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# Information Structure & Peripheries in Zaar<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper analysing peripheries in relation with syntax and information structure in Zaar, a Chadic language spoken in Nigeria, we have argued for a minimal annotation representing in a simple and concise way the interface between information structure and syntax. The article uses the concept of macrosyntax, based on illocutionary units, for this new level of annotation using existing morphosyntactic tiers in Elan. The annotation system has been chosen, and a corresponding set of tags developed, bearing in mind that they should be as theory-neutral as possible in order to implement a genuine bottom-up heuristic methodology. The main asset of this system of annotation lies in the notion of stacks it uses to account for disfluencies, discontinuities and ellipses, and represent the oral discursive flow. With the corresponding annotation script, a pilot 90 min (15,000 words) corpus has been annotated to run a preliminary study of peripheries. We have argued that, although topics and frame-setters share the same intonation pattern, their syntactic properties call for a specific syntactic representation within the frame of Universal Dependency Grammar.

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This article argues that morphosyntactic glossing of oral corpora is not sufficient for languages with little morphology. A minimal annotation system must be introduced to represent in a simple and concise way the interface between information structure and syntax. The article uses the concept of macrosyntax, based on illocutionary units, for this new level of annotation using existing morphosyntactic tiers in Elan. With the corresponding annotation script, a pilot 90 min (15,000 words) corpus has been annotated for Zaar, a Chadic language spoken in Nigeria and a preliminary study of peripheries in this language has been done on this annotated corpus.

The article is organized as follows: the first section presents the argument for macrosyntactic glossing; the second section introduces the annotation system; the third section presents a typology of peripheries in Zaar; and the final section characterizes the contrast between left-dislocation, and clefting using a microsyntactic representation developed within the dependency framework.

## **1 The case for macrosyntax**

The distinction between micro- and macrosyntax was first proposed by (1990)Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* (1990), Berrendonner (1990), and Cresti (2000) (but see also (Andersen & Nølke 2002) for an overview). These studies put forward macrosyntax as a level of linguistic description capable of accounting for a number of cohesion mechanisms that are particularly frequent in spontaneous spoken language – especially in spoken French and Italian– which cannot be simply regarded as microsyntactic government phenomena, such as, for example, the “paratactic” construction in (1):

(1) [ ceux qui sont en location ] [ la moyenne ] [ c'est environ trois ans ]

[ those who are on a lease ] [ the average ] [ it's about three years ]

'Those who are on a lease stay three years on average' (Rhaps-D0004 CFPP2000)

The same type of phenomenon is frequent in Zaar too, e.g. in (2):

(2) [yà:ʃi mén::: malâ:ri má:::] [lǝpm za:r má: ] [tá tû:r gyá: dũ:] [tá tû:r gyá:  
náyat]<sup>2</sup>

[The people... of Malar too...] [at the Angas festival too] [they would brew  
beer] [they would cook food]

'The people of Malar, they would brew beer and cook food at the Angas  
festival too.' (Cal\_Har\_045)

While the different macrosyntactic models acknowledge that sequences such as (1) and (2) have to be considered as forming a cohesive unit at some level of linguistic description, they diverge slightly as far as the characterization of the nature of this cohesion is concerned.

Macrosyntactic models characterize some major linguistic units that go beyond government proper and are usually described in the literature from a pragmatic perspective that focuses on their illocutionary or rhetorical values. Macrosyntax, instead, focuses on the span and the

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<sup>2</sup> Zaar is transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet, except for /j/ which is transcribed /y/. Vocalic phonemic length is marked after the vowel by single colon (:). Phonetic length (in fillers, emphasis, etc.) is marked with three colons (:::). Phonemic tone is marked with diacritics: á, à, â and ǎ for High, Low, Falling and Rising respectively. Mid tone is left unmarked. The following abbreviations are used in morphosyntactic transcriptions: 1, 2, 3, Person; OBJ, Object; ADV, Adverb; AOR, Aorist; ASP, Aspect; BEN, Benefactive; COMP, Complementiser; COND, Conditional; CONJ, Conjunction; COP, Copula; CPL, Completive; DEF, Definite; DEICT, Deictic; DET, Determiner; DIST, Distal; DM, Discourse Marker; EXCL, Exclamative; FCT, Factual; FILL, filler; FUT, future; ICPL, Incompletive; IDP, Independent; INCH, Inchoative; ITER, Iterative; LOC, Locative; N, Noun; NEG, Negation; NMLZ, Nominalizer; OBJ, Object; PFV, Perfective; PL, Plural; PN, Person-Number; POS, Possessive; POSL, Possessive link; PRO, Pronoun; PROX, Proximate; PTCL, partiCle; QLT, Quality; QUEST, Question; REL, Relative marker; REM, Remote; RES, Resultative; SBJV, subjunctive; SG, singular; SPCF, specifier; SYNT, syntactic; TAM, tense-aspect-mode; TOP, topic; V, verb; VRT, Virtual.

form of macrosyntactic units, using syntactic and distributional criteria (such as suppressions, insertions, commutations) to identify and delimit them. For all the macrosyntactic models, the main identifying criterion of a macrosyntactic unit is the possibility that this unit has to constitute an autonomous utterance.

Since the practical objective is to create a corpus that allows us to study the interface between prosody and syntax, we need to clearly separate these two levels of analysis. Following the methodology first used in *Rhapsodie*, I have decided not to rely on prosodic criteria to define macrosyntactic units. Therefore I do not follow the prosodic definition of macrosyntactic units proposed by Berrendonner (2011) who describes the maximal extension of a macrosyntactic unit in terms of the presence of a conclusive intoneme; nor could I strictly follow the Florence school's approach (Cresti & Moneglia 2005) that characterizes macrosyntactic units as sequences of prosodic, rather than syntactic, units.

Rather, I consider that macrosyntax describes the whole set of relations holding between the microsyntactic units that make up one and only one illocutionary act, although microsyntax can sometimes go beyond macrosyntactic units. This definition combines the syntactic model proposed by the Aix model (Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* 1990), according to which the minimal units that compose a macrosyntactic unit are syntactic in nature, and the pragmatic model developed by the Florence model (Cresti & Moneglia 2005), according to which the maximal extension of a macrosyntactic unit is defined in terms of illocution.

Such a choice led us to call the maximal macrosyntactic units *Illocutionary Units* and to provide, in our work, an account and an annotation for the syntactic rather than the prosodic units that compose them.

## 1.1 The Rhapsodie framework

The macrosyntactic framework developed in the ANR Rhapsodie project (*Corpus de français parlé annoté pour la prosodie et la syntaxe* (Lacheret, Pietrandrea & Tchobanov 2014)) has proved to be particularly efficient in dealing with the specificities of oral corpora, e.g. piles stacking, disfluencies, repetitions, discourse markers, overlaps, co-enunciation, false starts, self-repairs and truncations. This method is data-driven, inductive (the relevant units are identified through annotation) and modular. Rhapsodie annotates two levels of syntactic cohesion: microsyntax, i.e., syntactic cohesion guaranteed by government and macrosyntax, i.e. syntactic cohesion guaranteed by illocutionary dependency.

The macrosyntactic level describes the whole set of relations holding between all the segments that make up one and only one illocutionary act. A macrosyntactic punctuation will mark macro-syntactic boundaries (i.e. illocutionary units and their main components: nuclei, pre nuclei and post nuclei, including discourse markers) and limits between pile layers (disfluencies, reformulation, coordination).

Each text is segmented into a string of illocutionary units (henceforth IIU); each IIU is composed of 3 kinds of components: a nucleus (obligatory), pre-nuclei (optional) and post nuclei (optional); see below: (1) and (2), where ‘<’ follows a pre-nucleus and precedes a nucleus or another pre-nucleus; ‘>’ precedes a post-nucleus and follows a nucleus or a previous post-nucleus; and ‘//’ indicates the right boundary of a IIU (nuclei are in bold).

[context : two adolescent girls talk about clothes, boyfriends and (a little) about school]

- (3) *ndà:dəm má: < **má lə yéltə** > 'áy' //*  
'Ndadem too < *I will go and see him* > eh. //' (Girls\_A\_005)
- (4) *fé:lêks < kyâ:n má: < **ká: rigá kə yisán tí:** > 'éy' //*  
'Felix < you too < *you know him* > eh. //' (Girls\_B\_092)
- (5) *sə̀ké:di < à: **ná:y d̀arí lim** // kó: //*  
'A skirt < *it reaches six hundred* // doesn't it? //' (Girls\_A\_30)

Heuristically, in order to identify Illocutionary Units (IIU) and their constituents (IIC), annotators rely on intonation cues perceived while listening to the data that is annotated. Perceptively relevant prosodic cues enable them to identify terminal and non-terminal breaks, the former constituting the IIU limits. This is defined as follows by Cresti & Moneglia (2005:17)

*“The various kinds of prosodic breaks are conceptualised and defined as follows:*

- a. Prosodic break: perceptively relevant prosodic variation in the speech continuum such as to cause the parsing of the continuum into discrete prosodic units.*
- b. Terminal prosodic break: given a sequence of one or more prosodic units, a prosodic break is considered terminal if a competent speaker assigns to it, according to his perception, the quality of concluding the sequence.*
- c. Non-terminal prosodic break: given a sequence of one or more prosodic units, a prosodic break is considered non-terminal if a competent speaker assigns to it, according to his perception, the quality of being non-conclusive.”*

The basic prosodic distinction in Zaar is between pre-nucleus units whose boundary is characterized by a level intoneme followed by an initial step-up (pitch reset) at the onset of the following unit; and final prosodic breaks signalling the end of an IIU by a fall. The final fall can be replaced by or combined with other intonemes (e.g. rise and high-rise) in case of emphasis or exclamation. (Caron 2015:17)

## 1.2 Nature of the nucleus

Nuclei are usually governed by a tensed verb or a copula. But not always. See (6) where a noun (*la:*, ‘work’) is governing the nucleus, and (7) where the whole nucleus of the second IU is an exclamation (*kâ:y*, ‘hey’).

