PhD project:
Predicate-centered focus in Sara-Bagirmi.
The diachronic perspective

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In Sara-Bagirmi languages, some strategies for encoding **predicate-centered focus** (in the sense of Güldemann 2009) **additionally** express **tense/aspect related information**.

The talk concentrates on two strategies:
1. The "*kA*-construction" in BAGIRMI
2. The "in-situ verb doubling" in KENGA

The ***kA*-construction in BAGIRMI** is used for certainty/emphasis marking and for marking future tense as well

The **in-situ verb doubling in KENGA** is used for indicating (several types of) predicate-centered focus and for marking progressive as well

I argue that the structures are shifted, and the functions are extended
- from the expression of certainty to future tense marking in the *kA*-construction
- from predominantly pragmatic use to a polyfunctional use (predicate-centered focus and progressive) for in-situ verb doubling

For both strategies, I will
- present **diachronic and synchronic data**
- illustrate the **potential development** of these strategies
- **compare the findings** with those of Sara-Bagirmi languages, and extend the generalization for these languages

1 The Sara-Bagirmi languages

1.1 Genetic affiliation

Nilo-Saharan > Central Sudanic > West > Bongo-Bagirmi > Sara-Bagirmi: BAGIRMI/KENGA
(Lewis et al. 2013, Boyeldieu 2006, p.c.)

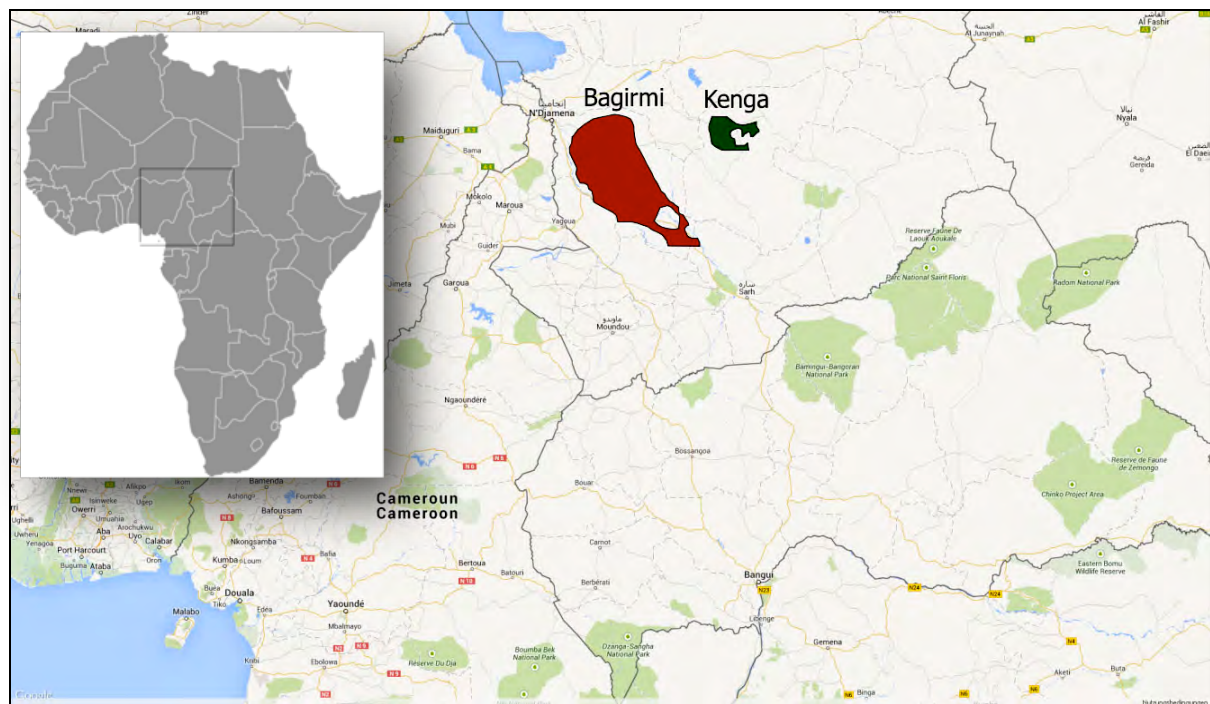## 1.2 Geographical and socio-cultural situation

