# Focus in Fang and other Bantu A70 languages

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**Fang** is an important transnational language of western equatorial Africa spoken altogether by 1,080,000 people distributed in southern Cameroon (ca. 110,000), continental Equatorial Guinea (ca. 575,000), Gabon (374,000), and Congo (Brazzaville) (6,000). It belongs to the subgroup A70 (Beti-Fang, Ewondo-Fang) of the "zone" A of Bantu languages together with four languages localized in southern Cameroon: **Eton** (52,000 speakers), **Ewondo** (578,000 speakers), **Bebele-Bebil** (30,000 speakers) and **Bulu(-Bene)** (174,000 speakers). The five A70 languages are closely related on a level of partial mutual intelligibility. The peoples who speak these languages feel as if they are part of an interethnic entity called *bə̀-tí* ('lords').

## 1. State-of-the-art

Babele-Bebil has not yet been the subject of any studies. With the exception of Eton, we cannot affirm that the A70 languages were adequately described. The grammatical data available on Fang, Ewondo and Bulu are rather or decidedly elementary. The grammars that were realized on these languages concentrate on morphology, limiting syntax to a small "appendix" and indeed deleting the complexity of tonology. The exception, as I have hinted at, is represented by Eton, object of a detailed description by Mark Van de Velde that attempts to explore the various sectors of the phonology and grammar of this complex language.

That which follows is a description of some common traits of A70 languages based on the following sources: Bulu: Alexandre (1966); Eton: Van de Velde (2007); Ewondo: Essono (1993). The Fang data are from my field notes. The dialect represented is that spoken in Bata, an important coastal town of Equatorial Guinea with about 67,000 inhabitants.
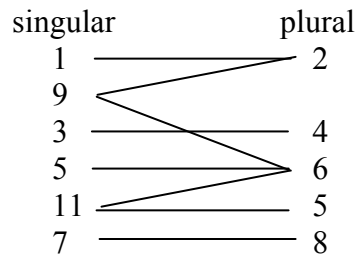
## 2. Typology

Bantu A70 languages belong to Heine's (1976) "type A", having **(i)** subject(–auxiliary)–verb–object–adverbial(s) word order; **(ii)** prepositions and **(iii)** noun phrase constituents, including relative clauses and the genitive construction, that follow the head noun.

They have a typical Bantu gender system, but lack locative genders. Ewondo an Bulu have 11 genders (corresponding to what other authors call "nominal classes"), numbered from 1 to 11. Fang and Eton have 10 genders. Fang lost gender 10, while Eton lost gender 11. As is usually the case in the Bantu languages, only marginally is it possible to predict to which gender a noun belongs on the basis of its semantics. Gender is marked by a prefix on nouns (the controllers) and on nominal modifiers (of various kind: demonstratives, possessives, numerals from '1' to '6' etc.), pronouns, and finite verbs (targets). Most of these prefixes are very similar or identical among each other. Ergo, concord tendentially has an alliterative character.

(1)  *bílé bínên bísồsə̀ bí bínə̀ éːbyâm*                                                                Fang
     |bì-lé  bí-nên  bí-sə̀sə̀  bí́  bí-nə̀  é-è-byàm|
     8-tree  VIII-big  VIII-all  VIII.DEM  VIII-COP  AU-PN-VIII.my
     'All these big trees are mine'

For genders 1 to 11, usually the odd numbered genders are the singular of the even numbered genders which are the plural. For Fang, this may be schematized as in the following chart.

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    singular        plural
     1 ——————————— 2
     9 ⟍    ⟋
     3 ——————————— 4
     5 ——————————— 6
    11 ⟨———————————⟩ 5
     7 ——————————— 8
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The majority of nouns of gender 11 (singular) pair with nouns of gender 6 (plural). Others pair with nouns of gender 5 and singular number.

As in many other Bantu languages, in some syntactic environments, nouns receive an obligatory prefix called "augment". In Fang this morpheme has two allomorphs, *é-*, preconsonantal (2), and *H-* (a floating high tone), prevocalic (3), and is added to nouns modified by a demonstrative (3), an ordinal numeral, or a relative clause (2).

