

Meeussen's (1967) "Advance verb construction"

Tom Güldemann (Humboldt University Berlin, MPI for the Science of Human History Jena)

1 Introduction

+ Meeussen's (1967: 121) Proto-Bantu reconstruction of an "Advance verb construction":

A peculiar kind of sentence, with twice the same verb, the first occurrence being an infinitive, is attested frequently, and will have to be ascribed to Proto-Bantu. The meaning varies between stress of "reality", stress of "degree", and even "concession": *kutákuna báátákunide*, "they chewed as (much as) they could"; "(as for chewing) they did chew, (but ...)".

> construction: [INFINITIVE (OTHER)] [(SUBJECT) COGNATE.FINITE.VERB (OTHER)]¹

Suundi (H31b)

- (1)a. *ndyèká-tá:ngà* Unmarked verb form
1S:FUT-read
je vais lire.
- b. *kù-tá:ngà ndyèká-tá:ngà* State-of affairs (SoA) focus
INF-read 1S:FUT-read
je vais LIRE. (Hadenmann 1996: 161)

2 IS-sensitive verb preposing in cross-linguistic perspective

2.1 Predicate-centered focus in information structure (IS)

+ predicate-centered focus (PCF) subsumes roughly non-term focus (as opposed to term focus as per Dik 1997), cf. "auxiliary focus" (Hyman and Watters 1984):

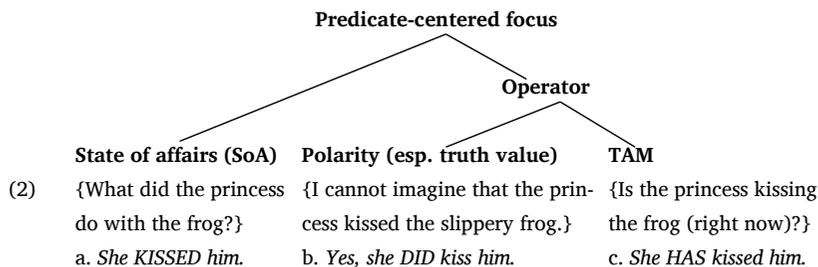


Figure 1: Basic subclassification of predicate-centered focus

¹ This construction must not be confused with a superficially similar construction reported, e.g., for Nsong (B85d), Lingala (C36d), and Kituba (H10A) (cf. Mufwene 1987, 2013; Muluwa and Bostoen 2014): [INFINITIVE COGNATE.RELATIVE.VERB]. Here, the finite verb follows the infinitive as a relative modifier, so that the entire structure is a noun phrase rather than an assertive sentence.

2.2 Preposed verb doubling from a cross-linguistic perspective

+ extensive literature on "predicate-clefts", "verb doubling" etc. but inconclusive analyses

> unitary typology by Güldemann (in prep.) with respect to various parameters

- verb focus preposing (aka "predicate cleft") vs. verb topic preposing
- verb preposing vs. verb in-situ vs. verb postposing
- verb doubling vs. light verb structure

+ one central distinction triggered by pragmatic role of verb doublet: preposed verb **focus** doubling vs. preposed verb **topic** doubling, which correlates robustly with two distinct PCF subtypes: SoA vs. operator focus > e.g., Amharic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic):

(3) [FOC] <I [BG] SoA focus

mákina-w-n mät'äggän nä-w yä-t'äggän-ä

car-DEF-DO repair:VN COP-3M.S REL-repair-3M.S

He REPAIRED the car. [lit.: It is repairing the car that he repaired] (A. Wetter, p.c.)

(4) [TOP] <I [FOC] Truth focus

mät'äggän-əs t'äggän-o-all

repair:VN-TOP repair:CONV-3M.S-AUX:3M.S

He DID repair (the car). [lit.: As for repairing, he repaired.] (A. Wetter, p.c.)

Verb position	Preposed	
IS status of verb	Focus	Topic
Verb doubling	PrepFocDoubling	PrepTopDoubling
Function	SoA	Operator

Table 1: Preposed verb focus doubling vs. Preposed verb topic doubling

+ another distinction in verb position: **ex-situ** preposed verb doubling (PrepFocDoubling) vs. **in-situ** verb doubling, which corresponds with two focus positions

> e.g., Sara-Bagirmi (Bongo-Bagirmi, Central Sudanic) with SoA focus:

(5) [FOC] <I [BG] <I SoA focus

nà ndüsö lā ndüsö yé

but INF.worm.eaten G.FOC worm.eaten BG

{A: Your wood is bad. B: No, the wood is fine.} It's just that it's WORM-EATEN.

[lit.: It's worm-eaten that it's worm-eaten] (Keegan 1997: 148) (Mbay)

(6) [BG] [FOC] SoA focus

Boukar táđ djùm téŋ táđä (also: *djùm téŋ ná, Boukar táđ táđä*)

PN PFV.do gruel millet INF.do

{Did Boukar cook millet gruel or did he eat it?} Boukar COOKED millet gruel.

[lit.: Boukar cooked (millet gruel) cooking] (Jakob 2010: 129) (Bagirmi)

Verb position	Preposed		In-situ
IS status of verb	Focus	Topic	Focus
Verb doubling	PrepFocDoubling	PrepTopDoubling	InFocDoubling
Function	SoA	Operator	SoA

Table 2: Preposed verb focus/topic doubling vs. In-situ verb focus doubling

+ additional difference regarding the finite verb: recourse to verb doubling or light-verb structure without change of IS reading > e.g., Hausa (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic) with preposed topic verb doubling (PrepTopDoubling) in (7)a., preposed topic verb followed by a finite light verb in (7)b., and preposed focus verb followed by a finite light verb in (8):