Figure 1: Area of BAGIRMI and KENGA (areal information from Lewis et al. 2013)

BAGIRMI (Bagirmi): 44,800 speakers in Chari-Bagirmi region (SW Chad)
KENGA (Bagirmi): 40,000 speakers in Guéra region (SW Chad)

1.3 Typological information

- predominantly agglutinative languages with synthetic features
- all languages have S(ubject)V(erb)O(bject) word order
- all languages are tone languages with three level tones (high: á, middle: a, low: à)[1]

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[1] In the literature for these languages all tones are marked (á, ā and à). For reasons of consistency
with other Sara-Bagirmi languages, I leave out the marking of middle tones.

2 First study: the *kA*-construction

2.1 The structure of the kA-*construction*

KENGA and BAGIRMI use a similar construction with the particle *kA*:

(1)   Structure: SBJ – V$_{AUX}$ – **kA** – V$_{INF}$:

ɓɔrsé	naáñ	à	**kà**	k-ɔ̀ŋ	bɛ̀ɛ̀	sum.
now	3S	3S.FUT	kA	INF-find	well	only

Maintenant il ira mieux. (Neukom 2010: 128) (Now he WILL be better. – PJ)

The structure in (1) from KENGA
- contains the **optional particle *kA*** (with different notations concerning the vowel quality)
- parallels the periphrastic structure above, but without *kA* (for marking future tense):

(2)   Structure: SBJ – V$_{AUX}$ – V$_{INF}$:

…	naáñ	è	k-ɔ̀ŋ	bɛ̀ɛ̀.
	3S	3S.FUT	INF-find	well

{Donne-lui ce médicament,} demain il ira mieux. (Neukom 2010: 128)

({Give him this drug,} tomorrow he will be better. – PJ)

In both examples, the structure can be analyzed as a **periphrastic structure**:
- it contains the auxiliary *a*, which comes from the verb *ɓàà* 'go' (Neukom 2010: 124) and refers to future tense (sometimes, it differs in vowel quality)
- the lexical verb is always marked by prefix *k-* as non-finite

In BAGIRMI, the construction with *kA* underlies a **structural change**:

(3)   Structure: SBJ – (V$_{AUX}$) – **kA** – V$_{FIN}$:

gab	enaa	**ka**	k-ot'o
person	DEM	kA	IPVF-fall

cet homme va sûrement tomber (Gaden 1909: 17) (this man will surely fall – PJ)

I assume that
- the **once existing auxiliary** for marking future tense is vanished
- the former periphrastic structure occurs synchronically as **simple structure** with a finite verb
- the remaining prefix *k-* is **reanalysed** as referring to the finite verb
- the finite verb occurs in the imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect[2] in BAGIRMI "is characterized throughout by the use of the **prefix k(A)-** in Class I and Class II verbs" (Stevenson 1969: 83)[3]; it is used with different functions:

(4a)   Imperfective aspect with **present tense reference**:

      ŋgab   **kä**-pa   kag(a)

      man   **IPFV**-split   wood

      the man splits the wood (Stevenson 1969: 102)

(4b)   Imperfective aspect with **future tense reference**:

      ŋan-ge   **kä**-sa   ja

      child-P   **IPFV**-eat   meat

      the children will eat meat (Stevenson 1969: 102)

(4c)   Imperfective aspect with **habitual meaning**:

      kɨnja-ge **kä**-sa   nyo

      hen-P   **IPFV**-eat   grain

      chickens eat grain (Stevenson 1969: 100)

Structural change: $SBJ - V_{AUX} - (kA) - V_{INF}$ > $SBJ - (kA) - V_{FIN}$

The **particle kA** occurs in BAGIRMI in imperfective structures only (Stevenson 1969: 98); it is found in the literature with different notations

- as *ka* in Gaden (1909), as shown in (3)

