Ngizim Fieldnotes*

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This chapter presents field notes of the West Chadic language Ngizim, spoken in North-East Nigeria. In Ngizim, subject focus is indicated by subject inversion, whereas the word order of sentences with focused non-subjects can remain unchanged. The goal of the field work was to find out more about focus marking in Ngizim.

Keywords: Information Structure, Ngizim

1 Preface

Ngizim is a West Chadic (Afroasiatic) language of the B branch (Newman, 1977), spoken in Yobe State, North-East Nigeria, in and around the town of Potiskum, by around 80'000 speakers, according to a 1993 census (Gordon, 2005).

Early descriptions of Ngizim include word lists in Koelle (1854), Meek (1931), and Kraft (1981), but most work on Ngizim has been done by Russell Schuh, including a grammar (1972), a dictionary (Adamu and Garba, 2009), descriptions of its phonology (1971a,1978), verbal system (1971c,1977b), determiner system (1977a), and information structure (1971b,1982).

The data presented in this field note collection are part of the data elicited in November/December 2009 in Potiskum, Yobe State with one speaker, Malam Usman Babayo Garba. The elicitation procedure followed the guidelines for

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semantic fieldwork presented in Matthewson (2004), by which the informants are asked to translate or judge sentences in a given context. The main advantages of this method — apart from yielding negative evidence — is that it allows the researcher to control the discourse context, which cannot be controled in free speech.

1.1 The Ngizim Language

1.1.1 Phonology

Ngizim is a tone language with two tones: H and L, falling and rising tones are analyzed as combinations thereof. Schuh (1972, 6f) identifies the short vowels a, i, u, ə, the long vowels a, e, o, and the following consonants.

**obstruent:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>labialized</th>
<th>laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**stop:**

- voiceless: p t c k kw
- voiced: b d j g gw
- glottalized: š đ ′y
- prenasal: md nd ɳg ɳgw

**fricative:**

- voiceless: f s š tl h
- voiced: v z ž dl

**sonorant:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
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</tr>
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</table>

- nasals: m n ny
- flap: r
- trill: ř
- continuant: l
- semivowel: (w) y w
When possible, the field notes follow these writing conventions. Please note, however, that in the data presented here, the marking of vowel length and tone is omitted, since the sentences have not been recorded yet.

### 1.1.2 Sentence Structure

The word order of Ngizim is SVO, with following adverbials. There is no agreement or overt case marking. In all-new sentences, this word order seems to be relatively fixed, with the exception of adverbials, which have a more variable word order (cf. section 3.1). Another change in word order occurs when indirect objects are pronominal: then they precede direct objects (cf. the following example from Schuh (1972, 46).

\[
\begin{align*}
1. & \quad \text{kaar} \quad \text{raura} \quad \text{ii-ci} \quad \text{Audu} \\
     & \quad \text{2SG.AUX call.NMLZ for-3SG Audu} \\
     & \quad \text{‘you will call Audu for him’} \\
2. & \quad \text{kaar} \quad \text{raura} \quad \text{ii-ci} \quad \text{iyu} \\
     & \quad \text{2SG.AUX call.NMLZ for-3SG 1SG.IP} \\
     & \quad \text{‘you will call me for him’} \\
3. & \quad \text{kaar} \quad \text{raura-gaa} \\
     & \quad \text{2SG.AUX call.NMLZ-1SG.BP} \\
     & \quad \text{you will call me’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the following two sections, the structure of the Ngizim verb and NP will be presented, respectively.

### 1.1.3 The Ngizim Verb

According to Schuh (1972, 18), tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are indicated by the verb tone, suffigation, and the form of auxiliary pronouns. The following table presents Schuh’s descriptions of the TAMs that are used in the data pre-
sentend here: the perfective, progressive, and future. The progressive and future share the same form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>AUX form:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective:</td>
<td>LH + -w suffix perfective aux pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive:</td>
<td>Verbal noun imperfective aux pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future:</td>
<td>Verbal noun imperfective aux pronouns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Nən ləməw-na wənduwa.
    person build.PFV-TOT house
    ‘A man has built a house.’

(3) Nən a ləma wənduwa.
    Person IPFC build.NMLZ house
    ‘A man is building a house.’

Verbal extensions are used to further indicate where or how an action takes place. The totality extension, indicating that an action has been done completely, or to all objects, occurs frequently in our data, more often than one would expect the totality meaning, a fact that was also mentioned by Schuh (2005a, 9). Schuh suggests that the totality extension is also used to express ‘auxiliary focus’ (Schuh, 2005a; Hyman and Watters, 1984). This is investigated in section 4.7. It is indicated by the following suffixes Schuh (1972, 28):

- Transitive V, following DO: suffix -náa
- Transitive V, no following DO: suffix -dù
- Intransitive V: linker -n- + bound suffix pronoun.

The form occurring in intransitive sentences is called the ‘intransitive copy pronoun’, we gloss the whole of it as ICP.

1.1.4 The Ngizim DP

Bare nouns in Ngizim can have an indefinite or definite meaning, like in the related language Hausa. Definiteness and indefiniteness can however be overtly
expressed, by determiners ‘dagai’, meaning ‘some’, ‘a certain’, or the suffixes ‘-w’/’-gu’¹, which indicate that the referent has been referred to before. In the following example we see both an example of the overt indefinite determiner and the overt definite determiner.

(4) Nən ‘dagai ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
    person DET build.PFV-TOT house-DET
    ‘A certain person built a house.’

Modifiers also follow the noun, e.g. example (5) from Schuh (1972, 166).

(5) waka gazbər sirin tiyu
    tree tall two DEM
    ‘Those two tall trees’

Apart from the auxiliary pronoun mentioned above, there are two other pronominal forms: (i) independent pronouns, used e.g. as DO pronouns in verbal sentences (but are often omitted in subject position), or as subject pronouns in equational sentences, and (ii) bound pronouns, used e.g. to form the ICP, the reflexive pronouns, and the Ngizim equivalent of ‘only’ (Schuh, 1972, 478).

Indep.:

1SG íyû
2SG cì/kəm
3SG ácî/átû
1PL jà/wà
2PL kùn
3PL ákšî

Bound:

1SG -g-âa(nái)
2SG -(áa)-cì-(áa)-kəm
3SG -gôrî/-gårâ
1PL -(áa)-jà/-(áa)-wà
2PL -(áa)-kùn
3PL -(áa)kšî

The independent pronoun and the bound pronoun will be glossed as IP and BP, respectively.

¹ According to Schuh (1972, 167) the difference between the two definite suffixes is phonological: ‘-gu’ follows consonants, diphthongs, and vowels e and o; ‘-w’ follows all other vowels.
1.2 Glosses

The following glosses from the Leipzig glossing rules were used.

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
AUX auxiliary
DEM demonstrative
DET determiner
EXCL exclusive
F feminine
INCL inclusive
IPFC imperfective
M masculine
NEG negation, negative
NMLZ nominalizer / nominalization
PFV perfective
PL plural
Q question particle / marker
REL relative
SG singular

The following additional glosses were used.

BP Bound suffix pronoun
EXPL Expletive
FOC ‘Focus marker’
ICP Intransitive copy pronoun
IP Independent pronoun
PRT Particle
STV Stative predicate
TOT Totality extension
2 Field Notes

The field notes are structured into two chapters. In the first chapter, data elicited to test some properties of all-new sentences are presented. These are (i) the possible positions of adjuncts, (ii) the status of the preverbal subject, (iii) the scope of sentence negation, and (iv) equational sentences. The possible positions of adjuncts (section 3.1) were mainly elicited as a prerequisite for the construction of sentences in the focus part — to see which basic sentences are grammatical. The status of the preverbal subject (section 3.2) was investigated to test the hypothesis that the preverbal subject is the canonical topic in Ngizim, and that the incompatibility of its topic status with a focus interpretation thus forces the subject to invert when it is focused. The aim of the sentence negation section 3.3 was to find out more about the position of sentence negation, in preparation for future work on the position of the inverted subject. The data on equational sentences in section 3.4 were elicited as a preparation for the elicitation of the pseudocleft construction, which is compared with the subject focus construction in subsequent sections. The second, larger chapter contains the data in which a part of the sentence is narrowly focused. The first and largest part of this contains the subject focus data (4.1), followed by focus on the direct object (4.2), the indirect object (4.3), on an adjunct (4.4), verb focus (4.5), VP focus (4.6), TAM focus (4.7) and Verum focus (4.8). In each of these parts, the possible word orders and morphological marking are tested. The predicate focus parts (4.5 - 4.8) additionally test nominalization of the verb as a verb-specific strategy of focus marking.

3 All-New

This section contains data which appear in all-new contexts, i.e. in contexts in which no part of the sentence is given. To control for the appropriate information
structure, the question in example (6) was used.

(6) Wakatow-n tam?
happen.PFV-FOC what
‘What happened?’

In the following, we see two intransitive sentences (7/8), two transitive sentences (9/10), and two ditransitive sentences (11/12). As mentioned in Schuh (1972, 28), all-new contexts often induce the so-called ‘totality extension’ (cf. section 1.1.3), especially in verbs like ‘die’ (7), which intrinsically encode totality.

(7) Agudam mətə-ngəri.
Agudam die.PFV-ICP
‘Agudam died.’

(8) Jajua nguməw.
Jajua answer.PFV
‘Jajua answered.’

(9) Na ləmə-na wənduwa.
1SG.AUX build.PFV-TOT house
‘I built a house.’

(10) Jala dauə-əw Anja.
Jala call.PFV Anja
‘Jala called Anja.’

(11) Anja bar-na agogo i Jala.
Anja give.PFV-TOT watch to Jala
‘Anja gave a watch to Jala.’

(12) Na wana-na wakita i Jala.
1SG.AUX send.PFV-TOT letter to Jala
‘I sent a letter to Jala.’

Since the ICP is formed by adjoining a bound pronoun suffix to the subject, it agrees in gender with the subject (compare (13) to (14)).
The all-new word order of Ngizim seems to be strictly S V O, no subject-focus-like word orders are permitted.

The word order of objects with respect to each other might be more flexible.

3.1 Position of adverbials

Adverbials can occur at the end of the sentence, between subject and verb\(^2\), or in initial position.

\(^2\) The ‘adverbial’ in (23) might however be a nominal modifier — thanks to Andreas Haida for this suggestion.
When looking at pronominal subjects, one can see that when the adverbial is placed between the subject and the verb, the subject must be the independent pronoun.

(25) Na ðauri-na Jala da kun wɔnduwa. 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT Jala from inside house
    ‘I called Jala from inside the house.’
(Comment: Here, Jala is inside, not I).
(26) * Na da kun wənuwa ɗauri-na Jala.  
1SG.AUX from inside house call.PFV-TOT Jala  
(intended:) ‘I called Jala from inside the house.’  
(Comment: Here, I am inside, not Jala).

