

EXPRESSING INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN LAALI SYNTAX : AN ACCOUNT OF FOCUS AND TOPIC CATEGORIES IN BOTH CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

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Abstract:

This paper discusses the expression of information structure in Laali, a Bantu language spoken in the South West of Congo Brazzaville. Emphasis is laid on its Focus and Topic functions. Data have mainly been collected from Laali native speakers thanks to observation, participant-observation and interviewing research methods from Laali traditional oral performances, especially recorded during wedding, mourning, palavering, dancing and singing ceremonies. The analysis is conducted according to Chomsky's minimalist approach of syntax which admits non-lexical features like Focus, Topic and Force to occur at the left periphery of the Tense Phrase (TP) and appear as head nodes of maximal projections in the same vein as lexical units such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, determiners etc. It comes out that in Laali, the basic linearization of words within a sentential structure is not the only tool for the expression of information structure. Indeed, in addition to word underlying position, Topic and Focus functions in Laali are more importantly expressed prosody and/or via the association of both prosody and word movement. In fact, in Laali, Focus can be fulfilled by both internal and external verb arguments. Likewise, topic can appear in pre or post verbal position; the intonation being the essential element to take heed of. Basically, information structure in Laali is denoted by the interface between a number of linguistic branches including syntax, phonology, semantics and pragmatics. Consequently, if information structure is a principle, its operation is however language specific.

Key words: *information structure, Laali, Topic, Focus, prosody*

Résumé:

Cet article traite de l'expression de la structure informationnelle en laali, une langue Bantu parlée dans le sud-ouest du Congo Brazzaville. L'accent est mis sur ses fonctions de Focus et de Topic. Les données ont principalement été collectées auprès de locuteurs natifs laali grâce aux outils d'enquête d'observation, d'observation participative et d'interview à partir de leurs prestations orales traditionnelles, en particulier enregistrées lors des cérémonies de dot, de funérailles, de palabre, de danse et de chant. L'analyse est menée suivant l'approche minimaliste de la syntaxe Chomskienne qui admet que les traits non-lexicaux tels que Focus, Topic et Force peuvent apparaître au-dessus du "Tense Phrase" (TP) et être nœuds dominants des projections maximales au même titre que les unités lexicales telles le nom, le verbe, l'adjectif, l'adverbe, la préposition, le déterminant etc. Il se dégage qu'en laali, la linéarisation des mots

dans une structure phrasique n'est pas le seul indice essentiel pour l'expression de la structure informationnelle. En effet, en plus de l'ordre basique d'une structure, le thème et le centre de l'information par rapport à l'interlocuteur réside plus dans la prosodie et/ou dans jonction entre la prosodie et le mouvement d'un mot dans une structure. Dès lors, les fonctions de Focus ou de Topic peuvent être remplies tant par les syntagmes préverbaux (sujet) que par ceux apparaissant en position post verbale (objet/complément) ; l'élément essentiel étant l'intonation du mot. Notons qu'en Laali, la structure informationnelle est exprimée par l'interface entre différentes branches de la linguistique, y compris la syntaxe, la phonologie, la sémantique et la pragmatique. En conséquence, si la structure informationnelle est une notion universellement attestée dans les langues du monde, son implémentation relève de l'idiosyncrasie langagière.

Mots-clés: structure informationnelle, laali, Topic, Focus, prosodie

Introduction

This paper is concerned with the expression of information structure in Laali'syntax. In recent years, this issue has been carried out cross-linguistically by many authors including Good (2008), Jeménez (2010), Zimmerann and Féry (2010), Šimik and Wierzba (2014), Kroeger (2017), S. Song (2017), Augustin, (2012), Szendroi (2017), Jenneke (2022) etc. to show how striking and topical the topic is to a large extent. Actually,

“When we study information structure we are looking at choices that the speaker makes in deciding how to express the message, or propositional content, he wishes to convey. These choices, which affect both grammatical and phonological structure, reflect the speaker's estimate about the hearer's current mental states (knowledge, awareness, etc.)” (Kroeger, 2017:1)

Simply put, information structure is about how the speaker models or processes the information to make it graspable to his addressee. The grasp of the message is made possible by a number of linguistic cues. In fact, the meaning of a sentence is not the only concern of syntax as the message-sender cannot solely emphasize the underlying grammatical relationship of words in a sentence in order to convey his/her message. S/he rather needs many other linguistic facets including prosody, context and word movement so as to attract the addressee's

