

SOV, PROSODY AND INFORMATION STRUCTURING IN BEJA

Martine Vanhove – martine.vanhove@cnrs.fr

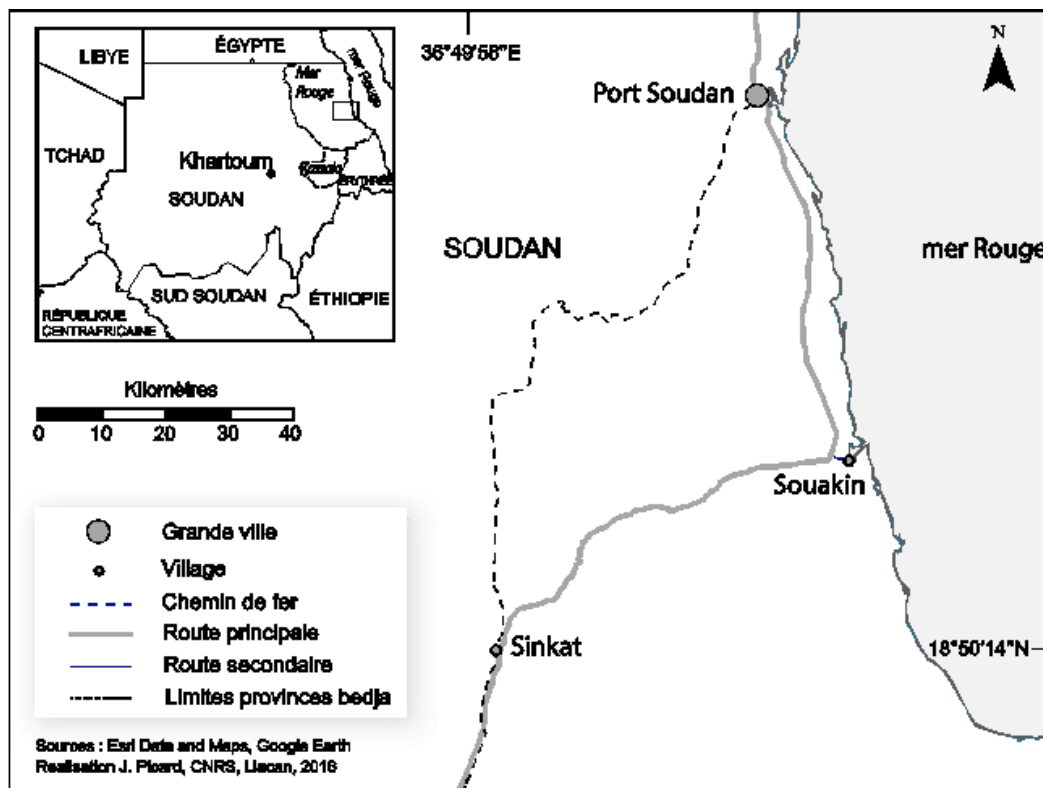
OV basic word order correlates and information structure - Paris, 6-7 December 2018



-  Introduction
-  Subject topicalisation
-  Object topicalisation
-  Afterthoughts
-  Antitopics



- North-Cushitic (Afroasiatic)
- Eastern Sudan
- Approx. 2,000,000 speakers





- Strongly SOV
- 4 cases: NOM, ACC, GEN, VOC + for pronouns DAT, ABL
- S indexed on finite verbs, not on converbs
- Full S NPs and stressed pronouns rare, Full O NPs and stressed pronouns more frequent; no 3rd pers. clitic pronoun
- Focus: additive focus particle *han* 'also' , contrastive particle *na/ni*, no clefts
- No topic markers
- Position of deictics: D-NP = topic (NP-D neutral)



- Aim:
- Role of prosody in topicalisation of core arguments
- Relationship between linear order, prosody and IS
- Part of research project of Labex EFL on IS “Typology and annotation of information structure and grammatical relations” and ANR CorTypo (PI A. Mettouchi)



- 55mn of naturalistic data, 3 speakers, 2 M & 1 F (<http://corpafroas.huma-num.fr/Archives/index.html>)
 - ✓ 17 tales
 - ✓ 1 personal narrative
- Segmented into prosodic units
- Annotated in ElanCorpA