(27) Iyu da kun wənuwa na ɗauri-na Jala.  
1SG.IP from inside house 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT Jala  
‘I called Jala from inside the house.’  
(Comment: Either of us can be inside.).

(28) Da kun wənuwa na ɗauri-na Jala.  
from inside house 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT Jala  
‘I called Jala from inside the house.’

3.2 The status of preverbal subjects

The goal of this section was to check for a possible topic status of preverbal subjects. Sentences (29)–(32) show that subjects which are bad topics can nevertheless be placed in a preverbal subject position.

(29) Nən tawake ləməw-na wənuwa.  
person every build.PFV-TOT house  
‘Every person built a house.’

(30) Ndawa rap ləməw-na wənuwa.  
people few build.PFV-TOT house  
‘Few people built a house.’

(31) Gid ndawa ɗauri-na Maleka.  
all people call.PFV-TOT Maleka  
‘All people called Maleka.’

(32) Ndiwa-w mak ləma-na wənuwa-w.  
people-DET all build.PFV-TOT house-DET  
‘All people build the house.’
Endriß and Hinterwimmer (2006) note that indefinite topics tend to be interpreted as generic in sentences with generic tense, this was found for Ngizim subjects in (33).

(33) Gamsǝk jagadlau na yadgawa.
    male lion have mane
    ‘A male lion has a large mane.’
    (Comment: This is a statement about lions in general)

They also note that topical material cannot be interpreted in the nuclear scope of an adverbial quantifier, it has to be interpreted in its restrictor. The following examples were elicited in order to test whether this is the case in Ngizim. It seems, however, that ‘fatawanke’ means something like ‘very often’, rather than ‘always’, and that this test is therefore not applicable.

(34) Fatawanke ndak dak Pataskǝm a zǝba ndak dak always people from Potiskum IPFC marry. NMLZ people from Leilei.
    Leilei
    ‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei’
    (Comment: it is possible that people from Leilei may marry people from Garbawa, or that people from Potiskum marry people from Ngojin.)

(35) Fatawanke a zǝba ndak dak Leilei ndak dak always IPFC marry. NMLZ people from Leilei people from Pataskǝm.
    Potiskum
    ‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei.’
    (Comment: It is possible that people from Leilei may marry people from Garbawa, or that people from Potiskum marry people from Ngojin.)
(36) Fatawanke ndak dak Pataskɔm a zɔba ndak dak Always people from Patiskum IPFC marry.NMLZ people from Leilei na laktu dagai ɔn a zɔba ndak dak Leilei and time some people IPFC marry.NMLZ people from Garbawa.

Garbawa

‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei, and sometimes they marry people from Garbawa.’

(37) Fatawanke a zɔbu ndak dak Leilei ɔn ɔn ndak Always IPFC marry.NMLZ people from Leilei FOC people dak Patiskum na laktu dagai ɔn ndak dak Garbawa. from Patiskum and time some FOC people from Garbawa

‘People from Potiskum always marry people from Leilei, and sometimes they marry people from Garbawa.’

3.3 The Scope of Sentence Negation

In Ngizim, sentence negation is expressed by a final negation marker ‘bai’. In this section, we tested whether it takes scope over the preverbal subject.

(38) ɔn lɔmɔw wɔnduwa bai.

person build.PFV house NEG

‘Nobody built a house.’

(Comment: This cannot mean ‘A man did not build a house’)

In the previous example a preverbal bare noun subject meaning ‘a person’ was interpreted in the scope of negation, the following sentences show that this is not possible with other quantificational subjects. Similar examples were found for the related language Tangale.
(39) Gid ndawa-w ñauri Maleka bai.
all people-DET call.PFV Maleke NEG
‘All the people did not call Maleka.’
(Comment: Nobody called her.)

(40) Gid ndiwa-w ɭomɔw ʍɔnduwa-w bai.
all people-DET build.PFV house-DET NEG
‘All the people did not build the house.’

(41) Ndiwa-w mak ɭɔma-na ʍɔnduwa-w bai.
people-DET all build.PFV-TOT house-DET NEG
‘All the people did not build the house.’

(42) Ndiwa-w ñɔgap ɭomɔw ʍɔnduwa-w bai.
people-DET some build.PFV house-DET NEG
‘Some people did not build the house.’

When the subject is inverted, it is interpreted in the scope of the following negation marker.

(43) ɭomɔw ʍɔnduwa nɔn ɔn bai.
build.PFV house FOC person NEG
‘Nobody built a house.’

(44) ñauri Maleka nen ndawa gid bai.
call.PFV Maleka FOC people all NEG
‘It is not the case that all people called Maleka.’

(45) ɭɔmɔ ʍɔnduwa-w ndiwa-w gid bai.
build.PFV house-DET people-DET all NEG
‘It is not the case that all people built the house.’

(46) ɭɔmɔw-na ʍɔnduwa nɔn ɔn ɔdãɡaï bai.
build.PFV-TOT house FOC person DET NEG
‘It is not the case that a man/human being built the house.’
The negation cannot follow the subject immediately.

(47) * Gid ndawa bai ɗauri-na Maleka.
    all people NEG call.PFV-TOT Maleka
    (intended:) ‘All the people did not call Maleka.’

(48) * Gid ndiwa-w bai ɗomew wənduwa-w.
    all people-DET NEG build.PFV house-DET
    (intended:) ‘Not all the people built the house.’

(49) * Ndiwa-w mak bai ɗoma-na wənduwa-w.
    people-DET all NEG build.PFV-TOT house-DET
    (intended:) ‘Not all people built the house.’

There is however one example in which the negation occurs between the noun and the quantifier.

(50) Gid bai ndiwa-w ɗomew wənduwa-w.
    all NEG people-DET build.PFV house-DET
    ‘Not all the people built the house.’

This section contains a lot of additional data that was offered by the informant, due to the fact that the sentences tested where not the most natural way to express the intended meaning. The most natural way to express ‘nobody’ uses a negative existential ‘go’ (‘There is no...’).

(51) Go nən ɗomew wənduwa.
    there.is.no person build.PFV house
    ‘No man built a house.’

(52) Go nən mi wara ɗomew wənduwa-w.
    there.is.no person that build.PFV house-DET
    ‘Nobody built the house.’

(53) Go nən dəgai ɗomew-na wənduwa.
    there.is.no person DET build.PFV-TOT house
    ‘Nobody built a house.’
Another kind of sentence offered by the informant uses the positive existential ‘na’ (‘There is...’), as seen in the following example.

(54) Na nən dagai (mi wara) ləməw wənduwa-w.
there.is person DET that build.PFV house-DET
‘It is a certain person that built the house.’

Here again, scope differences with respect to the negation can be observed.

(55) Na nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
there.is person that build.PFV house-DET NEG
‘There is somebody who didn’t build the house.’

(56) Na nən ləməw wənduwa-w bai.
there.is person build.PFV house-DET NEG
‘There is no man that built the house.’

(57) Na nən bai mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w.
there.is person NEG that build house-DET
‘Nobody built the house.’

With embedded clauses, a final negation marker can belong to the matrix clause or to the embedded clause.

(58) Na tuman-gu bai ma Maleka a daura na
1SG.AUX think-EXPL NEG that Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ with
Mamadi.
Mamadi
‘I don’t think Maleka will call Mamadi.’

(59) Na tuman-gu ma Maleka a dauri na Mamadi
1SG think-EXPL that Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ with? Mamadi
bai.
NEG
(i) ‘I don’t think Maleka will call Mamadi.’
(ii) ‘I think Maleka will not call Mamadi.’
(60) Na kuma bai ma Maleka ɗauri Mamadi. 1SG hear.PFV NEG that Maleka call.PFV Mamadi ‘I didn’t hear that Maleka called Mamadi.’

(61) Na kuma bai ma Maleka ɗaurɔw Mamadi. 1SG hear.PFV NEG that Maleka call.PFV Mamadi ‘I didn’t hear that Maleka called Mamadi.’

(62) Na kuma bai ma Maleka ɗauri-na Mamadi. 1SG hear.PFV NEG that Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi ‘I didn’t hear that Maleka called Mamadi.’

(63) Na kuma-na Maleka ɗaurɔw Mamadi bai. 1SG hear.PFV-TOT Maleka call.PFV Mamadi NEG ‘I heard that Maleka didn’t call Mamadi.’

3.4 Equational sentences

In preparation for the elicitation of pseudoclefts in section 4, some equational sentences were elicited. In equational sentences in Ngizim, there is no copula. The subject pronouns are independent pronouns. ‘iyu’ may be shortened to ‘i’ when non-final (Schuh, 1972, 37).

(64) I malam. 1SG.IP teacher ‘I am a teacher.’

(Comment: Said as answer to a question ‘Who are you?’)

(65) Iyu malam. 1SG.IP teacher. ‘I am a teacher.’

(66) Malam-gu iyu. teacher-DET 1SG.IP ‘The teacher is me.’
(67) *Malam-gu i.
teacher-DET 1SG.IP
(intended:) ‘The teacher is me.’

The subject pronoun can be followed by a particle ‘ro’, meaning ‘as for’.

(68) Iyu ro malam.
1SG.IP PRT teacher.
‘As for me, I am a teacher.’

Equational sentences in which the subject contains a relative clause were tested next. Relative Clauses are marked by a relative marker ‘mi wara’, ‘wara’, or ‘mi’ — in the latter case, the verb must be nominalized (cf. (72) vs (73)). In this first set of sentences, the subject head noun is also the subject of the relative clause.

(69) Nən mi wara daurзван Anja ləmwən-na wənduwa.
person that call.PFV Anja build.PFV-TOT house
‘The person that called Anja built a house.’

(70) Nən mi wara ləma-na wənduwa-w daurvw Anja.
person that build.PFV-TOT house-DET call.PFV Anja
‘The person that built the house called Anja.’

(71) Nən mi wara ləmwən-na wənduwa dauri-na Anja.
person that build.PFV-TOT house call.PFV-TOT Anja
‘The person that built a house called Anja.’

(72) *Nən mi ləmwən wənduwa dauri-na Anja.
person that build.PFV house call.PFV-TOT Anja
(intended:) ‘The person that built the house called Anja.’

The head noun is optional, see other examples below.

(73) Mi ləma wənduwa dauri-na Anja.
that build.NMLZ house call.PFV-TOT Anja
‘He who is building the house called Anja.’
In the following set of examples, the relative clause head is the object of the relative clause\(^3\). The relative clause is marked by ‘mi wara’. Again, relative clauses without head noun were judged to be grammatical.

