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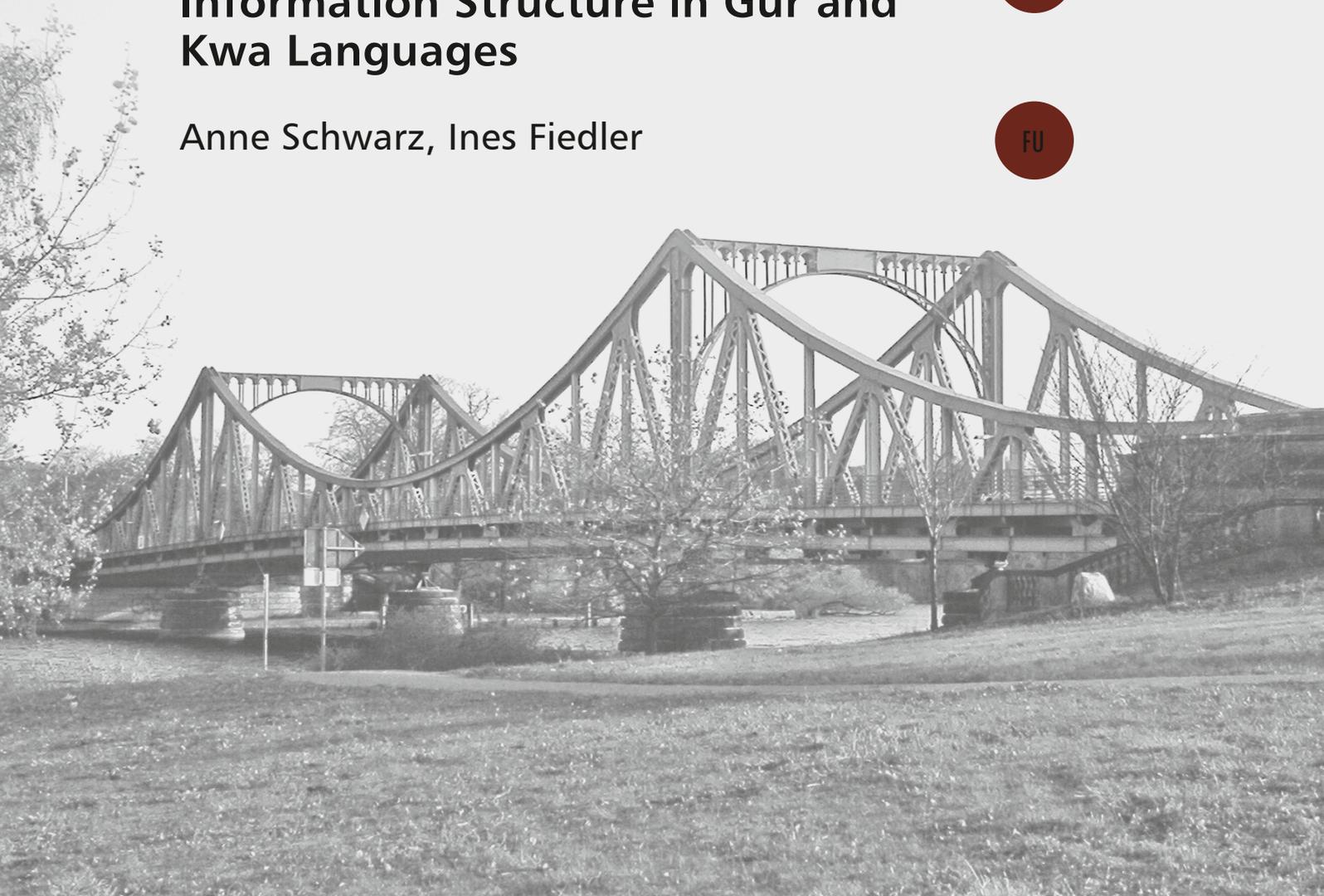
Linguistic Fieldnotes III: Information Structure in Gur and Kwa Languages

Anne Schwarz, Ines Fiedler

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Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure

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Svetlana Petrova; Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, SFB 632

Sitz: Dorotheenstrasse 24, D-10117 Berlin

Mira Grubic; Universität Potsdam, SFB 632

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Preface

This is the 16th issue of the working paper series *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure* (ISIS) of the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 632. The present issue continues the series on Linguistic Fieldnotes providing data elicited and documented by different members of the Sonderforschungsbereich 632. Here, the focus is placed on primary linguistic data from Gur and Kwa languages, collected and prepared by Anne Schwarz, former investigator in Project B1 and D2, and Ines Fiedler, former investigator in Project B1 and D2 and current member of Project B7 at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Svetlana Petrova

Mira Grubic

QUIS Data from Buli, Kɔnni and Baatɔnum With Notes on the Comparative Approach

Anne Schwarz

1. Introduction

The collection of primary data in several less-known and under-documented Gur and Kwa languages (Niger-Congo) represented an integral part of the work undertaken by project B1¹. The project was conducting an inductive investigation on focus expressions (phase 1) and on the interaction between information structure and grammar (phase 2) on the empirical basis of data from 19 languages (Aja, Akan, Anii, Awutu-Efutu, Baatɔnum, Buli, Byali, Dagbani, Ditammari, Ewe, Fon, Foodo, Gurene, Konkomba, Konni, Lelemi, Nateni, Waama, Yom), supported by data on three additional languages kindly provided by Kézié Koyenzi Lébiakaza (Kabiye) and Klaus Beyer (Moore and Pana).²

The aim of this chapter is to briefly outline the nature of a part of the collected data with illustrations from the Gur languages Buli, Kɔnni and Baatɔnum, followed by a chapter with data from the Gur and Kwa languages Yom, Aja, Anii and Foodo by Ines Fiedler. Together, both chapters document a small fraction of the data collections that fed the B1 corpus which was established between 2003–2009.

¹ See http://www2.hu-berlin.de/gur_und_kwa_fokus.

² I wish to thank all language consultants and colleagues for their kind cooperation and assistance and the German Research Foundation (DFG) for generously funding the research including the field trips involved. Some useful comments made by Markus Greif (project D2) helped to improve this chapter in the last stage.

2. Selection of QUIS Data for Comparative Goals

Project B1 was concerned with language-specific in-depth studies as well as with comparative goals, including language-typological and diachronic questions. Accordingly, attention was put on the establishment of a data basis that also suits comparative tasks. Most important for the cross-linguistic approach within the project was the Questionnaire on Information Structure (QUIS; Skopeteas et al. 2006), developed in project D2. In preparation of a final study of project B1 regarding the interaction of information-structural and language typology we have selected a nucleus of QUIS tasks to be conducted and prepared in each of the subject languages for comparison. The following two components from QUIS were chosen:

- (a) A narrative sample from the Fairy Tale Task
- (b) Selected entries from the Focus Translation Task³

2.1 Fairy Tale (Topic and Focus in Coherent Discourse)

The Fairy Tale Task (Skopeteas et al. 2006: 149ff., condition A) allows first insights in the structuring of a discourse. The consultant is shown a picture series that sketches the basic stages and events of the story (figure 1) which is briefly outlined in the meta language. In the ideal completion of the task, a short narrative in the target languages is then retold with the help of the visual material as a text about unwitnessed events and in a folktale manner. The simplicity and brevity of the resulting narrative notwithstanding, it was hoped to achieve quasi-natural examples of characteristic narrative phrases and patterns for this widespread text type, such as (formalized) initial settings and presentations, and repetitive, suspense-building patterns with a climax on the third protagonist/event. The results varied to certain degree with respect to the

³ For a few languages the data from the Focus Translation Task has also been entered in the linguistic database ANNIS (see <http://www.sfb632.uni-potsdam.de/d1/annis>).

speaker's ease and engagement concerning the somewhat playful task, but material illustrating the basic language-specific modes of encoding a planned (monologue) discourse and its structuring above the simple clause/sentence level was always provided. Such data allow us to cross-linguistically study devices for topic continuity and topic change which are pivotal for any discourse and can thus be expected to be reflected in grammar.

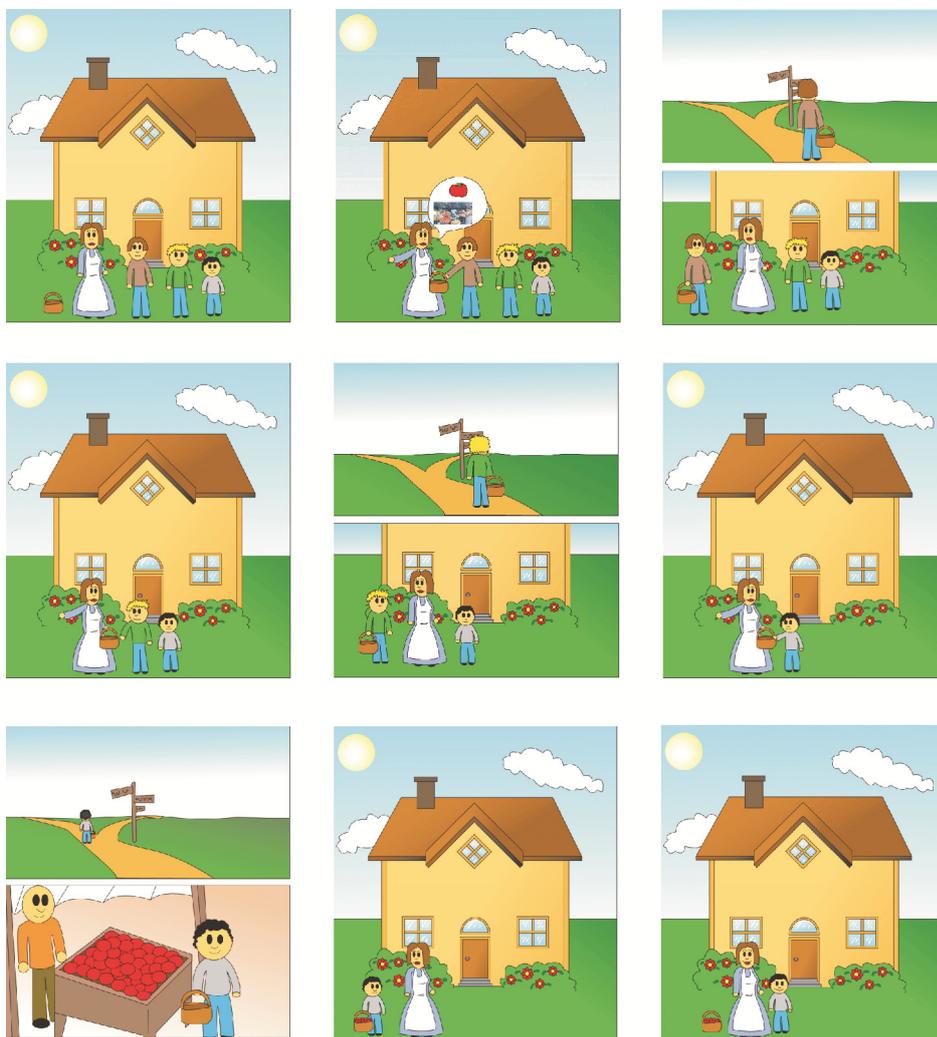


Figure 1: Fairy Tale (Tomatoes⁴) (Skopeteas et al. 2006: 151)

⁴ See Skopeteas et al. 2006: 149ff. for additional variations and a second version (Giant Tree) of this task.

2.2 Focus Translation Extract

As second component for the comparative basis we selected specific entries from a more controlled task, the focus translation (Skopeteas et al. 2006: 209ff.). Here we concentrate on dialogues which complement the data collected by the tale and which also help to minimize unwanted interferences from the metalanguage used as the translation basis. The mini-dialogues comprise question–answer pairs (wh- as well as yes/no-questions) as well as statement–reaction pairs and can be provided by one or two speakers in the elicitation session. For the speech sample of the (imaginary) second speaker (S2) it is preferably only a keyword that is offered rather than a complete sentence given in the metalanguage.⁵ There is ample evidence that this approach led to better results than a pure translation template and that speakers did indeed exploit the contextualizing first speaker’s speech for the information-structural configuration of the corresponding reply/reaction.

An interesting side effect was sometimes observed when the question–answer or statement–reaction pair was repeated (for instance, for recording). Some consultants occasionally adjusted the initial, contextualizing sentence according to the focus in the second sentence. Consider the following examples:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) S1: She ate the beans. | S1: The woman hit Peter |
| S2: [I] | S2: [also pushed] |

The information packaging of the first speaker’s sentence (S1) seldom provided a dedicated focus marking, but if it did, it concerned the object (here ‘the beans’ and ‘Peter’; 2a), in particular when the subject was encoded as given (pronoun or definite noun phrase). When repeated, the focus structure in the first sentence

⁵ The keywords are given in square brackets and contain always the focal element, though not necessarily exclusively. Additional material that helps the informant to form the reply is provided within the same bracket for the sake of simplicity.

was sometimes adjusted (2a'), resulting in sentence pairs (2a'/2b) that display only a lexical contrast in two information-structurally and morpho-syntactically parallel sentence constructions. Such secondary structural adjustments of S1 presented welcome corroborations for the validity of particular information-packaging forms in a given language.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------------------------|-----|--|
| (2) | a. | She ate (the beans) _(FOC) | a. | The woman hit (Peter) _(FOC) |
| | a'. | [She] _{FOC} ate the beans | a'. | The woman [hit] _{FOC} Peter |
| | b. | [I] _{FOC} ate them | b. | She also [pushed] _{FOC} him |

Out of the 189 Focus Translation Task entries a smaller number was chosen as basic language-internal set that can be implemented for comparison. Decisive for the selection⁶ was to get a maximum overview on the (topic) focus system on a minimally extensive data basis. The data selected to represent the language-specific basis for generalizations and illustrations thereof that can serve in cross-linguistic investigation are given in the following. They are clustered in four groups and include suggestions of criteria that may be relevant for the analysis of the entries, though other research questions and clusters according to language-specific needs are not excluded, of course.

Group 1

<82-6> There is a book on the table.

<82-10> What happened?

A child was born.

<82-20> What happened?

[somebody jumped into water]

⁶ The focus translation entries are identified by their QUIS data numbers <82-xy>.

Are there structural parallels in all three „all new“ cases (unrequested presentation in (6), requested in (10), (20))? Is (10) passively or actively encoded and different from (20)?

Group 2

<82-40> Who ate the beans?
[a woman]

<82-48> What did the woman eat?
[beans]

<82-66> What did the woman eat with?
[with a spoon]

<82-72> What did the woman do?
[ate beans]

<82-128> She ate the beans.
[I]

<82-136> The woman ate the black beans.
[not the black (beans), but the red (ones)]

<82-147> The woman ate the beans yesterday.
[the day before yesterday]

<82-188> The woman ate the beans.
a) [yes (Ex: Yes, she did eat them.)]

<82-189> b) [no (Ex: No, she didn't eat them.)]

Compare the expression of different scope of foci and types of foci: What are the formal differences of the sentence structure in case of new information (40, 48, 66, 72), contrastive information (128, 136, 147) and confirmation resp. contradiction (188, 189)?

Group 3

<82-74> Is he bringing the table or is he sending it?
[is sending]

<82-163> The woman hit Peter.
[called]

<82-165> The woman has hit Peter.
[will hit]

<82-164> The woman has hit Peter.
[hasn't yet]

<82-183> The woman hit Peter.
[she also pushed]

Compare predicate-centered focus types, i.e., on verb or predicative operator: selective lexical verb (74), contrastive lexical verb (163) or TAM⁷ (165), restrictive concerning TAM (164), expansive lexical verb (183).