- (6) *gí: < ɲa: la: bastə //*  
*gí: ɲa: la: bas =tə*  
 DIST small work at 3SG  
 ‘That’s easy for him.’ (*lit.* ‘that < small work at him //’) (Girls\_B\_094)

- (7) *kúni: à: məs basəm sò:séy // myá:n kúmá < kâ:y //*  
*kúni -í: à: məs bas =mə sò:séy myá:ni kúmá kâ:y*  
 boy -DIST 3SG.PFV die at 1SG.OBJ quite 1SG also EXCL  
 ‘That boy is dying for me. Myself, *I don’t care!*’  
 (*lit.* ‘as for me < hey!’) (Girls\_B\_087)

## 1.3 Piles / stacking

The concept of stacking (‘piles’ in French), which introduces the notion of paradigm in syntax, was introduced by the Aix School (Blanche-Benveniste et al. 1990). Stacks are the multiple realization of one and the same structural position, which occurs in continuous speech in various types of segments, especially syntactic disfluencies. See (8) below (disfluencies in bold) where the same utterance is annotated (a) in the CorpAfroAs format (Mettouchi, Vanhove & Caubet 2015), (b) in the Aix format:

- (8) a *tô: **ká## ká** dũ **te: yá / te:** gə̀fi tsán ŋ //*  
 ‘Well you... you would beat it towards er... downhill like this.’  
 (Bury\_Har\_052)
- |     |         |    |         |      |        |      |
|-----|---------|----|---------|------|--------|------|
| tô: | ká      | ## | ká      | dũ   | te:    | é    |
| DM  | 2PL.AOR | ## | 2PL.AOR | beat | around | FILL |



te:           gə̀fi           tsón       ŋ  
 around      downhill   like\_this   COP2

b       tô:       **ká**  
           **ká**       dû           te: yá  
   te: gə̀fi       tsón ŋ //

‘well   you would  
           you would   beat (it)   toward er  
   downhill   like this //’

Rhapsodie proposes a complete annotation and a functional tagging of stacks (Kahane & Pietrandrea 2012). The format is: { -- | -- }. See (8c) for the same unit thus annotated:

(8)   c       tô: <{**ká** | **ká**} dû {te: yá | te: gə̀fi} tsón ŋ //

          ‘Well < {you’d | you’d } beat (it) { toward er | downhill } like this //’

Although extremely frequent in spoken language, this cohesion device, which can be regarded as a particular type of micro-syntactic relation, is often disregarded in corpus annotation. By extensively annotating and tagging stacking phenomena this annotating script aims at giving an exhaustive micro-syntactic annotation of all the data, including disfluencies, repetitions, and reformulations generally considered as performance errors and not analysed in spoken language treebanks.

Apart from disfluencies and reformulations, stacks note a micro-syntactic relation where text segments occupy the same position in the dependency structure. They appear within IUs, e.g. in coordination, as in example (9) below. The sign “^”, e.g. in ^kó: --- ^kó:, ‘^or --- ^or’ identifies words working as conjunctions for illocutionary units.

(9)   a       wá:ni {à: fin & | à: ngap ŋa: gə̀dî wá:ni maráy | ^kó: à: fi mâ:r | ^kó:  
           á fi ma:ndə} //

          ‘So-and-So {has done & | has caught So-and-So’s daughter and spoilt  
           her | ^or has stolen | ^or has gone into a fight}’ // (Rel\_Har\_188)

Following (Blanche-Benveniste et al. 1990) this stack can be represented as in (9b) below

- (9) b      *wá:ni*            *à: fin &*  
                                  *à: ŋgap ŋa: gèdì wá:ni maráy*  
                                  *^kó: à: fī m̂:r*  
                                  *^kó: á fī ma:ndə*
- ‘So-and-So    has done &  
                                  has caught So-and-So’s daughter and spoilt her  
                                  ^or has stolen  
                                  ^or has gone into a fight’

#### 1.4 Non-alignment of Illocutionary and Government Units

Illocutionary and government units are not necessarily aligned, and, as a consequence, the annotation system does not consider IIU or turn-taking as boundaries of macrosyntactic dependencies. The same annotation device is modified to mark stackings across IIU boundaries as follows : { --- |} { | --- }.

##### 1.4.1 Stacking across IIU boundaries

Example (10) illustrates stacking across IIU boundaries when illocutionary and government units are not aligned.

- (10) a      *tô: m̂ ŋgyǎ:r gya: gà:l      bét d̂aŋ //*  
                                  *^kó: gèri*  
                                  *^kó: ma:t //*
- b      *"tô:" m̂ ŋgyǎ:r {gya: gà:l |} bét d̂aŋ //+ { | ^kó: gèri | ^kó: ma:t} //*  
                                  ‘“Well” we slaughter plenty {cows |} too //+ { | ^or hens | ^or goats }. //’  
                                  (Cal\_Sdy\_ 032)

In this example, the first IIU finishes with the adverbial adjunct *bét d̂aŋ*, ‘plenty too’ and the end of the unit is marked with a terminal prosodic break. Then, as an afterthought, two nouns are added, forming a discontinuous chain of three coordinated direct objects (*gyá: gà:l*, ‘cows;

*gèri*, ‘hens’ and *ma:t*, ‘goat’) of the verb *ngyá:r* ‘slaughter’. The afterthought forms a second IU starting with a pitch reset and finishing with its own terminal prosodic break. The stacking links the direct objects across the IU boundary.

#### 1.4.2 Stacking across turn-taking

Stacking through coordination can occur across turn-taking and result in elliptic structures. Instead of considering those as either incomplete structures or structures where most of the elements have been omitted, they are considered as a special case of micro-syntactic relations, i.e. coordination across turn-taking.

It is illustrated in example (11) below, where the nouns *gèt* ‘woman’ in (11a, b, and d), and *ɲa: gèt* ‘girl’ in (11c) are all part of the same stack, and share the same syntactic relation as part the adverbial adjunct<sup>3</sup> of the nucleus of (11a) : *tá gi: tə gòs dò:*, ‘they will bury her where?’

- (11) a [S1] “*tó*” { *gèt* } *kən* >+ *yá: m̂s kúmá* <+ *tá gi: tə gòs dò:* //
- tó: gèt kən yá: m̂s kúmá*  
DM woman COP2 3SG.COND die too
- tá gi: tə gòs dò:*  
3PL.FUT bury 3S.OBJ 3SG.POS where  
“Well” if it is { *a woman* } >+ that dies <+ they will bury her  
where? //
- b [S2] { *gəd̂á:* } //
- gèt a:*  
woman QUEST  
{ *A woman?* } //

<sup>3</sup> The clausal adverbial adjunct (*gèt kən yá: m̂s*, ‘if it is a girl that dies’) is a conditional with a cleft embedded.

- c [S1] {<sup>^</sup>kó: *ɲa: gət*} //  
*kó: ɲa: gət*  
 or young woman  
 ‘{<sup>^</sup>Or a girl. |} //’
- d [S2] *ɲa: gət < tá gi: fí bálzàɲ > káp wá:sàɲ // [...]*  
*ɲa: gət tá gi: fí bálzàɲ káp wá:sàɲ*  
 young woman 3PL.FUT bury 3PL.OBJ outside all 3PL.POS  
 ‘Girls < they would bury them outside > all of them. // [...]
- e [S1] {<sup>^</sup>tá *gət bét*} *kó:* //  
*tá gət bét kó:*  
 with woman all or  
 {<sup>^</sup>And women in general |} or what? //
- f [S2] “*m:*” <sup>^</sup>tá *gət bét < tá gi: fí dǎn //*  
*m: tá gət bét tá gi: fí dǎni*  
 er with woman all 3PL.FUT bury 3PL.OBJ there  
 ““Yes” women in general < they would bury them there.//”  
 (Bury\_Sdy\_20)

The elements coordinated across the turn-taking continue the microsyntactic construction:

‘{ *gət* / <sup>^</sup>*kó: ɲa: gət* / <sup>^</sup>*tá gət bét* } *kən* >+ *yá: mǎs [...]*, ‘if it is { women | <sup>^</sup>or girls | <sup>^</sup>and women in general } that die [ ...]’. The noun in S2’s echo-question ({| *gədǎ:* |}, ‘{| women |}?’), where the final *-a:* marks the interrogative sentence modality) inherits the same function as the coordinated elements in S1’s turns : *gət kən* >+ *yá: mǎs a: [...]*, ‘if it is women that die [...]’<sup>4</sup>’.

