

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

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## **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 B1<sup>1</sup>. 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).<sup>2</sup>

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.

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<sup>1</sup> See [http://www2.hu-berlin.de/gur\\_und\\_kwa\\_fokus](http://www2.hu-berlin.de/gur_und_kwa_fokus).

<sup>2</sup> 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 Task<sup>3</sup>

### 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

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<sup>3</sup> 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.

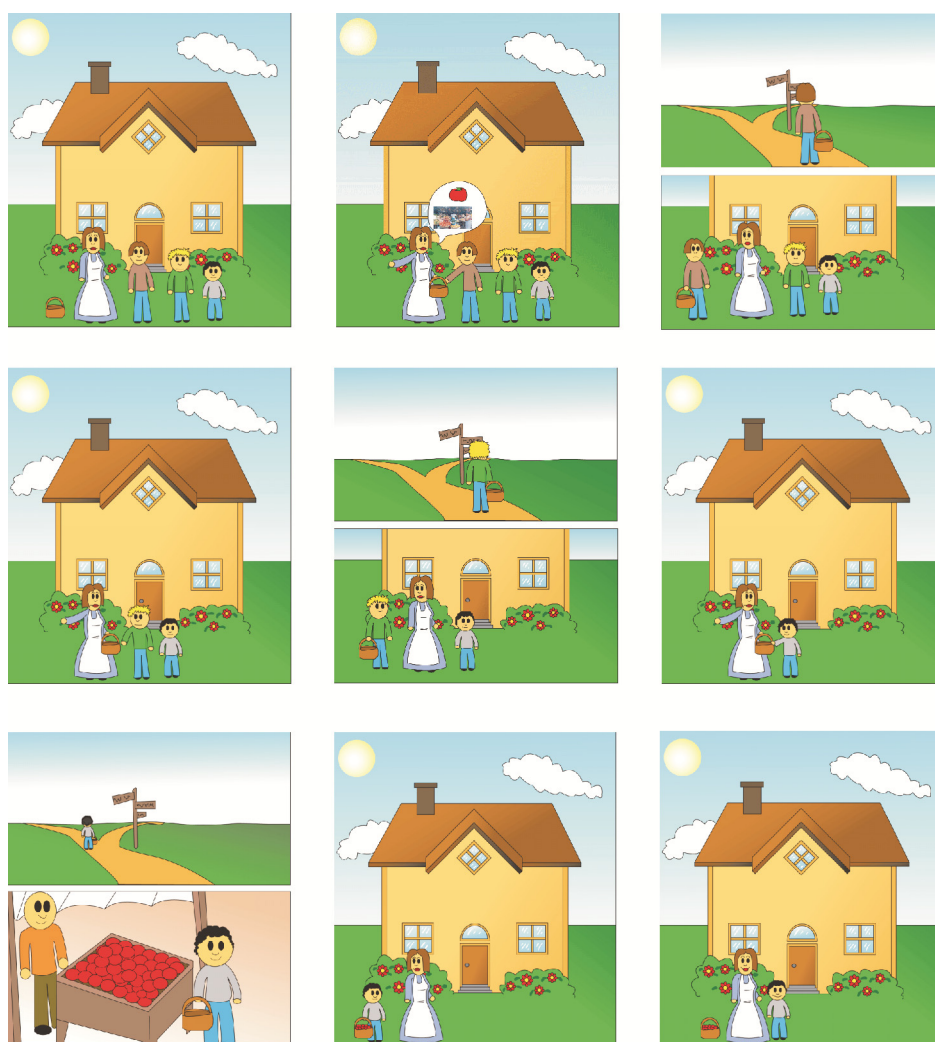


Figure 1: Fairy Tale (Tomatoes<sup>4</sup>) (Skopeteas et al. 2006: 151)

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

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## 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.<sup>5</sup> 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

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<sup>5</sup> 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) <sub>(FOC)</sub> | a.  | The woman hit (Peter) <sub>(FOC)</sub> |
|     | a'. | [She] <sub>FOC</sub> ate the beans   | a'. | The woman [hit] <sub>FOC</sub> Peter   |
|     | b.  | [I] <sub>FOC</sub> ate them          | b.  | She also [pushed] <sub>FOC</sub> 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 selection<sup>6</sup> 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?<br>A child was born.            |
| <82-20> | What happened?<br>[somebody jumped into water] |

<sup>6</sup> 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 TAM<sup>7</sup> (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]

<sup>7</sup> 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 language<sup>8</sup> 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 addition<sup>9</sup>. We largely follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules<sup>10</sup> 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),

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

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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).<sup>11</sup>

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

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<sup>11</sup> 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 *lɛ* 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**<sup>12</sup> wà=bīik.  
 woman:DEF1 slap PTL 1=child:12  
 The woman hit [her child]<sub>FOC</sub>.

b. Mārỳ àlē fɔb=wā.  
 M. &:CON slap=OBJ1  
 [Mary]<sub>FOC</sub> hit him.