(2)     *émôd ǎnzù*                                                                 Fang
        |é-Ǹ-òd           à-à-H-nzù|
        AU-1-person    I-PR-REL-come
        'the person who comes'

(3)     *ábá dî*                                                                      Fang
        |H-à-bá        dǐ|
        AU-5-book    V.DEM
        'this book'

Personal pronouns functions as complements of verbs and complements of adpositions and in focus and topic constructions, as subjects. Interestingly, first and second person personal pronouns have two forms: one occurring before nouns or other pronouns (called "non-final") (4) and the other appearing elsewhere (called "final") (5).

(4)     *wàvə́ mə̂ dʒé*                                                                Fang
        |ò-à-vɔ́          mə̀        dʒ-é|
        2sg-PR-give    1sg.PP    7-what
        '¿What do you give me?'

(5)     *ǹyágâlə̀ à:lóê mǎ*                                                           Fang
        |Ǹ-yágà-lə̀        à-à-lóè        mǎ|
        1-learn-CAUS    I-PR-call    1sg.PP
        'The teacher calls me'

The verbal morphology is rather atypical for the Bantu languages, in that it is much less synthetic than in other languages and in Proto-Bantu. Verbs agree in person-number with the subject argument, but there is no object-verb agreement, contrary to Eastern and Southern Bantu languages. In addition, a number of TAM values are expressed by auxiliaries (e.g. the hodiernal past in Fang) rather than by affixes.

(6)    *mə̀mvá dʒǐ*                                                      Fang
       |mə̀-mvá           Ldʒí|
       1sg-HOD.P.IMPF    INF-eat
       'I was eating'

In addition to auxiliaries proper, there are numerous quasi-auxiliaries most of which expressing manner-adverbial and modal notions.

(7)    *wàdàŋ kɔ́bɔ̀ àbwǐɲ*                                              Fang
       |ò-à-dàŋ           L-kɔ́bɔ̀        à-bwǐɲ|
       2sg-PR-cross    INF-speak    5-abundance
       'You speak too much'[1]

Both auxiliaries and quasi-auxiliaries are conjugated as other main verbs and are usually followed by the infinite of the lexical verb. Quasi-auxiliaries can also occur in series. In that case, only the first is finite, the other being infinitival.
     Adjectives are very few or do not exist (Eton and, probably, Bulu). In Ewondo and northern Fang dialects the adjective class includes just two members: 'small' and 'big'. Some Fang dialects have a few other forms: 'old' and 'bad' in Atsi; 'old', 'good' and 'bad' on Mekeny. Adjectival concepts are expressed by means of nouns in A70 languages. Interestingly, in NPs in which there is a noun that denotes a property of a second nominal we are witness to a paradoxical situation. Semantically the second noun is the head of the NP. It is this element that bears the main meaning and that can be replaced by an interrogative modifier. But, from a syntactic point of view, the head of the NP is the first noun. It is this element that controls the agreement of any variable element included in the NP (8).

(8)    *mísúd mí mvú mî*                                                 Fang
       |H-mì-súd       mí=mvú              mî́|
       AU-4-black    IV.CON=[9]dog       IV.DEM
       'these black dogs'

And its is this element that also controls the predicative agreement (9, 10).

(9)    *ǹsúd mvú wábôm mítómá múè*                                       Fang
       |Ǹ-súd       H=mvú            ó-à-bôm          H=mì-tómá        múè|
       3-black    III.CON=[9]dog    III-PR-frighten    AU=4-sheep      IV.your
       'The black dog frightens your sheep (pl.)'

(10)   *bìvédè bómôtúâ bìvè bínə̀ vá*                                     Fang
       |bì-védè    H=bò-mòtúà      bì-vè        bí-nə̀       vá|
       8-red      VIII.CON=2-car    VIII-other    VIII-COP     here
       'The other red cars are here'

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[1] *dàŋ*, in Fang and Eton, means 'cross' as an independent verb and has the meaning 'most of all' or 'a lot' as a quasi-auxiliary.

