

Information Structure in Sidaama (a Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia)

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The present study describes information structure in Sidaama, and shows

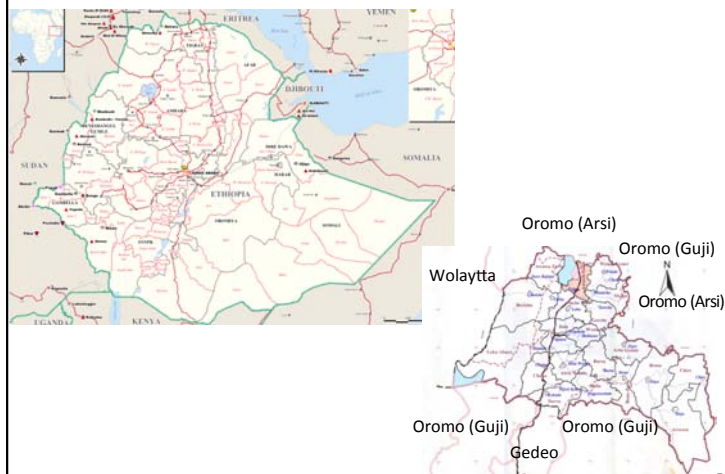
- that Sidaama has different strategies for marking topic and focus from other East Cushitic languages, and
- that Sidaama has two types of ways of marking predicate focus, which can be used for different sets of predicate-centered focus types in Tom Güldemann's (2009) classification.

Organization of the presentation

1. Background Information on Sidaama
2. Previous Studies on East Cushitic Languages (Somali and Afar)
3. Focus Marking
4. Cleft Construction
5. Topic Marking
6. Conclusion

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1. Background Information on Sidaama



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- Sidaama belongs to Highland East Cushitic.



Grammars of HEC languages:

Moreno (1940), Tucker & Bryan (1964), Grover Hudson (1976), Teferra (2000), Kawachi (2007), Treis (2008)

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- Phonemes

b, t, d, k, g, ' , p', t', k', d, č, j, č', f, s, (z), š, h, m, n, ñ, r, l, w, y
i, e, a, o, u

- Suffixing

- Verb suffixes

subject person/number suffix, object person/number suffix,
aspectual suffixes, converb (connective) suffix, infinitive suffix,
verbalizing suffix, passive suffix, reciprocal suffix, causative suffix,
double-causative suffix, middle suffix

- Noun suffixes

case suffixes, possessive pronominal suffix, definite suffix,
nominalizing suffixes, abstracting suffixes

- Suprafix on the noun (when not (syntactically) modified) or its modifier (high pitch on the ultimate vowel)

accusative/oblique, genitive

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- Word order: basically, SOV, but other orders are also possible.

(1) dagúnč-u sagalé it-ø-inó.
leopard-NOM.M food.ACCOBL eat-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'The/a leopard ate (the) food.'

(2) (íse) (isó) sunk'-i-t-inó-si.
3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACCOBL kiss-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3-3SG.M
'She kissed him.'

- Nominative-accusative case system (marked-nominative in literature)

	Subj of trans. verb	Subj of intrans. verb	Citation	Object
	NOM			ACCOBL
FEM	high pitch on penultimate vowel			suprafix (high pitch on ultimate vowel)
	'spear'	sagalé		sagalé
MASC	nominative suffix, high pitch on penultimate vowel		high pitch on penultimate vowel	suprafix (high pitch on ultimate vowel)
	'leopard'	dagúnč-u	dagúnčo	dagunčó

Different allomorphs of case suffixes, depending on whether or not the noun is Modified (accompanied by a modifier(s) and/or the possessive pronominal suffix).

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- Noun-phrase clitics (NPCs)

One of the NPCs (=ta (FEM)/=ha (MASC)/=re (PL)) attaches to:

- a genitive noun phrase or a relative clause to form (part of) an argument noun phrase (e.g. (3), (4a)),
- an adjective, a noun phrase, a genitive noun phrase, or a relative clause to form a predicate (e.g. (5), (6)), or
- a clause to form a clausal complement (e.g. (4b)).

(The plural form =re is limited to (i).)

	SG.FEM	SG.MASC	proper noun, Modified noun	PL
ACCOBL	=ta	=ha	--	=re
NOM/GEN	=ti	=hu	--	=ri
PRED	=te	=ho	=ti	--

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(3) dangur-í=ti dag-g-inó.

Dangura-GEN.M=NPC.F.NOM come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Dangura's (F) (e.g. daughter) came.'

(4) dag-g-inó=ta af-oó-mm-o.
come-3SG.F/(3PL)-D.PRF.3=NPC.F.ACCOBL come.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
ambiguous between:

- 'I (M) came to know/know the one (F) (e.g. girl) who came.'
- 'I (M) came to know/know that she/they came.'

(In (b), íse [3SG.F.NOM] or insa [3PL.NOM] is omitted before dag-g-inó=ta.)

(5) íse búša=te.
3SG.F.NOM bad=NPC.F.PRED
'She is bad.'

(6) íse (a) dangur-í=te/(b) dag-g-inó=te.
3SG.F.NOM Dangura-GEN.M=NPC.F.PRED/come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED
'She is (a) Dangura's (F) (e.g. daughter)/(b) the one (F) (e.g. girl) who came.'

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- Definiteness expressed with the suffix *-nni* in limited contexts

(7) kúni min-i manč-ú-nni=ho.
 this.M.NOM house-NOM.MOD.M person-GEN.M-DEF=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘This house is the man’s.’

(8) íse buus-ú-nni=wa no.
 3SG.F.NOM bridge-GEN.M-DEF=place come.to.exist.D.PRF.3
 ‘She is by the bridge.’

- Pitch accent on the verb with an aspect suffix

High pitch occurs on the aspect suffix (the penultimate or ultimate vowel segment of the verb, depending on the person).

(9) 1st and 2nd person: penultimate 3rd person: ultimate

mar-oó-tt-a	mar-t-inó
go-D.PRF.2-2SG-F	go-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
mar-ú-mm-a	mar-ø-i
go-R.PRF.1-1SG-F	go-3SG.M-R.PRF.3SG

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- Intonation

(10a) áti bé’ro dikkó mar-oó-tt-o.
 2SG.NOM yesterday market. ACCOBL go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 ‘You (SG.M) went to the market yesterday.’

Extra high pitch on the aspect suffix in polar questions ending with a verb predicate

(10b) áti bé’ro dikkó mar-oó-tt-o?
 2SG.NOM yesterday market. ACCOBL go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 ‘Did you (SG.M) go to the market yesterday?’
ó of *mar-oó-tt-o* is higher than in its declarative counterpart (10a).