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<sup>4</sup> The whole passage (11a to f) is 2mn50s long. [...] in (11d) stands for 2 IIUs giving more precise information about the distance between the grave and the family compound, which have not been reproduced here as irrelevant for the point discussed.

### 1.4.3 Microsyntactic dependencies across IIU

As we can see, macrosyntactic constituent units which reflect and convey information structure are not necessarily congruent with microsyntactic structures. When microsyntactic dependencies override IIU boundaries, a sign “+” is added to these boundaries: “//+” for final IIU boundaries; “<+” and “>+” for non-final. An illustration is given in (12) below, an utterance with a cleft structure, where the “>+” sign shows that the post-nucleus unit is in a dependency relationship with an element of the nucleus, and the “//+ sign” shows that *yâ:n nə myâ:n*, ‘if it’s me’ is a clausal adjunct added to the nucleus as an afterthought:

- (12) *"tô:" dzàŋ gí: yəŋ >+ tá fī mátaŋgáy //+ yâ:n nə myâ:n //*  
*tô: dzàŋ gí: kən tá fī mátaŋ káy*  
 DM day DIST COP2 3PL.FUT do ritual\_flogging LOC  
  
*yâ:n nə myâ:ni*  
 if COP1 1SG.IDP

“Well” *it’s that day*>+ they will do matang //+ if it is me. //’ (Bury\_Ha\_201)

### 1.4.4 Embedding

Illocutionary units are embedded in cases reported speech and asides, or parentheses.

- *Reported speech* (both direct and indirect).

The reported speech is governed by the introducing particle *tu* : [ --- //]

- (13) *á wû tu [ yá:wón <+ wò lə dufi wáya mán da //] //*  
*á wul tu yá:wón wò lə du =fi*  
 3SG.AOR say comp today 3SG.FUT go beat 3PL.OBJ  
  
*wáya mán da*  
 phone BEN again

‘He said [ today <+ he will phone them again. //] //’ (Girls\_A\_097)

- *Evidentiality*

Evidentiality-introducing verbs (see, think, etc.) share the same structure as reported speech.

The illocutionary particle *-o:* on the embedded predication below is a hint that the reported speech functions as an illocutionary unit.

- (14) *myá: yel ku tu [ gyò: yəndá >+ wò mop de:déyo: //] //*  
*myá: yel kutu gyò: kəndá wò mop de:dé: -o:*  
 1sg.icpl see as\_if which =COP2 3SG.FUT surpass correct FCT  
 ‘I wonder [which one is it >+ that will be best? //] //’ (Girls\_B\_016)

This structure can be extended to the same verbs without the introducing particle *tu:*

- 15 *tsátɲgə̀n dən má: < myá: yel [ nə lá: bə̀ptək bəsmí //] //*  
*tsátɲ -kə̀ni dən má: myá: yel*  
 sit -NMLZ house even 1SG.ICPL see  
  
*nə lá: kə̀ bə̀ptək bə =mí*  
 COP1 work POSL useless by 1PL.OBJ  
 ‘Sitting home too < I see [ it is useless for us //] //’ (Girls\_B\_035)

- *Parentheses : ( --- //)*

- (16) *{^yá:n nə múr & | yá:n nə {mám & | má m vər} (wà:tò: mur yə̀ dən //) <+*  
*"tó:" tá gì: tə̀ gìp dən ɲgá vì:n wón //+ ^dɑŋ gyá: ndú:ri fìyáy //*  
 ‘{^if it’s a man & | if it’s {an old & | an old man} (that is to say somebody of  
 the house //) <+ “well” they will bury him inside the house in a hut //+ ^like in  
 a storeroom like this. //’ (Bury\_Har\_034)

#### 1.4.5 *Parallel IIUs*

Some IIUs are linked by lexico-structural similarities that bind them beyond mere paratax.

This is noted by //=.

(17) *má fí kádì hǐ // kyá: fí kádì <+ ya tu ŋa: gət dǎŋ // ka fí za:ki hǐ // = ka fí pǎfí hǐ //*

*‘We don’t eat dog // if you eat dog <+ you will not find a wife // you don’t eat donkey // = you don’t eat horse. //’ (Rel\_Har\_136)*

The previous section has introduced a punctuation system which identifies the boundaries of macrosyntactic units together with information concerning the congruence of these boundaries with microsyntactic dependency. To make the corpus available for syntactic and information structure queries, and for the study of their interface, further specific annotations are necessary, i.e. Information Structure (IS) and microsyntactic tagging. In the last section, an example of syntactic annotation within the dependency framework will show how the contrast between clefting and left-dislocation can be represented. The next section will deal with Information Structure.

## 2 Peripheries and IS tagging

### 2.1 IS tagging

Information Structure tagging has been done with a new module of ElanCorpA (Chanard 2014) that is being developed by M. Aouini & C. Chanard at Llacan, as part of the Cortypo<sup>5</sup> programme. This module is a new type of annotation, based on the annotation tiers that already exist in the CorAfroAs / Cortypo format. This new functionality in Elan is meant to create annotations on a dependent tier that cover non-contiguous annotations of the parent

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<sup>5</sup> The Cortypo programme currently directed by A. Mettouchi ([http://cortypo.huma-num.fr/index\\_fr.html](http://cortypo.huma-num.fr/index_fr.html)) is a follow-up of the CorAfroAs programme (Mettouchi, Vanhove & Caubet 2012).

tier. For a given annotated file in the ‘classical’ Elan format, extra annotations can be created as new lines in two sets of tables: Groups and Links. Individual groups and links in the table can then be selected and highlighted in the annotation tiers, where the corresponding passage in the sound file can be played. The file can be searched, with multiple criteria including tier annotations, table, and distances in terms of alignment, annotation and time span. These tables can be sorted by types, names or annotations, which has a great heuristic value and opens new possibilities for structural annotations (whether informational or syntactic) in Elan. Figure (1) shows a screenshot of Example (12) annotated for SI with Elan and the Links and Groups module.

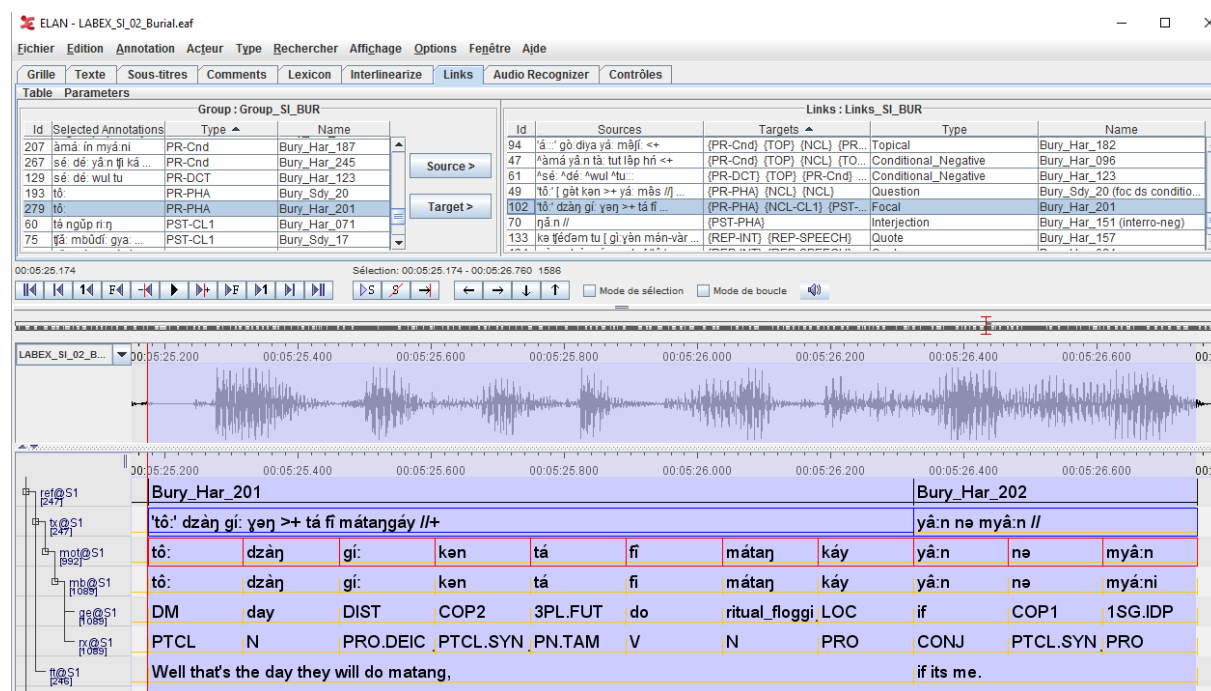


Figure 1 : Screenshot of Ex.(12)

In the first table (called Groups, top left of the screen), to create a group, the annotator selects a set of annotations in any of the existing tiers, gives this group a name and a type that can be selected in a controlled vocabulary. These sets consist of a single or several annotations that can be selected from one or several tiers, and can be discontinuous.



For this work, I used the Groups table to identify sets of words that make up Illocutionary Constituents (IIC: Nuclei, Pre-nuclei, Post-nuclei and In-nuclei), and tag them with their function (type) and reference number (name). (See Figure (2)).