Adverbs amount to a rather limited number of elements. The class of ideophones, on the other hand, is very large. In Fang, it includes some hundreds of elements most of which express the impression of a particular sense perception (sound, colour, brightness, form, consistence, movement etc.), as for example *bə̀b bə̀b bə̀b* 'quick', *bɔ̀d bɔ̀d bɔ̀d* 'flexible', *dùg dùg dùg* 'hot', *kɔ́gɔ́lé kɔ́gɔ́lè kɔ́gɔ́lè* 'round', *ɲèɲ ɲèɲ ɲèɲ* 'soft', *tʃɔ̀g tʃɔ̀g* 'bright red, vermilion', *vùg vùg vùg* 'impetuously'.

Prepositions are relatively few. Some of them have a generic meaning. A preposition *á* (before C) ~ *H* (before V), for example, in all Bantu A70 languages, is a default locative preposition whose exact meaning is determined by the semantics of the noun of which it is the head or of the verb on which it depends. Various prepositional meanings are expressed by means of two juxtaposed prepositional phrases, both governed by *á* ~ *H*, the second of which includes as its complement a relational noun.

(11)  *á ǹdʒìí á yób*                                                         Fang
      |á      ǹ-dʒìí      á      yób|
      in     3-roof      in     [5]upper.part
      'on the roof'

(12)  *á nd été*                                                              Fang
      |á      ndɛ́      H      è-té|
      in     [9]house      in     7-inner.part
      'inside the house'

Bantu A70 languages are all tonal. They have three structural tones: low (L), high (H), and dissimilating high (D). D is represented by a low tone when preceded by a high tone, and by a high tone elsewhere. It will be marked by a double high tone accent on the vowel (*a̋*) in the examples that follow. Tones can combine into rising and falling patterns on the surface and high tones can be downstepped ( *ꜜá*). (In Eton the downstepped high tone is a toneme.)

(13)  *dʒàŋ*           'family'                                              Fang
      *dʒáŋ*           'fleetingly' (id.)
      *dʒâŋ*           'disapper, get lost'
      *dʒǎŋ*           'raffia'

Many morphemes (or alternants of morphemes) contain floating tones or consist of a floating tone only.

## 3. Focus

Given the scenario illustrated above, it should be of no surprise that the investigation of information structure is still at the embryonic stage in the field of Bantu A70 languages. As regards focus, in particular, what we have in the available grammatical descriptions of Fang, Bulu, Ewondo and Eton is just a series of preliminary and brief observations, albeit it has a significant impact on the grammar of these languages (especially on their verb morphology, as we will see).

During the course of this talk, I will consider the various focalization strategies described in the literature and which has been observed personally by me in the course of my research on Fang carried out in Bata, in Equatorial Guinea, in 2009, which had the aim of producing a first "technical" grammar of this language.[2] The various devices used to mark constituents as salient

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[2] Yet again, the examples cited are in the dialect of Bata and from my field notes.

enter into relation with different types of constituent: subject, complement, adjunct, verb, and numeral.

## 3.1. Subject

### 3.1.1. Use of personal pronouns
Personal pronouns normally are not used as subjects in the pro-drop Bantu A70 languages. This is because the referents are usually clear from the verbal person-number marking. Only focalized or topicalized subjects are expressed by means of subject pronouns.

(14)     *mǎ màdʒí*                                                                                               Fang
         |mǎ        mə̀-à-dʒí|
         1sg.PP    1sg-PR-eat
         'I eat'

(15)      *mǎ mə̀ŋgátîl*                                                                                           Ewondo
         |mǎ        mə̀-ŋgá-tìl|
         1sg.PP    II-RP-write
         'I wrote' (Essono 1993:493)

(16)      *bɔ́ bə́ˈtɛ́ ˈsá*                                                                                         Eton
         |bɔ́        bə́-Ltɛ́    L-sá|
         II.PP    II-PR     INF-work
         'They are working' (Van de Velde 2007:322)

If there is a nominal subject, a coreferential personal pronoun (of the same gender) follows it.