In WH-questions with a verb predicate, the verb has to have a flat pitch, and the main verb used in an answer to a WH-question also has to have a flat pitch.

(11) A: áti bé’ro hiikk-ii-ra mar-oo-tt-o?
 2SG.NOM yesterday where-GEN.M-ALL go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 ‘Where did you (SG.M) go yesterday?’

B: áni dikkó mar-oo-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM market.ACCOBL go-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) went to the market.’

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2. Previous Studies on East Cushitic Languages (Somali and Afar)

- Somali has so-called indicator particles (Hetzron 1965, Andrzejewski 1975, Antinucci 1980, Antinucci & Puglielli 1980, Saeed 1982, 1987, 1999).

According to Antinucci (1980: 2), in Somali,

(a) every main declarative sentence must contain one (and only one) focus marker,

(b) focus markers can mark only one of the major constituents of the sentence, i.e. either an NP or the verb.

(12) *Axmed* baa yimid.
 Axmed FOC came
 ‘*AXMED* came.’

(13) Axmed waa *yimid*.
 Axmed FOC came
 ‘Axmed *CAME*.’

But Sidaama has no such particles.

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- Afar seems to mark a focused constituent with the absolute case and relativization, and with a question marker in an interrogative sentence (Frascarelli & Puglielli 2007).

(14) *àwka* (y) huuri-h adda-l kullumta habte-m.
 boy.ABS 3SG boat-of inside-in fish leave.PST.3SG.F-COMP.NOM
 ‘*THE BOY* left the fish inside the boat.’
 (lit. ‘*THE BOY* (he is) that left the fish in the boat.’)

(15) ma selte ?
 QM finish.PST.2SG
 ‘Did you finish?’ (cf. selteè? [finish.PST.2SG])

But Sidaama uses neither strategy.

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3. Focus Marking

Five strategies ([F-1]: almost obligatory, [F-2]-[F-5]: optional):

- [F-1] Word order: focused constituent right before the verb
- [F-2] One of the focus clitics, =lla (lit. 'only') and =we, optionally attaches to a focused constituent.
- [F-3] In polar questions, contrastive focus can be marked with a distinctive pitch accent pattern, with which the speaker's surprise or unpleasant feeling is expressed.
- [F-4] Predicate focus: the addition of the focus clitic =lla or =we to a verb in focus or the leftmost constituent of a focused predicate (both verb-focus and operator-focus)
- [F-5] Predicate focus: placement of the verb at the beginning of a sentence (verb-focus, not operator-focus)

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[F-1] Word order

- SOV basic word order
- New information has to come immediately before the verb.
- A WH-word and an answer in a WH-question must each occur immediately before the verb, regardless of the grammatical relation of the WH-word.
- When one corrects part of the previous speaker's statement or gives a negative answer to a polar question with a full sentence, the corrected constituent always occurs immediately before the verb.
- When one adds new information to the previous speaker's statement, the added constituent always occurs immediately before the verb.
- When one answers an alternative question, the answer always occurs immediately before the verb.

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WH word/Answer to WH Q

- (16) A: mánčo beettó-ho *maá* u-i-t-ino ?
 person.NOM.F child-DAT.M what.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
 'WHAT did the woman give to the boy?'
- B1: íse isí-ra *sagalé* u-i-t-ino.
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.GEN-DAT food.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
 'She gave her FOOD.'
- B2: #íse sagalé isí-ra u-i-t-ino.
 3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL 3SG.GEN-DAT give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
- B3: #isí-ra sagalé íse u-i-t-ino.
 3SG.GEN-DAT food.ACCOBL 3SG.F.NOM give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3

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- (17) A: sagalé beettó-ho *ái* u-i-t-ino ?
 food.ACCOBL child-DAT.M who.NOM give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
 'WHO gave the food to the boy?'

- B1: sagalé isí-ra *mánčo* u-i-t-ino.
 food.ACCOBL 3SG.GEN-DAT person.NOM.F give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
 'THE WOMAN gave the food to the boy.'

- B2: #mánčo sagalé isí-ra u-i-t-ino.
 person.NOM.F food.ACCOBL 3SG.GEN-DAT give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3

- B3: #isí-ra mánčo sagalé u-i-t-ino.
 3SG.GEN-DAT person.NOM.F food.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3

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Correction

(18) A: íse buná ag-á
3SG.F.NOM coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL
hasid-d-inó.
come.to.want-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She came to want/wants to drink coffee.'

B1: deé'ni, buná ag-á áni
no, coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL 1SG.NOM
hasi'r-oó-mm-o.
come.to.want-D.PRF.1-1SG-M]
'No, I (M) came to want/want to drink coffee.'

Addition

B2: eé, buná ag-á ísi=no
yes, coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL 3SG.M.NOM=also
hasi'r-ø-inó.
come.to.want-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'Yes, HE ALSO came to want/wants to drink coffee.'

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Answer to alternative question (selection from choices)

(19) A: kaameelá ái hidđ-i-t-ino, faáyyo=nsó
car.ACCOBL who.NOM buy-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3 Faayyo.NOM=or
dančile ?
Dancile.NOM
'WHO bought a car, Faayyo or Dancile?'

B: (kaameelá) faáyyo hidđ-i-t-ino.
car.ACCOBL Faayyo.NOM.F buy-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
'FAAYYO bought a car.'

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[F-2] Optionally used focus clitics, =lla (lit. 'only') and =we

=we: usually indicates the speaker's irritation over the addressee's lack of knowledge about the focused constituent or the addressee's repeated questions about it. Its use is often impolite.

Correction

(20) A: íse buná ag-á
3SG.F.NOM coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL
hasid-d-inó.
come.to.want-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She came to want/wants to drink coffee.'

B: deé'ni, buná ag-á
no, coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL
'áni=lla/áni=we hasi'r-oó-mm-o.
1SG.NOM=FOC/1SG.NOM=FOC come.to.want-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
áni hasi'r-oó-mm-o=we/#=lla.
1SG.NOM come.to.want-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'No, I (M) came to want/want to drink coffee.'
(also, áni=lla=we/áni=we=lla)

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(21) A: faáyyo kaameelá hidđ-i-t-ino.
Faayyo.NOM car.ACCOBL buy-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Faayyo bought a car.'