- as *kä* in Stevenson (1969), as shown in (5)

- as *kə́* in my own data

(5)   ŋgab   ɛnna   **kä**   kʷ-oco

      person   DEM   kA   IPFV-fall

      this man will surely fall (Stevenson 1969: 47)

I assume that *ka/kä/kə́* always refers to the same element[4]

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[2] Stevenson (1969: 83) differentiates between "definite aspect" (for denoting that the verb action is complete, momentary, 'perfect'), and "indefinite aspect" (for denoting that the verb action is incomplete, progressive, 'imperfect'). The latter category is called here "imperfective aspect".

[3] Prefix *k(A)-* is never used with verbs of class III, IV, and V – even in the imperfective aspect.

[4] Stevenson (1969: 5) compares his conventions for <ä> with the data from Gaden: where Stevenson uses <ä> (*kä taḍa* 'he will do'), Gaden notes <a> (*ka tada*). Stevenson's notation of <ä> refers to a mid central vowel (between [ɛ] and [ɔ]); my language consultants realized the vowel as [ə] as well. The difference in notation may refer to a weakening of the vowel quality during the time: from open [a]/[ɑ] in Gaden (1909) to central [ə] in Stevenson (1969)/Jacob (f.n.).

2.2 The function of the kA-construction in BAGIRMI

The construction with *kA* is used to **express certainty** (Gaden 1909: 17)

- the emphasis on certainty impacts a **sentential operator (mood/polarity)**

- operator focus refers to (one part of) **predicate-centered focus types**:

(6a) "unmarked" construction (imperfective aspect) – without *kA*:

ne   taḍa

3S   IPFV.do

he does / he shall do (Stevenson 1969: 99)

(6b) construction for marking certainty and future – with *kA*:

ne   **kä**   taḍa

3S   kA   IPFV.do

he'll certainly do it (Stevenson 1969: 47)

Both examples in (6) contain the same verb

- (6a) shows – without *kA* – the **imperfective aspect**, which can be interpreted as future

- (6b) fulfills – with *kA* – **pragmatic function**:

the speaker expresses certainty of the assertion

According to Stevenson (1969: 103), the structure shows **restrictions**: "This is an emphasizing particle, used only with the 3rd person (singular and plural). It is not to be confused with kä which appears in the normal conjugation with the 2nd person":

(7a) pajar   **kä**   k-ak-ᵾm(a)

tomorrow kA   IPFV-see-1S

you'll see me tomorrow (Stevenson 1969: 101)

(7b) i   **kä**   taḍ   'di?

2S   kA   IPFV-do   what

what will you do? (Stevenson 1969: 101)

(7c) se   **kä**   ŋgal-ki   pajar

2P   kA   IPFV-swim-2P tomorrow

you (pl) will swim tomorrow (Stevenson 1969: 102)

In my data, in the "normal conjugation" for future tense

- the particle kA occurs with the 2nd person as well, as shown in (8b) and (8e)

- it does not occur with the 3rd person, as shown in (8c) and (8f):

(8a) (màa) mə́   ndugo   kìtàb   kɛɗɛ

1S   1S.FUT IPVF.buy   book   IDEF

I will buy a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

(8b)　(ì)　　**kə́**　　ndugo　　　kìtàb　　kɛɗɛ
　　　2S　　2S.FUT　IPVF.buy　　book　　IDEF
　　　you will buy a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

(8c)　(née)　nə́　　ndugo　　　kìtàb　　kɛɗɛ
　　　3S　　3S.FUT　IPVF.buy　　book　　IDEF
　　　(s)he will buy a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

(8d)　(djè)　djə̀　　ndugo　　　kìtàb　　kɛɗɛ
　　　1P　　1P.FUT　IPVF.buy　　book　　IDEF
　　　we will buy a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

(8e)　(sè)　　**kə́**　　ndugo-kii　　kìtàb　　kɛɗɛ
　　　2P　　2P.FUT　IPVF.buy-2S　book　　IDEF
　　　you (pl) will buy a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

