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

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

1   Presentation and comparison of the data

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

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

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

In the following, the data for the tomato story, the questions concerning that story and the selected sentences of the focus translation task are presented from four languages: Yom, Aja, Anii and Foodo[*]. All four languages are spoken in Benin, but they belong to two different language families: Gur (Yom) and Kwa (Aja, Anii, Foodo). Within Kwa, the languages belong to different branches and cannot be regarded as closely related. From a typological point of view, Aja, an isolating language with agglutinative features, stands against the other three languages, which are agglutinative. Furthermore, these three languages have a productive noun class system with a differing number of noun classes each. All four languages discussed are tone languages[1], in which intonation is not a primary means for focus realization. The word order is SVO.

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

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[1] The tone marking follows the following conventions throughout all languages: Every tone is marked (unless otherwise stated) as either high (´), low (`), mid (¯), falling (ˆ) or rising (ˇ).

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

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

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

2 The data

2.1 Yom

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

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

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

Fiedler, Ines. Accepted. Yom. In *Noun Class Systems in Gur Languages. Vol. 2: Oti-Volta Languages*, eds. Reineke, Brigitte and Roncador, Manfred von. Köln: Köppe.

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

2.1.1 Tomato Story in Yom[2]

(1)   Pɔɣ-a   nyɛɛ-ra   a   bamən   bə-sə   sə-ta.
        woman   INDEF.CL-FM 3SG be_with.PFV child-CL CL-three
        'A woman had three children.'

(2)   Lɛɛ gɔr nyə-nə   a   nɔ   ka   a   təm   sə   suɣa
        CNJ day INDEF-CL 3SG want   ?CL 3SG send CL   in
        ka nyə-ŋa ka daana   ʊ   timaati-sə ya-ku.
        CL INDEF-CL CNJ buy.VENT. SEQ 3SG tomato-CL market-CL

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

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

(3) Lɛɛ a zanə pər-ɣʊ ka tira fanə-ɣa.
CNJ 3SG take.PFV basket-CL CNJ carry.SEQ first-CL
'So she took a basket and gave it to the first one.'

(4) Ka cɛrii nən nyə-n nɛɛ, sʊn-ii ka yɛsii.
CNJ arrive.SEQ at INDEF-CL SUB road-CL CNJ split.SEQ
'When he got to some point, there was a fork in the road.'

(5) ka wa məkə la sʊɣa de-ʊŋ ka na zanə nɛɛ.
CL NEG know.PFV CL.N in REL-CL CL FUT take SUB
'He didn't know which way to take.'

(6) Lɛɛ ka bətən baɣə-kpara-sə ka man nɛ.
CNJ CL return.PFV hand-dry-CL CNJ ?find.SEQ mother
'So he came back to his mother empty-handed.'

(7) Lɛɛ nɛ cər pər-ɣʊ ka təm-ii lii-ra-ŋa.
CNJ mother receive.PFV basket-CL CNJ send-away.SEQ two-AG-CL
'Then the mother gave the basket to the second one and sent him off.'

(8) Keka gaa-ɣa zanə sʊn-ʊŋ.
CL.EMPH self-CL take.PFV road-CL
'He also went on his way.'

(9) Ka cɛnə de-n cə-n sʊn-ii yɛsə lee nɛɛ,
when walk.PFV REL-CL DEM-CL road-CL split like SUB
ka wa məkə la yaasi.
CL NEG know.PFV CL.N.POSS manner
'When he arrived where the roads split, he was confused.'

(10) Lɛɛ ka yer   kpɛ,
      CNJ CL exit.PFV ?

      ka bətənii,   ka dan   ka man   nɛ.
      CNJ return.SEQ CNJ come.SEQ CNJ ?find.SEQ mother

      'So he turned around half-way, went back and found his mother.'

(11) A   wa vərən   timaati-sə.
      3SG NEG get.PFV tomato-CL

      'He hadn't found tomatoes.'

(12) Saa   cɛɛ   nɛ   zanə   per-ɣʊ   ka tira
      time DEM.CL mother take.PFV basket-CL CNJ carry.SEQ

      bə-taɣa-ŋa,   saa   cɛɛ   bə-witii-gaa-ɣa.
      child-follow-CL time DEM.CL   child-small-self-CL

      'This time the mother took the basket and gave it to the next
      child, this time even the smallest child.'

(13) Lɛɛ keka   zanə   sʊn-ʊŋ.
      CNJ CL.EMPH   take.PFV road-CL

      'And this one went on his way.'

(14) Ka   cɛrii   de-n   sʊn-ii   yɛsə lee nɛɛ
      when arrive.PFV REL-CL road-CL   split like SUB

      'When he got to the fork in the road, ...'

(15) lɛɛ ka məkə   kaɣaa:
      CNJ CL know.PFV that

      gam-baka   dʊŋ-na   ŋʊ de   har   yakʊ.
      left-hand.CL   affaire-FM CL ?lead.IPFV until market

      'and he knew this: the road on the left leads to the market.'

(16) Lɛɛ ka zanii ŋʊnʊŋ c-ʊŋ,
CNJ CL take_away.PFV CL.EMPH DEF-CL

ka dera ka maa de-n ba berma timaati-sə nɛɛ.
CNJ go. SEQ CNJ ?find REL-CL CL ?sell.IPFV tomato-CL SUB

'So he took that one and he went to where tomatoes were sold.'

(17) ka dara timaati-sə cə-sə pər-ɣʊ ba,
CNJ buy.SEQ tomato-CL DEM-CL basket-CL ?

ka kʊnən saa-ɣa.
CNJ go_home.SEQ house-CL

'And he bought a whole basket full of tomatoes and went home with them.'

(18) Ka cɛn nɛɛ ka man ka nɛ.
when walk.PFV SUB CL ?find CL mother

'When he arrived, he met his mother.'

(19) Ba le-ɣʊ ka baaɣii sɔrɔ gaagaa.
CL throat-CL CNJ become_wet much self.REDUP

'And they were very happy.'

2.1.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

(1Q) Wé-rá nɛ́ cə́-ə̀ tàllə́-ń tə́mə́ŕ tì ...
who-FM mother DEF-CL begin.PFV-with send.PFV to ....

à dááná tìmáátí-sə̀
3SG buy.IPFV tomato-CL

'Who is asked by his mother to go and buy tomatoes first?'

(1A) Á bə́-fànə̀ɣà-rà à tàllə́-ń tə́mə́ŕ.
3SG.POSS child-first-FM 3SG begin.PFV-with send.PFV

'It's her first child that she sent first.'

(2Q) Bə́-ń   tél-lá   nέ   cə́-ə̀   tə́mə̀r̀
      what-with   reason-FM   mother DEF-CL send.PFV
      kà   nyə̀-ŋà tó-γà   kpέέnέ káγáá:
      CL.POSS   INDEF-CL other-CL again   that:
      kà démá   ká dááná   tìmáátí-sə̀?
      CL go.SBJV CL buy.PFV   tomato-CL
      'Why does the mother ask another one to go and buy tomatoes?'

