FOCUS MARKING IN LOCATIONAL CLAUSES AND PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KOYRABORO SENNI[1]

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0. Introduction

- in Koyraboro Senni (aka Songhay of Gao) locational verb *goo* 'be.in' (*šii~sii* in negative) exhibit features of an *in-focus* verb form

- *goo* is used in a number of progressive constructions that also show sensitivity to the scope of focus

- features of progressive constructions can be accounted for from basic features of *goo/šii* and focus-marking system of the language

+ Structure of the talk

- KS and its basic typological features

- Focus marking in non-progressive verbal clauses

- Focus marking in locational clauses

- Progressive construction

- Conclusion: inherently focus verbal categories (Hyman&Watters 1984, Güldemann 2003)

+ Data: (Heath 1999a,b; Prokhorov, f. n.)

1. Trivia

> Name: Koyraboro Senni (KS), Songhay of Gao

> Affiliation: Songhay < Nilo-Saharan (?)

> Sociolinguistic parameters:

- *number of L1 speakers*: up to 300000 (Ethnologue)

- *used as L2* in town of Gao by Tamashek and Fulfulde speakers

> Areal distribution: town of Gao (north-eastern Mali) and surrounding area

2. Clause structure

> Word order: S (AUX) (O) V (O)

+ **OV and VO verbs**: a lexicalized distinction between transitive verbs that take preverbal complements and those taking postverbal complements (cf. 1-9)

+ **TAM** categories are expressed by auxiliaries (AUX). KS has aspect-oriented system with basic distinction between the perfective and imperfective. The perfective intransitive is marked by zero in the AUX position (Cf. Mande).

Table1. Auxiliaries (weak series)

	perfective		imperfective	subjunctive
	Transitive	intransitive		
Positive	*na*	Ø	*ga*	*ma*
Negative	*mana*	*mana*	*si*	*ma si*

(1) Intransitive   S (Aux) V Other
    ay   kaa   nee.
    1S.SBJ   come   here
    I came here (Heath 1999a: 9)

(2) Intransitive S Aux V
    ir   mana   koy.
    1P.SBJ PFV.NEG   go
    We didn't go. (Heath 1999a: 9)

(3) Transitive S Aux O V other
    ay   ga͜   a   kar   [i   se].
    1S.SBJ   W.IPFV   3S.OBJ hit   3P   DAT
    I struck it for them. (Heath 1999a: 9)

(4) Transitive S Aux V O

a	*mana*	*dii*	*agey*.
3S.SBJ	PFV.NEG	see	1S.F

He didn't see me. (Heath 1999a: 9)

+ There are three series of AUX's – 'weak', 'strong' and 'subject focus' series used in expression of marked information-structural configurations; subjunctive forms are presented in only one series

Table 2. Series of auxiliaries (without subjunctive forms)

	PFV		PFV.NEG	IPFV	IPFV.NEG
	transitive	intransitive			
Weak	*na*	Ø	*mana*	*ga*	*si*
Strong	*ŋka (nha²)*		*ŋka mana*	*mma~mba*	*ŋka si*
Subject focus	*(no) ka*		*(no) ka mana*	*no ma*	*(no) ka si*

2. Focus marking in verbal clauses

Relevant morpholosyntactic features:
- position of focalized constituent in-situ/exatraclausal
- form of AUX (series)
- term-focus marker *no* optionally follows term under the scope of focus

> **Subject focus**: *in-situ*; SF series of AUX; use of *no* is obligatory in IPFV positive clauses, but optional everywhere else
(5) Subject focus, perfective positive

agey	*(no)*	*ha*	*koy*.
1S.F	TF	SF	go

It was I *[focus]* who went. (Heath 1999a: 220)

(6) Subject focus, imperfective positive

agey	**(no)*	*ma*	*koy*.
1S.F	TF	IPFV	go

It's I *[focus]* who am going (will go). (Heath 1999a: 220)

