





Focus in Baga Pukur (Atlantic)

Preliminary data

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Introduction

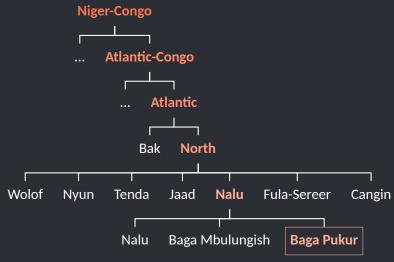
Outline for Section 1

- Introduction
 - 1.1 Metadata
 - 1.2 Phonological basics

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Baga Pukur within Atlantic (Segerer and Pozdniakov forthcoming)



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 A few hundred speakers in 2 villages (= 2 dialects) of coastal Guinea

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- A few hundred speakers in 2 villages (= 2 dialects) of coastal Guinea
 - Previously undescribed, critically endangered (status 7 'shifting' on Lewis and Simons (2010)'s scale), bilingualism with Soso (Mande)

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 A few hundred speakers in 2 villages (= 2 dialects) of coastal Guinea

- Previously undescribed, critically endangered (status 7 'shifting' on Lewis and Simons (2010)'s scale), bilingualism with Soso (Mande)
- Author's field data collected during 2 field trips (3,5 months)

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Phonological basics

- Tonal
- No voicing contrast (all consonants transcribed as voiceless)

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Overview Based on Creissels (2021) updating Robert (2010).

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Focus position for objects and obliques:

Almost exclusively clause-initial.

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Focalization strategies:

• Only movement to clause-initial position: rare

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- Only movement to clause-initial position: rare
- Cleft constructions: rarely systematic

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- Only movement to clause-initial position: rare
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- Focus markers: widespread

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- Only movement to clause-initial position: rare
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- Focus markers: widespread
- Special verb inflection: widespread, non-exclusive

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- Special verb inflection: widespread, non-exclusive
 - Specific to focus constructions

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Term focus in Atlantic

- Only movement to clause-initial position: rare
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- Special verb inflection: widespread, non-exclusive
 - Specific to focus constructions
 - ✓ Shared by relative clause constructions

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- Focus markers: widespread
- Special verb inflection: widespread, non-exclusive
 - Specific to focus constructions
 - ✓ Shared by relative clause constructions
 - ✓ Limited to subject focalization

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 - ✓ Limited to subject focalization
 - Same special inflection for all types of term focus

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- Focus markers: widespread
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 - Specific to focus constructions
 - ✓ Shared by relative clause constructions
 - ✓ Limited to subject focalization
 - ✓ Same special inflection for all types of term focus
 - ✓ Bipartite distinction subject vs. object / oblique focus

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 - Specific to focus constructions
 - ✓ Shared by relative clause constructions
 - ✓ Limited to subject focalization
 - ✓ Same special inflection for all types of term focus
 - ✔ Bipartite distinction subject vs. object / oblique focus
 - ✓ Tripartite distinction subject vs. object vs. oblique focus

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Term focus in Atlantic

NB: In some Atlantic languages, the focalization of obliques requires converting them into objects (applicativization).

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Atlantic praticularity: grammaticalized verb focalization

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Atlantic praticularity: grammaticalized verb focalization

What is verb focus?

- ex. 1 Did you boil it or did you fry it?
- ex. 2 Why are you exhausted? I have been running.

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Verb focalization strategies:

• Term focus construction applied to a form cognate with the predicate verb

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Verb focalization strategies:

Term focus construction applied to a form cognate with the predicate verb

e.g. It's eating that he ate \rightarrow 'he ATE'

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Verb focalization strategies:

- Term focus construction applied to a form cognate with the predicate verb
- Special verb inflection

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Subject focus

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Subject focus

Subject focus

(1) pātl = káŋ fá-k*à-wál-*ǎ táplā fàl. a. elder=1SG.POSS PF-PST-be-SUFF first child 'My elder sister is the first child.' [Bn]

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Subject focus

- (1) a. $p\bar{\partial}tl = k\acute{a}\eta$ $f\acute{a}-k\grave{\partial}-w\acute{a}l-\check{a}$ $t\acute{a}pl\bar{a}$ $f\grave{a}l$.

 elder=1SG.POSS PF-PST-be-SUFF first child

 'My elder sister is the first child.' [Bn]
 - b. $p\bar{a}t = k\acute{a}\eta$ \acute{a} -w\acute{a} $t\acute{a}pl\bar{a}$ $f\grave{a}l$ elder=1SG.POSS INF-be-SUFF first child 'It's my elder sister who is the first child.' [Bn]

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(2) a. é-nā-yìn-npěl pú-kǔt?
2SG.SBJ-UNACC-3PL.OBJ-tell PL-Pukur
'Do you speak Pukur to them?' [Bn]