B: deé'ni, (íse)
no, 3SG.F.NOM
'saá=lla/saá=we hidđ-i-t-ino.
cow.ACCOBL=FOC/cow.ACCOBL=FOC buy-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
saá hidđ-i-t-ino=we/#=lla.
cow.ACCOBL buy-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
'No, she bought A COW.'
(also, saá=lla=we/saá=we=lla)

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(22) A: faáyyo mat'aafá argat-í-ra
 Faayyo.NOM.F book.ACCOBL Argata-GEN.M-DAT
 u-i-t-inó.
 give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
 'Faayo gave the book to Argata.'

B: deé'ni, íse
 no, 3SG.F.NOM
 'halaal-í-ra=lla/halaal-í-ra=we'
 Halaala-GEN.M-DAT=FOC/Halaala-GEN.M-DAT=FOC
 halaal-í-ra u-i-t-inó=we.
 Halaala-GEN.M-DAT give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3=FOC
 u-i-t-inó.
 give-EP-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
 'No, she gave it **TO HALAALA**.' (cf. halaal-í-ra Halaala-GEN.M-DAT)
 (also, deé'ni, íse halaal-í-ra u-i-t-inó=we.)

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(23) A: máncó amaló ledó t'aad-d-inó=gede
 person.NOM.F Amalo.ACCOBL CMT meet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=COMP
 kul-t-inó.
 tell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'The woman said that she met Amalo.'

B1: deé'ni, (di=t'aad-d-ino=gede=ná)
 no NEG=meet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=COMP=and
 wošš-i-t-inó=gede=lla/wošš-i-t-inó=gede=we
 call-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=COMP=FOC/call-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=COMP=FOC
 kul-t-inó.
 tell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'No, the woman said that she **CALLED** Amalo.'
 (cf. wošš-i-t-ino=gede: informationally unmarked)

B2: deé'ni, wošš-i-t-inó=gede kul-t-inó=we.
 no call-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=COMP tell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
 'No, the woman said that she **CALLED** Amalo.'

<= PRED focus?

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(24) A: beétt-u bér'ó da-ø-inó.
 child-NOM.M yesterday come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
 'The boy came yesterday.'

B: deé'ni, beétt-u teččo=lla/teččo=we da-ø-ino.
 no child-NOM.M today=FOC/today=FOC come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
 teččo da-ø-ino=we.
 today come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC
 'The boy came **TODAY**.'

B in 'Not A but B'

(25) di=faáyyo=na
 NEG=Faayyo.NOM.F=and
 'k'amúč'e=lla/k'amúč'e=we dag-g-inó.
 K'amuc'e.NOM.F=FOC come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 k'amúč'e dag-g-inó=we.
 K'amuc'e.NOM.F=FOC come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
 'Not Faayyo but **K'AMUC'E** came.'
 (=we: SP irritated 'You (addressee) should know it.')

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Correction in a negative answer to the previous speaker's question

(26) A: íse buná ag-á
 3SG.F.NOM coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL
 hasid-đ-inó?
 come.to.want-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'Did she come to want/Does she want to drink coffee?'

B: deé'ni, buná ag-á
 'no, coffee.ACCOBL drink-INF.ACCOBL
 áni=lla/áni=we hasi'r-oó-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM=FOC/1SG.NOM=FOC come.to.want-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
 áni hasi'r-oó-mm-o=we.
 1SG.NOM come.to.want-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC
 'No, **I** (M) came to want/want to drink coffee.'

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(27) A: faáyyo kaameelá hidd-i-t-inó ?
 Faayyo.NOM car.ACCOBL buy-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'Did Faayyo buy a car?'

B: deé'ni, (íse)
 no, 3SG.F.NOM
 'sá=lla/sá=we hidd-i-t-ino.
 cow.ACCOBL=FOC/cow.ACCOBL=FOC buy-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 sá hidd-i-t-ino=we.
 cow.ACCOBL buy-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
 'No, she bought **A COW**.'

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The clitic =lla can also attach to a WH-word. Both =lla and =we can mark the focused constituent in an answer to a WH-question (=we causes no ambiguity).

(28) A: bé'ro beett-u hiikk-í-ra=lla ha'r-ø-i?
 yesterday boy-NOM.M where-GEN.M-ALL=FOC go-3SG.M-R.PRF.3SG.M
 'Where did the boy go yesterday?' (cf. hiikk-í-ra)

B: ilaalá=lla/ilaalá=we ha'r-ø-ino.
 mountain.ACCOBL=FOC/mountain.ACCOBL=FOC go-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
 ilaalá ha'r-ø-ino=we.
 mountain.ACCOBL go-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC
 =lla: 'He went **TO THE MOUNTAIN**.' (ambiguous with 'only')
 =we: 'He went **TO THE MOUNTAIN**.' (Speaker irritated)
 (also, ilaalá=lla=we/ilaalá=we=lla)

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[F-3] Contrastive focus in polar questions marked with a distinctive pitch accent pattern

A high pitch on the (final) vowel of the aspect suffix on the verb is shifted to the vowel right before it (or the second vowel before it, depending on the suffix), and the focused constituent immediately preceding the verb gains a flat pitch contour (Often, the speaker's surprise or unpleasantness/anger is also expressed.)

(30a) bé'ro dikkó ati[FLAT] mar-óo-tt-o?
 yesterday market.ACCOBL 2SG go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Did **YOU (SG.M)** (rather than anyone else) go to the market yesterday?
 (ati 'you': contrastively focused)

Compare:

(30b) áti bé'ro dikkó mar-oó-tt-o?
 2SG.NOM yesterday market.ACCOBL go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Did you (SG.M) go to the market yesterday?' (informationally unmarked)

(30c) bé'ro dikkó áti mar-oó-tt-o?
 yesterday market.ACCOBL 2SG.NOM go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Did **YOU (SG.M)** go to the market yesterday?' (áti 'you': focused)

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(31a) ati[FLAT] haišš-óo-tt-o uddanó?
 2SG.NOM wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M clothes.ACCOBL
 'Did **YOU (SG.M)** (rather than anyone else) wash the clothes?'
 (ati 'you': contrastively focused)

(31b) uddano[FLAT] haišš-óo-tt-o áti?
 clothes.ACCOBL wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M 2SG.NOM
 'Did you (SG.M) wash **THE CLOTHES** (rather than anything else) ?'
 (uddano 'clothes': contrastively focused)

Compare:

(31c) áti uddanó haišš-oó-tt-o?
 2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Did you (SG.M) wash the clothes?' (informationally unmarked)

