

PhD project:
Progressive and/or predicate-centered focus?
A corpus study in KENGA (Sara-Bagirmi)

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Preface

In KENGA (Nilo-Saharan, Sara-Bagirmi), one special form of verbal doubling occurs:

(1) **M-ɔɔc** **k-ààcə**.¹

1S-semer INF-semer

{Que fais-tu ici? – Ne vois-tu pas? –} Je sème. (Neukom 2010: 130)

{What are you doing here? – Can't you see it? –} I am sowing. – PJ

(1) shows the following structure:

- two occurrences of one and the same verb form appear in one and the same clause
- the first verb form is **finite**, the second verb form is **non-finite**
- this construction is called “non-finite in-situ doubling”

In KENGA, it is used to signal to **more than one function**:

- first, it expresses **progressive**; Neukom (2010: 130), referring to Vandame (1968: 37), argues that the progressive is expressed by verbal doubling as shown in (1)
- second, it indicates **predicate-centered focus**; as seen from the context in (1), the example expresses focus on the lexical meaning of the verb (“SoA focus”)

→ Why is one special structure be used for realizing two different functions? or
What is the link between progressive and predicate-centered focus?

I will use a data corpus (Neukom 2010) for

1. a quantitative study for investigating the distribution of PCF in general and
2. a qualitative study for focussing on the function of non-finite in-situ doubling

¹ In the literature for KENGA, all three tones are marked (*á*, *ā* and *à*). For consistency reason (with other Sara-Bagirmi languages), I will abstain here to explicit marking of middle tones.

1 Theoretical background

1.1 Information structure

Information structure reflects the formal means exploited to organize utterances, sentences and texts according to the **common ground of the interlocutors** (Chafe 1976, Krifka 2007). Here, the most important categories are **topic** and **focus**.

- for **focus**, different scopal types are distinguished in the literature. Depending on the syntactic category of the element in focus we differentiate (beyond other types) **term focus** and “**predicate-centered focus**” (Güldemann 2009).

- **Predicate-centered focus (PCF)** refers to non-nominal elements of the clause. It subsumes focus on the lexical meaning of the verb (**SoA focus**) and focus on sentence operators. Operator focus can be split into focus on the tense, aspect or mood operators (**TAM focus**) and focus on the truth value of the utterance (**Polarity focus**).

1.2 General remarks on KENGA

- SVO language:

(2) m táád-n mèt-n tàar tùpiyù.
 1S:FUT dire-CONN après-CONN parole:CONN lion
 Je vais raconter l’histoire du lion. (Neukom 2010: 265)
 (I will tell you the story of a lion. – PJ)

- predominantly agglutinative with synthetic features

- tone language with three level tones (high: á, middle: a, low: à):

TAM system	Structure	Function
General form (3a)	V _{FIN}	Events with no reference of time
Progressive (3b)	V _{FIN} – V _{INF}	Ongoing events, for PCF marking (and more)
Future (3c)	a ² – V _{INF}	Uncertain events with future tense reference
Perfect (3d)	V _{FIN} -gà	Completed events
Resultative (3e)	V _{FIN} -gà – V _{INF}	“Focusing on the result of the action”
Definite future (3f)	a-kà – V _{INF}	For certain events with future tense reference

Table 1: TAM system in KENGA (based on the data in Neukom 2009, Neukom 2010)

² The future is realized by a periphrastic structure containing auxiliary *a*, which is derived from the verb *bàà* ‘go’ (Neukom 2010: 124), and a following non-finite verb.

- (3a) “simple” form: m-ḵsḵ I eat/I ate
 (3b) progressive: m-ḵs k-ḵsḵ I am eating
 (3c) future: m-a k-ḵsḵ I shall eat
 (3d) perfect: m-ḵs-gà I have eaten
 (3e) resultative: m-ḵs-gà k-ḵsḵ I had eaten
 (3f) definite future: m-a-kà k-ḵsḵ I shall certainly eat (Neukom 2009: 467)

Information-structure is expressed by **morpho-syntactic means**

- IS marked elements usually occur in **sentence-initial position**
- this position can be used for focal and topical elements as well
- its concrete interpretation is disambiguated by the usage of **several markers**
- the markers refer to preceding elements and occur in different structures

Focus on nominal elements is realized by extra-posing and additional marking:

- (4) Kḵrrà (ki) ḵó m-ḵḵ-iñ gḵrs.
 PN LOC FOC 1S-donner-3S argent
 [IO ḵó]_{FOC} [(S_{PRO})-V-(IO_{PRO}) DO]_{BG}

{À qui as-tu donné l’argent?} C’est à Korra que je l’ai donné.

