.
 person that say.PFV that Anja call.PFV Mamadi 3SG.IP Jala
 ‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’
- (157) Mi wara raməw ma Anja ɖaurəw Mamadi nən aci Jala.
 that say.PFV that Anja call.PFV Mamadi FOC 3SG.IP Jala
 ‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’
- (158) Mi wara raməw nən Jala ma Anja ɖaurəw Mamadi.
 that say.PFV person Jala that Anja call.PFV Mamadi
 ‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’
- (159) Nən mi wara raməw n Jala ma Anja ɖaurəw Mamadi.
 person that say.PFV FOC Jala that Anja call.PFV Mamadi
 ‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’
- (160) Anja raməw ma ləməw wənduwa n tai?
 Anja say.PFV that build.PFV house FOC who
 (intended:) ‘Who did Anja say built a house?’
 (Comment: This means ‘Anja asks: Who built the house?’)
- (161) Anja raməw ma tai ləməw-na mənduwa?
 Anja say.PFV that who build.PFV-TOT house?
 (intended:) ‘Who did Anja say built a house?’
 (Comment: Anja is asking a question, she doesn’t know who built
 the house)

- (162) Anja raməw ma tai ɖauri-na iyu?
 Anja say.PFV that who call.PFV.PFV-TOT 1SG.IP
 ‘Anja asks: Who called me?’
 (Comment: iyu is Anja, not the speaker)

The following sentences were an attempt to elicit further pseudocleft and cleft sentences using the particle ‘ro’.

- (163) Ləməw wənduwa-w n tai?
 build.PFV house-DET FOC who?
 ‘Who built a house?’
- (164) Iyo ro nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w.
 1SG.IP PRT person that build.PFV house-DET
 ‘I was the one that built the house.’
- (165) *Iyu ro.
 1SG.IP PRT
 (intended:) ‘I did.’
- (166) *Maleka ro wara Jala ɖaurəw.
 Maleka PRT that Jala call.PFV
 (intended:) ‘Maleka is the one that Jala called.’
- (167) *Maleka ro wara ɖaurəw Jala.
 Maleka PRT that call.PFV Jala
 (intended:) ‘Maleka is the one that called Jala.’
- (168) Mi wara Jala ɖaurəw ro Maleka.
 that Jala call.PFV PRT Maleka
 ‘The one that Jala called is Maleka.’

The following sentences were an attempt to elicit embedded questions.

- (169) Na zəga-na mi wara ta-na kaktlau.
 1SG know.PFV-TOT that eat.PFV-TOT exam
 ‘I know who passed the exam.’
 (Comment: Here, one is talking about one person)
- (170) Na zəga-na ndawa mi wara ta-na kaktlau.
 1SG know.PFV-TOT people that eat.PFV-TOT exam
 ‘I know those that passed the exam.’
 (Comment: Here, one is talking about several people)
- (171) Na zəga-na ndawa mi wara ta kaktlau bai.
 1SG know.PFV-TOT people that eat.PFV exam NEG
 ‘I know those that didn’t pass the exam.’
- (172) Na zəga-na ndawa mi wara ta na ta bai
 1SG know.PFV-TOT people that eat.PFV and eat.PFV NEG
 kaktlau.
 exam
 ‘I know those that passed and those that didn’t pass the exam.’

The next two sentences also appear in my subject focus notes, although I do not know exactly why they were elicited — they were probably offered by the speaker at some point. I include them in the hope that they might be useful to someone.

- (173) ɖaur-əw Anja nən Yaba na ləma wənduwa.
 call.PFV Anja FOC Yaba and build.NMLZ house
 ‘Yaba called Anja and built a house.’
 (Comment: here Yaba built the house)
- (174) ɖaur-əw Anja nən Yaba na nguma-əw.
 call.PFV Anja FOC Yaba and answer.PFV
 ‘Yaba called Anja and answered.’
 (Comment: here Anja answered)

Binding Properties

In this part, the binding properties of the subject focus construction were tested, and compared to pseudoclefts. The first group of sentences tests whether the subject binds the direct object.

- (175) Nən tawanke lawana-na afa-gəri.
 person every see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.
 ‘Every man saw himself.’
- (176) Lawnə-na afa-gəri n tai?
 see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC who
 ‘Who saw himself?’
- (177) *Lawnə-na afa-gəri n nən tawanke.
 see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC person every
 (intended:) ‘Every man saw himself.’
 (Comment: Because it is plural, it cannot be ‘afa-gəri’.)
- (178) Lawnə-na afa-aksi n nən tawanke.
 see.PFV-TOT head-3PL.BP FOC person every
 ‘Every man saw himself.’
- (179) Mi wara lawnə-na afa-gəri n nən tawanke.
 that see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC person every
 ‘(The one) that saw himself was every man.’
- (180) Baci lawan afa-gəri n nən tawanke.
 one.who.does see.NMLZ head-3SG.BP FOC person every
 ‘The one that saw himself was every man.’
- (181) *Baci lawnə-na afa-gəri n nən tawanke.
 one.who.does see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC person every
 (intended:) ‘The one that saw himself was every man.’

The following sentences test whether the direct object binds the subject in any of these constructions.

- (182) * Ada-gəri lawnə-na nən tawanke.
head-3SG.BP see.PFV-TOT person every
(intended:) ‘Himself saw every man.’
- (183) Lawnə-na nən tawanke nən tai?
see.PFV-TOT person every FOC who
‘Who saw every man?’
- (184) * Lawnə-na nən tawanke nən ada-gəri.
see.PFV-TOT person every FOC head-3SG.BP
(intended:) ‘Himself saw every man.’
- (185) * Nən mi wara lawnə-na nən tawanke nən ada-gəri.
person that see.PFV-TOT person every FOC head-3SG.BP
(intended:) ‘The one who saw every man was himself.’
(Comment: This is possible if you use ‘aci na ada-gəri’ = ‘he himself’)

The next sentences test whether the subject binds the indirect object in these structures.

- (186) Nən tawanake wana-na wakita i ada-gəri.
person every send.PFV-TOT letter to head-3SG.BP
‘Every man sent a letter to himself.’
- (187) Wana-na wakita n tai i ada-gəri?
send.PFV-TOT letter FOC who to head-3SG.BP
‘Who sent a letter to himself?’
- (188) Wana-na wakita n nən tawanke i ada-gəri.
send.PFV-TOT letter FOC person every to head-3SG.BP
‘Every man sent a letter to himself.’
- (189) Wana-na wakita n ada-gəri n tai?
send.PFV-TOT letter to head-3SG.BP FOC who
‘Who sent a letter to himself?’

- (190) Wana-na wakita i ada-gəri n nən tawanke.
 send.PFV-TOT letter to head-3SG.BP FOC person every
 ‘Every man sent a letter to himself.’
- (191) Mi wara wana-na wakita n nən tawanke i
 that send.PFV-TOT letter FOC person every to
 ada-gəri.
 head-3SG.BP
 ‘The one who sent a letter to himself was every man.’

The following sentences test whether indirect objects bind the subject in the case of subject focus.

- (192) * Ada-gəri wana-na wakita i nən tawanke.
 head-3SG.BP send.PFV-TOT letter to person every.
 (intended:) ‘Himself sent a letter to every man.’
 (Comment: This is possible if you use ‘Aci na ada-gəri’)
- (193) Wana-na wakita i nən tawanke nən tai?
 send.PFV-TOT letter to person every FOC who
 ‘Who sent a letter to every man?’
- (194) * Wana-na wakita i nən tawanke nən ada-gəri.
 send.PFV-TOT letter to person every FOC head-3SG.BP
 (intended:) ‘Himself sent a letter to every man.’

The next sentences test whether the direct object binds the indirect object in the case of subject focus.

- (195) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke (aci) na ada-gəri.
 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT man every 3SG.IP to head-3SG.BP
 ‘I showed every man to himself.’

- (196) * Tatkə-na nən tawanke n iyu na
 show.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP 1SG.AUX
 ada-gəri.
 head-3.SG.BP
 (intended:) ‘I showed every man to himself.’
- (197) * Tatkə-na nən tawanke na ada-gəri n
 show.PFV-TOT person every 1SG.AUX head-3SG.BP FOC
 iyu.
 1SG.IP
 (intended:) ‘I showed every man to himself.’
- (198) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke na ada-gəri n
 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT person every to head-3SG.BP FOC
 iyu.
 1SG.IP
 ‘I showed every man to himself.’
- (199) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke nən iyu i
 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP to
 ada-gəri.
 head-3SG.BP
 ‘I showed every man to himself.’
- (200) Tatkə-na nən tawanke i ada-gəri nən tai?
 show.PFV-TOT person every to head-3SG.BP FOC who
 ‘Who showed every man to himself?’
- (201) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke i ada-gəri nən
 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT person every to head-3SG.BP FOC
 iyu.
 1SG.IP
 ‘I showed every man to himself.’

- (202) Nən mi wara tatkə-na nən tawanke nən iyu
 person that show.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP
 ada-gəri.
 head-3SG.BP
 ‘The one who showed every man to himself is me.’

The following sentences test whether the indirect object can bind the direct object in all-new word order and with subject focus.

- (203) # Na tatkə-na ada-gəri i nən tawanke.
 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT head-3.SG.BP to person every
 (intended:) ‘I showed himself to every man.’
 (Comment: This means ‘I showed him to every man.’)
- (204) Tatkə-na ada-gəri nən tai i nən tawanke?
 show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC who to person every
 ‘Who showed himself to every man?’
- (205) # Tatkə-na ada-gəri nən iyu i nən tawanke.
 show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP to person every
 (intended:) ‘I showed himself to everybody.’
 (Comment: This means ‘I showed him to everybody.’)
- (206) Tatkə-na ada-gəri i nən tawanke nən tai?
 show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP to person every FOC who
 ‘Who showed himself to everybody?’
- (207) # Tatkə-na ada-gəri i nən tawanke nən iyu.
 show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP to person every FOC 1SG.IP
 (intended:) ‘I showed himself to everybody.’
 (Comment: This means ‘I showed him to everybody.’)

The following sentences investigate whether a subject binds a low adjunct in all cases.