Group 4

<82-140> The woman cooked the beans for him.
[not for him, but for us]

⁷ Tense-Aspect-Modality

<82-170> The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.
 [only for the elders]

<82-179> The woman cooked the beans for her child.
 [for the elders too]

Compare contrastive (140), restrictive (170), and expansive (179) focus on the recipient (and additional focus particles) and parallels/distinctions between these focus expressions and those in group 2.

3. On the Presentation and Comparison of the Data

The main part of this paper contains the data from three Gur languages, Buli, Kɔnni and Baatɔnum (i.e., one version of the Fairy Tale Task and of the Focus Translation Task per language⁸ together with lists of information-structurally concerned publications prepared within the SFB. A paper with data from four further Gur and Kwa languages (Yom, Aja, Anii, Foodo) and a section concerning genetic and areal relations and our research by Ines Fiedler follows.

The presentation of the language-specific data follows orthographic conventions to some extent and for most data tone is marked in addition⁹. We largely follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules¹⁰ using a list of standard abbreviations slightly extended to our specific needs (see list at the end of this chapter). Digits which are not followed immediately by grammatical number indications (1SG etc.) refer to specific noun classes (alternative to the general abbreviation CL),

⁸ For documentary purposes the narrative sample is accompanied by the audio source, albeit for space reasons only provided as an mp3-file.

⁹ Note that tone can be subject to considerable modification due to tone spreading and the position of the tone bearing syllable within the phrase and it is the largely predictable surface tone that is indicated for Buli and Kɔnni.

¹⁰ Available at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.

following the numbering conventions of the Berlin–Bayreuth Gur projects (Miehe et al. 2007).¹¹

The aim of these fieldnotes is to provide insights into the nature of the data dealt with in the investigation of information structure in Gur and Kwa by a selection of examples which illustrates the diversity in the expression of information structure among Gur and Kwa. A comparative analysis is not intended here. Such task would require much more background information on the languages involved than possible here and it would be incomplete without considering the complete range of language-specific alternative encodings and the exclusion of certain constructions in tasks such as the Focus Translation.

What the data provided in this chapter underlines is that even when we restrict the comparison to three genetically related languages such as Buli, Kɔnni and Baatɔnum which share several typological parallels, we face considerably diverse strategies in the expression of information structure. All three are tone languages and all three have a clause-initial subject in the pragmatically least marked (henceforth unmarked) clause. However, Baatɔnum differs from the two Oti-Volta languages by placing the object before the verb rather than behind it. Interestingly, the canonical preverbal object position in Baatɔnum seems less compatible with a focus interpretation of the object than the canonical postverbal object position in Buli and Kɔnni. In Baatɔnum, focal objects occur in a pragmatically marked fronted position (i.e., marked constituent order OSV

¹¹ Recent research by the author suggests that the occurrence of nominal class affixes might be less mandatory and regular across nouns in some Gur languages than commonly assumed. This implies that certain suffix-reminiscent word-final segments are better not analysed as suffixes (or particular suffix allomorphes) themselves but rather as results of phonological stem adaptations. In the absence of certain noun class concords, nominal stems are compensatorily treated and some develop permanent assimilatory traits to the relatively frequently present concord morpheme. To avoid complexities regarding features that are not essential in this paper, the glossing in this chapter does not particularly reflect these distinctions and also glosses pure assimilatory traits with noun class numbers.

besides unmarked SOV). It is obviously only in such verb-distant position and not in the immediate preverbal position that the object can be targeted by phonological phrasing in Baatɔnum. The right edge of such a phrase is indicated by suffix *-(C)a* which also co-occurs with focal subjects and other sentence constituents. The more peripheral postverbal object position in Buli and Kɔnni, in contrast, is pragmatically less restricted and compatible with non-focal as well as focal objects, although the latter status can also be further formally underlined.

Apart from this Baatɔnum-specific requirement concerning the object, the Focus Translation Task also shows that the surface constituent order often remains unchanged despite different focus conditions. Important for the information-structural interpretation of a sentence in all three languages is not the constituent order alone. It is first of all the presence or absence of certain particles and morphological devices that accompany the canonical or the marked order. These elements are many and diverse across the languages and include, among others, the preverbal connective particle *lɛ̃* and postverbal particle *ká* in Buli and verb suffix/particle *-na* (allomorph *-ne*) and postverbal particle/verb suffix *-wa* (allomorph *-wo*) in Kɔnni. In sentences with the canonical order SVO, the mentioned morphemes are complementarily applied close to the verb (stem) and correlate with different focus readings. Consider the examples in (3) and (4), partly also taken from the Focus Translation Task (see also Fiedler et al. 2010: 250f.).

(3) Buli

a. Níṗōōwá fɔb **kā**¹² wà=bīik.
 woman:DEF1 slap PTL 1=child:12
 The woman hit [her child]_{FOC}.

b. Mārỳ àlē fɔb=wā.
 M. &:CON slap=OBJ1
 [Mary]_{FOC} hit him.

(4) Kɔnni

a. ù=nìgì-wá ù=búà.
 1=hit-PTL 1=child.1a
 She hit [her child]_{FOC} .

a. Mārỳ nígí-**nà**=wà.
 M. hit-PTL=OBJ1
 [Mary]_{FOC} hit him.

Although the complementary morphological encoding correlates with different focus readings, the affixes and particles do not represent genuine “focus markers” that have the (primary) function to mark focus and attach to the focus constituent. As outlined elsewhere (Schwarz 2009, 2010, Fiedler et al. 2010), their primary task is to distinguish between categorical (3/4a) andthetic statements (3/4b), a distinction that provides different potential focus domains in which the subject is either explicitly included (thetic) or excluded (categorical) from the focus domain. The recognition of such indirect focus marking¹³ is

¹² Note that the surface tone of the particle *ká* can change to *kā* and *kà* (depending on the following environment) due to Low-Tone-Spreading.

¹³ The indirect focus marking analysis accounts for the occurrence of these affixes and particles in various environments that are not reconcilable with a focus interpretation.

relevant in cross-linguistic studies also involving languages with direct focus-marking tools in order to avoid comparison of “apples and pears”.

The narrative tasks in Buli, Kõnni and Baatõnum provided us with examples for the devices used to introduce major participants, to highlight particular participants and to chain important events of the story line. We face considerable differences across the languages again, for instance regarding the latter issue. Buli employs a clause-initial particle (*tè*) which functions as a clausal conjunction, namely of the narrative type ‘and (then)’ in the indicative, and of the consecutive type ‘so that’ in the subjunctive¹⁴. Different from a prototypical clausal conjunction, it cannot only follow a full clause, but also just a sentence constituent. Considering the whole range of its use (see also some examples in section 4 below), it can be concluded that it is a particular semantic/pragmatic configuration that is common to all *tè*-occurrences (5). The particle occurs in the presence of two information units which are information-structurally and syntactically autonomous while semantically necessarily connected, the initial unit C1 (whether a clause constituent or a clause) being semantically indispensable, similar to a precondition, for the appropriate interpretation of the second unit C2.¹⁵

(5) Semantically dependent C2:

[clause or constituent]_{C1} [*tè* clause]_{C2}

Kõnni has an apparent cognate (*tâ*), but employs it much less than Buli and favours particle *dɪ* which follows only nominal subjects in narrative contexts

¹⁴ The modal distinction is expressed by the grammatical tone of the verb (Schwarz 2007).

¹⁵ The analysis of the *tè*-marked-clause as an information-structurally (pragmatically) fairly autonomous, but semantically rather dependent clause can account for its occurrence with head-external (in contrast to head-internal) relative clauses and for its use in sentences with multiple (i.e., discontinuous) foci, for instance those containing a non-canonical fronted contrastive topic followed by a *tè*-clause with its own focal peak (Schwarz, ms 2008), among others.

(pronominal subjects in corresponding environments are tonally and partly segmentally marked). In Baatɔnum, we find a clausal conjunction *má* in comparable sequences of the most decisive events. It is probably of language-external origin (from Hausa *àmma* ‘but’), but more research in this language is needed.

Leaving the comparative discussion for another occasion and summing up here, the comparative investigation will ideally not only identify existing distinctions in the formal expression of information structuring, but also try to establish the background (language contact, deviations in information-packaging principles, correlations with other grammatical features etc.) for such diversity across the languages. For the aim of this paper suffice it to conclude that a comparative approach to information structure on the basis of selected QUIS tasks has proven feasible and came up to a corpus full of interesting and often challenging data, as illustrated in sections 4-6 of this chapter for Buli, Kɔnni and Baatɔnum and in the following chapter by Ines Fiedler for Yom, Aja, Anii and Foodo.

4. Buli

Buli is a Central Gur language (ISO 639-3 *bwu*) spoken by approximately 150,000 people (2003, see Lewis 2009) in northern Ghana. Together with its closest relative and neighbour Kɔnni, it forms the Buli/Kɔnni subgroup within the Oti-Volta branch (Naden 1989).

Information structure in Buli was dealt with in several talks and has resulted so far in the following publications (from studies undertaken in projects B1, B7, D2):

-
- Fiedler, Ines, Reineke, Brigitte and Schwarz, Anne. 2005. Let's focus it: Fokus in Gur- und Kwasprachen. In *Sprach- und literaturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum 16. Afrikanistentag*, ed. Gerald Heusing, 31-55. Hamburg: LIT.
- Fiedler, Ines and Schwarz, Anne. 2005. Out-of-focus encoding in Gur and Kwa. In *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 3, Working Papers of the SFB 632*, eds. Shinichiro Ishihara, Michaela Schmitz and Anne Schwarz, 111-142. Potsdam: University of Potsdam.
- Schwarz, Anne and Ines Fiedler. 2007. Narrative Focus Strategies in Gur and Kwa. In *Focus Strategies in Niger-Congo and Afroasiatic – On the Interaction of Focus and Grammar in some African Languages*, eds. Enoch Aboh, Katharina Hartmann and Malte Zimmermann, 267-286. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Schwarz, Anne. 2009a. Tonal Focus Reflections in Buli and some Gur Relatives. *Lingua* 119: 950-972.
- Schwarz, Anne. 2009b. To be or not to be? About the Copula System in Buli (Gur). In *Proceedings of the Special World Congress of African Linguistics – São Paulo 2008: Exploring the African Language Connection in the Americas*, eds. Margarida Petter and Ronald Beline Mendes, 263-278. São Paulo: Humanitas.
- Schwarz, Anne. 2010a. Verb-and-Predication Focus Markers in Gur. In *The Expression of Information Structure: A Documentation of its Diversity Across Africa*, eds. Ines Fiedler and Anne Schwarz, 287-314. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schwarz, Anne. 2010b. 'Long Ears' – Adjectives in Buli. In *Studies in the languages of the Volta Basin, Vol. 6(1). Proceedings of the Annual*

Colloquium of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistics Project, 12-16 January, 2009, University of Ghana, Legon, eds. Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu, Nana Aba Appiah Amfo, E. Kweku Osam, K. K. Saah and George Akanlig-Pare, 133-148. Legon: Department of Linguistics.

Schwarz, Anne. 2010c. Discourse Principles in Grammar: The Thetic/Categorical Dichotomy. *Etropic* 9.

Fiedler, Ines, Hartmann, Katharina, Reineke, Brigitte, Schwarz, Anne and Zimmermann, Malte. 2010. Subject Focus in West African Languages. In *Information Structure: Theoretical, Typological, And Experimental Perspectives*, eds. Malte Zimmermann and Caroline Féry, 234-257. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schwarz, Anne and Fiedler, Ines. 2010. *Informationsstruktur – oder: Was es in der Grammatik zu entdecken gibt*. DVD. Potsdam: University of Potsdam.

Schwarz, Anne. To appear 2011. What is it About? The TOPIC in Buli. *Proceedings of the 26th West African Linguistics Congress (WALC), July 28 - August 3, 2008, Winneba, Ghana*.

Schwarz, Anne. Submitted 2010. On the Grammar of Possession in Buli (Gur). (For an edited volume at Oxford University Press).

4.1 Tomatoes Fairy Tale in Buli¹⁶

Audio: Tomatoes-Buli.mp3

(to play audio file move mouse into field)

¹⁶ This story version was recorded with Vida Azenaab (32 years, Gbedem-Buli variant) in Accra, July 2004, and Denis Pius Abasimi assisted concerning its transcription and translation.

(1) nípōk àlē tòṁ wà = bì-kpāgī
 woman.1 &:CON send 1=child-head.5

A woman sent her first-born

àyēn wà = chēṅ yàbā gà dà tòṁāntòsūk
 &:that 1=go.SBJV market.6 SS buy tomatoes.15

to go to the market to buy tomatoes

à tā jām tè = wā, tè wà = dīg jèntà.
 & have come BEN=1 CNJ 1=cook.SBJV soup:21

and bring them to her to prepare soup.

(2) àtè bìiká yāā chèn yàbàṅà = lá,
 &:CNJ child:DEF12 then go market:DEF6=DET

When the boy went to the market,

yāā chèn sìùkú bè.
 then go road:DEF15 lose

he lost the way.

(3) à chèn sìùkú bè = lā,
 & go road:DEF15 lose=DET

He lost the way,

wà-m̀ bāg dà tòṁāntòsūkū ?
 1-NEG be.able buy tomatoes:DEF15 %

he couldn't buy the tomatoes

à yāā pìlìm jàm yèrī.
 & then return come house.5
 and returned home.

(4) àtè nípōōwá pìlìm a tòm
 &:CNJ woman:DEF1 return & send
 And then the woman sent

wà = bí-kāāī nē pàà sāŋ = lá,
 1=child-INDF12 CON reach follow=DET
 her second born,

àtè wà = chèn yàbàŋá,
 &:CNJ 1=go market:DEF6
 and he went,

wá mē chèn siùkú bè à jàm
 1 also go road:DEF15 lose & come
 he also lost the way and came back,

àn dá tòmāntòsùkū tā jám-yà ?.
 &:NEG buy tomatoes:DEF15 have come-ASS %
 he didn't buy and bring the tomatoes,

(5) nípōōwá yāā tòm wà = bí-bààŋkā
 woman:DEF1 then send 1=child-last:DEF12
 The woman then sent her last born,

tè wá chèn yàbàṅà = lá,
 CNJ 1 go market:DEF6=DET
 and when he went to the market

à bāgī mìn sùkú,
 & be.able know road:DEF15
 he found his way

à chèn gà dà tò māntòsùwā à tā jām yèrī,
 & go SS buy tomatoes:DEF1 & have come house.5
 and bought the tomatoes and brought them home,

tè nīpōōwā bāgā pà tò māntòsùwā dìg jèntà.
 CNJ woman:DEF1 be.able:IPFV take tomatoes:DEF1 cook soup:21
 and the woman was able to prepare soup with the tomatoes.

4.2 Focus Translation Extract in Buli¹⁷

<82-6> gbán àlē dḁà tébùlkù zúk.
 book.12 &:CON lie table:DEF15 on
 There is a book on the table.

¹⁷ This data was recorded, transcribed and translated with Peter Wangara Amoak (42 years, Sandem-Buli variant) in March 2005 in northern Ghana.