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² *nha* is a variant of *ŋka* before velar-initial verbs

> **Non-subject focus**: *ex-situ,* weak series of AUX's, term-focus marker *no* is optional after the focalized constituent

(7) Direct object focalization, OV verbs

agey	*no*	*a*	*n＝**ey***	*kar.*
1S.F	TF	3S.SBJ	W.PFV.TR＝1S.OBJ	hit

It was ME that he hit. (Heath 1999a: 217)

(8) Dative argument focalized,

A:

may	*se*	*no n*	*na*	*ay*	*mot-oo*	*noo.*
who?	DAT	TF 2S.SBJ	W.PFV.TR	1S.SBJ	motorcycle-DEF.S	give

Who did you give my motorcycle to? (Prokhorov, f.n.)

B:

Umu	*se*	*ay*	*n＝a*	*noo.*
PN	DAT	1S.SBJ	PFV.TR＝3S.OBJ	give

I gave it to Oumou. (Prokhorov, f.n.)

> **Predicate-centered focus:** default word order, 'strong' AUX's, *no* doesn't occur

(9)   SoA focus: alternative questions

[*ni*	*mma*	*koy*]	[*wala*	*ni*	*mma*	*čindi*]
2S.SBJ	ST.IPFV	go	or	2S.SBJ	ST.IPFV	remain

Are you going or are you staying? (Heath 1999a: 225)

(10) SoA focus: answers

mm!	*a*	*ŋka*	*čiy-aa*	*se*	*dee.*
no	3S.SBJ	ST	call-3S.OBJ	DAT	EMPH3

{The woman spoke with Amadou.} No. She just CALLED him. (Prokhorov, f.n.)

(11) TAM focus: alternative questions

A:

Fanta	*ŋka*	*čorkos-a*	*ŋaa*	*wala*	*a*	*mba*	*kaa*	*ka̯*	*a*	*ŋaa.*
PN	ST	lunch-3S	eat	or	3S.SBJ	ST.IPFV	come	INF	3S.OBJ	eat

Has Fanta eaten her lunch or she is going to eat it? (Prokhorov, f.n.).

B:

a	*mba*	*kaa*	*k＝a*	*ŋaa.*
3S	PF.IPFV	come	INF-3SG	eat

{xx4a)} She WILL eat (it). (Prokhorov, f.n.).

(12) Truth value focus: imperfective negative

dee	*S*	*hundey*	*kaŋ*	*goo*	*Bamako*
EMPH3	PN	EMPH	REL	be.in	Bamako

ni	*ŋka*	*si*	*haya*	*dey*	*a*	*se*
2S.SBJ	ST	IPFV.NEG	thing	buy	3S	DAT

{A child has just listed several relatives to whom she planned to take gifts, but has omitted mention of S. Her father asks:} What about S, who is in Bamako? You won't buy anything for her? (Heath 1999a: 206)

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4. Locative verb *goo/ šii* 'be in/at'

(13)	*a*	**goo**	*no*	*baa*	*sõhoo*	*da*
	3S.SBJ	**be.in**	LOC.ANA	even	now	EMPH1

It is (still) there even now. (Heath 1999a: 181)

(14)	S	*yaa*	**šii**	*nee*	*ra}*	*dee,*
	PN	EMPH2	**be.in.NEG**	here	LOC	EMPH3,

	a	**šii**	*Bamakoo gund-oo*	*ra}*	*dee*
	3S.SBJ	be.in.NEG	Bamako belly-DEF.S	LOC]	EMPH3

S is not here though, he is not inside Bamako (= city). (Heath 1999a: 181)

+ typical with locational adverbials as *nee* 'here' *noo~no* 'there (anaphoric)' etc.