¹ Laali is a Bantu language spoken in the South West of Congo Brazzaville. It is labeled by Guthrie (1953) as a B73b dialect of Téké language.

attention on what is considered as the essential of his message i.e. the part of the message that s/he estimates new for his/her addressee. Indeed, “the two major concepts of information structure include Topic (given/known information) and Focus (new/unknown information)” (Jeménez, 2010: 1). Accordingly, my main aim in this work is to show constituents that can be counted as topical or focal in Laali sentential structures. As such, the work addresses the following questions: (1) What governs information structure in Laali? What triggers the newness or the oldness of information in Laali? What are the linguistic features that indicate the Topic and Focus functions in Laali? What is the distribution of Topic and Focus in that language? The paper is organized as follows: section (1) looks at an overview on the concept of information structure. Section (2) examines the information structure operation in Laali canonical SVO sentences. The scrutiny of information structure in Laali non-canonical sentences is finally the aspect developed in section (3).

1. Information structure: literature review

This section is concerned with a general overview of the notion of information structure. It situates the concept of information structure in time in addition to presenting some authors who have broached the issue. Accordingly, based on Kruijff-Korbayová and Steedman (2003), the starting point of researches on information structure is situated from the early twentieth century with Russel in 1905 (Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005: 12). However, the structuralist Halliday (1967) is admitted to be the coiner of the concept “*information structure*” (Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005: 17). Indeed, information structure was born to fill the gaps that overt sentential constituents were unable to in terms of the meaning denoted by features above the sentential structure. Correspondingly, Detmar and De Kuthy think that a distinction is to be made between overt sentential constituents i.e., units making up a sentence and covert units that bring about meaning related to what the speaker really wants to convey as a (new) message to his addressee.

Progressively, researches on information structure increased, giving rise to diverse views which resulted in different terminological dichotomies as regards its main categories. These include Topic-Focus dichotomy, Subject-Predicate distinction (Crystal, 2008: 88), Theme-Rheme opposition (Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005:15), Topic-Comment

(Bussmann 1998: 204), Presupposition vs Focus (Crystal, 2008: 385), Background-Focus distinction (Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005: 7), informative vs uninformative message (Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005:7.), Known vs Unknown information, Old vs New information. What this means is that concepts in information structure depends on schools and approaches. However, all these dichotomies can be summed up in two words namely the oldness and the newness of information respectively. In other words, either the information conveyed to the addressee is old or new depending on its context of use. Let it be recalled that the templates used in this work are mainly linked to Topic-Focus dichotomy.

S. Song (2017) opines that information structure is part of language universals as no language in human is free from it. In this connection, he focuses on the meanings of information structure with a particular emphasis on the notions of focus, topic, contrast and background. In this regard, «(i) focus means what is new and/or important in the sentence. (iii) Topic refers to what the sentence is about. (iii) Contrast applies to a set of alternatives, which can be realized as either focus or topic. (iv)Background is neither focus nor topic» (Song, 2017:11). Given that the main aim of a sentence is to convey core/new information, Song asserts that any sentential structure possesses a focal element (focus). However, not all sentences have topic. To decide on whether a sentence has topic or not, let us consider answers from questions (1a) and (b):

(1) a- What has Leshem seen?

Leshem has seen a spider.

b- What happens?

Leshem has seen a spider.

c- Has Yemine seen a bee?

No, Leshem has seen a spider.

It is clearly noticeable from (1a) that both the speaker and the hearer share the same knowledge of *Leshem*. As such, *Leshem* is the topic of this sentence as it constitutes the old information known by the protagonists involved in the speech act. In other terms, *Leshem* is what the speech act in (1a) is about. Equally, the two actors are aware of the fact that *Leshem has seen something*. Consequently, *Leshem has seen* refers to the background shared by the two participants. However, only the speaker knows about what *Leshem* has exactly seen i.e. *spider* and that s/he wants to convey as new information to his/her addressee. As a result,

the *spider* is the focus of that sentence. Unlike (1a) answer which has both topic (*Leshem*) and focus (*spider*), (1b) answer is has no topic depending on the question. Indeed, in this answer, the whole sentence is considered as the new information that the speaker wants to express to his/her hearer. In other words, *Leshem has seen a spider* is the focal or emphasized element. In this respect, following Lambrecht (1996), the focus category is taxonomically subcategorized in terms of narrow focus, argument focus, predicate focus and sentential focus (Song, 2017: 15). The first is concerned with emphasizing only one single word in a sentence; argument focus refers the emphasis of a constituent such as NP subject or object. The predicate focus covers the overall VP i.e., the verb and its c-commanded domain (complement) whereas sentential focus stresses on the entire sentence. Yet, in (1c), the answer contradicts the question; as such, it refers to contrast as it has no link with the question asked.