In a previous study on 1h45 hour-data

	S <u>same</u> IU	S ≠ IU	VS	TOTAL
Nb S	360	210	35	605
% S	60%	34%	6%	100%

Table 1: Proportion of SV and VS □

SV in ≠ IU = topic

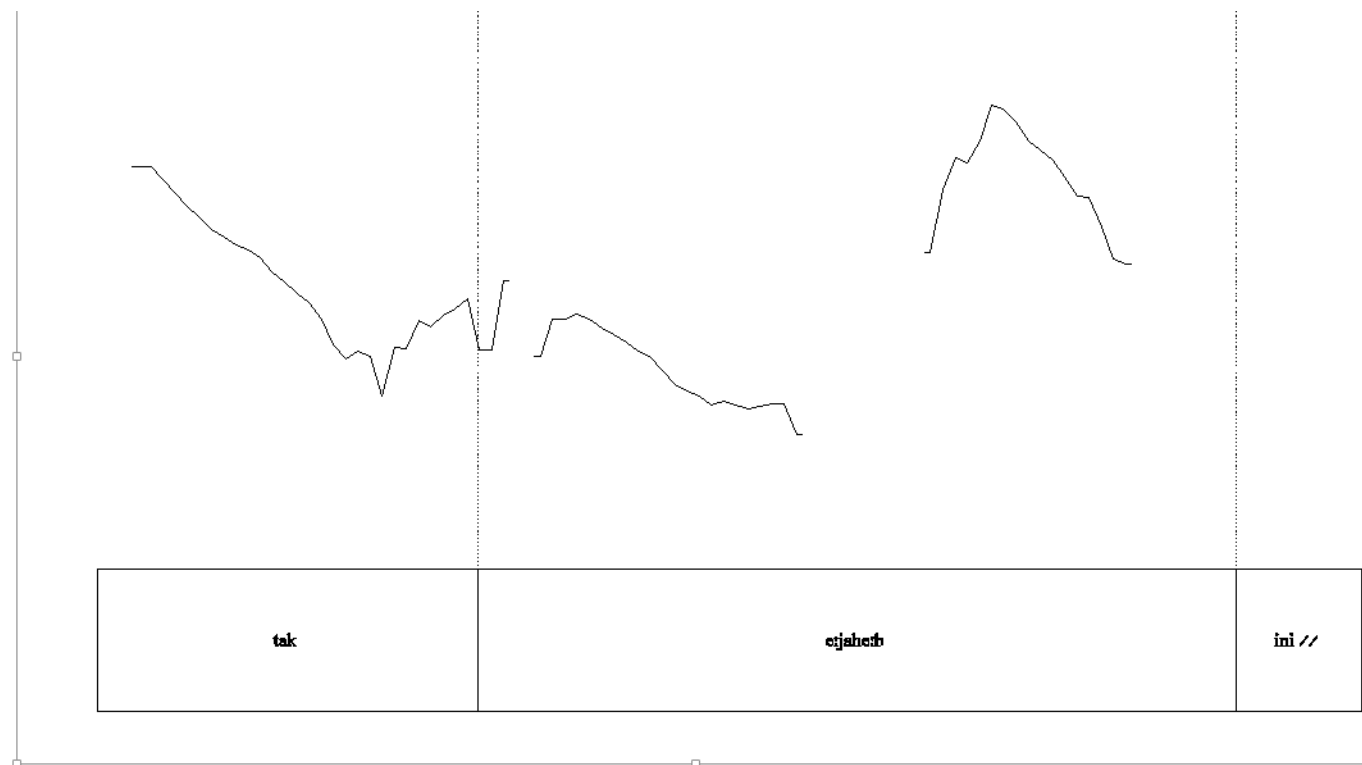
VS = antitopic or afterthought



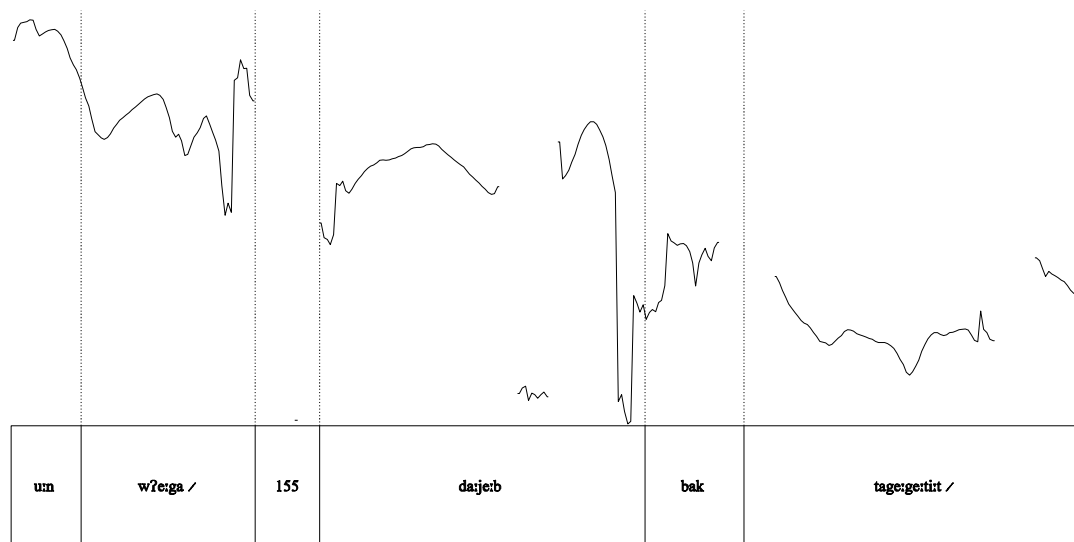
- Topic in separate intonation units
 - ✓ 38.5% H (13% HL, 0.01% LH)
 - ✓ 32.5% M (50% ML)
 - ✓ 29% L
 - ✓ Contrastive TOP: 48% H, 30% M (21% ML), 22% L
 - ✓ Selective TOP: 43% H, 28,5% M, 28,5% L
 - ✓ 71% rising contours
- Subject in same intonation unit as predicate
 - ✓ 28,5% H, 28,5% M, 43% L
 - ✓ 82% falling contours



- No systematic pitch differences between topics and overt subjects
- More rising contours with topics
- More falling contours with SV
- No correlation between pitch and types of topics



tak e:ja=he:b i-ni //
 man come\PFV.3SG.M=OBJ.1SG 3SG.M-say\PFV .
 a man came towards me", he said.



- (1) *u:n* *w=ʔe:ga* / *155* *da:je:b* *bak* *tage:g-e:ti:t* /
 PROX.SG.M.NOM DEF.SG.M=smoke . good thus be_high-CVB.SEQ .
 ‘This smoke, after it has gone well high like that...’

