

IN-SITU AND EX-SITU FOCUSING IN TIV

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Abstract

This study examines in-situ and ex-situ focus strategies in Tiv, identifying the key categories or particles in each of the focus strategies. It further investigates if there is a relationship between focus position and correction in Tiv. The results reveal that in-situ focus strategy in Tiv is achieved by tone expansion, while in ex-situ focus in Tiv is marked by the Focus particle *ká* and the emphasis particle *yé* which play complementary roles in the derivation. In-situ focusing is the more frequently used strategy due to two reasons: (i) it does not require formal processes such as nominalization for a constituent to be focused; (ii) it is not morphologically and/or syntactically marked. Regarding the relationship between focus positions and correction in Tiv, there is no one-to-one correspondence between a particular focus strategy in Tiv and correction. Subject arguments cannot be corrected with in-situ focus the correlation. This paper however, recommends that the interaction between tone and stress in in-situ focus strategy be considered in further research.

Keywords: Tiv, Focus, In-situ, Ex-situ, Pragmatic

1. Introduction:

Focusing is a process that points at new information, which is of communicative interest, in a sentence. Focusing is of importance to discourse because it is dependent on information packaging (Halliday 1967, Chen 1986, Kiss 1998, Dehe 1999). The study of Focus constructions can be traced back to Weil (1887) in his comparison of old and modern languages at that time.

Focusing was first identified as part of the information that sentences possess, with evidence from Romance languages.

Tiv utilizes two focusing strategies: constituents can either be focused in the positions in which they occur in the basic sentence structure of SVO, or the constituents are moved from the positions which they occupy to a higher position, as will be discussed in this paper. These strategies are termed based on the position in which focus occurs as *in-situ* focusing and *ex-situ* focusing respectively. Interestingly, in-situ and ex-situ focusing are also found in geographically neighboring languages, with which Tiv has had close contact. A typical example is Hausa language where in-situ and ex-situ focusing have been reported by scholars of the language as in (1a) and (1b) respectively:

1a. Dàgà wà nè gá rii ka zoo?

From which city 2sg.rel.perf come

Naa tahoo dàgà [Birnin wànní]_{FOC}

1sg.perf come from [Birnin Konni] (Jaggar 2001: 497 *cf.* Hartmann 2006)

‘From which city do you come? I come from BIRNIN KONNI’

b. [Maza-maza] nè su-kà gamà aikì-n

Quick-quick FOC 3PL-REL.PERF finish work-DET

‘Very QUICKLY, they finished the work’ (Newman 2000: 188 *cf.* Hartmann 2006)

The presence of these strategies of focus in Tiv is however not surprising, because Hausa is one of the languages with Tiv that had its earliest contact in Nigeria. This contact had two influences on Tiv: (i) Lexical influence, through the borrowing of Hausa words in Tiv, most of which are still present such as *àdúà* ‘Church’, *mákérántà* ‘School’¹. (ii) The presence of in-situ and ex-situ focusing in Tiv could be evidence of grammatical influence of Hausa on Tiv.

¹ In fact, the extent of the lexical influence of Hausa on Tiv is such that it becomes difficult to determine if the actual Tiv words for entities such as school or church as exemplified in this paper were over-written by their Hausa counterparts, or such words never existed in Tiv.

This paper sets out to examine in-situ focusing and ex-situ focusing in Tiv, as well as the relationship between Focus position (in-situ or ex-situ) and correction in Tiv. The paper is structured as follows: Section One provides a general introduction to the topic. Section Two presents some basic information about the grammar of Tiv. Section Three looks at in-situ focus constructions. Section Four looks at ex-situ focus construction. It further discusses the particles for ex-situ focusing and distinguishes them from seemingly similar grammatical particles in Tiv. Chapter Five looks at the correlation between focus position and the pragmatic interpretations of focus based on correction. Chapter Six concludes the paper.

2. An overview of the Tiv People and Language

Tiv is a Bantoid Language spoken in Nigeria and Cameroon. The Tiv people constitute approximately 2.5% of Nigeria's total population, and number over six million individuals throughout Nigeria and Cameroon. Tiv speakers can also be found in Nasarawa, Taraba and Cross-River States in Nigeria.