Group : Group_SI_BUR			
Id	Selected Annotations	Type ▲	Name
207	ámá: ín myá.ni	PR-Cnd	Bury_Har_187
267	sé: dé: yá.n t̃i ká ...	PR-Cnd	Bury_Har_245
129	sé: dé: wul tu	PR-DCT	Bury_Har_123
193	t̃o:	PR-PHA	Bury_Sdy_20
279	t̃o:	PR-PHA	Bury_Har_201
60	té ngúp ri.ŋ	PST-CL1	Bury_Har_071
75	t̃jã: mbũdí: gya: ...	PST-CL1	Bury_Sdy_17

Figure 2. Groups table sorted by Type with the phatic pre-nucleus of Ex. (12) selected

In the second table (called Links, top right of the screen), the annotator creates links between two sets of annotations built on the same principle as groups. One set is called the Source, and the other set is called the Targets. The links created are given a Name and a Type in the same way as for groups. The sources or the targets can also be taken from the Groups table. In this case, the sets selected from the Groups table can be viewed either by showing the annotations in the tiers, or the types and names given to the groups in the Groups table.

For this work, I have used the Links table to tag the Illocutionary Units. For better readability and convenience sake, the table shows the full text on the text tier as the source of the links and the IIC (groups) tagged in the Groups table as targets. I have used the “type” column of the Groups table for a temporary, rule of thumb functional tagging of IIU, indicating whether they contain e.g. questions, conditionals, rhetorical devices such as parallel IIUs, etc. (See Figure (3))

Links : Links_SI_BUR				
Id	Sources	Targets ▲	Type	Name
94	'á::' gò:diya yá: mǎfí: <+	{PR-Cnd} {TOP} {NCL} {PR...	Topical	Bury_Har_182
47	^ámá yá:n tà: tut lǎp hí <+	{PR-Cnd} {TOP} {NCL} {TO...	Conditional_Negative	Bury_Har_096
61	^sé: ^dé: ^wul ^tu::	{PR-DCT} {TOP} {PR-Cnd} ...	Conditional_Negative	Bury_Har_123
49	't̃o:' [ gət kan >+ yá: mǎs //] ...	{PR-PHA} {NCL} {NCL}	Question	Bury_Sdy_20 (foc ds conditio...
102	't̃o:' dzǎŋ gí: yəŋ >+ tá fí ...	{PR-PHA} {NCL-CL1} {PST-...	Focal	Bury_Har_201
70	ŋǎ:n //	{PST-PHA}	Interjection	Bury_Har_151 (interro-neg)
133	ka t̃jédəm tu [ gí:yən mǎn-vàr ...	{REP-INT} {REP-SPEECH}	Quote	Bury_Har_157

Figure 3. Links sorted by types showing Ex (12) in IIU classification

The corresponding annotation can be selected and viewed in the tiers below and the corresponding sound segment can be played via the media player in Elan. (See Figure (4))

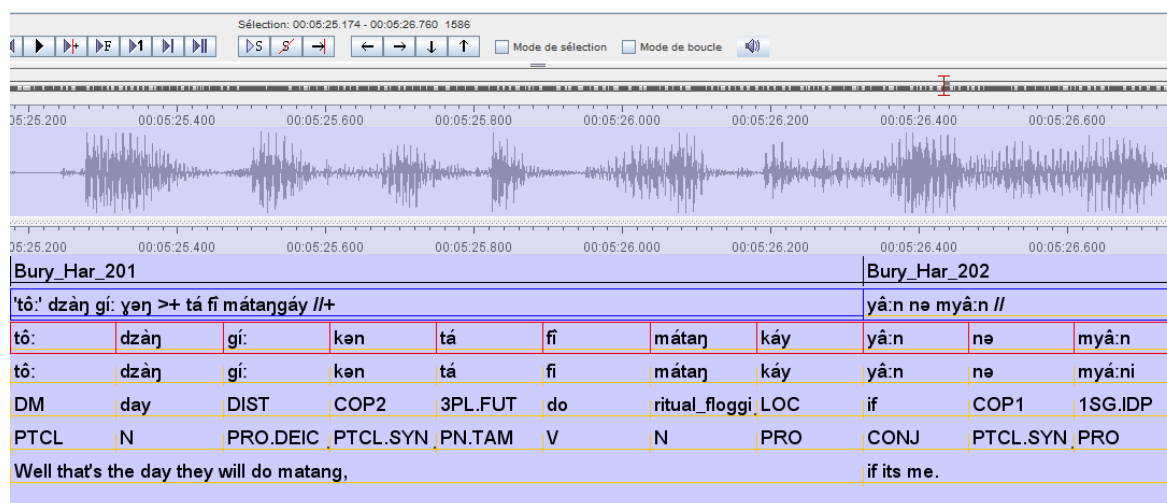


Figure 4. Annotation and sound file segment corresponding to Ex.(12)

The labels tagging the macrosyntactic constituents are both structural and functional. They can be divided along two lines : (i) nucleus and pre-, in- and post-nucleus; (ii) aligned vs. non-aligned on the other hand.

	<i>Aligned constituents</i>	<i>Non-aligned constituents</i>
<i>Pre-Nucleus</i>	PR-ALL : Allocutive, Vocative PR-DCT: Discourse connector PR-EXP: Expressive PR-PHA: Phatic PR-TOP: Left-edged Topic	PR-Adv: Left-dislocated adverbial adjunct PR –Cls: Left-dislocated clausal adjunct PR –Cnd: Left-dislocated conditional adjunct PR-CL2: Pre-nucleus section of Pseudo-clefts
<i>Nucleus</i>	NCL	NCL-CL1 (Nucleus of it-Clefts) NCL-CL2 (Nucleus of Pseudo-clefts)
<i>Post-Nucleus</i>	PST-ALL: Allocutive, Vocative PST-DCT: Discourse connector PST-EXP: Expressive PST-TOP: Right-edged Topic	APX: Nucleus Appendix (Afterthought) PST-CL1: Post-nucleus section of it-Clefts
<i>In-Nucleus</i>	GFT: Graft ; PAR : Parenthesis	

Table: Group Types tagging macrosyntactic constituents

Using this tagset, I have been able to test a tentative typology of peripheries (pre- and post-nucleus units) on 11 annotated files (90 minutes, 15 000 words). I was able to extract the list of illocutionary constituents, and check the consistency of the annotation. The aim of this type of extraction is to look for regularities in the marking of the units, in syntax, morphology, intonation and reference tracking, i.e. do a basic bottom-up research. It is clear that the relevancy of the results is dependent on the tagging, which is based on my intuition and understanding of the language. Of course, this bottom-up stance is not devoid of any theoretical bias, but the exhaustivity of the annotation will (and already has) lead me to a revision of my analyses and some of the labels used for tagging. This labile process must strike a balance between rapidity of annotation (a process which can be very time consuming) and how fine-grained our analysis needs to be. To be fully labile, the tagging system must anticipate the need for regular revisions, e.g. automatic conversion and collapsing of categories.

The next section is devoted to a typology of the peripheries retrieved in the corpus with the groups table sorted by type. (See Figure (2).)

## 2.2 *Typology of peripheries*

When micro- and macro-syntactic dependencies are aligned, the boundaries of the nucleus correspond to the microsyntactic dependency unit of the verb/predicate carrying the illocutionary act, and include all the elements governed by this head. All the dialogic units are aligned (*viz* outside the government of the nucleus head). The aligned textual units are: Discursive links (PR-DCT) and Topics (TOP and ANT). As for non-aligned units, the pre-nucleus governed constituents comprise left-dislocated adjuncts (PR-Adv, PR-Cls, PR-Cnd) and the pre-nucleus constituent of pseudo-clefts (PR-CL2). The post-nucleus governed

constituents are the nucleus appendix (APX, e.g. afterthoughts) and the post-nucleus constituent of it-Clefts (PST-CL1).

### 2.2.1 *Aligned peripheries*

Aligned peripheries are divided into two classes which are respectively dedicated to different types of information functions: a) the textual construction of the utterance (textual peripheries, e.g. Topic, Appendix, Locutive Introducer); b) its communicative support (dialogic peripheries, e.g. Phatic, Allocutive, Expressive, etc.) (Cresti 1999:15). The only textual periphery that is not governed by the head of the nucleus is the Topic (TOP) and it appears massively in pre-nucleus position: only 2 examples of post-nucleus topics (also called right-edged topics, or antitopics: ANT) are found in the corpus, against 611 cases of TOP. Topics are illustrated below in (18) for left-edged Topics (TOP) and in (19) for right-edged Topics (ANT). Left-edged Topics will be examined in further details in the next section in contrast with Clefts and Frame-setters. Right-edged topics are characterised by a low tone, flat contour, and follow a non-final prosodic break.