- (208) Nən tawanke ləməw-na səsau i ama-gəri.
 person every build.PFV-TOT room for wife-3SG.BP
 ‘Every man built a room for his wife.’
 (Comment: For his own wife)
- (209) I ama-gəri nən tawanke ləməw-na səsau.
 for wife-3SG.BP person every build.PFV-TOT room
 ‘For his wife, every man built a room.’
 (Comment: For his own wife)
- (210) Ləməw səsau nən tai i ama-gəri?
 build.PFV room FOC who for wife-3SG.BP
 ‘Who built a room for his wife?’
- (211) Ləməw səsau nən nən tawanke i ama-gəri.
 build.PFV room FOC person every for wife-3SG.BP
 ‘Every man built a room for his wife.’
 (Comment: For his own wife)
- (212) Ləməw səsau i ama-gəri nən tai?
 build.PFV room for wife-3SG.BP FOC who
 ‘Who built a room for his wife?’
- (213) Ləməw səsau i ama-gəri nən nən tawanke.
 build.PFV room for wife-3SG.BP FOC person every
 ‘Every man built a room for his wife.’
 (Comment: For his own wife)
- (214) Nən mi wara ləməw səsau nən nən tawanke i
 person that build.PFV room FOC person every for
 ama-gəri.
 wife-3SG.BP
 ‘The person that built a room for his wife was every man.’

(215) Nən mi wara ləməw səsau i ama-gəri nən nən
 person that build.PFV room for wife-3SG.BP FOC person
 tawanke.
 every

‘The person that built a room for his wife was every man.’

(216) Nən mi wara ləməw səsau i ama-gəri n nən
 person that build.PFV room for wife-3SG.BP FOC person
 tawanke.
 every

‘The person that built a room for his wife was every man.’

The next sentences investigate whether a low adjunct can bind a subject.

(217) Masək-gara ləməw-na səsau i ama tawanke.
 husband-3SG.BP build.PFV-TOT room for woman every

‘Her husband built a room for every woman.’

(Comment: Somebody’s husband, not every woman’s own husband.)

(218) Ləməw-na səsau nən tai i ama tawanke?
 build.PFV-TOT room FOC who for woman every

‘Who built a room for every wife?’

(219) Ləməw-na səsau nən masək-gara i ama tawanke.
 build.PFV-TOT room FOC husband-3SG.BP for wife every

‘Her husband built a room for every wife.’

(Comment: Somebody’s husband, not every woman’s own husband.)

(220) Ləməw-na səsau i ama tawanke nən tai?
 build.PFV-TOT room for wife every FOC who

‘Who built a room for every wife?’

(221) Ləməw-na səsau i ama tawanke n masək-gara.
 build.PFV-TOT room for wife every FOC husband-3SG.BP

‘Her husband built a room for every wife.’

(Comment: Here, it can be every woman’s own husband.)

- (222) Ləməw-na səsau i ama tawanke nən masək-gara.
 build.PFV-TOT room for wife every FOC husband-3SG.BP
 ‘Her husband built a room for every wife.’
 (Comment: Somebody’s husband, not every woman’s own husband.)

In the following sentences, the subject binds a high adjunct.

- (223) Nən tawanke ləməw-na wənduwa a kun lardi-gəri.
 person every build.PFV-TOT house at in country-3SG.BP
 ‘Every man built a house in his country.’
 (Comment: In his own country.)
- (224) A kun lardi-gəri, nən tawanke ləməw-na wənduwa.
 at in country-3SG.BP person every build.PFV-TOT house
 ‘In his country, every man built a house.’
 (Comment: In a specific country.)
- (225) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən tai a kun lardi-gəri?
 build.PFV-TOT house FOC who at in country-3SG.BP
 ‘Who built a house in his country?’
- (226) Ləməw wənduwa nən tai a kun lardi-gəri?
 build.PFV house FOC who at in country-3SG.BP
 ‘Who built a house in his country?’
- (227) Ləməw wənduwa nən nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri.
 build.PFV house FOC person every at in country-3SG.BP
 ‘Every man built a house in his country.’
 (Comment: In his own country.)
- (228) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən nən tawanke a kun
 build.PFV-TOT house FOC person every at in
 lardi-gəri.
 country-3SG.BP
 ‘Every man built a house in his country.’
 (Comment: In his own country.)

- (229) Ləməw wənduwa a kun lardi-gəri nən tai?
 build.PFV house at in country-3SG.BP
 ‘Who built a house in his country?’
- (230) Ləməw wənduwa a kun lardi-gəri nən nən tawanke.
 build.PFV house at in country-3SG.BP FOC person every
 ‘Every man built a house in his country.’
 (Comment: In his own country.)
- (231) Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa a kun lardi-gəri nən
 person that build.PFV house at in country-3SG.BP FOC
 nən tawanke.
 person every
 ‘The person that built a house in his country was every man.’
- (232) Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa nən nən tawanke a kun
 person that build.PFV house FOC person every at in
 lardi-gəri.
 country-3SG.BP
 ‘The person that built a house in his country was every man.’
- (233) A kun lardi-gəri nən tawanke bar-na bari i
 at in country-3SG.BP person every give.PFV-TOT present to
 marəm lardə-w.
 important.person country-DET
 ‘In his country, every man gave a present to the president.’
 (Comment: In a specific country.)
- (234) Nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri bar-na bari i
 person every at inside country-3SG.BP give.PFV-TOT present to
 marəm lardə-w.
 important.person country-DET
 ‘Every man gave a present to the president in his country.’
 (Comment: In his own country.)

In the following group of sentences, it was investigated whether a high adjunct can bind the subject.

- (235) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən tai i lardi tawanke?
 build.PFV-TOT house FOC who in country every
 ‘Who built a house in every country?’
- (236) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən marəm-gara i
 build.PFV-TOT house FOC important.person-3SG.BP in
 lardi tawanke.
 country every
 ‘Its president built a house in every country.’
 (Comment: a specific president.)
- (237) Ləməw-na wənduwa i lardi tawanke nən tai?
 build.PFV-TOT house in country every FOC who
 ‘Who built a house in every country?’
- (238) Ləməw-na wənduwa i lardi tawanke nən
 build.PFV-TOT house in country every FOC
 marəm-gara.
 important.person-3SG.BP
 ‘Its president built a house in every country.’
 (Comment: Its own president.)
- (239) A kun lardi tawanke marəm-gara bar-na
 at in country every important.person-3SG.BP give.PFV-TOT
 bari i Bauya.
 present to Bauya
 ‘In every country, its president gave a present to Bauya.’
 (Comment: Its own president.)

- (240) Marəm-gara a kun lardi tawanke bar-na
 important.person-3SG.BP at in country every give.PFV-TOT
 bari i Bauya.
 present to Bauya
 ‘Its president gave a present to Bauya in every country.’
 (Comment: A specific president.)

The following sentences investigate whether the direct object binds a low adjunct.

- (241) Na dauri-na nən tawanke i ama-gəri.
 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every to wife-3SG.BP
 ‘I called every man to his wife.’
- (242) I ama-gəri na dauri-na nən tawanke.
 to wife-3SG.BP 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every
 ‘To his wife, I called every man.’
- (243) daurəw nən tawanke nən tai i ama-gəri?
 call.PFV person every FOC who to wife-3SG.BP
 ‘Who called every man to his wife?’
- (244) daurəw nən tawanke nən iyu i ama-gəri.
 call.PFV person every FOC 1SG.IP to wife-3SG.BP
 ‘I called every man to his wife.’
- (245) Nen daurəw nən tawanke nən iyu i ama-gəri.
 person call.PFV person every FOC 1SG.IP to wife-3SG.BP
 ‘The person that called every man to his wife is me.’
- (246) Nen daurəw nən tawanke i ama-gəri nən iyu.
 person call.PFV person every to wife-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that called every man to his wife is me.’

The following section investigates whether direct objects bind high adjuncts.

- (247) Na ɗauri-na nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri.
1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every at in country-3SG.BP
'I called every man in his country.'
- (248) A kun lardi-gəri, na ɗauri-na nən tawanke.
at in country-3SG.BP 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every
'In his country, I called every man.'
- (249) ɗauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gəri nən tai?
call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP FOC who
'Who called every man in his country?'
- (250) ɗauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gəri nən iyu.
call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
'I called every man in his country.'
- (251) ɗauri-na nən tawanke nən tai i lardi-gəri?
call.PFV-TOT person every FOC who in country-3SG.BP
'Who called every man in his country?'
- (252) ɗauri-na nən tawanke nən iyu i lardi-gəri?
call.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP in country-3SG.BP
'I called every man in his country.'
- (253) Nən mi wara ɗauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gəri
person that call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP
n iyu.
FOC 1SG.IP
'The one who called every man from his country is me.'

In the following sentences, it is investigated whether a direct object binds a high adjunct.

- (254) Nən mi wara dauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gəri
 person that call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP
 nən iyu.
 FOC 1SG.IP

‘The one who called every man from his country is me.’

- (255) Nən mi wara dauri-na nən tawanke nən iyu i
 person that call.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP in
 lardi-gəri.
 country-3SG.BP

‘The one who called every man in his country is me.’

The next sentences were elicited to show whether an indirect object binds a high adjunct.

- (256) Na bar-na bari i nən tawanke a kun
 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to person every at in
 lardi-gəri.
 country-3SG.BP

‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

- (257) Na bar-na bari i nən tawanke n iyu
 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to person every FOC 1SG.IP
 a kun lardi-gəri.
 at in country-3SG.BP

‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

- (258) Na bar-na bari i amatin tawanke a kun
 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to woman every at in
 lardi-gara.
 country-3SG.BP

‘I gave a present to every woman in her country.’