(17)     *kón éběn édʒɔ̂ dàwúîɲ kón*                                                                              Fang
         |kón       é-běn      é-dʒɔ̂       də̀-à-wúîɲ      kón|
         [9]ghost  IX-only    AU-IX.PP   IX-PR-kill    [9]ghost
         'Only a ghost kills a ghost'

(18)     *yì mòd ɲɛ́ àtɛ́ kwàm dʒóm ɲɛ́ tə̀ yêm*                                                                  Eton
         |yì   N-òd        ɲɛ́     à-Ltɛ́     L-kɔ̀m    H    dʒ-óm      ɲɛ́     tə̀H    yèm|
         Q    1-person    I.PP    I-PR     INF-do   LT   7-thing    I.PP    NEG    know
         'Do people do things without understanding them?' (Van de Velde 2007:322)

### 3.1.2. Use of special contrastive focus pronouns
Interestingly, in Fang and Eton (cf. Van de Velde 2007:140-41), there is a special set of pronouns that tend to be used when the subject of the clause does not have the same reference as the subject of a previously-stated/implied clause.

(19)     *màː màdʒí fə̀*                                                                                           Fang
         |màː       mə̀-à-dʒí      fə̀|
         1sg.CFP   1sg-PR-ear    also
         'I eat, too'

(20)  *bɔ́ꜝtɛ́ ꜝsílâ, ɲágâ àyɛ́blé*                                                                    Eton

      |bɔ́-Ltɛ́     L-sílà     ɲágâ     à-yɛ́blà-H|

      II-PR      INF-ask    I.CFP    I-answer-CS

      'They ask a question and she answers' (Van de Velde 2007:141)

The following table shows the first and second person singular contrastive focus pronouns (CFP) of Fang and Eton in comparison with the corresponding personal pronouns (PP).

| | | | Fang | Eton |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | PP | non-final | *mɘ̀* | *mà* |
| | | final | *mă* | *mă* |
| | CFP | | *màː* | *màgà* |
| 2sg | PP | non-final | *wò* | *wɔ̀* |
| | | final | *wă* | *wɔ̌* |
| | CFP | | *wàː* | *wàgà* |

### 3.1.3. Simultaneous use of personal and contrastive focus pronouns

Interestingly, in Fang, the predicate may be preceded by a contrastive focus pronoun and this by a personal pronoun. The resulting construction is also a focus construction, but more contrastive than the previous one (without the personal pronoun).

(21)  *mă màː màdʒó*                                                                             Fang

      |mă    màː    mɘ̀-à-dʒó|

      1sg.PP  1sg.CFP  1sg-PR-say

      'I say so' (i.e., I have the last word)

### 3.1.4 Use of augmented personal pronouns

Van de Velde (2008:322) reports for Eton a type of subject focus/topic construction in which the verb is preceded by a personal pronoun (coreferential with its subject prefix) which always has a falling tone.

(22)  *ɲɛ̂ ànɛ̌ ímôd àwé*                                                                           Eton

      |H-ɲɛ́   à-nɛ̌   í-m-òd      à-wé|

      AU-I.PP  I-RCOP  AU-1-person  I-SP-REL-kill

      'He is the murdered one' (Van de Velde 2007:323)

The personal pronoun with falling tonality can be analyzed as the augmented antecedent of a relative clause[3] and this is the only situation, in Eton, in which a personal pronoun is "augmented" and modified, just like a nominal head. The focus construction in question is said to be more contrastive than that which makes use of non augmented personal pronouns (3.1.1).

    This strategy is not used in Fang. In this language, third person pronouns always occur in "augmented" form when they are used as subjects (23). While, in other functions, they occur without "augment" (24).

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[3] This interpretation is also supported by the occurrence of a partially suppletive relative form of the copula 'be' after the personal pronoun with falling tonality, as in (23).