- (7) [TOP] <I [FOC] Truth focus
- a. *sàyé-n àbinci kòò, sùn sàyaa*
 buy:VN-GEN food moreover 3P.PFV buy
- b. *sàyé-n àbinci kòò, sùn yi*
 buy:VN-GEN food moreover 3P.PFV do
 [lit.:] Buying food moreover, they bought/did. [they DID ...] (after Jaggar 2001: 542)
- (8) [FOC] <I [BG] VP focus
- sàyé-n àbinci nèe, sukà yi*
 buy:VN-GEN food FOC 3P.PFV.DEP do
 They BOUGHT FOOD. (Green 2007: 60)

Verb position	Preposed		In-situ
IS status of verb	Focus	Topic	Focus
Verb doubling	PrepFocDoubling	PrepTopDoubling	InFocDoubling
Light verb structure	PrepFocLight	PrepTopLight	?
Function	SoA	Operator	SoA

Table 3: Verb focus/topic doubling vs. Verb focus/topic light-verb structure

- + light-verb structure can also be employed in-situ (cf. English *do*-support)
 > e.g., German (Germanic, Indo-European) with preposed verb topic and light verb (PrepTopLight) in (9)a. vs. in-situ verb topic and light verb in (9)b., both for truth focus
- (9) [TOP] [FOC] [FOC] [BG] Truth focus
- a. *LEsen TUT er* b. *er TUT lesen*
 read:INF does he he does read:INF
 [lit.: as for reading, he DOES] > he DOES read (but ...)

> and German with preposed verb focus and light verb (PrepFocLight) in (10)a. vs. in-situ verb focus and light verb (InFocLight) in (10)b., both for SoA focus (disambiguation between (9)a. and (10)a. as well as between (9)b. and (10)b. merely by prosody):

- (10) [FOC] [BG] [BG] [FOC] SoA focus
- a. *LESEN tut er* b. *er tut LESEN*
 read:INF does he he does read:INF
 [lit.: READING he does] > he READS (rather than sleeps).

+ full range of constructions in which predicates are dissected in order to express PCF

Verb position	Verb preposing		In-situ	
IS status of verb	Focus	Topic	Focus	Topic
Verb doubling	PrepFocDoubling Amharic (3) Mbay (5)	PrepTopDoubling Amharic (4) Hausa (7)a.	InFocDoubling Bagirmi (6)	NOT ATTESTED UNLIKELY
Light verb structure	PrepFocLight Hausa (8) German (10)a.	PrepTopLight Hausa (7)b. German (9)a.	InFocLight German (10)b.	InTopLight <i>do</i> -support German (9)b.
Function	SoA	Operator	SoA	Operator

Table 4: Dissected predicate constructions for PCF

+ two basic morphosyntactic construction schemas (in SBJ-V-OBJ languages)

- I [[Verb_{non-finite}] [SBJ COGNATE/LIGHT. Verb_{finite} Other]]
- II [[SBJ COGNATE/LIGHT. Verb_{finite} (Other)] [Verb_{non-finite}] (OTHER)]

+ without additional segmental material and information about prosody problem of identifying the pragmatic status of the (preposed or in-situ) non-finite verb and thus the function of the entire construction > cf. indeterminate characterization and discussion of preposed verb doubling by Meeussen (1967) and Güldemann (2003: 335-7)

+ but much more data on this family of constructions have become available, both cross-linguistically and for Bantu > the latter will be surveyed in the following

3 Non-finite verb doubling in Bantu

+ areal and genealogical background in Bantu homeland area:

- all relevant constructions of Table 4 (PrepFocDoubling, PrepTopDoubling, InFocDoubling) widely attested in West Africa

- "predicate cleft" also rampant in (West) African and Atlantic creole languages: cf., e.g., Gilman (1985: 39-40), Goodman (1985: 125-6), Mufwene (1987), Manfredi (1993), ...

3.1 Grassfields and northwesternmost zone A

Ngwe (Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke)

+ InFocDoubling after verb phrase for SoA focus

- (11) [BG] [FOC] SoA focus
 a. *Atem a kè? nčúú akendòŋ čúú*
 PN 3S PST1 ?:boil plantains boil
 Atem BOILED plantains (Nkemnji 1995: 138)

Limbum (Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Nka)

+ in-situ term focus as in (12)a. as source for InFocDoubling as in (12)b.

- (12) [BG] I> [FOC]
 a. *Nfɔ̄ tʃē yē á byē:* term focus
 PN PROG eat FOC food
 It is food that Nfor is eating. [Nfor eats FOOD] (Ndamsah 2012: ex.(11)b.)
 b. *Nfɔ̄ tʃē bŭmī á bŭmī* SoA focus
 PN PROG sleep FOC sleeping
 It is sleeping that Nfor is sleeping, not ... [Nfor SLEEPS, not ...; last verb in citation form, Ndamsah p.c.] (Ndamsah 2012: ex.(11)a.)

+ term focus cleft as in (13)a. as source for PrepFocDoubling for SoA focus in (13)b.

- (13) I> [FOC] I> [BG]
 a. *á Nfɔ̄ tʃé é tʃē bŭmī ká?* term focus
 FOC PN REL PRO PROG sleep NEG
 It is not Nfor who is sleeping. (Ndamsah 2012: ex.(3)a.)
 b. *á bŭmī tʃé Nfɔ̄ tʃē bŭmī ká?* SoA focus
 FOC sleep REL PN PROG sleep NEG
 It is not sleep that Nfor is sleeping. [Nfor is not SLEEPing] (Ndamsah 2012: ex.(3)b.)

Tuki (A601)

+ term focus cleft as in (14)a. as source for PrepFocDoubling for SoA focus in (14)b.