Tiv is a tonal language with two tone levels (high and low) and a down-step. The tones in Tiv are lexically contrastive in the identification of minimal pairs as in (2a). Tones in Tiv can be used in Tiv to morpho-syntactically distinguish singular from plural nouns as in (2b). Tones are further grammatically contrastive in Tiv as in (3a) in which a Low tone is used to mark modality against (3b), where there is no modal interpretation:

- 2a. Wúá ‘Corn’
 Wùà ‘to grind’
 Wúà ‘to Kill’
- b. Ìkyùréké ‘Maize’ íkyùrèké ‘Maize (PL)’
 Ìjì ‘House fly’ íjì ‘House flies’
- 3a. Séwùèsè à zá Àdúà
 Séwùèsè AGR.PRN. FUT go church
 ‘Séwùèsè should go to Church’

- b. Séwùèsè á zà àdúà
 Séwùèsè AGR.PRN.PST go.PST Church
 ‘Séwùèsè went to Church’

Tiv is a noun class language that is based on grammatical number (singular and plural distinction). A noun class system is an agreement pattern taken by a noun and its modifiers (i.e. adjectives, possessives, demonstratives, etc.) in a given grammatical context, such as singular and/or plural as in the case of Tiv:

4. Singular		Plural	
a. íkyónúgh	‘Chair’	m-kón-úm	‘Chairs’
b. ìshú	‘Fish’	íshú	‘Fishes’
c. gódóbì	‘Street’	ù-gódóbì	‘Streets’

In (4a) the noun takes the prefix í- and the suffix -gh in the singular context, which is different from the prefix m- and the suffix -m, which it takes in the plural context. In (4b), the difference between the singular and plural is the low versus high tone difference on the first vowel in the singular and plural contexts respectively. In (4c), the singular does not have any prefix and/or suffix but the plural has ù- as its suffix.

Tiv scholars have different views on the number of noun classes in the language. Malherbe (1933) identified nine noun classes in Tiv. Abraham (1933; 1940a) identified eleven noun classes. Abraham (1940b) identified fifteen noun classes in Tiv. Sibomana (1980), Jockers (1991) identified twelve noun classes in Tiv. What these authors have in common is that their classification is based on the ability of nouns to be used in connection with a particular copula. In other words, if the nouns {A, B, C} can be used with a copula different from {D, E, and F}, it implies that the first three nouns belong to a class different from that of the last three.

According to the most recent classification, Jockers (1991) identified ngù, ngú, ngí ngí, kì, kù and mbù as the singular noun classes and mbà ngá, ngí mbì and má as the plural noun classes:

5.

Number	Copula	Noun class affix	Example
1	Ngù	Ø-, ù-	Òr 'Man'
2	Ngú	Ú-	Ú-wár 'grave'
3	Ngì	Ì-	Ì-mùnàn
4	Ngí	Í-	Í-híngá
5	Kì	Í-	Í-myémé-gh'
6	Kù	-gh'	Wé-gh'
7	Mbù	-gh', -v	Tú-gh 'Night', tsa-v 'Witchcraft'
	Plural Classes		
8	Mbà	Ø-, mbà-, ù-, -v	Kásé-v 'Women', mbà-àmbé 'Crocodiles', ù-béghá 'Lions'
9	Ngá	Á-	Á-tó 'Ears'

10	Ngí	Í	Í-chá ‘tails’
11	Mbì	Í-, -v’	Í-kyá-v ‘Loads’, í-tyú-gh ‘Nights’
12	Mà	m-...-m	m-kúlé-m ‘oil’

Jockers (1991) further identifies seven pairings of the noun classes to form singular and plural pairs. To Jockers, *ngù* class pairs with *ngá*, *ngí* and *mbá* classes as its plural counterparts. *Ngú* pairs with *ngá* and *ngí* as its plural counterparts. *Ngí* pairs with *ngá*, *ngí* and *mbá* classes. *Ngí* pairs with the *ngá* class. *kí* pairs with *má*, *ngá* and *mbí* classes; *kú* class pairs with *ngá*, *ngí* and *mbí* classes, while the *mbù* Class pairs with the *mbí* class.