(74) Bi mi wara Jala barw i Shuwa agogo. thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa watch
‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

(75) Nn mi wara Anja daurw ləməw-na wənduwa. person that Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
‘The person that Anja called built a house.’

(76) Nn mi wara Anja dauri-na ləma-na wənduwa. person that Anja call.PFV-TOT build.PFV-TOT house
‘The person that Anja called built a house.’

(77) Mi wara Anja daurw ləməw-na wənduwa. that Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

(78) Wara Anja daurw ləməw-na wənduwa. that Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

‘Baci’ (= ‘One who has/does’) can be used in cases in which the subject of the relative clause is also the subject of the matrix clause. The verb must be nominalized.

(79) * Baci daurw Anja ləməw-na wənduwa. one.who.does call.PFV Anja build.PFV-TOT house
(intended:) ‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

\(^3\) Example (76) was tested twice, and judged to be ungrammatical once, but in all other cases, this structure was accepted.
(80) Baci daura Anja ləməw-na wənduwa.
    one.who does call.NMLZ Anja build.PFV-TOT house
    ‘The one that called Anja built a house.’

(81) * Baci Anja dəruw ləməw-na wənduwa.
    one.who does Anja call.PFV build.PFV-TOT house
    (intended:) ‘The one that Anja called built a house.’

The complex subject can be followed by a determiner, but not by a ‘focus marker’. This is tested here because of an analysis proposed by Schuh (2005b) in which the ‘focus marker’ ‘nɔn’ stems from a definite determiner, and actually does not mark the following constituent as focused, but marks the preceding part as given or backgrounded.

(82) Nɔn mi wara dəruw Anja-w ləməw-na wənduwa.
    person that call.PFV Anja-DET build.PFV-TOT house
    ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’

(83) Nɔn mi wara dəruw Anja-gu ləməw-na wənduwa.
    person that call.PFV Anja-DET build.PFV-TOT
    ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’

(84) * Nɔn mi wara dəruw Anja n ləməw-na wənduwa.
    person that call.PFV Anja FOC build.PFV-TOT house
    (intended:) ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’

(85) * Wara Anja dəruw n ləməw-na wənduwa.
    that Anka call.PFV FOC build.PFV-TOT house
    (intended:) ‘The person that called Anja built a house.’

(86) Bi mi wara Jala barw i Shuwa-w agogo.
    thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa watch
    ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’
(87) Agogo wara Jala barɔw i Shuwa-w ga tlɔmataŋ. watch that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa-DET with spoiled
‘The watch that Jala gave to Shuwa is a spoiled one.’

(88) Bi mi wara Jala barɔw i Shuwa n agogo. thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC watch
‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

(89) * Wara Jala barɔw i Shuwa n agogo. that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC agogo
(intended:)‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

4 Focus

4.1 Subject-Focus

In Ngizim, questioned or focused subjects are usually inverted, with a preceding particle glossed as FOC here. It is often proposed that these structures might be pseudoclefts, so many of the constructions in this section were tested for pseudoclefts as well. Focus was elicited using either answers to wh-questions, or corrective answers.

(90) a. Moti n tai?
die.PFV FOC who
‘Who died?’

b. Moti n Gɔdantu.
die.PFV FOC Gɔdantu
‘Gɔdantu died.’

(91) a. Ḟaʊɾɔw Nyabe n tai?
call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
‘Who called Nyabe?’
b. đaur workflows Nyabe n Anja.
call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
‘Anja called Nyabe.’

c. O’o, đaur workflows Nyabe n Maleka.
no call.PFV Nyabe FOC Maleka
‘No, Maleka called Nyabe.’

The ‘focus’ particle is near to obligatory, cf. examples (92) and (94d) - but see examples (106), (108), (112) and (113b) for counterexamples. The particle has to be adjacent to the wh-subject (cf. 95).

(92) * Məti-ngara die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F ti?
who (intended:)‘Who died?’

(93) Məti-ngara die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F FOC n ti?
who ‘Who (f) died?’

(Comment: This is possible if one knows that it was a woman)

(94) a. đaur workflows Nyabe n ti?
call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
‘Who called Nyabe?’

b. đaur workflows Nyabe n Anja.
call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
‘Anja called Nyabe.’

c. đaur workflows Nyabe nən Anja.
call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
‘Anja called Nyabe.’

d. * đaur workflows Nyabe Anja.
call.PFV Nyabe Anja
(intended:)‘Anja called Nyabe.’
(95) * Məti n madavən tai?
die.PFV FOC last.year who
(intended:) ‘Who died last year?’

Answers were sometimes presented with preverbal subjects, and a question with initial wh-element was accepted⁴.

(96) a. Məti-ngara n tai?
die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F FOC who
‘Who died?’

b. Gədantu məti-ngara.
Gədantu die.PFV-ICP.3SG.F
‘Gədantu died.’

(97) a. Nguma n tai a da lakwtu?
answer.PFV FOC who at on time
‘Who answered quickly?’

b. Alambazam nguməw-na jayan.
Alambazam answer-TOT quickly
‘Alambazam answered quickly.’

(98) a. Tai ləməw wənduwa-w madavən?
who build.PFV house-DET last.year
‘Who built a house last year?’

b. Mamadi ləməw wənduwa-w madavən.
Mamadi build.PFV house-DET last.year
‘Mamadi built a house last year.’

In contrast to what was observed in Schuh (2005a, 14), the totality extension was possible with questioned subjects. The ‘focus marker’ could not be left out in this case.

⁴ Andreas Haida suggested that the subject in (97) might be a contrastive topic rather than a focus.
Questioned or focused subjects cannot occur between the verb and the direct object.

A questioned or focused subject can precede adjuncts of any kind.

A. Ngumo n tai da kun wɔnduwa-w? answer.PFV FOC who from inside house-DET ‘Who answered from inside the house?’

B. Ngumo n Jajua da kun wɔnduwa-w. answer.PFV FOC Jajua from inside house-DET ‘Jajua answered from inside the house.’
b. *Ləməw wənduwa-w n Mamadimadəvən.
   build.PFV house-DET FOC Mamadilast.year
   ‘Mamadi built a house last year.’

A questioned or focused subject can also follow adjuncts of any kind.

(106)  Mətəw madəvən təi?
   die.PFV last.year who
   ‘Who died last year?’

(107)  a. Nguməwn da kun wənduwa-w n təi?
   answer.PFV from inside house-DET FOC who
   ‘Who answered from inside the house?’

   b. Nguməwn da kun wənduwa-w n Jajua.
   answer.PFV from inside house-DET FOC Jajua
   ‘Jajua answered from inside the house.’

(108)  Ləməw wənduwa-w madəvən təi?
   build.PFV house-DET last.year who
   ‘Who built a house last year?’

Sometimes, the offered sentences contained an initial adjunct.

(109)  a. Madəvən mət i n təi?
   last.year die.PFV FOC who
   ‘Who died last year?’

   b. Madəvən mət i n Gədantu.
   last.year die.PFV FOC Gədantu
   ‘Gadantu died last year.’

(110)  Gusəku mət i n təi?
   now die.PFV FOC who
   ‘Who died suddenly?’
(111) Madavən ka gusəsku məti n tai?
last.year at now die.PFV FOC who
(intended:) ‘Who died suddenly last year?’
(Comment: This means: ‘Last year at this time, who died?’)

(112) Madavən ləməw wənduwa-w tai?
last.year build.PFV house-DET who
‘Who built a house last year?’

When the inverted focused/questioned subject is a pronoun, it must be the independent pronoun, in contrast to all-new sentences, which only use the auxiliary pronoun. Similarly, the pronoun used in a pseudocleft construction is also the independent pronoun.

(113) a. Ləməw wənduwa n tai?
built.PFV house FOC who
‘Who built a house?’

b. Na ləməw wənduwa-w iyu.
1SG.AUX build.PFV house-DET 1SG.IP
‘I built a house.’

c. * Ləməw wənduwa-w iyu.
built.PFV house-DET 1SG.IP
(intended:) ‘I built a house.’

(114) a. daurəw Nyabe n tai?
call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
‘Who called Nyabe?’

b. daurəw Nyabe n Anja.
call.PFV Nyabe FOC Anja
‘Anja called Nyabe.’

c. O’o, na daurəw Nyabe nən iyu.
no 1SG.AUX call.PFV Nyabe FOC 1SG.IP
‘No I called Nyabe.’
(115)  a.  daurəw Nyabe n tai?
call.PFV Nyabe FOC who
‘Who called Nyabe?’

b.  Na daurəw Nyabe nən iyu.
1SG.AUX call.PFV Nyabe FOC 1SG.IP
‘I called Nyabe.’

(116)  * Ləməw wənduwa-w nən iyu.
build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
(intended:)‘I built a house.’

(117)  Na ləməw wənduwa-w n iyu.
1SG.AUX build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
‘I built a house.’

(118)  Mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən iyu.
that build.PFV house-DET person 1SG.IP
‘The person that built the house was me.’

(119)  Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w n iyu.
person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
‘The person that built the house was me.’

(120)  Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən iyu.
person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 1SG.IP
‘The person that built the house was me.’

(121)  Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w iyu.
person that build.PFV house-DET 1SG.IP
‘The person that built the house was me.’

(122)  Ləməw wənduwa-w nən ci.
built.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.M.IP
‘You (m) built the house.’
(123)  Ləməw wənduwa-w nən kəm.
build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.F.IP
‘You (f) built the house.’

(124)  Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən ci.
person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.M.IP
‘The person that built a house was you (m).’

(125)  Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa-w nən kə.
person that build.PFV house-DET FOC 2SG.F.IP
‘The person that built a house was you (f).’

(126)  a.  Ləməw wənduwa n təi?
build.PFV house FOC təi
‘Who built a house?’

b.  Ləməw wənduwa n aci.
build.PFV house FOC 3SG.M.IP
‘He built a house.’

(127)  Ləməw wənduwa-w nən ja.
build.PFV house-DET FOC 1PL.EXCL
‘We built the house.’

(128)  Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən wa.
people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 1PL.INCL
‘The people that built this house are we.’

(129)  Ləməw wəndauwa nən wa.
build.PFV house FOC 1PL.INCL
‘We built the house.’

(130)  Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən wa.
people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 1PL.INCL
‘We are the people that built this house.’
(131) Ləməw wənduwa tku nən kun.
build.PFV house DEM FOC 2PL.IP
‘You built this house.’

(132) Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən kun.
people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 2PL.IP
‘You are the people that built this house.’

(133) Ləməw wənduwa tku aksi.
build.PFV house DEM 3PL.IP
‘They built this house.’