- (14) [FOC] <I [BG]
 a. *nambari owu Mbara a-nu-enda-m n(a) adongo* term focus
 tomorrow FOC PN.1 1-FUT-go-? to village
 It is tomorrow that Mbara will go to the village. [Mbara will go to the village TOMORROW] (Bilola 1997: 111)
 b. *o-suwa owu Puta a-nu-suwa-m tsono raa* SoA focus
 INF-wash FOC PN.1 1-FUT-wash-? clothes her
 Puta will WASH her clothes. (Bilola 1997: 110)

3.2 Bantu zones B and H

+ preposed infinitives as a common feature: first surveyed by Hadermann (1996); generic PCF analysis by Güldemann (2003); recent, more extensive survey by De Kind et al. (2015)
 + morphological specificities:
 - non-finite fronted doublet often without nominalizing prefix
 - marked Class 1 subject concord *ka-* on finite verb rather than unmarked *u-*
 + associated with a more general trend toward a preverbal focus position (Hadermann 1996 < Gregoire 1993, ultimately from a cleft-like focus construction ~ DeKind et al. 2015)
 + assumed developmental cline in terms of function/semantics (cf. Güldemann 2003):
 SoA focus > general PCF > PROG > PROX.FUT

Woyo (H16?, west)

- (15) [FOC] [BG] SoA focus
ncya ka-tub-izi ba-saliliza u N-ti zenga ba-zeng-eza wao
 what 1-say-PERF 2-do:APPL 3.AUG 3-tree INF:cut 2-cut-PFV 3PRO
 What did she say that they did to the tree? They CUT it. (De Kind et. al. 2015: 119)

Ndibu (H16?, central)

- (16) [FOC] [BG] ?Truth focus
mona mbwene N-kenda za zula ...
 INF:see 1S:see:PERF 10-affliction 10:GEN 7.people
 I have surely seen the affliction of that people ... (De Kind et. al 2015: 120)

Kaamba (H17b)

- (17) [FOC] [BG] PCF~PROG
 a. *wà-mu:-sàlá*
 1:?:PROG-work
 b. *sàlá kà-mú:-sàlá*
 INF:work 1-PROG-work
 Both: he is working (Hadermann 1996: 160)

[infinitive preposing serves] selon Bouka (1989: 237), à « renforcer l'idée de répétition dans le déroulement de l'action. » (Hadermann 1996: 160)

Fiote (H12a)

- (18) *kadi vova lu-vovanga mu N-pamba* PROG
 because INF:speak 2P-speak:PROG INE 9-vanity
 because you are speaking in the air. (De Kind et. al 2015: 125)

Yaka (H33)

- (19) *vuumbuka yi-vuumbuka* FUT
 INF:dress 1S-dress
 I'll dress myself (De Kind et. al 2015: 131)

+ all previous examples without a nominal SBJ~S/A topic

> morphosyntactic variation regarding its position before or after the preposed infinitive:

- I [Verb_{non-finite} [SBJ Verb_{finite} Other]] **Initial PrepFocDoubling**
 II [SBJ [Verb_{non-finite} Verb_{finite}] Other] **Preverbal PrepFocDoubling**

+ only one example of Initial PrepFocDoubling encountered in the available data - coincidence or really rare!? > see below regarding grammaticalization

Vili (H16?)

- (20) [FOC] [BG] SoA focus
ń-cétù ù-á-bílà piele ko kú-télà ń-cétù ù-à-ń-tél-à
 1-woman 1-PERF-beat 1.PN No! INF-call 1-woman 1-PERF-1OBJ-call
 Has the woman beaten Pierre? No, the woman has (only) CALLED him. (De Kind et al. 2015: 117)

+ Preverbal PrepFocDoubling is predominant pattern, !!! deviates from the canonical predicate cleft pattern > preposed infinitive analyzed in fact by Hadermann (1996: 158-9) as occurring in a preverbal focus position - quite unusual for "main-stream" Bantu and opposed to Benue-Congo with a preverbal **extrafocal** position (cf. Güldemann 2007):

Cependant, Grégoire (1993) a montré que l'antéposition de l'objet n'est pas exceptionnelle en zones B, C, H et K, c'est-à-dire au Nord-Ouest du domaine bantou. L'apparition de l'ordre SOV est, selon elle, liée à «l'expression de la focalisation portant sur l'objet du verbe transitif» ... ou à «l'emploi d'une forme composée de la conjugaison, ...» ...

Suundi (H13b)

- (21) [TOP] [FOC] [BG]
 a. *bùkù ndyèká-tá:ngà*
 book 1S:FUT-read
 je vais lire le LIVRE Term~VP focus
 b. *mw-à:nà bùkú kù-tá:ngà kèká-tá:ngá dyò*
 1-child 5.book INF-read 1:FUT-read 5DEM
 c. *bùkú mw-à:nà kù-tá:ngà kèká-tá:ngá dyò*
 5.book 1-child INF-read 1:FUT-read 5DEM
 l'enfant va LIRE le livre (Haderman 1996: 162) SoA focus

Nzebi (B52)

- (22) [TOP] [FOC] [BG] Term~VP focus
 a. *bà-kà:só bá-n'á, péndó bà:-vadá*
 2-woman 2-DEM groundnut 2-cultivate
 ces femmes, elles cultivent l'arachide [These women, they cultivate GROUNDNUTS]
 b. *bà-kà:só bá-n'á, vádó bà:-vadá péndà* PROG
 2-woman 2-DEM INF:cultivate 2-cultivate groundnut
 *(péndà vádó bà:vadá)
 ces femmes, elles sont en train de cultiver l'arachide [These women, they ARE CULTIVATING groundnuts] (Haderman 1996: 162)

Fiote (H12a)

- (23) *minu ku-sala in-sala* vs. *minu in-sala* PROG
 1S.EMPH INF-work 1S:PRS-work
 moi, je suis en train de travailler moi, je travaille (Hadermann 1996: 161)

Zali (H16?)