(2A) Bə̀-fànə̀-γà   déŕ   nὲὲ, kà wà mə̀kə́   lá   yáás'í.
      child-first-CL go.PFV SUB CL NEG know.PFV CL.N.POSS   manner
      Dé-ń   sún-îì yὲsə́   nὲὲ, kà wà mὲká   lá   súγá
      REL-CL road-CL divide.PFV   SUB, CL NEG know.IPFV CL.N.POSS in
      dè-ʊ́ŋ kà nà zánə́   kà-ǹ   démá ká və́ŕná
      REL-CL CL FUT take.IPFV CNJ-with go.IPFV CL find.IPFV
      tìmáátí-sə̀ nὲὲ, lὲὲ kà bə̀tə̀ǹ   yérém̀.
      tomato-CL SUB CNJ CL return.PFV empty
      'When the first child went, he was confused. Where the roads
      split, he didn't know which one to take to go and buy tomatoes.
      So he returned empty-handed.'

(3Q) Bə́-rá   bə̀-líírá-ŋà   kéká   nɔ̀γə̀ǹ-ná? ... Nɔ̀γə̀ǹ sááγà?
      what-FM child-second-CL CL.EMPH   bring.PFV-TP ... bring.PFV house
      'What did the second child bring home?'

(3A) Bə̀-líírá-ŋá   gáá-γá   wà nɔ̀γə̀ń   là   nyə́-ná.
      child-second-CL also-CL   NEG bring.PFV CL.N.POSS INDEF-CL
      'The second child didn't bring anything either.'

(4Q) Bə̀-dè-ŋá-rá   ká nə́γə́ń   tímáátí-sə̀ sááγá?
      child-REL-CL-FM CL bring.PFV tomato-CL   house
      'Which of the children brought home tomatoes?'

(4A)   Táárá-ŋá-rà ká nɔ́ɣɔ̀n   sɔ̀.
       third-CL-FM CL bring.PFV CL
       'It's the third one who brought them home.'

(5Q)   Fàájí cɔ́-ɔ̀   nà lò   nὲὲ, nέ   ɔ̀n dó ... ééе...
       speech DEF-CL FUT finish.IPFV SUB, mother with ? ... eeh ...
       bɔ́-wítîi-ɣá   cɔ́-ɣá   bá   lé-ì   bàɣɔ́-rà-á
       child-small-CL DEF-CL   3PL.POSS throat-CL become_wet.PFV-TP-PQ
       kèé ì wà bààɣí?
       or   CL NEG become_wet.PFV
       'At the end of the story, were the mother and her smallest child
       happy or sad?'

(5A)   ɛɛn,   i baɣəra.
       hmmm, CL become_wet.PFV.TP
       'Humm! They were happy.'

2.1.3 Focus Translation extract in Yom

<82-6>   Takəlla-ŋʋ (nyə-ŋʋ) be   taabər-ŋʋ paaɣa.
             book-CL   INDEF-CL be_LOC table-CL   on
             'There is a book on the table.'

<82-10> S1: dee-ra   la   mənə-ra?
            how-FM   DEM   do.PFV-BG
            'What happened?'

         S2a: ba mɛl-lə   bɛɣa-ra.
              3PL give_birth.PFV child-FM
              'A child has been born.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<82-72> S1: bə́-rá   pʼɔ́ɣ-á   mə̀nə̀-rá?
what-FM woman-CL do.PFV-BG
'What did the woman do?'

S2a: à   jír   túr-à.   S2b: à   jír   túr-à-là.
3SG eat.PFV bean-CL   3SG eat.PFVbean-CL-FM
'She ate beans.'

<82-128> S1: à   jír   túr-à.
3SG eat.PFV bean-CL
'She ate the beans.'

S2: áawò, a-ʊ-ra   ma jir   a.
no,   1SG-PRT-FM 1SG eat.PFV CL
'No, I ate them.'

<82-136> S1: pɔɣ-a   jir   tur-sɔwər-a.
woman-CL eat.PFV bean-black-CL
'The woman ate the black beans.'

S2: aawò, la kpa sɔwəra,   mɔr-a-la.
no   CL.N NEG be_black.PFV-BG red-CL-FM
'No, they were not black, the red ones.'

<82-147> S1: pɔɣ-a   jir   tur-a dinə.
woman-CL eat.PFV bean-CL yesterday
'The woman ate the beans yesterday.'

S2a: aawò, la kpa dinə,   dinə-tol-la.
no   CL.N NEG yesterday yesterday-other-FM
'No, it was not yesterday, the day before yesterday.'

S2b: aawò, la   kpa dinə-ra   a   jil-la,

no   CL.N NEG yesterday-FM 3SG eat.PFV-BG

dinə-tol-la.

yesterday-other-FM

'No, it was not yesterday that she ate, the day before yesterday.'

\<82-188\> S1: pɔɣ-a   jír   túr-à.

woman-CL   eat.PFV   bean-CL

'The woman ate the beans.'

S2a: mm, a   jir   a.   S2b: mm, a   jir-wa.

yes,   3SG eat.PFVCL   yes,   3SG eat.PFV-DSJ

S2c: mm, a   jir   a-ra.   S2d: mm, a   jir-wa-ra.

yes,   3SG eat.PFVCL-FM   yes, 3SG eat.PFV-DSJ-FM

'Yes, she did eat (them).'

\<82-189\> S2: aawò, a   wa   jir   (a).

no,   3SG NEG   eat.PFV (CL)

'No, she didn't eat (them).'

\<82-74\> S1: a   nɔɣəna   taabər-ŋʊ, kee a   jəta   ən   kʊ.

3SG bring.IPFV table-CL   or   3SG leave.IPFV with CL

'Is he bringing or sending the table?'

S2a: a   nɔɣəna   kʊ.   S2b: a   nɔɣəna-wa.

3SG bring.IPFV CL   3SG bring.IPFV-DSJ

'He is bringing (it).'

\<82-163\> S1: pɔɣ-a   gbəri   Woru.

woman-CL hit.PFV PN

'The woman hit Woru.'

S2a: áawˈó, à yír ú-rà.
no 3SG call.PFV CL-FM
'No, she called him.'

S2b: áawˈó, yír-áŋá-rá à yír ò.
no call-INF-FM 3SG call.PFV CL
'No, she called him.'

<82-165> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.
woman-CL hit.PFV PN
'The woman hit Woru.'

S2: aawò, a na gbər ʊ (ra).
no 3SG FUT hit.IPFV CL (FM)
'No, she will hit him.'

<82-164> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.
woman-CL hit.PFV PN
'The woman hit Woru.'

S2: aawò, a kan gbər ʊ.
no 3SG not_yet hit.IPFV CL
'No, she did not yet hit him.'

<82-183> S1: pɔɣ-a gbəri Woru.
woman-CL hit.PFV PN
'The woman hit Woru.'