Note that some of the S[peaker]1 data are unusual for Buli main sentences, as they do not contain indications (such as provided by particles *ká*, *kámā*, connective *lē*, clausal conjunction *tè* and other means) regarding the information-structural organization of the sentence. It is likely that at least part of this uncommon lack of pragmatic information is a direct result of the translation task. The S[peaker]2 data are therefore in sum pragmatically more reliable.

S2: ò = ηòbì kà túé.
 1=eat PTL bean.6
 She ate beans.

<82-66> S1: nípōōwá pà kā bòn dē-à.
 woman:DEF1 take PTL what:? eat-Q
 What did the woman eat with?

S2: wà = dè lè kā dùisūk.
 1=eat CON PTL spoon.15
 She ate with a spoon.

<82-72> S1: nípōōwá ηè kā sēè.
 woman:DEF1 do PTL how:Q
 What did the woman do?

S2: ò = ηòbì kà túé.
 1=eat PTL bean.6
 She ate beans.

<82-74> S1: wà = tà tébùlùkū á chīēn kāmā,
 1=have table:DEF15 IPFV come PTL:PTL
 Is he bringing

yāā wà = tàā chēη kāmā.
 ASS 1=have: IPFV go PTL:PTL
 or sending the table?

- S2: wà = tàā chèn kámā.
 1=have:IPFV go PTL:PTL
 He is sending it.
- <82-128> S1: ò = ηòbì tùàṅá.
 1=eat bean:DEF6
 She ate the beans.
- S2: ká mí lē ηòbī.
 PTL 1SG CON eat.ASS
 I ate them.
- <82-136> S1: nípōōwá ηòbì kà tú-sóbtáṅá.
 woman:DEF1 eat PTL bean-black:21:DEF6
 The woman ate the black beans.
- S2: ààyí, dāā tú-sóbtáṅá tē wà = ηòbì ?,
 no NEG bean-black:21:DEF6 CNJ 1=eat %
 No, not the black beans,
- ká tú-mòàntàṅā tē wà = ηòb.
 PTL bean-red:21:DEF6 CNJ 1=eat
 but the red ones.
- <82-140> S1: nípōōwá òḡ tùàṅá àtē kà wá.
 woman:DEF1 cook bean:DEF6 &:BEN PTL 1
 The woman cooked the beans for him.

S2: ààyí, dāā wá ?,

no NEG 1 %

No, not for him,

wà = dìg tè kā tàṁā.

1=cook BEN PTL 1PL

she cooked for us.

<82-147> S1: nípōōwá ṅ̀b̀ì t̀ùàṅ̀á ká dìèṁwā.

woman:DEF1 eat bean:DEF6 PTL yesterday:DEF1

The woman ate the beans yesterday.

S2: ààyí, ò = ṅ̀b̀ì ká dāām-pà-tè-dīēm.

no 1=eat PTL past-?-give-yesterday

No, she ate them the day before yesterday.

<82-163> S1: nípōōwá f̀b̀ì àp̀í̀t̀à.

woman:DEF1 slap &:Peter

The woman hit Peter.

S2: ààyí, wà = ù f̀b̀í-wà ?

no 1=NEG hit-OBJ1 %

No, she didn't hit him,

wà = ẁù-wā káṁā.

1=call-OBJ1 PTL:PTL

she called him.

- <82-164> S1: nípōōwá fṓbì àpíítà.
 woman:DEF1 slap &:Peter
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: ààyí, wà = ò ò diēm fṓbì-wā ?.
 no 1=NEG still/yet slap-OBJ1 %
 No, she hasn't hit him yet.
- <82-165> S1: nípōōwá fṓbì àpíítà kámā.
 woman:DEF1 slap &:Peter PTL:PTL
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: ààyí, wà = ò ò diēm fṓbì-wā ?,
 no 1=NEG still/yet slap-OBJ1 %
 No, she hasn't hit him yet,
- wà lè fṓb-wā.
 1 FUT slap-OBJ1
 she will hit him.
- <82-170> S1: nípōōwá dà tùàṅá
 woman:DEF1 buy bean:DEF6
 The woman bought the beans
- tè kà bísáṅá àlè nīsòmmā.
 BEN PTL child:13:DEF6 &:CON elder:DEF2
 for the children and the elders.

- S2: ààyí, wà = dà tè kà nísòmmā jīnī.
 no 1=buy BEN PTL elder:DEF2 only
 No, she bought them only for the elders.
- <82-179> S1: nípōōwá ðìg tùàṅá
 woman:DEF1 cook bean:DEF6
 The woman cooked the beans
- tè ká wà = bìkà.
 BEN PTL 1=child:DEF12
 for her child.
- S2: ààyí, wà = ðìg tè nísòmmā mē kāmā.
 no 1=cook BEN elder:DEF2 also PTL:PTL
 She cooked them for the elders, too.
- <82-183> S1: nípōōwá fṛbì àpíítà.
 woman:DEF1 slap &:Peter
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: wà = tùsì-wā mē kāmā.
 1=push- OBJ1 also PTL:PTL
 She also pushed him.
- <82-188> S1: nípōōwá ṅḍbì tùàṅá.
 woman:DEF1 eat bean:DEF6
 The woman ate the beans.

<82-189> S2a: ò = ηḁbì.
 1=eat.ASS
 She ate them.

S2b: ò = n ηḁbí-yà ?.
 1=NEG eat-ASS %
 She didn't eat them.

5. Kɔnni

Kɔnni is a Central Gur language (ISO 639-3 kma) spoken by a small group (2003 around 3,800 people, Lewis 2009) in a remote area in northern Ghana. Together with its sister Buli, it forms the Buli/Kɔnni subgroup within the Oti-Volta branch (Naden 1989).

A series of talks as well as the following three publications prepared within the SFB 632 (projects B1, B7, D2) discuss information-structural devices in Kɔnni and in related languages:

Schwarz, Anne. 2009. Tonal Focus Reflections in Buli and some Gur Relatives. *Lingua* 119: 950-972.

Fiedler, Ines, Hartmann, Katharina, Reineke, Brigitte, Schwarz, Anne and Zimmermann, Malte. 2010. Subject Focus in West African Languages. In *Information Structure: Theoretical, Typological, And Experimental Perspectives*, eds. Malte Zimmermann and Caroline Féry, 234-257. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schwarz, Anne. 2010. Verb-and-Predication Focus Markers in Gur. In *The Expression of Information Structure: A Documentation of its Diversity*

Across Africa, eds. Ines Fiedler and Anne Schwarz, 287-314. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

5.1 Tomatoes Fairy Tale in Kɔnni¹⁸

Audio: Tomatoes-Konni.mp3

(to play audio file move mouse into field)

(1) hògú wùní ànán ù=bállì bátàà bèn-nè.
 woman.1 1:one COM 1=child.5 2:three be.LOC-PTL
 There is a woman and her three children.

(2) ú tòn jà-kùùrí dí ù=gáá,
 1 send thing-old:DEF5 COMP 1=go.SBJV
 She sent the elder to go

à gá dàà tòmántòsí kèn, ù=dígí jètì.
 & go.SBJV buy tomatoes.12 come 1=cook.SBJV soup:21
 and buy tomatoes and come for her to cook soup.

(3) bùàwá dí nàgì síé-gààn, à gà,
 child:DEF1 PTL hit road-?different:N & go
 The child took a different road, and went,

tà ké yé tòmántòsiké tà yín!ní kèn.
 CNJ NEG see tomatoes:DEF12 CNJ return come
 and he didn't get the tomatoes and came back.

¹⁸ Nasigri Salifu Mumuni (Barnabas) (28 years, Yikpabongo) provided this story (recorded in February 2005 in northern Ghana) and assisted in its transcription and translation.

(4) kà kúàŋ cháàŋ

12 back:N ?pass

After that,

ú tùŋ vúó-!díékè ò ò dísí-nè bùlìèwó

1 sent person-INDF12 PTL follow-PTL 14:two: DEF1

she sent the person who is second

dí ù=gá dà, à kèŋ

COMP 1=go buy & come

to go, buy them and come.

(5) ù=díáŋ ú gà nàgì síé-gààŋ,

1=also 1 go hit road-?different:N

He too, went and took a different road,

à gà, ù=ké yéyè,

& go 1=NEG see:PFV

he went and did not get them,

tà bí yíŋ!ŋí kèŋ, ù=sóŋ !dí chùùsì.

CNJ ? return come 1=heart :N PTL spoil

and returned coming back, she [mother] got sad

(6) kà kúàŋ cháàŋ,

12 back:N ?pass

After that,

́ t̀n b̀a-b̀k` ch̀n,
 1 send child-small:12 ?pass
 she sent the younger one,

d` `=g` ` d` t̀m̀nt̀s̀k` k̀n.
 COMP 1=go & buy tomatoes:DEF12 come
 that he should go and buy the tomatoes and bring them.

(7) b̀aw` d` g` d`g` s̀e-v̀ǹǹ,
 child:DEF1 PTL go pass road-good:N
 The child went and passed a good road,

s̀e-!d̀k` d̀ g`n`-n` m̀ = !w`,
 road-INDF12 PTL go:?IPFV-PTL there=DEF1
 the road that goes to that place,

` g` d` t̀m̀nt̀s̀k` k̀n t̀g̀ǹ.
 & go buy tomatoes:DEF12 come house:N
 and went and bought the tomatoes and came home.

(8) `=ǹǹ!w` s̀ǹ, d` f`as̀ f`!l̀ p`m.
 1=mother:DEF1 heart:N PTL ? get.cool very
 His mother became very happy.

5.2 Focus Translation Extract¹⁹

<82-6> gbáníŋ díísí-nè tébùlikè síkpèŋ.
 book:N lie-PTL table:DEF15 on
 There is a book on the table.

<82-10> S1: bíá wííŋ yí-nè
 what matter:N do-PTL
 What happened?

S2: bà = mìrì-wá bùàn-yààlíŋ.
 2=give.birth-PTL child-new:N
 A child was born. (lit. They gave birth to a child.)

<82-20> S1: bíá wííŋ yí-nè.
 what matter:N do-PTL
 What happened?

S2: vúóŋ wùŋí yúgí-nà à sùŋ ná!áŋ-mà.
 person:N 1:one jump-PTL & get.down water:N-in
 Somebody jumped into the water.

<82-40> S1: mìnîâ ŋóbí-nà túóhè.
 who eat-PTL bean:DEF6
 Who ate the beans?

¹⁹ The following data was recorded, transcribed and translated with Nasigri Salifu Mumuni (Barnabas) (28 years, from Yikpabongo) in February 2005 in northern Ghana.

S2: h̀̀ǵú ẁ̀nń́ ń́b́í-ǹ̀=̀̀h̀̀.
 woman.1 1:one eat-PTL-OBJ6
 A woman ate them.

<82-48> S1: b́́á h̀̀g̀ẃá d́́ d̀̀.
 what woman:DEF1 PTL eat
 What did the woman eat?

S2: ù = ń̀̀b̀̀-́́á tú̀.
 1=eat-PTL bean.6
 She ate beans.

<82-66> S1: b́́á h̀̀g̀ẃá d́́ ǹ̀g̀ì à d̀̀.
 what woman:DEF1 PTL take & eat
 What did the woman eat with?

S2: ù = ǹ̀g̀ì-́́á d̀̀ìśń ̀̀ à d̀̀.
 1=take-PTL spoon:N & eat
 She ate with a spoon.

<82-72> S1: b́́á h̀̀g̀ẃá d́́ ỳ̀.
 what woman:DEF1 PTL do
 What did the woman do?

S2: ù = ń̀̀b̀̀-́́á tú̀.
 1=eat-PTL bean.6
 She ate beans.

<82-74> S1: ù = yà-wá tébùliké kíéŋ mìnŋ,
 1=have- PTL table:DEF15 come PTL
 Is he bringing

yàà ù = yà-ká gára mìnŋ.
 or 1=have-OBJ15 go:IPFV PTL
 or sending the table?

S2: ù = yàá gára mìnŋ.
 1=have go:IPFV PTL
 He is sending it.

<82-128> S1: ù = ηðbí túó!hé mìnŋ.
 1=eat bean:DEF6 PTL
 She ate the beans.

S2: ààyí, dáá ù = ηðbì-ná, máníŋ, η = ηðbì-ná=hà.
 no NEG 1=eat-PTL 1SG 1SG=eat-PTL=OBJ6
 No, she didn't eat them, I ate them.

<82-136> S1: hògùwá ηðbí-nà tú-sóbílàhà.
 woman:DEF1 eat-PTL bean-black:6:DEF6
 The woman ate the black beans.

S2: ù = ká ηðbí tú-sóbílàhà,
 1=NEG eat bean-black:6:DEF6
 She didn't eat the black beans,

ù = ηòbì-wá tú-ηmínàhà.
 1=eat-PTL bean-red:6:DEF6
 she ate the red ones.

<82-140> S1: hògùwá ògì-wó túòhè, à yì-wá.
 woman:DEF1 cook-PTL bean:DEF6 & BEN-OBJ1
 The woman cooked the beans for him.

S2: ù = ká ògì à yì-wá,
 1=NEG cook & BEN-OBJ1
 She didn't cook them for him,

ù = ògì à yì-wá !tíní,
 1=cook & BEN-PTL 1PL
 she cooked them for us.

<82-147> S1: hògùwá ηòbì-nà túòhè dièné!wó.
 woman:DEF1 eat-PTL bean:DEF6 yesterday:DEF1
 The woman ate the beans yesterday.

S2: ù = ká ηòbì-!há dièné!wó,
 1=NEG eat-OBJ6 yesterday
 She didn't eat them yesterday.

diàríwá ú = ηòbì-hà.
 day.before.yesterday:DEF1 1=eat-OBJ6
 the day before yesterday she ate them.

<82-163> S1: hògùwá nìgì-wá píità.
 woman:DEF1 hit-PTL Peter
 The woman hit Peter.

S2: ààyí, ù = ká nígì-wà,
 no 1=NEG hit-OBJ1
 No, she didn't hit him,

ù = wà-wá mìn.
 1=call-OBJ1 PTL
 she called him.

<82-164> S1: hògùwá nìgì píità mìn.
 woman:DEF1 hit Peter PTL
 The woman has hit Peter.

S2: ààyí, ù = yè ká nígì-wà.
 no 1=still/yet NEG hit-OBJ1
 No, she hasn't hit him yet.

<82-165> S1: hògùwá nìgì píità mìn.
 woman:DEF1 hit Peter PTL
 The woman has hit Peter.

S2: ààyí, ù = yè báá ù = nígì-!wá mìn.
 no 1=still/yet want 1=hit.SBJV-OBJ.1 PTL
 No, she still intends to hit him.

- <82-170> S1: hògùwá dà-wà túò
 woman:DEF1 buy-PTL bean.6
 The woman bought beans
- à yì bèlbìsí áṅáṅ ñìṅkùrà.
 & BEN child:13 COM elder.6
 for the children and the elders.
- S2: ààyí, ù = dá yì-wá ñìṅkùràhá jíínàmà.
 no 1=buy BEN-PTL elder:DEF6 only
 No, she bought them only for the elders.
- <82-179> S1: hògùwá dígí-wó túòhè, à yì ù = búà.
 woman:DEF1 cook-PTL bean:DEF6 & BEN 1=child.1
 The woman cooked the beans for her child.
- S2: dáá ù = búá!wá jíínámá
 NEG 1=child:DEF1 only
 Not only for her child
- ú = dígì túòhè à yì.
 1=cook bean:DEF6 & BEN
 she cooked the beans.
- ù = dígì yì-wá ñìṅkùràhá gbàṅ.
 1=cook BEN-PTL elder:DEF6 also
 She cooked them also for the elders.