- (259) A kun lardi-gəri na bar-na bari i nən
 at in country-3SG.BP 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to person
 tawanke.
 every
 ‘In his country, I gave a present to every man.’
- (260) Barə-w bari nən iyu i nən tawanke a kun
 give.PFV present FOC 1SG.IP to person every at in
 lardi-gəri.
 country-3SG.BP
 ‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’
- (261) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke nən tai a kun
 give.PFV present to person every FOC who at in
 lardi-gəri?
 country-3SG.BP
 ‘Who gave a present to every man in his country?’
- (262) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke nən iyu a kun
 give.PFV present to person every FOC 1SG.IP at in
 lardi-gəri.
 country-3SG.BP
 ‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’
- (263) Barə-w bari i nən tawanka a kun lardi-gəri nən
 give.PFV present to person every at in country-3SG.BP FOC
 tai?
 who
 ‘Who gave a present to every man in his country?’
- (264) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri nən
 give.PFV present to person every at in country-3SG.BP FOC
 iyu.
 1SG.IP
 ‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

- (265) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri n
 give.PFV present to person every at in country-3SG.BP FOC
 iyu.
 1SG.IP
 ‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’
- (266) Nən mi wara barəw bari nən iyu i nən tawanke a
 person that give.PFV present FOC 1SG.IP to person every at
 kun lardi-gəri.
 in country-3SG.BP
 ‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’
- (267) Nən mi wara barəw bari i nən tawanke nən iyu a
 person that give.PFV present to person every FOC 1SG.IP at
 kun lardi-gəri.
 in country-3SG.BP
 ‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’
- (268) Nən mi wara barəw bari i nən tawanke a kun
 person that give.PFV present to person every at in
 lardi-gəri nən iyu.
 country-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’
- (269) Nən mi wara barəw bari i nən tawanke a kun
 person that give.PFV present to person every at in
 lardi-gəri n iyu.
 country-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
 ‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’
- (270) Barə-w bari nən tai i nən tawanke a kun
 give.PFV present FOC who to person every at in
 lardi-gəri?
 country-3SG.BP
 ‘Who gave a present to every man in his country?’

The next sentences were elicited to test binding of high adjuncts into indirect objects.

- (271) Na bar-na bari i marəm-gara a
 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to important.person-3SG.BP at
 kun lardi tawanke.
 inside country every
 ‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’
 (Comment: its own president)
- (272) Bar-na bari i marəm-gara nən tai a
 give.PFV-TOT present to important.person-3SG.BP FOC who at
 kun lardi tawanke?
 in country every
 ‘Who gave a present to its president in every country?’
- (273) Bar-na bari i marəm-gara nən iyu a
 give.PFV-TOT present to important.person-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP at
 kun lardi tawanke.
 in country every
 ‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’
 (Comment: Its own president.)
- (274) Bar-na bari nən tai i marəm-gara a
 give.PFV-TOT present FOC who to important.person-3SG.BP at
 kun lardi tawanke?
 in country every
 ‘Who gave a present to its president in every country?’
 (Comment: Its own president)
- (275) Bar-na bari nən iyu i marəm-gara a
 give.PFV-TOT present FOC 1SG.IP to important.person-3SG.BP at
 kun lardi tawanke.
 in country every.
 ‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’

- (276) Bar-na bari n iyu i marəm-gara a
 give.PFV-TOT present FOC 1SG.IP to important.person-3SG.BP at
 kun lardi tawanke.
 in country every.
 ‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’

4.2 DO-Focus

The focused direct object was offered in its canonical position, without any morphological marking. The totality extended verb form was used in all cases tested.

- (277) a. Mamadi ləməw-na tam madavən?
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT what last.year
 ‘What did Mamadi build last year?’
 b. Ləməw-na wənduwa madavən.
 build.PFV-TOT house last.year
 ‘(He) built a house last year.’
- (278) a. Anja bar-na tam i Jala?
 Anja give.PFV-TOT what to Jala
 ‘What did Anja give to Jala?’
 b. Anja bar-na agogo i Jala.
 Anja give.PFV-TOT watch to Jala
 ‘Anja gave a watch to Jala.’
- (279) a. Mamadi ləməw-na wənduwa na ankal.
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT house with care
 ‘Mamadi built a house gradually.’
 b. O’o, ləməw-na dikrəra-w na ankal.
 no build.PFV-TOT school-DET with care
 ‘No, he built a SCHOOL gradually.’

- (280) a. Yabani mase-na mətka ra wənduwa?
 Yabani buy.PFV-TOT car or house
 ‘Did Yabani buy a car or a house?’
- b. Mase-na mətka.
 buy.PFV-TOT car
 ‘He bought a car.’

The clause-final position, following indirect objects or adjuncts, was not accepted in all cases. The one example in which this was possible suggests that the presence or absence of a ‘focus marker’ may play a role.

- (281) a. Mamadi ləməw-na madavən nən tam?
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT last.year FOC what
 ‘What did Mamadi build last year?’
- b. Mamadi ləməw-na madavən nən wənduwa.
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT last.year FOC house
 ‘Mamadi built a house last year.’

- (282) * Anja bari i Jala tam?
 Anja give.PFV to Jala what
 (intended:) ‘What did Anja give to Jala?’

- (283) a. Mamadi ləməw-na wənduwa na ankal.
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT house with care
 ‘Mamadi built a house gradually.’
- b. # O’o, ləməw na ankal dikərau.
 no build.PFV with care school
 ‘No, he built a SCHOOL gradually.’
 (Comment: This answers a question ‘Did he build the school urgently?’)

A focused direct object can be fronted to clause-initial position. In this case, the totality extended form was rejected.

- (284) a. Tam Mamadi ləməw madavən?
 what Mamadi build.PFV last.year
 ‘What did Mamadi build last year?’
- b. Wənduwa Mamadi ləməw madaən.
 house Mamadi build.PFV last.year
 ‘Mamadi built a house last year.’
- (285) * Tam Mamadi ləməw-na madavən?
 what Mamadi build.PFV-TOT last.year
 (intended:) ‘What did Mamadi build last year?’

Examples with a ‘focus marker’ were accepted, however without the totality extension.

- (286) a. Yabani mase-na mətka ra wənduwa?
 Yabani buy.PFV-TOT car or house
 ‘Did Yabani buy a car or a house?’
- b. * Mase-na nən mətka.
 buy.PFV-TOT FOC car
 (intended:) ‘He bought a car.’
- c. Mase nən mətka.
 buy.PFV FOC car
 ‘He bought a car.’
- (287) a. * Bazam ləməw-na nən tam?
 Bazam build.PFV-TOT FOC what
 (intended:) ‘What did Bazam build?’
- b. Bazam ləməw n tam?
 Bazam build.PFV FOC what
 ‘What did Bazam build?’
- c. Bazam ləməw nən tam?
 Bazam build.PFV FOC what
 ‘What did Bazam build?’

- d. Bazam ləməw nən bəzam.
 Bazam build.PFV FOC granary
 ‘Bazam built a granary.’

The following sentence is a pseudocleft-example, without ‘focus marker’.

- (288) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa agogo.
 thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa watch
 ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

Like in the forms seen in section 3.4, the subject of the pseudocleft can be marked as definite by a definite determiner ‘-w’ (289). There is one example in which a ‘focus marker’ was accepted in this position (290), however, the head of the relative clause could not be omitted (291).

- (289) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa-w agogo.
 thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa-DET watch
 ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

- (290) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa n agogo.
 thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC watch
 ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

- (291) *Wara Jala barəw i Shuwa n agogo.
 that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC agogo
 (intended:) ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

The following examples are an attempt at forming a cleft.

- (292) Bi agogo wara Jala barəw i Shuwa.
 thing watch that Jala give to Shuwa
 ‘It is a watch that Jala gave to Shuwa.’

- (293) *Nən Maleka wara Jala daurəw.
 person Maleka that Jala call.PFV
 (intended:) ‘It is Maleka that Jala called.’

- (294) Maleka wara Jala ɖaurəw.
 Maleka that Jala call.PFV
 ‘It is Maleka that Jala called.’

4.3 IO-Focus

Focused indirect objects can occur in-situ, without morphological marking.

- (295) Nyabe bari agogo i tai garvaca?
 Nyaba give.PFV watch to who yesterday
 ‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’

- (296) a. Nyabe bar-na agogo i tai garvaca?
 Nyabe give.PFV-TOT watch to who yesterday
 ‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’
 b. Bar-na agogo i Anja garvaca.
 give.PFV-TOT watch to Anja yesterday
 ‘She gave a watch to Anja yesterday.’

Focused indirect objects can also occur at the right periphery.

- (297) a. Nyabe bar-na agogo garvaca i tai?
 Nyabe give.PFV-TOT watch yesterday to who
 ‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’
 b. Nyabe bar-na agogo garvaca i Anja.
 Nyabe give.PFV-TOT watch yesterday to Anja
 ‘Nyabe gave a watch to Anja yesterday.’

The data does not show whether focused indirect objects can occur between the verb and the direct object — the results are not conclusive.

- (298) * Nyabe bar-na i tai agogo garvaca.
 Nyabe give.PFV-TOT to who watch yesterday
 (intended:) ‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’

- (299) a. Nyabe bar-na i tai agogo-gu garvaca?
 Nyabe give.PFV-TOT to who watch-DET garvaca
 ‘Whom did Nyabe give the watch yesterday?’
- b. Nyabe bar-na i Anja agogo-gu garvaca.
 Nyabe give.PFV-TOT to Anja watch-DET yesterday
 ‘Nyabe gave the watch to Anja yesterday.’

4.4 ADJ-Focus

Questioned and focused adjuncts also occur in their canonical position, without ‘focus marker’. Again, the totality extension can cooccur with the focused constituent. As explained in section 1.1.3, the totality form ‘-na’ can only occur with an immediately following direct object.

- (300) Jala ləma wənduwa-w fatawan?
 Jala build.PFV house-DET when
 ‘When did Jala build a house?’
- (301) Maleka ɖauri-na Mamadi fatawan?
 Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi when
 ‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’
- (302) a. Fatawan Maleka ɖauri-na Mamadi?
 when Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
 ‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’
- b. ɖauri-na aci garvaca.
 call.PFV-TOT 3SG.IP yesterday
 ‘She called him yesterday.’
- c. ɖaurəw garvaca.
 call.PFV yesterday
 ‘She called him yesterday.’