(23)     *ɛ́ɲè àsɔ́ á ndɛ́*                                                    Fang
         |é-ɲè     à-sɔ́    á      ndɛ́|
         AU-I.PP   I-come   from   [9]house
         'He comes from the house'


(24)     *bɔ́bí wô ɲɔ́*                                                        Fang
         |bɔ́-bí    wò      ɲɔ́|
         II-get    2sg.PP  I.PP
         'They get it for you' (*te lo agarran*)

**3.1.5 Cleft**
A further strategy used to focus subjects, adopted by all Bantu A70 languages, is by means of a cleft construction which takes the following form:

              copula + focussed constituent + pronominal copy + predicate

Examples:

(25)     *ànɔ̀ ndòŋ ɛ́ɲɔ̂ àːsɔ́ á ndɛ́*                                         Fang
         |à-nɔ̀   ndòŋ    é-ɲɔ̂      à-à-sɔ́       á      ndɛ́|
         I-COP   Ndong   AU-I.PP   I-PR-come    from   house
         'It is Ndong who comes from the house'


(26)     *ínɛ̂ ùkèŋ wɔ́ úyíːbân*                                                Eton
         |í-nè    ù-kèŋ      wɔ́      ú-H-yíːbàn|
         VII-COP  3-knife    III.PP  III-PAST-be.stolen
         'It is a knife that is stolen' (Van de Velde 2007:323)

For lack of an agreement controller, the copula takes a default subject prefix, which, is not the same for all A70 languages: in Fang and Bulu it is the prefix of agreement pattern I (25, 33, 34), while in Eton it is the prefix of pattern V (35) or VII (26). It should be noted that the agreement pattern I in A70 languages is selected not only for agreement in gender. It is used, for example, with an interjection (a word that is by definition genderless, because it is not a noun). The agreement pattern V of Eton might recall the gender 5 of the noun *d-àm* 'thing (immaterial)', while the agreement pattern VII might recall the gender 7 of the noun *ʒ-ŏm* 'thing (material)'.

**3.2. Complements and adjuncts**

**3.2.1 Placement in clause-initial position**
In all Bantu A70 languages, complements and adjuncts can be focalized (or topicalized) by assuming clause-initial position.

(27)     *wǎ mádʒîŋ*                                                           Fang
         |wǎ       mɔ́-á-dʒìŋ|
         2sg.PP    1sg-PR-love
         'I love you'

(28)  *kàː mòbɔ̀ ǎːkɔ̀kɔ̀ ó yób*                                                                         Fang

|kàː      mò-bɔ̀    à-á-kɔ̀•kɔ̀      ó            yób|

without  VI-foot  I-NEG-F•go   towards   upper.part

'Without feet, you don't (lit., he doesn't) arise'

(29)  *ŋ̀kwǎg dʒɛ́ í ꜝmɛ́n bí ꜝté dàŋ ɲǔ*                                                                Eton

|Ǹ-kɔ̌g   dʒɛ́   ímɛ̌n   bí-Lté    L-dàŋ      H   ɲǔ|

3-trunk  what  INTS   1pl-PR   INF-cross  LT  III.DEM

'What kind of trunk are we crossing here?' (Van de Velde 2007:324)

(30)  *kídí màtɛ́ kɛ̀*                                                                                          Eton

|kídí            mɔ̀-Lté     L-kɛ̀|

[9]tomorrow   1sg-PR     INF-go

'Tomorrow I leave' (Van de Velde 2007:324)

### 3.2.2. Placement in clause-initial position and pronominal copy
Preposed complements can be followed in Eton by an augmented personal pronoun.

(31)  *nwé yɔ̂ zàmá àŋgálóm nâ bɔ́dâŋ ɲɛ́ á mbúz*                                              Eton

|ɲóé      H-yɔ́     zàmá   à-ŋgá-lóm   nâ    H-bɔ́-dàŋ-L    ɲɛ́   á    mbúz|

[9]snake  AU-IX.PP  God   1-RP-send   CMP   SB-II-cross-SB  I.PP  on  [9]back

'The snake, God sent it so that they could cross (the river) on its back' (Van de Velde 2007:325)

### 3.2.3. Placement in clause-initial position and use of a focus particle
Again in Eton (Van de Velde 2007:325), a preposed focused complement can also be followed by a special focus particle: *yî*.