Song insists on the fact that a syntactic structure cannot be topical and focal at the same time. As a result, the two categories (Topic and Focus) seem to be in complementary distribution. He goes on saying that constituents that bear prosodic features are mainly focal than those that do not. In addition, he associates the notions of definiteness and indefiniteness respectively to those of Topic and Focus. According to him, definite noun phrases usually carry old information and are thus topical whereas indefinite noun phrases mostly carry new information except when they are utilized generically. As such, they are mainly focal.

Janneke (2022) tackles a good deal of linguistic aspects of Bantu languages among which information structure. Thereupon, he argues that «informally speaking, information structure concerns the packaging of information to facilitate the hearer's processing of information. The same information may be presented as given, new or contrasted depending on the context» (Janneke, 2022: 15-16). In other words, information structure alludes to how a speaker helps the hearer to grasp the major message that s/he wants to communicate. Furthermore, he claims topic and focus to be the main functions of information structure. The former alludes to what the sentence is about and the latter provides new or contrastive information (Janneke, 2022: 16-17). According to Janneke, the focus of the sentence is located in complement part of the topic expression also known as "*comment*"; which part provides information about the topic. On this account, Janneke further adds that «the focus is clearly visible in question–answer pairs: in a wh question,

the wh word is itself a set of alternatives asking for which alternative the proposition is true (Hamblin 1973), and the answer to a wh question picks out one of those alternatives (without necessarily excluding the others)» (Janneke, 2022: 16-17). Admittedly, questions help to understand the focus of an information. Usually, focus depends on the potential question to ask; it refers to what is questioned i.e. the substitute of a wh-word. Indeed, if a question is specific, the resulted answer is a predicate focus e.g. *What/How about Mpambou?* *Mpambou is a doctor now* (predicate focus). However, if a question is generic, the potential answer is *sentence focus* e.g. *What happened to Mpambou?* *Mpambou defended his PhD*. Indeed, when the whole sentence conveys new information, it is said to be *sententially focal*.

What is more to retain about Janneke's evocation on information structure is that in addition to grammatical functions such as subject or object and semantic roles like agent or patient, noun phrases can bear meaning related to information structure. These are mainly related to notions of topic, focus and background. So, an NP can at the same time be subject, agent and topic. This work tends to show that if grammatical function is position dependent meaning; like semantic roles, features related to information structure are not always position based in Laali. Indeed, there is a tendency which consists in considering verbs external arguments as topical and those inside the VP (internal arguments) as focal. However, this work will slightly move away from that postulate to show that this is not always attested in our target language (Laali).

Jeménez (2010) mainly reminds us about the generativist perception of the concept "*information structure*". Thereupon, he argues that Chomsky and Jackendoff are the first linguists to have tackled the information structure issue with regard to the generative approach. According to them, Focus and Topic cannot be solely dealt with under the syntactic angle as they are mainly linked to semantics and prosody (phonology). Indeed, according to Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar, grammar is made up of three components including syntax, semantics and phonology. It follows that information structure has more to do with the interface of these components than with one single exclusively. In that case, «the most prominent common characteristic is that they analyze interface factors (semantic and phonological) which influence the way syntax manipulates the topic-

focus partition» (Jeménez, 2010:1). In other words, the generative approach of grammar views information structure as being expressed by the phonology-syntax or phonology-semantics interfaces. Obviously, the syntactic component provides materials to phonological and semantic components which help identify the focus or topic of the resulted derivation. However, Jeménez adds that as topic and focus are mainly semantic and prosodic based, their expression would be language specific. The following section is therefore devoted to scrutinizing Topic and Focus functions in Laali canonical SVO sentences.

2. Information structure in Laali canonical SVO sentences

This section seeks to find out how information, (especially, its Topic and Focus categories) is structured in Laali canonical SVO order. In fact, word order and prosody are the two essential tools for expressing information structure in world languages (Šimík and Wierz, 2014: 1). As such, let us consider the following sentences:

- (2) a- **Mĕ** nelya nyama
 Me I-eat meat
 “I eat meat.”
- a'- **Mĕ** nelya nyama.
 I I-eat meat
 “It is I who eat meat.”
- b- **Mwàná** wo-yene ku nzo.
 Child he go to House
 “The child goes home.”
- b'- **Mwáná** wo-yene ku nzo.
 Child he go to House
 “It is the child who goes home.”