#### *TOPIC*

(18) *tsátɲgân dān má:* < *myá:* *yel* [*nə lá:* *bàptàk basmí* // //

*tsátn -kànì dān má: myá: yel*  
sit -NMLZ house even 1SG.ICPL see

*nə la: ká bàptàk bas =mí*  
COP1 work POSL useless PREP 1PL.OBJ

'*Sitting home* < I see [it is useless for us. //]. //' (Girls\_B\_035)

(19) *gòpm* < *kó:dzàngyò:* <+ *mìyá la: káwêy* > *myà:ní:: gút za:r* //

*gòpm kó:dzàngyó: mìká la: káwêy*  
1PL.POS everyday 1PL.CONT work merely

myà:ní    gudi            za:r  
 1PL        woman.PL    human

‘We < everyday <+ we do nothing but work > we Zaar women. //’  
 (Wom\_A\_169)

Dialogic constituents are used to establish, maintain or qualify the illocutionary act. They occur before, or after the nucleus. They are surrounded by inverted commas in the transcription. It is possible to distinguish the following types:

- *Phatic* (PR-PHA & PST-PHA), dedicated to control the communicative channel, ensuring its maintenance. They are either fillers (e.g. *er...*, *mm...*), discourse punctuators (*OK*, *well*, *Zaar tô:*), marks of agreement with the speaker (*uh*, *Zaar m:*, *è:*), etc.
- *Allocutive* (PR-ALL & PST-ALL), specifying to whom the message is directed, keeping their attention (Vocative, you know, you see) or introducing evidential modality (I think, etc.).
- *Expressive* (PR-EXP & PST-EXP), giving an emotional strength to the illocutionary act.
- *Connective* (PR-DCT & PST-DCT), linking different parts of the discourse (utterances within a turn, or across turns) maintaining some explicative, causal, temporal or concessive values. Most of them occur in pre-nucleus position.

#### PHATIC

In (20), three cases of phatic units are exemplified: *tô:*, ‘well’ and *yâwwà:*, ‘OK’ as PR-PHA, and the TAG *ŋǎ:n*, ‘no?’ as PST-PHA.

(20) “*tô:*” < *yâ:n* < *fǎ: fǐm tǎ yá vì: válti tu [ féro // ]* > “*ŋǎ:n*” // “*yâwwà:*” < “*tô:*”  
 < *átâ yi fǐk //*

tô: yâ:n fǎ: fim tə ká vi: vǎlti tu  
 DM 3SG.IDP 3PL.ICPL call 3S.OBJ at speech muslim comp  
 féro ɲǎ:n yâwwà: tô: átâ yi fik  
 flogging QUEST ok DM 3SG.REM be thus

“Well” < this < they call it in Hausa [ shoro //] > “no”? //“OK” < “well” <  
 that’s how it used to be. //’ (Bury\_Har\_149)

### ALLOCUTIVE

Vocatives are examples allocutives that can appear either before (PR-ALL, in (21)) or after the nucleus (PST-ALL, in (22)):

(21) “ká” < àfó: < ká: ye yáddiyó:đam myá: sú: sú kámfâk > “kwǎ.” //  
 ká àfó: ká: yel yáddiyó:đan  
 disapproval Afo 2SG.CPL see how

myá: sú: sú kámfâk kwǎ:  
 1SG.ICPL like PL Kamshak FCT

“What” < Afo < you saw how I like Kamshak > “anyway”. //’ (Girls\_B\_073)

In (22), the speaker is protesting, using a yes/no rhetorical question, ending in a vocative.

(22) m̀ə káp ɲgasa: > àfó: //  
 m̀ə káp ɲgas -a: àfó:  
 1SG.SBJV take Angas -VRT Afo

‘We should marry Angas people?! > Afo! //’ (Girls\_B\_104)

In (23) ká: yisáɲ, ‘you know’, shows another way of maintaining the communicative channel:

(23) “dón” < ká: yisáɲ < farko má: <+ đan kámfâk tà wu tu [ fǎ: sú:m //] <+ mətá  
 wultə tu [ ba:bù //] //  
 dón ká: yisáɲ farko má: đan kámfâk tà  
 because 2SG.CPL know beginning even as Kamshak REM  
 fǎ: sú: =mə mətá wul =tə tu ba:bù  
 3SG.CPL love 1SG.OBJ 1SG.REM say 3S.OBJ COMP no

“Because” < *you know* < in the beginning <+ as Kamchak said [ he loved me//] <+ I told him [ no way //]. //’ (Girls\_B\_147)

### EXPRESSIVE

Exclamations in Pre-Nucleus position (e.g. PR-EXP; *kâ:y*, ‘hey’ in (24)).

- (24) [Sp1] *sàkê:t ði fâ: ndará //*  
 [Sp2] “*kâ:y*” < *fâ: poləmɔ́y sò:séy //*  
*sàkê:t -i fâ: ndará*  
 skirt -INDF 3SG.CPL be\_proper  
*kâ:y fâ: pol =mə káy sò:séy*  
 eh 3SG.CPL please 1SG.OBJ LOC quite  
 [Sp1] ‘The skirt is nice. //’  
 [Sp2] “*Hey*” < I really like it. //’ (Girls\_B\_069)

### CONNECTIVE

In (23), *don*, ‘because’, is an initial discursive link (PR-CNT) working as a connective.

#### 2.2.2 Non-aligned peripheries

As constituents governed by the head of the nucleus, all non-aligned peripheries are textual.

### PRE-NUCLEUS (<+)

The pre-nucleus governed constituents are left-dislocated adjuncts (PR-Adv, PR-Cls, PR-Cnd) and the pre-nucleus constituent of pseudo-clefts (PR-CL2).

- PR-Adv, or left-dislocated adverbial adjunct

- (25) “*tò:*” < *dzàŋ lá:dì* <+ *má ʎi: kində* > “*bá:*” //  
*tô: dzàŋ lá:dì má ʎə -i: kində bá:*  
 well day Tuesday 1PL.FUT go RES Kində NEG1  
 “Well” < *on Tuesday* <+ we’ll go to Kində > “no”. //’ (Girls\_A\_001)

- PR-ClS, or left-dislocated clausal adjuncts

(26) “tò:” < kyà: gi: tí <+ “tô:” < ká ʔà:rí: ʔíʔ //  
 tò: kyǎ: gi: tǎ -í: tǎ: ká ʔá:r -í: ʔíʔ  
 DM 2PL.ICPL bury 3S.OBJ RES DM 2PL.FUT stay RES quietly  
 “Well” < after you had buried him <+ “well” < you would sit still. //’  
 (Bury\_Har\_046)

Correlative conditionals (i.e. conditionals with a temporal meaning: ‘if (=when, =each time that) ... then...’) are analysed just like ordinary adjuncts:

(27) **yá: yelmǎŋ** <+ ʔá: fítǎ wusúŋǎŋ > “éy” //  
 yá: yel =mǎ hní ʔá: fí =tǎ  
 3SG.COND see 1SG.OBJ NEG2 3SG.CPL do 3S.OBJ  
 wusúŋ hní éy  
 be\_nice NEG2 indeed  
 ‘If/when he does not see me <+ he is not happy > “hey”. //’ (Girls\_B\_077)

- PR-Cnd, or left-dislocated conditionals

(28) <sup>^</sup>yâ:n hali ɖa kàm <+ má dî:bí //  
 yâ:n hali ɖa kàm má dî:p -i  
 if chance COP3 indeed 1PL.FUT buy SPCF  
 ‘If there is a chance <+ we will buy it. //’ (Girls\_B\_056)

- PR-CL2, or pre-nucleus section of Pseudo-clefts

(29) <sup>^</sup>àmá: mǎn yó:dán ʔǎ: fí <+ nə mǎn mársəŋ //  
 àmá: mǎn yó:dán ʔǎ: fí nə mǎn mársəŋ  
 but people which 3PL.ICPL do COP1 people Marsang  
 ‘^But the people who do it <+ are the people of Marsang. //’ (Cal\_Har\_010)

Example (30) shows a case of pseudo-cleft where a pro-verb (*fí*, ‘do’) is relativized in pre-nucleus position in order to focus the predicate, yielding the structure ‘what we will do is...’.



- (30) <sup>^</sup>dón tǎ gí: <+ **ngátn wón da má fi dangəni káwəy** <+ sé: mə pàŋ ká pəŋgəŋgəy //
- dón tǎ gí: ngátn wón da má fi dangəni káwəy  
 because with DIST thing QLT REL1 1PL.FUT do now merely
- sé: mə pəŋ =kə pəŋ -kəni káy  
 up\_to 1PL.SBJV inspect 2SG.OBJ inspect NMLZ LOC  
 ‘<sup>^</sup>Because <sup>^</sup>of <sup>^</sup>that <+ *what we will merely do now* <+ is to think about it really well. //’ (Girls\_B\_186)

### POST-NUCLEUS

The post-nucleus governed constituents are the nucleus appendixes (APX, e.g. afterthoughts) and the post-nucleus constituent of it-Clefts (PST-CL1).

- PST-CL1

*Clefts* constitute a single intonation unit. In these constructions, the illocutionary nucleus is not on the predicate, which follows in the post-nucleus situation but on the specifying copula. In the following examples, the nucleus is bolded, and the “>+” sign that follows the nucleus indicates that there is a dependency relation with what follows.