- <82-183> S1: h̀̀g̀̀wá nígí-wá píítà.
 woman:DEF1 hit-PTL Peter
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: ù = bíí kpáŋ-!wá m̀̀ŋ.
 I=? push- OBJ1 PTL
 She also pushed him.
- <82-188> S1: h̀̀g̀̀wá ńóbí-nà túòhè.
 woman:DEF1 eat-PTL bean:DEF6
 The woman ate the beans.
- <82-189> S2a: wà, ù = ń̀̀b̀̀-ńá = !há.
 yes I=eat-PTL = OBJ6
 Yes, she ate them.
- S2b: à̀̀yí, ù = ká ńóbí-hà.
 no I=NEG eat-OBJ6
 No, she didn't eat them.

6. Baat̀̀num

The isolate Gur language Baat̀̀num (ISO 639-3 bba) is spoken in northern Benin, in Nigeria and Togo by more than 500,000 people altogether (Lewis 2009).

Information structure in Baat̀̀num so far has been discussed in unpublished manuscripts and talks (Schwarz, Anne, manuscript 2009; Schwarz, Anne, handout of a talk, Berlin 2010). The data base out of which the following

QUIS examples are taken has been established in cooperation with Sayane Gouroubéra (transcription and a first annotation and translation in French).

6.1 Tomatoes Fairy Tale in Baatonum²⁰

Audio: Tomatoes-Baatonum.mp3

(to play audio file move mouse into field)

- (1) kùrɔ góo-wà wàà kà wí-n bibú itā.
 woman:1 INDF:1-PTL COP COM DEM1-POSS child:2 CL:three
 There was a woman with her three children.

- (2) ú kǐ ù tìmáatì kpée sáà
 1 want 1.SBJV tomato:CL soup:CL cook
 She wanted to cook tomato soup,

mǎ ú wí-n bìi bǎ-n bù-kúróo gōr-a.
 CNJ 1 DEM1-POSS child:CL DEM.CL-POSS child-old:CL send-PTL
 so she sent her eldest child.

- (3) bìi wí ú swáà wōri
 child:CL DEM1 1 road:CL fall
 The child got on the road,

mǎ u swáà tōr-a.
 CNJ 1 road:CL miss-PTL
 but he missed the correct road.

²⁰ Recorded with Sayane Gouroubéra (29 years, from Parakou) in Coutonou, January 2008.

(4) yě-n sù,

DEM.CL-POSS in

Because of that,

ú wú-mā kà bíre gíríru.

1 return-ALL with basket:CL empty:CL

he returned with an empty basket.

(5) mǎ kùrǒ wí máà

CNJ woman:1 DEM1 ?again

The woman then

wí-n bìi bé-n yírúsèé gōr-a.

DEM1-POSS child:CL DEM.CL-POSS second :? send-PTL

sent her second child.

(6) wí-n tǐí swáà wōri

DEM1-POSS ?self road:CL fall

He, too, got on the way,

mǎ ú swáà tōr-a.

CNJ 1 road:CL miss-PTL

but missed the correct road.

(7) ú wú-mā kà bíre gíríru wí-n tǐí.

1 return-ALL COM basket:CL empty DEM1-POSS ?self

He also returned with an empty basket.

- (8) yè kùrɔ wí kóò kō,
CL woman:1 DEM1 FUT do

What the woman was left to do,

- bìi bɛ̃-n dǎakóo wì ú tīe mí,
child:CL DEM.CL-POSS last:1 ?DEM1 1 retain PTL

the last child that was left,

- wí-a ú gɔ̃r-a.
OBJ1-PTL 1 send-PTL

him, she sent.

- (9) dǎakóo wí swáà wōri,
last:1 DEM1 road:CL fall

The last one got on the road,

- má ú swáà túb-a.
CNJ 1 road:CL recognize-PTL

and he found the correct road.

- (10) ú wú-mā yé̃-n sɔ̃ kà tìmáatì.
1 return-ALL DEM.CL-POSS in(side) COM tomato:CL

Therefore, he returned with tomatoes.

- (11) má kùrɔ síi wí-n tìmáatì kpée sá-wà.
CNJ woman:1 ? DEM1-POSS tomato:CL soup:CL cook-PTL

Then the woman prepared her tomato soup.

6.2 Focus Translation Extract in Baatɔnum²¹

<82-6> tɪrɛ́rú gá-r-a yíí táábùru wòll-ǝ (mí).
 book:CL INDF:CL-PTL lie table:CL top-LOC PTL
 There is a book on the table.

<82-10> S1: m̀bá ń kũ-a?
 what PTL do-PTL
 What happened?

S2: bá bìi m̀ará-wa.
 2 child:CL give.birth-PTL(WA)
 A child was born. (lit. They gave birth to a child.)

<82-20> S1: m̀bá ń kũ-a?
 what PTL do-PTL
 What happened?

S2: góo ú ním w̄ri-wà.
 INDF:1 1 water:CL fall-PTL(WA)
 Somebody fell into the water.

²¹ The data presented here was recorded on the basis of a written focus translation with Sayane Gouroubéra (29 years, from Parakou) in Coutonou, January 2008. In the course of recording, the appropriateness and felicity conditions for various further variants (including elliptic answers, morphosyntactically more or less marked sentence variants etc.) were discussed. These cannot be further considered within the frame of the present chapter, and the only variation indicated below concerns the optionality of certain sentence parts (placed in brackets), most often concerning pronominal concords that directly follow the nominal antecedent in subject function.

- <82-40> S1: wǎ-rà, ú swíi yí dī?
 who-PTL 1 bean:CL DEM.CL eat
 Who ate the beans?
- S2: kùrɔ góo-wà ú yì dī.
 woman:1 INDF:1-PTL 1 OBJ.CL eat
 A woman ate them.
- <82-48> S1: mbá kùrɔ wí ú dī?
 what woman:1 DEM1 1 eat
 What did the woman eat?
- S2: swíi-yá ú dī.
 bean:CL-PTL 1 eat
 She ate beans.
- <82-66> S1: mbá kùrɔ wí ú kà dī?
 what woman:1 DEM1 1 COM eat
 With what did the woman eat?
- S2: síbí-wa ú kà dī.
 spoon:CL -PTL 1 COM eat
 She ate with a spoon.
- <82-72> S1: mbá kùrɔ wí ú kū-a?
 what woman:1 DEM1 1 do-PTL
 What did the woman do?

- S2: ú swìì dī-wà.
 1 bean:CL eat-PTL
 She ate beans.
- <82-74> S1: ú kà tábùru gě wéē-wà
 1 COM table:CL CL come-PTL
 Has he brought
- ngě ú gè mórí-sía-mǒ-wà?
 ? 1 OBJ.CL send-CAUS-PROG-PTL
 or is he sending the table?
- S2: ú gè mórí-sía-mǒ-wà.
 1 OBJ.CL send-CAUS-PROG-PTL
 He is sending it.
- <82-128> S1: ú swìì yí dī.
 1 bean:CL DEM.CL eat
 She ate the beans.
- S2: àáwó, ně-(n)a ná yì dī.
 no 1SG-PTL 1SG OBJ.CL eat
 No, she didn't eat them, I ate them.
- <82-136> S1: kùrɔ wí ú swìì wóki yí dī.
 woman:1 DEM1 1 bean:CL black:CL DEM.CL eat
 The woman ate the black beans.

S2: àáwó ñ̀ ñ̀ swii wõki yi u di,
 no NEG bean:CL black:CL DEM.CL 1 eat
 She didn't eat the black beans,

swẽẽ yi-a.
 red:CL DEM.CL-PTL
 (she ate) the red ones.

<82-140> S1: kuro wi (u) swii yi swẽ
 woman:1 DEM1 1 bean:CL DEM.CL put.on.fire
 The woman cooked the beans

wi-n sõ.
 DEM1-POSS in(side)
 for him.

S2: ǹ wi-n sõ (u yi swẽ),
 NEG DEM1-POSS in(side) 1 OBJ.CL put.on.fire
 She didn't cook them for him,

bẽẽ-n sõ-na.
 1PL-POSS in(side)-PTL
 but for us.

<82-147> S1: kuro wi (u) swii di gã.
 woman:1 DEM1 1 bean:CL eat yesterday
 The woman ate (the) beans yesterday.

- S2: aawo ginteèr-a (u yì di).
 no day.before.yesterday:CL-PTL 1 OBJ.CL eat
 The day before yesterday she ate them.
- <82-163> S1: kùrɔ wí (ú) Pìéè sō.
 woman:1 DEM1 1 Pierre hit
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: ú nùń sóká-wà.
 1 OBJ1 call-PTL(WA)
 She called him.
- <82-164> S1: kùrɔ wí (ú) Pìéè sō.
 woman:1 DEM1 1 Pierre hit
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: aáwó ù ñ gínà nùń só-ò.
 no 1 NEG still/yet OBJ1 hit-PTL
 No, she hasn't hit him yet.
- <82-165> S1: kùrɔ wí (ú) Pìéè sō.
 woman:1 DEM1 1 Pierre hit
 The woman hit Peter.
- S2: aáwó gínà, àdamá ú kòò nùń só-ò.
 no still/yet but 1 FUT OBJ1 hit-PTL
 No, not yet, she will hit him.

<82-170> S1: kùrɔ wí (ú) swì yí dwā-wà
 woman:1 DEM1 1 bean:CL DEM.CL buy-PTL(WA)

The woman bought the beans

bìbù kà dúrɔ tókónú-n sù.
 child:2 COM man:1 old:10-POSS in(side)
 for the children and the elders.

S2: aáwó, ú yì dwā-wà
 no 1 OBJ.CL buy-PTL
 No, she bought them

bìbù tóná-n sù.
 child:2 only-POSS in(side)
 only for the children.

<82-179> S1: kùrɔ wí (ú) m'óri swē
 woman:1 DEM1 1 rice:CL put.on.fire

The woman cooked the beans

wí-n bíí-n sù.
 DEM1-POSS child:CL-POSS in(side)
 for her child.

S2: u (màa kpám' máa) yì swē
 1 "also" OBJ.CL put.on.fire
 She cooked them

dúró tòkónú-n tíí-n sǔ.
 man:1 old:10-POSS ?self-POSS in(side)
 for the elders, too.

<82-183> S1: kùró wǐ́ ú Pìéé sō.
 woman:1 DEM1 1 Pierre hit
 The woman hit Peter.

S2: u (màa kpàm máà) wǐ́ bōri-ya (máà).
 1 “also” OBJ1 push-PTL ?again
 She also pushed him.

<82-188> S1: kùró wǐ́ ú swíi yí di-wa?
 woman:1 DEM1 1 bean:CL DEM.CL eat-PTL(WA)
 Did the woman eat the beans?

<82-189> S2a: oo, ú yì dī-wa.
 yes 1 CL eat-PTL(WA)
 Yes, she ate them.

S2b: àáwó ù ñ yì dí-ì.
 no 1 NEG OBJ.CL eat-PTL
 No, she didn’t eat them.

Glossing abbreviations

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|----------|---------------|
| 1, 2, ... | number of noun class | 2SG, 2PL | second person |
| 1SG, 1PL | first person | 3SG, 3PL | third person |

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------|---|
| ALL | allative | OBJ | object |
| ASS | assertive | PFV | perfective |
| BEN | benefactive | PL | plural |
| CAUS | causative | POSS | possessive |
| CL | noun class | PROG | progressive |
| CNJ | clausal conjunction | PTL | particle |
| COM | comitative | Q | question marker |
| COMP | complementizer | SBJV | subjunctive |
| CON | connective particle | SG | singular |
| COP | copula | SS | same subject |
| DEF | definite | & | prosodic junctor (left edge) |
| DEM | demonstrative | | |
| DET | determiner | % | intonational boundary (right edge) |
| FOC | focus | | |
| FUT | future | ! | downstepped High tone |
| INDF | indefinite | ` , ´ | low, mid, high tone |
| IPFV | imperfective | ” | superhigh tone |
| LOC | locative | ? | gloss (to which ? is preposed) needs further verification |
| N | neuter | | |
| NEG | negation, negative | | |

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*Anne Schwarz
James Cook University
The Cairns Institute
PO Box 6811 Cairns
Queensland 4870
Australia
anne.schwarz@jcu.edu.au*

QUIS Data from Yom, Aja, Anii and Foodo. With Notes on Genetic and Areal Relations

Ines Fiedler

Humboldt University, Berlin

This is the second part of the presentation of data elicited by means of QUIS within the project on information structure in Gur and Kwa languages. Whereas the first part (Anne Schwarz) introduces the project and the rationals behind the development of the focus translation task, this part provides some comparative remarks gained from the data presented in both parts.

1 Presentation and comparison of the data

This presentation follows the principles already outlined in the first part of the contribution on information structure in Gur and Kwa (Anne Schwarz). Nevertheless, it uses some abbreviations not yet mentioned there:

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| ' | (before a vowel) indicates | DSJ | disjoint verb suffix |
| | downstep | EMPH | emphatic |
| 1,2 | (following verb forms) | FM | focus marker |
| | indicate auxiliary sets in | GEN | genitive |
| | Anii | ID | identificational marker |
| AG | agentive | INDEF | indefinite |
| BG | background-indicating | LOGO | logophoric pronoun |
| | verb suffix | PN | proper name |
| CL | noun class marker | PQ | polar question |
| CNJ | (clausal) conjunction | REF | discourse-referential |
| CQ | constituent question | | pronoun |
| DIR | direction | REL | relative |

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| | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------|-------------------|
| SEQ | sequential verb form | TP | terminal particle |
| SF | subject focus | VENT | ventive |
| SUB | subordinating particle | | |

In the following, the data for the tomato story, the questions concerning that story and the selected sentences of the focus translation task are presented from four languages: Yom, Aja, Anii and Foodo*. All four languages are spoken in Benin, but they belong to two different language families: Gur (Yom) and Kwa (Aja, Anii, Foodo). Within Kwa, the languages belong to different branches and cannot be regarded as closely related. From a typological point of view, Aja, an isolating language with agglutinative features, stands against the other three languages, which are agglutinative. Furthermore, these three languages have a productive noun class system with a differing number of noun classes each. All four languages discussed are tone languages¹, in which intonation is not a primary means for focus realization. The word order is SVO.

When comparing the different focus conditions and their realization across the four languages, the first observation to be made is that in every language, the canonical sentence can be used to express non-subject focus and predicate-centered focus types. Furthermore, every language has at least one focus marker at its disposal. In Foodo, the form of the focus marker differs according to the grammatical role the focused element has in the sentence, and in Anii, the focus marker agrees with the noun class of the focused non-subject; the subject itself cannot be marked by it. Both Yom and Aja have only one focus

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¹ The tone marking follows the following conventions throughout all languages: Every tone is marked (unless otherwise stated) as either high (ˊ), low (ˋ), mid (ˊˋ), falling (ˋˊ) or rising (ˊˋ).

marker; however, whereas in Aja the focus marker *yi* is exclusively used in *ex situ* focus constructions, in Yom the focus marker *ra* can be found *in situ* and *ex situ*.