- d. * *dauri-na garvaca.*
 call.PFV-TOT yesterday
 (intended:) ‘She called (him) yesterday.’
- (303) a. *Fatawan Maleka a daura Mamadi ada-ada?*
 when Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ Mamadi frequently
 ‘When did Maleka frequently call Mamadi?’
- b. *A daura-gəri ada-ada madavən.*
 IPFC call.NMLZ-3SG frequently last.year
 ‘She called him frequently last year.’
- c. *A daura Mamadi ada-ada madavən.*
 IPFC call.NMLZ Mamadi frequently last.year
 ‘She called Mamadi frequently last year.’
- (304) a. *Mamadi ləməw-na dikrəra na kampoyi madavən?*
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT school with haste last.year
 ‘Did Mamadi build a school quickly last year?’
- b. *O’o, ləməw-na dikrəra-w na ankal madavən.*
 no build.PFV-TOT school-DET with care last.year
 ‘No, he built the school gradually last year.’
- (305) a. *Maleka dauri-na Mamadi na marəm wura garvaca.*
 Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi with big voice yesterday
 ‘Maleka called Mamadi loudly yesterday.’
- b. *O’o, daur-aci na gangam wura garvaca.*
 no call.PRV-3SG.IP with small voice yesterday
 ‘No, she called him softly yesterday.’

It can be marked by a ‘focus marker’.

- (306) a. *Fatawan Maleka dauri-na Mamadi?*
 when Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
 ‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’

- b. ɖauri-na aci nən garvaca.
 call.PFV-TOT 3SG.IP FOC yesterday
 ‘She called him yesterday.’
- c. ɖauri n garvaca.
 call.PFV FOC yesterday
 ‘She called yesterday.’
- d. ɖauri nən garvaca.
 call.PFV FOC yesterday
 ‘She called yesterday.’
- (307) a. Jala ləməw-na wənduwa madavən.
 Jala build.PFV-TOT house last.year
 ‘Jala built a house last year.’
- b. O’o, ləməw-na wənduwa n aman tiyu.
 no build.PFV-TOT house FOC year DEM
 ‘No, he built the house two years ago.’

A focused/questioned adjunct can occur in clause-final position.

- (308) a. Mamadi ləməw-na dikrəra na kampoyi madavən?
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT school with haste last.year
 ‘Did Mamadi build a school quickly last year?’
- b. O’o, ləməw-na dikrəra-w madavən na ankal.
 no build.PFV-TOT school-DET last.year with care
 ‘No, he built the school gradually last year.’

The informant didn’t accept an example with a high questioned adjunct between V and DO, but he accepted one with a low focused adjunct between V and DO.

- (309) * Maleka ɖauri-na fatawan Mamadi?
 Maleka call.PFV-TOT when Mamadi
 (intended:) ‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’

- (310) a. Mamadi ləməw-na dīkrəra na kampoyi madavən?
 Mamadi build.PFV-TOT school with haste last.year
 ‘Did Mamadi build a school quickly last year?’
- b. O’o, ləməw na anka dīkrəra-w madavən.
 no build.PFV with care school-DET last.year
 ‘No, he built the school gradually last year.’

A questioned/focused adverbial can occur in clause-initial position.

- (311) Fatawan Jala ləma wənduwa-w?
 when Jala build.PFV house-DET
 ‘When did Jala build a house?’
- (312) Fatawan Maleka dauri-na Mamadi?
 when Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
 ‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’
- (313) Fatawan Maleka a daura Mamadi afa-ada?
 when Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ Mamadi frequently
 ‘When did Maleka frequently call Mamadi?’

4.5 Verb Focus

In Ngizim, sentences with narrow verb focus are usually in the canonical word order. The verb can be in the totality extension (cf. (315))

- (314) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wənduwa?
 Mamadi do.PFV what with house
 ‘What did Mamadi do with the house?’
- b. Mamadi ləməw wənduwa.
 Mamadi build.PFV house
 ‘Mamadi built the house.’

- (315) a. Mamadi dlam-na tam na wənduwa-gəri?
Mamadi do.PFV-TOT what with house-3SG.BP
'What did Mamadi do with his house?'
- b. Ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
build.PFV-TOT house-DET
'He built the house.'
- c. Ləməw-du.
build.PFV-TOT
'He built (it).'
- (316) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa?
Wuriwa do.PFV what with house
'What did Wuriwa do to the house?'
- b. dəbdi-na wənduwa-w.
sell.PFV-TOT house-DET
'He sold it.'
- c. dəbdu-du.
sell.PFV-TOT
'He sold it.'
- (317) a. Maleka wana-na wanyi i Shuwa.
Maleka send.PFV-TOT message to Shuwa
'Maleka sent a message to Shuwa.'
- b. O'o, dəur-atu.
no call.PFV-3SG.F.IP
'No, she called her.'

Verb focus can also be expressed by nominalization of the focused verb.

- (318) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wənduwa?
Mamadi do.PFV what with house
'What did Mamadi do with the house?'

- b. Dlam ləma wənduwa.
do.PFV build.NMLZ house
'Mamadi did building to the house/house-building.'
- c. * Dlam ləma na wənduwa.
do.PFV build.NMLZ with house
(intended:) 'Mamadi did building to the house/house-building.'
- (319) a. Maleka dlam tam i Mamadi?
Maleka do.PFV what to Mamadi
'What did Maleka do to Mamadi?'
- b. Maleka dlam dəura i Mamadi.
Maleka do.PFV call.NMLZ to Mamadi
'Maleka did calling to Mamadi.'
- (320) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa?
Wuriwa do.PFV what with house
'What did Wuriwa do to the house?'
- b. Dlam-na ləma.
do.PFV-TOT build.NMLZ
'He did building.'
- (321) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa?
Wuriwa do.PFV what with house
'What did Wuriwa do to the house?'
- b. Dlam dəbət wənduwa-w.
do.PFV sell.NMLZ house-DET
'He did selling to the house.'
- c. * Dlam dəbət na wənduwa-w.
do.PFV sell.NMLZ with house-DET
(intended:) 'He did selling to the house.'

The following is not really narrow verb focus, presumably both the verb and the indirect object are in focus.

- (322) a. Jagari dlam tam na agogo?
 Jagari do.PFV what with watch
 ‘What did Jagari do with the watch?’
- b. Bari i Mamadi.
 give.NMLZ to Mamadi
 ‘He gave it to Mamadi.’
- c. Dlam bari agogo-gu i Mamadi.
 do.PFV give.NMLZ watch-DET to Mamadi
 ‘He gave it to Mamadi.’

It was also tested whether the order of the nominalized verb and direct object could be changed. Without a preceding ‘focus marker’, the nominalized verb could not be placed after the direct object.

- (323) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wənduwa?
 Mamadi do.PFV what with house
 ‘What did Mamadi do with the house?’
- b. *Dlam na wənduwa ləma.
 do.PFV with house build.NMLZ
 (intended:) ‘He did building with the house.’
- (324) a. Maleka dlam tam i Mamadi?
 Maleka do.PFV what to Mamadi
 ‘What did Maleka do to Mamadi?’
- b. *Maleka dlam i Mamadi ɖaura.
 Maleka do.PFV to Mamadi call.NMLZ
 (intended:) ‘Maleka did calling to Mamadi.’

The nominalized verb can cooccur with a ‘focus marker’. In this case, the nominalized verb could be postposed in example (326b) — unfortunately, we don’t have more examples of this.

- (325) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa?
Wuriwa do.PFV what with house
'What did Wuriwa do to the house?'
- b. Dlam nən ləma.
do.PFV FOC build.NMLZ
'He did building.'
- (326) a. Maleka dlam tam i Mamadi?
Maleka do.PFV what to Mamadi
'What did Maleka do to Mamadi?'
- b. Maleka dlam i Mamadi n dəura.
Maleka do.PFV to Mamadi FOC call.NMLZ
'Maleka did calling to Mamadi.'

Another way of emphasizing the verb, which is however rarely used, is a kind of verb doubling using a stative verb.

- (327) a. Ləməw wənduwa-w bike masa da-masa?
build.PFV house-DET or buy.NMLZ STV-buy.NMLZ
'Did he build the house or buy it (buyingly)?'
- b. Ləməw wənduwa-w da-ləma bike masa
build.PFV house-DET STV-build.NMLZ or buy.NMLZ
da-masa?
STV-buy.NMLZ
'Did he build the house (buildingly) or buy it (buyingly)?'
- c. Ləməw da-ləma.
build.PFV STV-build.NMLZ
'He built it (buildingly).'
- (328) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wənduwa?
Mamadi do.PFV what with house
'What did Mamadi do with the house?'

- b. dɛbdu da-dɛbda .
 sell.PFV STV-sell.NMLZ
 ‘He sold it (sellingly).’
 (Comment: This means he sold it for cash, not on credit or by
 monthly payment)
- (329) a. Maleka wana-na wanyi i Shuwa.
 Maleka send.PFV-TOT message to Shuwa
 ‘Maleka sent a message to Shuwa.’
- b. O’o, daur-atu da-daura .
 no call.PFV-3.SG.F.IP STV-call.NMLZ
 ‘No, she called her (by calling).’

The following sentences illustrate other uses of the statives.

- (330) dɛbdu da-lɔma .
 sell.PFV STV-build.NMLZ
 ‘He sold it built.’
 (Comment: This means he sold it when it was finished)
- (331) Maleka gudlidli-na Shuwa da-daura .
 Maleka wake.up.PFV-TOT Shuwa STV-call.NMLZ
 ‘Maleka woke Shuwa up callingly.’
 (Comment: Maleka woke Shuwa up intentionally)

4.6 VP Focus

VP focus can also remain unmarked.

- (332) a. Maleka dlam tam ?
 Maleka do.PFV what
 ‘What did Maleka do?’

- b. Rarəw-na Mamadi.
call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
'She called Mamadi.'
- c. Nguməw-na rara-w.
answer.PFV-TOT call-DET
'She answered the call.'
- (333) a. Mamadi dlam tam?
Mamadi do.PFV what
'What did Mamadi do?'
- b. Ləməw-na wənduwa.
build.PFV-TOT house
'He built a house.'
- (334) a. Mamadi dlam tam?
Mamadi do.PFV what
'What did Mamadi do?'
- b. Mammadə-w ləməw wənduwa.
Mamadi-DET build.PFV house
'Mamadi built a house.'
- c. Mamadi-gu ləməw wənduwa.
Mamadi-DET build.PFV house
'Mamadi built a house.'