The basic clause structure of Tiv is SVO as in the finite construction (6).

6a. M̀yòm yàm á-kóndó

M̀yòm buy NCL-Cloth

‘M̀yòm bought cloths’

b. Sésùgh màn Séwúèsè vé yàm mátù ù

Sésùgh and Séwúèsè AGR.PRN buy car

‘Sésùgh and Séwúèsè bought a car’

Finite clauses differ from non-finite clauses in Tiv in the sense that finite clauses have verbs with tense and agreement. However, both clauses could be inflected for aspect:

7. M̀yòm vèndá-n ù yávè-n shá ì-kyón

M̀yòm refuse-IPFV to sleep-IPFV on NCL-chair

‘M̀yòm refuses to sleep on a chair’

Tiv has three tenses; present, past and future tenses. The present tense is marked by the use of any of the noun class copulas (i.e. the verb to be) identified in the noun classification as in (8a). Apart from these, the copula *ká* can also be used to mark present tense as in (8b):

8a. Wán là ngù zéndè-n

Child that COP walk-IPFV

‘That child is walking’

b. Áòndò ká dódshímá

God COP love

‘God is Love’

Past tense is marked by a high tone on an overt agreement particle (henceforth ‘agreement particle’) as in (10a). Agreement particles are syntactic items that change based on the person or number of the subject. The future tense is marked by a down-stepped high tone on the agreement particle as in (10b). The down-step is marked with ‘!’:

10a. Wán là á zéndé

Child that AGR.PRN walk.PST

‘That child walked’

b. Wán là ún !á zèndè

Child that s/he AGR.PRN.FUT walk

‘That child, s/he will walk’

Past tense can cause the last vowel segments of monosyllabic verbs to change from /a/ to /ɛ/:

11a. Sésùgh ngù yá-n í-yòú-gh

Sésùgh COP eat-IPFV NCL-yam-NCL

‘Sésùgh is eating yam’

b. Sésùgh á yé í-yòú-gh

Sésùgh AGR.PRN.PST eat.PST NCL-yam-NCL

‘Sésùgh ate yam’

3. In-situ Focusing

In-situ focusing is a focusing strategy, which places prominence on an element, without changing its place or position in a sentence. This is achieved in Tiv by the strategy of Tone Expansion. Tone expansion is an expansion of the fundamental frequency contour (F_0 -contour) of the tone(s) of a clause constituent (Xu 1999, Hartman 2007). Through tone expansion, the level of high tones are made higher than normal and low tones lower than usual on the focused element as in (12):

12a. Sésùgh béè [mǎkérántà]
Sésùgh finish school
‘Sésùgh has graduated from school’

b. [ǎdúà] ngu nyian ga
Church COP today NEG
‘There is no service or mass today’

Leben, Inkelas & Cobler (1989) reported a similar situation in Hausa of high tone raising (*cf.* Hartman 2007). In Tiv, the expansion of the tone level of the constituents does not maintain a steady level on the focused constituent. It begins at a higher level and falls gradually to a level of lesser effect on the last syllable(s) of the constituent, and becomes almost equivalent to the level of the lexical tone of the word. In spite of this, the expansion of the tone levels highlights the constituent and distinguishes it from the rest of the words in the sentence.

Nominal arguments and prepositional arguments or adjuncts are not the only constituents that can undergo information focusing in Tiv as in (12), but verbs as in (13a) and adverbials as in (13b) can be focused, shown here in brackets:

13a. Mímí á [píně] ún

Mimi AGR.PRN.PST [ask.PST] him/her

‘Mímí asked him/her’

b. Mímí á zá [fèlé]

Mímí AGR.PRN.PST go.PST [quick]

‘Mímí went quickly’

c. Mímí á penda gbándè [shǎ kǒn]

Mímí AGRS.PRN keep.PST plate [on tree]

‘Mímí kept the plate on the tree’

In-situ focusing requires fewer formal grammatical processes such as nominalization for verbs. It also does not require morphological or syntactic particles. This makes it the most frequent focusing strategy in Tiv, as it can be found in more texts and discourses than ex-situ focusing. However, its lack of morphological and syntactic particles makes it less noticeable.