(Neukom 2010: 224)

{To whom did you give the money?}

It is Korra, to whom I gave the money. – PJ

In (4), the indirect object (recipient) appears **sentence-initially**

- it is followed by the **generic focus marker ḵó**
- the rest of the sentence provides the background (without further marking)
- term focus structure: [NP ḵó]_{FOC} – [...]_{BG}

PCF types are realized by other means:

some structures are related to **TAM marking strategies**, e.g.

- operator focus is marked by using **perfect structures** (suffix -gà/-kà) and
- SoA focus is expressed by using **progressive structures**

Before I go in detail to KENGA data, I will give an overview over the structural and functional characteristics of the progressive

1.3 The progressive

“Progressive views an action as ongoing at reference time” (Bybee et al. 1994: 126)

Historically, most progressive structures are based on **locative expressions** or
- structures with the meaning of **continuity of an activity** (Bybee/Dahl 1989: 77ff.)

For encoding means, progressives

- show a tendency to be marked **periphrastically** (85 % of all cases in Dahl 1985: 91)
- (due to high **iconicity**) often expressed by “**reduplication**” (Parkvall 2003: 20f.)

Bybee et al. (1994) propose the paths for the **functional extension of reduplication**:

- it starts as iterative (in the sense of “more of the same”) and can be split into
- continuative (which extends to progressive) and
- frequentative (which extends to habitual),
- both come together again to imperfective (which extends further to intransitive)

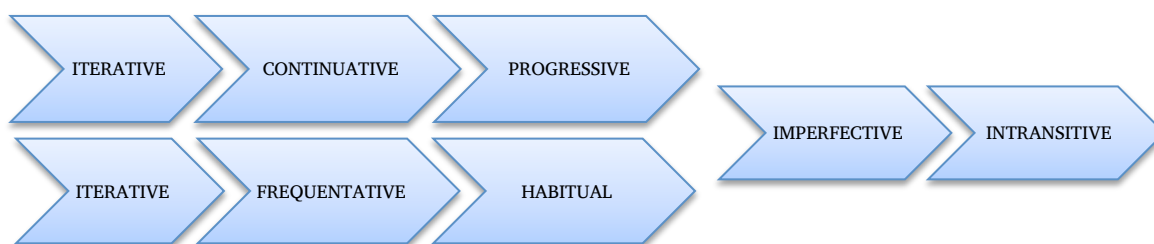


Figure 1: Tentative paths for the extension of reduplication (Bybee et al. 1994: 172)

Functionally,

- progressive could be classified as a **special case of imperfectivity** (Comrie 1976)
- Dahl (1985: 92f.) lists three features for the contradistinction to imperfective aspect:
1. time reference: perfective/imperfective is strongly correlated between past and non-past time reference; progressive is almost independent (for present, past, and future)
 2. habitual meaning: progressive is quite infrequently extended to habitual meaning
 3. dynamic verbs: progressive is often used only for dynamic (non-stative) situations

Progressive is characterized by the “pragmatic component of **inherent focality**“:

- it occurs frequently in **direct communicative interaction** of dialogues and
- it is excluded from sentences in which the **focus is not on the predicate**

(Güldemann 2003: 352ff.)

2 Data analysis (Neukom 2010)

2.1 Data and methods

I select 10 texts form Neukom (2010) – in total 112 sentences with 1.137 words:

1. Dialogue 1: Greetings in the morning (19 sentences with 64 words)
2. Dialogue 2: Living in village or in town? (39 sentences with 553 words)
3. Story 1: The lion (6 sentences with 49 words)
4. Story 2: The fire (8 sentences with 61 words)
5. Description 1: Beer production (5 sentences with 43 words)
6. Story 3: Name of Mount Kenga (4 sentences with 50 words)
7. Description 2: Game at school (13 sentences with 114 words)
8. Description 3: The pelican (8 sentences with 59 words)
9. Explanation 1: Kenga dialects (8 sentences with 102 words)
10. Description 4: Divorce (2 sentences with 42 words)