(31d) uddanó áti haišš-oó-tt-o?
 clothes.ACCOBL 2SG.NOM wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Did **YOU (SG.M)** wash the clothes?' (áti 'you': focused)

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Normally not preverbal constituent (subject, adjunct)			
flat pitch of focused constituent & pitch shift on the verb (30a), (31a)		contrastively focused	
focused constituent in preverbal position (30c), (31d)		focused	
normal word order & normal pitch accent pattern (30b), (31c)		unmarked	
Normally preverbal constituent (object, adjunct)			
flat pitch of focused constituent & pitch shift on the verb (32a), (32c), (34)		contrastively focused	
preverbal and sentence-initial & normal pitch accent pattern (32d)		(somewhat) focused	
normal word order & normal pitch accent pattern (32b)		unmarked	
(32a)	faáyyo Faayyo.NOM	argat-í-ra Argata-GEN.M-DAT	<i>uddano</i> _[FLAT] u-i-t-ino ? clothes give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 'Did Faayyo give Argata THE CLOTHES (rather than anything else)? (<i>uddano</i> 'clothes': contrastively focused)
cf.			
(32b)	faáyyo Faayyo.NOM	argat-í-ra Argata-GEN.M-DAT	<i>uddanó</i> u-i-t-inó ? clothes.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 'Did Faayyo give the clothes to Argata? (<i>uddanó</i> 'clothes': unmarked)

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(32c)	<i>uddano</i> _[FLAT] u-i-t-ino clothes give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3	argat-í-ra Argata-GEN.M-DAT	faáyyo ? Faayyo.NOM	'Did Faayyo give Argata THE CLOTHES (rather than anything else)? (<i>uddano</i> 'clothes': contrastively focused)
cf.				
(32d)	<i>uddanó</i> u-i-t-inó clothes.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3	argat-í-ra Argata-GEN.M-DAT	faáyyo ? Faayyo.NOM	'Did Faayyo give THE CLOTHES to Argata? (<i>uddano</i> 'clothes': (somewhat) focused)
(33) A:	faáyyo Faayyo.NOM	argat-í-ra Argata-GEN.M-DAT	<i>maá</i> u-i-t-ino ? what.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3	'What did Faayyo give to Argata?'
B1:	<i>uddanó</i> u-i-t-inó. 'She gave THE CLOTHES to him.'			
B2:	# <i>uddano</i> _[FLAT] u-i-t-ino.			

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(34)	faáyyo Faayyo.NOM.F	<i>ilaala</i> _[flat] had-d-ino? mountain.ACCOBL go-3SG.F-D.PRF.3	'Did Faayyo go TO THE MOUNTAIN ?' (<i>'Why did Faayyo go TO THE MOUNTAIN?'</i>)
The focused constituent in this construction may carry the focus clitic = <i>lla</i> (but not = <i>we</i>).			
(35)	faáyyo Faayyo.NOM.F	<i>uddano=lla</i> _[flat] /* <i>uddano</i> = <i>we</i> u-i-t-ino clothes=FOC/clothes=FOC give-3SG.F-D.PRF.3	argat-í-ra? Argata-GEN.M-DAT 'Did Faayyo give Argata THE CLOTHES ?' (<i>'Why did Faayyo give Argata THE CLOTHES?'</i>)

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[F4]&[F5]: Predicate focus strategies and focus types				
	Lexical content of the verb	Lexical content of the verb and (an)other constituent(s)	Operator	
			Truth value	Aspect
[F-4] Verb-initial construction	OK	*	OK (not used in an affirmative answer to non-verb-initial statement/question)	*
[F-5] = <i>lla</i>	OK (not used as an answer to 'What happened?'/ 'What did X do?', in an affirmative answer, as an addition, or in a response in the negative)	OK	OK (affirmative only) (not used in an answer to a negative question)	OK (not used in a negative answer)
[F-5] = <i>we</i>	OK	OK	OK	OK

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[F-4] Predicate focus: placement of the verb at the beginning of a sentence

Action expressed by the verb contrasted with other actions.

Lexical content of the verb

- (36) A1: íse sagalé hun-t-inó.
3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL discard-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She discarded the food.'
- A2: íse sagalé hun-t-inó?
3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL discard-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Did she discard the food?'
- B: deé'ni, *it-t-inó* íse sagalé.
no eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL
'No, she *ATE* (rather than discarded) the food.'

33

- (37) A1: mánčo beettó-ho mat'aafá u-i-t-inó.
person.NOM.F child-DAT.M book.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'The woman gave the child the book.'
- A2: mánčo beettó-ho mat'aafá u-i-t-inó?
person.NOM.F child-DAT.M book.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Did the woman give the child the book?'
- B: deé'ni, *hir-t-inó* íse isí-ra mat'aafá.
no sell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F 3SG.M.GEN-DAT book.ACCOBL
'No, she *SOLD* him the book.'

- (38) *haišš-ó-tt-o* áti uddanó?
wash-D.PRF.2SG-2SG-M 2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL
'Did you *WASH* the clothes?'
(*haišš-ó-tt-o*: speaker's surprise or unpleasantness/anger)

34

Truth value

- (39) A1: íse sagalé di=it-t-inó.
3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She did not eat the food.'
- A2: íse sagalé di=it-t-inó?
3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Didn't she eat the food?'
- A3: *di=it-t-inó* íse sagalé.
NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL
'She *DID NOT EAT* the food.'
- A4: *di=it-t-inó* íse sagalé?
NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL
'*DIDN'T* she *EAT* the food?'
- B: deé'ni, *it-t-inó* íse sagalé.
no eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL
'No, she *ATE* the food.'

35

This construction cannot be used in an affirmative answer unless the previous statement or question has the verb at the beginning.

- (40) A: íse sagalé it-t-inó?
3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Did she eat the food?'
- B1: #ée, it-t-inó íse sagalé.
yes eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM food.ACCOBL
- B2: ée, it-t-inó.
yes eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Yes, she ate the food.'
- (41) A: íse dag-g-inó?
3SG.F.NOM come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Did she come?'
- B1: #ée, dag-g-inó íse.
yes come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM
- B2: ée, dag-g-inó.
yes come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Yes, she came.'

