Elena Callegari (University of Iceland)

Mande: Closely related languages, different focus architectures

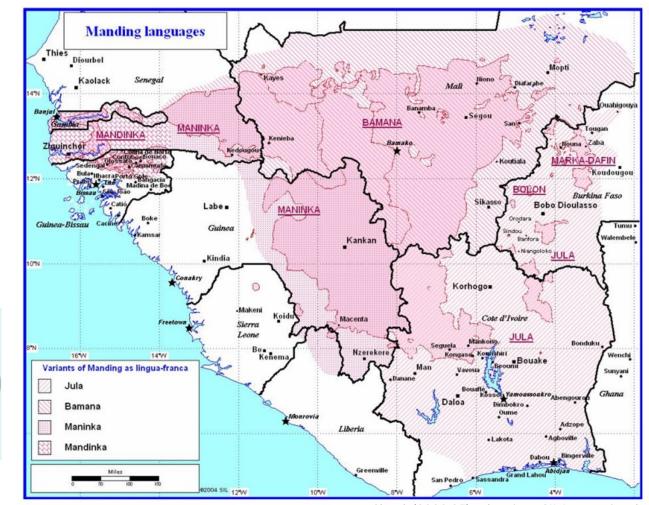
Goals

- To illustrate the focus architecture of Jula of Tougan, an undocumented variety of Jula (West Mande);
- To compare it with that of other Manding languages (Bambara and Jula of Banfora);
- To reflect on how the focus architecture of otherwise closely related languages might differ.

The Manding Continuum

Manding continuum

- A group of closely related languages part of the West Mande group.
- This group includes Bambara (Mali), Jula (Ivory Coast/western Burkina Faso), Mandinka (Gambia), Maninka (Guinea), and Bolon (Burkina Faso).





Slezak (2009:25), taken from SIL International.

Jula as a Lingua Franca

- Jula is a trade language. It is among one of the most important linguae francae of West Africa, along with Hausa and Wolof.
- Jula and Bambara are mutually intelligible.
- Jula and Bambara are considered variants of the same language by the local speakers (Donaldson 2019)

Main Features of Jula & Bambara

- Tone languages
- Rigid SOV order
- Pre-verbal TAM-marking
- No case marking
- Either no or optional wh- movement
- Focus particles to express focus



Jula of Tougan



Focus Particles in Jula of Tougan

Lo is used to express focus.

- Placed immediately to the right of the constituent over which it scopes.
- This can be the verb, an argument or an adjunct.
 There is also no distinction between subject and non-subject focus.

Lo

- 1) A: "What did Amadou slaughter?"
 - B: "He slaughtered a sheep"
 - AyesagaIofagaHeTAMsheepFOCslaughter
- 2) A: "Who cooked the rice?"
 - B: 'It's Seydou who cooked the rice'
 Seydou lo ka malo tobi
 Seydou FOC ASP rice cook

Information= Corrective = Mirative

Corrective

3) 'She bought a BICYCLE, not a DRESS'

А	ka	neiguesso	lo	san,	fani	te
She	TAM	bicycle	FOC	buy,	dress	NEG

Mirative

4) 'She bought a GIRAFFE! Can you believe it?'

AyeGiraffiIosan! Ikaminwa?SheTAM giraffeFOC buy! YoubelieveINT?

"Only" & Negative Quantifiers

- 5) A: "Did Seydou eat a lot?"
 - B: "No, he only ate chicken"
 On on, a bi sisse doron lo dumu
 No, he TAM chicken only FOC eat
- 6) A: "What did they buy?"
 - B: "They bought nothing"
 - OmafoyiIosanTheyTAMnothingFOCbuy

Presentational Constructions

'Lo' doesn't just appear in traditional focus environments, it is also found in presentational constructions:

- 7) A: "Who is it?"
 - B: Seydou **lo** Seydou PRT 'It's Seydou'

 \rightarrow **Double status** of 'lo' as focus AND presentational marker

Presentational Constructions

Creissel (1981), Heine & Reh (1984): Manding focus markers originate from a **protoform of the presentational marker, 'le'**.

Protoform	Present-day Focus Markers			
/le/	lé, lè, de, lo			
	Slezak (2009)			

Presentational Constructions

Slezak (2009): most Manding languages retain **two separate morphemes** to express Focus and Presentation (e.g. Bambara)

Creissels (1981): Jula of Kong shows the form /lòmu/, a combination of /mu/ (Presentation) and /lè/ (Focus).