Similar though they look like structurally, each of these pairs of sentences express two different meanings based on the intonational pattern of their initial words (subjects)]. Indeed, in (2a) and (2b), *Mĕ* (me) and *mwánà* (child) are topical because they are not intonationally emphasized. Their topicality is also accounted for the fact that the speaker shows thanks to some prosodic indices that *Mĕ* (me) and *mwánà* (child) are assumed to be previously known by his/her addressee. In fact, in these structures, the speaker focuses on *what s/he is used to eating* i.e., *nyama* (meat) or on *where the child goes* i.e. *kù nzo* (to house). As such, the

newsworthy information conveyed in (2a) is not based on the speaker i.e. *Mé* (me) but on *what s/he usually eats* i.e., *nyama* which is rather focal. Likewise, in (2b), the speaker mainly stresses the place *where s/he goes*. As a result, *ku nzo* is its focus and *mwána* (child) its topic. This is similar to what is observed in Czech. In fact, in Czech, old/known information usually tends to precede new one in a speech act. So, in this language the topical unit appears prior to the focal one (Šimík and Wierzba, 2014: 2). Following (2a) and (2b) examples above, Laali can be argued to attest the fact similar to Czech.

By contrast, in (2a') and (2b'), the emphasis is put on the pronoun *Mé* (me) and the noun phrase *mwána* (child) respectively; which moreover brings out the cleft process known as containing a focused constituent. As a matter of fact, the meaning of (2a') and (2b') differs from (1a) and (b) because of the suprasegmental element which is tone. Actually, in (2a') and (2b') *Mé* and *mwána* (child) express Focus function because they are intonationally used for contrasting. In other words, it is *Mé* (me) or *mwána* (child) but not somebody else. Consequently, the NP *nyama* (meat) and the PP *ku nzo* (to house) in (2a') and (2b') respectively are part of knowledge shared by both the addresser and the addressee. As such, they denote Topic function. In Šimík and Wierzba's terms (Ibid), (2a') and (2b') expresses Focus via a covert or invisible feature referred to as phonological or intonational phrase. In this connection, the argument hereafter is highlighted:

“Intonation languages [...] use pitch accents to highlight informational units of the utterance in a particular way. The intonationally highlighted part is associated with the most informative part i.e. the focus, while the remainder of the sentence contains mainly background knowledge, i.e., information that is already available in the discourse [...] Focus is defined as the phrase containing the intonation center”
(Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005: 9, 19).

This assertion supplies information according to which, out of the basic word order, prosody is also an essential tool that languages utilize to process information structure. That being the case, Laali is not

an exception to the rule as it significantly makes use of this tool for the expression of the Focus by means of emphasizing the first phrase the sentential structure as illustrated in (2a') and (2b').

In a nutshell, Laali demarcates from the classic hypothesis which considers Topic to be fulfilled by preverbal elements i.e., subjects and Focus by post verbal elements namely objects/complements. In fact, in Laali, one sentence can be subject to more than one interpretation based on the prosodic feature.

Consequently, the topic and focus functions in Laali can appear both in pre or post verbal position in an SVO/C canonical structure based on the intonation pattern. Topic is expressed when the subject in SVO/C is not stressed, however, if the latter is prosodically emphasized, it ceased to be topical to turn into focus.

Laali attests in situ topic and focus before and after a verb based on whether the subject is emphasized or not. As a matter of fact, «Focus and Topic do not always depend on word order» (Bahrami and Rezai, 2014: 553). It appears that Focus and Topic categories are not always order based but sometimes contextual based because «in real life we do not usually meet with text out of context, so there is other evidence for interpreting the information structure» (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:90). The evidence that helps us to explain information structure out of word order is context which in (2a') and (2b') is expressed by intonational emphasis. The forthcoming section is concerned with information the expression of Topic and Focus in non-canonical sentential structures.

3. Information structure in Laali non-canonical sentential structures

This section deals with how information structure is expressed in Laali OSV/CVS structures such as those illustrated below:

- (2) a- *Nyama* *mè* nelya ~~*nyàma*~~
 meat me I-eat
 “Meat, I eat.”
- b- *Nyàma* *mé* nè-lya ~~*nyàma*~~
 meat me I eat meat
 “It is meat that I will eat meat/not something else.”