Ex situ focus constructions in Aja and Foodo are - to the best of our knowledge - not accompanied by any changes in verb morphology. In Anii, on the other hand, two sets of auxiliaries exist. In *ex situ* constructions in the imperfective and potential, the second set is used instead of the first, which is found in affirmative main clauses. In the perfective, the second set only indicates focus on the subject; in all other cases, the unmarked form is used. In *ex situ* constructions in Yom, the verb gets a special suffix by which it is characterized as background information. In canonical sentences, the verbal system of Yom allows for another differentiation: similar to some Bantu languages, Yom has conjoint and disjoint forms, the conjoint form being used when the postverbal object is in focus, and the disjoint form, when nothing follows the verb and the verb itself is in focus.

The narrative in all four languages starts with a canonical sentence. None of the languages uses a special strategy to introduce major participants. Yom differs from the other languages in having a special verb form to indicate sequential events. The most important feature of the tomato story in all four languages is the use of pronouns: in Yom, Aja and Anii sequences of events, the ‘normal’ anaphoric pronoun is used, whereas topic shift is indicated by special pronouns, glossed here as emphatic. Foodo presents another way of using pronouns, as it has, in addition to emphatic pronouns, two kinds of anaphoric ones: the simple one refers to the main character of the story, the mother, whereas the other (glossed as REF) refers to the children of the mother.

2 The data

2.1 Yom

Yom (ISO 639-3: pil) is a Gur language of the Oti-Volta branch. Together with its closest relative, it constitutes the Yom-Nawdm group. It is spoken in Northern Benin by about 74,000 people (Lewis 2009). The data presented here was recorded in March 2005 in Djougou with two native speakers of Yom: Issifou Korogo and Amos Abel.

More detailed information on information structure in Yom can be obtained in the following articles:

Fiedler, Ines. 2006. Focus Expressions in Yom. In *Cahiers Voltaïque/Gur Papers* 7: 112-121.

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Fiedler, Ines. Submitted. Conjoint and disjoint verbs in Yom?

2.1.1 Tomato Story in Yom²

- (1) Pɔy-a nyɛɛ-ra a bamən bə-sə sə-ta.
 woman INDEF.CL-FM 3SG be_with.PFV child-CLCL-three
 ‘A woman had three children.’
- (2) Lɛɛ gɔr nyə-nə a nɔ ka a təm sə suya
 CNJ day INDEF-CL 3SG want ?CL 3SG send CL in
 ka nyə-ŋa ka daana ɔ timaati-sə ya-ku.
 CL INDEF-CLCNJ buy.VENT. SEQ 3SG tomato-CL market-CL

² In most of the Yom example sentences, the tones remain unmarked as their actual value is not clear at the moment.

‘Then one day, she wanted to send one of them to buy tomatoes from the market.’

(3) Lεε a zanə pər-γυ ka tira fanə-γa.

CNJ 3SG take.PFV basket-CL CNJ carry.SEQ first-CL

‘So she took a basket and gave it to the first one.’

(4) Ka cərii nən nyə-n nεε, sən-ii ka yesii.

CNJ arrive.SEQ at INDEF-CL SUB road-CL CNJ split.SEQ

‘When he got to some point, there was a fork in the road.’

(5) ka wa məkə la sūγa de-υη ka na zanə nεε.

CL NEG know.PFV CL.N in REL-CL CL FUT take SUB

‘He didn’t know which way to take.’

(6) Lεε ka bətən bayə-kpara-sə ka man nε.

CNJ CL return. PFV hand-dry-CL CNJ ?find. SEQ mother

‘So he came back to his mother empty-handed.’

(7) Lεε nε cər pər-γυ ka təm-ii lii-ra-ηa.

CNJ mother receive.PFV basket-CL CNJ send-away. SEQ TWO-AG-CL

‘Then the mother gave the basket to the second one and sent him off.’

(8) Keka gaa-γa zanə sən-υη.

CL.EMPH self-CL take.PFV road-CL

‘He also went on his way.’

(9) Ka cənə de-n cə-n sən-ii yεsə lee nεε,

when walk.PFV REL-CL DEM-CL road-CL split like SUB

ka wa məkə la yaasi.

CL NEG know.PFV CL.N.POSS manner

‘When he arrived where the roads split, he was confused.’

- (10) Lεε ka yer kpe,
 CNJ CL exit.PFV ?
 ka bətəni, ka dan ka man nε.
 CNJ return.SEQ CNJ come.SEQ CNJ ?find.SEQ mother
 ‘So he turned around half-way, went back and found his mother.’
- (11) A wa vərən timaati-sə.
 3SG NEG get.PFV tomato-CL
 ‘He hadn’t found tomatoes.’
- (12) Saa cεε nε zanə per-yu ka tira
 time DEM.CL mother take.PFV basket-CL CNJ carry.SEQ
 bə-taya-ŋa, saa cεε bə-witii-gaa-ya.
 child-follow-CL time DEM.CL child-small-self-CL
 ‘This time the mother took the basket and gave it to the next child, this time even the smallest child.’
- (13) Lεε keka zanə sun-uŋ.
 CNJ CL.EMPH take.PFV road-CL
 ‘And this one went on his way.’
- (14) Ka cεrii de-n sun-ii yεsə lee nεε
 when arrive.PFV REL-CL road-CL split like SUB
 ‘When he got to the fork in the road, ...’
- (15) lεε ka məkə kayaa:
 CNJ CL know.PFV that
 gam-baka duŋ-na ŋu de har yaku.
 left-hand.CL affaire-FM CL ?lead.IPFV until market
 ‘and he knew this: the road on the left leads to the market.’

- (16) Lɛɛ ka zanii ŋɔnɔŋ c-ɔŋ,
 CNJ CL take_away.PFV CL.EMPH DEF-CL
 ka dera ka maa de-n ba berma timaati-sə nɛɛ.
 CNJgo. SEQ CNJ ?find REL-CL CL ?sell.IPFV tomato-CL SUB
 ‘So he took that one and he went to where tomatoes were sold.’
- (17) ka dara timaati-sə cə-sə pər-yu ba,
 CNJbuy.SEQ tomato-CL DEM-CL basket-CL ?
 ka kunən saa-ya.
 CNJ go_home.SEQ house-CL
 ‘And he bought a whole basket full of tomatoes and went home with them.’
- (18) Ka cən nɛɛ ka man ka nɛ.
 when walk.PFV SUB CL ?find CL mother
 ‘When he arrived, he met his mother.’
- (19) Ba le-yu ka baayii sɔrɔ gaagaa.
 CL throat-CL CNJ become_wet much self.REDUP
 ‘And they were very happy.’

2.1.2 *Tomato Story – Questions and Answers*

- (1Q) Wé-rá né cə-ə tàlló-ń t́móř tì ...
 who-FM mother DEF-CL begin.PFV-with send.PFV to
 à dááná t́máátí-sə
 3SG buy.IPFV tomato-CL
 ‘Who is asked by his mother to go and buy tomatoes first?’
- (1A) Á bə-fànəyà-rà à tàlló-ń t́móř.
 3SG.POSS child-first-FM 3SG begin.PFV-with send.PFV
 ‘It’s her first child that she sent first.’

- (2Q) Bǎ-ń tél-lá né cǎ-ə tǎmǎ̀
 what-with reason-FM mother DEF-CL send.PFV
 kǎ nyə-ŋǎ tó-ɣǎ kpééné kǎɣǎá:
 CL.POSS INDEF-CL other-CL again that:
 kǎ démǎ kǎ dáánǎ tǐmǎátí-sə?
 CL go.SBJV CL buy.PFV tomato-CL
 ‘Why does the mother ask another one to go and buy tomatoes?’
- (2A) Bə-fǎnə-ɣǎ déf nɛ̀, kǎ wǎ mǎkǎ lá yǎás'í.
 child-first-CL go.PFV SUB CL NEG know.PFV CL.N.POSS manner
 Dé-ń sún-ń yèsǎ nɛ̀, kǎ wǎ mǎkǎ lá sǔɣǎ
 REL-CL road-CL divide.PFV SUB, CL NEG know.IPFV CL.N.POSS in
 dè-úŋ kǎ nǎ zǎnǎ kǎ-ń démǎ kǎ vǎrnǎ
 REL-CL CL FUT take.IPFV CNJ-with go.IPFV CL find.IPFV
 tǐmǎátí-sə nɛ̀, lè kǎ bətən yéré̀.
 tomato-CL SUB CNJ CL return.PFV empty
 ‘When the first child went, he was confused. Where the roads
 split, he didn’t know which one to take to go and buy tomatoes.
 So he returned empty-handed.’
- (3Q) Bǎ-rǎ bə-lírá-ŋǎ kékǎ nɔ̀ɣən-nǎ? ... Nɔ̀ɣən sǎáyǎ?
 what-FM child-second-CL CL.EMPH bring.PFV-TP ... bring.PFV house
 ‘What did the second child bring home?’
- (3A) Bə-lírá-ŋǎ gǎá-ɣǎ wǎ nɔ̀ɣən là nyé-nǎ.
 child-second-CL also-CL NEG bring.PFV CL.N.POSS INDEF-CL
 ‘The second child didn’t bring anything either.’
- (4Q) Bə-dè-ŋǎ-rǎ kǎ nɔ̀ɣən tǐmǎátí-sə sǎáyǎ?
 child-REL-CL-FM CL bring.PFV tomato-CL house
 ‘Which of the children brought home tomatoes?’

- (4A) Táára-ŋá-rà ká nójóh sè.
 third-CL-FM CL bring.PFV CL
 ‘It’s the third one who brought them home.’
- (5Q) Fàájí cǎ-è nà lò nɛ̀ɛ̀, né àh dó ... ééé...
 speech DEF-CL FUT finish.IPFV SUB, mother with ? ... eeh ...
 bá-wítî-yá cǎ-yá bá lé-ì bàyó-rà-á
 child-small-CL DEF-CL 3PL.POSS throat-CL become_wet.PFV-TP-PQ
 kèé ì wà bààyí?
 or CL NEG become_wet.PFV
 ‘At the end of the story, were the mother and her smallest child
 happy or sad?’
- (5A) εɛn, i bayəra.
 hmmm, CL become_wet.PFV.TP
 ‘Humm! They were happy.’

2.1.3 Focus Translation extract in Yom

- <82-6> Takəlla-ŋu (nyə-ŋu) be taabər-ŋu paaya.
 book-CL INDEF-CL be_LOC table-CL on
 ‘There is a book on the table.’
- <82-10> S1: dee-ra la mənə-ra?
 how-FM DEM do.PFV-BG
 ‘What happened?’
- S2a: ba mɛl-lə bɛya-ra.
 3PL give_birth.PFV child-FM
 ‘A child has been born.’

S2b: bɛɣa-ra ba mɛllə-ra.
 child-FM 3PL give_birth.PFV-BG
 ‘A child has been born.’

<82-20> S1: dee-ra la mənə-ra?
 how-FM DEM do.PFV-BG
 ‘What happened?’

S2: a nyɛɛ-ra a larii nyam soya.
 3SG INDEF-FM 3SG plunge.PFV water in
 ‘Somebody jumped into water.’

<82-40> S1: we-ra a jir tur-a?
 who-FM 3SG eat.PFV bean-CL
 ‘Who ate the beans?’

S2: pɔɣ-a-ra a jir a.
 woman-CL-FM 3SG eat.PFV CL
 ‘A woman ate them.’

<82-48> S1: bə-ra pɔɣ-a jil-la?
 what-FM woman-CL eat.PFV-BG
 ‘What did the woman eat?’

S2a: tur-a-la a jil-la. S2b: a jir tur-a.
 bean-CL-FM 3SG eat.PFV-BG 3SG eat.PFV bean-CL
 ‘She ate beans.’

<82-66> S1: bə-ra pɔɣ-a jir ənna?
 what-FM woman-CL eat.PFV with-BG
 ‘With what did the woman eat?’

S2: pir-ya-ra a jir ən-na.
 spoon-CL-FM 3SG eat.PFV with-BG
 ‘The woman ate with a spoon.’

<82-72> S1: b́á-rá p'óγ-á m̀̀ǹ̀ǹ̀-rá?

what-FM woman-CL do.PFV-BG

‘What did the woman do?’

S2a: à jíř túř-à.

3SG eat.PFV bean-CL

‘She ate beans.’

S2b: à jíř túř-à-là.

3SG eat.PFV bean-CL-FM

<82-128> S1: à jíř túř-à.

3SG eat.PFV bean-CL

‘She ate the beans.’

S2: áawò, a-ó-ra ma jíř a.

no, 1SG-PRT-FM 1SG eat.PFV CL

‘No, I ate them.’

<82-136> S1: póγ-a jíř tur-s̀̀ẁ̀r-a.

woman-CL eat.PFV bean-black-CL

‘The woman ate the black beans.’

S2: aawò, la kpa s̀̀ẁ̀ra, m̀̀r-a-la.

no CL.N NEG be_black.PFV-BG red-CL-FM

‘No, they were not black, the red ones.’

<82-147> S1: póγ-a jíř tur-a dinə.

woman-CL eat.PFV bean-CL yesterday

‘The woman ate the beans yesterday.’

S2a: aawò, la kpa dinə, dinə-tol-la.

no CL.N NEG yesterday yesterday-other-FM

‘No, it was not yesterday, the day before yesterday.’

S2b: aawò, la kpa dinə-ra a jil-la,
 no CL.N NEG yesterday-FM 3SG eat.PFV-BG
 dinə-tol-la.
 yesterday-other-FM
 ‘No, it was not yesterday that she ate, the day before
 yesterday.’

<82-188> S1: pɔɣ-a jír túr-à.
 woman-CL eat.PFV bean-CL
 ‘The woman ate the beans.’

S2a: mm, a jir a. S2b: mm, a jir-wa.
 yes, 3SG eat.PFVCL yes, 3SG eat.PFV-DSJ

S2c: mm, a jir a-ra. S2d: mm, a jir-wa-ra.
 yes, 3SG eat.PFVCL-FM yes, 3SG eat.PFV-DSJ-FM
 ‘Yes, she did eat (them).’

<82-189> S2: aawò, a wa jir (a).
 no, 3SG NEG eat.PFV (CL)
 ‘No, she didn’t eat (them).’

<82-74> S1: a nɔɣəna taabər-ŋu, kee a jəta ən ku.
 3SG bring.IPFV table-CL or 3SG leave.IPFV with CL
 ‘Is he bringing or sending the table?’

S2a: a nɔɣəna ku. S2b: a nɔɣəna-wa.
 3SG bring.IPFV CL 3SG bring.IPFV-DSJ
 ‘He is bringing (it).’

<82-163> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.
 woman-CL hit.PFV PN
 ‘The woman hit Woru.’

S2a: áaw'ó, à yír ú-rà.

no 3SG call.PFV CL-FM

'No, she called him.'

S2b: áaw'ó, yír-áṅá-rá à yír ù.

no call-INF-FM 3SG call.PFV CL

'No, she called him.'

<82-165> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.

woman-CL hit.PFV PN

'The woman hit Woru.'

S2: aawò, a na gbər ɔ (ra).

no 3SG FUT hit.IPFV CL (FM)

'No, she will hit him.'

<82-164> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.

woman-CL hit.PFV PN

'The woman hit Woru.'

S2: aawò, a kan gbər ɔ.

no 3SG not_yet hit.IPFV CL

'No, she did not yet hit him.'