4. Ex-situ Focusing

Ex-situ focusing in Tiv is a focusing strategy that places prominence on an element by changing its place or position in a sentence and placing the moved element within the semantic range of a focus particle *ká* as in (14). The target of the fronted element is the left periphery of the clause, which is the focus for information structure in the language. Ex-situ focusing does not

only express new information, but has a contrastive value (Rochemont 1986), which exhaustively identifies its referential content (Kiss 1998) as in (14a) and (14b) where *M̀yóm* and *Sésùgh* have been exclusively singled out from other related entities (i.e. persons):

- 14a. Ká M̀yóm á zé Mákérántá yé
 FOC M̀yóm AGR.PRN.PST go.PST school EMP
 ‘It is M̀yóm that went to school’
- b. Ká Mákérántá M̀yóm á zé yé
 FOC Mákérántá M̀yóm AGR.PRN.PST go.PST EMP
 ‘It is school that M̀yóm went to’

Nominal arguments are not the only constituents that can undergo ex-situ focusing in Tiv as in (14), but verbs (15a), adverbials (15b), prepositional argument and adjuncts (15c), and clauses can be focused as in the bracketed segments:

- 15a. Ká [ù náhá-n] Sésùgh á náhá Mátù yé
 FOC [to drive-IPFV] Sésùgh AGR.PRN.PST drive-IPFV Car EMP
 ‘It is driving a car that Sesugh is doing’
- b. Ká [hégen] Ngùávésé á nyór yé
 FOC [now] Ngùávésé AGR.PRN.PST enter.PST EMP
 ‘It is now that Ngùávésé arrived’
- c. Ká [shín Kàsúwá] Mímí á yám gbándè yé
 FOC [in Market] Mímí AGR.PRN.PST buy.PST plate EMP

‘It is in the market that Mímí bought a plate’

d. Ká [ù sùúgh-n wé] Téryímà á vé yé

FOC [to greet-IPFV you] Téryímà AGR.PRN.PST come.PST EMP

‘It is to greet you that Téryímà has come’

Verbs in Tiv are obligatorily nominalized as infinitive nominal clauses before they undergo ex-situ focusing. Infinitive nominal clauses are clauses with an imperfective aspect verb and an infinitival particle *ù* as in (15a). The structure of infinitive nominal clauses as in (15a) and subordinate clause focusing as in (15d) are different, in the sense that the verb (and its complements where necessary) in an infinitive nominal clause is obligatorily identical to the main verb of the main clause. In clause focusing, the verb (and its complements where necessary) in the infinitival construction is not identical to the verb of the main clause as in (15d).

As earlier noted, *ká* is the ex-situ focus particle in Tiv and it occurs in a clause initial position. It is complemented by a clause-final particle *yé* identified as an emphasis particle by (Malherbe 1933). The fronted element occurs after the focus particle *ká* as in (16b). The emphasis particle places emphasis on the nominal item after the focus particle has narrowed its semantic range as in (16b-d) which is derived from (16a):

16a. Ngùávésé zà Àdúà

Ngùávésé go Church

‘Ngùávésé has gone to a church’

b. Ká Àdúà Ngùávésé á zà yé

FOC Church Ngùávésé AGR.PRN.PST go.PST EMP

‘It is a to church that Ngùávésé went’

c. *Ká Àdúà Ngùávésé á zà

FOC Church Ngùávésé AGR.PRN.PST go.PST

‘It is a to church that Ngùávésé went’

d. * Àdúà Ngùávésé á zà yé

Church Ngùávésé AGR.PRN go.PST EMP

‘It is to church that Ngùávésé has gone’

The ex-situ focus particle *ká* obligatorily occurs with the emphasis particle *yé* in ex-situ focus constructions. The emphasis particle *yé* also obligatorily occurs with the ex-situ focus particle *ká* in an ex-situ focus construction as in (16d). Generally, *ká* occurs if and only if the beginning of the construction is pronounced, and only “ye” occurs if and only if the end of the construction is pronounced. However, one question looms: is there a context, in which one of them can occur without the other?