S2: a tə tərii ʊ.
3SG also push.PFV CL
'She also pushed him.'

<82-140> S1: pɔɣ-a tɔɣər ʊ tur-a.
woman-CL cook.PFV CL bean-CL
'The woman cooked the beans for him.'

S2a: aawò, la   kpa ʊ,   ama tinii-ʊ-ra.

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

'No, it was not for him, but for us.'

S2b: aawò, la   kpa ʊ-ra a   tɔɣəlla,

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

ama   tinii-ʊ-ra.

but   1PL.EMPH-PRT-FM

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

<82-170> S1: pɔɣ-a   dar   bə-sə ən   kpɛm-ma tur-a.

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

'The woman bought the beans for the children and the
elders.'

S2: aawò, kpɛm-ma sɛ-ma-ra   (a dalla).

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

'No, only for the elders (she bought).'

<82-179> S1: pɔɣ-a   tɔɣər   a bə-ɣa   tur-a.

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

'The woman cooked the beans for her child.'

S2: a   tə   tɔɣər   do-kpem-ɣa (la   tora).

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

'She cooked for the elders, too.'

2.2   Aja

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

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

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

Fiedler, Ines. accepted. Predication focus in Gbe. In *Proceedings of the 6th World Conference on African Linguistics (WOCAL), August 17-21, 2009. Cologne, Germany*.

Fiedler, Ines. submitted. A focus grammar of Aja. In *The expression of information structure: A cross-linguistic survey in speech production,* eds. Skopeteas, Stavros, Hellmuth, Sam, Fanselow, Gisbert and Féry, Caroline. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fiedler, Ines. in press. Verb-centered focus in Aja. In *Proceedings of the 26th West African Linguistics Congress (WALC), July 28 – August 3, 2008, Winneba, Ghana.*

Fiedler, Ines. 2009. Contrastive topic marking in Gbe. In *Current issues in unity and diversity of languages.* Collection of papers selected from the CIL 18, held at Korea University in Seoul, on July 21-26, 2008. 295-308. Seoul: The Linguistic Society of Korea.

Fiedler, Ines. 2007. Expansion im Aja. In *Afrikanische Horizonte*, ed. Griefenow-Mewis, Catherine, 99-112. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fiedler, Ines. 1998. Fokus im Aja. In *Afrikanische Sprachen im Brennpunkt der Forschung: Linguistische Beiträge zum 12. Afrikanistentag, Berlin, 3.-6. Oktober 1996,* eds. Fiedler, Ines, Griefenow-Mewis, Catherine & Brigitte Reineke, 75-91. Köln: Köppe.

2.2.1 Tomato Story in Aja

(1) nyɔ̀nú ɖèká wà èví àmὲ-tôn ɖέ.
     woman INDEF do child person-three have
     'There is a woman who has three children.'

(2) yí gbè ɖèká ɔ́, é vá ...
     CNJ day INDEF TP 3SG come ...
     sɔ́   gòdū ɖ'àlɔ́mὲ   nɔ́ xòxútɔ́ mɔ́
     take bag put.hand.in for old.AG that
     yì lé   yì àfì-mὲ   á yì xwlὲ yòvogbó
     3SG SBJV go market-in FUT go buy tomato
     gbὲ   nɔ́ yówè   á xò ńtɔ̄nú.
     come.3SG for 3PL.LOGO FUT hit sauce
     'One day, she gave the eldest a bag to go to the market and buy
     tomatoes to make a sauce with.'

(3) cí   èvíὲ   lɔ́ dédó   ɔ́,
     when child.3SG.POSS DEF continue TP
     é   sɔ́   mɔ́ bú   dé   vá   yì àfì-ɔ́-mὲ
     3SG take way other NEG.3SG come go market-DEF-in
     é   yì kéké gbɔ̀
     3SG go until return
     yí mɔ́ yé   dé   kpɔ́ yóvógbó ò.
     CNJ say 3SG.LOGO NEG see tomato NEG
     '(When her son was) on his way, he took the wrong path and did
     not get to the market. So he returned and said that he had not
     found tomatoes.'

(4) é vá sɔ́ nɔ́ cí kplɔ̀-ɛ̀ dò tɔ́
3SG come take for REL follow-3SG follow SUFF

yɛ̂ gbé yì kékéké é gbɔ̀.
3SG also go until 3SG return

'She (the mother) gave it (the bag) to the next one, and he, too, left and returned.'

(5) é mɔ́ yé dé kpɔ́ yòvògbó ò
3SG say 3SG.LOGO NEG see tomato NEG

'And he said that he hadn't seen any tomatoes.'

(6) é vá sɔ́ ná hwɛ̀hwɛ̀tɔ́ yɛ̂ vá yì ..
3SG come take give small.AG 3SG come go ...

'So she gave it to the youngest, he went ...'

(7) é vá tó èmɔ́ nyúí tɔ́ lɔ́
3SG come pass way good ? DEF

yí vá yì kpɔ́ yōvōgbó lɔ́
CNJ come go see tomato DEF

yí xwlè yí sɔ́ hɛ̀n gbɛ̀ .. yɛ̆ ..
CNJ buy CNJ take carry come.3SG ... 3SG

'He takes the right way and finds tomatoes, buys them and takes them home. He ...'

(8) nyɔ̀nú lɔ́ kóɖó èví hwɛ́hwɛ̂tɔ́ lɔ́ wó lé jìjɔ́ mɛ̀.
woman DEF with child small.AG DEF 3PL be joy in

'The woman and the youngest child are happy.'

2.2.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

(1Q)   mí   èvínɔ̀   lɔ́   ɖɔ́   mɔ́   yì   lé   yì   àfì-mὲ
       who child.mother DEF order that 3SG SBJV go   market-in

       á   yì   xwlè   yòvògbó gbέ   ɔ̀?
       FUT.3SG   go   buy   tomato   come.3SG   CQ

       'Who does the mother tell to go to the market and buy tomatoes?'

(1A)   èví   xòxútɔ́   éyí   é   ɖɔ̀.
       child old.AG   ?FM   3SG order

       'She tells the oldest one.'

(2Qa) nyítāɖó òwó   nɔ̀   lɔ́   ɖɔ́   ɖèví bū   mɔ́ yì   lé
       why   3PL.POSS mother DEF order child other that 3SG SBJV

       yì   àfì-mὲ   á   yì   xwlè   yòvògbê   ɔ̀?
       go   market-in FUT   go   buy   tomato come. 3SG CQ

       'Why did their mother tell another child to go to the market and
       buy tomatoes?'

(2Qb) nyítāɖó òwó   nɔ̀   lɔ́   gbé ɖó   ɖèví bú   ɖáɖá
       why   3PL.POSS mother DEF also put child other towards

       àfì-mὲ   ɔ̀?
       market-in   CQ

       'Why did their mother send another child to the market?'

(2A)   cí   xòxútɔ́ lɔ́   dé   kpɔ́ (yí) xwlè gbὲ   ē   yí táɖó.
       REL old.AG DEF NEG see (CNJ) buy   come.3SG   3SG FM head.put
       'Because the oldest didn't find anything to buy and bring back.'