(134) * Nən mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən aksi.
person that build.PFV house DEM FOC 3PL.IP
(intended:) ‘The people that built this house were them.’
(Comment: This is plural, so it cannot be ‘nən’ = person)

(135) Ndiwa mi wara ləməw wənduwa tku nən aksi.
people that build.PFV house DEM FOC 3PL.IP
‘The people that built this house were them.’

A postposed subject can optionally ‘split’ a complex direct object (139–140). Examples (141) and (142) show that the relative clause can also follow additional elements (cf. also section 4. in Schuh (1972), who analyzes this as extraposition). The same can happen in pseudoclefts (144).

(136) Na ta-na abə mi wara Dluma bənəw.
1SG.AUX eat.PFV-TOT food that Dluma cook.PFV
‘I ate the food that Dluma prepared.’

(137) Ta abən mi wara Dluma bənəw n təi?
eat.PFV food that that Dluma cook.PFV FOC who
‘Who ate the food that Dluma prepared?’
(138) Ta abọn mi wara Dluma bọnw n Bauya. eat.PFV food that Dluma cook.PFV FOC Bauya
‘Bauya ate the food that Dluma prepared.’

(139) Ta abọn n tai mi wara Dluma bọnw? eat.PFV food FOC who that Dluma cook.PFV
‘Who ate the food that Dluma prepared?’

(140) Ta abọn n Bauya mi wara Dluma bọnw. eat.PFV food FOC Bauya that Dluma cook.PFV
‘Bauya ate the food that Dluma prepared.’

(141) Bauya ta-na abọn garvaca mi wara Dluma bọnw. Bauya eat.PFV-TOT food yesterday that Dluma cook.PFV
‘Bauya ate the food yesterday that Dluma prepared.’

(142) Bauya ta-na abọn-gu garvaca mi wara Dluma Bauya eat.PFV-TOT food-DET yesterday that Dluma bọnw.
cook.PFV
‘Bauya ate the food yesterday that Dluma prepared.’
(Comment: Out of different food by different women, Bauya selected Dluma’s food.)

(143) Nọn mi wara ta abọn mi wara Dluma bọnw n person that eat.PFV food that Dluma cook.PFV FOC Bauya.
Bauya
‘The person that ate the food that Dluma prepared was Bauya.’

(144) Nọn mi wara ta abọn n Bauya mi wara Dluma person that eat.PFV food FOC Bauya that Dluma bọnw.
cook.PFV
‘The person that ate the food that Dluma prepared was Bauya.’
There is a focus construction involving a preverbal subject and a focused resumptive pronoun in postverbal position Schuh (1972, 252). This construction was elicited for a pseudocleft construction here.

(145) Tai ɬʌməw wənduwa-w madəvan? who build.PFV house-DET last.year
   ‘Who built a house last year?’

(146) * Mamadi ɬən mi wara ɬʌməw wənduwa-w madəvan. Mamadi person that build.PFV house-DET last.year
   (intended:) ‘Mamadi is the person that built a house last year.’

(147) Mamadi ɬən mi wara ɬʌməw wənduwa-w madəvan ɬən Mamadi person that build.PFV house-DET last.year FOC
   3SG.M.IP
   ‘Mamadi, he is the person that built a house last year.’

The following sentences test subject focus and pseudocleft constructions with embedded sentences.

(148) Anja ma Jala ɬʌməw-na wənduwa. Anja that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
   ‘Anja said Jala built a house.’

(149) Anja ma (iyu) na ɬʌməw-na wənduwa. Anja that 1SG.IP 1SG.AUX build.PFV-TOT house
   ‘Anja said that I built a house.’
   (Comment: I refers to the speaker, not to Anja)

(150) a. Tai raməw ma Jala ɬʌməw-na wənduwa? who say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
   ‘Who said Jala built a house?’

   b. Anja raməw ma Jala ɬʌməw-na wənduwa. Anja say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
   ‘Anja said Jala built a house.’
(151) a. # Ramɔw ma Jala lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa n tai?
say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC who
(intended) ‘Who said that Jala built a house?’
(Comment: It means ‘He said that Jala built a house for who?’)
b. # Ramɔw ma Jala lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa n Anja.
say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC Anja
(intended:) ‘Anja said that Jala built a house.’
(Comment: This means ‘He said that Jala built a house for Anja’,
or ‘According to Jala, the house was built by Anja’)
c. # Ramɔw ma Jala lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa n Anja.
say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC Anja
(intended:) ‘Anja said that Jala built a house.’
(Comment: The building of the house is done by Anja)

(152) Anja nɔn mi wara ramɔw ma Jala lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa.
Anja person that say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house
‘Anja is the one that said that Jala built a house.’
(Comment: Here, Anja is male)

(153) Anja atu mi wara ramɔw ma Jala lɔmɔw-na
Anja 3SG.F.IP that say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT
wɔnduwa.
house
‘Anja is the one that said that Jala built a house.’
(Comment: Here, Anja is female)

(154) Nɔn mi wara ramɔw ma Jala lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa n
person that say.PFV that Jala build.PFV-TOT house FOC
Anja.
Anja
‘The one that said that Jala built a house was Anja.’
(155) Nǝn mi wara ramǝw n Anja ma Jala ǝmǝw-na person that say.PFV FOC Anja that Jala build.PFV-TOT wǝnduwa.
house
‘The one that said that Jala built a house was Anja.’

(156) Nǝn mi wara ramǝw ma Anja dǝrǝw Mamadi aci Jala.
person that say.PFV that Anja call.PFV Mamadi 3SG.IP Jala
‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’

(157) Mi wara ramǝw ma Anja dǝrǝw Mamadi ǝn aci Jala.
that say.PFV that Anja call.PFV Mamadi FOC 3SG.IP Jala
‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’

(158) Mi wara ramǝw ǝn Jala ma Anja dǝrǝw Mamadi.
that say.PFV person Jala that Anja call.PFV Mamadi
‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’

(159) Nǝn mi wara ramǝw n Jala ma Anja dǝrǝw Mamadi.
person that say.PFV FOC Jala that Anja call.PFV Mamadi
‘The person that said that Anja called Mamadi was Jala.’

(160) Anja ramǝw ma ǝmǝw wǝnduwa n tai?
Anja say.PFV that build.PFV house FOC who
(intended:) ‘Who did Anja say built a house?’
(Comment: This means ‘Anja asks: Who built the house?’)

(161) Anja ramǝw ma tai ǝmǝw-na mǝnduwa?
Anja say.PFV that who build.PFV-TOT house?
(intended:) ‘Who did Anja say built a house?’
(Comment: Anja is asking a question, she doesn’t know who built the house)
(162) Anja ramɔw ma tai ðauri-na iyu?
Anja say.PFV that who call.PFV PFV-TOT 1SG.IP
‘Anja asks: Who called me?’
(Comment: iyu is Anja, not the speaker)

The following sentences were an attempt to elicit further pseudocleft and cleft sentences using the particle ‘ro’.

(163) Lɔmɔw wɔnduwa-w n tai?
build.PFV house-DET FOC who?
‘Who built a house?’

(164) Iyo ro nɔn mi wara lɔmɔw wɔnduwa-w.
1SG.IP PRT person that build.PFV house-DET
‘I was the one that built the house.’

(165) * Iyu ro.
1SG.IP PRT
(intended:) ‘I did.’

(166) * Maleka ro wara Jala ðaurɔw.
Maleka PRT that Jala call.PFV
(intended:) ‘Maleka is the one that Jala called.’

(167) * Maleka ro wara ðaurɔw Jala.
Maleka PRT that call.PFV Jala
(intended:) ‘Maleka is the one that called Jala.’

(168) Mi wara Jala ðaurɔw ro Maleka.
that Jala call.PFV PRT Maleka
‘The one that Jala called is Maleka.’

The following sentences were an attempt to elicit embedded questions.
(169) Na zɔga-na mi wara ta-na kaktlau.  
1SG know.PFV-TOT that eat.PFV-TOT exam  
‘I know who passed the exam.’  
(Comment: Here, one is talking about one person)

(170) Na zɔga-na ndawa mi wara ta-na kaktlau.  
1SG know.PFV-TOT people that eat.PFV-TOT exam  
‘I know those that passed the exam.’  
(Comment: Here, one is talking about several people)

(171) Na zɔga-na ndawa mi wara ta kaktlau bai.  
1SG know.PFV-TOT people that eat.PFV exam NEG  
‘I know those that didn’t pass the exam.’

(172) Na zɔga-na ndawa mi wara ta na ta bai  
1SG know.PFV-TOT people that eat.PFV and eat.PFV NEG  
exam  
‘I know those that passed and those that didn’t pass the exam.’

The next two sentences also appear in my subject focus notes, although I do not know exactly why they were elicited — they were probably offered by the speaker at some point. I include them in the hope that they might be useful to someone.

(173) dₐuᵲ-ᵲw Anja nɔn Yaba na ɬɔma wɔnduwa.  
call.PFV Anja FOC Yaba and build.NMLZ house  
‘Yaba called Anja and built a house.’  
(Comment: here Yaba built the house)

(174) dₐuᵲ-ᵲw Anja nɔn Yaba na nguma-ᵲw.  
call.PFV Anja FOC Yaba and answer.PFV  
‘Yaba called Anja and answered.’  
(Comment: here Anja answered)
Binding Properties

In this part, the binding properties of the subject focus construction were tested, and compared to pseudoclefts. The first group of sentences tests whether the subject binds the direct object.

(175) Nɔn tawanke lawana-na a da-gəɾi.  
person every see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.  
‘Every man saw himself.’

(176) Lawnɔ- na a da-gəɾi n t ai?  
see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC who  
‘Who saw himself?’

(177) * Lawnɔ- na a da-gəɾi n nɔn tawanke.  
see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC person every  
(intended:) ‘Every man saw himself.’  
(Comment: Because it is plural, it cannot be ‘a da-gəɾi’.)

(178) Lawnɔ- na a da-aksi n nɔn tawanke.  
see.PFV-TOT head-3PL.BP FOC person every  
‘Every man saw himself.’

(179) Mi wara lawnɔ- na a da-gəɾi n nɔn tawanke.  
that see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC person every  
‘(The one) that saw himself was every man.’

(180) Baci lawan a da-gəɾi n nɔn tawanke.  
one.who does see.NMLZ head-3SG.BP FOC person every  
‘The one that saw himself was every man.’

(181) * Baci lawnɔ- na a da-gəɾi n nɔn tawanke.  
one.who does see.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC person every  
(intended:) ‘The one that saw himself was every man.’

The following sentences test whether the direct object binds the subject in any of these constructions.
(182) * Ada-gɔrί lawnɔ-na nɔn tawanke.
head-3SG.BP see.PFV-TOT person every
(intended:) ‘Himself saw every man.’