(32)  *mwé yî mà màtɛ́ dǎŋ ꜝyág*                                                                        Eton

|m-óé    yî     mà      mɔ̀-Lté   L-dàŋ      H    L-yág|

6-name  FOC   1sg.PP   1sg-PR   INF-cross[4]  LT   INF-need

'It's the name I need most!' (Van de Velde 2007:325)

This particle is segmentally identical to the question marker *yì* (Van de Velde 2007:326) and this might be not casual. In various languages of the world, focus constructions and questions (constituent questions in particular) are very similar as Haiman (1985:237ff) indicates: they share the function of foregrounding a referent and backgrounding the remainder of the proposition.

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[4] See note 1.

**3.2.4. Cleft**

In all Bantu A70 languages, both complement and adjunct can also be focussed by using a cleft construction.

(33)    *ànə̀ àbág édɔ̂ bɔ́dʒíb mǎ*                                                                   Fang
        |à-nə̀      à-bág      é-dɔ̀       bɔ́-dʒíb    mǎ|
        I-COP    5-book    AU-V.PP    II-steal    1sg.PP
        'It's a book that they stolen from me'

(34)    *ànə̀ mə̀túà ép̀ə̀ ndòŋgò àŋgákùs*                                                            Bulu
        |à-nə̀      mə̀túà     é-ɲə̀        ndòŋgò     à-ŋgá-kùs|
        I-COP    [1]car    AU-I.PP    Ndongo     I-RP-buy
        'It's a car that Ndongo bought' (Ndi 2001:83)

(35)    *ɛ́nê àná wɔ̂ àté sù:nì*                                                                      Eton
        |ɛ́-nè      à-ná       wɔ́      à-Lté    L-sù:nì|
        V-COP    3-today    III.PR    I-PR    INF-come
        'It's today that he comes' (Van de Velde 2007:194)

**3.3. Verbs**

In the same languages, verbs are focalized by reduplicating their stem, or more precisely, adding a reduplicative *CV•* prefix to their stem (a reduplicant that copies the first two segments of the element that follows). The vowel of the reduplicative prefix is always short and often reduced. In Fang only four vowels appear in the reduplicants (36).

(36)    stem                                  prefix
        /i/, /iː/                              /i/
        /e/, /eː/, /ɛ/, /ɛː/, /ə/, /a/, /aː/    /ə/
        /ɔ/, /ɔː/, /o/, /oː/                   /o/
        /u/, /uː/                              /u/

There are no toneless syllables in Bantu A70 languages, and the reduplicative *CV•* prefix is not an exception. Its tone is established by rather complex rules (which we will not consider here).

(37)    *édɔ́ òsɔ̀g àbòbɔ̀ fɔ̆d*                                                                      Fang
        |édɔ́      òsɔ̀g        à-bò•bɔ̀    fɔ̆d|
        then    [1]monkey    I-F•do      [9]party
        'Then the monkey had (lit., did) a party'

(38)    *mìyéyènə̀yà*                                                                            Bulu
        |mì-yé•yén-ə̀yà|
        2pl-F•see-PERF
        'You saw'  (Alexandre 1966:127)

(39)  *mə̀ndím mə́꜖té́ ꜖sə́sín*                                                                      Eton
      |mə̀-ndím  mə́-Lté́   L-sə́•sín|
      6-water   VI-PR    INF-F•be.cold
      'The water is really cold' (Van de Velde 2007:321)

Verb reduplication also has an habitual meaning in Bantu A70 languages and this is the value usually attributed to it in the available descriptions of Fang (Bibang Oyee 2007:163), Bulu (Alexandre 1966:67, 127) and Ewondo (Essono 1993:540).