- (24) *i-bulu zawula ci-zawula* PROG
 7-cattle INF:run 7-run
 The cattle is running. (De Kind et. al. 2015: 114)

Ndibu (H16?, central)

- (25) *ye ma-toko ma-eno mona me-mona m-mona za ma-iso*
 and 6-younster 6-2P.POSS INF:see 6-see 10-vision 10:GEN 6-eye
 and your youth will see visions. (De Kind et. al 2015: 115)

+ another crucial variant of infinitive focus fronting concerns the nature of the **finite verb**, as it can also be a light verb rather than identical to the fronted verb

> variant of the PrepFocLight structure exemplified in (9)a. from German

- III [SBJ (OBJ) [Verb_{non-finite} (Other) **Auxiliary~Light verb**] Other]

> inverted version of a periphrastic construction frequent typologically (cf. locative-based progressives; Bybee and Dahl 1989) and in Bantu > e.g. Shona (S10) vs. Kuria (E43)

- (26) *ndi-ri ku-taura*
 1S-be INF-talk
 I am talking
 (27) *ku-tuna n-di*
 INF-seek 1S-be
 I am (in the act of) seeking (Sillery 1936: 20)

The initial infinitive is followed here by a copulative auxiliary. It can be argued that the progressive meaning arises exclusively from the locative semantics of this final verb ... However, I also see a functional link between the additional infinitive fronting here and in the [PCF] construction ... (Güldemann 2003: 336-337)

- > De Kind et al. (2015) confirm this proposed affinity for B/H languages by shared behavioral properties, in opposition to the canonical [AUXILIARY VERB] structure
- PrepFocLight more grammaticalized than PrepFocDoubling
 - in formal terms: pre-verbal rather than initial variant of PrepFocLight
 - in functional terms: TA meaning
- different auxiliaries: *dí* as in (28) vs. *(i)na* as in (29)
- different nominalizers: INF class 15/17 as in (28)/(29) vs. INE class 18 as in (30)

Suundi (H13b)

- (28) [TOP] [FOC] [BG] PROG
- bùkù kù-tá:ngà dyò kà-dì*
5.book INF-read 5DEM 1-be
il est en train de lire le livre (Hadermann 1996: 166)

Tsotso (H33)

- (29) [TOP] [FOC] [BG] IPFV~PROG
- kù-wé:lá ng'í-ná*
INF-be.sick 1S-be
je suis malade (Hadermann 1996: 165)
- (30) *mw-à:nà mù-sákáná ké-na* PROG
1-child INE-play 1-be
l'enfant est en train de blaguer (Hadermann 1996: 164)

3.3 Bantu zones E and F

+ Kikuyu reported already for predicate-clefts by Bynoe-Andriolo and Yillah (1975: 234) but PrepFocDoubling is a more widely distributed phenomenon in East Africa

Tharaka (E54)

- (31) I> [FOC] [SBJ BG]
- a. *i-kú-gúra Maria a-gur-ire nyondo* SoA focus
FOC-INF-buy 1.Maria 1 -buy-PERF 9.hammer
Maria BOUGHT the hammer. (she did not borrow it) (Abels and Muriungi 2008: 704)
- b. *i-ku-noga Maria a-rí mù-nog-u* ?Truth focus
FOC-INF-tire 1.Maria 1-be 1-tired-ADJ
Maria is really tired. (she is not kidding!) (Abels and Muriungi 2008: 704)

+ as opposed to PrepFocDoubling in zones B/H, here overt cleft-like syntactic bisection involving an identificational/focus marker before the exposed infinitive and sometimes traces of dependent clause-marking in the background part > historically young?

- + as in B/H, alternation between initial and preverbal PrepFocDoubling, whereby the former is more salient than in B/H > reflex of younger historical age?
- > some correlation with focus vs. progressive > formal + semantic grammaticalization

Kikuyu (E51)

- (32) I> [FOC] [ABJ BG] SoA focus
- a. *ne atea Abdul e-k-irɛ na mae?*
FOC what PN 1-do-PFV COM 6.water
{What did Abdul do with the water?}
- b. *ne ko-nyua Abdul a-nyu-irɛ mae*
FOC INF-drink PN 1-drink-PFV 6.water
He DRANK the water. (Schwarz 2003: 96)
- (33) [SBJ] I> [FOC] [BG] ?PROG
- fafa w-anyú nĩ gũ-kinyá a-rá:-kinya (reu)*
1.father 1-2S.POSS FOC INF-arrive 1-PROG-arrive now
Your father is arriving (now) [as we speak]. (Morimoto field notes)

+ presence of PrepFocDoubling and PrepFocLight: Gusii (E42), Kuria (E43), Rangi (F33)

Kuria (E43)

- (34) {What did they do, eat fruits or drink water?}
- a. *m-ba-a-reye ama-ako*
FOC-2-PST-eat:PFV 6-fruit
They ATE FRUITS.
- b. *e, n-oko-ria ama-ako ba-a-reye*
yes, FOC-INF-eat 6-fruit 2-PST-eat.PFV
{Did they really?} Yes, they DID eat fruits. (Landman and Ranero 2014)
- (35) *ku-tuna n-di*
INF-seek 1S-be
I am (in the act of) seeking. (Güldemann 2003: 337) PROG

Rangi (F33)

- (36) *páta ú-rí sida m̩m̩m̩m̩m̩m̩* FUT
get 2S-FUT 10.problems lots
you will have lots of problems (Gibson 2012: 110)

3.4 Bantu zone K

- + so far restricted to attestations in Mbukushu (K333) and Fwe (K402)
- + no instances of initial PrepFocDoubling - ungrammatical in Fwe (Gunnink p.c.)