(3Q)   nyí   èvī   àmévē   tɔ́   lɔ́   hὲn gbê   vá
       what child person.two   AG   DEF carry come.3SG   come

       àxwē-mὲ   ɔ̀?
       house-in   CQ

'What did the second child bring home?'

(3A) óō, é hên ńɖé gbɛ́ gò.

no 3SG carry thing.INDEF come.3SG NEG

'No, he didn't bring back anything.'

(4Q) ɖèvī cí yí hên yòvògbó gbɛ́ vá àxwé-mɛ̄ ɔ̀?

child REL FM carry tomato come.3SG come house-in CQ

'Which is the child that brought tomatoes home?'

(4A) ɖèví hwɛ̀hwɛ̀tɔ́ lɔ́ yɔ́.

child small.AG DEF ID

'That's the smallest child.'

(5Q) lè vòvònú nɔ́ ènyɔ́ lɔ́ ɖé,

LOC finish.mouth for problem DEF TP

ɖèví hwɛ̀hwɛ̀ lɔ́ kóɖó ènɔ̀ lɔ́ ɖé,

child small DEF with mother DEF TP

wò lé jìjɔ̀ kpɔ̀ kɔ́ à?

3PL PROG joy see PROG PQ

'At the end of the story, are the youngest child and the mother happy?'

(5A) ɛ́ɛ̀n, wō lè jìjɔ̀ kpɔ́ kɔ̄.

yes 3PL PROG joy see PROG

'Yes, they are happy.'

2.2.3 Focus Translation extract in Aja

<82-6> wèmá ɖèká lè kplɔ̀n jí.

book INDEF be_LOC table on

'There is a book on the table.'

<82-10> S1: nyì   yí jɔ̀   ɔ̀?
        what FM arrive CQ
        'What happened?'

        S2: wó jì   vī   ḍèká.
        3PL give_birth   child INDEF
        'A child has been born.'

<82-20> S1: nyì   yí jɔ̀   ɔ̀?
        what FM arrive CQ
        'What happened?'

        S2: mɛ̀   ḍèká ḍó   tɔ́-mɛ̀.
        person INDEF be_DIR   river-in
        'Somebody jumped into water.'

<82-40> S1: mí yí ḍù āyú ɔ̀?
        who FM eat bean CQ
        'Who ate the beans?'

        S2: nyɔ́nù ḍèká yí ḍū-ì.
        woman INDEF FM eat-3SG
        'A woman ate them.'

<82-48> S1: nyì   yí nyɔ́nù lɔ́   ḍù ɔ̀?
        what FM woman DEF eat CQ
        'What did the woman eat?'

        S2: āyú yí é   ḍù.
        bean FM 3SG eat
        'She ate beans.'

<82-66> S1: nyì   yì nyɔ́nù lɔ́ sɔ́   ḍù nū   ɔ̀?
        what FM woman DEF take eat thing CQ
        'With what did the woman eat?'

S2: nyɔ́nù lɔ́ sɔ́ gàcí ɖù nú.
woman DEF take spoon eat thing
'The woman ate with a spoon.'

<82-72> S1: nyì yí nyɔ́nù lɔ́ wá ɔ̀?
what FM woman DEF do CQ
'What did the woman do?'

S2: é ɖù àyú.
3SG eat bean
'She ate beans.'

<82-128> S1: é ɖù àyú lɔ́-wó.
3SG eat bean DEF-P
'She ate the beans.'

S2: ényɛ̀ yí ɖù àyú lɔ́-wó.
1SG.EMPHFM eat bean DEF-PL
'I ate them.'

<82-136> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́ ɖù àyú yù wó.
woman DEF eat bean black PL
'The woman ate black beans.'

S2: àyú yù wó é ɖù gò, éjúìn yɔ́.
bean black PL 3SG eat NEG red ID
'She did not eat the black beans, it were the red ones.'

<82-147> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́ ɖù ayú èsɔ́.
woman DEF eat bean yesterday
'The woman ate the beans yesterday.'

S2: nyìsɔ̄ yí é ɖù àyú.
before.yesterday FM 3SG eat bean
'She ate the beans the day before yesterday.'

<82-188> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́   ɖū àyú wó.
woman DEF eat bean PL
'The woman ate the beans.'

S2: ɛ́ɛ̀n, é   ɖù wó lá.
yes 3SG eat PL AFF
'Yes, she did eat them.'

<82-189> S2: óò, é   ɖù àyú lɔ́-wó gò.
no 3SG eat bean DEF-PL NEG
'No, she didn't eat the beans.'

<82-74> S1: á   sɔ́   ēkplɔ̀n lɔ́ vɛ́   à
3SG.FUT take table   DEF come.3SG PQ
àbí á   sɔ́ɛ̀   dádá³   ɔ̀?
or   3SG take.3SG towards CQ
'Will he bring or send the table?'

S2: á   sɔ́-ɛ̀   dádá.
3SG take-3SG towards
'He will send (it).'

<82-163> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́   xò Kòfí.
woman DEF hit PN
'The woman hit Kofi.'

S2: óò, é   xó-ì   gò, yɔ́-ɛ̀   yí é   yɔ́-ɛ̀.
no 3SG hit-3SG NEG call-3SG FM 3SG call-3SG
'No, she called him.'

<82-165> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́   xò Kòfí.
woman DEF hit PN
'The woman hit Kofi.'

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³ dádá is a verb meaning 'motion in direction to'.

S2a: óò, á   xó-ì   yɔ́.
no 3SG hit-3SG ID
'No, she will hit him.'

S2b: óò, xó-ì   á   xó-ì.
no hit-3SG 3SG.FUT hit-3SG
'No, she will hit him.'

<82-164> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́ xò Kòfí.
woman DEF hit PN
'The woman hit Kofi.'

S2: óò, é   xò Kòfí   hɔ́dù   gò.
no 3SG hit PN   not_yet   NEG
'No, she did not yet hit him.'

<82-183> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́ xò Kòfí.
woman DEF hit PN
'The woman hit Kofi.'

S2: é   gbè cú-ì.cú-ì   ádá   hènnɛ̀.
3SG also push-3SG.REDUP towards   also
'She also pushed him.'

<82-140> S1: nyɔ́nù lɔ́ ɖà   àyú nì.
woman DEF cook bean for.3SG
'The woman cooked the beans for him.'

S2: mìwó   yí é ɖà   nɔ̄.
1PL.EMPH FM 3SG cook   for
'She cooked for us.'

<82-170> S1: nyɔ́nù   lɔ́   xwlè àyú-wó nɔ́ ɖèví kóɖó   nyɔ́xò-wó.
woman DEF buy   bean-PL for child with   elder-PL
'The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.'

S2: óò, nyɔ́xò-wó ɖékɛ̄   yí   é   xwlè   nɔ́.
no elder-PL   alone FM 3SG buy   for
'No, only for the elders she bought.'