The size of the construction places restriction on the distribution of *ká* and *yé*. Although focus constructions introduce new information in a discourse, there exists a common information ground, which is shared by the speaker and the listener. In some circumstances, the speaker takes the shared information for granted and concentrates on bringing out the contrast and/or exhaustiveness of an entity. Consider the answers to the question in (17a). In (17b) *Sésùgh* is exhaustively identified as the agent of the action. The information about the event *yílà* and the patient *-m* are excluded because the information is shared. In (17c) the information about the event and the patient is not excluded:

17a. Ká áná nà yílá-m?

FOC who Res-Pro call.PST -me?

‘**Who** called me’

b. Ká Sésùgh

FOC Sésùgh

‘It is Sésùgh’

c. *ká* Sésùgh á yílá-m yé

FOC Sésùgh AGR.PRN.PST call.PST-me EMP

‘It is Sésùgh who called me’

Constructions such as (17b) would be addressed as truncated or reduced expression since information about the actual activity and the patient has been excluded. However, the information about the event and the patient are included in (17c), as such, constructions of this kind would be termed non-truncated or unreduced constructions.

In truncated contexts, the ex-situ focus particle *ká* can occur without the emphasis particle *yé* as in (17b), while in non-truncated contexts the emphasis particle *yé* is obligatory. The Emphasis particle *yé* cannot occur independently in non-truncated (18a) and truncated (18b) contexts:

18a. *Sésùgh Mímí á tíndí yé

Sésùgh Mímí AGR.PRN.PST send EMP

‘It is Sésùgh that Mímí sent’

b. *Sésùgh yé

Sésùgh EMP

‘It is Sésùgh’

The constructions (18a&b) are ungrammatical because of the absence of the ex-situ focus particle *ká*. A use of *ká* in (18a) would have saved the construction from being ungrammatical against (18b). *ká* would be able to make (18b) grammatical if and only if the emphasis marker *yé* is dropped.

The copula *ká* obligatorily occurs after the subject (20a). (20a) is actually the complete form of (19a). *ká* as a focus particle obligatorily occurs at the sentence initial position as in (20b) with little or no possibility of any other constituent occurring before it:

20a. Mó ká-m̀ pè yèm-én

I COP-me to go-IPFV

‘I want to go’

b. Ká mó í lú-m̀ pè yèm-én yé

FOC I AGR.PRN COP-me to go-IPFV EMP

‘It is I that want to go’

Arnott (1968) explains that the initial *ka* is connected to habitual tenses as in (21a) and (21b). *ká* as a copula has a vital role to play in Tiv tense system, but copulas in Tiv do not occupy the sentence initial position as in (20).

21a. ká m̀ pìné kwásé wám

COP I ask wife My

‘I usually ask my wife’

b. ká á lăm kén

COP AGR.PRN talk must

‘He/she always talks’

The particle *ká* in (21a) and (21b) is a copula and appears to be in the clause initial position, because the main subject nouns of the sentences are not overtly realized. Such sentences usually have an understood subject that has been deleted. In other words, in the underlying structure of (21a & b), the Copula *ká* is not in the initial position; therefore, any noun (lexical or pronominal) can be placed before *ká* in (21a & b) as in (22a & b) respectively:

22a. Mó ká m̀ pìné kwásé wám

I COP I ask wife my

‘I usually ask my wife’

b. Séwùèsè ká á lăm kén

Séwùèsè COP AGR.PRN talk must

‘Séwùèsè must always talk’

Furthermore, *ká* as a copula is not identified with or assigned to any particular noun class in Tiv. However, it can be substituted by singular noun class copulas. The copula *ká* can substitute a noun class copula because they are verbs and they possess the present tense feature by default. This substitution does not bring about a significant change in the meaning of the construction (Jockers 1991:101) as in (23a) and (23b):

23a. Mímí ká á pìné kwàgh kén

Mímí COP AGR.PRN ask thing must

‘Mímí must always ask a question’

b. Mímí ngù á pìné kwàgh kén

Mímí NCL.1.COP AGR.PRN ask thing must

‘Mímí must always ask a question’

However, the focus particle *ká* cannot be substituted by any noun class copula as in (24a & d). (24c & d) imply that the ex-situ focus particle *ká* does not have any role in the tense or aspect of sentences, because it is not a verbal element.