The following data suggests that there can be no 'focus marker' preceding the nominalized verb, but that it can precede the direct object, yielding a structure that looks like DO-Focus (similar to the West Chadic language Guruntum, cf Hartmann and Zimmermann (2006, 72))

- (335) *Mamadi dlam n tam?
Mamadi do.PFV FOC what
(intended:)'What did Mamadi do?'

(336) * Mamadi dlam nən tam?
 Mamadi do.PFV FOC what
 (intended:)'What did Mamadi do?'

(337) Bazam dlam tam?
 Bazam do.PFV what
 'What did Bazam do?'

(338) Bazam ləməw nən wənduwa.
 Bazam build.PFV FOC house
 'Bazam built a house.'

In VP-focus contexts, the verb can also be nominalized.

- (339) a. Maleka dlam tam?
 Maleka do.PFV what
 'What did Maleka do?'
- b. Maleka dlam dəura i Mamadi.
 Maleka do.PFV call.NMLZ to Mamadi
 'Maleka called Mamadi.'
- c. Dlam gamas.
 do.PFV laughter
 'She laughed.'
- d. Maleka dlam gawas.
 Maleka do.PFV laughter
 'Maleka laughed.'
- (340) a. Mamadi dlam tam?
 Mamadi do.PFV what
 'What did Mamadi do?'
- b. Dlam ləma.
 do.PFV build.NMLZ
 'He built a house.'

- c. Dlam ləma wənduwa.
do.PFV build.NMLZ house
'He built a house.'

4.7 TAM Focus

Focus on the perfective aspect is expressed by the totality extension (cf. Schuh (2005a)'s 'auxiliary focus').

- (341) a. Mamadi a ləma wənduwa bi?
Mamadi IPFC build.NMLZ house Q
'Will Mamadi build the house?'
- b. O'o, ləmə-na wənduwa-w.
no build.PFV-TOT house-DET
'No, he has already built the house.'
- c. * O'o, ləməw wənduwa-w.
no build.PFV house-DET
(intended:) 'No, he has already built the house.'
- (342) a. Dləma a nguma bi amzharu?
Dləma IPFC answer.NMLZ Q tomorrow
'Will Dləma answer tomorrow?'
- b. Nguma-du.
answer.PFV-TOT
'She already answered.'
- c. # Nguma.
answer.PFV
'She already answered.'
- d. Na bai, nguməw-du garvaca.
There.exists NEG answer.PFV-TOT yesterday
'No, she already answered yesterday.'

- (343) a. Mamadi a dɔmu na lɔma
 Mamadi IPFC straighten.out.NMLZ and build.NMLZ
 wɛnduwa bi?
 house Q
 ‘Will Mamadi build a house?’
- b. O’o, na bai, lɛmɔw-na wɛnduwa-w.
 no there.exists NEG build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 ‘No, he already built the house.’
- c. * O’o, na bai, lɛmɔw wɛnduwa-w.
 no there.exists NEG build.PFV house-DET
 (intended:)’No, he has already built the house.’
 (Corrected after hesitation: lɛmɔw is also past tense, so this is possible)

4.8 Verum Focus

In this section, Verum focus is tested. These are environments in which the whole proposition is presupposed, but not yet accepted as part of the common ground. Different environments were tested in which this kind of focus is likely to occur. The following examples are answers to a simple yes-no question - we see that the verb can remain in its usual form, that the totality extension can occur, and that nominalization is possible in this context.

- (344) a. Jajua ngumɔw bi?
 Jajua answer.PFV Q
 ‘Did Jajua really answer?’

- b. Awo, Jajua nguməw.
yes Jajua answer.PFV
'Yes, Jajua answered.'
- c. Awo, nguməw.
yes answer.PFV
'Yes, she answered.'
- d. O'o, nguməw bai.
no answer.PFV NEG
'No, she didn't answer.'
- (345) a. Anya Jala ləməw wənduwa?
Anya Jala build.PFV house
'Well, did Jala build the house?'
- b. Anya Jala ləməw-na wənduwa?
Anya Jala build.PFV-TOT house
'Well, did Jala build the house?'
- c. Awo, Jala ləməw wənduwa.
yes Jala build.PFV house
'Yes, he did build a house.'
- d. Awo, Jala ləməw-na wənduwa.
yes Jala build.PFV-TOT house
'Yes, he did build a house.'
- (346) a. Mamadi dlam ləma bi?
Mamadi do.PFV build.NMLZ Q
'Did Mamadi do building?'
- b. Awo, dlam ləma.
yes do.PFV build.NMLZ
'Yes, he did building.'
- c. O'o, dlam ləma bai.
no do.PFV build.NMLZ NEG
'No, he didn't do building.'

The next sentences in which Verum focus was expected were positive answers to implicit yes/no questions ('I wonder whether...'), this is one of the possible contexts mentioned in Hole and Zimmermann (2008).

- (347) a. Na tuman-gu Jala ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 1SG.AUX think-EXPL Jala build.PFV house-DET NEG
 'I wonder whether Jala built a house.'
 (Comment: Literal meaning: I doubt (it) that Jala built a house)
- b. Ləməw-na wənduwa-w!
 build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 'He did build the house!'
- (348) a. Na zəga bai ma Jala ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
 1SG.AUX doubt NEG that Jala build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 'I am in doubt whether Jala built a house.'
- b. Na zəga bai Jala ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
 1SG.AUX doubt NEG Jala build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 'I am in doubt whether Jala built a house.'
- c. O'o, ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 no build.PRV house-DET NEG
 'No, he didn't build the house.'
- d. Awo, ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
 yes build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 'Yes, he did build the house.'

The next context for Verum focus were contrastive corrections of simple negative statements (Hole and Zimmermann, 2008). Again, there was no special marking of Verum focus.

- (349) a. Jajua nguməw bai.
 Jajua answer.PFV NEG
 'Jajua didn't answer.'

- b. Jajua nguməw-du.
Jajua answer.PFV-TOT
'Jajua did answer.'
- (350) a. Mamadi ləməw wənduwa bai.
Mamadi build.PFV house NEG
'Mamadi didn't build a house.'
- b. O'o, ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
no build.PFV-TOT house-DET
'No, he did build a house.'

Utterances which contrastively correct a negative expectation are also possible contexts for Verum focus (Hole and Zimmermann, 2008). In the sentences in (353), the Verum focus is in an embedded clause.

- (351) a. Na tuman-gu Mamadi ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
1SG.AUX think-EXPL Mamadi build.PFV house-DET NEG
'I don't think Mamadi built the house.'
- b. So tai ləməw-du.
here.it.is build.PFV-TOT
'But he did!'
- (352) a. Na tuman-gu Jala ləməw-na wənduwa-w bai.
1SG.AUX think-EXPL Jala build.PFV-TOT house-DET NEG
'I think that Jala didn't build the house.'
- b. Ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
build.PFV-TOT house-DET
'He did build the house.'
- c. Ləməw wənduwa-w.
build.PFV house-DET
'He did build the house.'

- (353) a. Na tuman-gu Mamadi ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
 1SG.AUX think-EXPL Mamadi build.PFV house-DET NEG
 ‘I don’t think Mamadi built the house.’
- b. Na tuman-gu ləma-na wənduwa-w.
 1SG.AUX think-EXPL build.PFV-TOT house-DET
 ‘I think he has built it.’
- c. Na tuman-gu ləməw-du.
 1SG.AUX think-EXPL build.PFV-TOT
 ‘I think he has built it.’

In the following sentences, an expected path of events is corrected - this is another potential context for Verum focus (Hole and Zimmermann, 2008).

- (354) a. Mamadi anci ləma wənduwa, so tai ləma-du.
 Mamadi ? build.NMLZ house here.it.is build.PFV-TOT
 ‘Mamadi said he would build a house, (here it is) he built it.’
- b. Mamadi rəma a ləma wənduwa so tai
 Mamadi say.PFV IPFC build.NMLZ house here.it.is
 ləməw bai.
 build.PFV NEG
 ‘Mamadi said that he would build a house but he didn’t.’
- (355) Go zəgaya-ga ma Mamadi a ləma
 there.is.no knowledge-1SG.BP that Mamadi IPFC build.NMLZ
 wənduwa na bai ləm-du.
 house 1SG NEG build.PFV-TOT
 ‘I didn’t think that Mamadi would build a house but he did.’

The following sentence is an attempt to elicit Verum focus in a relative clause, which in some languages may be marked in a different way than in main clauses. This is not the case in Ngizim.

- (356) a. Anja *ɗauri-na* Nyabe.
 Anja call.PFV-TOT Nyabe
 ‘Anja called Nyabe’
- b. O’o, *ɗauri bai*. Nən mi wara *ɗaurəw-gu* dari a
 no call.PRV NEG person that call.PFV-EXPL stand at
 ri tiyu.
 place DEM
 ‘No, she didn’t. The person who did call Nyabe is over there.’

5 Further work

As mentioned in the introduction, this is only a part of the data collected with Malam Usman, the other part includes work on the focus sensitive particles in Ngizim. There is also further data from another speaker, and ongoing fieldwork on this subject, both of which will be available from the SFB ‘Information Structure’ in the near future. I am grateful for any questions and comments.

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How to elicit semi-spontaneous focus realizations with specific tonal patterns *

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This article presents a situation description production experiment investigating the interaction between syntax and information structure in Akan, a tone language that belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family spoken in Ghana. Information structure was elicited via context questions that put the object in narrow informational focus or narrow corrective focus while controlling for the tonal structure of the target word. Contrary to the prediction that corrective focus is marked by fronting and morphological marking of the focused constituent the data suggest that the in-situ strategy is the preferred one.

Keywords: Akan, information structure, syntax

1 Introduction

Akan is a tone language exhibiting lexical high (H) and low (L) tones (Dolphyne 1988). It is one of the major languages of Ghana spoken by about 8.3 million people (Lewis (ed.) 2009), belonging to the Kwa languages, within the Niger-Congo phylum (Storch 2001). This paper focuses on Asante-Twi, although throughout the paper we will use the name Akan. This is in order to preclude tonal and segmental differences among the dialects (for a detailed discussion about the differences see Cahill 1985; Dolphyne 1988; Abakah 2002; 2005 and

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Abakah & Koranteng 2007 among others). Akan is a SVO language (Kobele & Torrence 2006). The following example (1) illustrates this.