- (31) <sup>^</sup>dò:mín < sǎŋwa:rí < <sup>^</sup>sé: **dà:fi yá: mór lǔ:y** >+ <sup>^</sup>əndá fǎ:yí vər tǎ sǎŋwa:rés //
- dò:mín sǎŋwa:rí sé: da: -és yá: mor  
 because chief\_priest only\_if person DEF 3SG.COND do\_a\_little
- lu: -í: kəndá fǎ:yí vər tǎ sǎŋwa:rí -és  
 get\_old RES then 3PL.ICPL.ITER give 3SG.OBJ chief\_priest DEF  
 ‘<sup>^</sup>Because < a chief < (it’s) *only when a man is a bit old* >+ <sup>^</sup>then they make him a chief. //’ (Rel\_Har\_008)

- (32) “tò:” < gí: >+ ká mân //  
 tò: gí: ká mân  
 well DIST 2PL.AOR come  
 “Well” < that >+ you have come (for)? //’ (= “well”, is THAT what you have come for?) (Girls\_A\_090)
- (33) “â:” < dzàŋ là:dì má: <+ kakáp >+ má gè:wàyéy //  
 â: dzàŋ là:dì má: kakáp má gè:wàyé -í:  
 ah day sunday even all 1PL.FUT walk\_around RES  
 “Ah” < on Sunday too < (it’s) everywhere >+ we’ll walk around. //’(Girls\_A\_010)

*Afterthoughts*, which are elaborations or correction of the illocutionary act of the nucleus, are expressed in a different IIU. They are preceded by a final intonation break and a pitch reset, and they receive a falling contour.

- (34) móyfi makaranta < ma dyǎ:ŋo: //+ ^sé: tǎ ŋál kálá:sò: //  
 mókfi makaranta ma dyá: hń -o:  
 courting school 1SG.FUT be\_able NEG2 FCT  
 sé: tǎ ŋal kálá:s -o:  
 unless 3SG.SBJV look\_for class FCT  
 ‘Dating in school < I couldn’t do it //+ ^unless he changed class. //’  
 (Girls\_A\_076)

Likewise, *kápwá:sàŋ*, ‘all of them’ in the long example (11d) above, is an appendix added to the nucleus as an afterthought after a final break.

### 3 Left-dislocation and clefting in Zaar

In this section I propose to run a survey of the Zaar corpus in order to do a comparative study of clefts, topics, and left-dislocated circumstantial adjuncts, tagged resp. NCL-CL1, TOP and

PR-Adv/CIs/Cnd in the Groups table. After defining them, I will contrast their prosodic and syntactic properties, their functions and finally give a representation of their syntactic structure.

When studying a Zaar corpus, the linguist is struck by the overwhelming presence of compound utterances (Cresti & Moneglia 2010:15) comprising a left-dislocated IIC sharing the same prosody consisting in a high tone, a flat contour, usually followed by a prosodic break marked by a pitch reset and fall and usually (but not necessarily) by a pause. In our corpus, out of a total of about 1,400 utterances, 586 have been tagged as compound utterances, while 571 have been tagged as simple (thetic, all-new) and 108 have been tagged as cleft.<sup>6</sup> These left-dislocated IICs characterised by the same intonation pattern have been analysed as belonging to two different classes: Topics and left-dislocated circumstantial adjuncts. As for clefts, they constitute a single intonation unit with no break, and are characterised by a fall from a main stress falling on the cleft phrase.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.1 *Definition and characterisation*

#### 3.1.1 *Topics*

They introduce a referent, selected out of the on-going conversation, or of the common knowledge of the speakers. These referents provides the necessary pragmatic information for the illocutionary act carried by the following nucleus. Example (35) shows two topics : *la:*, ‘work’ ; *mə:riwôpm*, ‘our children’.

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<sup>6</sup> Other categories have been tagged off and on, which explains why these figures must be taken as, at best, rough estimates.

<sup>7</sup> See below for a definition of this term.

- (35) *la:* < *mə:riwôpm* < *fî gwà:sàŋ tá la: hń* //  
*la: mə:ri ká =wopm fî gwà:sàn tá la: hń*  
 work child.PL POSL 1PL.POS 3PL.be 3PL.POS with work NEG2  
 ‘As for work < our children < they themselves don't have any work. //’

In this example, the first topic is repeated in the nucleus; while the second one is represented by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person index of the person and TAM complex *fî* which assumes the function of subject of the verb. This hints at the fact that the topics, separated from the nucleus by a prosodic break, are not syntactically dependant on the verb or the predicate of the nucleus, and their relation to the nucleus is not syntactic. This relation is pragmatic, and is best defined by the notion of “aboutness”.

The notion of “aboutness” (Sperber & Wilson 1986; Lambrecht 1994) has always been central to the definition of topics. The information function of the topic is to identify, through linguistic means, the domain of relevance for the illocutionary force carried by the nucleus, its pragmatic domain of identification. This is conveyed by the name “aboutness topic” commonly used to refer to this construction. (Krifka & Musan 2012; Schultze-Berndt 2013; Simard 2014). To paraphrase (Cresti & Moneglia 2010:18), the topic specifies the *pragmatic* aboutness of the nucleus.

Topics cannot enter in a *syntactic* relationship with the verbs of the nucleus. When a topic is in a pragmatic relation with the verb, and this relation corresponds to a dependency relation (the element could be an argument of the verb), the syntactic relation must be realised as a clitic so that the valency of the verb is saturated. In (36) above, the word *la:*, ‘work’, repeats the topic inside the nucleus to saturate the locative predicate *yi tá*, ‘have’, lit. ‘be with’. In (36), the topic *gə:ri ra:s*, ‘old locust-bean tree’ is co-referential with the adverb *dani*, ‘there’ which is an adjunct of the verb *gi:*, ‘bury’. In (37), a clitic (the direct object pronoun *fî*, ‘them’) saturates the valency of the verb *gi:*, ‘bury’.

- (36) *gyá: gə̀~ ra:sán tsán < tá gi: fí dān //*  
*gyá: gə̀:rí ra:s -in tsáni tá gi: fí dáni*  
 PL old locust\_bean PROX like\_this 3PL.FUT bury 3PL.OBJ there  
 ‘These old locust-bean trees like this < they would bury them *there*. //’  
 (Bury\_Har\_109)
- (37) *ŋa: gət < tá gi: fí bə́ʒə̀ŋ //+ káp wá:sə̀ŋ //*  
*ŋa: gət tá gi: fí bə́ʒə̀ŋ káp wá:sə̀ŋ*  
 young woman 3PL.FUT bury 3PL.OBJ outside all 3PL.POS  
 ‘Girls < they would bury *them* outside //+ all of them. //’ (Bury\_Har\_103)

### 3.1.2 *Left-dislocated circumstantial adjuncts*

If left-dislocated circumstantial adjuncts share the same intonation pattern as topics in Zaar, their function and properties set them apart. It is agreed that adverbials and other circumstantial adjuncts are frame-setters that limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain (Chafe 1976). Using the concept of common ground, Krifka & Musan (2012) establish a difference between contrastive topics and frame-setters which can be extended to aboutness topics:

*With contrastive topics, the current common ground management contains the expectation that information about a more comprehensive, or distinct, entity is given; contrastive topics indicate that the topic of the sentence diverges from this expectation. With frame setters, the current common ground management contains the expectation that information of a different, e.g., more comprehensive, type is given, and the frame setter indicates that the information actually provided is restricted to the particular dimension specified. (Krifka & Musan 2012:32)*

In Zaar, this difference in the management of information is paralleled by a syntactic difference which confirms that topics and frame-setters belong to different functional levels:

topics are pragmatic, belong to Information Structure, whereas frame-setters belong to the (micro-)syntactic structure. If we compare examples (36) and (38), we observe that no adverb (such as *dáni*, ‘there’) need modify the verbs *tu*, ‘meet’. This is being already done by the left-dislocated adjunct *da gip kimsáy*, ‘in Kimsə’.

- (38) *da gip kimsáy* <+ *kə lə tutə* // = *kə fu:tə* //  
*da gip kimsə -í: kə lə tu =tə*  
 at inside Kimsə -DIST 2SG.AOR go meet 3S.OBJ  
  
*kə fu: =tə*  
 2SG.AOR tell 3S.OBJ  
 ‘In Kimsə <+ you go meet him // = (and) tell him.’ (Boys\_B\_188)

The same is true for example (39) where the frame-setter *ɗaŋgənin tsən*, ‘right now’ is dependent on the verb *nom*, ‘wrestle’, and this has no temporal adjunct as a dependant modifier inside the nucleus.

- (39) *á wú tu* [ “*tô:*” < *ɗaŋgənin tsən* <+ *tá nôm tá kádi* //] //

<i>á</i>	<i>wul</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tô:</i>	<i>ɗaŋgəní</i>	<i>tsəní</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>nom</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>kádi</i>
3SG.AOR	say	comp	well	now	like_this	3PL.FUT	take	with	dog

‘He said [ “well” < *right now* <+ he will wrestle with Dog. //] //’  
 (Hyena\_S1\_282)’ (Mbrt\_S1\_410)

The adjunct is dependent on the verb it modifies. It contributes to the semantic component of the nucleus by restricting the circumstantial scope of its referential value. When a circumstantial adjunct appears in pre-nucleus position (left-dislocation, PR-Adv), it keeps a direct dependency relation with the verb, and no clitic or resumptive element is needed. This is marked in our macrosyntactic punctuation by the plus sign added to the chevron (<+). By contrast, it confirms the non-compositional nature of topics, working as a syntactic island (Cresti & Moneglia 2010:34–38), which is indicated in our annotation by a simple chevron

(<). Clausal adjuncts, whether circumstantial (PR-Cls, cf. (40)) or conditional (PR-Cnd, cf.

