

# Focus Marking Strategies in Kusaal

Workshop on Information Structure: Form and  
Interpretation

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# Aim

- This presentation explores focus marking strategies in Kusaal and will formulate a hypothetical generalization explicating the concept.
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# Questions

- How are focus notions coded in Kusaal?
  - What asymmetry can be drawn between Subject and Non-Subject Focus in Kusaal?
  - What generalization can be made regarding focus marking in Kusaal?
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# Methothology

- The discussion follows the order below:
    - Background on the Kusaal language
    - The notion of focus
    - Test for focus
    - Focus coding strategies in Kusaal
    - Asymmetry between subject and non-subject focus in Kusaal
    - Generalization on focus marking strategies in Kusaal
    - Conclusion
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# Tone in Kusaal

- ❑ Kusaal is a tonal language with evidence of three level tones: High (H), Mid (M) and Low (L) with a further downstep high tone (Bodomo & Abubakari 2017; Musah 2010; Spratt and Spratt 1968 and Niggli 2014).
- ❑ Tone is phonemic in Kusaal

(1)

<b>bāŋ</b>	<b>‘know (v)’</b>	<b>bán</b>	<b>‘bracelet/t rap’</b>	<b>bàn</b>	<b>‘agama lizard’</b>
<b>būk</b>	<b>‘to divine’</b>	<b>búk</b>	<b>‘to be weak’</b>	<b>bùk</b>	<b>to subside e.g. from anger’</b>
<b>kà</b>	<b>‘focus particle’</b>	<b>ká</b>	<b>,and‘</b>	<b>ká</b>	<b>,that‘</b>

# Sentence structure/word order

- Kusaal is strictly an SVO language with a simple sentence showing the following order:

- Subject NP (preverbal particles)-main verb- (postverbal particle) Object NP Adjuncts

(2) Dáú lá sà dī́ né dííb lá.  
man DEF PAST eat FOC food DEF

‘It is the food that the man ate yesterday (not say the fruit).’

# Preverbal and Postverbal Particles in Kusaal

	Particles	gloss	
Time Depth	pà' à	immediate past	Preverbal Particles
	sà	past (yesterday)	
	dàà	past (two days ago/less than a year)	
	dà	remote past (more than a year)	
	èènti	used to	
	nàn	yet to (future)	
Polarity	bò	negative	
	pó		
Tense+Polarity	nà	future positive	
	kù	future negative	
Mood	yá' á	if/when	
	kùn/pòn	just	
Mood + Polarity	dá	negative imperative (present /future)	
	sáá	positive imperative (future)	
Others	sìd	actually, really	
	pòn	already	
	lém	again	
Focus	kà	contrastive focus	Ex-situ
	né	“	In-situ
	ń	“	“
Other	lá	marker of assertion	Clause Final Determiner

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# The Notion of Focus

- The definition of focus adopted here is an amalgamation of Rooth (1992, 1996) and É. Kiss (1998).
  - All focus constructions in Kusaal are understood to evoke alternatives out of which one is chosen.
  - The morphological or syntactic mode of focus expression in Kusaal is directly linked to a particular focus interpretation.
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# The Notion of Focus

- Assuming a context where a stranger wants to buy medicine in town and wants to find where that can be possible.

(3) a.Q: Yà      ká      bà      kūōs      tí'ímá      Bók?  
              where FOC      3PL      sell      medicine      Bawku

‘Where do they sell medicine in Bawku?’

b. Ans.1: Bà      kūōs      tí'ímá      dá'án      lá.  
              3PL      sell      medicine      market. LOC      DEF

‘They sell medicine in the market/you can buy medicine in the market.’ (new information)

# The Notion of Focus

c. Ans.2: # Bà kūōs      tí'ímá      **ně**      dá'án      lá.  
3PLsell      medicine      FOC      market.LOC      DEF

‘They sell medicine IN THE MARKET/It is in the market that they sell medicine.’ (contrastive focus)

# Focus particles in Kusaal

- ❑ Focus particles are particles that mark focus, but otherwise have no meaning.
  - ❑ Focus particles in Kusaal: *kà*, *ń* and *ńé*
    - ❖ *kà*.....*Ex-situ Non-Subject Focus particle*
    - ❖ *ń*.....*In-situ Subject Focus Particle*
    - ❖ *ńé*.....*In-situ Non-Subject Focus Particle*
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# The particle *kà*

(4) a. Q: Bóbún *kà* pú'á lá sà dã?  
what FOC womanDEF PAST buy  
'What did the woman buy?'

b. Súmá lá *kà* pú'á lá sà dã.  
groundnut DEF FOC womanDEF PAST buy  
'It's the groundnut the woman bought.'

c. \* Súmá lá *Ø* pú'á lá sà dã.  
groundnut DEF FOC womanDEF PAST buy

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Lit.: 'it's the groundnut the woman bought.'