36

- (42) A: *dag-g-inó* íse?
come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM
'Did she **COME**?'
B: *ée, dag-g-inó* íse.
yes come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F.NOM
'Yes, she **CAME**.'
B: *ée, dag-g-inó*.
yes come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Yes, she came.'
- (43) A1: *di=hir-t-inó* mánčo beettó-ho mat'aafá.
NEG=sell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person.NOM.F child-DAT.M book.ACCOBL
'The woman **DID NOT SELL** the child the book.'
A2: *di=hir-t-inó* mánčo beettó-ho mat'aafá?
NEG=sell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person.NOM.F child-DAT.M book.ACCOBL
'**DIDN'T** the woman **SELL** the child the book?'
B: *deé'ni, hir-t-inó* íse isí-ra mat'aafá.
no sell-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 3SG.F 3SG.M.GEN-DAT book.ACCOBL
'No, she **SOLD** him the book.'

37

This construction is used to focus only on a verb (not a verb plus any other constituent).

- (44) A: *beétto maá ass-i-t-u?*
child.NOM.F what.ACCOBL do-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3SG.F
'What did the girl do?'
B: *#it-t-inó waasá.*
eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 waasa.ACCOBL
*to mean, 'She **ATE WAASA**.'*
- (45) A: *dancíle aé-ra maá ass-i-t-ino?*
Dancile.NOM.F what.GEN-DAT what.ACCOBL do-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
'What did Mary do to whom?'
B: *#gan-t-inó amaló.*
hit-3SG.F-R.PRF.3 Amalo.ACCOBL
*to mean, 'She **HIT AMALO**.'*

38

[F-5] Predicate focus: the addition of the focus clitic =lla or =we to a verb in focus or the leftmost constituent of a focused predicate

=we: The speaker's emotion seems to be irrelevant in this use (? <= I need to check).

Correction/Additional statement to a negative answer

- (46) A1: *áti uddanó moošš-oó-tt-o.*
2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL dry-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
'You (SG.M) dried the clothes.'
A2: *áti uddanó moošš-oó-tt-o?*
2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL dry-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
'Did you (SG.M) dry the clothes?'
B: *deé'ni, haišš-oó-mm-o=lla/haišš-oó-mm-o=we.*
no wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC/wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC
'No, I (M) **WASHED** them.'
(also, *haišš-oó-mm-o=lla=we/haišš-oó-mm-o=we=lla*)

39

- (49) A: *áti bé'ro dikkó mar-oó-tt-o?*
2SG.NOM yesterday market.ACCOBL go-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
'Did you (SG.M) go to the market yesterday?'
B: *deé'ni, mine=lla/mine=we keešš-oó-mm-o.*
no house=FOC/house=FOC stay-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'No, I (M) **STAYED AT HOME**.'
- (50) A: *miné f-íí-tt-a?*
house.ACCOBL sweep-R.PRF.2SG-2SG-F
'Have you (SG.F) swept the house?'
B1: *deé'ni, k'alamé=lla/k'alamé=we buur-oó-mm-a.*
no paint.ACCOBL=FOC/paint.ACCOBL=FOC smear-D.PRF.1-1SG-F
'No, I (F) **PAINTED IT**.' (lit. 'smeared paint')
B2: *deé'ni, k'alamé buur-oó-mm-a=lla/buur-oó-mm-a=we.*
no paint.ACCOBL smear-D.PRF.1-1SG-F=FOC/smear-D.PRF.1-1SG-F=FOC
'No, I (F) **PAINTED IT**.' (lit. 'smeared paint')

40

Answer to 'What happened?'/What did X do?'

(51) A: bors-í-kki maá ikk-ø-i?
bag-NOM.M.MOD-2SG.POSS what.ACCOBL become-3SG.M-R.PRF.3SG.M
'What happened to your bag?'

B: *hu'n-oo-mm-o=we/#hu'n-oo-mm-o-lla.*
lose-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC/lose-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC
'I **LOST** it.'

(52) A: beétt-u maá ass-ø-ino?
child-NOM.M what.ACCOBL do-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'What did the boy do?'

B: beétt-u *da-ø-ino=we/#da-ø-ino=lla.*
yes come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC/come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC
'The boy **CAME**.'
(*da-ø-ino=lla*: 'The boy only came.')

41

Additional statement to an affirmative answer

(53) A: áti uddanó haišš-oó-tt-o?
2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
'Did you (SG.M) wash the clothes?'

B: ée, *haišš-oó-mm-o=we/#haišš-oó-mm-o-lla.*
yes wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC/wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC
'Yes, I (M) **WASHED** them.'

Addition

(54) A: mančo amaló gan-t-ino.
person.NOM.F Amalo.ACCOBL hit-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'The woman hit Amalo.'

B: deé'ni,
no
šorr-i-t-ino(-si)=no=we/#šorr-i-t-ino(-si)=no=lla.
chase-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3(-3SG.M)=also=FOC/chase-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3(-3SG.M)=also=FOC
'No, she **ALSO CHASED HIM**.'

42

Truth value

(55) A: beétt-u dí=da-ø-ino.
boy-NOM.M NEG=come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'The boy did not come.'

B1: deé'ni, beétt-u *da-ø-ino=lla/da-ø-ino=we.*
no boy-NOM.M come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC/come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC
'No, the boy **DID COME**.'

B2: *ée, beétt-u dí=da-ø-ino=lla/di=da-ø-ino=we.
yes boy-NOM.M NEG=come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC/NEG=come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC

(56) A: beétt-u dí=da-ø-ino?
boy-NOM.M NEG=come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'Didn't the boy come?'

B: deé'ni, beétt-u *da-ø-ino=we/#da-ø-ino=lla.*
no boy-NOM.M come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC/come-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=FOC
'No, the boy **DID COME**.'

43

(47) A: íse baak'eelá dí=it-t-ino.
3SG.F.NOM beans.ACCOBL NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She did not eat the beans.'

B: deé'ni, *it-t-ino=lla/it-t-ino=we.*
no eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC/eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
'No, she **DID EAT** them.'

(48) A: íse baak'eelá it-t-ino.
3SG.F.NOM beans.ACCOBL eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She ate the beans.'

B: deé'ni, *dí=it-t-ino=we/#dí=it-t-ino=lla.*
no eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC/eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
'No, she **DID NOT EAT** them.'

44

(57) A: áti uddanó dí=haišš-oo-tt-o.
 2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL NEG=wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'You (SG.M) did not wash the clothes.'

B: deé'ni, *haišš-oó-mm-o=lla/haišš-oó-mm-o=we.*
 no wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC/wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC
 'No, I (M) **DID WASH** them.'

(58) A: áti uddanó dí=haišš-oo-tt-o?
 2SG.NOM clothes.ACCOBL NEG=wash-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Didn't you (SG.M) wash the clothes?'