<82-183> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.

woman-CL hit.PFV PN

'The woman hit Woru.'

S2: a tə tərri ɔ.

3SG also push.PFV CL

'She also pushed him.'

<82-140> S1: pɔɣ-a tɔɣər ɔ tur-a.

woman-CL cook.PFV CL bean-CL

'The woman cooked the beans for him.'

S2a: aawò, la kpa ɔ, ama tini-ɔ-ra.

no CL.N NEG CL but 1PL.EMPH-PRT-FM

‘No, it was not for him, but for us.’

S2b: aawò, la kpa ɔ-ra a tɔyɔlla,

no CL.N NEG CL-FM 3SG cook.PFV-BG

ama tini-ɔ-ra.

but 1PL.EMPH-PRT-FM

‘No, it was not for him that she cooked, but for us.’

<82-170> S1: pɔy-a dar bə-sə ən kpem-ma tur-a.

woman-CL buy.PFV child-CL with elder-CL bean-CL

‘The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.’

S2: aawò, kpem-ma sɛ-ma-ra (a dalla).

no elder-CL only-CL-FM (3SG buy.PFV-DSJ)

‘No, only for the elders (she bought).’

<82-179> S1: pɔy-a tɔyɔr a bə-ya tur-a.

woman-CL cook.PFV CL child-CL bean-CL

‘The woman cooked the beans for her child.’

S2: a tɔ tɔyɔr do-kpem-ya (la tora).

3SG also cook.PFV person-old-CL (CL.N ?also)

‘She cooked for the elders, too.’

2.2 Aja

Aja (ISO 639-3: ajg) is a major Gbe language of the Kwa phylum. Its areal distribution stretches over southern parts of Benin and Togo, where it is spoken by around 500,000 speakers. The data represents the Hwe dialect of Aja (Benin)

and was gathered during several field trips from 2005 to 2008 in Lalo (Mono) with the help of our main informant, Roger Dhossou.

The information structure of Aja was at the center of several publications and conference presentations:

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2.2.1 Tomato Story in Aja

- (1) nỳ̀nú d̀̀k̀́á wà èv́í àm̀̀è-t̀̀n d̀̀é.
 woman INDEF do child person-three have
 ‘There is a woman who has three children.’
- (2) ýí gb̀̀è d̀̀k̀́á ́, é v́á ...
 CNJ day INDEF TP 3SG come ...
 śó g̀̀d̀́ú d̀̀’àl̀́óm̀̀è ńó x̀̀òx̀̀út́ó ḿó
 take bag put.hand.in for old.AG that
 ỳ̀ì lé ỳ̀ì àf̀̀ì-m̀̀è á ỳ̀ì xẁ̀l̀̀è ỳ̀òv̀̀ogb́ó
 3SG SBJV go market-in FUT go buy tomato
 gb̀̀è ńó ỳ̀óẁ̀è á x̀̀ò ǹ̀t̀̀ńú.
 come.3SG for 3PL.LOGO FUT hit sauce
 ‘One day, she gave the eldest a bag to go to the market and buy tomatoes to make a sauce with.’
- (3) cí èv́íè ĺó d̀̀éd́ó ́,
 when child.3SG.POSS DEF continue TP
 é śó ḿó bú dé v́á ỳ̀ì àf̀̀ì-́-m̀̀è
 3SG take way otherNEG.3SG come go market-DEF-in
 é ỳ̀ì k̀̀ék̀̀é gb̀̀ò
 3SG go until return
 ýí ḿó yé dé kṕó ỳ̀óv̀̀ogb́ó ò.
 CNJ say 3SG.LOGO NEG see tomato NEG
 ‘(When her son was) on his way, he took the wrong path and did not get to the market. So he returned and said that he had not found tomatoes.’

- (4) é vá só nó cí kpl̀̀-è d̀̀ t̀̀
 3SG come take for REL follow-3SG follow SUFF
 yê gbé yì kékéké é gb̀̀.
 3SG also go until 3SG return
 ‘She (the mother) gave it (the bag) to the next one, and he, too,
 left and returned.’
- (5) é mó yé dé kpó ỳ̀v̀̀gbó ò
 3SG say 3SG.LOGO NEG see tomato NEG
 ‘And he said that he hadn’t seen any tomatoes.’
- (6) é vá só ná hwèhwètó yê vá yì ..
 3SG come take give small.AG 3SG come go ...
 ‘So she gave it to the youngest, he went ...’
- (7) é vá tó èmó nyúí tó ló
 3SG come pass way good ? DEF
 yí vá yì kpó ỳ̀v̀̀gbó ló
 CNJ come go see tomato DEF
 yí xwlè yí só hèn gbè .. yě ..
 CNJ buy CNJ take carry come.3SG ... 3SG
 ‘He takes the right way and finds tomatoes, buys them and takes
 them home. He ...’
- (8) nỳ̀nú ló kóqó èví hwéhwètó ló wó lé jìjò mè.
 woman DEF with child small.AG DEF 3PL be joy in
 ‘The woman and the youngest child are happy.’

2.2.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

(1Q) mí èvínò ló ǫ́ mọ̀ yì lé yì àfi-mè
 who child.mother DEF order that 3SG SBJV go market-in
 á yì xwlè yòvògbó gbé ò?
 FUT.3SG go buy tomato come.3SG CQ
 ‘Who does the mother tell to go to the market and buy tomatoes?’

(1A) èví xòxútó éyí é ǫ̀.
 child old.AG ?FM 3SG order
 ‘She tells the oldest one.’

(2Qa) nyítāǫ́ òwó nò ló ǫ́ ǫ̀vì bū mọ̀ yì lé
 why 3PL.POSS mother DEF order child other that 3SG SBJV
 yì àfi-mè á yì xwlè yòvògbó gbê ò?
 go market-in FUT go buy tomato come. 3SG CQ
 ‘Why did their mother tell another child to go to the market and buy tomatoes?’

(2Qb) nyítāǫ́ òwó nò ló gbé ǫ́ ǫ̀vì bú ǫ́ǫ́
 why 3PL.POSS mother DEF also put child other towards
 àfi-mè ò?
 market-in CQ
 ‘Why did their mother send another child to the market?’

(2A) cí xòxútó ló dé kpó (yí) xwlè gbè ē yí táǫ́.
 REL old.AG DEF NEG see (CNJ) buy come.3SG 3SG FM head.put
 ‘Because the oldest didn’t find anything to buy and bring back.’

(3Q) nyí èvī àmévē tó ló hèn gbê vá
 what child person.two AG DEF carry come.3SG come
 àxwē-mè ô?
 house-in CQ

‘What did the second child bring home?’

- (3A) óō, é hên níḍé gbé gò.
 no 3SG carry thing.INDEF come.3SG NEG
 ‘No, he didn’t bring back anything.’

- (4Q) ḍèṽí cí yí hên yòvògbó gbé vá àxwé-mē ò?
 child REL FM carry tomato come.3SG come house-in CQ
 ‘Which is the child that brought tomatoes home?’

- (4A) ḍèṽí hwèhwètó ló yó.
 child small.AG DEF ID
 ‘That’s the smallest child.’

- (5Q) lè vòvònú nó ènyó ló ḍé,
 LOC finish.mouth for problem DEF TP
 ḍèṽí hwèhwè ló kóḍó ènò ló ḍé,
 child small DEF with mother DEF TP
 wò lé jìjò kpò kó à?
 3PL PROG joy see PROG PQ
 ‘At the end of the story, are the youngest child and the mother happy?’

- (5A) éèn, wō lè jìjò kpó kō.
 yes 3PL PROG joy see PROG
 ‘Yes, they are happy.’

2.2.3 Focus Translation extract in Aja

- <82-6> wèṁá ḍèká lè kplòn jí.
 book INDEF be_LOC table on
 ‘There is a book on the table.’

- <82-10> S1: nyì yí jè ò?
 what FM arrive CQ
 ‘What happened?’
- S2: wó jì vī dèkà.
 3PL give_birth child INDEF
 ‘A child has been born.’
- <82-20> S1: nyì yí jè ò?
 what FM arrive CQ
 ‘What happened?’
- S2: mè dèkà dó tó-mè.
 person INDEF be_DIR river-in
 ‘Somebody jumped into water.’
- <82-40> S1: mí yí dū āyú ò?
 who FM eat bean CQ
 ‘Who ate the beans?’
- S2: nyónù dèkà yí dū-ì.
 woman INDEF FM eat-3SG
 ‘A woman ate them.’
- <82-48> S1: nyì yí nyónù ló dū ò?
 what FM woman DEF eat CQ
 ‘What did the woman eat?’
- S2: āyú yí é dū.
 bean FM 3SG eat
 ‘She ate beans.’
- <82-66> S1: nyì yí nyónù ló só dū nū ò?
 what FM woman DEF take eat thing CQ
 ‘With what did the woman eat?’

S2: nyónù ló só gácí d̀ù nú.
 woman DEF take spoon eat thing
 ‘The woman ate with a spoon.’

<82-72> S1: nyì yí nyónù ló wá ò?
 what FM woman DEF do CQ
 ‘What did the woman do?’

S2: é d̀ù àyú.
 3SG eat bean
 ‘She ate beans.’

<82-128> S1: é d̀ù àyú ló-wó.
 3SG eat bean DEF-P
 ‘She ate the beans.’

S2: ényè yí d̀ù àyú ló-wó.
 1SG.EMPHFM eat bean DEF-PL
 ‘I ate them.’

<82-136> S1: nyónù ló d̀ù àyú yù wó.
 woman DEF eat bean black PL
 ‘The woman ate black beans.’

S2: àyú yù wó é d̀ù gò, éjúìn yó.
 bean black PL 3SG eat NEG red ID
 ‘She did not eat the black beans, it were the red ones.’

<82-147> S1: nyónù ló d̀ù ayú èsó.
 woman DEF eat bean yesterday
 ‘The woman ate the beans yesterday.’

S2: nyìs̄ yí é d̀ù àyú.
 before.yesterday FM 3SG eat bean
 ‘She ate the beans the day before yesterday.’

<82-188> S1: nyónù ló ðū àyú wó.

woman DEF eat bean PL

‘The woman ate the beans.’

S2: éèn, é ðù wó lá.

yes 3SG eat PL AFF

‘Yes, she did eat them.’

<82-189> S2: óò, é ðù àyú ló-wó gò.

no 3SG eat bean DEF-PL NEG

‘No, she didn't eat the beans.’

<82-74> S1: á só ēkplòñ ló vé à

3SG.FUT take table DEF come.3SG PQ

àbí á sóè dádá³ ò?

or 3SG take.3SG towards CQ

‘Will he bring or send the table?’

S2: á só-è dádá.

3SG take-3SG towards

‘He will send (it).’

<82-163> S1: nyónù ló xò Kòfí.

woman DEF hit PN

‘The woman hit Kofi.’

S2: óò, é xó-ì gò, yó-è yí é yó-è.

no 3SG hit-3SG NEG call-3SGFM 3SG call-3SG

‘No, she called him.’

<82-165> S1: nyónù ló xò Kòfí.

woman DEF hit PN

‘The woman hit Kofi.’

³ dádá is a verb meaning ‘motion in direction to’.

S2a: óò, á xó-ì yó.

no 3SG hit-3SG ID

‘No, she will hit him.’

S2b: óò, xó-ì á xó-ì.

no hit-3SG 3SG.FUT hit-3SG

‘No, she will hit him.’

<82-164> S1: nyónù ló xò Kòfí.

woman DEF hit PN

‘The woman hit Kofi.’

S2: óò, é xò Kòfí hódù gò.

no 3SG hit PN not_yet NEG

‘No, she did not yet hit him.’

<82-183> S1: nyónù ló xò Kòfí.

woman DEF hit PN

‘The woman hit Kofi.’

S2: é gbè cú-ì.cú-ì ádá hènnè.

3SG also push-3SG.REDUP towards also

‘She also pushed him.’

<82-140> S1: nyónù ló dà àyú nì.

woman DEF cook bean for.3SG

‘The woman cooked the beans for him.’

S2: mìwó yí é dà n̄.

1PL.EMPHFM 3SG cook for

‘She cooked for us.’

<82-170> S1: nyónù ló xwlè àyú-wó nó dèví kóǵó nyóǵò-wó.
 woman DEF buy bean-PL for child with elder-PL
 ‘The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.’

S2: óò, nyóǵò-wó dèké yí é xwlè nó.
 no elder-PL alone FM 3SG buy for
 ‘No, only for the elders she bought.’

<82-179> S1: nyónù ló ǵà àyú-wó nó èví-è.
 woman DEF cook bean-PL for child-3SG
 ‘The woman cooked the beans for her child.’

S2: é ǵà nó nyóǵò-wó hènǵè.
 3SG cook for elder-PL also
 ‘She cooked for the elders, too.’

2.3 Anii

Anii (ISO 639-3: blo) is a Kwa language. Together with Adele, it forms a subgroup of the so-called Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages. Whereas all other Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages are spoken on both sides of the Ghana-Togo border (in the South), Anii is the only language spoken in Northern Benin (and partly Togo) and is therefore geographically separated from its closest relatives. The number of speakers is estimated to be around 45,000 in total. The data presented here was recorded during one field trip in Bassila in January 2008 with the help of four young students.

The results of this research were presented at two conferences and found their final form in the following publication:

Fiedler, Ines. Submitted. Focus constructions in Anii. *Journal of West African Languages*.

2.3.1 *Tomato Story in Anii*

- (1) gùnā dǐŋ ná bá-púrú bà-rìú bà dāká à-fál.
 mother INDEF CNJ 3PL.POSS-child CL-tree 3PL be_LOC CL-home
 ‘A woman and her three children are at home.’
- (2) gúná shī tì à léé tùmátì kán ŋ-kàmá.
 mother want IPFV.1⁴ 3SG do tomato GEN CL-sauce
 ‘The mother wants to make tomato sauce.’
- (3) ñkím ná á tīm ù-púrú ù-ŋòno gù-yá.
 it.is.there FM⁵3SG send 3SG.POSS-child CL-big CL-market
 à cí tí shè tòmátì.
 3SG go IPFV.1 buy tomato
 ‘That’s when she sent her first son to the market to buy tomatoes.’
- (4) ù-púrú ŋónō à kòm ù-nèté ná cí.
 3SG.POSS-child big 3SG follow CL-road CNJ go
 à tī kpá ù-nāncìkúrā mà ná á lī.
 3SG IPFV.1 arrive CL-intersection TP CNJ 3SG lose_one’s_way
 ‘As he was going, he lost his way at an intersection.’
- (5) K’à kóó yó ñ-déé à náá kúŋ.
 NEG.3SG no_longer know CL-REL 3SG FUT.2 follow
 à kpá gù-yá ní má ná ná á kóó pì fál.
 3SG arrive CL-market in TP NEG CNJ 3SG return come home

⁴ In imperfective aspect and potential mood, there exist two sets of auxiliaries, one used in “neutral” contexts (marked as set 1), the other one in focussed, negated and dependent environments (set 2). The perfective aspect shows another distribution where the marked form (*ka*, vs. unmarked \emptyset) only occurs inthetic and subject focus contexts.

⁵ The focus marker in Anii agrees with the noun it identifies. Focus marker *na* belongs to nouns of class 1 (human, singular), but seems to gain wider use as general focus marker, thus neglecting the agreement patterns.

‘He didn’t know which way he had to follow to go to the market and he returned home.’