24a. Ká kwàgh Mímí ngù á pìné kén yé

FOC thing Mímí COP AGR.PRN ask must EMP

‘It is a question that Mímí must always ask’

b. *Ngù kwàgh Mímí ngù á pìné kén yé

FOC thing Mímí COP AGR.PRN ask must EMP

‘It is a question that Mímí must always ask’

It would also be difficult to claim that the ex-situ focus particle is actually a copula which has been fronted to the clause left periphery to mark ex-situ focus. This is because it would then be expected that the ex-situ focus particle should have existed as a Copula in the base construction from which an Ex-situ focus construction is derived. However, this is not the case as in (25) where (25c) is derived from (25a). (25c) on the other hand cannot be derived from (25b) because the presence of *ká* makes (25b) ungrammatical:

25a. Mímí béê Mákérántá

Mímí finish school

‘Mímí has graduated’

b. *Mímí ká béê Mákérántá

Mímí COP finish school

‘Mímí has graduated’

c. Ká Mákérántá Mímí á béé yé

FOC Mákérántá Mímí AGR.PRN finish.PST EMP

‘It is school that Mímí has graduated’

This does not imply that constituents of constructions in which the copula *ká* exists cannot be focused. It implies that there would be two *ká*, which are differently distributed syntactically. It would therefore be better to define the *ká* particles in (26b) as distinct particles and not copies of one another. (26a) is the base form of (26b):

26a. Mímí ká á yílá Sésùgh

Mímí COP AGR.PRN call Sésùgh

‘Mímí calls Sésùgh’

b. Ká Sésùgh Mímí ká á yílá yé

FOC Sésùgh Mímí COP AGR.PRN call EMP

‘It is Sésùgh that Mímí calls’

4.2 yé as an Emphasis particle

The particle *yé* is basically an Emphasis particle (Malherbe 1933) in focus constructions as in (27a). It is an obligatory particle in non-truncated Ex-situ focus constructions; otherwise the meaning of the construction would be ungrammatical as in (27b):

27a. Ká Mímí Séwúèsè á yílá yé

FOC Mímí Séwúèsè AGR.PRN.PST call.PST EMP

‘It is Mímí that Séwúèsè called’

a. *Ká Mímí Séwúèsè á yílá

FOC Mímí Séwúèsè AGR.PRN.PST call.PST

‘It is Mímí that Séwúèsè called’

Apart from truncated constructions as earlier noted, the ex-situ focus particle *ká* can occur without the emphasis particle in interrogative constructions. However, *yé* cannot occur as an Emphasis particle independently in non-truncated (28c) and truncated (28d) ex-situ focus constructions as in (28):

28a. Ká nyí Lúběm á yám?

FOC what Lúběm AGR.PRN buy.PST?

'What did Lúběm buy'

b. Ká Mátò Lúběm á yám yé?

FOC Car Lúběm AGR.PRN.PST buy.PST EMP?

'It is a car that Lúběm bought'

c. *Mátò Lúběm á yám yé?

Car Lúběm AGR.PRN.PST buy.PST EMP?

'It is a car that Lúběm bought'

d. *Mátò yé

Car EMP

When *yé* occurs in truncated constructions, it occurs as a question particle. In these constructions, *yé* obligatorily requires the absence of the ex-situ focus particle *ká* because truncated questions cannot be focused in Tiv unlike non-truncated questions; hence the ungrammaticality of (29b):

29a. Sésùgh yé?

Sésùgh QST?

'Where is Sésùgh/ How about Sésùgh?'

b. *Ká Sésùgh yé?

FOC Sésùgh QST?

'Where is Sésùgh/ How about Sésùgh?'

By implication, there are two *yé*: as an Emphasis particle as in (28b) and as a question particle. The domain of the question particle *yé* is restricted to truncated interrogative

constructions as in (29a). (30a & b) are the non-truncated forms of (29a). *yé* does not in non-truncated interrogative constructions as in (30c & d):

30a. Sésùgh ngù hàná?