# The particle ñ

(5) Dáú      bé      dǒǒgín      lá.  
man      EXIST      room.LOC      DEF

‘There is a man in the room.’

(6) Dáú      **ń**      bé      dǒǒgín      lá.  
man      FOC      EXIST      room.LOC      DEF

‘It is a man that is in the room (rather than a woman).’

‘That is a brave man in the room (not a coward (man)).’

# The particle né

- Assuming a context where a school child is seen crying by the road side with a friend standing by him. A passer by asks to know what is wrong with the child as in (7a), and another gives the response in (7b) but the friend of the child corrects the wrong answer with the response in (7c).

(7) a. Bó dá'ámìd bííg láá?

what worry child DEF

‘What is wrong with the child?’

# The particle né

b. Kóm mōr ò.  
hunger have 3SG  
'He is hungry'

c. Àyéí, kómpù mōr ò, ò lígídí bōrīg né.  
no, hunger NEG have 3SG, 3SG.POSS money lose FOC  
'No, he is not hungry; IT IS HIS MONEY THAT IS MISSING /LOST.'

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# Test for Focus: Natural/ Spontaneous Context

- This test involves the creation of contexts or scenarios where speakers are presented with situations that will naturally incite/elucidate responses with exhaustive focus interpretations. Another angle is to present speakers with utterances with focus interpretation and ask their intuitions about when these utterances could be used felicitously or more naturally (Van der Wal (2013:5)).
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# Natural/ Spontaneous Context

- Context 1a: There are two people, a man and a woman, which one of them bought a goat? (contrast/ exhaustivity)
- Context 1b: You expect the woman to buy a goat (correction, unexpectedly)

(8) Dáú      lá      ñ      sá      dã      búúg.

man      DEF      FOC      PAST      buy.PERF      goat

‘It is the man that bought a goat.’

# Weak Quantifiers

- The indefinite quantifiers *sí'á/ síébá* ‘some’ and *bí'él/bí'élá* ‘a few’ cause a narrow focus interpretation anytime they co-occur with the focus particles *kà, n̄* and *né* in Kusaal.
- This, as also observed by (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010:1387 cf Van der Wal 2013), is because “the definite quantifiers ‘some’ and ‘a few’ are upward entailing, i.e. they imply that the denoted quantity reaches at least a minimum from a scale of potential quantities” (cf Van der Wal 2013:15).

# Weak Quantifiers

(9) Tì sà pāām lígídi lá síébá.  
3PL PAST get.PERF money DEF some

‘We got the/some of the money’

(..., so we can solve the problem)

#(..., so we cannot solve the problem)

- The upward entailment quality of the quantifier in (9) makes it possible to interpret the sentence as ‘receiving/getting all the required money or getting at least a substantial amount of the required money which can be used to address the situation at hand’.

# Weak Quantifiers

- On the contrary when the focus particles *kà*, *ń* and *né* are used with the indefinite quantifiers, *si'a/sieba* 'some', the derived interpretation excludes the upward entailing quality of the quantifier resulting in an interpretation with a narrow focus (10b).

# Weak Quantifiers

(10) a. Lígídi là síéba' kà tì sá pāām.  
money DEF some FOC 3PL PAST get

‘It is some/part of the money we got’

b. Tì sà pāām né lígídi lá síéba'.  
3PL PAST get FOC money DEF some

‘It is some/part of the money we got’

# (..., so we can solve the problem)

(..., so we cannot solve the problem)

# Part as a whole relationship

- Context: *Asibi* is looking for a child to send on an errand. There are a lot of children playing at the playground. For lack of time, she only wants to get the name of one of them and she finds out from *Akuda*:

(11) Q: Àsíbí: fù mī'ī báné dí'émìd yín láá?  
2SG know those play-IMPERF outside LA  
'Do you know those playing outside?'

# Part as a whole relationship

(12) Ans.: a. Àkúdà: één, Àzúmà b́ b̀à  
Yes, Azuma COP.be their  
súúgi-n.  
middle-LOC  
‘Azuma is among them’

b. Àkúdà: ? één, Àzúma ḿ b́ b̀à súúgi-n.  
Yes, Azuma FOC COP.be their middle-LOC  
‘It is Azuma who is among them.’