- (1) Kofi bɔ-ɔ¹ ama
 kofi hit-PST² ama
 ‘Kofi hit Ama.’

(adapted from Kobele & Torrence 2006, p. 162 gloss adjusted)

A simple clause as in (1) uttered without any further context is considered to be used with information focus. The usage of information structural terminology is inspired by Krifka (2008) distinguishing between information and correction focus. Both can be either wide or narrow, and refer to the corresponding alternatives that the context may evoke. If a constituent appears in its base position we will refer to this construction as *in-situ*, while the term *ex-situ* means that the constituent is moved from its base position to a designated focus position. Narrow focused constituents in Akan can be left *in-situ*, or marked by an *ex-situ* construction which shows the following characteristics:

- (i) left-peripheral dislocation of a constituent
- (ii) introduction of a clitic morpheme after the dislocated element
- (iii) pronoun resumption in a canonical clause position

(Marfo & Bodomo 2005, p. 180)

If, for example, the direct object in (1) is narrowly focused it moves to the left periphery and is followed by the focus marker *na*. The following example (2) illustrates this.

¹ In the examples we will use the Akan orthography as laid out in Dolphyne (1988).

² The abbreviations used follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008).

- (2) (ε-yε) ama na kofi bɔ-ɔ no (no)³
 PRO-be.PRS ama FM kofi hit-PST PRO the
 ‘It was Ama who Kofi hit.’

(adapted from Kobele & Torrence 2006, p. 164 gloss and bracketing adjusted)

All NPs can be pronominalized in object position, the resumptive pronoun is overt if the dislocated element is animate and covert if it is inanimate (Saah, 1988). According to Boadi (1974) two particles, *na* and *deε*, may function as the clitic morpheme after the dislocated element. *Na* is characterized by him as exclusive focus marker, which narrows down the referential range of the constituent it attaches to and places it in an exclusive class so that it contrasts with other members of the sets of alternatives (Boadi 1974, p. 7). *Deε* however is not exclusive. Moreover it presupposes a weaker commitment of the speaker towards the new information (see Ameka 2010 for an analysis of *deε* as topic marker). *Na* can be used to mark any constituent whereas *deε* is more distributionally limited (Boadi 1974, p. 9). Concerning the prosodic marking of the ex-situ constructions, Boadi (1974) claims that L toned *na*-focused elements are raised to H and that H toned elements are raised one step higher (Boadi 1974, p. 19).

In Akan, focus-constructions and wh-questions show interesting common characteristics (Saah 1988, p. 26). With respect to wh-questions, Saah (1988) and Kobele & Torrence (2006) report that Akan has two options for wh-placement: the wh-element may appear in-situ (3a) or ex-situ (3b). In the ex-situ variant the fronted question word is also followed by the focus marker *na*.

³ Brackets indicate optionality.

(3) a. Kofi bɔ-ɔ hena
 kofi hit-PST who
 ‘Who did Kofi hit?’

b. Hena na o-bɔ-ɔ kofi
 who FM PRO-hit-PST kofi
 ‘Who is it that Kofi hit?’

(adapted from Kobele & Torrence 2006, pp. 165–166 gloss adjusted)

This is interesting for us, because the two options (3a) and (3b) are not equally distributed. The in-situ strategy seems to be more restricted in use. The *wh*-element has to be moved out of its base position if it is on the right of a negation particle, and/ or focus sensitive particles like *only*, or *even*, and in imbedded clauses (Kobele & Torrence 2006). Saah (1988) reports a slight semantic difference between the two *wh*-constructions with ex-situ *wh*-constructions being more emphatic. A similar claim is made by Ermisch (2006). For the focus construction she reports on a difference in marking between informational focus and identificational focus⁴. Informational focus goes along with the in-situ construction and identificational focus is marked by the ex-situ construction and has an exhaustive reading. Marfo & Bodomo (2005) also observe that a constituent cannot be contrastively focused in-situ in Akan (Marfo & Bodomo 2005, p. 187). It is not clear how exhaustive this statement is meant since they only show that in-situ focus with *na* is ungrammatical.

What becomes evident from this review is that there are two possible constructions for marking narrow focus in Akan, in-situ and ex-situ. Whereas the former is said to occur with informational focus, the latter with corrective focus. The dependence on focus type as put forward by Ermisch (2006) and Saah (1988) will be tested here.

⁴ We use the term corrective focus instead of identificational focus (see Krifka 2008).

2 Method

Eliciting information structure can be done in many ways. If the researcher has an advanced knowledge of the language under observation and is familiar with the different focus strategies a simple question-answer design brings good results in the laboratory. The main advance is that the researcher can fully control presuppositions and factors involved. Difficulties arise if the available literature does not exhaustively cover speaker's preferences of the possible strategies and/or environments of usage of one or the other syntactic strategy as it is the case for Akan. Before one can run a controlled experiment about e.g. the prosodic expression of focus in any language one should know the environment in which it is natural to use the one or the other syntactic strategy.

The Questionnaire on Information Structure (QUIS, Skopeteas et al. 2006) is a powerful tool to test for information structural effects. To kill two birds with one stone we adopted one of the QUIS tasks, the *Description of single situation*. First we wanted to find out about possible strategies of focus realisation for narrow informational focus and narrow corrective focus applied by the speakers, and which of the two attested is the preferred one for a controlled experiment testing the prosodic expression of focus in Akan (see Kügler & Genzel, re-submitted). And second we wanted to elicit a semi-spontaneous dataset with the same tonal configurations as used in the controlled experiment (see Kügler & Genzel, re-submitted).

2.1 Material

Figure 1 shows the two adapted pictures designed for the *Description of a single situation* task.



Figure 1 Adopted pictures for the description of a single situation task.

The picture on the left panel in Figure 1 illustrates the situation of the test sentence (4a) and the picture on the right of the sentence (4b).

- (4) a. Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpy yi
 agyemean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’
- b. Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘Anum bought mangos⁵ this morning.’

To elicit the desired information structure the following pre-recorded questions (5) and (6) were used. The first question (5a) was used for both pictures to make sure that the participants understood the situation displayed (5a = 6a).

- (5/6)a. Deɛben na wo-hunu wɔ saa mfonɪ yi mu
 what FM PRO-see.PRS be_at_a_place.PRS this picture this in
 ‘What do you see on this picture?’

The question in (5b) seeks to elicit narrow informational focus on the object. It is a wh-question asking for the object. The third question (5c) seeks to elicit

⁵ We translate *amango* as plural ‘mangos’, although there is a plural form *mmango* which is not used in our sample below. In the picture more than one mango is displayed and even if *amango* is used with the numeral *many* the speakers did use it in its singular form.

narrow corrective focus on the object by contrasting it with another name in the question.

- (5) b. Hwan na agyeman boa-a anɔpa yi
 who FM agyeman help-PST morning this
 ‘Whom did Agyeman help this morning?’
- c. Agyeman boa-a anum anɔpa yi
 agyeman help-PST anum morning this
 ‘Did Agyeman help Anum this morning?’

The question in (6b) elicits narrow informational focus on the object in the picture on the right panel in Figure 1. Question (6c) elicits narrow corrective focus on the object by contrasting it with another comestible good in the question.

- (6) b. ɛdeɛn na anum tɔ-ɔ anɔpa yi
 what FM anum buy-PST morning this
 ‘What did Anum buy this morning?’
- c. Anum boa-a kobi anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST salty fish morning this
 ‘Did Anum buy salty fish this morning?’

2.2 Procedure

The pictures illustrating the situations (Figure 1) were presented to the participants on paper. They were asked to answer the pre-recorded wh-questions (see (5)–(6) above) in a natural way, using full sentences. The participants were informed that the whole situation happened *this morning* and were instructed to use the temporal information when answering the questions.

The questions were spoken by a young female native speaker and were recorded in a quiet room in Berlin directly on a laptop (Levono R61) using Audacity (Version 1.2.6) and a headset (Logitech Internet Chat Headset). The microphone was an electret condenser type with sensitivity of -39 dbV/Pascal.

The participants heard the pre-recorded questions over headphones. The headphones were binaural with a frequency spectrum from 20-20000 Hz and an acoustic impedance of 32 Ohm with an integrated volume control, so that every participant could adjust the volume. The answers were digitally recorded on a laptop (Levono R61) using Audacity (Version 1.2.6) in a quiet room in the Linguistics Department at the University of Ghana using the same headset.

2.3 Participants

Eleven native speakers of Akan (6 female and 5 male) as spoken in and around Kumasi participated in the experiment. Eight participants were students of the University of Ghana in Accra. For the other three, one was doing his national service in Kumasi, another working in the pharmacy, and the third one working as university lecturer. The average age was 26 years. All speakers declared English as their second language. Each speaker was paid a small fee for participation.

3 Results

In this section we list all answers given by the participants with the number of the question first and the number of the participant as second digit separated by a dot (e.g. (5a.9) is the answer to question 5a from speaker 9).

- (5a.1) Me-hunu sɛ agyeman re-boa a-yi addo afiri
 PRO-see.PRS that agyeman PROG-help PRO-take_out.PRS addo from
 nsuo no mu anɔpa yi
 water the out morning this
 ‘I see that Agyeman is helping to take Addo out of the water
 this morning.’
- (5b.1) Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 agyeman help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’
- (5c.1) Daabi agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 no agyeman help-PST addo morning this
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’
- (5a.2) Me-hunu agyeman ene addo
 PRO-see.PRS agyeman and addo
 ‘I see Agyeman and Addo.’
 Me-hunu sɛ addo ɛ-wɔ nsuo emu
 PRO-see.PRS that addo PRO-be_at_a_place.PRS water in
 ‘I see that Addo is in the water.’
 Me-hunu sɛ agyeman nso e-te kodoɔ bi mu
 PRO-see.PRS that agyeman also PROG-sit boat one in
 ‘I see that Agyeman is sitting in a boat.’
 Addo atene ne nsa ma agyeman e-fa no ɛ-si
 addo hold.PRS PRO hand out agyeman PROG-take PRO PRO-stand.PRS
 kodoɔ no mu
 boat the in
 ‘Addo holds out his hand for Agyeman for taking him, he stands in the
 boat.’
- (5b.2) Agyeman boa-a addo
 agyeman help-PST addo
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo.’
- (5c.2) Daabi addo na agyeman boa-a no anɔpa yi
 no addo FM agyeman help-PST PRO morning this
 ‘No! It was Addo who Agyeman helped this morning.’