B: deé'ni, *haišš-oó-mm-o=we/#haišš-oó-mm-o=lla.*
 no wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC/wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=FOC
 'No, I (M) **DID WASH** them.'

45

=we can be used in a response in the negative, but =lla cannot.

(59) A: máncó baak'eelá it-t-inó.
 person.NOM.F beans.ACCOBL eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'The woman ate the beans.'

B: deé'ni, *di=it-t-ino=we/*di=it-t-ino=lla.*
 no NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC/NEG=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
 'No, she **DID NOT EAT** them.'

Aspect

(60) A: íse it-t-ino=nsó konní ka'a
 3SG.F.NOM eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=or this.M.GEN over.there
 it-t-anno?
 eat-3SG.F-IMPV.3
 'Has she eaten or is she going to eat from now?'

B: *it-t-anno=lla/it-t-anno=we.*
 eat-3SG.F-IMPV.3=FOC/eat-3SG.F-IMPV.3=FOC
 'She **IS GOING TO eat.**'

46

(61) A: máncó amaló la'-'-inó.
 person.NOM.F Amalo.ACCOBL see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'The woman saw Amalo.'

B1: deé'ni, dí=la'-'-ino,
 no NEG=see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
la'-'-annó=lla/la'-'-annó=we.
 see-3SG.F-IMPV.3=FOC/see-3SG.F-IMPV.3=FOC
 'No, she did not see him, she **IS GOING TO see** him.'
 (also, *la'-'-annó=lla=we/la'-'-annó=we=lla*)

B2: deé'ni, *dí=la'-'-ino=we/*dí=la'-'-ino=lla,*
 no NEG=see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=FOC
la'-'-annó.
 see-3SG.F-IMPV.3
 'No, she **DID NOT see** him, she is going to see him.'

47

Adjective predicates

(62) A1: ann-í-se min-i jáwa=ho.
 father-GEN.M.MOD-3SG.F.POSS house.NOM.M.MOD big=NPC.M.PRED
 'Her father's house is big.'

A2: ann-í-se min-i jává=ho ?
 father-GEN.M.MOD-3SG.F.POSS house.NOM.M.MOD big=NPC.M.PRED
 'Is her father's house big?'

Lexical content

B1: deé'nni, (a) *šiiima=ho=lla*/(b) *šiiima=ho=we.*
 no small=NPC.M.PRED=FOC/small=NPC.M.PRED=FOC
 'No, it **IS SMALL.**' (cf. *šiiima=ho* small=NPC.M.PRED)

Truth value

B2: deé'nni, (a) *dí=jawa=ho=we*/(b) **dí=jawa=ho=lla.*
 no NEG=big=NPC.M.PRED=FOC/NEG=big=NPC.M.PRED=FOC
 'No, it **IS NOT BIG.**'

48

Other constructions to look at

[1] =di construction

The negative proclitic =di can be used as an emphatic (predicate focus?) marker. (It does not have high pitch in this use.)

When =di is used this way, the speaker is irritated with someone's action, and wants the addressee to feel the same way as himself/herself.

- (63) A: isi gott'- \emptyset -i?
 3SG.M.NOM sleep-3SG.M-R.PRF.3SG.M
 'Has he gone to sleep?'
 B: di=it- \emptyset -á-nni=lla no.
 EMPH=eat-3SG.M-INF-MANNER=FOC come.to.exist.D.PRF.3
 'He is (still) eating (to my irritation).'
 (not interpreted as: 'He is not eating.')

49

- (64) A: beét-u dí=da- \emptyset -ino.
 child-NOM.M NEG=come-3SG.M-D.PRF
 'The boy did not come.'
 B: deé'ni, beét-u dí=da- \emptyset -inó(=lla).
 no child-NOM.M EMPH=come-3SG.M-D.PRF(=FOC)
 'Yes (*lit.* No), the boy did come (to my irritation).'
 (not interpreted as '... the boy did not come.')
- (65) A: íse baak'eelá gaf-f-inó.
 3SG.F.NOM beans.ACCOBL cook-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'She cooked the beans.'
 B: deé'ni, di=it-t-inó.
 no EMPH=eat-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'No, she ate them (to my irritation).'
 (not interpreted as '... she did not eat them.')

However, it is not clear how productive this use of di= is.

50

[2] =yya construction

The enclitic =yya attaches to a verb when the speaker's surprise is expressed.

- (66) A1: áti uddanó moošš-oó-tt-o.
 2SG.NOM clothes.ACC.OBL dry-D.PRF.2SG-2SG-M
 A2: áti uddanó moošš-oó-tt-o?
 2SG.NOM clothes.ACC.OBL dry-D.PRF.2SG-2SG-M
 B: deé'ni, haišš-oó-mm-o=yya.
 no wash-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=?
 'No, I washed them (but just realized that I should not have).'

51

- (67) A: šamizé hiissité udd-i-'r-oó-tt-o.
 2SG.NOM how.2SG put.on-EP-MID-D.PRF.2SG-2SG-M
 'Why are you (SG.M) wearing your clothes like that?'
 (*lit.* 'How did you (SG.M) put on your clothes?')
 B: albá baDDé k'ol- \emptyset -é
 face.ACCOBL back.ACCOBL turn-1SG-CON
 udd-i-'r-oó-mm-o=yya.
 put.on-EP-MID-D.PRF.1-M-?
 '(Oh,) I was wearing my clothes backwards.'
- (68) A: faáyyo kaameelá-kki argiǫ'-ǫ-inó?
 Faayyo.NOM.F car-2SG.POSS borrow-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
 'Did Faayyo borrow your car?'
 B: deé'ni.
 no
 'No.'
 A: hiǫǫ'-i-t-inó=yya.
 buy-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=?
 '(Oh, then) she bought it.'

52

4. (Pseudo-)cleft and related constructions

- Contains two forms of one of the noun-phrase clitics (NPCs)
 - presupposition clause
NOM: =*ti* (F)/=*hu* (M)/=*ri* (PL)
 - focused constituent (subject NP, object (DO/IO) NP, adjunct)
PRED: =*te* (F, Unmodified noun)/=*ho* (M, Unmodified noun)/=*ti* (proper noun and Modified common noun arguments, adjuncts)

53

When the focused constituent is the subject (or object: in the case of some speakers) of the presupposition clause, the subject (or object), the subject suffix (or object) on the verb and the noun-phrase clitic at the end of the presupposition clause have to agree in gender and number with the focused constituent.