Fwe (K402)

- (37) [FOC] [BG]
ta-ri ku-zyimba ndi-zyimba ku-nenga ndi-nenga SoA focus
 NEG-be INF-sing 1S-sing INF-dance 1S-dance
 I am not SINGING, I am DANCING. (Gunnink 2014)
- (38) *e-ci-shamu ku-temiwa ci-temiwa* PROG
 AUG-7-tree INF-chop:PASS 7-chop:PASS
 The tree is being chopped. (Gunnink 2014)

- + Mbukushu case unclear in functional and structural terms
- Möhlig (p.c.) explicitly analyzes the preposed infinitive as a TOPIC > ?PrepTopDoubling
- some examples look like operator focus

Mbukushu (K333)

- (39) *ka-kambe ku-tjira ka-na ku-tjira* PROG
 11-horse INF-run.away 11-PRS-run.away
 Das Pferd läuft gerade weg [... runs away right now] (Fisch 1977: 95)
- Sehr gebräuchlich ist das Präsens mit vorausgehendem Infinitiv im Sinne von 'in der Tat', 'sicherlich' [the present preceded by the infinitive is recurrent in the sense of 'indeed', 'certainly'].
- (40) *ku-yenda tu-na ku-yenda* Truth focus
 INF-go 1P-PRS-go
 Wir gehen ja schon [we DO go, don't we] (Fisch 1977: 103)

4. Summary and discussion

- + fronted infinitive constructions should be analyzed within
 - wider cross-linguistic and areal context
 - a larger family of constructions characterized by predicate partition for expressing PCF (cf. Appendix Table A2) > certainly also:
 - InFocDoubling besides fronting
 - light verb structures with all positions of the non-finite verb
 - ?! PrepTopDoubling

4.1 Semantic-functional variation

- + verb preposing for PCF in Bantu is hard to determine regarding (original) functional distinction of SoA vs. operator focus for at least two reasons:
 - structures without segmental focus and topic marking are superficially identical
 - > considerable risk when having to trust short descriptions - detailed study in terms of semantic-pragmatic effects as well as prosodic and morphosyntactic properties necessary

Ntáundu (H16g)

- (41) *tálá ká-zól-ele ka-talá*
 see 1-want-?STAT 1:SUBJ-see
 he/she [really] wants to see (Lubasa 1974: 22)
 [FOC] [BG] (Gilman 1986: 39)
 or
 [TOP] [FOC] (Mufwene 1987: 81, fn. 12)

..., it is not obvious either that, strictly speaking, all the cleft-related focus constructions invoked from African languages involve Clefting. For instance, Gilman (1986: 39) discusses them quite cautiously under the rather vague term of "front-focusing". The ... [above] example from his paper seems more to involve TOPICALIZATION than Clefting, though it certainly involves nominalization of the verb by prefix-deletion (which is common in a number of Bantu languages). [CAPITALS mine] (Mufwene 1987: 81, fn. 12)

- original source of Lubasa (1974) gives (42) in connection with another example that clearly has focus fronting (cf. also the subject concord *ka-* typical for the PrepFocDoubling)

- (42) [FOC] [BG]
mw-ááná ká-túmini
 1-child 1-send:PST
 it is a child that he/she has sent. (Lubasa 1974: 22)

- b) a particular construction can start out in a restricted subdomain of PCF (cf. Figure 1 for SoA vs. operator focus) but expand over time in use towards the entire domain
- > multifunctional fronting construction in Aja (Gbe, Benue-Kwa, Niger-Congo) for term focus and, in the case of PrepFocDoubling, various types of PCF

- (43) [FOC] [BG]
- a. *āyú (yí) é ðù*
 bean GF 3S eat
 She ate BEANS [not ...]. Term focus
- b. *óò, ðà (yí) é ðà*
 No! cook GF 3S cook
 {The woman ate the beans.} No, she COOKED them. SoA focus

- [FOC] [BG]
- c. *ôð, nyʃ (y) é nyʃvi*
No! be.beautiful GF 3S be.beautiful
{She is not beautiful.} No, she IS beautiful. Truth focus
- d. *ôð, xó-ì á xó-ì*
No! hit-3S.OBJ 3S.FUT hit-3S.OBJ
{The woman has hit Peter.} No, she WILL hit him. (Fiedler 2010) TA focus

+ various functional changes can be captured by a semantic map in line with historical trajectory from pragmatics to semantics

> unclear whether truth focus can directly yield progressive

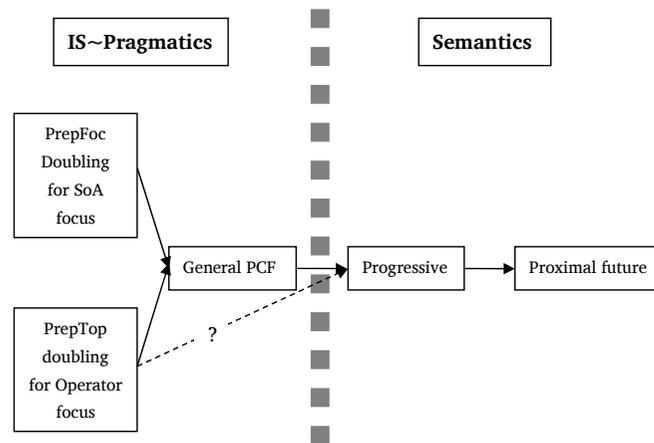


Figure 1: Semantic map for verb preposing constructions across Bantu

4.2 Morphosyntactic variation

+ considerable variation, concerns various parameters:

- a) marking of focus status: \emptyset vs. tone vs. segmental marker > preposed vs. postposed
b) marking of verb as nonfinite: \emptyset vs. affix; *ku- vs. other (*mu- etc.)

InFocDoubling vs. PrepFocDoubling

- c) position of subject~topic: initial PrepFocDoubling vs. preverbal PrepFocDoubling

- little discussed so far but attested in all Narrow Bantu distribution clusters

- d) position of non-finite verb: InFocDoubling vs. PrepFocDoubling

- both are present in the northwest and Bantoid (cf. §3.1)

- PrepFocDoubling appears to predominate further away from that area but InFocDoubling also in other Narrow Bantu including language-internal variation

Ganda (J15)

- (44) [BG] [FOC] [BG]
- a. *wa-gúla bu-gúzi kí-tábó* InFocDoubling
2S:PST-buy 14ABSTR-buy:NOM 7-book
{You just BOUGHT the book.}
- b. *nédda, n-ki-soma n'-oku-ki-soma* InFocDoubling
NO! 1S-7OBJ-read:PRS ADD.F-INF-7OBJ-read
No, I am also READING it.
I > [FOC] [BG]
- b.' *nédda, n'-ó-kú-kí-soma n-kí-sómá* PrepFocDoubling
NO! ADD.F-INF-7OBJ-read 1S-7OBJ-read:PRS
No, I am also READING it. (Wal and Namyalo p.c., ms.)