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- (2) a. é-nā-yìn-npěl pú-kǔt?
 2SG.SBJ-UNACC-3PL.OBJ-tell PL-Pukur
 'Do you speak Pukur to them?' [Bn]
 - b. nén á-nō-méŋ-pél
 2SG.EMPH INF-UNACC-1SG.OBJ-speak
 súl pú-kùt.
 mouth PL-Pukur
 'It's you who speaks Pukur to me.' [Mb]

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Subject focus

Subject focus

á-fō-ká-kō-fôt. (3)a. 3SG.SBJ-PF-3SG.OBJ-PST-carve '(S)he carved it.' [Mb]

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Subject focus

- (3) a. <u>á-fō-ká-kō-fôt.</u> 3SG.SBJ-PF-3SG.OBJ-PST-carve '(S)he carved it.' [Mb]
 - b. mán á-fát yánpàŋ.
 3SG.EMPH INF-carve Nimba
 'It's (s)he who carved the Nimba.' [Mb]

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Subject relative clause:

(4) é-fā-tòp Ø-lópŏn ānâ-ăm [á-tóp 2SG-PF-stand VN-look cow-DIST INF-stand Ø-sápòn]. VN-pass

'You are looking at the passing cow.' [Bn]

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Summary of subject focalization strategies:

- Infinitive inflection shared by subject relative clauses
- Emphatic pronoun series (if subject expressed by pronoun)
- Null aspect verb form replaces perfect (shared by relative clauses)

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(5) a. \bar{a} -fá-táp n-túl pýnàk. 3SG.SBJ-PF-stand VN-cook cassava '(S)he's cooking cassava.' [Mb]

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- (5) a. \bar{a} -fá-tớp n-túl pón3k. 3SG.SBJ-PF-stand VN-cook cassava '(S)he's cooking cassava.' [Mb]
 - b. pɔ̄nók pá-tàp n-tùl
 cassava 3sg.foc-stand vn-cook
 'I's cassava that (s)he's cooking.' [Mb]

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- (6) a. $n\text{-}f\acute{a}\text{-}c\acute{e}p$ $n\text{-}t\grave{i}=l\grave{a}$.

 1SG-PF-break SG-wood=IN

 'I have broken a stick.' [Mb]
 - b. n-tí n-cép = lanta s G-wood 1s G.s B J-break=I N'It's a stick that I have broken.' [Mb]

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Object focus

Object focus

Other usage of the 3sg.foc pronoun + null aspect instead of perfect verb form

Object relative clause:

- (7)Ø-fá-lớ émō = nkàŋ. a. 1SG-PF-take property=1SG.POSS 'I took mine.' [Bn]
 - mánkū-ăm b. pá-lš. mango-DIST 3SG.FOC-take 'The mango that (s)he took.' [Bn]

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Other usage of the 3sg.foc pronoun + null aspect instead of perfect verb form

Temporal subordinate clauses:

(8)nán é-ŋ-kā-cúŋŭl hấn thus 2SG.SBJ-UNACC-3SG.OBJ-cook until pó-sùm. 3SG.FOC-be tasty 'That's how you cook it until it's good.' [Bn]

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Other usage of the 3sg.foc pronoun + null aspect instead of perfect verb form

Temporal subordinate clauses:

(9)átůn, npé pá-cè when 3SG.FOC-come+PST in town pā-ŋ-ká-lá mâw. 1PL.SBJ-UNACC-3SG.OBJ-give rice 'When (s)he comes to the village, we will give him/her rice.' [Bn]

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Summary of object focalization strategies:

- Object moved to clause-initial position
- Null aspect verb form replaces perfect (shared by relative and temporal subordinate clauses)
- Special bound 3sg subject pronoun (shared by relative and temporal subordinate clauses)

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(10) $k\bar{o}nk\acute{o}=\grave{a}$. a. room=IN 'In the room.' [Bn]

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(10) a. $k\bar{o}nk\acute{o} = \grave{a}$.

room=IN

'In the room.' [Bn]

b. $k\bar{o}nk\acute{o} = \check{a}m \quad p\acute{a} - \bar{a}\eta - p\acute{o}l = \grave{a}$.

room=dist 3sg.foc-unacc-enter=in

'The room that (s)he will enter.' [Bn]

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- (10) a. $k\bar{o}nk\dot{o} = \dot{a}$. room=IN
 - 'In the room.' [Bn]
 - b. $k\bar{o}nk\dot{o} = \check{a}m$ $p\acute{a}-\bar{a}\eta-p\acute{a}l = \grave{a}$. room=DIST 3SG.FOC-UNACC-enter=IN 'The room that (s)he will enter.' [Bn]
 - c. mán Ø-nūŋ-pōŋ
 3SG.EMPH 1SG.SBJ-UNACC-lay_down
 mâl=là.

rice=IN

'This is where I put the rice.' [lit. 'this is it I put the rice in' [Mb]

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Summary of oblique focalization strategies:

- Same as object focalization
- Applicativization if oblique composed with clitic(s): clitics moved to right of VP (behavior shared by oblique relative clauses)

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Intransitive verb with pronominal subject:

- (11)n-fá-wìn. a.
 - 1SG-PF-get tired
 - 'I'm tired.' [Mb]
 - à-wìn. b. Ø-wín
 - 1SG-get_tired INF-get_tired
 - 'I'm tired.' [as answer to question like 'Why are you not working?'] [Mb]

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Intransitive verb with pronominal subject:

- (11) a. *n-fá-wìn.* 18G-PF-get_tired
 - 'I'm tired.' [Mb]
 - b. Ø-win à-win.