<82-179> S1: nyɔ́nù   lɔ́   ɖà   àyú-wó nɔ́ èví-ɛ̀.
woman DEF cook bean-PL for child-3SG
'The woman cooked the beans for her child.'

S2: é   ɖà   nɔ́ nyɔ́xō-wó hɛ̀nnɛ̀.
3SG cook for elder-PL   also
'She cooked for the elders, too.'

2.3 Anii

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

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

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

2.3.1 Tomato Story in Anii

(1)   gùnā   ɖíŋ   ná   bá-púrú   bà-rʊ̀ʊ́ bà ɖàká   à-fál.
       mother INDEF CNJ 3PL.POSS-child CL-tree 3PL be_LOC CL-home
       'A woman and her three children are at home.'

(2)   gùná   shīí   tì   à   léé   tìmátì   kán ŋ̄-kàmá.
       mother want   IPFV.1[4] 3SG do   tomato   GEN CL-sauce
       'The mother wants to make tomato sauce.'

(3)   ǹkím   ná á tīm   ù-púrú   ù-ŋònó gù-yá.
       it.is.there FM[5] 3SG send 3SG.POSS-child CL-big CL-market

       à   cí tí   shè tòmátì.
       3SG go IPFV.1   buy tomato
       'That's when she sent her first son to the market to buy tomatoes.'

(4)   ù-púrú   ŋónō à   kʊ̀m̀   ʊ̀-nə̀té ná cí.
       3SG.POSS-child big 3SG follow CL-road CNJ go

       à   tī   kpá ʊ̀-nāncìkúrā   mà ná á   lī.
       3SG IPFV.1 arrive CL-intersection TP CNJ 3SG lose_one's_way
       'As he was going, he lost his way at an intersection.'

(5)   K'à   kɔ́ɔ́   yɔ́   ń-ɖéé   à   náá   kúŋ.
       NEG.3SG no_longer know   CL-REL   3SG FUT.2 follow

       à   kpá gù-yá   ní má ná ná á   kɔ́ɔ́ pì   fál.
       3SG arrive CL-market in TP NEG CNJ 3SG return come home

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

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

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

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

(7) ná gùná à kɔ́ɔ̄ tím ká nyìʊ́ táájā.
CNJ mother 3SG again send ?GEN two ?follow
nú nì mìáū à kɔ́ɔ̄ tɔ́ɔ̀ ù-nīcá.
CNJ 3SG.EMPH also 3SG again follow CL-road
'And the mother sent the second, and he also went on his way.'

(8) à tí kpá ù-nāncìkúrā ɖé nɔ́ɔ́ àtíŋí mà, ...
3SG IPFV.1 arrive CL-intersection DEM same also TP
'He also came to the same intersection, ...'

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

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

(11) à kpá fálə̀ mà ná gùná à bóŋó
3SG arrive home TP CNJ mother 3SG finish
à tím bú-bōŋō-pí.
3SG send 3SG.POSS-finish-child
'When he came home, the mother finally sent the last child.'

(12) ná ùní   á   kὸm   ù-nὲcá.
     CNJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG follow   CL-road
     'And he went on his way.'

(13) á   kōm   ù-nὲcá nā cī mà ní .. n .. n'úní
     3SG follow CL-road CNJ go TP ? .. n .. CNJ.3SG.EMPH
     á   tí   sὲrá   à   cí   à   tī   kpá   gù-yá   nî.
     3SG IPFV.1 be_able 3SG go   3SG IPFV.1 arrive CL-market in
     'Following the road, he was able to get to the market.'

(14) à   ŋí   tìmátì à   shí   à   pí   ná   fál.
     3SG see tomato 3SG buy   3SG come with home
     'He found tomatoes, bought them, and took them home.'

(15) n'í   sáŋ   ná   gù-nā,   ná   gùná   à   sὲrá
     CNJ.CL.N sweet with CL-mother,   CNJ CL-mother 3SG be_able
     léē   àtìmátì   ká   ŋkὲmá.
     make   tomato   GEN   sauce
     'And the mother was happy, she could finally prepare the tomato
     sauce.'

2.3.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

(1Q) àŋà ná gúná á   tīm̀ gùyá nî   à   tī   shī tìmátì?
     who FM mother 3SG send market in   3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato
     'Who did the mother send to the market to buy tomatoes?'

(1A) gùná   tím̀ ù-púrú   ù-ŋōnó gù-yá   ní   à   cí
     mother send 3SG.POSS-child CL-big   CL-market in 3SG go
     tī   shī tìmátì.
     IPFV.1 buy tomato

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

(2Qa) máākɔ̀ léē   kā   gùná   á   tím ...
      what   make   PFV.SF mother 3SG send ...
      ù-pí   à-nyʊ̀ʊ́ táājá à   tí   shí tìmátì?
      CL-child CL-two follow 3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato
      'Why does the mother ask another one to go and buy tomatoes?'

(2Aa) ù-púrú   ŋónō à   cì gù-yá   náá k'á
      3SG.POSS-child   big 3SG go CL-market CNJ NEG.3SG
      ŋì ù-nɘ̀cá ù-sònsúnù   à   kúm̄ ná mà láŋ.
      see CL-road CL-good   3SG follow NEG TP because_of
      'Because her eldest child went to the market and did not find the right road to follow.'

(2Qb) àŋà ná gùná   à   kɔ́ɔ̄ tím à   tí   shī tìmátì?
      who FM mother 3SG again send 3SG IPFV.1 buy tomato
      'Who did the mother send to buy tomatoes again?'

(2Ab) gùná .. gùná tím ù-púrú   à-nyʊ̀ʊ́ tàjá   àsɔ̄bāká
      mother.. mother send 3SG.POSS-child CL-two follow first
      k'à   yɔ́   ù-nɘ̀cá à   cí gù-yá   ní mà láŋ.
      NEG.3SG know CL-road 3SG go CL-market in TP because_of
      'The mother sent the second child because the first one didn't know the road to get to the market.'

(3Q) máákɔ̄ ná ù-pí   nyʊ̀ʊ́ tàjá   à   pì   ná   à-fálɘ̀?
      what   FM CL-child two   follow 3SG come with CL-home
      'What did the second child bring home?'

(3A) ù-pí   nyìʊ́ tàjá k'à   pī   ná à-kɔ̀   ɖɔ́ŋ
     CL-child two follow NEG.3SG come with CL-thing INDEF
     à-fál   ná.
     CL-home NEG
     'The second child didn't bring home anything.'

(4Q) ù-pí   à-páŋá   pī   kā   ná   tìmátì à-fálɔ̀?
     CL-child CL-which come PFV.SFwith tomato CL-home
     'Which of the children brought home tomatoes?'

(4A) ù-pí   jàlá pī   kā   ná tìmátì à-fál.
     CL-child small come PFV.SF with tomato CL-home
     'The smallest child brought home tomatoes.'