(4) Kɔnni

a. ù=nìgì-wá ù=búà.  
 1=hit-PTL 1=child.1a  
 She hit [her child]<sub>FOC</sub> .

a. Mārỳ nígí-**nà**=wà.  
 M. hit-PTL=OBJ1  
 [Mary]<sub>FOC</sub> 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 marking<sup>13</sup> is

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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, Kɔnni and Baatɔnum 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 subjunctive<sup>14</sup>. 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.<sup>15</sup>

(5) Semantically dependent C2:

[clause or constituent]<sub>C1</sub> [*tè* clause]<sub>C2</sub>

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

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

<sup>15</sup> 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):

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- 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 Buli<sup>16</sup>

Audio: Tomatoes-Buli.mp3

(to play audio file move mouse into field)

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<sup>16</sup> 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 tòṁ  
 &: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 tòṁāntòsùkū tā jám-yà ?  
 &:NEG buy tomatoes:DEF15 have come-ASS %  
 he didn't buy and bring the tomatoes,

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

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

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

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

tè nīpōōwá bāgā pà tòmāntòsùwā 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 Buli<sup>17</sup>

<82-6> gbán àlē d̀̀à tébùlk̀̀ù zú̀k.  
 book.12 &:CON lie table:DEF15 on  
 There is a book on the table.

<sup>17</sup> 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 = ɲòbì kà túé.  
 1=eat PTL bean.6  
 She ate beans.

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

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

<82-72> S1: nípòowá ɲè kà sēè.  
 woman:DEF1 do PTL how:Q  
 What did the woman do?

S2: ò = ɲòbì 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 chēŋ 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 = ηòbì.  
 1=eat.ASS  
 She ate them.

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

## 5. Kɔ̀nni

Kɔ̀nni 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/Kɔ̀nni 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 Kɔ̀nni 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 Kɔnni<sup>18</sup>

Audio: Tomatoes-Konni.mp3

(to play audio file move mouse into field)

(1) hògú wùní àṅáṅ 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 tùṅ jà-kùùrí dí ù=gáá,  
 1 send thing-old:DEF5 COMP 1=go.SBJV  
 She sent the elder to go

à gá dàà tòmántòsí kèṅ, 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-gààṅ, à gá,  
 child:DEF1 PTL hit road-?different:N & go  
 The child took a different road, and went,

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

<sup>18</sup> 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 bùlièwó

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` d` g`n`-n` m` = !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`!l` p`m.  
 1=mother:DEF1 heart:N PTL ? get.cool very  
 His mother became very happy.

## 5.2 Focus Translation Extract<sup>19</sup>

<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 wùní 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: mìnâ ńóbí-nà túóhè.  
 who eat-PTL bean:DEF6  
 Who ate the beans?

<sup>19</sup> 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-̀̀ẃ́ t́́.  
 1=eat-PTL bean.6  
 She ate beans.

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

S2: ù = ń̀̀g̀-̀̀ẃ́ d̀̀śń ̀̀ 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-̀̀ẃ́ t́́.  
 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 = ηḍbí túó!hé mìnŋ.  
 1=eat bean:DEF6 PTL  
 She ate the beans.

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

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

S2: ù = ká ηḍbí 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 dìgì-wó túòhè, à yì-wá.  
 woman:DEF1 cook-PTL bean:DEF6 & BEN-OBJ1  
 The woman cooked the beans for him.

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

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

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

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

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



<82-163> S1: h̀̀g̀wá ǹ̀g̀-`wá p̀̀t̀.
   
 woman:DEF1 hit-PTL Peter
   
 The woman hit Peter.

S2: à̀ỳ, ù = ká ǹ̀g̀-`wà,
   
 no 1=NEG hit-OBJ1
   
 No, she didn't hit him,

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

<82-164> S1: h̀̀g̀wá ǹ̀g̀ p̀̀t̀ m̀̀.
   
 woman:DEF1 hit Peter PTL
   
 The woman has hit Peter.

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

<82-165> S1: h̀̀g̀wá ǹ̀g̀ p̀̀t̀ m̀̀.
   
 woman:DEF1 hit Peter PTL
   
 The woman has hit Peter.

S2: à̀ỳ, ù = yè báá ù = ǹ̀g̀-!`wá m̀̀.
   
 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 ñíínàmà.  
 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 ñíínámá  
 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 Baatonum<sup>20</sup>

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      sàà  
 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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 tíí 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 tíí.

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 bɛ́-n dǎ́akóo wì ú tīe mí,  
 child:CL DEM.CL-POSS last:1 ?DEM1 1 retain PTL

the last child that was left,

wí-a ú gɔ́r-a.  
 OBJ1-PTL 1 send-PTL

him, she sent.

(9) dǎ́akóo wí swáà wɔ́ri,  
 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 yé́-n sɔ́ 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 Baatɔnum<sup>21</sup>**

<82-6>      tɪrɛ́rú      gár-a              yĩ́   táabùru      wòll-ǒ      (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.

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<sup>21</sup> 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 swìi 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 swìi yí dī.

1 bean:CL DEM.CL eat

She ate the beans.

S2: àáwó, nǎ-(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 swìi 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) móri 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

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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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