- (6) ká..ná á kɔ̃ pì à-fál k'à ñí tìmátì à shí ná.
 ?.. CNJ 3SG again comeCL-home NEG.3SG find tomato 3SG buy NEG
 ‘And he came home without having found tomatoes to buy.’

- (7) ná gùná à kɔ̃ tím ká nyìú táájā.
 CNJ mother 3SG again send ?GEN two ?follow
 nú nì miáū à kɔ̃ tɔ̃ ù-nīcá.
 CNJ 3SG.EMPH also 3SG again follow CL-road
 ‘And the mother sent the second, and he also went on his way.’

- (8) à tí kpá ù-nāncìkúrā dé nɔ́ àtíní mà, ...
 3SG IPFV.1 arrive CL-intersection DEM same also TP
 ‘He also came to the same intersection, ...’

- (9) kás.. k'ā ñí ù-nīcá ñ-déé ñù cì ná nī gù-yá nî
 ?... NEG.3SG see CL-road CL-REL CL guide with 3SG CL-market in
 à tí shì tìmátì mà ná.
 3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato TP NEG
 ‘he did not find the way that would have taken him to the market to buy tomatoes.’

- (10) ná á pì fál k'à shī tìmátì ná
 CNJ 3SG come home NEG.3SG buy tomato NEG
 ‘And he returned to the house not having bought tomatoes.’

- (11) à kpá fálè mà ná gùná à bójó
 3SG arrive home TP CNJ mother 3SG finish
 à tím bú-bōñō-pí.
 3SG send 3SG.POSS-finish-child
 ‘When he came home, the mother finally sent the last child.’

- (12) ná ùní á kòm ù-nècá.
 CNJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG follow CL-road
 ‘And he went on his way.’
- (13) á kòm ù-nècá nā cī mà ní .. n .. n’úní
 3SG follow CL-road CNJ go TP ? .. n .. CNJ.3SG.EMPH
 á tí sèrá à cí à tī kpá gù-yá nî.
 3SG IPFV.1 be_able 3SG go 3SG IPFV.1 arrive CL-market in
 ‘Following the road, he was able to get to the market.’
- (14) à ñí tìmátì à shí à pí ná fál.
 3SG see tomato 3SG buy 3SG come with home
 ‘He found tomatoes, bought them, and took them home.’
- (15) n’í sáj ná gù-nā, ná gúná à sèrá
 CNJ.CL.N sweet with CL-mother, CNJ CL-mother 3SG be_able
 léē àtìmátì ká ñkèamá.
 make tomato GEN sauce
 ‘And the mother was happy, she could finally prepare the tomato sauce.’

2.3.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

- (1Q) àṅà ná gúná á tùm gùyá nî à tī shī tìmátì?
 who FM mother 3SG send market in 3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato
 ‘Who did the mother send to the market to buy tomatoes?’
- (1A) gúná tùm ù-púrí ù-ṅónó gù-yá ní à cí
 mother send 3SG.POSS-child CL-big CL-market in 3SG go
 tī shī tìmátì.
 IPFV.1 buy tomato

‘The mother sent her biggest child to the market to buy tomatoes.’

(2Qa) máākò léē k̄ā gùná á tím ...
 what make PFV.SF mother 3SG send ...
 ù-pí à-nyìú táájá à tí shí tìmatì?
 CL-child CL-two follow 3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato

‘Why does the mother ask another one to go and buy tomatoes?’

(2Aa) ù-púrú ḡónō à cì gù-yá náá k’á
 3SG.POSS-child big 3SG go CL-market CNJ NEG.3SG
 ḡì ù-nècá ù-sùnsùnù à kóm ná mà lán.
 see CL-road CL-good 3SG follow NEG TP because_of

‘Because her eldest child went to the market and did not find the right road to follow.’

(2Qb) àḡà ná gùná à kóṣ tím à tí shī tìmatì?
 who_{FM} mother 3SG against send 3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato

‘Who did the mother send to buy tomatoes again?’

(2Ab) gùná .. gùná tím ù-púrú à-nyìú tàjá àsēbāká
 mother.. mother send 3SG.POSS-child CL-two follow first
 k’á yó ù-nècá à cí gù-yá ní mà lán.
 NEG.3SG know CL-road 3SG go CL-market in TP because_of

‘The mother sent the second child because the first one didn’t know the road to get to the market.’

(3Q) máákō ná ù-pí nyìú tàjá à pì ná à-fálè?
 what _{FM} CL-child two follow 3SG come with CL-home

‘What did the second child bring home?’

(3A) ù-pí nyù tǎjá k'à pī ná à-kò dǎŋ
 CL-child two follow NEG.3SG come with CL-thing INDEF
 à-fál ná.
 CL-home NEG

‘The second child didn’t bring home anything.’

(4Q) ù-pí à-pǎná pī kǎ ná tùmátì à-fálè?
 CL-child CL-which come PFV.SFwith tomato CL-home
 ‘Which of the children brought home tomatoes?’

(4A) ù-pí jǎlá pī kǎ ná tùmátì à-fál.
 CL-child small come PFV.SF with tomato CL-home
 ‘The smallest child brought home tomatoes.’

(5Q) ù-pí jǎlá ná à-nár ì sá ná pí áā?
 CL-child small CNJ 3SG.POSS-mother CL.N be_sweet with 3PL PQ
 ‘Were the mother and her smallest child happy?’

(5A) éèn, ì sǎŋ ná ù-pí jǎlá ná nár
 yes CL.N be_sweet with CL-child small with 3SG.POSS.mother
 bà ŋī tùmátì à shí mà lǎŋ.
 3PL see tomato 3SG buy TP because_of
 ‘Yes, the small child and the mother are happy because they have found tomatoes to buy.’

2.3.3 Focus Translation extract in Anii

<82-6> gù-bó dǎŋ gù⁶ téré tǎbrì lǎŋ.
 CL-book INDEF CL lay_down table on
 ‘There is a book on the table.’

⁶ The normal form of the indefinite pronoun is gù-dǎŋ (Fiedler, submitted).

- <82-10> S1: māákò lēé ká?
 what do PFV.SF
 ‘What happened?’
- S2: bà ɲòm ù-pí.
 3PL give_birth CL-child
 ‘A child has been born.’
- <82-20> S1: māákò lēé ká?
 what do PFV.SF
 ‘What happened?’
- S2: ù-dǎŋ dǎ ká m-bùlò.
 CL-INDEF be PFV.SF CL-river
 ‘Somebody jumped into water.’
- <82-40> S1: àŋà jì ká (à-)cá?
 who eat PFV.SF (CL-)bean
 ‘Who ate the beans?’
- S2: ù-sǎmpèrè dǎŋ jì ká.
 CL-woman INDEF eat PFV.SF
 ‘A woman ate (them).’
- <82-48> S1: mònó ù-sǎmpèrē à jì?
 what CL-woman 3SG eat
 ‘What did the woman eat?’
- S2a: à-cá nì á jì. S2b: à jì cá.
 CL-bean FM 3SG eat 3SG eat bean
 ‘She ate beans.’
- <82-66> S1: ná māákò ní ù-sǎmpèrè á jì ù-jíù?
 with what FM CL-woman-CL 3SG eat 3SG-food
 ‘With what did the woman eat?’

S2: ná tírì ná á jì jìù.
 with spoon FM 3SG eat food
 ‘The woman ate with a spoon.’

<82-72> S1: mǎákò ní ù-sǎmpèrē ā lēé?
 what FM CL-woman 3SG do
 ‘What did the woman do?’

S2: à jì cá.
 3SG eat bean
 ‘She ate beans.’

<82-128> S1: à jì cá.
 3SG eat bean
 ‘She ate the beans.’

S2: áāì, áŋ jì ká.
 no 1SG.EMPH eat PFV.SF
 ‘No, I ate them.’

<82-136> S1: ù-sǎmpèrè jì cá ònó.
 CL-woman eat bean black
 ‘The woman ate the black beans.’

S2: k’á jì ò-ònó ná ò-ráŋā ní á jì.
 NEG.3SG eat CL-black NEG CL-red FM 3SG eat
 ‘She did not eat the black ones, but the red ones.’

<82-147> S1: ù-sǎmpèrè jì cá gáláì.
 CL-woman eat bean yesterday
 ‘The woman ate the beans yesterday.’

S2: ááì, k'ì léé gáláì ná, gácáláì nā.
 no NEG.CL do yesterday NEG day_before_yesterday FM
 'No, it was not yesterday, it was the day before
 yesterday.'

<82-188> S1: ù-sómpèrè jī cá.
 CL-woman eat bean
 'The woman ate the beans.'

S2: één, à jī.
 yes 3SG eat
 'Yes, she did.'

<82-189> S2: ááì, k'à jí ná.
 no NEG.3SG eat NEG
 'No, she didn't.'

<82-74> S1: à ná pì ná táblè ná
 3SG IPFV.2come with table ?FM
 yàá à ná shéù ná mà ná?
 or 3SG IPFV.2 go_away with ? ?FM
 'Is he bringing or sending the table?'

S2: à ná shēù ná mà ná.
 3SG IPFV.2 go_away with ? ?FM
 'He is sending (it).'

<82-163> S1: ù-sómpérè (à) kè Ráhmân.
 CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
 'The woman hit Rahman.'

S2a: k'à kè ní ná, à yìdá ní ná.
 NEG.3SG hit 3SG.OBJ NEG 3SG call 3SG.OBJ FM
 'She didn't hit him, she called him.'

S2b: ù-yìḍú ná á yìḍá ní.
 CL-call.INF FM 3SG call 3SG.OBJ
 ‘She called him.’

<82-165> S1: ù-sómpérè (à) kè Ráhmân.
 CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Rahman.’

S2: à táā tí kē ní.
 3SG FUT.1 IPFV.1 hit 3SG.OBJ
 ‘She will hit him.’

<82-164> S1: ù-sómpérè (à) kè Ráhmân.
 CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Rahman.’

S2: k’à kánà ké Ráhmân ná.
 NEG.3SG not_yet hit PN NEG
 ‘She didn’t hit him yet.’

<82-183> S1: ù-sómpérè (à) kè Ráhmân.
 CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Rahman.’

S2: à pìkíl ní gbóó.
 3SG push 3SG.OBJ also
 ‘She also pushed him.’

<82-140> S1: ù-sómpèrè bós (à-)cá à shèé ní.
 CL-woman cook (CL-)bean 3SG give 3SG.OBJ
 ‘The woman cooked the beans for him.’

S2a: k'à bɔ̀ cá à shèé ní ná,
 NEG.3SG cook bean 3SG give 3SG.OBJ NEG
 àtúm pí.
 1PL.EMPH FM

'(No,) she didn't cook for him, it was for us.'

S2b: k'ì léé ùní ná à bɔ̀ (a) shèé ná,
 NEG.CL do 3SG.OBJ FM 3SG cook (3SG) give NEG
 àtúm pí à bɔ̀ (a) shèé.
 1PL.EMPH FM 3SG cook (3SG) give

'(No,) it was not for him that she cooked, it was for us.'

<82-170> S1: ù-sámpèrè shí cá à shèé bà-pí ná bà-ḡónó.
 CL-woman buy bean 3SG give CL-child with CL-elder
 'The woman bought the beans for the children and the
 elders.'

S2: bà-ḡónó bá-ńđíńđín ná à shí (à) shèé.
 CL-elder CL-only FM 3SG buy (3SG) give
 '(No,) she bought only them for the elders.'

<82-179> S1: ù-sámpèrè (à) bɔ̀ cá à shèé ũ-púrū.
 CL-woman (3SG) cook bean 3SG give CL-child
 'The woman cooked the beans for her child.'

S2: bà-ḡónó gbóó ná á bɔ̀ à shèé.
 CL-elder also FM 3SG cook 3SG give
 'She cooked (them) for the elders, too.'

2.4 Foodo

The last language of this sample, Foodo (ISO 639-3: fod), is a Northern Guang language spoken in Northern Benin by about 25,000 people. As for Anii, Foodo

is separated geographically from the other Guang languages, which are all spoken in Ghana. The data was recorded in February 2005 in Semere (Benin) with two young men, Yaya Iliassou and Zacari Idrissou, and transcribed and translated with the help of Gray Plunkett.

The results of the investigation on information structure in Foodo are summarized in the following paper:

Fiedler, Ines. 2007. Focus Expressions in Foodo. In *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure (ISIS) 08*, eds. Ishihara, Shinchiro, Jannedy, Stefanie & Schwarz, Anne, 97-114. Potsdam: Potsdam University.

2.4.1 Tomato Story in Foodo

- (1) Ì-cíím 'ù-kú là mù-á-bée, kádíyà à-sá.
 CL-woman CL-INDEF with 3SG.POSS-CL-children people CL-three.
 '(There is) A woman and her three children.'
- (2) Gé nì ò léélí b'áá dò ò-ńléé nì ò súń,
 ID FM 3SG pick 3PL.OBJ in CL-big CNJ 3SG send
 yè ́ nàà sòò bàà sà òŋ tòmát'í ánà.
 SUB 3SG IMP.go IMP.buy DIR for 3SG.OBJ tomato PL
 'And then she chose the oldest of them and sent him to go and buy tomatoes.'
- (3) Ì náá hál'í, ní ò nyàà ò-kpáá,
 3SG go TP, CNJ 3SG get_lost CL-road,
 gé nì ò kílí bàà, ò máń bàlà tòmát'í ánà.
 ID FM 3SG return DIR, 3SG NEG.PFV bring tomato PL
 'As he went, he lost his way, and so he returned not bringing tomatoes.'

- (4) Gé nì ó-nyéé l'ólá nì ò léélí 'ó-nyóséé,
 ID FM CL-mother take_again CNJ 3SG pick CL-second
 ò-nyóséé m̀̀òù ñ-ñá náá hál'í, ní ñ-ñá
 CL-second DEF 3SG-REF go TP, CNJ 3SG-REF
 mb̀̀ò bílá nyàà ò-kpáá.
 also again get_lost CL-road.

'Then the mother chose again and chose the second one; this second one, as he went, also lost his way.'

- (5) Ñ-ñá m̀̀àn ñ gbíí 'ó-kpáá,
 3SG-REF NEG.PFV know CL-road,
 ní ñ-ñá mb̀̀ò l'ólá nì ñ-ñá kílí bàà,
 CNJ 3SG-REF also take_again CNJ 3SG-REF return DIR,
 ò máíj nyé bàà tòmat'í ánà.
 3SG NEG.PFV find DIR tomato PL

'He didn't know the way, and he also returned without bringing tomatoes.'

- (6) Tól'ó gé nì ó-nyéé m̀̀òù yè: t̀̀òò,
 there ID FM CL-mother DEF SUB well
 í ñ jí bú-ñ'á, fíí jí 'ásá hál'í,
 CL.N COND be CL-REF, 2PL be CL-tree TP
 ò-káánó nì yè ñ s'új.
 CL-small FM SUB 1S.FUT send.

'Thereupon, the mother said: if it's like that, as there are three of you, I will send the youngest.'

- (7) Gé nì ò léélí 'ó-káánó nì ò s'új.
 ID FM 3SG pick CL-small CNJ 3SG send

'And so she chose the smallest and sent him off.'