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

(5A) ɛ́ɛ̀n, ì sáŋ   ná ù-pí   jàlā ná nár
     yes CL.N be_sweet with CL-child small with 3SG.POSS.mother
     bà ŋ̄ī tìmátì à   shí mà láŋ.
     3PL see tomato 3SG buy TP because_of
     'Yes, the small child and the mother are happy because they have
     found tomatoes to buy.'

2.3.3 Focus Translation extract in Anii

<82-6>   gù-bɔ́ ɖɔ̀ŋ gù[6] téré   tə́brì láŋ.
            CL-book INDEF CL lay_down table on
            'There is a book on the table.'

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[6] The normal form of the indefinite pronoun is gʊ-ɖəŋ (Fiedler, submitted).

<82-10> S1: māákɔ̀ lēé ká?
        what   do PFV.SF
        'What happened?'

     S2: bà ŋòm   ù-pí.
        3PL give_birth CL-child
        'A child has been born.'

<82-20> S1: māákɔ̀ lēé ká?
        what   do PFV.SF
        'What happened?'

     S2: ù-ɖə́ŋ   ɖá ká   ḿ-bùló.
        CL-INDEF be PFV.SF CL-river
        'Somebody jumped into water.'

<82-40> S1: àŋà jì ká   (à-)cá?
        who eat PFV.SF (CL-)bean
        'Who ate the beans?'

     S2: ù-sə́mpə̀rə̀ ɖə́ŋ jì ká.
        CL-woman   INDEF eat PFV.SF
        'A woman ate (them).'

<82-48> S1: mònú ù-sə́mpə̀rə̄ à jì?
        what CL-woman   3SG eat
        'What did the woman eat?'

     S2a: à-cá   nì á jì.   S2b: à jì cá.
        CL-bean FM 3SG eat   3SG eat bean
        'She ate beans.'

<82-66> S1: ná   māákɔ̀ ní ù-sə́mpə̀rə̀ á jì ù-jíʊ̀?
        with what   FM CL-woman-CL 3SG eat 3SG-food
        'With what did the woman eat?'

S2: ná   tírì   ná á   jì   jíʊ̀.
with spoon FM 3SG eat food
'The woman ate with a spoon.'

<82-72> S1: māákɔ̀ ní ù-sə́mpə̀rə̄ ā   lēé?
what   FM CL-woman 3SG do
'What did the woman do?'

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

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

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

<82-136> S1: ù-sə́mpə̀rə̀ jì   cá   ɖònó.
CL-woman eat bean black
'The woman ate the black beans.'

S2: k'à   jì   ì-ɖònó ná ì-ráŋā ní á   jì.
NEG.3SG eat CL-black NEG CL-red FM 3SG eat
'She did not eat the black ones, but the red ones.'

<82-147> S1: ù-sə́mpə̀rə̀ jì   cá   gàláì.
CL-woman   eat bean yesterday
'The woman ate the beans yesterday.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S2b: ù-yìɖú ná á yìɖá ní.
CL-call.INF FM 3SG call 3SG.OBJ
'She called him.'

<82-165> S1: ù-sə́mpə́rə̀ (à) kə̀ Ráhmân.
CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
'The woman hit Rahman.'

S2: à táā tí kə̄ ní.
3SG FUT.1 IPFV.1 hit 3SG.OBJ
'She will hit him.'

<82-164> S1: ù-sə́mpə́rə̀ (à) kə̀ Ráhmân.
CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
'The woman hit Rahman.'

S2: k'à kánà kə́ Ráhmân ná.
NEG.3SG not_yet hit PN NEG
'She didn't hit him yet.'

<82-183> S1: ù-sə́mpə́rə̀ (à) kə̀ Ráhmân.
CL-woman (3SG) hit PN
'The woman hit Rahman.'

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

<82-140> S1: ù-sə́mpə̀rə́ bɔ́ɔ́ (à-)cá à shèé nî.
CL-woman cook (CL-)bean 3SG give 3SG.OBJ
'The woman cooked the beans for him.'

S2a: k'à   bɔ́ɔ̀ cá   à   shèé ní   ná,
NEG.3SG cook bean 3SG give 3SG.OBJ NEG
àtʊ́m   pí.
1PL.EMPH FM
'(No,) she didn't cook for him, it was for us.'

S2b: k'ì̀   léé ùní   ná à   bɔ́ɔ̄ (a) shèé ná,
NEG.CL do 3SG.OBJ FM 3SG cook (3SG) give NEG
àtʊ́m   pí à   bɔ́ɔ̄ (a) shèé.
1PL.EMPH FM 3SG cook (3SG) give
'(No,) it was not for him that she cooked, it was for us.'

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

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

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

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

2.4   Foodo

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

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

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

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

2.4.1 Tomato Story in Foodo

(1)   Ɔ̀-cííḿ   ˈɔ́-kʊ́   là   mʊ̀-á-bée,   kádíyà   à-sá.
       CL-woman   CL-INDEF with 3SG.POSS-CL-children people   CL-three.
       '(There is) A woman and her three children.'

(2)   Gɛ́ nì ɔ̀   lɛ́ɛ́lí bˈáá   dɔ̀ ɔ̀-ŋ́lɛ́ɛ́ nì ɔ̀   súŋ́,
       ID FM 3SG pick 3PL.OBJ in CL-big   CNJ 3SG send
       yɛ̀ ɔ́   nàà   sɔ̀ɔ̀   bàà sà ʊ̀ŋ   tòmátˈí ánà.
       SUB 3SG IMP.go IMP.buy DIR   for 3SG.OBJ tomato PL
       'And then she chose the oldest of them and sent him to go and buy tomatoes.'

(3)   Ɔ̀   náá hálˈí, ní ɔ̀   nyàà   ɔ̀-kpáá,
       3SG go TP,   CNJ 3SG get_lost CL-road,
       gɛ́ nì ɔ̀   kíí   bàà, ɔ̀   máŋ́   bàlà   tòmátˈí ánà.
       ID FM 3SG return DIR, 3SG NEG.PFV bring   tomato PL
       'As he went, he lost his way, and so he returned not bringing tomatoes.'

(4) Gɛ́ nì ó-nyéé lʼɔ́lá nì ɔ̀ lɛ́ɛ́lí ˈɔ́-nyɔ́sɛ́ɛ,
ID FM CL-mother take_again CNJ 3SG pick CL-second

ɔ̀-nyɔ́sɛ́ɛ́ mʊ̀ʊ̀ ŋ-ŋá náá hálˈí, ní ŋ-ŋá
CL-second DEF 3SG-REF go TP, CNJ 3SG-REF

mbɔ̀ bílá nyàà ɔ̀-kpáá.
also again get_lost CL-road.