(41) share these properties with adverbial adjuncts.

- (40) ***dám mə lə tulí:*** <+ <sup>^</sup>sé: mə lə tu:: è: gàri gón //=  
*dán mə lə tul -í: sé: mə lə tu è: gàri gón*  
as 1SG.AOR go arrive RES then 1SG.AOR go reach FILL town QLT  
'As I arrived <+ then I reached er... a village. //=' (Boys\_A\_151)

- (41) ***yá: mǎni*** <+ wò tyan wàhála > áy //  
*yá: man -i wò tya -ni wàhála áy*  
3SG.COND come SPCF 3SG.FUT drink -INCH suffering eh  
'If she comes <+ she will suffer > indeed. //' (Boys\_B\_289)

### 3.1.3 Clefting

Inspired by Higgins' seminal work on English (Higgins 1979), a large literature has been devoted to the study of clefts and their equivalent in languages of the world (e.g. Geluykens 1984; Declerck 1988; Hedberg 2000; Lambrecht 2001; den Dikken 2006; Hedberg & Fadden 2007; Gundel 2008), including an early work on Hausa, the largest and best studied language of the Chadic family (McConvell 1973). Like Hausa and many Chadic languages, Zaar exhibits constructions that are related to the English cleft structures. The basic cleft structure, also called "it-Cleft", e.g. *'It was CHICKEN WINGS that Peter ordered for lunch.'* is defined by Hartmann & Veenstra (2013:1) as follows:

*The term cleft describes a specific syntactic pattern which serves to separate a discourse prominent constituent structurally from the rest of the clause. [...] In its classical form, a cleft is a bi-clausal copulative construction consisting of an impersonal pronoun (the cleft pronoun), a copular verb, the informationally prominent phrase (the cleft phrase) and an embedded relative clause (the cleft clause).*

The sentence *'It was CHICKEN WINGS that Peter ordered for lunch.'* can thus be analysed as :

- (42) ‘It was CHICKEN WINGS (that) Peter ordered for lunch’  
 (Cleft Pronoun) (COP) Clefted Constituent Cleft Clause

Over the years, this definition, directly inspired by generative syntax studies of the English language has to take into account variations due to languages that don’t have a copula or a cleft pronoun, as some languages lack expletive subjects or a copula, or both. (Gundel 2008:70) If the cleft pronoun is absent, one ends up with an “it-Cleft” structure with no ‘it’ in it. This is the case in Zaar which, in its “classical cleft” uses copulas without an expletive pronoun (e.g. (43), (44)), and can even omit the copula altogether (45). Two copulas are used in Zaar for clefting, with the meaning ‘(it) is X’: X *kən* (COP2, the most frequent); and *nə* X (COP1).

- (43) “*tô:*” < *tá yísáñáy tu [ kyâ:ŋ ] >+ mbwá:tə //* //  
*tô:* *tá* *yísáñ* *-í:* *tu* *kyá:ni* *kən* *mbwa:* =*tə*  
 DM 3PL.AOR know RES COMP 2S.IDP COP2 shoot 3S.OBJ  
 “‘Well’ < they know that [ (it) is YOU >+ (who) shot it. //]//’ (Hunt\_Har\_047a)

- (44) *nə lərtín* >+ *ka bəl* > *fá:* //  
*nə* *lərti* *-ín* *ka* *bəl* *fá:*  
 COP1 root PROX 2SG.FUT dig indeed  
 ‘(It) is THIS ROOT >+ (that) you will dig > indeed. //’ (Moral\_Har\_069)

In (45), no copula is used for the cleft structure

- (45) “*â:*” < *dzàñ lá:dì má:* <+ *kakáp* >+ *má gè:wàyéy* //  
*â:* *dzàñ* *lá:dì* *má:* *kakáp* *má* *ge:wayé* *-í:*  
 ah day sunday even everywhere 1PL.FUT walk\_around RES  
 “‘Ah’ < on Sunday indeed <+ (it is) EVERYWHERE >+ (that) we will stroll. //’  
 (Girls\_A\_010)

Zaar also possesses wh-Clefts, also called pseudo-Clefts, where the cleft clause is a free relative clause, which appears in sentence initial position: ‘*What Peter ordered for lunch was CHICKEN WINGS.*’ Example (47) below illustrates the structure in Zaar with the *nə* (COP1) copula:



- (46) <sup>^</sup>àmá: mán yó:ðan fǎ: fí <+ nə mán mársəŋ //  
 àmá: mán yó:ðan fǎ: fí nə mán mársəŋ  
 but people which 3PL.ICPL do COP1 people Lusa  
 ‘But the people who did it <+ were THE PEOPLE OF LUSA. //’ (Cal\_Har\_010)

NB: The it-Cleft equivalent of (46) would be ‘But it was THE PEOPLE OF LUSA who did it.’ Cleft structures in Zaar correspond a single intonation constituent with no internal prosodic break. This is paralleled by a close monosentential syntactic integration of cleft structures. The dependency relationship of the clefted constituent is preserved and no clitic or lexical duplication is needed. In (43), the cleft clause *mbwá: tə*, ‘shoot it’ has no subject clitic standing for the clefted element *kyá:n*, ‘you’ nor does any adverb or lexical equivalent stand for *kakáp*, ‘all’ in (45). In (47) below, no COD clitic stands for the clefted element *gí:*, ‘this’.

- (47) “tô:” < *gí:* >+ *tətáyá: fú:mí fí:* //  
 tô: gí: tətáyá: fú: =mí fík -í:  
 DM DIST 3PL.REM.ICPL tell 1PL.OBJ thus DIST  
 “‘Well’ <it is THIS >+ (that) they used to tell us like that. // (lit. THIS >+ they told us like that. //)’ (Moral\_Har\_088)

### 3.1.4 Syntactic representation

The differences in the properties explored in the previous section can be neatly represented using dependency graphs, as developed in the Rhapsodie *Protocol for micro-syntactic coding* (Kahane et al. 2013) and the annotating tool *Arborator* (Gerdes 2013). The tagging of peripheries, discourse markers, etc. has been adapted to account for the properties described in Zaar. The meaning of the tags will be given when they first appear.

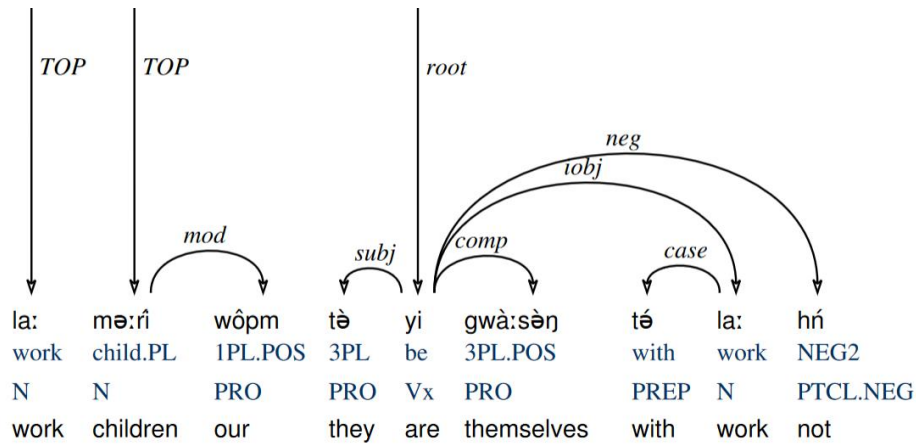
## TOPICS

Topics are represented as independent of the root, e.g. the defective verb *yi (tá)*, ‘have’ (lit. ‘be (with)’) in (35). The two topics have been labelled as TOP in the graph.

(35) *la: < mə:riwôpm < fî gwà:səŋ tə la: hń //*

‘As for work < our children < they themselves don't have any work.’

(Wom\_B\_221)



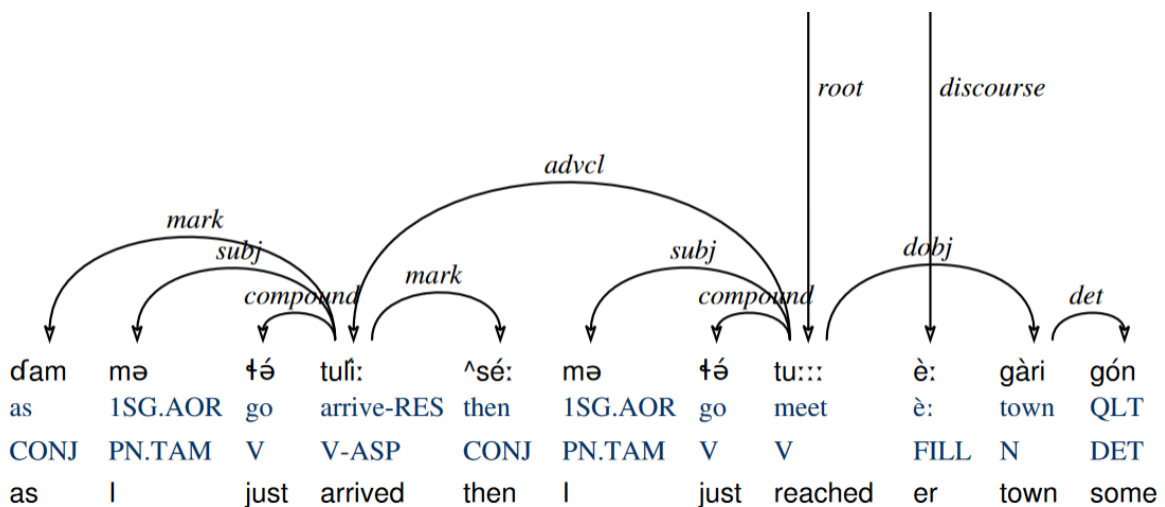
[*TOP*: topic; *mod*: modifier; *subj*: subject; *comp*: complement; *iobj*: indirect object; *case*: case marking (the *case* relation is used for any case-marking element which is treated as a separate syntactic word, including prepositions, postpositions and clitic case markers); *neg*: negation]

### FRAME-SETTERS

Frame-setters are represented as dependants on the root of the graph, e.g. the compound verb *lā tu*, ‘arrive’ in the case of (48) below.