- (8) Ì-káánó 'ń-ńá f'ú hál'í, ní ń-ńá gbíú 'ó-kpáá.
 CL-small CL-REF arrive TP, CNJ CL-REF know CL-road.
 'As the small one arrived, he knew the way.'
- (9) Ọ-ńá fù tònkó hál'í, bà néé f'é t'ómát'í ánà.
 CL-REF arrive somewhereTP 3PL IPFV sell tomato PL
 'When he got there, they were selling tomatoes.'
- (10) Gé nì ń-ńá sòò bàà tòmát'í ánà, ní 'ń-ńá
 ID FM CL-REF buy DIR tomato PL CNJ CL-REF
 k'í bàà ní 'ń-ńá bà ní 'ń-ńá tùlà ó-nyée.
 return DIR CNJ CL-REF come CNJ CL-REF come.find CL-mother
 'So he bought tomatoes and returned home and met his mother.'
- (11) Ì tùlà ó-nyée h'ál'í, ní 'í wáá sà ó-nyée
 3SG come.find CL-mother TP CNJ CL.N do for CL-mother
 mòò k'óm, mò là mò-bée mòò tòń
 DEF sweet 3SG with 3SG.POSS-child DEF all
 páí k'óm, ó-bée à nyé bàà tòmát'í ánà.
 without.exception sweet CL-child PFV find DIR tomato PL
 'When he found the mother, and it made the mother happy, she
 and her child are very happy that the child had found the
 tomatoes.'

2.4.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

- (1Q) Àní nù ó-nyée s'úń dí-gbálì dò yè
 who FM CL-mother send CL-market in SUB
 ó nàà sòò bàà sà ọń tòmátì?
 3SG IMP.go buy DIR for 3SG:OBJ tomato

‘Who is asked by his mother to go to the market and buy tomatoes?’

- (1A) Mù-béé 'ó-ńléléè nì ò còsì ní 'ó súń yè
 3SG.POSS-child CL-big FM 3SG begin CNJ 3SG send SUB
 ó nàà sòò bàà tòmátì.
 3SG IMP.go buy DIR tomato

‘First, she asked her oldest son to go and buy tomatoes.’

- (2Q) Mìné m bô sù ní 'ó lólâ ò néé
 what FM_SBJ have because FM 3SG take_again 3SG IPFV
 s'úń 'ó-nyóséé yè ó nàà lólá sòò bàà
 send CL-second SUB 3SG IMP.go IMP.take_again buy DIR
 sà ùŋ tòmátì?
 for 3SG.OBJ tomato

‘Why does the mother ask another child to go and buy tomatoes?’

- (2A) Ò-còsìsèé mùò ŋ-ŋá màn gbíú 'ó-kpáá,
 CL-first DEF CL-REF NEG.PFV know road
 ŋ-ŋá à nyàà, gé nì ŋ-ŋá kílì bàà
 CL-REF PFV get_lost, ID FM CL-REF return DIR
 ò máń nyé bàà tòmátì.
 3SG NEG.PFV find DIR tomato

‘The first one didn’t know the way, he got lost, and he returned not having found tomatoes.’

- (3Q) Mìné 'ń bálà... ó-béé 'ó-nyóséé mùò ó-pî?
 what FM bring ... CL-child CL-second DEF CL-home?

‘What does the second child bring home?’

- (3A) Ó-béé 'ʒ-nyóséé mùù ŋ-ŋá bà ʒ-pí h'ál'í,
 CL-child CL-second DEF CL-REF come CL-home TP,
 ŋ-ŋá mbò màm bílá nyé bàà
 CL-REF also NEG.PFV again find DIR
 tòmatì gé nì ŋ-ŋá kíí bàà.
 tomato ID FM CL-REF return DIR
 'When the second child came home, he returned also not having found any tomatoes.'
- (4Q) Níí... aní 'm bálà tòmat'í ʒ-pî?
 CNJ... who FM_SBJ bring tomato CL-home
 'Which child brings tomatoes back home?'
- (4A) Ì-maŋ ò bàlà tòmat'í ʒ-pí h'ál'í,
 CL-REL 3SG bring tomato CL-home TP
 'ŋ jí ó-béé 'ʒ-sáséé 'ʒ-káánó.
 FM_SBJ be CL-child CL-third CL-small
 'The one who brought home tomatoes was the small third child.'
- (5Q) ó-nyéé mùù, là mù-béé mùù,
 CL-mother DEF with 3SG.POSS-child DEF
 bà bà ní bà náá nì bà tá h'ál'í,
 3PL come CNJ 3PLgo CNJ 3PL finish TP
 ì í wáá sà ó-nyéé k'óm,
 CL.N PFV do for CL-mother sweet
 àlà ì máŋ wáá sà òŋ kóm?
 or CL.N NEG.PFV do for 3SG.OBJ sweet
 'The mother and her smallest child, at the end of the story, is the mother happy or not?'

- (5A) ì wáá sà ó-nyéé k'óm gé,
 CL.N do for CL-mother sweet ID
 ní ì wáá sà ó-béé ò-mań mùò kóból'í hál'í,
 CNJ CL.N do for CL-child CL-REL DEF again TP
 ŋ-ŋá mbò kóbólì ò-káánó mùò.
 CL-REF also again CL-small DEF
 'The mother is happy, and the child is also happy, the little one, too.'

2.4.3 Focus Translation extract in Foodo

- <82-6> tàkálládá tè tébàlì sù.
 book be_LOC table on
 'There is a book on the table.'

- <82-10> S1: mìné ò wá?
 what FM_SBJ do
 'What happened?'

- S2: bàá kólì ó-bèè.
 3PL.PFV give_birth CL-child
 'A child has been born.'

- <82-20> S1: mìné ò wá?
 what FM_SBJ do
 'What happened?'

- S2: ò-kú à cólì ñ-cóm dè.
 CL-INDEFPFV plunge CL-water in
 'Somebody jumped into water.'

<82-40> S1: àní ní wî á-céè?

who FM_SBJ eat CL-beans

‘Who ate the beans?’

S2: ò-cíím 'ní wî.

CL-woman FM_SBJ eat

‘A woman ate (them).’

<82-48> S1: mìné nì ò-cíím wî?

what FM CL-woman eat

‘What did the woman eat?’

S2a: à-céè nì ò wî. S2b: òó wî á-céé.

CL-bean FM 3SG.PFV eat 3SG.PFV eat CL-bean

‘She ate beans.’

<82-66> S1: mìné nì ò-cíím jî⁷ là?

what FM CL-woman eat with

‘With what did the woman eat?’

S2: là púúdóó n'í ò jî là.

with spoon FM 3SG eat with

‘The woman ate with a spoon.’

<82-72> S1: mìné nì ò-cíím wáà?

what FM CL-woman do

‘What did the woman do?’

S2: òó wî á-céé.

3SG.PFV eat CL-bean

‘She ate beans.’

⁷ Anii has two verbs meaning ‘to eat’, this one here has a more general meaning, used when the kind of food is unknown.

<82-128> S1: òó wî á-céé.

3SG.PFV eat CL-bean

‘She ate the beans.’

S2: àáyì, mí ñ wì.

no 1SG.EMPH FM_SBJ eat

‘No, I ate (them).’

<82-136> S1: ò-cíúm à wî à-céé à-bíúnó.

CL-woman PFV eat CL-bean CL-black

‘The woman ate the black beans.’

S2: ì máṅ jí à-bíúnó, àmá á-péén'ó gé.

CL.N NEG be CL-black but CL-red ID

‘They were not black, but it was the red ones.’

<82-147> S1: ò-cíúm à wî à-céé ñdêlì.

CL-woman PFV eat CL-bean yesterday

‘The woman ate the beans yesterday.’

S2: ndàà-àmàlì gé.

today-back ID

‘(No,) it was the day before yesterday.’

<82-188> S1: ò-cíúm à wî à-céé.

CL-woman PFV eat CL-bean

‘The woman ate the beans.’

S2: éè, òó wî.

yes 3SG.PFV eat

‘Yes, she did.’

<82-189> S2: àáyì, ò máṅ wî.

no 3SG.PFV NEG eat

‘No, she didn't.’

<82-74> S1: ́ n   k   l  t  b l   l   ́ n   c m l .
 3SG IPFV return with table or 3SG IPFV bring with
 ‘Is he bringing or sending the table?’

S2: ́ n   c m l .
 3SG IPFV bring with
 ‘He is bringing (it).’

<82-163> S1:  -c m   d  Gb  n .
 CL-woman PFV hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Gbaani.’

S2:   y ,    t l     g .
 no 3SG.PFV call 3SG.OBJ ID
 ‘No she called him.’

<82-165> S1:  -c m   d  Gb  n .
 CL-woman PFV hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Gbaani.’

S2:   y , ́ b   d    .
 no 3SG FUT hit 3SG.OBJ
 ‘No, she will hit him.’

<82-164> S1:  -c m   d  Gb  n .
 CL-woman PFV hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Gbaani.’

S2:   y ,    m   b  d    .
 no 3SG.PFV NEG again hit 3SG.OBJ
 ‘No, she did not yet hit him.’

<82-183> S1:  -c m   d  Gb  n .
 CL-woman PFV hit PN
 ‘The woman hit Gbaani.’

S2: òó wúta òŋ kóbólì.

3SG.PFV push 3SG.OBJ also

‘She also pushed him.’

<82-140> S1: ò-cíúm à d'íná à-céé sà mù.

CL-woman PFV cook CL-bean for 3SG.EMPH

‘The woman cooked the beans for him.’

S2: ì máŋ júi sà mù, àmá sà àyí.

CL.N NEG be for 3SG.EMPH but for 1PL.EMPH

‘(No,) it was not for him, but for us.’

<82-170> S1: ò-cíúm à sóò á-céé sâ à-béé là á-bíléé.

CL-woman PFV buy CL-bean for CL-child with CL-elder

‘The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.’

S2: àáyì, sà á-bíléé wólì ní ò sóò sâ.

no for CL-elder only FM 3SG buy for

‘No, only for the elders she bought.’

<82-179> S1: ò-cíúm à díná á-céé sà mù-béé.

CL-woman PFV cook CL-bean for 3SG.POSS-child

‘The woman cooked the beans for her child.’

S2: à-bíléé kóbólì ní ò díná sà.

CL-elder also FM 3SG cook for

‘She cooked for the elders, too.’

3. Genetic and areal relations

At the center of interest for project B1 was the investigation into the relationship between grammar and information structure in Gur and Kwa languages. This research was based on a sample of 22 languages (seven of which were presented here); although most of the languages were studied by the principal investigator and the researchers of the project themselves, we obtained material for three languages from other researchers:

Gur: Baatonum, Buli, Byali, Dagbani, Ditammari, Gurene, (Kabiye - K. Lebikaza (†), Université de Kara, Togo), Konkomba, Konni, (Moore – K. Beyer, HU Berlin), Nateni, (Pana - K. Beyer), Waama, Yom

Kwa: Aja, Akan, Anii, Awutu-Efutu, Ewe, Fon, Foodo, Lelemi

This sample only partly represents the two language families:

(i) within Gur, we mainly worked on different Oti-Volta languages, thus leaving aside nearly all of the South Central Gur languages (with Gurunsi being the biggest group) and the Senufo languages. The Oti-Volta research was accompanied by work on the isolate Baatonum and the Gurunsi languages Kabiye and Pana in order to provide us with a wider perspective on information-structure encoding in Gur.

(ii) within Kwa (which is a smaller unit than Gur), we had a strong focus on the Gbe languages (Aja, Fon, Ewe), but we also worked on languages from three other groups: Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages, Guang and Central Tano. The so-called Lagoon languages of Côte d'Ivoire were not investigated by us.

This limitation on certain language groups was due to practical considerations, as it was not possible to deal with all subgroups within one family. Therefore, we decided to concentrate on those groups within Gur and Kwa which also showed an areal relation: that is, all sample languages are

spoken in Ghana, Togo and Benin, with the Southern part of those countries hosting the Kwa languages, and the Northern parts the Gur languages. This restriction to genetically closely-related languages spoken in a close-knit area also enables us to survey areal features of the sample languages.

The following questions arose from the investigation of these languages:

(1) We wanted to know whether there is a clear differentiation between Gur and Kwa languages with respect to focus marking. Our results show that such a generalization is not possible. Rather, we found a great diversity of focus marking strategies across all languages, not necessarily related to the assumed genetic relationship of the languages.

(a) For instance, there are changes in verb morphology which were mainly attested for in Gur languages, but were also found in Anii and Lelemi (Kwa).

(b) In the predominantly isolating Gbe languages, the *ex situ* construction is characterized by a syntactic change and the optional marking of the focused constituent by a focus marker. Even though such a structure can be found in all of the languages, Gbe languages (with the exception of Ewe) seem to be the only ones in which no change in the out-of-focus part of the sentence is attested. The question is: Should Gbe therefore be considered as belonging to New Kwa? If yes, could Ewe be regarded as having been influenced by the surrounding Akan, Guang and Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages?

(c) On the other hand, there are cases in which the genetic relationship is reflected in the focus marking devices, as is the case with the ‘Me-particle’ in Buli, Konni, Dagbani and Gurene (cf. Schwarz 2010).

(2) We assumed an influence of certain typological features on focus marking devices, such as morphological type, intonation type, or word order type. This assumption is confirmed by our data.

(a) As all sample languages were tone languages (with differing tonal systems), tone already has a heavy functional load and should therefore be excluded from focus marking. Our research so far has shown that variation in F0 and duration can be observed, but they seem only to support syntactic structures (cf. Schwarz 2009, Fiedler & Jannedy resubmitted).

(b) The morphology-depleted Gbe languages mainly use different particles as a focusing device, but do not show a change in verb morphology, as do most of the agglutinating languages in the sample.

(c) With the exception of Baatonum, the main word order in all languages under consideration is SVO. In these languages, the postverbal position can be regarded as an unmarked focus position for objects. Similarly, one would expect that in the SOV language Baatonum the preverbal position fulfills the same function (as is the case in other SOV languages). This assumption is refuted by the language data, which also challenge the more general assumption of the predicate as host for unmarked focus in a sentence.

(3) The data of our language sample enable us to detect areal relations between the different languages.

(a) The most obvious case is a particle which can be found in different languages of Ghana. The particle *la* is sometimes treated as topic marker (Ewe, inter alia), and sometimes as (pseudo-)focus marker (Dagbani, inter alia). Whether or not the frequent occurrence of this particle is due to areal influences, and what the underlying semantics are that allow these different interpretations will be left for future research.

(b) Some of the languages in Ghana seem to have borrowed their focus marker from Akan. Anii, which is spoken in Benin and assumed to have migrated there from Ghana in the 18th century, also has a general focus marker *na* like that of Akan, but normally employs a set of different focus markers to agree with a focused non-subject. The question as to whether the focus marker

na in Anii should be considered as having been borrowed from Akan or as a language-internal development cannot be answered at this stage.

(c) Ewe is the only Gbe language showing a dedicated verb focus marker which resembles a pragmatically-used marker in Akan. This again raises the question: is this due to borrowing or is it a language-internal development?

These were only some of the challenging questions which developed from our investigation of 22 languages on the basis of data elicited by means of QUIS. The planned final publication of the project will deal with these questions in more detail and, we hope, will provide answers to most of them.

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Ines Fiedler
Humboldt University Berlin
SFB 632 „Information structure“
Invalidenstr. 110
Unter den Linden 6
D-10099 Berlin
Germany

ines.fiedler@rz.hu-berlin.de