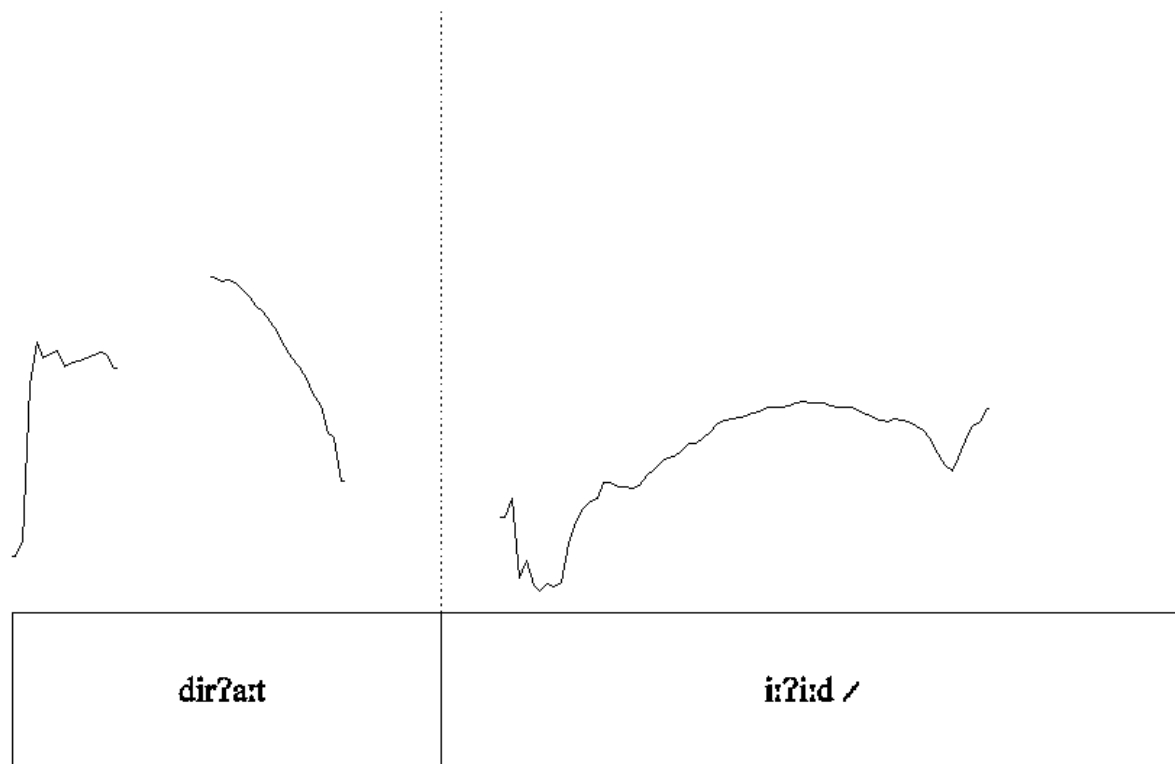
(Smoke previously mentioned)



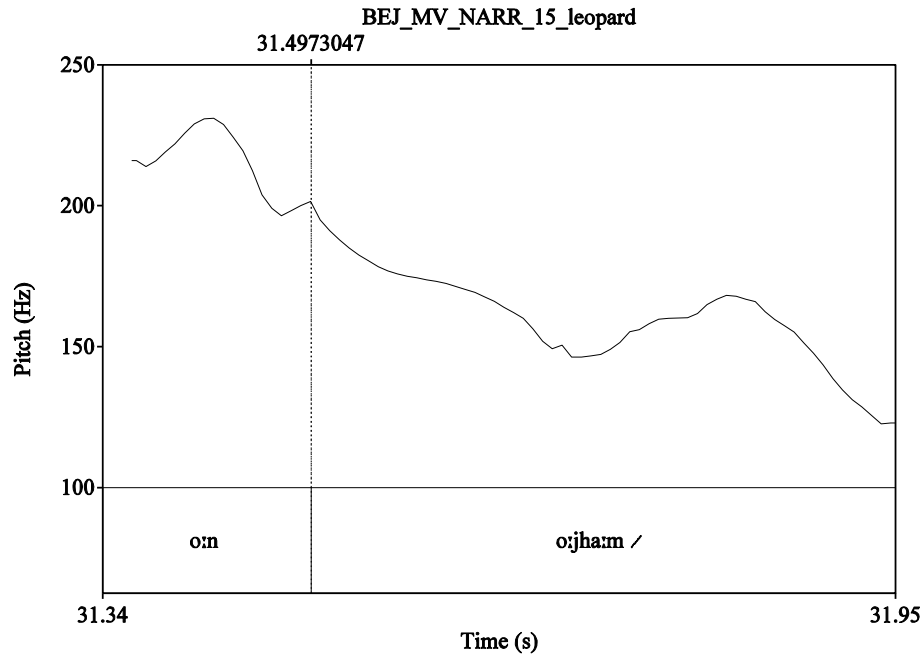
	OV <u>same IU</u>	O(S)V <u>≠ IU</u>	OSV <u>same IU</u>	VO	TOTAL
Nb O	479	164	3	24	670
% O	71.9%	24.5%	0.1%	3.5%	100%

Table 2: Proportion of OV, OSV and VO

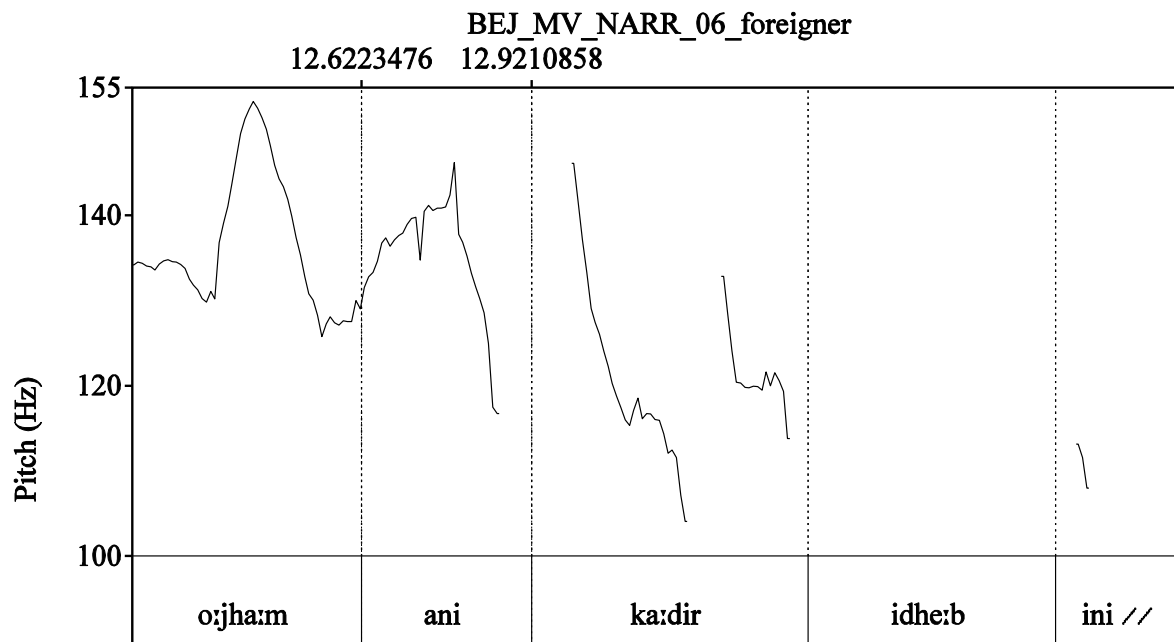
- No correlation between pitch and types of topics