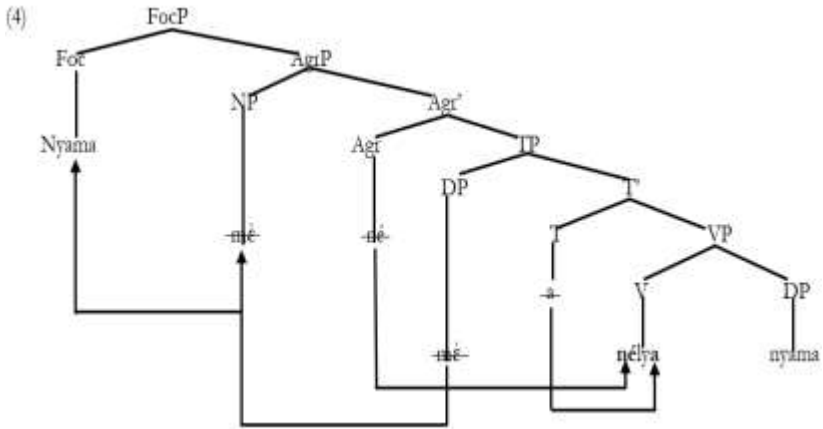
- c- **Nyámá** mé né-lya ~~nyàmà-~~
 meat me I-eat meat
 “Meat will be eat meat/not by someone else..”
- d- **Kù nzò** mwànà wo-yene ~~kù nzò~~
 To house child he go to house
 “Home, the child will go to.”
- e- **Kú nzó** mwànà wo-yene ~~kù nzò~~
 To house child he go to house
 “ It is home that the child will go to”

Pronounced differently, (3a), (3b) and (3c) express different meanings. In (3a), for instance, the speaker focuses on *nyama* showing the habitual fact of the situation. In other words, *eat meat* is not a taboo to him as *He is used eating it*. In (3b), the essential of the message is equally based on *nyama*. However, unlike (3a), *nyama* in (3b) expresses a choice i.e., the speaker pinpoints that *It is nyama that s/he will eat*, not something else. Likewise, in (3c), the focal element is *nyama*. It also puts forward the notion of exclusiveness. In fact, the speaker emphasizes that *He is the one who will eat nyama* and not somebody else. Consequently, the new information conveyed by the addresser in (3a), (3b) and (3c) is based on *nyama* (meat). However, the three structures are in a complementary distribution as they denote three different messages based on the way they are uttered. Put differently, the movement of *nyama* from its underlying position of the sentence to the fronted one provides new information related to the habituality of the action by a speaker or the emphasis on the selected entity. Thereby, «the focus feature can be assigned to moved elements (phrase) to the left periphery» (Szendrői, 2017: 1) . Yet, when this operation occurs, the moved element unit receives more emphasis than at its basic position i.e., it is prosodically more stressed than other elements in the same structure. According to the Split CP hypothesis advocated by the minimalist tradition (Radford, 2004: 327-328), the moved phrase receives special emphasis when occurring in the front position of the resulted derivation at the Phonetic Form. As such, it occupies Spec-FocP position in a tree representation as it is put forward in the following statement:

“From a discourse perspective, a focused constituent typically represents new

information (i.e. information not previously mentioned in the discourse and assumed to be unfamiliar to the hearer). In this respect, focused constituents differ from another class of preposed expressions which serve as the topic of the clause immediately containing them. Topics typically represent old information (i.e. information which has already been mentioned in the discourse and hence is assumed to be known to the hearer)” (Radford, 2004. 329)

Accordingly, moved constituents at the left periphery of the sentence (front position of the sentence) are of two kinds namely, those which when moved bring about new information functioning as focus and those which denote the oldness of the information also referred to as topic. In addition, non-lexical features of Focus and Topic appear as independent maximal projections above the Tense Phrase (TP) according to the Split CP hypothesis in the Minimalist Programme jargon. Indeed, they stand for discourse heads beyond to TP for communicative needs along with Force (ForceP) which is linked to whether a resulted derivation is interrogative, declarative, imperative, exclamative or relative. As a consequence, Focus will be head of the Focus Phrase (henceforth FocP) and Topic that of Topic Phrase (henceforth FocP TopP). Consequently, based on minimalist tradition, (2a) can be diagrammed as follows:



Equally, the movement of *kù nʒò* (to house) from the c-commanded domain of the verb to out of it in (3d) and (3e) respectively, expresses two different messages. In (3d), the speaker and the hearer are aware of the information about the going of the child *kù nʒò*. Put differently, the information about *kù nʒò* (to house) is previously known to the two participants involved in the discourse. So, its movement from within the VP to the front position of the sentence is mainly topical as it is also reinforced by the same intonation before and after its movement in (3d). However, in (3e), *kù nʒò* (to house) is emphasized by the intonational pattern (high tone). Indeed, in (3e) the speaker wants to let the listener know that *mɛnà* (child) will go nowhere else than *kù nʒò* (to house). That is the reason why, the new position of *kù nʒò* (to house) is filled by the Focus node headed by the Focus Phrase.

It derives from data in (3) that information structure in Laali is expressed by words ex-situ (uncanonically) reinforced by the context indicated by the intonational system. Usually, a moved constituent brings about new information in a derived structure. Consequently, information structure results from a number of linguistic interfaces including phonology-syntax and pragmatics-syntax. Indeed, information structure depends on a given situation i.e. one sentential structure can give rise to different interpretations based on how a sentence is uttered (Detmar and De Kuthy, 2005: 5).

Important is also the fact that in Laali, verb internal arguments may appear immediately before their head verbs at PF level. As a result,

it is worth looking at how Laali processes information with such structures. Consider the following examples:

- (5) a- MÈ **nyama** ne-lyá ~~nyama~~
 me meat I-eat meat
 “I will eat meat.”
- b- MÈ **nyama** ne-lyá. ~~nyama~~
 me meat I-eat meat
 “It is meat that I will eat meat/not something else.”
- c- Mwáná **kú nzó** wo-yene ~~kú nzó~~
 Child to house he-go to house
 “It is the child who goes/will go home.”

As it is noticeable from these examples, the verb inner arguments *nyama* and *ku nzó* appear before their head verbs *-lyá* (eat) and *-yene* (go) respectively. In fact, in Laali, the verb internal argument usually undergoes what refers to as «*successive-cyclic fashion*» (Radford, 2004:163) i.e., a constituent moves in terms of steps or cycles; starting from its basic position within the verb phrase to the intermediate position immediately before the verb and ends up its landing site in the derivation left periphery. Accordingly, the movement of Laali verb internal arguments works much more like that of adverbs which are not position determined. As regards information processing, *nyama* (meat) in (5a) is topical as it is not emphasized. Based on the pronunciation, it refers to what is previously known to both the speaker and the hearer. However, in (5b) and (4c), *nyámá* (meat) and *kú nzó* (to house) are focused as they receive more emphasis than when used in their underlying position. Accordingly, in Laali, the intonation seems to be the most essential tool to express information structure as it helps to differ topic from focus. Eventually, «focus is defined as the phrase containing the intonation center» (Detmar and K. De Kuthy, 2005: 19), In effect, if a constituent is highlighted, it is more informatively focal than when it is not highlighted. As such, the emphasized constituent is focus and the non-emphasized topic.

Conclusion

This work has approached the way in which discourse is structured in Laali. It has emerged from the discussion that the linear

order of words (syntax) is not the only cue of the information structure expression in Laali. Actually, out of the basic sentence structure (subject-predicate), other factors such as prosody and/or the association of both word movement and prosody highly participate in the expression of the sentence meaning. Accordingly, a structure meaning is not always expressed by the constituents (words/phrases) comprising it. Its meaning is much more brought about by contextual features lying above the surface form which appears at our first sight. Indeed, information structure in Laali is denoted by both pragmatics-syntax and phonology-syntax interfaces. Also, the Focus and Topic categories are not always position based as the two can be expressed by constituents appearing in situ (SVO) or ex situ (OSV/ SOV). The subject of the sentence is not always topical. Similarly, focus is not always expressed by constituents inside the verb phrase. Verb external arguments can also function as focus based on the prosody. Consequently, though part of language universals or principles, the implementation of information structure is an idiosyncratic issue. In fact, Focus and Topic features would not be thought as part of lexical units but rather as part of functional units whose interpretation is more linked to supra-segments rather than to syntactic features. However, like content words (noun, verb, adjective and adverbs), these features are also relevant for the meaning of a syntactic derivations. As such, they are syntactic heads of phrases on their own.

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