Jula of Tougan: a unique morpheme to express both Presentation and Focus.

Focus Architecture of Jula of Tougan

Based on the distribution of 'lo', I will be assuming that focus is involved in the realization of presentational constructions.

In presentational constructions, a new referent is introduced in the discourse. Unlike in the case of information focus (e.g. answers to wh-questions), this new referent is not evaluated against a contrast set.

Focus type	JULA
Information	Lo
Contrastive	Lo
Corrective	Lo
Mirative	Lo
Presentation	Lo

Jula of Tougan vs. Bambara

Hit In will

Focus in Bambara

Where Jula of TouganusesIoBambarausesde and don

(sources: Bird 1977, Prokhorov 2014)

Focus in Bambara

Information, Contrastive, Corrective and Mirative = **DE**

- 8) A: What did Amadou slaughter?"
 - B: 'He slaughtered a *sheep*'

А	ye	saga	de	faga
He	IMP	sheep	PRT	slaughter

(Prokhorov 2014:4)

Presentational Constructions = DON

9) Tabali **don** Table PRT "It's a table"

Manding Focus Architecture

Focus type	JULA of Tougan	BAMBARA
Information	Lo	De
Contrastive	Lo	De
Corrective	Lo	De
Presentation	Lo	Don

BAM: de/don distinction is evidence in favor of assuming that 'presentation focus' is its own category.



Tougan vs. Banfora



Slezak (2009)

Focus inventory: de, le, lo

- Le, de to express Contrastive, Corrective
- Lo to express Presentational, Information

Sociolinguistics factors:

- Younger speakers use 'lo' more frequently than 'le'
- De mainly used by speakers with ties to Bambara

Jula of Banfora (Slezak 2007)

Lo

- Can only be used adnominally
- Cannot be negated

Le/de

- Can also be used after verbs and propositions
- Can appear in negative-polarity environments

Manding Focus Architecture

Focus type	JULA Tougan	JULA Banfora	BAMBARA
Contrastive	Lo	Le	De
Corrective	Lo	Le	De
Information	Lo	Lo	De
Presentation	Lo	Lo	Don

Manding Focus Architecture

How to make sense of the differences in focus marking strategies? If we order focus types based on their supposed contrastivity, a pattern emerges:

	Presentation	Information	Contrastive	Corrective
Jula of Tougan	*	*	*	*
Bambara	+	*	*	*
Jula of Banfora	+	+	*	*

A Contrastivity scale

Less contrastive *presentation* < *information* < *contrastive / corrective*

Differences in **focus-marking strategies reflect differences in the contrastivity** of the focus types being marked.

We do not expect that the same morpheme will be used to mark two focus types at the opposite ends of the scale.

Thanks!

ecallegari@hi.is



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Appendices

Is 'lo' the copula?

'Lo' is not the only way to realize the copula:

10) Seydou yi cě ye Seydou TAM man to 'Seydou is a man'

Use of 'lo' to express the copula is restricted to positive-polarity environments:

11) Saa te *Snake* NEG 'It's not a snake'

Is 'lo' a cleft marker?

'Lo' structures don't have the appearance of clefts. Compare with Zulu (Nguni, Southern Bantu):

12) Uini? bona 2ndSGwhat9 see 'What do you see?' 13) **Y**ini yibonayo? 0-COP- what9 RC OC9-RS see-'What is it that you see?

Wh- Movement

- 14)Fantakamundumu?(BAM)FantaTAMwhateat"What did Fanta eat?"
- 15) Mu lo Fanta ka dumu? (Tougan) What PRT Fanta TAM eat "What did Fanta eat?"

Jula of Tougan: optional wh-movement. If the wh- element is fronted, 'lo' must appear to its right.

"Le" Allomorph

16)

A: "Who ate the chocolate?"

B:	Lassina	le	ka	chocola		dum	U	
	Lassina	lo	ka	chocola		dum	u	
	Lassina	FOC	TAM	chocolate		eat		
	"Lassina ate the chocolate"							
C:	On on,	cěn	té.	Seydou	lo		ka	dumu
	On on,	cěn	té.	Seydou	le		ka	dumu
	No	truth	NEG	Seydou	FOC		TAM	eat
	"NIa that's				_ 11			

"No, that's not true. SEYDOU ate the chocolate'

'Le' used by my language consultant in only 5% of the sentences I collected. In all the environments 'le' was used, my consultants report that 'lo' could have been used instead, with no difference in meaning.