- (3) *dirʔa:=t* *i:-ʔid* /
 field=INDF.F 3SG.M-cultivate\AOR .
 'He was cultivating land'



o:n o:=jha:m / 672
 PROX.SG.M.ACC DEF.SG.M.ACC=leopard
a:ladz-e:ti:t dho:k tik^wiho:b /
tease-CVB.ANT DIR=POSS.2SG.ACC go_down-AOR.3SG.M=when
 This leopard, after you've teased it, when it comes down towards you,



o: = jha:m

DEF.SG.M.ACC = leopard

ani

1SG.NOM

ka = a-dir

NEG.IPFV = 1SG-kill\PFV

i-d = he:b

3SG.M-say\PFV = OBJ.1SG

i-ni

//

3SG.M-say\PFV

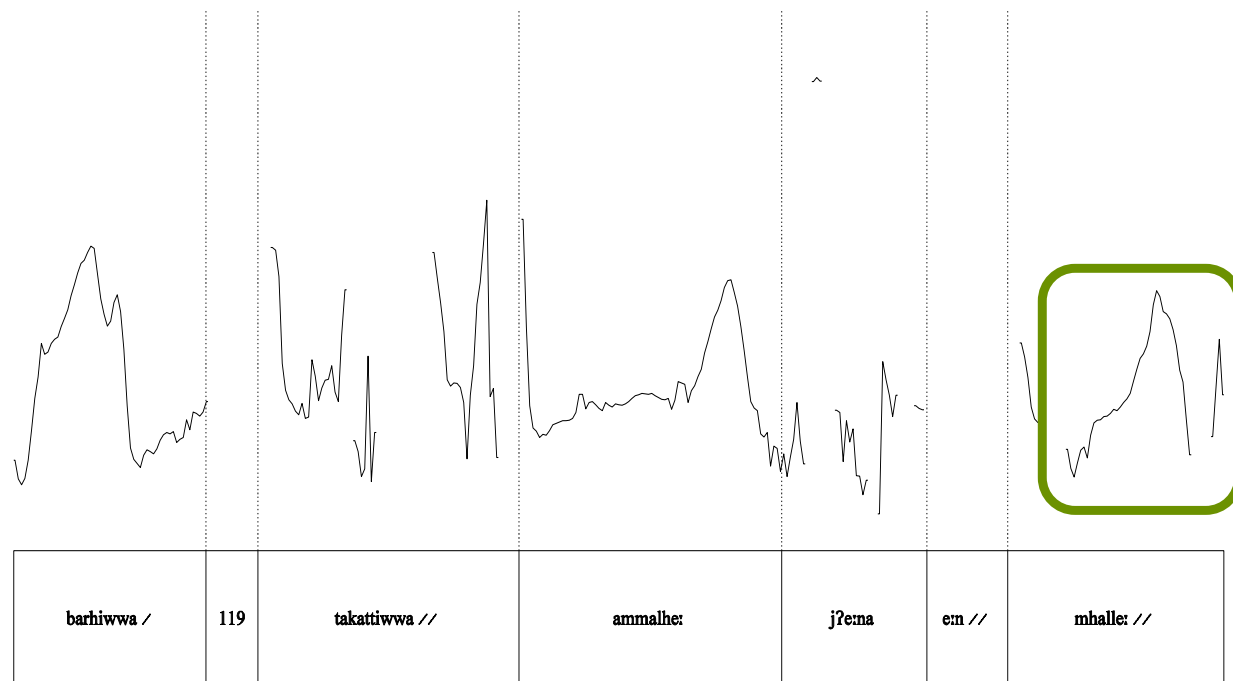
he tells me: I won't kill the leopard! he said.



- Most often HL contour
- Different pragmatic categories
 - ✓ Repair
 - ✓ Repetition
 - ✓ Clarification
- S (6%): most often in different IUs (24/32), after a pause (19)
- O (3,5%): in same IU (10/24) or in ≠ IU without pause (12); after a pause (2)