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

(5) Ŋ-ŋá màŋ gbíí ˈɔ́-kpáá,
3SG-REF NEG.PFV know CL-road,

ní ŋ-ŋá mbɔ̀ lɔ́lá nì ŋ-ŋá kíí bàà,
CNJ 3SG-REF also take_again CNJ 3SG-REF return DIR,

ɔ̀ máɲ́ nyɛ́ bàà tòmátˈí ánà.
3SG NEG.PFV find DIR tomato PL

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

(6) Tʊ́lˈɔ́ gɛ́ nì ó-nyéé mʊ̀ʊ̀ yɛ̀: tɔ̀ɔ̀,
there ID FM CL-mother DEF SUB well

í ɲ́ jí bʊ́-ŋˈá, fíí jˈí ˈásá hálˈí,
CL.N COND be CL-REF, 2PL be CL-tree TP

ɔ̀-káánɔ́ nì yɛ̀ ń́ sˈúɲ́.
CL-small FM SUB 1S.FUT send.

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

(7) Gɛ́ nì ɔ̀ lɛ́ɛ́lí ˈɔ́-káánɔ́ nì ɔ̀ súɲ́.
ID FM 3SG pick CL-small CNJ 3SG send

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

(8) Ɔ̀-káánɔ́ ꞌɲ́-ŋá f ꞌʊ́ hálꞌɨ́, ní ŋ-ŋá gbíí ꞌɔ́-kpáá.
    CL-small CL-REF arrive TP, CNJ CL-REF know CL-road.
    'As the small one arrived, he knew the way.'

(9) Ŋ-ŋá fʊ̀ tòŋkú hálꞌɨ́, bà nɛ́ɛ́ fꞌɛ́ tꞌómátꞌɨ́ ánà.
    CL-REF arrive somewhere TP 3PL IPFV sell tomato PL
    'When he got there, they were selling tomatoes.'

(10) Gɛ́ nì ŋ-ŋá sɔ̀ɔ̀ bàà tòmátꞌɨ́ ánà, ní ꞌɲ́-ŋá
     ID FM CL-REF buy DIR tomato PL   CNJ CL-REF

     kíí   bàà ní ꞌɲ́-ŋá bà ní ꞌɲ́-ŋá tùlà   ó-nyée.
     return DIR CNJ CL-REF come CNJ CL-REF come.find CL-mother
     'So he bought tomatoes and returned home and met his mother.'

(11) Ɔ̀ tùlà   ó-nyéé hꞌálꞌɨ́, ní ꞌɨ́ wáá sà ó-nyéé
     3SG come.find CL-mother TP CNJ CL.N do for CL-mother

     mʊ̀ʊ̀ kɔ́ɱ, mʊ̀ là mʊ̀-béé   mʊ̀ʊ̀ tòɱ
     DEF sweet 3SG with 3SG.POSS-child DEF all

     páɨ́   kꞌɔ́ɱ, ó-béé à nyɛ́ bàà tòmátꞌɨ́ ánà.
     without.exception sweet CL-child PFV find DIR tomato PL
     'When he found the mother, and it made the mother happy, she
     and her child are very happy that the child had found the
     tomatoes.'

2.4.2 Tomato Story – Questions and Answers

(1Q) Àní nìì ó-nyéé   sꞌúɲ́ dí-gbálì dɔ̀ yɛ̀
     who FM CL-mother send CL-market in SUB
     ɔ́ nàà sɔ̀ɔ̀ bàà sà ʊ̀ŋ   tòmátì?
     3SG IMP.go buy DIR for 3SG:OBJ tomato

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

(1A) Mù-béé   ˈɔ́-ŋ́léɛ́   nì   ɔ̀   cɔ́sì   ní   ˈɔ́   súŋ́   yɛ̀
      3SG.POSS-child   CL-big   FM   3SG begin   CNJ 3SG send   SUB

      ɔ́   nàà   sɔ̀ɔ̀   bàà   tòmátì.
      3SG IMP.go buy   DIR   tomato

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

(2Q) Mìnɛ́   ń́   bô   sù   ní   ˈɔ́   lɔ́lâ   ɔ̀   néɛ́
      what   FM_SBJ have because   FM 3SG take_again   3SG IPFV

      sˈúŋ́   ˈɔ́-nyɔ́séɛ́   yɛ̀   ɔ́   nàà   lɔ̀lá   sɔ̀ɔ̀   bàà
      send   CL-second   SUB 3SG IMP.go IMP.take_again buy   DIR

      sà   ɔ̀ŋ   tòmátì?
      for 3SG.OBJ tomato

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

(2A) Ɔ̀-cɔ́sìsɛɛ́   mὺὸ   ŋ-ŋá   màŋ   gbíí   ˈɔ́-kpáá,
      CL-first   DEF   CL-REF NEG.PFV   know   road

      ŋ-ŋá   à   nyàà,   gɛ́   nì   ŋ-ŋá   kíí   bàà
      CL-REF   PFV get_lost, ID   FM CL-REF return   DIR

      ɔ̀   máŋ́   nyɛ́   bàà   tòmátì.
      3SG NEG.PFV find   DIR   tomato

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

(3Q) Mìnɛ́   ˈŋ́   bálà...   ó-béé   ˈɔ́-nyɔ́séɛ   mὺὸ   ɔ́-pî?
      what   FM   bring ... CL-child CL-second   DEF   CL-home?

      'What does the second child bring home?'

(3A) Ó-béé ꞌɔ́-nyɔ́sɛ́ɛ mʊ̀ʊ̀ ŋ-ŋá bà ɔ́-pí hꞌálꞌí,
CL-child CL-second DEF CL-REF come CL-home TP,

ŋ-ŋá mbɔ̀ màm bílá nyɛ́ bàà
CL-REF also NEG.PFV again find DIR

tòmátì gɛ́ nì ŋ-ŋá kíí bàà.
tomato ID FM CL-REF return DIR

'When the second child came home, he returned also not having found any tomatoes.'

(4Q) Níí... aní ꞌm̀ bálà tòmátꞌí ɔ́-pî?
CNJ... who FM_SBJ bring tomato CL-home

'Which child brings tomatoes back home?'

(4A) Ɔ̀-mań ɔ̀ bàlà tòmátꞌí ɔ́-pí hꞌálꞌí,
CL-REL 3SG bring tomato CL-home TP

ꞌń jí ó-béé ꞌɔ́-sásɛ́ɛ ꞌɔ́-kááónɔ́.
FM_SBJ be CL-child CL-third CL-small

'The one who brought home tomatoes was the small third child.'

(5Q) ó-nyéé mʊ̀ʊ̀, là mò-béé mʊ̀ʊ̀,
CL-mother DEF with 3SG.POSS-child DEF

bà bà ní bà náá nì bà tá hꞌálꞌí,
3PL come CNJ 3PL go CNJ 3PL finish TP

ì í wáá sà ó-nyéé kꞌɔ́m̀,
CL.N PFV do for CL-mother sweet

àlàa ì máń wáá sà ʊ̀ŋ kɔ́m̀?
or CL.N NEG.PFV do for 3SG.OBJ sweet

'The mother and her smallest child, at the end of the story, is the mother happy or not?'