- (5a.3) Me-hunu sɛ agyeman ɛ-te kodoɔ mu
 PRO-see.PRS that agyeman PRO-sit.PRS boat in
 ‘I see that Agyeman sits in a boat.’
 Na addo nso da nsuo mu a agymean pɛɛ
 and addo also lie.PRS water in and agymean want.PRS
 ɔ-boa no na ɔ-yi no firi nsuo no mu
 PRO-help.PRS PRO and PRO-take_out.PRS PRO from water the out
 ‘And Addo also lies in the water and Agyeman wants to take him
 out of the water.’
- (5b.3) Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 agymean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’
- (5c.3) Daabi agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 no agymean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’
- (5a.4) Me-hunu sɛ akɔdaa bi a ye-frɛ no addo ɔ-da
 PRO-see.PRS that child one who PASS-call PRO addo PRO-lie.PRS
 nsuo mu
 water in
 ‘I see that a child who is called Addo lies in the water.’
 Nsuo de no ɛ-ko na agyeman
 water do_sth_with.PRS PRO PRO-drawn.PRS and agyeman
 ɛ-pɛ
 PRO-want.PRS
 ɔ-boa na yi no firi nsuo no mu
 PRO-help.PRS and take_out.PRS PRO from water the out
 ‘The water wants to drawn him and Agyeman wants to help him and
 take him out of the water.’
- (5b.4) Agyeman boa-a addo
 agymean help-PST addo
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo.’
- (5c.4) Daabi ɔ-bo-a addo
 no PRO-help-PST addo
 ‘No! He helped Addo.’

(5a.5) Me-hunu sɛ addo a-tɔ nsuo mu na agyeman pɛsɛ
 PRO-see.PRS that addo PERF-fall water in and agyeman want.PRS
 ɔ-yi no firi mu
 PRO-take_out.PRS PRO from out
 ‘I see that Addo fell in the water and Agyeman wants to take him out.’

(5b.5) Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 agyemean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

(5c.5) Daabi agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 no agyemean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

(5a.6) Me-hu m-barima mmienu
 PRO-see.PRS PL-man two
 ‘I see two men.’
 Agyeman te suhyema mu w-a-tene ne nsa pɛ
 agyeman sit.PRS boat in PRO-PERF-stretch PRO hand want.PRS
 sɛ ɔ-sɔ addo mu addo da nsuo no mu
 that PRO-hold.PRS addo in addo lie.PRS water the in
 ‘Agyeman sits in a boat, his hands are stretched, he wants to hold Addo, Addo lies in the water.’

(5b.6) Agyeman boa-a addo
 agyemean help-PST addo
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo.’

(5c.6) Mepawokyɛw daabi ɔ-m-boa-a anum
 please no PRO-NEG-help-PST anum
 ‘Please no! He did not help Anum.’

- (5a.7) Me-hu sɛ addo ɛ-da nsuo mu na agyeman gyina
 PRO-see.PRS that addo PRO-lie.PRS water in and agyeman stand.PRS
 kodoɔ mu nanso nsuo re-fa addo nti agyeman pɛ sɛ
 boat in but water PROG-take addo so agyeman want.PRS that
 ɔ-twe no a-ba kodoɔ no mu
 PRO-pull.PRS PRO PERF-come boat the in
 ‘I see that Addo lies in the water and Agyeman stands in the boat
 but the water is taking Addo so Agyeman wants to pull him to come
 in the boat.’
- (5b.7) Addo
 addo
 ‘Addo!’
- (5c.7) Daabi daabi ɛ-n-yɛ addo na ɔ-boa no
 no no PRO-NEG-be.PRS addo FM PRO-help.PRS PRO
 ‘No! No! It is not Addo whom he helps!’
- (5a.8) Me-hu sɛ addo da nsuo mu agyeman ɛ-te hyɛn
 PRO-see.PRS that addo lie.PRS water in agyeman PRO-sit.PRS ship
 mu a ɔ-pɛ sɛ ɔ-yi no firi nsuo no mu
 in who PRO-want.PRS that PRO-take_out.PRS PRO from water the in
 ‘I see that Addo lies in the water Agyeman sits in a ship he wants to
 take him out of the water!’
- (5b.8) Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 agyeman help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’
- (5c.8) Daabi agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 no agyeman help-PST addo morning this
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

- (5a.9) Saa mfonɪ yi mu ɔbarima yɛ-frɛ no agyeman a ɔ-te
 this picture this in man PASS-call PRO agyeman who PRO-sit.PRS
 ɛhyɛn bi mu
 ship one in
 ‘In this picture: a man called Agyeman who is in a ship.’
 W-a-tene ne nsa de re-ma abofra bi a yɛ-frɛ
 PRO-PERF-stretch PRO hand for PROG-give child one who PASS-call
 no addo
 PRO addo
 ‘He has stretched his hand for giving it to a child who is called
 Addo.’
 Addo da nsuo mu na ɔnɔ nso a-tene ne nsa de
 addo lie.PRS water in and PRO also PERF-stretch PRO hand for
 a-ma agyeman
 PERF-give agyeman
 ‘Addo lies in the water and he has also stretched his hands for
 giving it to Agyeman.’
- (5b.9) Anɔpa yi agyeman boa-a abɔfra bi a yɛ-frɛ no addo
 Morning this agyeman help-PST child one who PASS-call PRO addo
 ‘This morning Agyeman helped a child who is called Addo.’
- (5c.9) Daabi agyeman boa-a addo
 no agyeman help-PST addo
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo.’
- (5a.10) Me-hu sɛ addo da nsuo no mu na agyeman nso
 PRO-see.PRS that addo lie.PRS water the in and agyeman also
 ɛ-te kodoɔ no mu na w-a-tene ne nsa pɛ
 PRO-sit.PRS boat the in and PRO-PERF-stretch PRO hand want.PRS
 sɛ ɔ-sɔ agyeman nso nsa
 that PRO-hold.PRS agyeman also hand
 ‘I see that Addo lies in the water and Agyeman sits in the boat also
 and he has stretched his hand wanting to hold Agyeman’s hand too.’
- (5b.10) Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 agyeman help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

(5c.10) Daabi agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 no agymean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

(5a.11) Mfoni yi mu me-hu sɛ addo a-tɔ nsuo no mu a
 Picture this in PRO-see.PRES that addo PERF-fall water the in who
 neho re-kyere no
 himself PROG-point_out PRO
 ‘In the picture I see that Addo has fallen in the water he is calling for his
 attention.’

Agyeman a-tene ne nsa sɛ ɔ-re-sɔ ne mu na
 agyeman PERF-stretch PRO hand that PRO-PROG-hold PRO in and
 w-boa no a-ma n-a-foro kodoɔ no sɛdeɛ
 PRO-help.PRS PRO PERF-give PRO-PERF-climb boat the so
 ɛ-bɛ-yɛ o-bɛ-nya nkwa sɛdeɛ ɛ-bɛ yɛ nsuo no
 PRO-FUT-be PRO-FUT-get life so PRO-FUT-be water the
 m-fa no
 NEG-take.PRS PRO

‘Agyeman has stretched his hand to drip him and help him climb into the
 boat so that the water will not take him.’

(5b.11) Agyeman boa-a addo anɔpa yi
 agymean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

(5c.11) Daabi agyeman boaa addo anɔpa yi
 no agymean help-PST addo morning this
 ‘No! Agyeman helped Addo this morning.’

- (6a.1) Me-hunu sɛ anum re-tɔ amango wɔ
 PRO-see.PRS that anum PROG-buy mango be_at_a_place.PRS
 mfonɪ no mu
 picture the in
 ‘I see that Anum is buying mangos in the picture.’
 Me-hunu ɔba a ɔ-tɔn amango wɔ
 PRO-see.PRS woman who PRO-sell.PRS mango be_at_a_place.PRS
 mfonɪ no mu
 picture the in
 ‘I see a woman who is selling mangos in the picture.’
 Me nso hunu dua wɔ mfonɪ no mu
 PRO also see.PRS tree be_at_a_place.PRS picture the in
 ‘I also see a tree in the picture.’
 Me-hunu sɛ amango gu ɛponɔ so wɔ mfonɪ
 PRO-see.PRS that mango on table much be_at_a_place.PRS picture
 no mu
 the in
 ‘I see a lot of mangos on the table in the picture.’
 Me-hunu sɛ anum a-ma ne nsa so
 PRO-see.PRS that anum PERF-lift PRO hand up
 ‘I see that Anum has lifted his hands up.’
- (6b.1) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘Anum bought mangos this morning.’
- (6c.1) Daabi Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 no anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘No! Anum bought mangos this morning.’

- (6a.2) Me-hunu abranteε bi
 PRO-see.PRS boy one
 ‘I see a boy.’
 Me-hunu amango
 PRO-see.PRS mango
 ‘I see mangos.’
 Me-hunu maame bi nso
 PRO-see.PRS woman one also
 ‘I also see a woman.’
 Afei me-hunu εpono se amango gu so
 now PRO-see.PRS table that mango on much
 ‘Now I see a table with a lot of mangos on it.’
 Me-hunu dua bi nso se ε-wo
 PRO-see.PRS tree one also that PRO-be_at_a_place.PRS
 ahaban bebere
 leaves many
 ‘I see also a tree with many leaves.’
 Me-hunu kenten bi so se ε-si
 PRO-see.PRS basket one also that PRO-be_situated.PRS
 εpono ase
 table under
 ‘I see also a basket under the table.’
 Me-hunu se abranteε no nso kura sika
 PRO-see.PRS that boy PRO also carry.PRS money
 ‘I see that a boy carries money.’
- (6b.2) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango
 anum buy-PST mango
 ‘Anum bought mangos.’
- (6c.2) Daabi Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 no anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘No! Anum bought mangos this morning.’