 18G-get_tired INF-get_tired

'I'm tired.' [as answer to question like 'Why are you not working?'] [Mb]

→ Strategy found cross-linguistically that reflects the **double statement** implied by any focalization (Robert 1993: 20)

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Intransitive verb with nominal subject:

- (12) a. ālāpól táp mō-lò. body stand 18G.0BJ-eat 'My body is hurting me.' [Mb]
 - b. alapśl á-táp mō-lò.
 body INF-stand 1sG.OBJ-eat

 'My body is hurting me.' [as answer to question like
 'What's going on?'] [lit. 'It's my body that is hurting
 me'] [Mb]

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Transitive verb:

(13) fàl n-táp n-pòk-ɔt.
child 1sG-stand VN-wash-TR

'I am washing [my] child' [as answer to question like
'What are you doing?'] [lit. 'it's [my] child that I am washing'] [Mb]

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Transfer of emphasis (from subject/object to verb)

- was analyzed in detail for Wolof (subject → verb) by Robert (1993; 2000)
- is cross-linguistically common (Robert 1993)
- is probably not the only grammaticalized way of focalizing transitive verbs and intransitive verbs with nominal subject in Baga Pukur (further investigation needed)

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we cook, what we sell.' [Bn]

```
npέ
(14)
            pó-wānkāl
                             npēl étālă,
                                         mán
       when 1PL.SBJ-scrape
                             salt
                                         3SG.EMPH
      pá-nā-yésākă,
                             mán
       1PL.SBJ-UNACC-carry
                             3SG.EMPH
      pá-nāŋ-tūl,
                            mán
       1PL.SBJ-UNACC-cook
                            3SG.EMPH
      pá-nāŋ-kŏp
                           I....7
       1PL.SBJ-UNACC-sell
```

'When we scrape salt at Etala, it's what we carry, what

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Pervasiveness of focus constructions

Topicalization of focalized terms

(15)ēsíàw mán \emptyset -m \bar{u} - η nāmàn. a. today 3SG.EMPH 1SG.SBJ-EP-go there 'It's today that I went there.' [lit. 'today, it's when I went there'l [Mb]

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Pervasiveness of focus constructions

Topicalization of focalized terms

b.

kźsén

- (15)ēsíàw \emptyset -m \bar{u} - η nāmàn. a. mán today 3SG.EMPH 1SG.SBJ-EP-go there 'It's today that I went there.' [lit. 'today, it's when I went there'l [Mb]
 - the day after tomorrow 3sg.Foc-stand n-cà. vn-come 'It's the day after tomorrow that (s)he is coming.' [Bn]

pá-təp

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Topicalization of focalized terms

(16)npέ γú fân pán-ă, when rainy_season too find-ANTICAUS ākén-ǎm mán wó-nā-lùk. fish-DIST 3SG.EMPH 2PL.SBJ-UNACC-catch 'When the rainy season comes, you fish [lit. 'that fish, it's what you catch.' [Bn]

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Term focalization strategies:

- Only movement to clause-initial position: rare
- Cleft constructions: rarely systematic
- Focus markers: widespread
- Special verb inflection: widespread, non-exclusive
 - Specific to focus constructions
 - ✓ Shared by relative clause constructions
 - ✓ Limited to subject focalization
 - ✓ Same special inflection for all types of term focus
 - ✓ Bipartite distinction subject vs. object / oblique focus
 - ✓ Tripartite distinction subject vs. object vs. oblique focus

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Verb focalization strategies:

- Term focus construction applied to a form cognate with the predicate verb
- Special verb inflection

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Verb focalization strategies:

- Term focus construction applied to a form cognate with the predicate verb
 - Special verb inflection
 - ✓ that involves adding an uninflected form cognate with the inflected verb, but not focalizing it

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Verb focalization strategies:

- Term focus construction applied to a form cognate with the predicate verb
 - Special verb inflection
 - ✓ that involves adding an uninflected form cognate with the inflected verb, but not focalizing it
 - focalization of subject / object transferred on verb

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Exact pragmatic values of Atlantic focus constructions AND topicalized focalization are still to be determined. Is it really focus?

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1pl 1st person plural 1sg 1st person singular 2pl 2nd person plural 2sg 2nd person singular 3pl 3rd person plural 3sg 3rd person singular anticaus anticausative dist distal emph emphatic pronoun
ep epenthetic segment
foc focus
in illocative
inf infinitive
obj object
pf perfect
pl plural
poss possessive

pst past sbj subject sg singular suff suffix tr transitive unacc unaccomplished vn verbal noun

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