(5A)　ì　wáá　sà　ó-nyéé　k'ɔ́ḿ　gé,
　　　CL.N do　　for　CL-mother sweet ID

　　　ní　ì　　wáá　sà　ó-béé　　ɔ̀-mań　mʊ̀ʊ̀　kɔ́bɔ́l'í　hál'í,
　　　CNJ CL.N　do　　for CL-child CL-REL　DEF　again　　TP

　　　ŋ-ŋá　mbɔ̀　kɔ́bɔ́lì　ɔ̀-káánɔ́　mʊ̀ʊ̀.
　　　CL-REF also　again　　CL-small　DEF

　　　'The mother is happy, and the child is also happy, the little one,
　　　too.'

2.4.3 Focus Translation extract in Foodo

<82-6>　　　　tàkálládá　tɛ̀　　tébəlì　sú.
　　　　　　　book　　　be_LOC table　　on
　　　　　　　'There is a book on the table.'

<82-10> S1:　mìnɛ́　ŋ̀　　　wá?
　　　　　　　what FM_SBJ do
　　　　　　　'What happened?'

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

<82-20> S1:　mìnɛ́　ŋ̀　　　wá?
　　　　　　　what FM_SBJ do
　　　　　　　'What happened?'

　　　　　S2:　ɔ̀-kʊ́　à　　cɔ́ɔ́lī　　ń-cɔ́ḿ　dɔ̀.
　　　　　　　CL-INDEFPFV plunge　CL-water in
　　　　　　　'Somebody jumped into water.'

<82-40> S1: àní   ń   wî   á-céè?
         who FM_SBJ eat CL-beans
         'Who ate the beans?'

        S2: ɔ̀-cíím   �ń   wî.
         CL-woman FM_SBJ eat
         'A woman ate (them).'

<82-48> S1: mìné nì ɔ̀-cíím   wî?
         what FM CL-woman eat
         'What did the woman eat?'

        S2a: à-céè   nì ɔ̀   wî.   S2b: ɔ̀ɔ́   wî á-céé.
          CL-bean FM 3SG.PFV eat   3SG.PFV eat CL-bean
          'She ate beans.'

<82-66> S1: mìné nì ɔ̀-cíím   jî[7] là?
         what FM CL-woman eat with
         'With what did the woman eat?'

        S2: là   púúdóó n᠌í ò   jî   là.
         with spoon   FM 3SG eat with
         'The woman ate with a spoon.'

<82-72> S1: mìné nì ɔ̀-cíím   wáà?
         what FM CL-woman do
         'What did the woman do?'

        S2: ɔ̀ɔ́   wî á-céé.
         3SG.PFV eat CL-bean
         'She ate beans.'

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

<82-128>S1: ɔ́ɔ́   wî á-céé.

3SG.PFV eat CL-bean

'She ate the beans.'

      S2: àáyì, mí   ǹ   wì.

no   1SG.EMPH FM_SBJ eat

'No, I ate (them).'

<82-136>S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à wî à-céé   à-bíínɔ́.

CL-woman PFV eat CL-bean CL-black

'The woman ate the black beans.'

      S2: ì   máŋ jí à-bíínɔ́, àmá á-péén'ɔ́ gɛ́.

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

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

<82-147>S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à wî à-céé   ńdêlì.

CL-woman PFV eat CL-bean yesterday

'The woman ate the beans yesterday.'

      S2: ndàà-àmàlì gɛ́.

today-back ID

'(No,) it was the day before yesterday.'

<82-188>S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à wî à-céé.

CL-woman PFV eat CL-bean

'The woman ate the beans.'

      S2: ɛ́ɛ̀, ɔ́ɔ́   wî.

yes 3SG.PFV eat

'Yes, she did.'

<82-189>S2: àáyì, ɔ̀   máŋ wî.

no   3SG.PFV NEG eat

'No, she didn't.'

<82-74> S1: ɔ́   nɛ́ɛ́ kíí   là   téébìlì àlàà ɔ́   nɛ́ɛ́ cùm   là.
3SG IPFV return with table   or   3SG IPFV bring with
'Is he bringing or sending the table?'

S2: ɔ́   nɛ́ɛ́ cùm   là.
3SG IPFV bring with
'He is bringing (it).'

<82-163> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   dá Gbáánì.
CL-woman PFV hit PN
'The woman hit Gbaani.'

S2: àáyì, ɔ̀ɔ́   tílí ʊ̀ŋ   gɛ́.
no   3SG.PFV call 3SG.OBJ ID
'No she called him.'

<82-165> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   dá Gbáánì.
CL-woman PFV hit PN
'The woman hit Gbaani.'

S2: àáyì, ɔ́   bɛ́ɛ́ dá ʊ̀ŋ.
no   3SG FUT hit 3SG.OBJ
'No, she will hit him.'

<82-164> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   dá Gbáánì.
CL-woman PFV hit PN
'The woman hit Gbaani.'

S2: àáyì, ɔ̀ɔ́   máŋ bîì   dá ʊ̀ŋ.
no   3SG.PFV NEG again hit 3SG.OBJ
'No, she did not yet hit him.'

<82-183> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   dá Gbáánì.
CL-woman PFV hit PN
'The woman hit Gbaani.'

S2: ɔ́ɔ́   wútá ʊ̀ŋ   kɔ́bɔ́lì.
3SG.PFV push 3SG.OBJ also
'She also pushed him.'

<82-140> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   dʲíná à-céɛ́   sà   mʊ̀.
CL-woman PFV cook   CL-bean for 3SG.EMPH
'The woman cooked the beans for him.'

S2: ì   máŋ jíí sà mʊ̀,   àmá sà   àyíí.
CL.N NEG   be for 3SG.EMPH but   for   1PL.EMPH
'(No,) it was not for him, but for us.'

<82-170> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   sɔ́ɔ̀ á-céɛ́ sâ à-béé   là   á-bílɛ́ɛ́.
CL-woman PFV buy CL-bean for CL-child with CL-elder
'The woman bought the beans for the children and the elders.'

S2: àáyì, sà á-bílɛ́ɛ́   wúlì ní ɔ̀   sɔ́ɔ̀ sâ.
no   for CL-elder   only   FM 3SG buy for
'No, only for the elders she bought.'

<82-179> S1: ɔ̀-cíím   à   dínà á-céɛ́   sà   mʊ̀-béé.
CL-woman PFV cook   CL-bean for   3SG.POSS-child
'The woman cooked the beans for her child.'

S2: à-bílɛ́ɛ́   kɔ́bɔ́lì ní ɔ̀   dínà sà.
CL-elder also   FM   3SG cook for
'She cooked for the elders, too.'

3.   Genetic and areal relations

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

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

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

This sample only partly represents the two language families:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) On the other hand, there are cases in which the genetic relationship is reflected in the focus marking devices, as is the case with the 'Me-particle' in Buli, Konni, Dagbani and Gurene (cf. Schwarz 2010).
(2) We assumed an influence of certain typological features on focus marking devices, such as morphological type, intonation type, or word order type. This assumption is confirmed by our data.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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