(8f)　(djé)　djə́　　ndugo　　　kìtàb　　kɛɗɛ
　　　3P　　3P.FUT　IPVF.buy　　book　　IDEF
　　　they will buy a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

One can assume that both elements, the *kA* in 3rd person and the *kA* in 2nd person,
- appear in the **same structure** (between subject and verb in the imperfective aspect)
- show diverging appearances and fulfill different functions:
　　　kA in 3rd person is **optional** and marks **emphasis/certainty**
　　　kA in 2nd person is **obligatory** and marks **future tense**

2.3 The functional change of the kA-construction in BAGIRMI

In contrast to the verb paradigm in (8) (given by the same language consultant as the following data), the *kA*-construction occurs in **my data corpus** without emphasizing function for 3rd person:

(9)　Boukar　**kə́**　k-sàa　　djùm　tɛ́ŋ　pádjàr　làbà?
　　　PN　　kA　IPVF-eat　gruel　millet　tomorrow　Q
　　　Will Boukar eat millet gruel tomorrow? (Jacob, f.n.)

Example (9) shows the same structure as the preceding examples with *kA*:
- the particle *kA* appears between subject and finite verb
- refers to the imperfective aspect for expressing future tense
- it lacks (in contrast to the examples above with particle *kA* for 3rd person) the interpretation of marking certainty, but it is used – like the structure with particle *kA* for 2nd person – for **marking future tense**

Particle *kA* occurs for 3rd person even in focus constructions:

(10a) Focus on the subject, marked by term focus marker *ɗáŋ*:

É'è,	Boukar	**ɗáŋ**	**kɘ́**	ndugo	kro	pádjàr	kasko.
no	PN	T.FOC	kA	IPFV.buy	donkey	tomorrow	market
[SBJ		]FOC	[VP				]BG

{Will Zara buy a donkey at the market tomorrow?}

No, BOUKAR will buy a donkey at the market tomorrow. (Jacob, f.n.)

(10b) Focus on the lexical meaning of the verb, marked by verbal iteration[5]:

É'è,	pádjàr	ná,	Boukar	**kɘ́**	**táɗ**	**táɗà.**
no	tomorrow	BG	PN	kA	IPFV.do	INF.do
[ADV		]FRAME	[SBJ]TOP	[	VFIN	VINF]FOC

{Will Boukar eat millet gruel tomorrow?}

No, Boukar will COOK (it) tomorrow. (Jacob f.n.)

In the examples in (10), the function of the *kA*-construction can no longer be described as referring to focus on a sentential operator (certainty), because this conflicts with the primary focus interpretation as subject focus in (10a), and SoA focus in (10b)

→ the structure with particle kA in 3rd person is used for **marking future tense**

Functional change:	certainty marking	>	future marking

The synchronic coincidence of a "poly-functional" *kA*-construction can be explained by **ongoing language change** in BAGIRMI:

- **co-existence**, as in the data by Gaden (1909)/Stevenson (1969):

    the *kA*-construction occurs with two functions

    (for marking certainty in 3rd person, and for marking future in 2nd person)

- **functional change**, as in my corpus data:

    the *kA*-construction is used for one function only

    (for marking future in 3rd person and 2nd person)

certainty marking (for 3rd person)	future marking (for 3rd person)
future marking (for 2nd person)	future marking (for 2nd person)

Figure 2: Functional change of the *kA*-construction during the time in BAGIRMI

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[5] This structure will be exemplified in next section in more detail.

3 Second study: In-situ verb doubling structure in KENGA

3.1 The structure of in-situ verb doubling in KENGA

KENGA shows a structure with verbal iteration:

(11a) **M-ai**   **k-ài**   màne.