For analyzing, I have subdivided all sentences in the text in **211 clauses**, and subtract

- 13 clauses (6,16 %) as **questions**
- 14 clauses (6,64 %) as **thetic utterances**
- 7 clauses (3,31 %) as **non-verbal clauses** and
- 59 clauses (27,96 %) as subordinated and provide **background information only**:

(5) kén maám m-áák-íñ nùm, ...
SUB 1S 1S-voir-3S si
[kén SBJ V_{FIN} nùm]_{BG}
Comme je vois les choses, ... (Neukom 2010: 263) (As far as I can see, ... – PJ)

The remaining 118 clauses (55,93 %) can be classified as **categorical**:

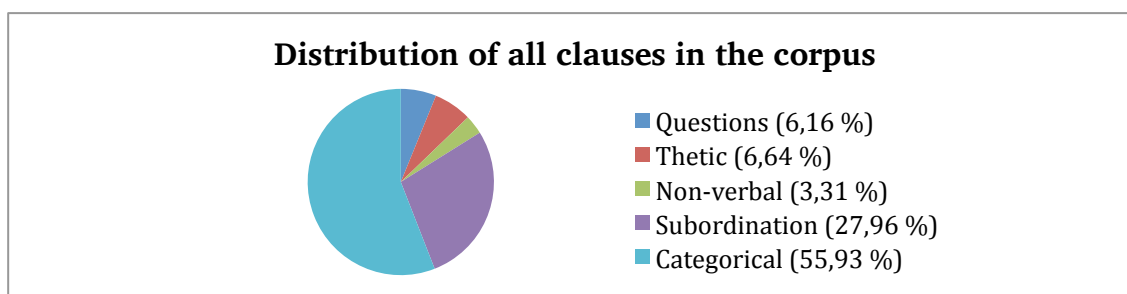


Figure 2: The distribution of all clauses in the corpus

→ The **quantitative study** (in 2.2.) contains all **categorical clauses**

→ The **qualitative study** (in 2.3.) concentrates on **non-finite in-situ doubling**

2.2 The quantitative analysis

For investigating the **scope of focus**, the **118 clauses** can be subdivided in:

- 83 clauses (70,34 %) with **VP focus**,
- 18 clauses (15,26 %) with **term focus**,
(12 (10,17 %) subject focus, 5 (4,24 %) object focus, 1 (0,85 %) adverbial focus)
- 17 clauses (11,01 %) with **PCF**
(5 clauses (4,23 %) with SoA focus and 12 clauses (10,17 %) with polarity focus):

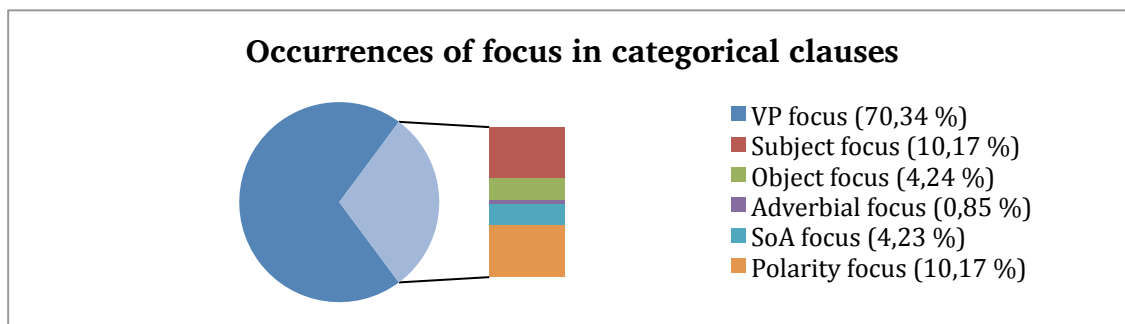


Figure 3: Occurrences of focus: VP focus vs. other focus types

- the majority of clauses contains VP focus³ (more than two-thirds) and
- the remaining one third expresses in nearly equal parts term focus and PCF

From all 118 categorical clauses, only 31 clauses (26,27 %) are marked for focus,

- 87 clauses (73,73 %) show “weak” or default focus:

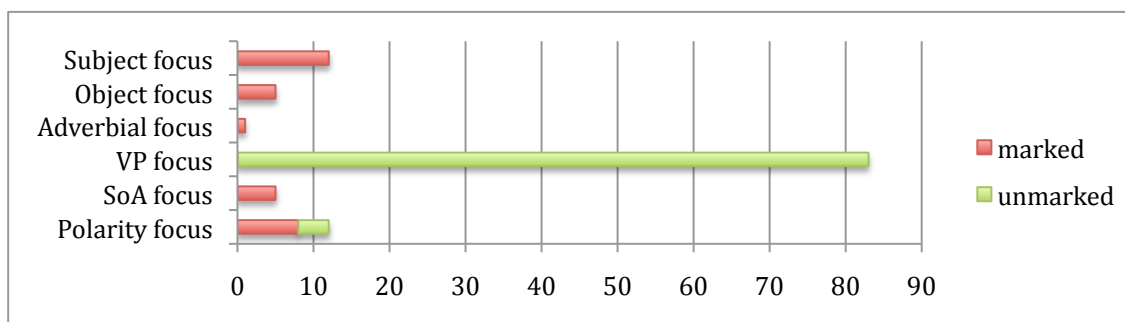


Figure 4: Occurrences of focus: Marked and unmarked focus

For **subject focus**, all instances (12 clauses) are marked:

- 11 clauses are marked by (fronting and) focus marker *bó*,
- 1 clause is marked by (fronting), additive particle *kìc*, focus marker *bó* and *kèè*⁴

³ Even if I categorized the clauses carefully by pragmatic issues (and sort contextual given elements out from the focus part), it cannot be excluded that clauses with VP focus contain (default) object focus or (default) PCF as well.

For **object focus**, all 5 occurrences are marked:

- 4 clauses are marked by fronting and focus marker *bó*,
- 1 clause is marked by fronting, additive particle *kìc* and focus marker *bó*

For **adverbial focus**, the one and only occurrence is marked:

- by fronting and focus marker *bó*,

→ Term focus marking occurs **obligatorily** – always in the same way:

- the focused element is **fronted** and **morphologically marked** (in all cases by *bó*),
- the co-occurrence of focus marker and **additive particle** is possible

→ **VP focus** is always unmarked

For **SoA focus**, all 5 clauses are marked by **non-finite in-situ doubling**

Polarity focus is unmarked in 4 clauses, 8 clauses are marked:

- 2 clauses are marked by topic preposing (with focus marker *kéè*),
- 1 clause is marked by topic preposing (without morphological marking),
- 2 clauses are marked by verbal suffix *-gà* (simple form – for indicating perfect),
- 1 clause is marked by clause-final focus marker *bó*,
- 1 clause is marked by *-gà* (periphrastic form) and clause-final focus marker *bó*,
- 1 clause is marked by *-gà* (periphrastic form) and clause-final marker *bès*⁵

→ Polarity focus is **not obligatorily** marked, but it can be expressed

- by **topic preposing** constructions⁶ (cf. Güldemann 2010) or
- by using in **TAM structures** with suffix *-gà*

⁴ Marker *kéè* emphasizes the element it follows. In most cases, it is used to express PCF:

(i) Naañ sé mí-jèèl **kéè**, è k-ɔŋɔ.
3S BG 1S-savoir FOC 3:FUT INF-trouver
Je suis sûr qu'il passera (à l'examen). (Neukom 2010: 175)
(I'm sure he will pass (an exam). – PJ)

⁵ Marker *bès* emphasizes the element it follows. It seems to express predominately PCF:

(ii) Gɔɔ kén mí-déek-íñ sé bès.
comme SUB 1S-dire-3S BG FOC
{Quelles parties du bœuf est-ce qu'on mange? – On mange tout. – Même les jambes? –}
Comme je l'ai dit. (Neukom 2010: 175) ({Which parts of the beef do we eat? – We eat
everything. – Even the legs? –} As I have said. – PJ)

⁶ Even if the morphological marking of the topic part not occurs in the corpus, it is used frequently in KENGA.