- (6a.3) Me-hunu barima bi a y-akyerε natadεε addo mu
 PRO-see.PRS man one who PASS-write shirt addo in
 ‘I see a man, his shirt has the inscription Addo.’
 Me-hunu sε maame bi nso re-tɔn amango
 PRO-see.PRS that woman one also PROG-sell mangos
 ‘I also see that a woman is selling mangos.’
 Na barima no ε-yε sε ɔ-pεsε ɔ-tɔ mango
 And man the PRO-be.PRS that PRO-want.PRS PRO-buy.PRS mango
 no bi
 the some
 ‘And it is the man that wants to buy some mangos.’
 Me-hunu adua nso sε e-si maame no akyi
 PRO-see.PRS tree also that PRO-stand.PRS woman the behind
 ‘I see also a tree that stands behind the woman.’
 Adua no ε-yε ahahanmono
 tree the PRO-be.PRS green
 ‘The tree is green.’
- (6b.3) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘Anum bought mangos this morning.’
- (6c.3) Daabi anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 no anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘No! Anum bought mangos this morning.’
- (6a.4) Me-hunu sε maame bi ε-tɔn amango ena akɔdaa bi
 PRO-see.PRS that woman one PROG-sell mango and child one
 gyina ne nykɛn ε-tɔ bi
 PROG-stand⁶ PRO nearby PRO-buy.PRS some
 ‘I see that a woman is selling mangos and a child is standing
 nearby her, he wants to buy some mangos.’
- (6b.4) ɔ-tɔ-ɔ amango
 PRO-buy-PST mango
 ‘He bought mangos.’

⁶ Aspect is marked by a tonal shift (Dolphyne 1988, pp. 67–68).

- (6c.4) Daabi ɔ-tɔ-ɔ amango wa-n-tɔ kobi
 no PRO-buy-PST mango PRO-NEG-buy.PRS salty fish
 ‘No! He bought mangos not salty fish.’
- (6a.5) Me-hunu sɛ anum gyina maame bi a ɔ-tɔn
 PRO-see.PRS that anum PROG-stand woman one who PRO-sell.PRS
 amango ho
 mango aside
 ‘I see that Anum is standing next to a woman who sells mangos.’
 Maame no ɔ-tɔn amango no wɔ dua ase
 woman the PRO-sell.PRS mangos the be_at_a_place.PRS tree under
 ‘The woman sells mangos under the tree.’
- (6b.5) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘Anum bought mangos this morning.’
- (6c.5) Daabi anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 no anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘No! Anum bought mangos this morning.’

(6a.6) Me-hu abaamoā bi yε-frε no anum ɔ-gyina maame
 PRO-see.PRS boy one PASS-call PRO anum PRO-stand.PRS woman
 bi nkyɛn
 one side

‘I see a boy called Anum he stands next to a woman.’

Maame no tɔn amango na ɔ-pɛ sɛ ɔ-tɔ
 woman the sell.PRS mango and PRO-want.PRS that PRO-buy.PRS
 amango no bi
 mango the some

‘The woman sells mangos and he wants to buy some mangos.’

Maame no te dua bi ase na w-a-yehyε amango
 woman the sit.PRS tree one under and PRO-PERF-arrange mango
 no wɔ ɛponɔ no so
 the be_at_a_place.PRS table the top

‘The woman sits under a tree and has arranged the mangos on top of the table.’

Abaamoā no yε-frε no anum no a-pɛgya ne nsa sɛ
 boy the PASS-call PRO anum PRO PERF-lift PRO hand that
 ɔ-re-kyea maame no a ɔ-tɔn amango no
 PRO-PROG-greet woman the who PRO-sell.PRS mango the

‘The boy called Anum has lifted his hand for greeting the woman who sells the mangos.’

Me-hu sɛ anɔpa yi anum re-kɔtɔ amango
 PRO-see.PRS that morning this anum PROG-go_buy mango
 wɔ dua bi ase
 be_at_a_place.PRS tree one under

‘I see that this morning Anum goes to buy mangos under the tree.’

(6b.6) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango
 anum buy-PST mango
 ‘Anum bought mangos.’

(6c.6) Daabi a-n-tɔ-ɔ kɔbi
 no PRO-NEG-buy-PST salty fish
 ‘No! Anum did not buy salty fish.’

(6a.7) Me-hu sɛ anɔpa yi na anum ɛ-re-kɔtɔ amango
 PRO-see.PRS that morning this PST anum PRO-PROG-go_buy mango
 wɔ dua bi ase
 be_at_a_place.PRS tree one under
 ‘I see that this morning, Anum was going to buy mangos under a tree.’

(6b.7) Dee me-hu ɛ-yɛ amango
 what PRO-see.PRS PRO-be.PRS mango
 ‘What I see are mangos.’

(6c.7) Daabi ɔ-tɔ-ɔ amango
 no PRO-buy-PST mango
 ‘No! He bought mango.’

(6a.8) Me-hu sɛ anɔpa yi anum re-ɔ-kɔtɔ amango
 PRO-see.PRS that morning this anum PROG-PRO-go_buy mango
 wɔ dua bi ase
 be_at_a_place.PRS tree one under
 ‘I see that this morning Anum is going to buy mangos under the tree.’

(6b.8) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘Anum bought mangos this morning.’

(6c.8) Daabi Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 no anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘No! Anum bought mangos this morning.’

- (6a.9) Anum hyε hyeti akokɔsradεε
 anum wear.PRS shirt yellow
 ‘Anum wears a yellow shirt.’
 Maame no nso ε-fra ntoma
 woman the also PROG-dress cloth
 ‘The woman is also dressed in cloth.’
 Kɔkɔ kakra wɔ mu na w-a-san a-bɔ
 red little be_at_a_place.PRS in and PRO-PERF-also PERF-create
 duku
 bandana
 ‘There is a little bit of red inside and she also has wrapped a bandana.’
 Wɔ-gyina dua ahabanmono bi ase
 PRO-stand.PRS tree green one under
 ‘They stand under a green tree.’
- (6b.9) Anɔpa yi anum tɔ-ɔ amango
 morning this anum buy-PST mango
 ‘This morning Anum bought mangos.’
- (6c.9) Daabi anɔpa yi anum tɔ-ɔ amango
 no morning this anum buy-PST mango
 ‘No! This morning Anum bought mangos.’
- (6a.10) Me-hu abranteε bi ye-frε no anum ɔ-pe sε
 PRO-see.PRS boy one PASS-call PRO anum PRO-want.PRS that
 ɔ-tɔ amango
 PRO-buy.PRS mango
 ‘I see a boy called Anum he wants to buy mangos.’
 Afei nso me-hu maame bi a ɔ-tɔn amango
 again also PRO-see.PRS woman one who PRO-sell.PRS mango
 ‘Again I see also a woman who sells mangos.’
 Amango pii nso gu εpon no so
 mango many also on table the top
 ‘Also many mangos lie on top of the table.’
 Saa nso na me-hu dua bi wɔ maame no
 this also and PRO-see.PRS tree one be_at_a_place.PRS woman the
 akyi
 back
 ‘This too and I see a tree behind the woman.’

(6b.10) Amango pii nso gu pono no so
 mango many also on table the top
 ‘Many mangos, on top of the table too.’

(6c.10) Daabi anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 no anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘No! Anum bought mangos this morning.’

(6a.11) Me-hu sɛ maame bi re-tɔn n-uaba bi na abrantee
 PRO-see.PRS that woman one PROG-sell PL-fruit some and boy
 bi nso a-gyina ne nkyɛn sɛ ebia ɔ-pɛ sɛ
 one also PERF-stand PRO side that perhaps PRO-want.PRS that
 ɔ-tɔ bi
 PRO-buy.PRS some
 ‘I see a woman she is selling some fruits and a boy is standing beside her
 too, maybe he wants to buy some.’

(6b.11) Anum tɔ-ɔ amango anɔpa yi
 anum buy-PST mango morning this
 ‘Anum bought mangos this morning.’

(6c.11) Daabi! Mango na anum tɔ-ɔ no anɔpa yi
 no mango FM anum buy-PST PRO morning this
 ‘No! It is mango that Anum bought this morning.’

First of all the answers to questions (5a) and (6a) show that most of the participants conceived the situation displayed correctly. In the sample (6a.9) the participant does not describe the action displayed, emphasis is put on the description of cloth and landscape. Nonetheless the participant answered the follow up questions as expected.

Concerning the information structural marking the results show that in case of narrow informational focus out of 22 answers no usage of the ex-situ construction could be observed. There is remarkably little variation in the data. We find one single word utterance, (5b.7), repeating only the questioned object,

two other constructions (6b.7) and (6b.10) but with no sign of fronting and/or morphological focus marking. Participant 7 uses a question word followed by the verb *see* and the questioned object, in the sample of participant 10 we see that the questioned object appears in the left periphery of the sentence but without the designated focus maker *na*, followed by a locative construction. Furthermore we find one instance of pronominalization (6b.4).

In the context of corrective focus three out of 22 answers are realized ex-situ (5c.2, 5c.7, 6c.11). Concerning variation we find two instances of pronominalization (5c.4, 6c.7) two participants used a negation on the verb (5c.7, 6c.6) and two combined pronominalization and negation on the verb (5c.6, 6c.4).

4 Discussion

We wanted to test the interaction of information structure and syntactic structure in Akan. Inspired by the work of Ermisch (2006) we hypothesized that narrow informational focus is not syntactically marked i.e. the focused constituent remains in-situ (see also Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007 for comparable results in Hausa). The results of the situation description task support Ermisch's claim. What is more surprising is that the in-situ strategy is the preferred one, even with narrow corrective focus contra Marfo & Bodomo (2005) and Ermisch (2006).⁷ This does not mean that there are no linguistic means of focus marking at all in case of in-situ focus. In our study on the prosodic marking of focus in

⁷ One reviewer asked for question-answer congruency, which is also known as syntactic priming (see Bock 1986). We do not see any influence of syntactic priming, the wh-question asking for an informational focus shows a fronted wh-word which is followed by the focus marker *na*. The question eliciting corrective focus is an in-situ construction. If syntactic priming would matter here, we would have expected more ex-situ answers for informational focus, but the reverse was the case.

Akan (Kügler & Genzel re-submitted) we show contra Boadi (1974) that corrective focus is prosodically marked by means of register lowering on the corrective focused element and on subsequent post-focal constituents regardless of tonal specification. Narrow informational focus remains also prosodically unmarked.

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