# Part as a whole relationship

- *Akuda* in (12a) mentions the name of a child who is among the children who are playing. It will be contradictory as well as illogical to use the exhaustive in-situ subject particle  $m(n)$ , as in (12b), in this context since it will capture only part of the entire group of children playing outside. What this implies is that the stronger the effect of an exhaustive focus interpretation, whether by implicature or in the semantics, the less appropriate it will be as a response to a mention-some question (see Van der Wal 2013:10).



# Linguistic strategies of expressing Focus in Kusaal

## ❑ Morphological marking of focus

- Morphological marking of focus is devoid of any kind of syntactic changes or word order permutations.

(13) Pú'á lá            sà            kūōs    né            súmá.

woman DEF            PAST    sell            FOC    groundnut

‘The woman sold GROUNDNUT/It is groundnut the woman sold.’

(14) Dáu    ń            bé            dóógín            lá.

man    FOC    EXIST    room.LOC            DEF

‘It is a man that is in the room (rather than a woman).’

‘That is a brave man in the room (not a coward (man)).’

# Syntactic Focus Marking

- ❑ Syntactic focus marking involves word order alternation of the focused constituent relative to the other constituents in the sentence (see Fiedler et al 2010:238/9, Heine and Reh 1984:147).

(15) What did the woman sell: beans or groundnut?

a. Súmá      kà      pú'á      lá      sà      kūōs.  
groundnut      FOC      woman      DEF      PAST      sell

‘It is GOUNDNUT the woman sold.’

# Prosodic Focus Marking

- Focus prominence takes different forms cross-linguistically (Selkirk 2004).

Prosodic properties of focused marking (Selkirk 2004:1)

- a. appearance of special tonal morphemes
- b. appearance of default pitch accent
- c. demarcation by a prosodic phrase edge/boundary
- d. presence of main stress of a prosodic phrase
- e. appearance in a higher pitch range
- f. vowel length under main phrasal stress

# Prosodic Focus Marking

- ❑ Focus is realized by prominence in its focus domain /focus needs to be maximally prominent (Büning 2010:178; (Féry and Ishihara 2010:40)).
  - ❖ **Prosodic properties of focused marking in Kusaal**
    - presence of main stress on a prosodic phrase
    - vowel length under main phrasal stress

# Prosodic Focus Marking

- All focused constituents/phrases in Kusaal are prominent.

(16) Who beat the child?

a. A: [Àdúk.ú]                      bũ      bííg      lá.  
Aduk.Emph                      beat      child      DEF

‘Aduku beat the child. (new information)

b. B. Àyéí, [Asíbí-í]      ń              bũ              bííg              lá.  
no                      man   DEF      FOC      beat.perf.              child   DEF

‘No, it is the man who beat the child (contrastive focus)

# Asymmetry between Subject and Non-Subject Focus in Kusaal

- A distinction is noticeable in the ways subject and non-subject focused constituents are marked in Kusaal:
- (i) a marking asymmetry, which requires non-subject focused to be marked both in-situ and ex-situ whereas subject focus are marked only in-situ

# Asymmetry between Subject and Non-Subject Focus in Kusaal

- (ii) a prosodic asymmetry which makes it possible for subject focus to use the long forms of nouns as well as final vowel lengthening both of which are not necessary though possible in non-subject focus
- (iii) a structural asymmetry which requires that in-situ non-subject focus is marked differently from ex-situ non-subject focus

# Marking Asymmetry

- Kusaal is partly consistent with the observation of Fiedler et al (2010) that non-subject focus in Mabia, Kwa and Chadic (Hausa) need not be restricted to in-situ and partly defies their claim that NSF cannot or need not be marked syntactically (Fiedler et al 2010:242). Though they did not give an example from a Mabia language, the data below from Hausa is used to support the claim.



# Marking Asymmetry

- Hausa (West Chadic), *optional object marking* (Fiedler et al 2010:243)

(17) Q: i. What is Kande cooking?

Ans.: a. Kande' ta'-naa daɓa **kiɪfi** Unmarked NSF

Kande 3SG.F.IPF cooking fish

'Kande is cooking (A) FISH.'

ii: Kande is cooking meat.

b. **Kiɪfi** (**nee**) Kande' ta'-kee dafaawa Marked NSF

fish FM Kande' 3SG.F-IPF.REL cooking

~~'It is (A) FISH that Kande is cooking.'~~

# Marking Asymmetry

- Answering a question similar to (17ii) as in (18ii) in Kusaal, it is obligatory to use *né* in-situ as in (18b) and *kà* ex-situ as in (18dc).