1S-drink   INF-drink   water[6]

[SBJ-V$_{FIN}$] [V$_{INF}$]   [OBJ]

{Que fais-tu? –} Je bois de l'eau. (Vandame 1968: 37)

({What do you do? –} I'm drinking water. – PJ)

(11b) …   naaí   ááy-gà   sé,   **tɔɔl-i**   **tɔɔlɔ.**

2S   2S.drink-PERF   BG   3S.kill-2S   INF.kill

[   ]$_{BG}$ [SBJ-V$_{FIN}$-OBJ]$_{BG}$ [V$_{INF}$]$_{FOC}$

{Et si quelqu'un – si tu n'as pas mangé et} tu en bois, cela te tue.
(Neukom 2010: 270)

({If anyone –} if you drink it (although you didn't eat), it KILLS you. – PJ)

In both examples, the structure can be described as follows:
- two lexically identical verb forms co-occur in one and the same sentence
- the finite form always precedes the non-finite form: "**non-finite in-situ doubling**"
- the overt marking of the non-finite form depends on the structure of the verb: vowel-initial verbs are always marked by prefix *k-*, as shown in (11a), others not, as shown in (11b):

The non-finite form **immediately** follows the finite form
- no element can appear between the verbs: all markers, adverbials or objects follow the non-finite verb form, as shown in (11a)
- only the pronominal object occurs directly on the finite verb form, as shown in (11b)

3.2 The function(s) of in-situ verb doubling in KENGA

The in-situ verb doubling fulfills different functions:
- first, it expresses **progressive** (Vandame 1968: 37), as shown in (11a)
- second, it refers to **predicate-centered focus**, as shown in (11b)

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[6] All the glosses in the examples from Vandame (1968) are mine.

The following examples illustrate this polyfunctional use of the structure:

(12a)   In-situ verb doubling for expressing **progressive**:

    M-ɔ́s   **k-ɔ̀sɔ.**

    1S-eat   INF-eat

    [SBJ-V$_{FIN}$]   [V$_{INF}$]

    {Que fais-tu? –} Je mange. (Vandame 1968: 37)

    ({What do you do? –} I'm eating. – PJ)

(12b)   In-situ verb doubling for expressing **inchoative**:

    Naáñ   **ɔ́s**   **k-ɔ̀sɔ.**

    3S   eat   INF-eat

    [SBJ]   [V$_{FIN}$]   [V$_{INF}$]

    Il se met à manger. (Neukom 2010: 132) (He starts to eat. – PJ)

The examples in (12) contain the same verb: there is no additional lexical material for indicating the inchoative (or for marking the deviation from progressive)

The verb doubling structure can be used for marking predicate-centered focus
- with **focus on the lexical meaning of the verb**, as shown in (13)
- with expressing "**intensification**", as shown in (14):

(13a)   …   naaɗé   màla   **àar**   **k-àar**   nààba, …

        3P   same   3S.fear   INF-fear   work

        [SBJ   ]$_{TOP}$ [SBJ-V$_{FIN}$]   [V$_{INF}$]   [OBJ]

    Certains ne veulent pas (lit. craignent) travailler eux-mêmes, {sinon, ici en ville, il y a beaucoup de travail.} (Neukom 2010: 264)

    (lit.: Some people FEAR the work, {but, here in the city, there is a lot of work.} – PJ)

(13b)   …   naáñ   **ɔ̀ɔr**   **k-ɔ̀ɔr**   sum.

        3S   3S.be.tired   INF-be.tired   only

        [SBJ]   [SBJ-V$_{FIN}$]   [V$_{INF}$]   [only]

    {Qu'a-t-il? – Rien,} il est seulement fatigué. (Neukom 2010: 131)

    ({What is with him? – Nothing,} he is just TIRED. – PJ)

(13c)   …   ɔ̀   **òòn**   **k-òòno.**

        and   3.be.arrogant   INF-be.arrogant

        [SBJ-V$_{FIN}$]   [V$_{INF}$]

    {Certains veulent choisir leur travail} et sont orgueilleux. (Neukom 2010: 264)

    ({Some people want choose their work} and they are ARROGANT. – PJ)

(14) Kaaga **kɜ̀-cɔ́ɔ́c-íñ** cɔ́ɔ́cɔ̀.
wood 1P-cut-3S INF.cut
[OBJ]$_{TOP}$ [SBJ-V$_{FIN}$-OBJ] [V$_{INF}$]
Le bois, on le taille (longtemps). (Neukom 2010: 132)
(The wood is treated (for a long time). – PJ)