Sésùgh COP where?

'Sésùgh is where?'

b. Hàná Sésùgh á lú?

Where Sésùgh AGR.PRN COP?

'Where is Sésùgh

a. *Sésùgh ngù hana ye?

Sésùgh COP where Q?

'Where is Sésùgh'

b. *Hàná Sésùgh á lú yé?

Where Sésùgh AGR.PRN COP Q?

'Where is Sésùgh'

In summary, there are at least two different functions of *yé* in Tiv; *yé* as an emphasis particle and *yé* as a question particle. As an emphasis particle, *yé* cannot occur independently ex-situ focus constructions. As a question particle, it occurs in truncated interrogative constructions. Hence, just as the Ex-situ focus particle *ká* must not occur in a truncated ex-situ focus construction with *yé*, so *yé* must not occur in truncated questions with the Ex-situ focus particle *ká*.

5.0 Correlation between Focus position and Pragmatic interpretation

In this paper, focus strategies in Tiv has been analyzed based on their positions. The question, which arises from such an analysis, is whether in-situ focusing is used for correcting information in discourse against ex-situ focusing or vice versa?

The focus position does not affect correction in Tiv, as both in-situ focus as in (31) and ex-situ focus as in (32) can be used for correction. By correction, part of a yes/no question is denied and replaced with a correct element in an answer:

- 31a. Mímí á má m-ngérè-m?
 Mímí AGR.PRN.PST drink.PST NCL-Water-NCL
 ‘Mímí drank water?’
- b. Èì, Mímí á má àlǔm
 No, Mímí AGR.PRN.PST drink.PST **Orange**
 ‘No, Mímí drank orange’
- 32a. Mímí á gùdì àtsáká?
 Mímí AGR.PRN.PST cook.PST Potatoes
 ‘Mímí cooked potatoes?’
- b. Èì, ká Chìnkáfá Mímí á gùdì yé
 No, FOC Rice Mímí AGR.PRN.PST cook.PST EMP
 ‘No, it is rice that Mímí cooked’

The subject of a sentence however, cannot be corrected by in-situ focus in Tiv, but by ex-situ focus as in (33). Object focusing on the other hand can be corrected with in-situ focusing as in (31):

- 33a. Ì-jèndé nà vàà?
 NCL-friend his/her cry?
 ‘His/her friend cried?’
- a. *Èì, Wán nà vàà
 No, Child his/her cry
 ‘No, his/her Child cried’

b. Éì, ká wán nà á váá yé

No, FOC Child his/her AGR.PRN.PST cry.PST EMP

‘No, it is his/her child that cried’

The focus restriction on the subject of sentences raises the question as to whether subject arguments undergo in-situ focusing after all. It is assumed here that subject arguments do not undergo in-situ focusing, because the subject position is a topic position by default. Therefore, the placing of focus on the subject might result to a clash between the topic and focus.

6. Conclusion

In-situ focus is achieved by tone expansion, while the major actors in ex-situ focusing in Tiv are the Focus particle *ká* and the Emphasis particle *yé*, which play complementary roles in the derivation. Out of these two focusing strategies, in-situ focusing is more frequent but less noticed focusing strategy due to two reasons: (i) it does not require formal processes such as nominalization for a constituent to be focused; (ii) it is not morphologically and/or syntactically marked. Apart from the fact that subject arguments cannot be corrected with in-situ focus, the correlation between the position of focus in Tiv and its pragmatic interpretation is, to a large extent, arbitrary. In other words, there is no strictly one-to-one correspondence between a particular focus strategy in Tiv and the pragmatic interpretation of correctness. However, it is recommended that the interaction between tone and stress in in-situ focus strategy be considered in further research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGR Agreement Particle/Particle

CON Connector

COP Copula

EMP Emphasis Particle/Particle

FOC Focus Particle/Maker

IPFV Imperfective Particle/Particle

NCL Noun Class marker

PRN Pronoun

PRO Big PRO (Subject of Infinitival sentences)

PST Past tense

QST Question Particle/Particle

SPEC Specificity Particle/Particle