> in-focus features

    - truncated imperfective answers to yes/no questions

(15)	ay	goo
	1S.SBJ	be.in

{Do you V? /Are you V-ing} Yes, I do/am (Heath 1999a: 224)

(16)	ay	šii
	1S.SBJ	be.in.NEG

{Do you V? /Are you V-ing} No, I don't/ am not. (Heath 1999a: 224)

+ Perfective Negative construction SBJ+ PFV.NEG

(17)	ay	mana
	1S.SBJ	PFV.NEG

(Did you V?) No, I didn't (ibid)

- no analogous perfective positive construction (Heath 1999a: 224)
 > replaced by verb *bara* 'exist, remain stay' in subject-focus construction

(18) Subject focus

    agey   **bara** / * **goo** *nee.*

    1SG.F exist be.in here

    It is I (*focus*) who am here. (Heath 1999a: 224)

(19) Subject focus, questions

    mey   **bara**/ *****goo**   *nee ra?*

    who? exist be.in here LOC

    Who is here?' I(Heath 1999a: 224)

(20) *šii* 'be.NEG' in subject-focus construction

    A   *(no)*   *ka*   **sii**   *nee.*

    PN   TF   SF   be.NEG here

    It is A [focus] who is not here. (Heath 1994:)

+ *goo* is not replaced by *bara* in non-subject focus construction

(21)   *man̲*   *la*   ***a***   ***goo.***

    where LOC   3S.SBJ be

    'Where is she?'

Table.3 Distribution of *goo* 'be in', *šii* 'be.in.NEG' and *bara* 'exist, remain, stay'

	POS	NEG
Neutral declarative	*goo*	*šii*
Non-subject focus	*goo*	*šii*
Subject focus	*bara*	*šii*
Truth-value focus	*goo*	*šii*

+ *goo* and *sii* bear a striking resemblance to imperfective *ga* and *ši~si* AUX's ('weak' series) and are certainly equatable historically (Heath 1999: 182-183)

Table 4. Locational *goo/šiii* and imperfective AUX's

	IPFV	'be.in'	IPFV.NEG	be.in.NEG

Categorical, Non-subject focus	*ga*	*goo*	*ši~si*	*šii~sii*
Subject-focus	*ma*	*bara*	*ka ši*	*ka šii*

5. Progressive constructions

5.1 Inventory

A number of progressive constructions built using *goo/šii* and *bara* 'exist'

Figure 1. Progressive construction templates

Template 1: [SBJ (AUX) goo   ga/ma V]
Template 2: [SBJ (AUX) goo/bara no][a   ga   V]

Table 1.2 (1). List of attested progressive constructions

	form	*where*
1	SBJ *goo ga* V	(Heath 1999a: 9); (Prokhorov f.n.)
2	SBJ *ga goo ga* V	(Prokhorov f. n.)
3	SBJ *ŋka goo ga* V	(Prokhorov f. n.)
4	SBJ *mma goo ga* V	(Prokhorov f. n.)
5	SBJ *goo ma* V	(Heath 1999a); (Prokhorov f. n.)
6	SBJ *ŋka goo ma* V	(Prokhorov f. n.)
9	[SBJ$_i$ *bara*] [a_i *ga* V]	(Heath 1999a)
7	[SBJ$_i$ *mma bara no*][a_i *ga* V]	(Prokhorov, f. n.)
8	[SBJ$_i$ *goo no*][a_i *ga* V]	(Heath 1999a)

+ The list of progressive constructions may be a subject to dialectological variation
    - 2, 8, and 9 described in Heath (1999a: 211) is not found in my data (not discussed in this paper)
    - 7 absent in Heath's data but abundantly present in mine

+ Weakly grammaticalized: (Heath 1999a: 211) "Unlike the English counterpart (*be reading*), which is effectively obligatory vis-à-vis the simple present (*reads*) in progressive contexts, in KS this is a marked construction of fairly low text frequency, like French *être en train de*".