4.3 Historical-comparative assessment

+ considerably increased documentation and understanding of infinitive fronting but historical assessment nevertheless premature due to still uncertain knowledge of the real distribution of this family of constructions across the Bantu area

> we are thrown back to Meeussen (1967), which is short and hence quite vague:

What exactly should be reconstructed for Proto-Bantu?

> preliminary attempt on the basis of above data, with the important caveat that the construction(s) are cross-linguistically frequent, so that (some of the) different Bantu cases could be independent innovations

4.3.1 Form

a) apparently biased distribution of InFocDoubling and PrepFocDoubling possibly reflects the early coexistence of both with a later recurrent shift from the former to the latter

> attestation of InFocDoubling further south could be a retention or latent across Bantu as a universally available structure

b) variation between post-infinitival and clause-initial subject in PrepFocDoubling recurrent

> assume historical change from former to latter

- subject shift associated with shift away from bisected cleft-like to monoclausal syntax, tightens the structural bond between the two verbs and reestablishes a compact predicate constituent (cf. potentially related cases in other languages with double-root verb forms)

- seemingly correlates with functional change from IS to PROG, FUT etc.

> test whether initial PrepFocDoubling can(not) be semantic

- possible overall historical scenario in Bantu:

***InFocDoubling > *initial PrepFocDoubling > preverbal PrepFocDoubling**

4.3.2 Function

a) PrepFocDoubling vs. PrepTopDoubling as per Meeussen (1967)

- former robustly attested but no unambiguous case of latter, occasional operator focus readings could be due to grammaticalization of SoA focus to generalized PCF

b) PrepFocDoubling repeatedly develops further into the domain of progressive and/or proximal future (cf. Güldemann 2003, de Kind et al. 2014)

*SoA focus > general PCF > PROG > FUT

+ relation to other PCF-sensitive strategies in Bantu, notably conjoint/disjoint alternation

- conjoint/disjoint distribution apparently more restricted than and complementary with predicate partition - exceptions: Matengo (N13), Central Kenya Bantu (E50) > App. Map

Abbreviations

AUX Auxiliary, CJ Conjoint, CONN Connector, COP Copula, DEF Definite, DEM Demonstrative, DEP Dependent, EMPH Emphatic, F Feminine, FOC (Generic) focus, FUT Future, GEN Genitive, GN Geographical name, HAB Habitual, I Index, INE Inessive, INF Infinitive, IPFV Imperfective, LOC Locative, M Masculine, NEG Negative, OBJ object, P Plural, PERF Perfect, PFV Perfective, PN Proper name, POSS Possessive, POT Potential, PRO Pronoun, PROG Progressive, PROX Proximal, PRS Present, PST Past, REL Relative, S Singular, SBJ subject, SoA State-of-affairs, TA(M) Tense-aspect-(modality), TOP Topic, VN Verbal noun

References

- Abels, Klaus and Peter Muriungi. 2008. The focus marker in Kĩtharaka: Syntax and semantics. *Lingua* 118: 687-731.
- Ameka, Felix. 2010. Information packaging constructions in Kwa: micro-variation and typology. In Aboh, Enoch O. and James Essegbey (eds.), *Topics in Kwa syntax*. Studies in Natural language and linguistic theory 78. Dordrecht: Springer, 141-176.
- Bilola, Edmond. 1995. Functional categories and the syntax of focus in Tuki. *LINCOM Studies in African Linguistics* 2. München/ Newcastle: LINCOM Europa.
- Boadi, Lawrence A. 1974. Focus-marking in Akan. *Linguistics* 140: 5-57.
- Bybee, Joan L. and Östen Dahl. 1989. The creation of tense and aspect systems in the languages of the world. *Studies in Language* 13,1: 51-103.
- Bynoe-Andriolo, Esla Y. and M. Sorie Yillah. 1975. Predicate clefting in Afro-European creoles. In Herbert, Robert K. (ed.), *Proceedings of the 6th Conference on African Linguistics*. Working Papers in Linguistics 20. Columbus, Ohio: Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University, 234-239.
- De Kind, Jasper et al. 2015. Event-centrality and the pragmatics-semantics interface in Kikongo: from predication focus to progressive aspect and vice versa. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 36: 113-163.