(183) Lawnɔ-na nɔn tawanke nɔn tai?
see.PFV-TOT person every FOC who
‘Who saw every man?’

(184) * Lawnɔ-na nɔn tawanke nɔn ada-gɔrί.
see.PFV-TOT person every FOC head-3SG.BP
(intended:) ‘Himself saw every man.’

(185) * Nɔn mi wara lawnɔ-na nɔn tawanke nɔn ada-gɔrί.
person that see.PFV-TOT person every FOC head-3SG.BP
(intended:) ‘The one who saw every man was himself.’
(Comment: This is possible if you use ‘aci na ada-gɔrί’ = ‘he himself’)

The next sentences test whether the subject binds the indirect object in these structures.

(186) Nɔn tawanake wana-na wakita i ada-gɔrί.
person every send.PFV-TOT letter to head-3SG.BP
‘Every man sent a letter to himself.’

(187) Wana-na wakita n tai i ada-gɔrί?
send.PFV-TOT letter FOC who to head-3SG.BP
‘Who sent a letter to himself?’

(188) Wana-na wakita n nɔn tawanke i ada-gɔrί.
send.PFV-TOT letter FOC person every to head-3SG.BP
‘Every man sent a letter to himself.’

(189) Wana-na wakita n ada-gɔrί n tai?
send.PFV-TOT letter to head-3SG.BP FOC who
‘Who sent a letter to himself?’
(190) Wana-na wakita i aɗa-gɔrũ n ɗɔn tawanke.
    send.PFV-TOT letter to head-3SG.BP FOC person every
    ‘Every man sent a letter to himself.’

(191) Mi wara wana-na wakita n ɗɔn tawanke i
    that send.PFV-TOT letter FOC person every to
    aɗa-gɔrũ.
    head-3SG.BP
    ‘The one who sent a letter to himself was every man.’

The following sentences test whether indirect objects bind the subject in the
case of subject focus.

(192) * Aɗa-gɔrũ wana-na wakita i ɗɔn tawanke.
    head-3SG.BP send.PFV-TOT letter to person every.
    (intended:) ‘Himself sent a letter to every man.’
    (Comment: This is possible if you use ‘Aci na aɗa-gɔrũ’)

(193) Wana-na wakita i ɗɔn tawanke ɗɔn tai?
    send.PFV-TOT letter to person every FOC who
    ‘Who sent a letter to every man?’

(194) * Wana-na wakita i ɗɔn tawanke ɗɔn aɗa-gɔrũ.
    send.PFV-TOT letter to person every FOC head-3SG.BP
    (intended:) ‘Himself sent a letter to every man.’

The next sentences test whether the direct object binds the indirect object in the
case of subject focus.

(195) Na tatkɔ-na ɗɔn tawanke (aci) na aɗa-gɔrũ.
    1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT man every 3SG.IP to head-3SG.BP
    ‘I showed every man to himself.’
(196) * Tatkə-na nən tawanke n iyu na show.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP 1SG.AUX ada-gəri. head-3.SG.BP
(intended:) ‘I showed every man to himself.’

(197) * Tatkə-na nən tawanke na ada-gəri n show.PFV-TOT person every 1SG.AUX head-3.SG.BP FOC iyu. 1SG.IP
(intended:) ‘I showed every man to himself.’

(198) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke na ada-gəri n 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT person every to head-3.SG.BP FOC iyu. 1SG.IP
‘I showed every man to himself.’

(199) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke nən iyu i 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP to ada-gəri. head-3SG.BP
‘I showed every man to himself.’

(200) Tatkə-na nən tawanke i ada-gəri nən tai? show.PFV-TOT person every to head-3SG.BP FOC who ‘Who showed every man to himself?’

(201) Na tatkə-na nən tawanke i ada-gəri nən 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT person every to head-3SG.BP FOC iyu. 1SG.IP
‘I showed every man to himself.’
The following sentences test whether the indirect object can bind the direct object in all-new word order and with subject focus.

(202) Nən mi wara tatkə-na nən tawanke nən iyu person that show.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP ada-gəri.
head-3SG.BP
‘The one who showed every man to himself is me.’

The following sentences investigate whether a subject binds a low adjunct in all cases.

(203) # Nə nət tatkə-na ada-gəri i nən tawanke. 1SG.AUX show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP to person every (intended:) ‘I showed himself to every man.’
(Comment: This means ‘I showed him to every man.’)

(204) Tatkə-na ada-gəri nən tai i nən tawanke? show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC who to person every ‘Who showed himself to every man?’

(205) # Tatkə-na ada-gəri nən iyu i nən tawanke. show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP to person every (intended:) ‘I showed himself to everybody.’
(Comment: This means ‘I showed him to everybody.’)

(206) Tatkə-na ada-gəri i nən tawanke nən tai? show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP to person every FOC who ‘Who showed himself to everybody?’

(207) # Tatkə-na ada-gəri i nən tawanke nən iyu. show.PFV-TOT head-3SG.BP to person every FOC 1SG.IP (intended:) ‘I showed himself to everybody.’
(Comment: This means ‘I showed him to everybody’)

The following sentences investigate whether a subject binds a low adjunct in all cases.
(208)QN tawanke lʊmʊw-na səsau i ama-gəri.
person every build.PFV-TOT room for wife-3SG.BP
‘Every man built a room for his wife.’
(Comment: For his own wife)

(209)I ama-gəri QN tawanke lʊmʊw-na səsau.
for wife-3SG.BP person every build.PFV-TOT room
‘For his wife, every man built a room.’
(Comment: For his own wife)

(210)Lʊmʊw səsau QN tai i ama-gəri?
build.PFV room FOC who for wife-3SG.BP
‘Who built a room for his wife?’

(211)Lʊmʊw səsau QN QN tawanke i ama-gəri.
built.PFV room FOC person every for wife-3SG.BP
‘Every man built a room for his wife.’
(Comment: For his own wife)

(212)Lʊmʊw səsau i ama-gəri QN tai?
build.PFV room for wife-3SG.BP FOC who
‘Who built a room for his wife?’

(213)Lʊmʊw səsau i ama-gəri QN QN tawanke.
built.PFV room for wife-3SG.BP FOC person every
‘Every man built a room for his wife.’
(Comment: For his own wife)

(214)QN mi wara lʊmʊw səsau QN QN tawanke i
person that build.PFV room FOC person every for
ama-gəri.
wife-3SG.BP
‘The person that built a room for his wife was every man.’
The next sentences investigate whether a low adjunct can bind a subject.

(217) Masók-gara lòmòw-na səsau i ama tawanke. 
husband-3SG.BP build.PFV-TOT room for woman every 
‘Her husband built a room for every woman.’ 
(Comment: Somebody’s husband, not every woman’s own husband.)

(218) Lòmòw-na səsau nən tai i ama tawanke? 
build.PFV-TOT room FOC who for woman every 
‘Who built a room for every wife?’

(219) Lòmòw-na səsau nən masók-gara i ama tawanke. 
build.PFV-TOT room FOC husband-3SG.BP for wife every 
‘Her husband built a room for every wife.’ 
(Comment: Somebody’s husband, not every woman’s own husband.)

(220) Lòmòw-na səsau i ama tawanke nən tai? 
build.PFV-TOT room for wife every FOC who 
‘Who built a room for every wife?’

(221) Lòmòw-na səsau i ama tawanke n masók-gara. 
build.PFV-TOT room for wife every FOC husband-3SG.BP 
‘Her husband built a room for every wife.’ 
(Comment: Here, it can be every woman’s own husband.)
(222) Ləməw-na səsau i ama tawanke nən masək-gara.
build.PFV-TOT room for wife every FOC husband-3SG.BP
‘Her husband built a room for every wife.’
(Comment: Somebody’s husband, not every woman’s own husband.)

In the following sentences, the subject binds a high adjunct.

(223) Nən tawanke ləməw-na wənduwa a kun lardi-gəri.
person every build.PFV-TOT house at in country-3SG.BP
‘Every man built a house in his country.’
(Comment: In his own country.)

(224) A kun lardi-gəri, nən tawanke ləməw-na wənduwa.
at in country-3SG.BP person every build.PFV-TOT house
‘In his country, every man built a house.’
(Comment: In a specific country.)

(225) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən tai a kun lardi-gəri?
build.PFV-TOT house FOC who at in country-3SG.BP
‘Who built a house in his country?’

(226) Ləməw wənduwa nən tai a kun lardi-gəri?
built.PFV house FOC who at in country-3SG.BP
‘Who built a house in his country?’

(227) Ləməw wənduwa nən nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri.
built.PFV house FOC person every at in country-3SG.BP
‘Every man built a house in his country.’
(Comment: In his own country.)

(228) Ləməw-na wənduwa nən nən tawanke a kun
build.PFV-TOT house FOC person every at in
lardi-gəri.
country-3SG.BP
‘Every man built a house in his country.’
(Comment: In his own country.)
(229) Lɔmɔw wǝnduwa a kun lardi-gɔrì nɔn tain?
build.PFV house at in country-3SG.BP
‘Who built a house in his country?’

(230) Lɔmɔw wǝnduwa a kun lardi-gɔrì nɔn nɔn tawanke.
build.PFV house at in country-3SG.BP FOC person every
‘Every man built a house in his country.’
(Comment: In his own country.)

(231) Nɔn mi wara lɔmɔw wǝnduwa a kun lardi-gɔrì nɔn.person that build.PFV house at in country-3SG.BP FOC person every
argo tawanke.
‘The person that built a house in his country was every man.’

(232) Nɔn mi wara lɔmɔw wǝnduwa nɔn nɔn tawanke a kun person that build.PFV house FOC person every at in lardi-gɔrì.
country-3SG.BP
‘The person that built a house in his country was every man.’

(233) A kun lardi-gɔrì nɔn tawanke bar-na bari i at in country-3SG.BP person every give.PFV-TOT present to mɛrm lardɔ-w.
important.person country-DET
‘In his country, every man gave a present to the president.’
(Comment: In a specific country.)

(234) Nɔn tawanke a kun lardi-gɔrì bar-na bari i person every at inside country-3SG.BP give.PFV-TOT present to mɛrm lardɔ-w.
important.person country-DET
‘Every man gave a present to the president in his country.’
(Comment: In his own country.)
In the following group of sentences, it was investigated whether a high adjunct can bind the subject.

(235) Lɔmɔw-na ｗɔnduwa ｎøn tai i lardi tawanke?
build.PFV-TOT house FOC who in country every
‘Who built a house in every country?’

(236) Lɔmɔw-na ｗɔnduwa ｎøn marɔm-gara i
build.PFV-TOT house FOC important.person-3SG.BP in
lardi tawanke.
country every
‘Its president built a house in every country.’
(Comment: a specific president.)

