FOCUS MARKING IN LOCATIONAL CLAUSES AND PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KOYRABORO SENNI

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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)

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1 This paper was done as a part of project B7 «Predicate-centered focus types: A sample-based typological study in African languages» of the Collaborative Research Centre 632 "Information structure" funded by the German Science Association (DFG). I would like to thank my KS language assistants Aliou Maïga, Abdramane Maïga and Mahamadou Maïga, as well as Ines Fiedler, Tom Güldemann, and Jeffrey Heath with whom I had a chance to discuss KS material.
- used as L2 in town of Gao by Tamashkek 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table1. Auxiliaries (weak series)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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   ga   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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>PFV.NEG</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>IPFV.NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>ŋka (nha²)</td>
<td>ŋka mana</td>
<td>mma~mba</td>
<td>ŋka si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject focus</td>
<td>(no) ka</td>
<td>(no) ka mana</td>
<td>no ma</td>
<td>(no) ka si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Focus marking in verbal clauses

Relevant morphosyntactic features:
- position of focalized constituent in-situ/extraclausal
- 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

\[\text{agey (no) ha koy.}\]
1S.F TF SF go
It was I [focus] who went. (Heath 1999a: 220)

(6) Subject focus, imperfective positive

\[\text{agey *(no) ma koy.}\]
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

\[
\text{agey no a n = ey kar.}
\]

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

\[
\text{[ni mma koy]} \quad \text{[wala ni mma čindi]}
\]

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

\[
\text{mm! a ŋka čiy-aa se dee.}
\]

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 ka 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

\[
\text{dee} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{hundey} \quad \text{kaŋ} \quad \text{goo} \quad \text{Bamako}
\]

EMPH3 \quad PN \quad EMPH \quad REL \quad be.in \quad Bamako

\[
\text{ni} \quad \text{ŋka} \quad \text{sì} \quad \text{haya} \quad \text{dey} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{se}
\]

2S.SBJ \quad ST \quad IPFV.NEG \quad thing \quad buy \quad 3S \quad 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)

4. Locative verb goo/šii ‘be in/at’

(13) \[ a \quad \text{goo} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{baa} \quad \text{sōhoo} \quad \text{da} \]

3S.SBJ \quad be.in \quad LOC.ANA \quad even \quad now \quad EMPH1

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

(14) \[ \text{S} \quad \text{yaa} \quad \text{šii} \quad \text{nee} \quad \text{ra}\} \quad \text{dee}, \]

PN \quad EMPH2 \quad be.in.NEG \quad here \quad LOC \quad EMPH3,

\[ a \quad \text{šii} \quad \text{Bamakoo gund-oo} \quad \text{ra}\} \quad \text{dee} \]

3S.SBJ \quad be.in.NEG \quad Bamako belly-DEF.S \quad LOC] \quad 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) \[ \text{ay} \quad \text{goo} \]

1S.SBJ \quad be.in

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

(16) \[ \text{ay} \quad \text{šii} \]

1S.SBJ \quad 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) \[ \text{ay} \quad \text{mana} \]

1S.SBJ \quad 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

\[\text{agey} \quad \text{bara} / \ast \text{goo nee.}\]
1SG.F exist be.in here

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

(19) Subject focus, questions

\[\text{mey} \quad \text{bara}/ \ast \text{goo nee ra?}\]
who? exist be.in here LOC

Who is here?’ I(Heath 1999a: 224)

(20) šii ‘be.NEG’ in subject-focus construction

\[\text{A (no) ka sii nee.}\]
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) \[\text{man}_l \quad \text{a goo.}\]
where LOC 3S.SBJ be

‘Where is she?’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POS</th>
<th>NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral declarative</td>
<td>goo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject focus</td>
<td>goo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject focus</td>
<td>bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth-value focus</td>
<td>goo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ goo and šii 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/šii and imperfective AUX’s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPFV ‘be.in’</th>
<th>IPFV.NEG</th>
<th>be.in.NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>where</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SBJ goo ga V</td>
<td>(Heath 1999a: 9); (Prokhorov f.n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SBJ ga goo ga V</td>
<td>(Prokhorov f. n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SBJ ŋka goo ga V</td>
<td>(Prokhorov f. n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 SBJ mma goo ga V</td>
<td>(Prokhorov f. n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 SBJ goo ma V</td>
<td>(Heath 1999a); (Prokhorov f. n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 SBJ ŋka goo ma V</td>
<td>(Prokhorov f. n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 [SBJ, bara] a ga V</td>
<td>(Heath 1999a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 [SBJ, mma bara no] a, ga V</td>
<td>(Prokhorov, f. n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 [SBJ, goo no] a, ga V</td>
<td>(Heath 1999a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ 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 Progressive 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 mangor 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 ga 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 šalan?  
    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 hēē 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unmarked categorical</th>
<th>Term focus</th>
<th>Predicate-centered focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>SoA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SBJ goo ga V</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SBJ ŋka goo ga V</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SBJ mma goo ga V</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>SBJ ŋka goo ma V</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[SBJ, mma bara no][a_i]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
+ 1-4 [Template1]: unmarked construction is *goo ga*; adding a strong AUX (*ŋka/mmə*) induces SoA reading

Table 5. Progressive vs. Imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Categorical</th>
<th>SoA focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td><em>goo ga V</em></td>
<td><em>nha/mmə goo ga V</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td><em>ga V</em></td>
<td><em>mmə V</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- *ŋka (nha)* and *mmə* 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Categorical</th>
<th>SoA focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td><em>goo ma V</em></td>
<td><em>ŋka goo ma V</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td><em>Ø V</em></td>
<td><em>ŋka V</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ 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 (potential focus domain underlined)

1. \[SBJ \textbf{goo} \textit{ga} V\] truth-value focus

7. \[SBJ \textit{bara no}[\underline{ga} V]\] 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANA</td>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula(tive)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOML</td>
<td>Nominalization</td>
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<td>(Direct) object</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>Plural</td>
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<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
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<td>PF</td>
<td>Predicate centered focus</td>
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<td>Term focus</td>
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<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb or vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>Verbal noun</td>
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</table>

References:

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

References