- Dik, Simon C. (ed. by Kees Hengeveld). 1997. *The theory of functional grammar, part 1: the structure of the clause*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fiedler, Ines. 2010. *Predicate-centered focus in Aja*. Berlin: unpublished ms.
- Fisch, Maria. 1977. *Einführung in die Sprache der Mbukushu, Ost-Kavango, Namibia*. Wissenschaftliche Forschung in Südwestafrika 15. Windhoek: S.W.A. Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft.
- Gibson, Hannah C. 2012. *Auxiliary placement in Rangi: a dynamic syntax perspective*. Ph.D. thesis: SOAS, University of London.
- Gilman, Charles. 1986. African areal characteristics: Sprachbund, not substrate? *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1,1: 33-50.
- Goodman, Morris. F. 1985. Review of Bickerton 1981. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 51: 109-137.
- Green, Melanie. 2007. *Focus in Hausa*. Publications of the Philological Society 40. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gunnink, Hilde. 2014. *The fronted infinitive construction in Fwe*. Unpublished ms.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2003. Present progressive vis-à-vis predication focus in Bantu: A verbal category between semantics and pragmatics. *Studies in Language* 27.323-60.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2007. Preverbal objects and information structure in Benue-Congo. In Aboh, Enoch O., Katharina Hartmann and Malte Zimmermann (eds.), *Focus strategies in African languages: the interaction of focus and grammar in Niger-Congo and Afro-Asiatic*. Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 191. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 83-111.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2009. *Predicate-centered focus types : A sample-based typological study in African languages*. Application for project B7 in the CRC 632 Information structure.
- Güldemann, Tom. in prep. *Dissecting predicates for focus: towards a typology of predicate clefting, verb doubling, and co*. Paper presented to the International conference of the SFB 632, Potsdam, 08-10 July 2010.
- Güldemann, Tom, Ines Fiedler and Yukiko Morimoto. 2014. *The verb in the preverbal domain across Bantu: infinitive "fronting" and predicate-centered focus*. Paper presented to BantuSynPhonIS: Preverbal Domains, ZAS Berlin, 14-15 November 2014. https://www.iaaw.hu-berlin.de/de/region/afrika/afrika/linguistik/mitarbeiter/1683070/dokumente/2014-11-14_gueldemann_the-verb-in-the-preverbal-domain.pdf
- Hadermann, Pascale. 1996. Grammaticalisation de la structure infinitif + verbe conjugué dans quelques langues Bantoues. *Studies in African Linguistics* 25,2: 155-169.
- Hyman, Larry M. and John Watters. 1984. *Auxiliary focus*. *Studies in African Linguistics* 15: 233-73.
- Ibrahim, Njoya. 2007. *Identificational vs. information focus in Makaa and Ijyemboon: interaction between syntax and semantics*. Maîtrise, Department of African languages and linguistics, University of Yaounde I.
- Ibrahim, Njoya. 2010. *Reduplication in Makaa (A83)*. *Afrika und Übersee* 91: 259-298.
- Jaggard, Philip J. 2001. *Hausa*. London Oriental and African Language Library 7. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Jakob, Peggy. 2010. On the obligatoriness of focus marking: Evidence from Tar 'Barma. In Fiedler, Ines and Anne Schwarz (eds.), *The expression of information structure. A documentation of its diversity across Africa*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 117-144.
- Keegan, John M. 1997. *A reference grammar of Mbay*. Lincom studies in African linguistics. München: Lincom Europa.
- Landman, Meredith and Rodrigo Ranero. 2014. The syntax and semantics of Kuria /ne-/. Paper presented at the ACAL 2014, Pomona College, University of Kansas.
- Lubasá, N'tí Nseendi. 1974. Locativity in Kikóongo and English. 'Licenie' thesis: Université Nationale du Zaïre Lubumbashi.
- Manfredi, Victor. 1993. Verb focus in the typology of Kwa/Kru and Haitian. In Byrne, Francis and Donald Winford (eds.), *Focus and grammatical relations in Creole languages*. Creole Language Library 12. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 3-51.
- Marfo, Charles O. and Adams Bodomo. 2005. Information structuring in Akan question-word fronting and focus constructions. *Studies in African Linguistics* 34,2: 179-208.
- Meeuwis, Michael. 2013. Lingala structure dataset. In Michaelis, Susanne M. et al. (eds.)
- Michaelis, Susanne M. et al. (eds.). 2013. *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://apics-online.info/contributions/60>, Accessed on 2014-11-13.)
- Morimoto, Yukiko. 2017. The Kikuyu focus marker *nĩ*: formal and functional similarities to the conjoint/disjoint alternation. In Van der Wal, Jenneke and Larry Hyman (eds.), *The conjoint/disjoint alternation in Bantu*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1987. An issue on predicate-clefting: evidence from Atlantic creoles and African Languages. In Maurer, Philippe and Thomas Stolz (eds.), *Varia creolica*. Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 3. Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 71-89.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2013. Kikongo-Kituba structure dataset. In Michaelis, Susanne M. et al. (eds.)
- Mugane, John. 1997. *A paradigmatic grammar of Gikuyu*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Muluwa, Joseph K. and Koen Bostoen. 2014. The immediate before the verb focus position in Nsong (Bantu B85d, DR Congo): a corpus-based exploration. In Hamlaoui, Fatima (ed.), *Proceedings of the workshop BantuSynPhonIS: Preverbal Domain(s)*. ZAS Papers in Linguistics 57. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Typologie und Universalienforschung, 123-135.
- Ndamsah, Gratiana. 2012. Negation and the structure of Limbum. Paper presented to the 7th World congress of African linguistics (WOCAL 7), University of Buea, Cameroon, 2012.
- Nkemnji, Michael. 1995. Heavy pied-piping in Nweh. Ph.D. thesis: Department of Linguistics, University of California Los Angeles.
- Schwarz, Florian. 2003. Focus Marking in Kikuyu. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 30: 41-118.
- Yoneda, Nobuko. 2009. Matengo-no doushi-katsuyoukei-to shouten (Verb inflection and focus in Matengo). *Swahili and Africa Research* 20: 148-164.

Appendix

Subgroup	Variety (Guthrie code)	Source
Grassfields	<i>Ngiemboon</i>	Ibrahim (2007)
	<i>Ngwe</i>	Nkemnji 1995
	Limbum	Ndamsah (2012)
Zone A	Tuki (A601)	Bilola (1995)
	<i>Makaa (A83)</i>	Ibrahim (2007, 2010)
Zone B	Punu (B43)	Hadermann (1996)
	Nzebi (B52)	Hadermann (1996)
	Nsong (B85d)	Muluwa and Bostoen (2014)
Zone C	<i>Lingala (C36d)</i>	Mufwene (1987)
Zone H	Fiote (H12a), Vili (H12?)	De Kind et al. (2015)
	Suundi (H13b)	Hadermann (1996), De Kind et al. (2015)
	Manyanga (H16b), Yombe (H16c), Ntandu (H16g)	Hadermann (1996), De Kind et al. (2015)
	Kaamba (H17b)	Hadermann (1996)
	Mbundu (H21)	Hadermann (1996)
	???Yaka (H31), Tsotso (H33?), Holu (H33?)	Hadermann (1996)
	???Beko (east), Zali (west), Woyo (west), Kakongo (west), Ndibu (central), Sikongo (south), Solongo (south), Zombo (south), Tsotso (south)	De Kind et al. (2015)
Zone E	Gusii (E42)	Whiteley (1960) > Güldemann (2003)
	Kuria (E43)	Sillery (1936) > Güldemann (2003), Landman and Ranero (2014)
	Kikuyu (E51)	Bynoe-Andriolo and Yillah (1975), Schwarz (2003), Morimoto (2017)
	Tharaka (E54)	Abels and Muriungi (2008)
	Kamba (E55)	???
Zone F	Rangi (F33)	Gibson (2012)
Zone J	Ganda (J15)	Wal and Namyalo (p.c.)
Zone K	Mbukushu (K333)	Güldemann (2003)
	Fwe (K402)	Gunnink (2014, in press)