(22) Weak Imperfective for truth-value focus in progressive aspect

    A: *woyoo*   **goo**   **ma**   *wisi*   *wala*?

woman-DEF.S be.in   SUBJU whistle or

{Hearing a woman whistling}Is the woman whistling?

B: *a*   **ga**   **wisi**!

3S   .IPFV   whistle

She IS whistling.

+ Functional overlaps between constructions (see 5.2)

+ Show sensibility to the scope of the focus (see. 5.2)

+ SBJ *goo ga* V as unmaked construction; used generally for categorical statements.

5.2 Progessive constructions in focus

5.2.2 Term focus

> **Non-subject focus**

-    construction *goo ma* is used in non-subject focus contexts

(23) *mačin no Seydu*   *goo*   *ma*   *a*   *tee?*

what? TF Seydou   be.in   SUBJU 3S   do

What is Seydu doing? (Prokhorov, f. n.)

(24) *goo ma* progressive for non-subject focus (why?)

A: *mačin se*   *hug-oo*   **goo**   **ma**   *ton?*

what? DAT   house-DEF.S   be.in   SUBJU burn

Why is the house on fire? (Prokhorov, f. n.)

B: *woo*   *ma*   *ne*   *maŋgor*   *no a* **ga**   *a*   **dumba.**

DEM.S   SUBJU QUOT mango   TF 3S W.IPFV 3S   cut

It seems he is cutting (of) mangoes.

- a simple imperfective clause can be also used in as non-subject focus progressive

> **Subject focus:**

Progressive constructions are not attested in subject focus imperfective of subject
focus series

5.2.2 Predicate-centered focus

> **SoA-focus**

- *goo ga* for SoA focus

(25) *a*   *goo*   *ga͜*   *a*   *feferi.*
     3S.SBJ be.in   W.IPFV   3S   peel
     {What is he going to do with the orange?}He is peeling it.

- *goo ma* a for SoA focus

(26) *ar-oo*   **goo**   **ma**   *don*   *wala* *a*   *mma* *šalaŋ?*
     man-DEF.S   be.in SF.IPFV s   whistle   or   3S   ST.IPFV speak
     {Hearing a male singing}. Is the man singing or speaking?

- *mma bara no a ga V* for SoA focus

(27) *kala,* *zaŋk-aa*   **mma**   **bara** **no**   *a*   *ga*   *zuru*!
     no   child-DEF.S ST.IPFV   exist LOC.ANA   3S.SBJ W.IPFV run
     {Describing a picture with different participant in different activities, Speaker 1: The
     child is swimming. The woman is running. The man is walking.} Speaker 2: No, the
     child is RUNning. (Prokhorov f.n.)

- *mma goo ga* for SoA

(28)

A: *a*   **šii**   *ma*   *dira,* *a*   **mma** **bara no**   *a* *ga*   *zuru*
     3S.SBJ be.in.NEG SUBJU walk 3S.SBJ ST.IPFV exist LOC.ANA 3S W.IPFV run
     She is not walking, she is running.

B: *a*   **mma**   **goo**   **ga**   *zuru* *da!*
     3S.SBJ ST.IPFV   be.in   W.IPFV   run   exactly
     She is just RUNning.

- *nha goo ga* for state of affairs

(29)

A: *mačin no*   *ar-oo*   *ga* *kaa* *ka*   *tee*   *nda taabal-oo.*
     what? TF   man-DEF.S   W.IPFV come INF   do   with table-DEF.S
     What the man is going to do with the table?

B: *a*   **nha**   **goo g=a**   *zaa.*
     3S.SBJ ST   be IPFV=3S take
     He is TAKing it.

> **Operator focus**

+ TAM focus: *mma bara no a ga*

(30)

A: *i*   *ŋka*   *haw-oo*   *guna* *wala* *i*   ***mma bara no***   *i*

3P.SG PF.PFV cow-DEF.S look or   3P   ST.IPFV exist LOC.ANA   3P

ga   *a*   *guna*?