The examples show that
- the in-situ verb doubling structure contains more semantic features than only progressive
- the structure is used for indication predicate-centered focus
      it impacts the **sentential operator** (referring to polarity, intensive or TAM), and
      marks focus on the **lexical meaning of the verb**
→ the structure is used to express predicate-centered focus and progressive as well

3.3 The (probable) differentiation of form and function

In other Sara-Bagirmi languages,
- such a **poly-functional use** of in-situ verb doubling as in KENGA is not found
- at least in BAGIRMI, in-situ verb doubling expresses exclusively **SoA focus**:
(15) Boukar **táɗ** djùm téŋ **táɗà.**
PN PFV.do gruel millet INF[7].do
[SBJ] [V$_{FIN}$] [OBJ] [V$_{INF}$]
{Did Boukar cook millet gruel or did he eat it?}
Boukar COOKED millet gruel. (Jacob 2010: 129)

Progressive in BAGIRMI is expressed by the structure with *ɛ́t(u)* 'be in a place':
(16a) i **ɛt** kä-ma bʷob-i
2S PROG IPFV/INF[8]-help father-2S.POSS
you are helping your father (Stevenson 1969: 106)
(16b) (née) n-**ɛ́t** ndugo kìtàb kɛɗɛ
3S 3S-PROG IPFV/INF.buy book IDEF
he is buying a book (Jacob 2006: 31)

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[7] The analysis and the differentiation between finite and non-finite verb form is based on data with verbs of class I or II, which "mark" infinitives by prefix *k(A)-*.
[8] The progressive structure can be analyzed – following Stevenson (1969: 83) – in the same way as the structure for marking future tense. Both structures are based on the imperfective aspect, and contain the reanalyzed prefix *k-*.

The structural separation between predicate-centered focus and progressive marking licenses the **co-occurrence of both encoding strategies**:

(17a) …　Boukar　**ét**　**táɗ**　djùm　téŋ　**táɗà**.
　　　　　PN　　PROG　IPFV/INF.do　gruel　millet　INF.do
　　　　　[SBJ]　　[　　V_{FIN}]　[OBJ　　]　[V_{INF}]
　　　{Is Boukar eating millet gruel in the house today or cooking? – As for today in the house,} Boukar is COOKING millet gruel. (Jacob, n.f.)

(17b) …　làbà　**n-ét**　**k-sà**　**k-sà**　wa?
　　　　　or　　3S-PROG　IPFV/INF-eat　INF-eat　Q
　　　　　[SBJ　V_{FIN}]　[V_{INF}]
　　　{Is Boukar cooking the millet gruel in the house today} or eating? (Jacob, n.f.)

For Kenga, Vandame (1968: 39ff.) presents the **verbal element *ut(ú)* 'be at'**
- it is described as indicating the **continuative**
- it co-occurs with the auxiliary *à* and/or particle *kA* and with in-situ verb doubling:

(18a)　Structure with *à* for marking **future**:
　　　　maàn　　　à　　　k-èeɗe
　　　　rain　　　FUT　　INF-fall
　　　　il pleuvra (Vandame 1968: 40) (it will rain – PJ)

(18b)　Structure with *utú* and *à* for marking **continuative** (and intensive):
　　　　maàn　**utú**　à　　　k-èeɗe
　　　　rain　utu　FUT　　INF-fall
　　　　la pluie continue à être menaçante (Vandame 1968: 40)
　　　　(it's still raining very heavily – PJ)

(19a)　Structure with *à* and *kA* for marking **near future**:
　　　　naán　　　à-kè　　k-òoio
　　　　3S　　　　FUT-kA　INF-be.dead
　　　　il va mourir (prochainement) (Vandame 1968: 40) (he will die (soon) – PJ)