BEJ_MV_NARR_17_shoemaker

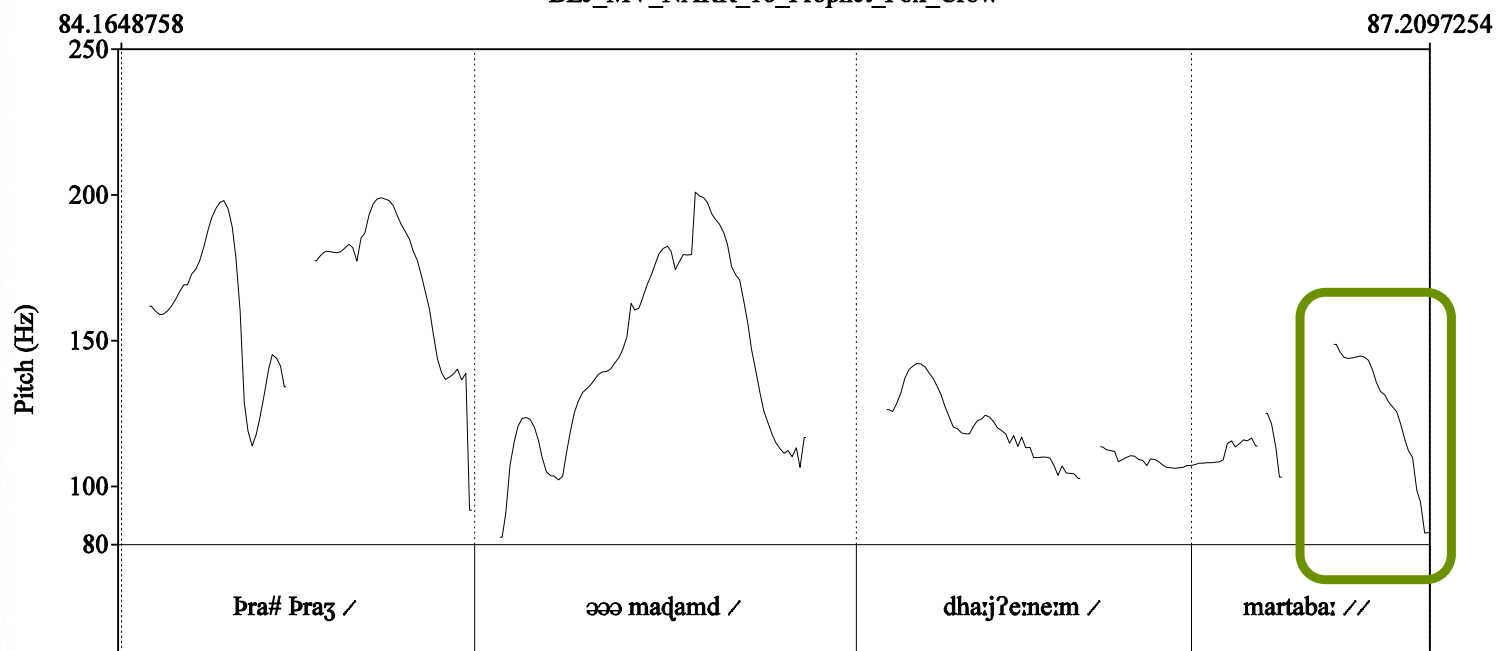


barhi=wa / 119 *takat=t=i=wa* /
 3SG.M.NOM=COORD . woman=INDF.F=POSS.3SG.NOM=COORD .

am-malh-e: *jʔ-e:na* *e:n* // *mhalle=a:* //
 RECP-accompany-CVB.SMLT come-IPFV.3PL say\PFV.3PL . two=POSS.PL.NOM .
 'He and his wife, they come together, they said. Both of them.'



BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_Crow



fira# firaʃ / əə maqam=t / dhe:j ha:j jʔ-en en /

fira# mat er mat=INDF.F people COM come-IPFV.3PL say\PFV.3PL

martaba:=t //

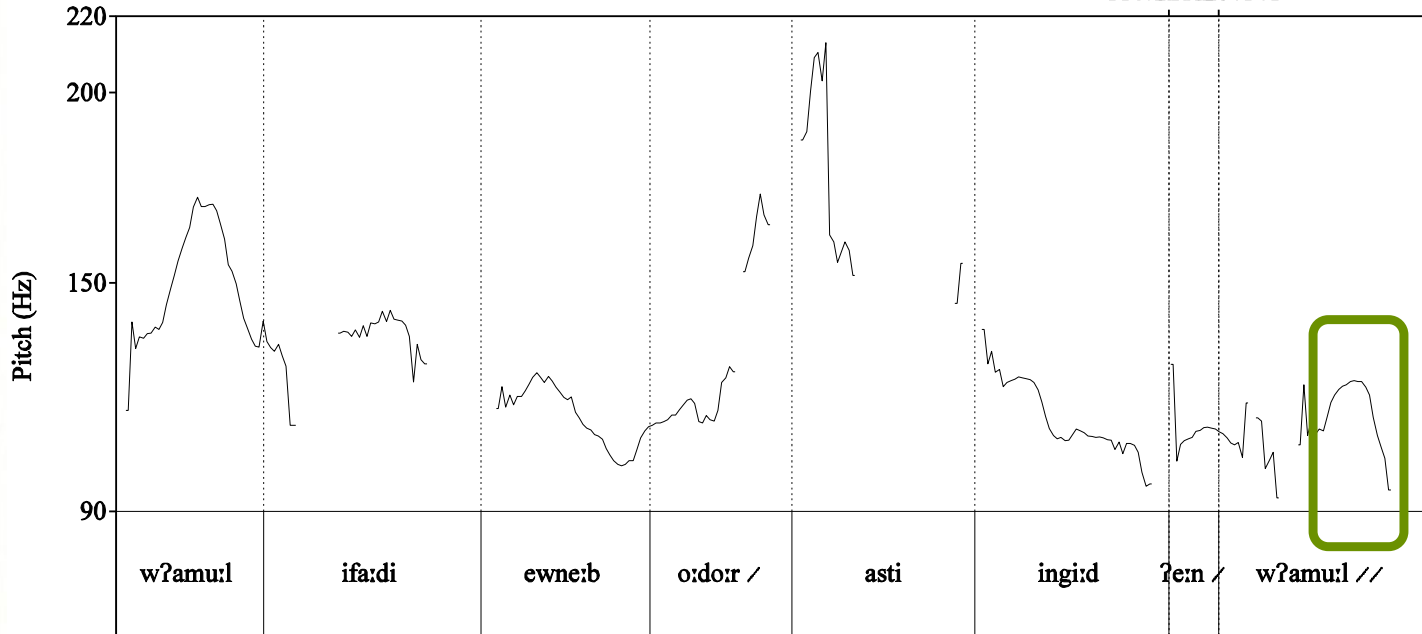
mat\PL=INDF.F

mats, er, mats, people bring them, they said, mats.



BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_Crow

118.1361254141

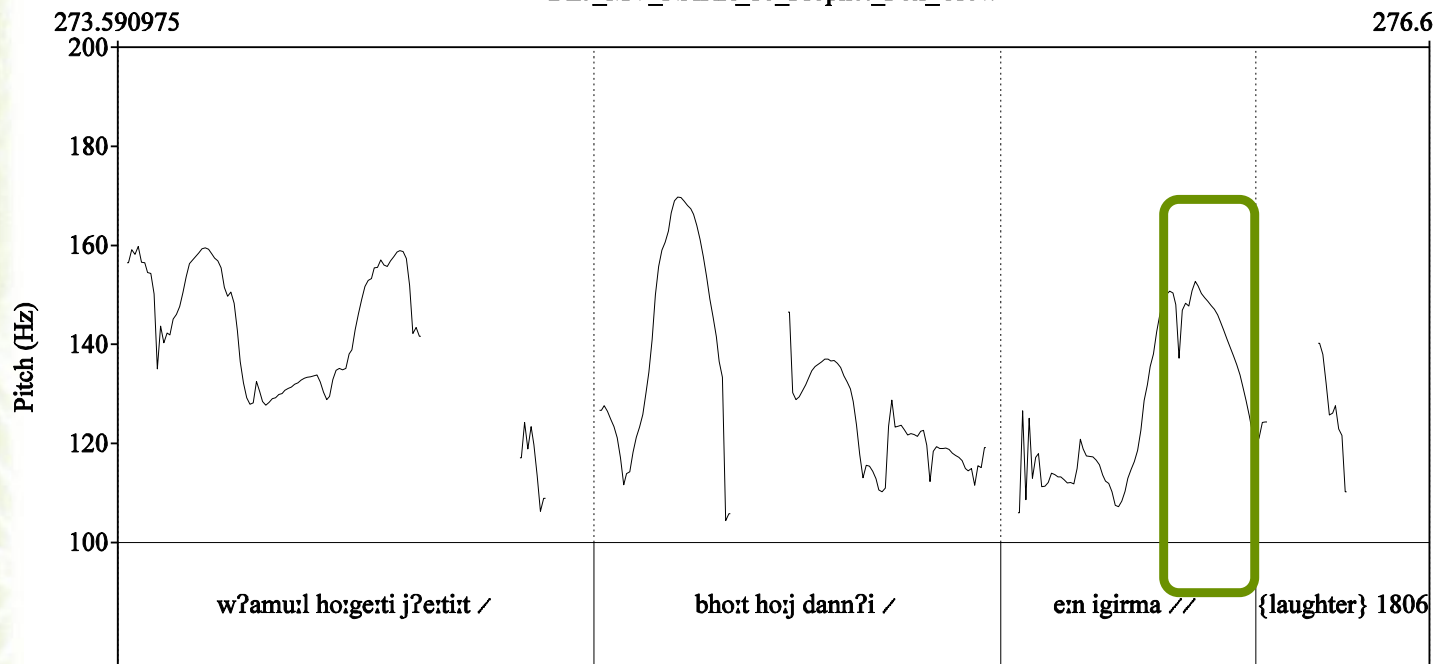


w= ʔamu:l	i= fa:di	e=wna= e:b	o:= do:r	/
DEF.SG.M= milk_container	DEF.M= empty	give\IPFV.3PL= REL.M	DEF.SG.M.ACC= time	.
ʔas-ti	i-ngi:d	e:n	/ w= ʔamu:l	//
be_up-CVB.CSL	3SG.M-throw\IPFV	say\PFV.3PL	DEF.SG.M= milk_container	

When they bring him the empty container, he throws it up, they said, the milk container.



BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_Crow

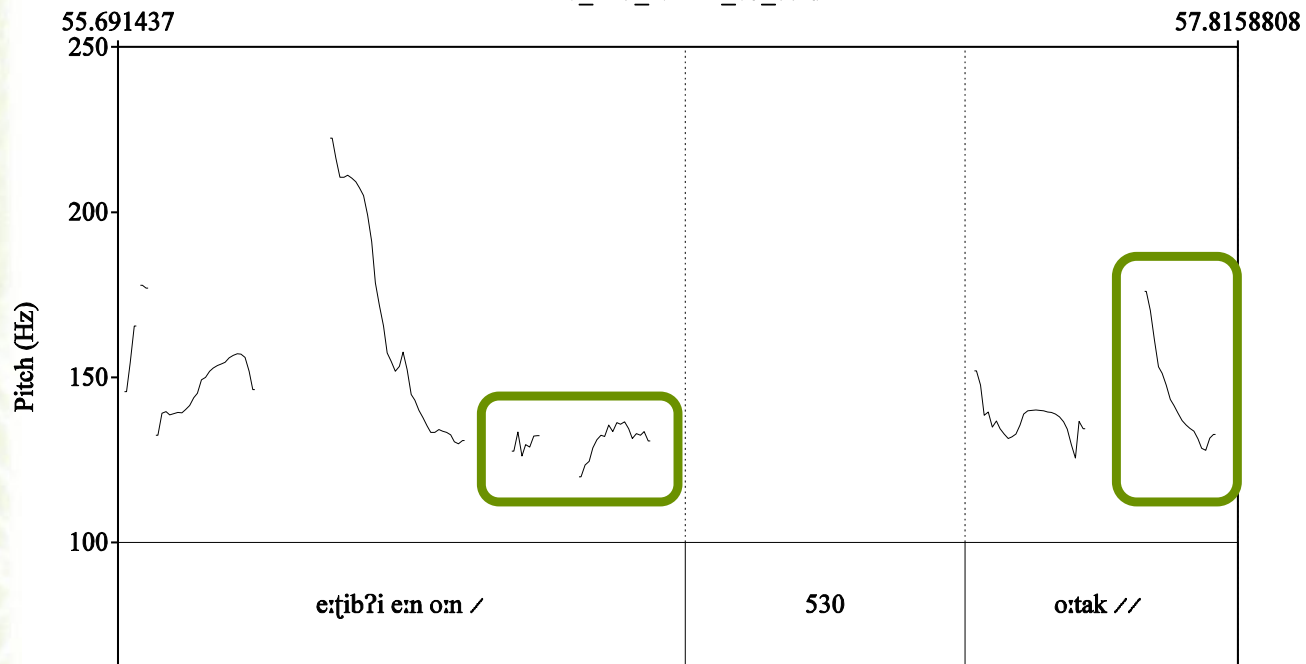


w= ʔamu:l ho:g-eti jʔ-eti.t / bho:= t ho:j dannʔi /
 DEF.SG.M= milk_container descend-CVB.CSL come-CVB.ANT slit= INDF.F 3ABL do\IPFV.[3SG.M]
 en i= girma //
 PROX.PL.M.ACC DEF.M= head

after the container has come back down, it splits from it, these edges.