W.IPFV   3S   look

{At a veterinary.} Have they already looked at the dog or are they still looking at it?

B: *i*   ***mma***   ***bara no***   *i*   ***g=a***   *guna.*

3P.SBJ ST.IPFV   exist LOC.ANA   3P   IPFV=3S   look

They are still looking.

> **Truth-value focus**

- *goo ga* for TV focus

(31) *a*   ***goo*** ***ga*** *hẽẽ*   *bine!*

      3S.SBJ be.in W.IPFV   cry   EMPH

      {No, she is not crying!}She IS crying (indeed)!

- *ŋka goo ga* progressive for TV focus

(32)

A: *ar-oo*   *mma*   *bara no*   *a*   *ga*   *taabal-oo* *zaa wala?*

    man-DEF.S   ST.IPFV   exist LOC.ANA 3S   W.IPFV table-DEF.S take or

    Is the man taking the table?

B: *ayyo,* *a*   *ŋka* *goo* *g=a*   *zaa.*

    yes   3S   PF.PFV be IPFV-3S   take

    Yes, he is taking it.

2.4 Summary

Table 4. Focus marking in the progressive

		Unmarked categorical	Term focus Non-subject	Predicate-centered focus		
				SoA	TAM	Truth-value
1	SBJ *goo ga* V	+				+
3	SBJ *ŋka goo ga* V			+		
4	SBJ *mma goo ga* V			+		
5	SBJ *goo ma* V		+			
6	SBJ *ŋka goo ma* V			+		
7	[SBJ$_i$ *mma bara no*][a$_i$			+	+	

ga V]	

+1-4 [Template1]: unmarked construction is *goo ga*; adding a strong AUX (*ŋka/mma*) induces SoA reading

Table 5. Progressive vs. Imperfective

	Categorical	SoA focus
Progressive	*goo ga V*	*nha/mma goo ga V*
Imperfective	*ga V*	*mma V*

- *ŋka* (*nha*) and *mma* are synonymous in progressive constructions

+ 5-6 [Template 1]: *goo ma* is used for non-subject focus; adding *ŋka* induces SoA focus

Table 6. Progressive vs. Perfective

	Categorical	SoA focus
Progressive	*goo ma V*	*ŋka goo ma V*
Perfective	*Ø V*	*ŋka V*

+ 7 [Template 2]; (*goo ga V* progressive has inherent focus on truth-value), out-focus *bara* substitutes *in-focus goo* and occurs in separate clause thus excluding the truth-value from the potential focus domain

Figure. 2 PCF marking in progressive constructions (<u>potential focus domain underlined</u>)

1	[SBJ <u>*goo*</u> *ga* V]	truth-value focus

7	[SBJ *bara no*][<u>*ga* V</u>]	SoA or TAM

Abbreviations

Glosses:

Arabic numerals indicate a noun class or, when immediately followed by a gloss for gender and/or number, a person category.

ADV	Adverb	P	Plural
ANA	Anaphoric	PERF	Perfect
CAUS	Causative	PF	Predicate centered focus
COM	Comitative	PFV	Perfective
COP	Copula(tive)	PN	Proper name
DAT	Dative	POSS	Possessive
DEF	Definite	PRES	Presentative
DEM	Demonstrative	Q	Quotative
EMPH	Emphatic	REFL	Reflexive
EXCL	Exclamation	REL	Relative
F	Full series of pronoun	S	Singular
IMP	Imperative	SBJ	Subject
INF	Infinitive	SUBJ	Subjunctive
INSTR	Instrumental	TF	Term focus
IPFV	Imperfective	TOP	Topic
NEG	Negative	TR	Transitive
NOML	Nominalization	V	Verb or vowel
OBJ	(Direct) object	VN	Verbal noun

References:

ibid.	Ibidem
FN	Footnote
f.n.	Field notes
ms.	Manuscript
p.c.	Personal communi- c

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