- (69) hatté sagale
that.F.ACCOBL food.ACCOBL.mod
- (a) it-t-ino=ti *beétto=te/búne-e=ti.*
eat-3SG.F-D.PFV.3=NPC.F.NOM child=NPC.F.PRED/Bune-LV=NPC.PROP.PRED
- (b) it-∅-ino=hú *beétto=ho/dangúra-a=ti.*
eat-3SG.M-D.PFV.3=NPC.M.NOM child=NPC.M.PRED/Dangura-LV=NPC.PROP.PRED
- (c) it-t-ino=rí *oóso=te/dangúra=na búne-e=ti.*
eat-3SG.PL-D.PFV.3=NPC.PL.NOM children=NPC.F.PRED/Dangura=and Bune-LV=NPC.PROP.PRED
- (a) **THE GIRL/BUNE**
'It is (b) **THE BOY/DANGURA** who ate that food.'
(c) **THE CHILDREN/DANGURA AND BUNE**

The focused constituent in this construction could carry =*lla*, but it means 'only'.
It is incompatible with =*we*.

54

When the focused constituent is not the subject (or object: in the case of some speakers) of the presupposition clause, =*hu* and =*ti* are used for a presupposition clause and a focused constituent, respectively, regardless of the gender of any constituent in the sentence.

- (70) búne sagalé u-i-t-ino=hú
Bune.NOM.F food.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
hatté *beetto-rá-a=ti/beétto-o=ti.*
that.F.ACCOBL child-DAT-LV=NPC.MOD.PRED/child-LV=NPC.MOD.PRED
'It is **THAT GIRL** that Bune gave the food to.'

- (71) búne mar-t-ino=hú *hatté*
Bune.NOM.F go-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM that.F.ACCOBL
mánco=wá-a=ti.
person=place-LV=NPC.MOD.PRED
'It is **THAT WOMAN** that Bune went to'

55

- (72)A: áti egemm-oó-tt-a=hu
2SG.NOM swallow-D.PRF.2SG-2SG-F=NPC.M.NOM
t'agicco-kkí-i=ti?
medicine-2SG.POSS-LV=NPC.F.MOD.PRED
'Is it **YOUR (SG) MEDICINE** that you (SG) took?'
- B: ée, *t'agicco-'yá-a=ti*
yes medicine-1SG.POSS-LV=NPC.F.MOD.PRED
(egemm-oo-mm-á=hu).
swallow-D.PRF.1-1SG-F=NPC.M.NOM
'Yes, it is **MY MEDICINE** (that I (M) took).'
- (73) A: kaameelá hídd-i-t-inó=ti
car.ACCOBL-1SG.POSS buy-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF3=NPC.F.NOM
ae-e=ti ?
who-LV=NPC.F.MOD.PRED
'**WHO** (F) bought the car?'
- B: *dančilé-e=ti=lla/dančilé-e=ti=we.*
Dancile-LV=NPC.F.MOD.PRED=FOC/Dancile-LV=NPC.F.MOD.PRED=FOC
'It is **DANCILE**.'

56

5. Topicalization

Three (optional) methods for topicalizing a subject NP:

- [T-1] Addition of the clitic =no (*lit.* 'also') to a topicalized constituent (a subject NP)
- [T-2] Use of a high pitch on the vowel at the end of a topicalized noun phrase (a subject NP) as well as a pause immediately following it
- [T-3] Use of the nominal predicate construction that starts with 'X y-a-a [say-INF-LV]' to topicalize a subject NP

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[T-1] Clitic =no (*lit.* 'also')

(74)

(After hearing the listener explain why he has been unavailable.)

Waadára: k'árru dí=no. [áni=no](#),
 problem-NOM.M NEG=come.to.exist.D.PRF.3 1SG.NOM=TOP
 jaál-i-'yá "katamá-ho loosó
 friend-NOM.M.MOD-1SG.POSS city-LOC.M job.ACCOBL
 af-oó-mm-o-he=ná, hakkó
 find-D.PRF.1-1SG-M-2SG=because there
 nó-o=re baalá agur-t-é
 come.to.exist.D.PRF.3-LV=NPC.PL.ACCOBL all stop-2SG-CON
 ámo", y-e-e-nna-'é, ha'r-ø-á-nni
 come.IMP.2SG say-CON-LV=and-1SG leave-1SG-INF-ABLINS
 n-oó-mm-o.
 come.to.exist-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'No problem (with your explanation). [As for me](#), my friend (M) said to me, "Because I found a job for you in the city, stop leave all the things there, and come", so I (M) am leaving.' (conversation 2015.7)

58

(75)

(After hearing the listener say that he would leave his family to live in a different place)

Ošónka: insá-ra ái loos-ø-é
 3PL.GEN-DAT who.NOM work-3SG.M-CON

it-i-s-ø-annó-he-yya ?
 eat-EP-CS-3SG.M-IMPV.3-2SG-Q

af-u-mm-ó=n=te=gedé
 come.to.know-R.PRF.1-1SG-M=EMP=NPC.F.PRED=like

[k'aakk'úll-u=no](#), loosó-ho dí=iill-i-t-ino.
 children-NOM.M=TOP work-DAT.M NEG=reach-EP-3PL-D.PRF.3

'Who is going to work and feed them (= your children and wife) for you? From what I know (*lit.* as I know), [as for the \(your\) children](#), they have not reached the working age.' (conversation 2015.7)

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(76) lowó dir-i alba-a-nní, mittú k'ačč'-i-rá
 many year-GEN.M.MOD face-LV-LOC one-NOM.M village-GEN.M-LOC

minaánn-i=nná minaáma hee'r-ø-annó.
 husband-NOM.M.MOD=and wife.NOM.F live-3SG.M-IMPV.3

[insa=no](#), sasé labbaá
 3PL.NOM=TOP three.ACCOBL male.ACCOBL

ooso=nná lamé meaá
 children.ACC.OBL.mod=and two.ACCOBL female.ACCOBL

ooso af-i-'r-ø-inó.
 children.ACC.OBL.mod get-EP-MID-3SG.M-D.PRF.3

'A long time ago, there lived a husband and a wife in one village. [As for them](#), they had three sons and two daughters.' ("A smart woman and thieves" 2015.7)

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[T-2] High pitch

Optionally used for contrastive topic

(77) A: kúri mann-i [flat] maá ag-g-ino?
these.NOM.M people-NOM.M what.ACCOBL drink-3PL-D.PFV.3
'What did these people drink?'