(237) Lɔmɔw-na ｗɔnduwa i lardi tawanke ｎøn tai?
build.PFV-TOT house in country every FOC who
‘Who built a house in every country?’

(238) Lɔmɔw-na ｗɔnduwa i lardi tawanke ｎøn
build.PFV-TOT house in country every FOC
marɔm-gara.
important.person-3SG.BP
‘Its president built a house in every country.’
(Comment: Its own president.)

(239) A kun lardi tawanke marɔm-gara bar-na
at in country every important.person-3SG.BP give.PFV-TOT
bari i Bauya.
present to Bauya
‘In every country, its president gave a present to Bauya.’
(Comment: Its own president.)
(240) Marom-gara a kun lardi tawanke bar-na important.person-3SG.BP at in country every give.PFV-TOT bari i Bauya.
present to Bauya
‘Its president gave a present to Bauya in every country.’
(Comment: A specific president.)

The following sentences investigate whether the direct object binds a low adjunct.

(241) Na dauri-na non tawanke i ama-gori. 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every to wife-3SG.BP
‘I called every man to his wife.’

(242) I ama-gori na dauri-na non tawanke. to wife-3SG.BP 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every
‘To his wife, I called every man.’

(243) daurow non tawanke non tai i ama-gori? call.PFV person every FOC who to wife-3SG.BP
‘Who called every man to his wife?’

(244) daurow non tawanke non iyu i ama-gori. call.PFV person every FOC 1SG.IP to wife-3SG.BP
‘I called every man to his wife.’

(245) Nen daurow non tawanke non iyu i ama-gori. person call.PFV person every FOC 1SG.IP to wife-3SG.BP
‘The person that called every man to his wife is me.’

(246) Nen daurow non tawanke i ama-gori non iyu. person call.PFV person every to wife-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
‘The person that called every man to his wife is me.’

The following section investigates whether direct objects bind high adjuncts.
(247) Na đauri-na nən tawanke a kun lardi-gori.
1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every at in country-3SG.BP
‘I called every man in his country.’

(248) A kun lardi-gori, na đauri-na nən tawanke.
at in country-3SG.BP 1SG.AUX call.PFV-TOT person every
‘In his country, I called every man.’

(249) đauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gori nən tai?
call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP FOC who
‘Who called every man in his country?’

(250) đauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gori nən iyu.
call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
‘I called every man in his country.’

(251) đauri-na nən tawanke nən tai i lardi-gori?
call.PFV-TOT person every FOC who in country-3SG.BP
‘Who called every man in his country?’

(252) đauri-na nən tawanke nən iyu i lardi-gori?
call.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP in country-3SG.BP
‘I called every man in his country.’

(253) Nən mi wara đauri-na nən tawanke i lardi-gori
person that call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP
n iyu.
FOC 1SG.IP
‘The one who called every man from his country is me.’

In the following sentences, it is investigated whether a direct object binds a high adjunct.
The next sentences were elicited to show whether an indirect object binds a high adjunct.

(254) Nën mi wara dauři-na nën tawanke i lardi-gori
person that call.PFV-TOT person every in country-3SG.BP
nën iyu.
FOC 1SG.IP
‘The one who called every man from his country is me.’

(255) Nën mi wara dauři-na nën tawanke nën iyu i
person that call.PFV-TOT person every FOC 1SG.IP in
lardi-gori.
country-3SG.BP
‘The one who called every man in his country is me.’

(256) Na bar-na bari i nën tawanke a kun
1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to person every at in
lardi-gori.
country-3SG.BP
‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

(257) Na bar-na bari i nën tawanke n iyu
1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to person every FOC 1SG.IP
a kun lardi-gori.
at in country-3SG.BP
‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

(258) Na bar-na bari i amatin tawanke a kun
1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to woman every at in
lardi-gara.
country-3SG.BP
‘I gave a present to every woman in her country.’
(259) A kun lardi-gəri na bar-na bari i nən at in country-3SG.BP 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to person tawanke. every
‘In his country, I gave a present to every man.’

(260) Barə-w bari nən iyu i nən tawanke a kun give.PFV present FOC 1SG.IP to person every at in lardi-gəri. country-3SG.BP
‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

(261) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke nən tai a kun give.PFV present to person every FOC who at in lardi-gəri? country-3SG.BP
‘Who gave a present to every man in his country?’

(262) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke nən iyu a kun give.PFV present to person every FOC 1SG.IP at in lardi-gəri. country-3SG.BP
‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

(263) Barə-w bari i nən tawanka a kun lardi-gəri nən give.PFV present to person every at in country-3SG.BP FOC tai?
who
‘Who gave a present to every man in his country?’

(264) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke a kun lardi-gəri nən give.PFV present to person every at in country-3SG.BP FOC iyu. 1SG.IP
‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’
(265) Barə-w bari i nən tawanke a kun lardi-gərĩ n
give.PFV present to person every at in country-3SG.BP FOC
iyu.
1SG.IP
‘I gave a present to every man in his country.’

(266) Nən mi wara barəw bari nən iyu i nən tawanke a
person that give.PFV present FOC 1SG.IP to person every at
kun lardi-gərĩ.
in country-3SG.BP
‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’

(267) Nən mi wara barəw bari i nən tawanke nən iyu a
person that give.PFV present to person every FOC 1SG.IP at
kun lardi-gərĩ.
in country-3SG.BP
‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’

(268) Nən mi wara barəw bari i nən tawanke a kun
person that give.PFV present to person every at in
lardī-gərĩ n iyu.
country-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’

(269) Nən mi wara barəw bari i nən tawanke a kun
person that give.PFV present to person every at in
lardī-gərĩ n iyu.
country-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP
‘The person that gave a present to every man in his country is me.’

(270) Barə-w bari nən tai i nən tawanke a kun
give.PFV present FOC who to person every at in
lardī-gərĩ?
country-3SG.BP
‘Who gave a present to every man in his country?’
The next sentences were elicited to test binding of high adjuncts into indirect objects.

(271) Na bar-na bari i marɔm-gara a 1SG.AUX give.PFV-TOT present to important.person-3SG.BP at kun lardi tawanke.
inside country every
‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’
(Comment: its own president)

(272) Bar-na bari i marɔm-gara nɔn tai a give.PFV-TOT present to important.person-3SG.BP FOC who at kun lardi tawanke?
in country every
‘Who gave a present to its president in every country?’

(273) Bar-na bari i marɔm-gara nɔn iyu a give.PFV-TOT present to important.person-3SG.BP FOC 1SG.IP at kun lardi tawanke.
in country every
‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’
(Comment: Its own president.)

(274) Bar-na bari nɔn tai i marɔm-gara a give.PFV-TOT present FOC who to important.person-3SG.BP at kun lardi tawanke?
in country every
‘Who gave a present to its president in every country?’
(Comment: Its own president)

(275) Bar-na bari nɔn iyu i marɔm-gara a give.PFV-TOT present FOC 1SG.IP to important.person-3SG.BP at kun lardi tawanke.
in country every.
‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’
(276) Bar-na bari n iyu i marɔm-gara a give.PFV-TOT present FOC 1SG.IP to important.person-3SG.BP at kun lardi tawanke. 
in country every. 
‘I gave a present to its president in every country.’

4.2 DO-Focus

The focused direct object was offered in its canonical position, without any morphological marking. The totality extended verb form was used in all cases tested.

(277) a. Mamadi lɔmɔw-na tam madavɔn? Mamadi build.PFV-TOT what last.year 
‘What did Mamadi build last year?’

b. Lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa madavɔn. build.PFV-TOT house last.year
‘(He) built a house last year.’

(278) a. Anja bar-na tam i Jala? Anja give.PFV-TOT what to Jala 
‘What did Anja give to Jala?’

b. Anja bar-na agogo i Jala. Anja give.PFV-TOT watch to Jala 
‘Anja gave a watch to Jala.’

(279) a. Mamadi lɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa na ankɔl. Mamadi build.PFV-TOT house with care 
‘Mamadi built a house gradually.’

b. O’o, lɔmɔw-na dikrɔra-w na ankɔl. no build.PFV-TOT school-DET with care 
‘No, he built a SCHOOL gradually.’
The clause-final position, following indirect objects or adjuncts, was not accepted in all cases. The one example in which this was possible suggests that the presence or absence of a ‘focus marker’ may play a role.

A focused direct object can be fronted to clause-initial position. In this case, the totality extended form was rejected.
(284)  a.  Tam Mamadi  ləməw  madawən?
   what Mamadi build.PFV last.year
   ‘What did Mamadi build last year?’

   b.  Wəndəwə Mamadi  ləməw  madaən.
       house  Mamadi build.PFV last.year
       ‘Mamadi built a house last year.’

(285)  * Tam Mamadi  ləməw-na  madaən?
       what Mamadi build.PFV-TOT last.year
       (intended:)  ‘What did Mamadi build last year?’

Examples with a ‘focus marker’ were accepted, however without the totality
extension.

(286)  a.  Yabani mase-na  mətka  ra  wəndəwə?
       Yabani buy.PFV-TOT car  or  house
       ‘Did Yabani buy a car or a house?’

       buy.PFV-TOT FOC car
       (intended:)  ‘He bought a car.’

   c.  Mase  nən  mətka.
       buy.PFV FOC car
       ‘He bought a car.’

(287)  a.  * Bazam  ləməw-na  nən  tam?
       Bazam build.PFV-TOT FOC what
       (intended:)  ’What did Bazam build?’

   b.  Bazam  ləməw  n  tam?
       Bazam build.PFV FOC what
       ‘What did Bazam build?’

   c.  Bazam  ləməw  nən  tam?
       Bazam build.PFV FOC what
       ‘What did Bazam build?’
d. Bazam ləməw nən bəzam.
   Bazam build.PFV FOC granary
   ‘Bazam built a granary.’

The following sentence is a pseudocleft-example, without ‘focus marker’.

(288) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa agogo.
   thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa watch
   ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

Like in the forms seen in section 3.4, the subject of the pseudocleft can be marked as definite by a definite determiner ‘-w’ (289). There is one example in which a ‘focus marker’ was accepted in this position (290), however, the head of the relative clause could not be omitted (291).

(289) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa-w agogo.
   thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa-DET watch
   ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

(290) Bi mi wara Jala barəw i Shuwa n agogo.
   thing that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC watch
   ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

(291) * Wara Jala barəw i Shuwa n agogo.
   that Jala give.PFV to Shuwa FOC agogo
   (intended:) ‘The thing that Jala gave to Shuwa was a watch.’

The following examples are an attempt at forming a cleft.

(292) Bi agogo wara Jala barəw i Shuwa.
   thing watch that Jala give to Shuwa
   ‘It is a watch that Jala gave to Shuwa.’