BEJ_MV_NARR_07_cold



e:ʃibʔi

en

o:n

/ 530 o:= tak

//

3SG.M-hit\ INT.IPFV say\ PFV.3PL PROX.SG.M.ACC

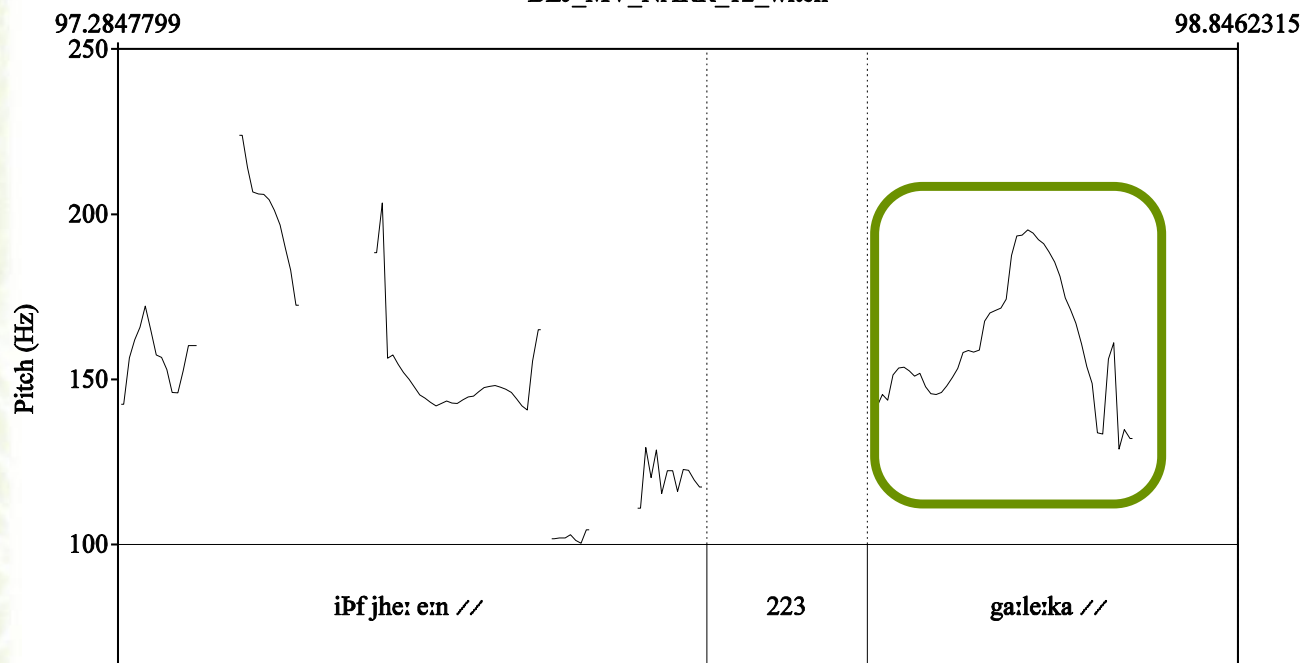
DEF.SG.M.ACC= man

he hits him repeatedly, they said, this,

the man.



BEJ_MV_NARR_12_witch



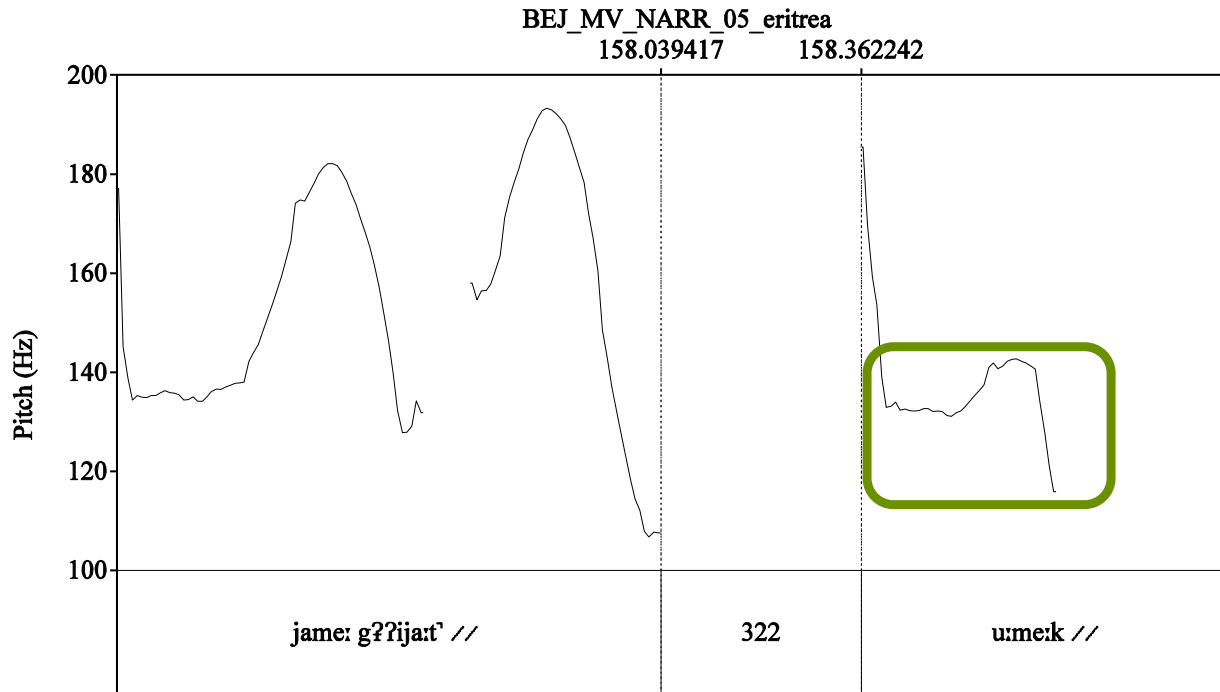
i-fif *i-he:* *e:n* // 223 *ga:l-e:=ka* //

3SG.M-pour\PFV 3SG.M-give\IPFV say\PFV.3PL . one-GEN.PL=DISTR .