(19b)　Structure with *utú, à* and *kA* for marking **continuative** (and certainty):
　　　　naán　**utú**　à-kè　k-òoio
　　　　3S　　utu　FUT-kA　INF-die
　　　　il continue à être sur le point de mourir (Vandame 1968: 40)
　　　　(he continues to be at the point of death / he is still just before death – PJ)

(20a) Structure with in-situ verb doubling:

maàn	èeɗ	k-èeɗe
rain	3S.fall	INF-fall
[SBJ]	[V$_{FIN}$]	[V$_{INF}$]

il pleut (Vandame 1968: 40) (it rains – PJ)

(20b) Structure with *utú* and in-situ verb doubling for marking **continuative**:

maàn	**utú**	èeɗ	k-èeɗe
rain	utu	3S.fall	INF-fall
[SBJ]	[	V$_{FIN}$]	[V$_{INF}$]

il continue à pleuvoir (Vandame 1968: 40) (it's still raining – PJ)

The examples illustrate that the structure with *utú*

- always refers to the **continuative** ('he is STILL doing this')

- indicates pragmatic functions, e.g. **intensive reading**, as well, as shown in (19b)

→ *utú*-constructions are used to express both pragmatic and TAM functions

In contrast to Vandame (1968), Neukom (2009: 467) does not list the structure with *utú* in the verb paradigms (but he mentions here the particle *kA*):

(21a)	"simple" form:	m-ɔ́sɔ̀	I eat/I ate
(21b)	progressive:	m-ɔ́s **k-ɔ̀sɔ**	I am eating
(21c)	future:	m-**a** k-ɔ́sɔ	I shall eat
(21d)	perfect:	m-ɔ́s-**gà**	I have eaten
(21e)	resultative:	m-ɔ́s-**gà k-ɔ̀sɔ** o	I had eaten
(21f)	definite future:	m-**a-kà k-ɔ̀sɔ**	I shall certainly eat

Neukom (2010) gives only a few examples of *utú*; all of them are – in contrast to the earlier data (Vandame 1968) – not well defined functionally:

- Neukom's data show formal differences to those reported by Vandame, e.g. the auxiliary for marking future is vanished, as shown in (22a)

- the function of *utú* is often unclear:

(22a) Structure with *utú* and particle *kA* for marking (TAM/polarity) operator focus:

j-**ùtu**	kə	k-ɔ̀sɔ
1P-utú	kA	INF-eat

{Le repas a été servi, mais les invités sont trop occupés pour manger. L'hôte demande: Votre repas-là (lit. chose), vous vous en souvenez? –} On va manger. (Neukom 2010: 200)

({The meal was served, but the guests were to busy to eat. The host demands: The meal, do you remember it? –} We WILL eat. – PJ)

(22b) Structure with *utú* and in-situ verb doubling for marking operator focus:

à'á, m-**utú** m-ɔ́ŋ-íñ k-ɔ̀ŋ jáákì
no 1S-utú 1S-find-3S INF-find today
  [V_{FIN}] [V_{INF}] [ADV]

{Ton couteau, tu l'as trouvé depuis l'autre jour? –}

Non, je viens de la retrouver aujourd'hui. (Neukom 2010: 200f.)

({Did you find your knife meanwhile? –} No, I've just found it today. – PJ)

In the texts (Neukom: 2010), *utú* occurs three times only, always glossed as 'be there':

(23) … nàka mɔ̀tɔ́ **ùtú**.
  thing three 3.be.there

{Chez nous les kenga,} il y a trois raisons (lit. choses) {pourquoi on ne peut pas
vivre avec sa femme dans la maison.} (Neukom 2010: 200f.)