(293) * Nən Maleka wara Jala dəurəw.
   person Maleka that Jala call.PFV
   (intended:) ‘It is Maleka that Jala called.’
Maleka wara Jala d'aur.ow.
Maleka that Jala call.PFV
‘It is Maleka that Jala called.’

### 4.3 IO-Focus

Focused indirect objects can occur in-situ, without morphological marking.

(295) Nyabe bari agogo i tai garvaca?
Nyaba give.PFV watch to who yesterday
‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’

(296) a. Nyabe bar-na agogo i tai garvaca?
Nyabe give.PFV-TOT watch to who yesterday
‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’
b. Bar-na agogo i Anja garvaca.
give.PFV-TOT watch to Anja yesterday
‘She gave a watch to Anja yesterday.’

Focused indirect objects can also occur at the right periphery.

(297) a. Nyabe bar-na agogo garvaca i tai?
Nyabe give.PFV-TOT watch yesterday to who
‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’
b. Nyabe bar-na agogo garvaca i Anja.
Nyabe give.PFV-TOT watch yesterday to Anja
‘Nyabe gave a watch to Anja yesterday.’

The data does not show whether focused indirect objects can occur between the verb and the direct object — the results are not conclusive.

(298) * Nyabe bar-na i tai agogo garvaca.
Nyabe give.PFV-TOT to who watch yesterday
(intended:) ‘Whom did Nyabe give a watch yesterday?’
(299)  a. Nyabe bar-na i tai agogo-gu garvaca?
Nyabe give.PFV-TOT to who watch-DET garvaca
‘Whom did Nyabe give the watch yesterday?’

Nyabe give.PFV-TOT to Anja watch-DET yesterday
‘Nyabe gave the watch to Anja yesterday.’

4.4 ADJ-Focus

Questioned and focused adjuncts also occur in their canonical position, without ‘focus marker’. Again, the totality extension can cooccur with the focused constituent. As explained in section 1.1.3, the totality form ‘-na’ can only occur with an immediately following direct object.

(300)   Jala ḻama wɔnduwa-w fatawan?
Jala build.PFV house-DET when
‘When did Jala build a house?’

(301)   Maleka ɗauri-na Mamadi fatawan?
Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi when
‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’

(302)  a. Fatawan Maleka ɗauri-na Mamadi?
when Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’

   b. ɗauri-na aci garvaca.
call.PFV-TOT 3SG.IP yesterday
‘She called him yesterday.’

   c. ɗaur∅w garvaca.
call.PFV yesterday
‘She called him yesterday.’
d. *dauri-na garvaca.  
call.PFV-TOT yesterday  
(intended:) ‘She called (him) yesterday.’

(303) a. Fatawan Maleka a daura Mamadi ađa-ađa?  
when Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ Mamadi frequently  
‘When did Maleka frequently call Mamadi?’

b. A daura-gəri ađa-ađa madavən.  
IPFC call.NMLZ-3SG frequently last.year  
‘She called him frequently last year.’

c. A daura Mamadi ađa-ađa madavən.  
IPFC call.NMLZ Mamadi frequently last.year  
‘She called Mamadi frequently last year.’

(304) a. Mamadi lamə-w-na dikrəra na kampoyi madavən?  
Mamadi build.PFV-TOT school with haste last.year  
‘Did Mamadi build a school quickly last year?’

b. O’o, lamə-w-na dikrəra-w na ankal madavən.  
no build.PFV-TOT school-DET with care last.year  
‘No, he built the school gradually last year.’

(305) a. Maleka dauri-na Mamadi na marəm wura garvaca.  
Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi with big voice yesterday  
‘Maleka called Mamadi loudly yesterday.’

b. O’o, daur-aci na gangam wura garvaca.  
no call.PRV-3SG.IP with small voice yesterday  
‘No, she called him softly yesterday.’

It can be marked by a ‘focus marker’.

(306) a. Fatawan Maleka dauri-na Mamadi?  
when Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi  
‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’
b. ɗauri-na aci ȵən garvaca. call.PFV-TOT 3SG.IP FOC yesterday  
‘She called him yesterday.’

c. ɗauri n garvaca. call.PFV FOC yesterday  
‘She called yesterday.’

d. ɗauri ȵən garvaca. call.PFV FOC yesterday  
‘She called yesterday.’

(307) a. Jala ləməw-na wənduwa madavən. Jala build.PFV-TOT house last.year  
‘Jala built a house last year.’

b. O’o, ləməw-na wənduwa n aman tiyu. no build.PFV-TOT house FOC year DEM  
‘No, he built the house two years ago.’

A focused/questioned adjunct can occur in clause-final position.

(308) a. Mamadi ləməw-na dikrəra na kampoyi madavən? Mamadi build.PFV-TOT school with haste last.year  
‘Did Mamadi build a school quickly last year?’

b. O’o, ləməw-na dikrəra-w madavən na ankal. no build.PFV-TOT school-DET last.year with care  
‘No, he built the school gradually last year.’

The informant didn’t accept an example with a high questioned adjunct between V and DO, but he accepted one with a low focused adjunct between V and DO.

(309) * Maleka ɗauri-na fatawan Mamadi? Maleka call.PFV-TOT when Mamadi  
(intended:) ‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’
A questioned/focused adverbial can occur in clause-initial position.

(311) Fatawan Jala loma wǝnduwa-w?
when Jala build.PFV house-DET
‘When did Jala build a house?’

(312) Fatawan Maleka dauri-na Mamadi?
when Maleka call.PFV-TOT Mamadi
‘When did Maleka call Mamadi?’

(313) Fatawan Maleka a daura Mamadi ada-ada?
when Maleka IPFC call.NMLZ Mamadi frequently
‘When did Maleka frequently call Mamadi?’

4.5 Verb Focus

In Ngizim, sentences with narrow verb focus are usually in the canonical word order. The verb can be in the totality extension (cf. (315))

(314) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wǝnduwa?
Mamadi do.PFV what with house
‘What did Mamadi do with the house?’

b. Mamadi lǝmǝw wǝnduwa.
Mamadi build.PFV house
‘Mamadi built the house.’
(315) a. Mamadi dlam-na tam na wənduwa-gəri? Mamadi do.PFV-TOT what with house-3SG.BP ‘What did Mamadi do with his house?’
   b. Ləməw-na wənduwa-w. build.PFV-TOT house-DET ‘He built the house.’
   c. Ləməw-du. build.PFV-TOT ‘He built (it).’

(316) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa? Wuriwa do.PFV what with house ‘What did Wuriwa do to the house?’
   b. ðəbdi-na wənduwa-w. sell.PFV-TOT house-DET ‘He sold it.’
   c. ðəbdu-du. sell.PFV-TOT ‘He sold it.’

(317) a. Maleka wana-na wanyi i Shuwa. Maleka send.PFV-TOT message to Shuwa ‘Maleka sent a message to Shuwa.’
   b. O’o, ɗaur-atu. no call.PFV-3SG.F.IP ‘No, she called her.’

Verb focus can also be expressed by nominalization of the focused verb.

(318) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wənduwa? Mamadi do.PFV what with house ‘What did Mamadi do with the house?’
b. Dlam ləma wənduwa.
do.PFV build.NMLZ house
‘Mamadi did building to the house/house-building.’

c. * Dlam ləma na wənduwa.
do.PFV build.NMLZ with house
(intended:) ‘Mamadi did building to the house/house-building.’

(319) a. Maleka dlam tam i Mamadi?
Maleka do.PFV what to Mamadi
‘What did Maleka do to Mamadi?’

b. Maleka dlam ŋaura i Mamadi.
Maleka do.PFV call.NMLZ to Mamadi
‘Maleka did calling to Mamadi.’

(320) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa?
Wuriwa do.PFV what with house
‘What did Wuriwa do to the house?’

b. Dlam-na ləma.
do.PFV-TOT build.NMLZ
‘He did building.’

(321) a. Wuriwa dlam tam na wənduwa?
Wuriwa do.PFV what with house
‘What did Wuriwa do to the house?’

b. Dlam dəbət wənduwa-w.
do.PFV sell.NMLZ house-DET
‘He did selling to the house.’

c. * Dlam dəbət na wənduwa-w.
do.PFV sell.NMLZ with house-DET
(intended:) ‘He did selling to the house.’

The following is not really narrow verb focus, presumably both the verb and the indirect object are in focus.
(322) a. Jagari dlam tam na agogo?
   Jagari do.PFV what with watch
   ‘What did Jagari do with the watch?’

   b. Bari i Mamadi.
   give.NMLZ to Mamadi
   ‘He gave it to Mamadi.’

   c. Dlam bari agogo-gu i Mamadi.
   do.PFV give.NMLZ watch-DET to Mamadi
   ‘He gave it to Mamadi.’

It was also tested whether the order of the nominalized verb and direct object could be changed. Without a preceding ‘focus marker’, the nominalized verb could not be placed after the direct object.

(323) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wɔnduwa?
   Mamadi do.PFV what with house
   ‘What did Mamadi do with the house?’

   b. * Dlam na wɔnduwa loma.
   do.PFV with house build.NMLZ
   (intended:) ‘He did building with the house.’

(324) a. Maleka dlam tam i Mamadi?
   Maleka do.PFV what to Mamadi
   ‘What did Maleka do to Mamadi?’

   b. * Maleka dlam i Mamadi ɗaura.
   Maleka do.PFV to Mamadi call.NMLZ
   (intended:) ‘Maleka did calling to Mamadi.’

The nominalized verb can cooccur with a ‘focus marker’. In this case, the nominalized verb could be postposed in example (326b) — unfortunately, we don’t have more examples of this.
Another way of emphasizing the verb, which is however rarely used, is a kind of verb doubling using a stative verb.

(327) a. Ləməw wənduwa-w bike masa da-masa?
build.PFV house-DET or buy.NMLZ STV-buy.NMLZ
‘Did he build the house or buy it (buyingly)?’

b. Ləməw wənduwa-w da-ləma bike masa
build.PFV house-DET STV-build.NMLZ or buy.NMLZ da-masa?
STV-buy.NMLZ
‘Did he build the house (buildingly) or buy it (buyingly)?’

c. Ləməw da-ləma.
bike masa
build.PFV STV-build.NMLZ
‘He built it (buildingly).’

(328) a. Mamadi dlam tam na wənduwa?
Mamadi do.PFV what with house
‘What did Mamadi do with the house?’
b. débdu da-dəbda.
sell.PFV STV-sell.NMLZ
‘He sold it (sellingly).’
(Comment: This means he sold it for cash, not on credit or by monthly payment)

Maleka send.PFV-TOT message to Shuwa
‘Maleka sent a message to Shuwa.’
b. O’o, daur-atu da-dəura.
no call.PFV-3.SG.F.IP STV-call.NMLZ
‘No, she called her (by calling).’