2.3 The qualitative investigation

2.3.1 The structure: Non-finite in-situ doubling in KENGA

Cross-linguistically, verbal doubling is characterized by

- the **co-occurrence of two (lexically identical) verb forms** in one sentence

The doubling can be embedded

- in **split structures**, e.g. preposing strategies, or
- in **structures without preposing**, e.g. as “non-finite in-situ doubling”

→ **Non-finite in-situ doubling** is always structured in the same way:

- the first verb form is **finite**, the second verb form is **non-finite**: [V_{FIN}] [V_{INF}]

In KENGA, sentences with this doubling structure fulfill **several functions**:

Vandame (1968) describes it as indicating **progressive meaning**

- but the given examples imply more **imperfective meaning**:

(6a) m-óʒ k-òʒɔ
1S-manger INF-manger
{Que fais-tu?} je mange (Vandame 1968: 37)
({What do you do?} I eat/I’m eating – PJ)

(6b) m-ai k-ài màne
1S-boire INF-boire eau
{Que fais-tu?} je bois de l’eau (Vandame 1968: 37)
({What do you do?} I drink water/I’m drinking water – PJ)

Neukom (2010) adopts the classification of Vandame (1968), and presents more data:

- the verbal doubling often indicates an **iterative meaning**:

(7) kaaga k-à-cóʒc-íñ c-óʒc-ò.
bois 1P-tailler-3S tailler
Le bois, on le taille (longtemps). (Neukom 2010: 132)
(The wood was treated several times (or for a long time). – PJ)

- it can be used to express **ingressive meaning**:

(8) naáñ óʒ k-òʒɔ
3S manger INF-manger
il se met à manger (Neukom 2010: 132) (He starts to eat – PJ)

- it can occur to denote **ongoing events in the past**:

- (9) Naán ìng k-ìng tàa dóób ki.
 3S 3:s'asseoir INF-s'asseoir bord:CONN chemin LOC
 {Que faisait-il quand tu es arrivé? -} Il était assis devant la porte.
 (Neukom 2010: 131) ({What was he doing when you arrived? -}
 He was sitting outside the front door. – PJ)

Neukom (2010) gives also examples, which are non-typical for the progressive:

- verbal doubling occurs with **non-dynamic verbs**:

- (10) òm tɛf-ín èyo, naán òòr k-òòr sum.
 chose faire-3S NEG 3S 3:se_fatiguer INF-fatiguer seulement
 {Qu'a-t-il? -} Rien, il est seulement fatigué. (Neukom 2010: 131)
 ({What is with him? -} Nothing, he is only tired. – PJ)

- even the combination with the perfect is possible, which is called **“resultative”**:

- (11) m-ós-gà kòsò
 1S-manger-PERF INF-manger
 j'ai mangé (Neukom 2010: 132) (I ate – PJ)

As seen in (11), non-finite in-situ doubling expresses not exclusively progressive

- the construction must be analyzed more pragmatically:
- it implies the **intensification of the verb**, which serve more than only one function

2.3.2 Analysis (non-finite in-situ doubling in the corpus)

In the corpus, there are **10 occurrences** of non-finite in-situ doubling

- in the following, I will present the occurrences and
- analyze them structurally and functionally in detail

- (12) Example 1: Text 2 (Dialogue 2, sentence 16):

Gòt-ń àr sé, maám m-ós k-òs bɛ̀ɛ̀, ...
 lieu-REL ici BG 1S 1S-manger INF-manger bien
 [sé]_{BG} [V_{FIN}]_{BG} [V_{INF}]_{FOC}

Ici, on mange bien, {là-bas vous mangez les feuilles du savonnier, les résidus de l'arbre cáàmì, et toutes les choses qui n'ont pas d'huile.} (Neukom 2010: 262)

(Here, we eat well, {there you eat soap leaves, the rests of caami tree leaves, and all the things that have no oil.} – PJ)

Structurally, (12) starts with a local frame, which is indicated as background by *sé*,
 - the subject follows and precedes the finite form, which includes subject agreement,
 - the non-finite form follows immediately and precedes an adverbial

Functionally, the construction effects **intensification**

- this includes the **(lexical meaning of the) verb** and the following **adverbial** and
 - can be interpreted as SoA focus or **focus on the VP**

Concerning TAM, it expresses more **imperfective** or “aorist” than progressive

(13) Example 2: Text 2 (Dialogue 2, sentence 32):

Jéé	mètĩĩ	sé,	naadé	màla ⁷	ààr	k-ààr	nààba, ...
gens	certain	BG	3P	même	3:craindre	INF-craindre	travail
[sé] _{BG}	[V _{FIN}] _{BG}	[V _{INF}] _{FOC}