B: [geeřč-u](#) [manč-í](#) waá
old-NOM.M person-NOM.M.MOD.TOP water.ACCOBL
ag-ø-e-e=nná, [beett-ú](#) biirá
drink-3SG.M-CON-LV=and child-NOM.M.TOP beer.ACCOBL
ag-ø-ino.
drink-3SG.M-D.PFV.3
'[As for the old man](#), he drank water, and [as for the boy \(young man\)](#), he drank beer.'
cf. geeřč-u manč-i waá ag-ø-e-e=nná/ageénna, beett-u biirá ag-ø-ino.

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(78) A: ínsa me'é tima
3PL.NOM how.many.ACCOBL waasa.bread.ACCOBL.mod
it-t-ino?
eat-3PL-D.PFV.3
'How many pieces of *waasa* bread did they eat?'

B: [manč-ú](#) lamé it-ø-e-e=nná,
person-NOM.M two.ACCOBL eat-3SG.M-CON-LV=and
[mančó](#) šoolé it-t-ino.
person.NOM.F four.ACC/OBL eat-3SG.F-D.PFV.3
'[As for the man](#), he ate two pieces of *waasa* bread, and [as for the woman](#), she ate four pieces of *waasa* bread.'
cf. [mánč-ú](#) lamé it-ø-e-e=nná, [mánčó](#) šoolé it-t-ino.

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Topicalization by means of high pitch is possible with at least subject NPs.

But adjuncts cannot be topicalized.

(79) *goda-hó, dangurá la'-oó-mm-o=ná,
cave-LOC.M.TOP Dangura.ACCOBL see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M=and

tullo-té, buné la'-oó-mm-o.
mountain-LOC.F.TOP Bune.ACCOBL see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M

to mean, 'In the cave, I (M) saw Dangura, and in the mountains, I (M) saw Bune.'

Correctly,
godá-ho ..., tulló-te

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It is not clear whether the accusative/oblique NP at the beginning of the clause is topicalized.

(80) A: waá ái ag-ø-e-e=nná,
water.ACCOBL who.NOM drink-3SG.M-CON-LV=and
biirá ái ag-ø-ino?
beer.ACCOBL who.NOM drink-3SG.M-D.PFV.3
'Who drank the water, and who drank the beer?'

B: [waá](#) geeřč-u manč-i [flat]
water.ACCOBL old-NOM.M person.NOM.M.MOD
ag-ø-e-e=nná, [biirá](#) beett-u
drink-3SG.M-CON-LV=and beer.ACCOBL child.NOM.M
ag-ø-ino [flat].
drink-3SG.M-D.PFV.3
'The old man drank water, and the boy (young man) drank beer.'
'[As for the water](#), the old man drank water, and [as for the beer](#), the boy (young man) drank beer.'

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But an ACC/OBL NP seems to be topicalized in the following sentence.

(81) argát-i kaameelá-si bat'-ø-anno.
 Argata-NOM.M car.ACCOBL-3SG.M.POSS come.to.like-3SG.M-IMPV.3
 bé'ro kaameela-sí haišš-ø-a=nná, feann-ø-a=nná,
 yesterday car-3SG.M.POSS wash-3SG.M-INF=and polish-3SG.M-INF=and
 t'aggan-ø-á=nna la'-oó-mm-o.
 repair-3SG.M-INF=and see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'Argata likes his car. Yesterday, as for his car, I (M) saw him wash, polish, and repair it.'

There are cases where a non-contrastive topic NP has a high pitch at its end.

(82) A: bé'ro beett-ú(,) ísi hiikk-íí-ra
 yesterday child-NOM.M.TOP 3SG.NOM where-GEN.M.MOD-ALL
 ha'r-ø-ino?
 go-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
 'As for the boy, where did he go yesterday?' (beett-u: unmarked)
 B: beett-ú(,) ilaalá ha'r-ø-ino.
 child-NOM.M.TOP mountain.ACCOBL go-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
 'As for the boy, he went to the mountain.'

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[T-3] X y-á-a [say-INF-LV]

X: subject NP in the nominative case or in its citation form

(83a) hákku beett-i y-á-a, dangúra-a=ti.
 that.M.NOM child-NOM.M.MOD say-INF-LV Dangura-LV=NPC.PROP.PRED
 'As for that boy, he is Dangura.'

cf.

(83b) hákku beett-i dangúra-a=ti.
 that.M.NOM child-NOM.M.MOD Dangura-LV=NPC.PROP.PRED
 'That boy is Dangura.'

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(84) A: argát-i/argáta y-á-a (ísi) áe-e=ti ?
 Argata-NOM.M/Argata say-INF-LV 3SG.M.NOM who-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
 'As for Argata, who is he?' (isi: perfectly grammatical)

B1: argát-i/argáta y-á-a (ísi)
 Argata-NOM.M/Argata say-INF-LV 3SG.M.NOM
 áнна-'ya-a=ti.
 father-1SG.POSS-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
 '(The person who I mean by) Argata is my father.'
 (isi: a little redundant, though grammatical)

B2: argát-i áнна-'ya-a=ti.
 Argata-NOM.M father-1SG.POSS-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
 'Argata is my father.'

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(85) A: argatá af-oó-tt-o ?
 Argata.ACC/OBL get.to.know-D.PRF.2-2SG-M
 'Do you know Argata?'

B: deé'ni dí=af-oo-mm-o.
 no NEG=get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'No, I do not know (him).'

A: argát-i/argáta y-á-a búša=ho.
 Argata-NOM.M/Argata say-INF-LV bad=NPC.M.PRED
 'As for Argata, he is bad.'

(86) A: búša manco [flat] y-á-a áe-e=ti ?
 bad person(MOD) say-INF-LV who-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
 'As for the bad person, who is it?'

B: búša manco y-á-a dancíle-e=ti.
 bad person(MOD) say-INF-LV Dancile-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
 'As for the bad person, she is Dancile.'

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6. Conclusion

- Sidaama has different topic- and focus-marking strategies from Somali and Afar.
- The predicate focus marking strategies in Sidaama are used for different sets of predicate-centered focus types.
- Focus marking in Sidama, specifically, the (at least argument/ adjunct) focus marking with =we and the use of the verb-initial construction for predicate-centered focus, can be associated with the speaker's surprise or unpleasant feeling, unlike topic marking.

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Abbreviations

ACCOBL	accusative/oblique	CMT	comitative
D.PRF	Distant perfect	EP	epenthesis
IMPFV	imperfective	LV	lengthened vowel
mod	modified		
MOD	Modified (accompanied by a modifier(s) and/or the possessive pronominal suffix)		
NPC	Noun phrase clitic	R.PRF	Recent perfect

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