(48) *dam mə lā tufi: <+ ^sé: mə lā tu:: è: gàri gón // =*

‘When I arrived <+ then I reached er... a village. //’ (Boys\_A\_151)



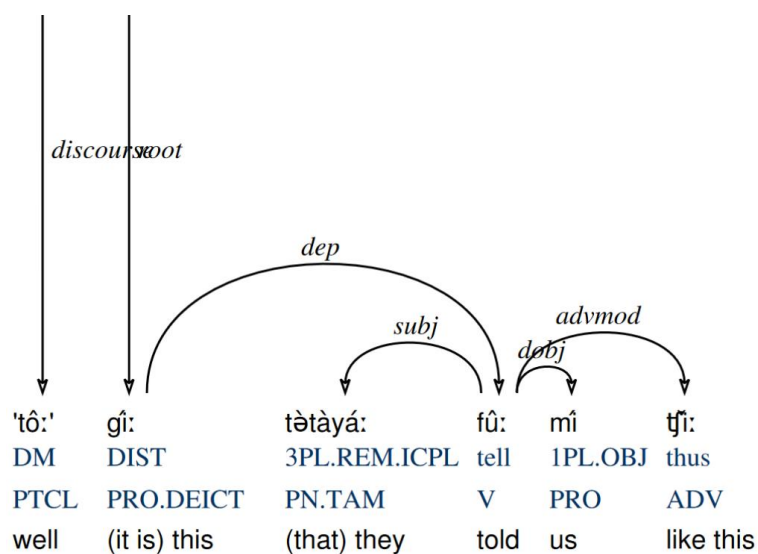
[*mark*: marker (a word linking a finite clause subordinate to another clause); *subj*: subject (accounts for the function of the Person and Number index in the PN.TAM morphological complex); *compound*: verb compounding (in Zaar, verb compounding accounts for a Serial Verb Construction); *advcl*: adverbial clause modifier; *dobj*: direct object; *det*: noun determiner]

### CLEFTS

As we have seen in the presentation of clefts in Zaar, copulas can be omitted in nominal predications, as in example (48). This justifies the analysis of nominal predication in the Universal Dependency grammar where the copula is not the head of the clause but rather the dependent of a lexical predicate. Such an analysis is motivated by the fact that many languages often or always lack an overt copula in such constructions. (de Marneffe et al. 2014). In this analysis of cleft structures, the cleft clause is a dependent of the cleft phrase, which is the root of the graph.

(47) “tô:” < **gí:** >+ tètàyá: fû:mí fǐ: //

“Well” < *it is THIS* >+ that they used to tell us like that. //’ (lit. THIS, they told us like this.) Moral\_Har\_088



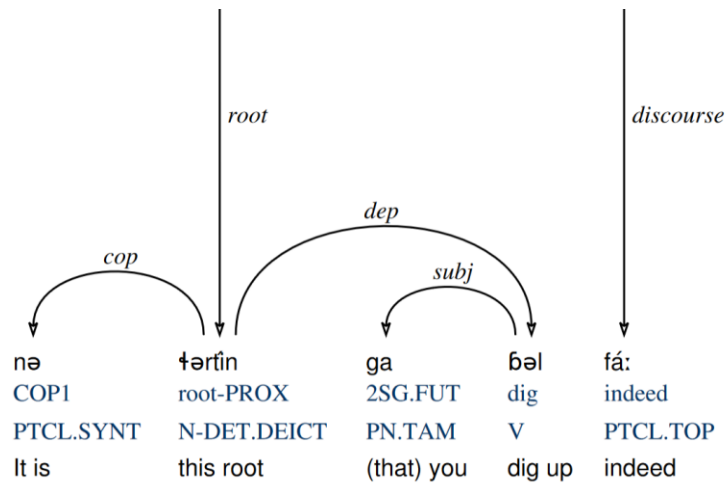
[*discourse*: interjections and other dialogic peripheral elements, e.g. phatic, allocutive, expressive, etc; *dep*: dependent (dependency of the cleft clause on the

clefted phrase); *subj*: subject (cf. ex. 49); *dobj*: direct object; *advmod*: adverbial modifier (a non-clausal adverb or adverbial phrase that serves to modify the meaning of the word)]

When the copulas *nə* or *kən* are used, they are represented as dependents of the lexical predicate, i.e. the clefted phrase, as in examples (45) and (50) below.

(44) *nə ɬərtin* >+ *ka bəl* > *fá:* //

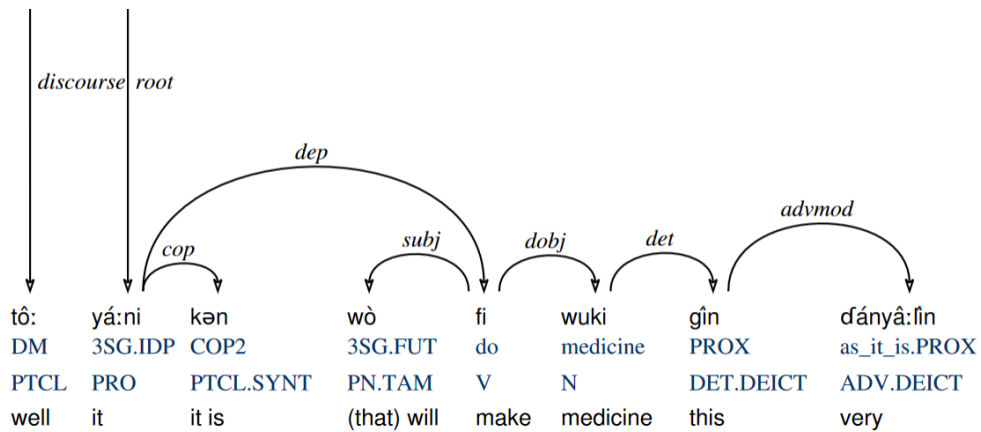
‘(It) is THIS ROOT >+ (that) you will dig > indeed. //’ (Moral\_Har\_069)



(48) “tô:” < *yá:ni kən* >+ *wò fi wuki gín dányâ:lín* //

“Well” < it is THIS >+ (that) will make this very medicine. //

(Moral\_Har\_076)



## 4 Conclusion

In this paper analysing peripheries in relation with syntax and information structure in Zaar, a Chadic language spoken in Nigeria, we have argued a minimal annotation representing in a simple and concise way the interface between information structure and syntax was essential to retrieve meaningful data. The article uses the concept of macrosyntax, based on illocutionary units, for this new level of annotation using existing morphosyntactic tiers in Elan. With the corresponding annotation script, a pilot 90 min (15,000 words) corpus has been annotated and a preliminary study of peripheries in this language has been done on this annotated corpus. We have argued that, although topics and frame-setters share the same intonation pattern, their syntactic properties call for a specific syntactic representation for which we have used a system adapted from the Universal Dependency Grammar. Some concluding comments can be done concerning the system introduced in this paper to annotate the information structure of Zaar, and how this structure is patterned in the language. I have chosen this punctuation, and developed a corresponding set of tags bearing in mind that it should be as theory-neutral as possible in order to implement a genuine bottom-up methodology, with a heuristic aim in mind, and the hope the results can be used for typological comparisons. Another quality of this system of annotation is related to the fact that the notion of stacks accounts easily and intuitively for disfluencies, discontinuities and ellipses, and is perfectly adapted to the restitution of the oral flow. Despite the apparent accidents, interruptions and ellipses, the restitution of the stacks proves that meaning, syntax and information progress and develop like the fugues and counterpoints of a musical score, which a description limited to the boundaries of a canonical grammatical sentence has been unable to account for.

Finally, in the way Zaar shapes sound into meaning with the help of intonation, syntax and semantics, it appears that the left periphery is dominant and clefts are a device that is all the

more meaningful as it is sparsely used. The three components of Zaar Illocutionary Units come forth with a clear specialisation: the pre-nucleus establishes the frame/ground/site around the speaker's point of view; the nucleus carries the action/opinion, etc. in relation to the site; the post-nucleus seeks the hearer's approval, reactions or comments.

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