He pours them for them, they said, each of them.



- Most often flat contour or slightly falling
- Different pragmatic categories
 - ✓ Still to be researched



i= jam= e:

gʷʔ-ja= t

// 326

DEF.M= water= POSS.3PL.ACC drink-PFV.3SG.M= COORD

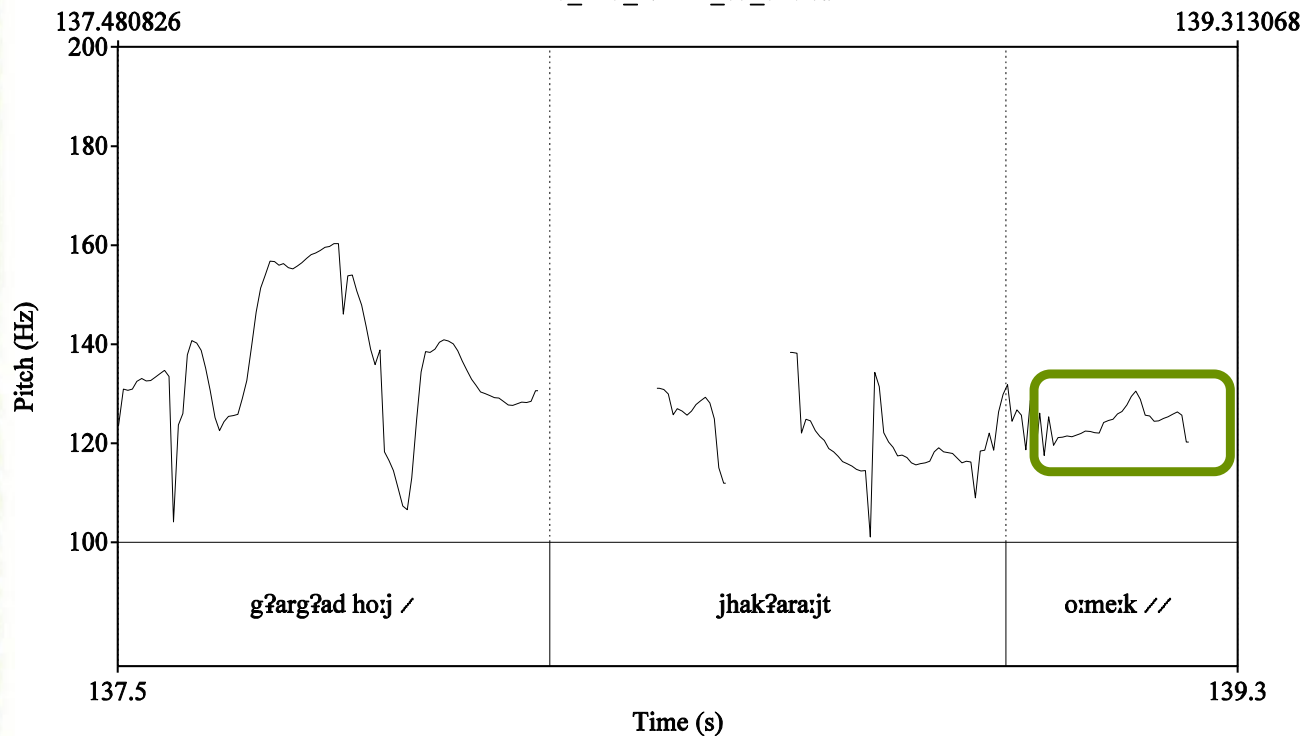
u:= me:k //

DEF.SG.M.NOM= donkey

it drunk its water and, the donkey.



BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea



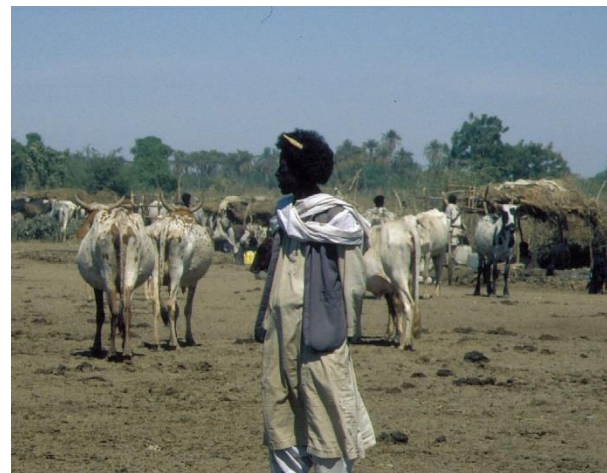
g^warg^wadi-i *hoj* / *i-hak^war= ajt* *o:= me:k* //

hobble-AOR.1SG 3ABL . 1SG-bind\ REFL.PFV= CSL DEF.SG.M.ACC= donkey .

I had hobbled it in it although I had attached the donkey.



- S topic and comment always in separate IUs
- O topic can (rarely) precede S in same IU
- S topic more frequent than O topic
- Pitch plays no role in differentiating types of topics
- Afterthoughts VS / VO (no VSO or VOS)
 - rare
 - HL contours common
- Antitopics
 - rare
 - generally flat contour
- Linear order plays a role for O in OSV constructions rather than prosody
- Linear order plays a role for both S and O; afterthoughts and antitopics are differentiated in prosody



Thank you!