Note: *Language* only with InFocDoubling

Table A1: Non-finite verb doubling in (Narrow) Bantu

Verb position	Verb preposing	Verb in-situ	Verb postposing
IS status of verb	Topic	Focus	Focus (?and topic)
Verb doubling	PrepTopDoubling “(As for) verb , he VERBED.”	PrepFocDoubling “(It is) VERBING (that) he verb ed.”	InFocDoubling “He verb ed VERBING .”
Bantu	???	(I) Solongo	(II) Lingala
Light verb	PrepTopLight “(As for) verb , he DID.”	PrepFocLight * “(It is) VERBING (that) he did.”	InFocLight “He did VERBING .”
Bantu	???	(III) Ntandu	(IV) Matengo
Primary function	Operator (truth) focus	SoA focus	Various PCF types
			PostFocDoubling “What he verb ed is-VERBING .”
			PostFocLight “What he did is VERBING .”
			SoA focus

Note: ??? not (yet) attested, Ø not expected to occur, * finite verb is not ‘do, make’

Table A2: Attested cases of dissected predicate constructions for PCF across Bantu

PrepFocDoubling (Solongo (H16?, south))

Verb_{non-finite} Verb_{finite} (Other)
[FOC] [BG]
(I) *kina be-kinanga* SoA focus
INF:dance 2-dance:PROG
{No, they’re not fighting,} they’re DANCING. (De Kind et. al 2015: 118)

InFocDoubling (Lingala (C36a))

Verb_{finite} (Other) Verb_{non-finite}
[BG] [FOC]
(II) *a-défts-ákí yó yangó ko-défisa, a-kabél-ákí yó té* SoA focus
3S-lend-PST 2S 3S.IAN INF-lend 3S-offer-PST 2S NEG
She LENT it to you, she didn't GIVE it. (Meeuwis APICS ex.60-151)

PrepFocLight (Ntandu (H16))

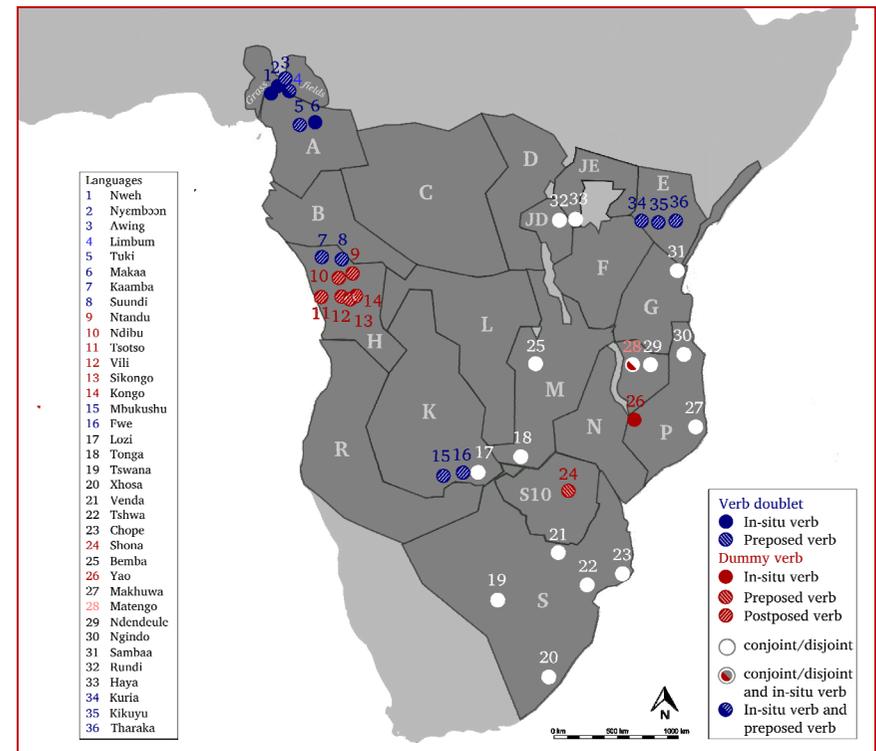
SBJ Verb_{non-finite} LIGHT.Verb_{finite} (Other)
[BG] [FOC] [BG]
(III) *nde yezu mu Ø-zing-a ka-ina* Polarity focus
that Jesus LOC INF-live-FV 1-to.be
... that Jesus IS (indeed) alive. (lit. Jesus in LIVING is.) (de Kind et al. 2015: 143)

InFocLight (Matengo (N13))

SBJ LIGHT.Verb_{finite} Verb_{non-finite} (Other)
[BG] [FOC]
(IV) *Maria ju-a-tend-aje kú-teleka* SoA focus
PN 1-PST-do-CJ INF-cook
{What did Maria do?} Maria COOKed. (lit.: Maria did COOKING) (Yoneda 2009: ???)

PostFocLight (Shona (S10))

LIGHT.Verb_{finite} (Other) Verb_{non-finite}
[BG] [FOC]
(V) *Cha-a-ita ne-bhínzi ku-dzi-bika* SoA focus
7:REL-1:DEP:PROX.PST-do with-10.beans ID:INF-10-cook
{The woman ate the beans, didn't she?} She COOKed the beans. (lit. What she did with the beans is COOKING.) (Peggy Jacob f.n.)



Map 1: Distribution of PCF-related predicate partition across Bantu (map by V. Apel)