(40)  *màkókɔ̀bɔ́*                                                                                Fang
      |mə̀-à-kó•kɔ́bɔ́|
      1sg-PR-F•speak
      'I usually speak'

(41)  *wàdídí dzé?*                                                                               Ewondo
      |ò-à-dí•dí      dzé|
      2sg-PR-F•eat    what
      'What do you usually eat?' (Essono 1993:540)

(42)  *ŋgálə́ wàm àkókɔ̀bó*                                                                        Bulu
      |ŋgálə́   wàm    à-kó•kɔ̀bó|
      [1]wife  I.my   I-F•speak
      'My wife does nothing but speak' (Alexandre 1966:127)

In Eton, in the presence of the adverb 'already', verb reduplication can be translated as 'always' (Van de Velde 320)

(43)  *mə̀ndím mə́꜖té́ ꜖sə́sín àyă*                                                                 Eton
      |mə̀-ndím  mə́-Lté́   L-sə́•sín           àyă|
      6-water   VI-PR    INF-F•be.cold      already
      'The water has always been cold' or
      'The water is always cold' (Van de Velde 2007:320)

While, accompanied by the adverb 'really' or with a negative verb form and the adverb 'at all', it conveys insistence.

(44)  *àsə̀sə́ kîg vá*                                                                            Eton
      |à-sə̀•sə́      kîg    vá|
      I-F-NCOP     at.all  here
      'It really isn't here' (Van de Velde 2007:321)

It has to be noted that in Bantu A70 languages focus concerns the lexical meaning of the verb ("verb focus"), but apparently not predicate operators like the truth value of the utterance or such categories as tense, aspect, modality etc. ("operator focus"). Bantu A70 languages do not have free form particles expressing TAM values, but only affixes and auxiliaries, as indicated. It remains to investigate if auxiliaries can be focused by means of reduplicative prefixes or not (as it seems).

### 3.4. Numerals
In Eton, also numerals can be focalized by reduplicating their stem (root).

(45)     *ìtón bə́kê̂ dàŋ ná b̲ə́s̲ə̲̀s̲â̲m̲à̲*                                                                          Eton
         |ìtón    bə́-H-kè̂    L-dàŋ      nə̂    bə́-sə̀•sâmà|
         Eton   II-PST-go   INF-cross   thus   II-F•six
         'The Eton crossed (the river being) only six!' (Van de Velde 2007:321)

This strategy is not applied in Fang, where reduplicating a numeral means obtaining a distributive numeral.

### 3.5. An overview
To sum up our talk, we will re-examine the various focus types met in Fang and in the other Bantu A70 languages and how these are distinguished from each other.

**Focus strategies in Bantu A70 languages**

| Scope | Strategy | Languages |
|---|---|---|
| subject | use of personal pronouns | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| | use of contrastive focus pronouns | Fang, Eton |
| | simultaneous use of personal and contrastive focus pronouns | Fang |
| | use of augmented personal pronouns | Eton |
| | cleft construction | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| complement | placement in clause-initial position | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| | placement in clause-initial position and pronominal copy | Eton |
| | placement in clause-initial position and use of a focus particle | Eton |
| | cleft construction | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| adjunct | placement in clause-initial position | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| | cleft construction | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| verb | prefixation of a reduplicative *CV•* morpheme | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| numeral | prefixation of a reduplicative *CV•* morpheme | Eton |

**Multifunctionality of three focus strategies**

| Strategy | Scope | Languages |
|---|---|---|
| placement in clause-initial position | complement, adjunct | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| cleft construction | subject, complement, adjunct | Fang, Bulu, Ewondo, Eton |
| prefixation of a reduplicative *CV•* morpheme | verb, numeral | Eton |

The study of focus in Bantu A70 languages is in need of further research. What we saw are still simple preliminary observations.

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## Abbreviations

AU = augment; CAUS = causative; CFP = contrastive focus pronoun; CMP = complementizer; CON = connective morpheme; COP = copula; CS = consecutive; DEM = demonstrative; F = focus rediplicant; FOC = focus particle; HOD.P = hodiernal past; IMPF = imperfective; INF = infinitive; INTS = intensifier; LT = link tone; NCOP = negative form of the copula; NEG = negative; NOM = nominalizer; PERF = perfect; PN = pronominalizer; PP = personal pronoun; PR = present; Q = interrogative particle; RCOP = relative form of the copula; REL = relative verb form; RP = remote past; SB = subjunctive.