Certains ne veulent pas (lit. craignent) travailler eux-mêmes, {sinon, ici en ville, il y a beaucoup de travail.} (Neukom 2010: 264)

(Some people don't want to (lit. fear the) work, {but, here in the city, there is a lot of work.} – PJ)

(13) starts with an aboutness topic marked by *sé* and a pronoun with particle *màla*,
 - the next element is the finite form, which includes the (inherent) subject agreement,
 - the non-finite form follows immediately and precedes the object

The structure effects **intensification**

- this includes the **(lexical meaning of the) verb** and the **object**,
 - thus, it can be interpreted as SoA focus or **focus on the VP**

It is not used to express the progressive, it expresses more **imperfective** or “aorist”

⁷ Neukom (2010) glossed *màla* as “emphatic element”. It functions as scalar particle (‘even’) and precedes often focus marker *bó* (iii), which is necessary for indicating the focus part (iv):

(iii) Maám kic maám màla bó mí-túg kǎl-ùm.
 1S aussi 1S EMPH FOC 1S-laver habit-1S.POSS

Moi, je lave aussi mes habits moi-même. (Neukom 2010: 89)
 (I do even my laundry myself. – PJ)

(iv) Naái màla á-gàarge gen dèè.
 2S même 2-chef pour tête

Tu es autonome (lit. tu es le chef pour la tête toi-même). (Neukom 2010: 262)
 (You are autonomous (lit. You are your own boss on your own head). – PJ)

(14) Example 3: Text 2 (Dialogue 2, sentence 33):

... òò òòn k-òòno.
3:dire 3:être_orgueilleux INF-3:être_orgueilleux
[V_{FIN} V_{FIN}] _{BG} [V_{INF}] _{FOC}

{Certains veulent (lit. disent) choisir leur travail} et sont orgueilleux.

(Neukom 2010: 264)

{Some people want to (lit. say) choose their work}
and they are arrogant. – PJ)

Here, the finite form is a **periphrastic structure** (an auxiliary and the finite verb)

- the non-finite form follows immediately

The structure effects **intensification** to the **(lexical meaning of the) verb**

- therefore, the structure must be interpreted as **SoA focus**

(14) contains **non-dynamic verbs** (which occur very unlikely in the progressive)

- the structure indicates more **imperfective** or “aorist” than progressive

(15) Example 4: Text 3 (Story 1, sentence 3):

J-iiñ ká-j-òòk-ó k-òòk sé,
1P-se_lever 1P-1P-monter-VENT INF-monter BG
[V_{FIN} V_{FIN} V_{INF} sé] _{BG}

Nous étions sur le chemin de retour (lit. nous nous sommes levés et nous sommes en train de monter, c’est-à-dire de rentrer vers le village) {quand nous avons vu des lumières.} (Neukom 2010: 266)

(We were on the way back (lit. we stand up and we are going up, for returning to the village) {when we saw the lights.} – PJ)

The sentence shows a **periphrastic structure**, which starts with a finite verb,

- followed by the finite form (with subject agreement and ventive marker),

- the non-finite form follows immediately and precedes the background marker sé,

- the marker indicates the whole clause as background

Functionally, the structure indicates **continuative**

- it characterized an ongoing process

- therefore, it is used to express exclusively **progressive**

(18) is a **thetic utterance** (with introductive function)

- the relevant clause entails the finite form, the non-finite form and the object

The structure expresses **iteration** (“drop by drop”), a common domain of **progressive**

(19) Example 8: Text 5 (Description 1, sentence 3):

...	naaí	ááy-gà	sé,	tɔɔl-i	tɔɔɓ.
	2S	2:boire-PERF	BG	3:tuer-2S	tuer
	[sé] _{BG}	[V _{FIN}] _{BG}	[V _{INF}] _{FOC}

{Et si quelqu’un – si tu n’as pas mangé et} tu en bois, cela te tue.