({As for Kenga,} there are three reasons
{why one cannot live together with his wife in the house.} – PJ)

The examples presented here show that KENGA uses
- in earlier data *utú*-structures predominantly for indicating the continuative/durative
- in-situ verb doubling for indicating progressive and predicate-centered focus as well

KENGA could be characterized by
- the **co-existence** of two strategies with similar or overlapping functions
    the *utú*-structure for expressing **continuative**, and
    the in-situ verb doubling for marking **progressive**
- the **co-occurrence** of both structures, as shown in (20b)
→ I assume that (at least) one of these structures cannot be fulfill this function

For solving this mismatch, one can imagine the following scenario:
1. The development of the *utú*-structure
- it starts with **progressive function** (similar as the progressive structure in BAGIRMI)
- its function is reduced during the time to **duration marking** ("still doing something")
- the former verb *utú* is reinterpreted as **adverbial element** with the meaning of "still"

utú-structure:	progressive	> continuative	> 'still'

This theoretical development

- licenses the **combination with in-situ verb doubling** (as the progressive strategy)

- allows the **co-occurrence of *kA*** (as 'definite future' marker)

2. The development of the in-situ doubling structure

- it starts with **pragmatic function** (similar to the in-situ verb doubling in BAGIRMI)

- its function is extended to **progressive marking** (following Güldemann 2003); this extension could be triggered by the functional change/disappearance of the *utú*-structure

in-situ verb doubling:	pragmatic function > pragmatic function/progressive marking

4 Comparison

As shown in the first study, the *kA*-construction in BAGIRMI

- starts (probably) with an **exclusive pragmatic function** (certainty)

- loses partially the pragmatic function, but uses predominantly the **TAM function** (future)

The second study presents the development of the in-situ verb doubling in KENGA, which

- starts (probably) with an **exclusive pragmatic function** (predicate-centered focus)

- extended the function, and can be used for **marking TAM** (progressive) as well

	kA	utu/ɛtu	In-situ verb doubling
Bagirmi	**CERT/FUT > FUT**	PROG	(PCF >) SoA
Kenga	CERT/FUT	(CONT/PROG)	**PCF > PROG**

Table 1: The functional change in BAGIRMI and KENGA

For the development of the *kA*-construction in *Bagirmi/Kenga, one can assume

1. The structure could start with an **exclusive pragmatic function** (certainty)

2. This function is – in part – extended to a **combination with future tense reference**:

- 3rd person in BAGIRMI (Gaden 1909, Stevenson 1969)

- the whole verb paradigm in KENGA (Vandame 1968, Neukom 2010)

3. Some parts lose the pragmatic function completely, but primarily uses the **TAM function**:

- 2rd person in BAGIRMI (Gaden 1909 and Stevenson 1969)

- 3rd person in BAGIRMI (Jacob 2013)

Bagirmi:	pragmatic function >	co-existence (pragmatic/TAM function) >	TAM function
Kenga:	pragmatic function >	co-existence (pragmatic/TAM function)	

Figure 3: The potential development of the *kA*-construction in BAGIRMI and KENGA

For the development of **in-situ verb doubling** in *Bagirmi/Kenga, one can assume

1. The structure could start with an **exclusive pragmatic function**

2. The **function is restricted** to SoA focus: situation in BAGIRMI

3. The **function is extended** to TAM function (progressive): situation in KENGA

Bagirmi:	predicate-centered focus >	restriction to SoA focus
Kenga:	predicate-centered focus >	extension to TAM function (progressive)

Figure 4: The potential development of in-situ verbal doubling in BAGIRMI and KENGA

Both studies show that the functional change always takes the same direction: from **pragmatic function** to **TAM function**

kA-construction:	predicate-centered focus	>	TAM function (future)
in-situ verb doubling:	predicate-centered focus	>	TAM function (progressive)

Figure 5: The functional change of the *kA*-construction and the in-situ verbal doubling

Abbreviations

ADV	Adverbial	PFV	Perfective
BG	Background	PN	Proper name
CONN	Connective	POSS	Possessive
DEM	Demonstrative	PROG	Progressive
FIN	Finite	Q	Question
FOC	Focus	S	Singular
FUT	Future	SBJ	Subject
IDEF	Indefinite	SoA	State of affairs (focus)
INF	Infinitive/Non-finite	T	Term (focus)
IPFV	Imperfective	TAM	Tempus/Aspect/Mood
OBJ	Object	TOP	Topic(al)
P	Plural	V	Verb(al)
PCF	Predicate-centered focus	VP	Verb phrase
PERF	Perfect		

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