(18) i. What did Aduk cook?

a. Àdúk      d̄g      (né)      zí'ímí.  
Aduk      cook      FOC      fish

Marked NSF

‘Aduk cooked FISH/ It is FISH Aduk cooked.’

# Marking Asymmetry

ii. Aduk cooked meat.

Marked NSF

b. Àdúk      d̄g      n̄      zí'ímí.

Aduk      cook      FOC      fish

‘Aduk cooked FISH/ It is FISH Aduk cooked.’

c. zí'ímí      kà      Àdúk      d̄g.

fish      FOC      Aduk      cook

‘Aduk cooked FISH/ It is FISH Aduk cooked.’

- ❑ NSF cannot be said to be unmarked in Mabilia in general and Kusaal to be specific

# Marking Asymmetry

- Additionally, SF in Kusaal is marked both prosodically and morphologically.

(19) a. Àdúkú d̄g zími. Marked SF

Aduku cook fish

‘ADUKU cooked fish/ It is ADUKU [who] cooked fish.’

b. Àdúkú ń d̄g zími. Marked SF

Aduku FOC cook fish

‘ADUKU cooked fish/ It is ADUKU [who] cooked fish.’

# Structural Asymmetry

- Structurally, Kusaal shows strong asymmetry between SF-marking and NSF-marking (see Fierdler et al 2010: 244-6 for other Mabia languages).
- The structural differences in marking SF and NON-SF can be grouped into two:
  - different particles used for in-situ SF and in-situ NSF
  - different particles used for in-situ NSF and ex-situ NSF marking.

# Structural Asymmetry

(20) S: The woman bought the goat.

Ans.: a. Ayei, dáu lá **ń** dā' búúg lá.  
no, man DEF FOC buy goat DEF  
'No it is THE MAN that bought the goat.'

(21) S: The man bought a cow.

b. Dáu lá dā' **ńé** búúg lá.  
man DEF buy FOC goat DEF  
'It is A GOAT that the man bought.'

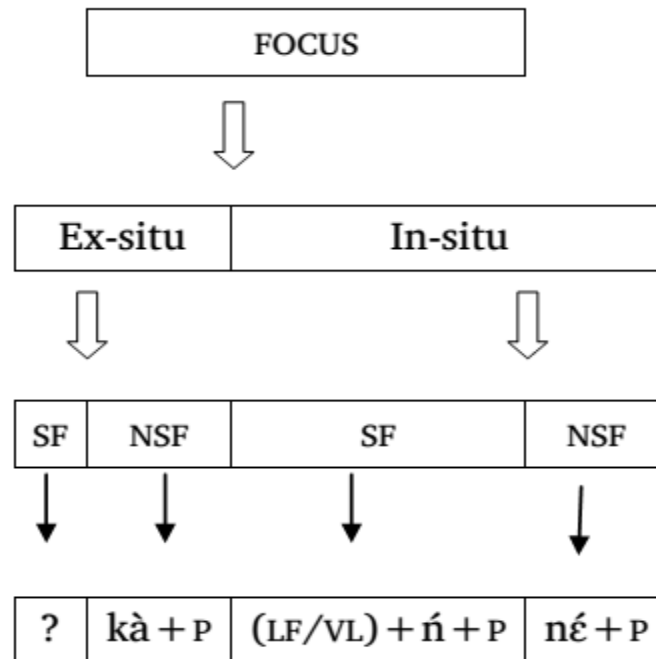
# Structural Asymmetry

(22) Q: What did the man buy?

Ans.: a. Búúg **kà** dáu' lá dā'.  
goat FOC man DEF buy  
'The man bough A GOAT.'

b. Dáu' lá dā' **né** búúg lá.  
man DEF buy FOC goat DEF  
'THE MAN bought the goat.'

# Syntactic, prosodic and morphological focus strategies in Kusaal





# Generalization...

- In general, Kusaal combines three focus marking strategies for focus related information packing.
- Though the language does not have a default focus marker, the particles kà, ń and né are used for contrast and exhaustivity.
- All focus constituents are also prominent with additional with additional use of vowel lengthening and vowel insertion for subject focus.
- There are both structural and morphological asymmetries between subject and non-subject focus constituents in Kusaal.

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# Conclusion

- ❑ This discussion has looked at focus marking strategies in Kusaal.
  - ❑ It is observed that Kusaal combines morphological, syntactic and prosodic focus strategies in packaging focus related information.
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