(Neukom 2010: 270)

{(If anyone –) if you drink it (although you didn’t eat), it will kill you. – PJ}

After a conditional clause (marked by sé), the finite form and the non-finite form occur

This structure effects **intensification** to the **(lexical meaning of the) verb**

- it can be interpreted as **SoA focus** (with predominately imperfective meaning)

(20) Example 9: Text 5 (Description 1, sentence 5):

kààd-ń	àra	naadé	ìng	àày	k-ààye.	
moment-REL	ici	3P	3:rester	3:boire	INF-boire	
[] _{BG}	[V _{FIN}	V _{FIN}] _{BG}	[V _{INF}] _{FOC}

À ce moment là, ils sont déjà assis et boivent. (Neukom 2010: 270)

(At this time, they sit down and drink. – PJ)

The first element in (20) is an unmarked temporal frame, followed by the pronoun

- the finite form occurs as **periphrastic structure** and precedes the non-finite form

The construction expresses **simultaneity** and can be interpreted as **indicating PCF**

- even if the structure marks **progressive** as well

(21) Example 10: Text 6 (Story 3, sentence 1):

...	jéé	gè-ń	té	ààn	k-ààn	mèt-n	céŋ	ki	sé.
	gens	P-REL	CONT	3:arriver	INF-arriver	sous-CONNPN	LOC	BG	
				V _{FIN}	V _{INF}				

{Le mont Kenga, on l’appelle Kenga dans le sens que, premièrement,}

les gens qui venaient au pied du mont Kenga. (Neukom 2010: 270)

{(Mount Kenga was called Kenga, at the first time} people came to this mountain. – PJ}

(21) is a monomial **thetic utterance** (with introductive function)

- the relevant clause contains the finite form, the non-finite form and an adverbial

Even if the structure effects intensification on the (lexical meaning of the) verb

- it marks an ongoing process, thus, it is used to express exclusively **progressive**

2.3.3 Summary

The occurrences of non-finite in-situ doubling can be characterized as follows:

		Glosses	TAM	Verb semantic	Scopus	IS
Dialogues:						
1	ós	to eat	IPFV/PROG	active, intransitive	+ ADV	SoA/VP
2	ààr	to fear	IPFV/PROG	stative, transitive	+ OBJ	SoA/VP
3	òòn	to be arrogant	IPFV/PROG	stative, intransitive		SoA
Narratives:						
4	òòk	to walk up	PROG	active, intransitive		
5	ìng	to sit down	PROG	active, intransitive		
6	tɔɔl	to kill	PROG	active, transitive	+ OBJ	Thetic
7	ààf	to drain	PROG	active, transitive	+ OBJ	Thetic
8	tɔɔl	to kill	IPFV/PROG	active, transitive		SoA
9	àày	to drink	PROG	active, intransitive		SoA/PCF
10	ààn	to arrive	PROG	active, transitive	+ ADV	Thetic

Table 2: The occurrences of non-finite in-situ doubling in the present corpus

Every example of non-finite in-situ doubling

- shows the (for the progressive) typical **periphrastic structure** and

- refers (even with **imperfective meaning**) to the **progressive**

The progressive in KENGA seems to be special in one point:

- it is applicable for **non-dynamic verbs**

- cross-linguistically, this usage is possible – even if it is not very common

→ In all of the examples, the structure can be analyzed as **expressing progressive**

Pragmatically, non-finite in-situ doubling is used to **indicate PCF**

- it occurs in **direct communicative interaction** and

- the scope of focus is – at least – on the **VP or the lexical meaning of the verb**

The structure appears in **thetic utterances** as well

- this confirms the correlation between theticity and PCF (c.f. Güldemann 2013)

As seen from the corpus data, the concrete meaning **depends on the text type**:

- in **dialogues**, all the examples are predominately used for expressing focus

- in **narratives**, only two occurrences are used for indicating focus

→ KENGA shows a **co-occurrence of (special) TAM marking and PCF expression**

Historically, it raises the question, whether the marking is the primarily one?