The following sentences illustrate other uses of the statives.

(330) débdu da-ləma.
sell.PFV STV-build.NMLZ
‘He sold it built.’
(Comment: This means he sold it when it was finished)

(331) Maleka gudlidli-na Shuwa da-dəura.
Maleka wake.up.PFV-TOT Shuwa STV-call.NMLZ
‘Maleka woke Shuwa up callingly.’
(Comment: Maleka woke Shuwa up intentionally)

4.6 VP Focus

VP focus can also remain unmarked.

(332) a. Maleka dlam tam?
Maleka do.PFV what
‘What did Maleka do?’
(333) a. Mamadi dlam tam?
Mamadi do.PFV what
‘What did Mamadi do?’

b. Lɔmɔw-na  wɔnduwa.
build.PFV-TOT house
‘He built a house.’

(334) a. Mamadi dlam tam?
Mamadi do.PFV what
‘What did Mamadi do?’

b. Mammadɔ-w  lɔmɔw  wɔnduwa.
Mamadi-DET build.PFV house
‘Mamadi built a house.’

c. Mamadi-gu  lɔmɔw  wɔnduwa.
Mamadi-DET build.PFV house
‘Mamadi built a house.’

The following data suggests that there can be no ‘focus marker’ preceding the nominalized verb, but that it can precede the direct object, yielding a structure that looks like DO-Focus (similar to the West Chadic language Guruntum, cf Hartmann and Zimmermann (2006, 72))

(335)  *Mamadi dlam n tam?
Mamadi do.PFV FOC what
(intended:)’What did Mamadi do?’
(336) * Mamadi dlam non tam? Mamadi do.PFV FOC what (intended:)’What did Mamadi do?’

(337) Bazam dlam tam? Bazam do.PFV what ‘What did Bazam do?’

(338) Bazam lɔmɔw non wɔnduwa. Bazam build.PFV FOC house ‘Bazam built a house.’

In VP-focus contexts, the verb can also be nominalized.


b. Maleka dlam daura i Mamadi. Maleka do.PFV call.NMLZ to Mamadi ‘Maleka called Mamadi.’

c. Dlam gamas. do.PFV laughter ‘She laughed.’

d. Maleka dlam gawas. Maleka do.PFV laughter ‘Maleka laughed.’


b. Dlam lɔma. do.PFV build.NMLZ ‘He built a house.’
c. Dlam ləma wənduwa.
do.PFV build.NMLZ house
‘He built a house.’

4.7 TAM Focus

Focus on the perfective aspect is expressed by the totality extension (cf. Schuh (2005a)’s ‘auxiliary focus’).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(341) a. } & \text{ Mamadi a ləma wənduwa bi?} \\
& \text{Mamadi IPFC build.NMLZ house Q} \\
& \text{‘Will Mamadi build the house?’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ O’o, ləmə-na wənduwa-w.} \\
& \text{no build.PFV-TOT house-DET} \\
& \text{‘No, he has already built the house.’} \\
\text{c. } & \text{ * O’o, ləməw wənduwa-w.} \\
& \text{no build.PFV house-DET} \\
& \text{(intended:)’No, he has already built the house.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(342) a. } & \text{ Dləma a nguma bi amzhari?} \\
& \text{Dləma IPFC answer.NMLZ Q tomorrow} \\
& \text{‘Will Dləma answer tomorrow?’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ Nguma-du.} \\
& \text{answer.PFV-TOT} \\
& \text{‘She already answered.’} \\
\text{c. } & \text{ # Nguma.} \\
& \text{answer.PFV} \\
& \text{‘She already answered.’} \\
\text{d. } & \text{ Na bai, nguməw-du garvaca.} \\
& \text{There.exists NEG answer.PFV-TOT yesterday} \\
& \text{‘No, she already answered yesterday.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(343) a. Mamadi a [ŋɔmu] na ɬɔma
Mamadi IPFC straighten.out.NMLZ and build.NMLZ
wɔnduwa bi?
house Q
‘Will Mamadi build a house?’

b. O’o, na bai, ɬɔmɔw-na wɔnduwa-w.
no there.exists NEG build.PFV-TOT house-DET
‘No, he already built the house.’

c. * O’o, na bai, ɬɔmɔw wɔnduwa-w.
no there.exists NEG build.PFV house-DET
(intended:)’No, he has already built the house.’
(Corrected after hesitation: ɬɔmɔw is also past tense, so this is possible)

4.8 Verum Focus

In this section, Verum focus is tested. These are environments in which the whole proposition is presupposed, but not yet accepted as part of the common ground. Different environments were tested in which this kind of focus is likely to occur. The following examples are answers to a simple yes-no question - we see that the verb can remain in its usual form, that the totality extension can occur, and that nominalization is possible in this context.

(344) a. Jajua ngumɔw bi?
Jajua answer.PFV Q
‘Did Jajua really answer?’
b. Awo, Jajua ngumọ. yes Jajua answer.PFV ‘Yes, Jajua answered.’
c. Awo, ngumọ. yes answer.PFV ‘Yes, she answered.’
d. O’o, ngumọ bai. no answer.PFV NEG ‘No, she didn’t answer.’

(345) a. Anya Jala ọmọ wọnduwa? Anya Jala build.PFV house ‘Well, did Jala build the house?’
b. Anya Jala ọmọ-na wọnduwa? Anya Jala build.PFV-TOT house ‘Well, did Jala build the house?’
c. Awo, Jala ọmọ wọnduwa. yes Jala build.PFV house ‘Yes, he did build a house.’
d. Awo, Jala ọmọ-na wọnduwa. yes Jala build.PFV-TOT house ‘Yes, he did build a house.’

(346) a. Mamadi dlam ọma bi? Mamadi do.PFV build.NMLZ Q ‘Did Mamadi do building?’
b. Awo, dlam ọma. yes do.PFV build.NMLZ ‘Yes, he did building.’
c. O’o, dlam ọma bai. no do.PFV build.NMLZ NEG ‘No, he didn’t do building.’
The next sentences in which Verum focus was expected were positive answers to implicit yes/no questions (‘I wonder whether...’), this is one of the possible contexts mentioned in Hole and Zimmermann (2008).

(347) a. Na tuman-gu Jala lomow wonduwa-w bai.
   1SG.AUX think-EXPL Jala build.PFV house-DET NEG
   ‘I wonder whether Jala built a house.’
   (Comment: Literal meaning: I doubt (it) that Jala built a house)

   b. Lomow-na wonduwa-w!
      build.PFV-TOT house-DET
      ‘He did build the house!’

(348) a. Na zega bai ma Jala lomow-na wonduwa-w.
   1SG.AUX doubt NEG that Jala build.PFV-TOT house-DET
   ‘I am in doubt whether Jala built a house.’

   b. Na zega bai Jala lomow-na wonduwa-w.
      1SG.AUX doubt NEG Jala build.PFV-TOT house-DET
      ‘I am in doubt whether Jala built a house.’

   c. O’o, lomow wonduwa-w bai.
      no build.PRV house-DET NEG
      ‘No, he didn’t build the house.’

   d. Awo, lomow-na wonduwa-w.
      yes build.PFV-TOT house-DET
      ‘Yes, he did build the house.’

The next context for Verum focus were contrastive corrections of simple negative statements (Hole and Zimmermann, 2008). Again, there was no special marking of Verum focus.

(349) a. Jajua ngumow bai.
   Jajua answer.PFV NEG
   ‘Jajua didn’t answer.’
   Jajua answer.PFV-TOT
   ‘Jajua did answer.’

(350) a. Mamadi ləməw wənduwə bai.
   Mamadi build.PFV house NEG
   ‘Mamadi didn’t build a house.’

   b. O’o, ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
      no build.PFV-TOT house-DET
      ‘No, he did build a house.’

Utterances which contrastively correct a negative expectation are also possible contexts for Verum focus (Hole and Zimmermann, 2008). In the sentences in (353), the Verum focus is in an embedded clause.

   1SG.AUX think-EXPL Mamadi build.PFV house-DET NEG
   ‘I don’t think Mamadi built the house.’

   b. So tai ləməw-du.
      here.it.is build.PFV-TOT
      ‘But he did!’

   1SG.AUX think-EXPL Jala build.PFV-TOT house-DET NEG
   ‘I think that Jala didn’t build the house.’

   b. Ləməw-na wənduwa-w.
      build.PFV-TOT house-DET
      ‘He did build the house.’

   c. Ləməw wənduwa-w.
      build.PFV house-DET
      ‘He did build the house.’
(353) a. Na tuman-gu Mamadi ləməw wənduwa-w bai. 1SG.AUX think-EXPL Mamadi build.PFV house-DET NEG ‘I don’t think Mamadi built the house.’
b. Na tuman-gu ləma-na wənduwa-w. 1SG.AUX think-EXPL build.PFV-TOT house-DET ‘I think he has built it.’
c. Na tuman-gu ləməw-du. 1SG.AUX think-EXPL build.PFV-TOT ‘I think he has built it.’

In the following sentences, an expected path of events is corrected - this is another potential context for Verum focus (Hole and Zimmermann, 2008).

(354) a. Mamadi ancɪ ləma wənduwa, so tai ləma-du. Mamadi ? build.NMLZ house here.it.is build.PFV-TOT ‘Mamadi said he would build a house, (here it is) he built it.’
b. Mamadi rəma a ləma wənduwa so tai Mamadi say.PFV IPFC build.NMLZ house here.it.is ləməw bai. build.PFV NEG ‘Mamadi said that he would build a house but he didn’t.’

(355) Go zəgaya-ga ma Mamadi a ləma there.is.no knowledge-1SG.BP that Mamadi IPFC build.NMLZ wənduwa na bai ləm-du. house 1SG NEG build.PFV-TOT ‘I didn’t think that Mamadi would build a house but he did.’

The following sentence is an attempt to elicit Verum focus in a relative clause, which in some languages may be marked in a different way than in main clauses. This is not the case in Ngizim.
(356)  
a. Anja dauri-na Nyabe.
   Anja call.PFV-TOT Nyabe
   ‘Anja called Nyabe’

b. O’o, dauri bai. Non mi wara daurəw-gu dari a
   NEG PERSON that call.PFV-EXPL stand at
   place DEM
   ‘No, she didn’t. The person who did call Nyabe is over there.’

5 Further work

As mentioned in the introduction, this is only a part of the data collected with
Malam Usman, the other part includes work on the focus sensitive particles
in Ngizim. There is also further data from another speaker, and ongoing field-
work on this subject, both of which will be available from the SFB ‘Information
Structure’ in the near future. I am grateful for any questions and comments.

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