For an overview, I will include data from other Sara-Bagirmi languages

In BAGIRMI,

- non-finite in-situ doubling marks exclusively focus on the lexical meaning of the verb

- the object occurs either in the left periphery (22a) or remains in-situ (22b):

(22a) non-finite in-situ doubling construction with **topicalized object**:

Djùm	téŋ	ná,	Boukar	táď	táďà.
gruel	millet	BG	PN	PFV.do	INF.do
[...]		ná] _{BG}	[...]	V _{FIN} ...] _{BG}	[V _{INF}] _{FOC}

(22b) non-finite in-situ doubling construction with **included object**:

Boukar	táď	djùm	téŋ	táďà.
PN	PFV.do	gruel	millet	INF.do
[...]	V _{FIN}		...] _{BG}	[V _{INF}] _{FOC}

{Did Boukar cook millet gruel or did he eat it?}

(Boukar COOKED millet gruel. (Jacob 2010: 129))

Structurally, the **finite form** appears in its **canonical position**⁸,

- the **non-finite verb form** follows the **finite verb form** (without any marking)

The progressive in BAGIRMI

- is expressed by a **periphrastic structure** with a particle with **locative meaning**:

(23) (née) n-ét⁹ ndugo kitàb kɛɛɛ
3S 3S-PROG buy book IDEF
he is buying a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

⁸ This analysis is based on examples with “marked” infinitives (by prefix *k-*). This prefix occurs only with verbs of conjugation class I and II, cf. Stevenson (1969: 112).

⁹ The auxiliary *ét(u)* ‘be in a place’ is used to indicate continuous actions in present time, past time, or in the future (Stevenson 1969: 122).

MBAY shows the same differences of TAM expressions and PCF marking as BAGIRMI:

- the non-finite in-situ doubling is used for indicating **SoA focus only**:

(24) Njòr dá àtə k-àtə kó màjə sà àí.
eggplant BG be_bitter INF-be_bitter that be_good eat NEG
[SBJ dá]_{TOP} [V_{FIN}]_{BG} [V_{INF}]_{FOC} [...]
The eggplant was so bitter that it wasn't good to eat. (Keegan 1997: 150)

- progressive is expressed by a **periphrastic structure** that uses a suffix with **locative meaning** in the finite part (Keegan 1997: 69f.)

In KENGA, the structural co-occurrence of TAM and PCF marking

- illustrates the **functional correlation** of both categories

→ it is possible to encode TAM and PCF by the same means

- in Sara-Bagirmi, this co-occurrence of TAM and PCF must be considered as exception

From **historical perspective**,

- KENGA seems to be **more archaic** than other members of the language family

→ it cannot be assumed, that KENGA loses (once existing) progressive structures

- other languages have developed **new strategies** (for disambiguating TAM and PCF)

→ the progressive structures, which use TAM suffixes, seem to be the innovation

(this strategy cannot be a “traditional” one, because it is unknown in KENGA)

Based on Sara-Bagirmi, I argue that doubling **always starts with pragmatic function**:



Figure 5: Modified path for extension after Bybee et al. (1994: 172)

I assume, that “intensification” is the universal concept for expressing focus, therefore

- the grammaticalization extends **from PCF marking to special TAM expressions**,

i.e. the (primary) pragmatic function is expanded to a (special) grammatical function

In Sara-Bagirmi languages, **both level of grammaticalization** co-exist:

1. Level: The co-occurrence of PCF and TAM (non-finite in-situ doubling in KENGA)

2. Level: The disambiguating of PCF and TAM (in BAGIRMI and MBAY):

- non-finite in-situ doubling will be restricted to pragmatic function (SoA focus only)

- for marking TAM (progressive), another strategy is used (suffixes with local meaning)

3 Summary

The corpus study has shown

- the majority of categorical clauses (two-thirds) entails VP focus,
- term focus and PCF are almost balanced (in the remaining third)

- only one quarter of all categorical clauses are marked for focus:
- term focus is obligatorily marked (and in all cases by the same means)
- Polarity focus shows variation: there are default clauses and several encoding means
- SoA focus is always marked by the same means

The structure “non-finite in-situ doubling” is used for

- expressing progressive and indicating focus as well
- the function depends on text type: focus in dialogues and TAM in narratives

With this overlapping function, KENGA represents an exception in Sara-Bagirmi

Abbreviations

BG	Background	P	Plural
CONN	Connective	PERF	Perfect
CONT	Continuative	PFV	Perfective
EMPH	Emphatic	PN	Proper name
FIN	Finite	POSS	Possessive
FOC	Focus	PRO	Pronoun
FUT	Future	PROG	Progressive
IDEF	Indefinite	REL	Relative
INF	Infinitive	S	Singular
LOC	Locative	SBJ	Subject
NEG	Negative	SUB	Subordination
OBJ	Object	VENT	Ventive

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