

MANDE 5



5th International Conference on Mande Languages and Linguistics
5^e Colloque International sur les Langues et la Linguistique Mandé

VILLEJUIF, APRIL 18-20, 2018

Abstracts

Réfléchi, moyen, et la reconstruction de l'ordre des constituants en pré-*proto-mandé*

Du fait de l'uniformité et de la rigidité totale de l'ordre des constituants SVOX en *mandé*, la simple application de la méthode comparative ne permet pas d'aller au-delà de l'hypothèse par défaut selon laquelle c'est aussi cet ordre qui doit être reconstruit en *proto-mandé*. Toutefois, le fait que cet ordre constitue une rareté typologique a conduit de nombreux chercheurs à s'interroger sur la possibilité de l'interpréter comme dérivé d'un ordre typologiquement plus courant (SVO canonique ou SOV canonique) qu'aurait pu avoir l'ancêtre des langues *mandé* à date plus ancienne. Le problème est que les propositions faites jusqu'ici, soit en faveur de SVO (Claudi 1994), soit en faveur de SOV (Nikitina 2011), s'appuient exclusivement sur des considérations typologiques et/ou sur la plausibilité de certains chemins de grammaticalisation. Or on sait maintenant que les régularités typologiques dans le domaine de l'ordre des mots sont beaucoup moins fortes que ce qui était admis il y a quelques dizaines d'années, et en termes de grammaticalisation / réanalyse, il est *a priori* également possible d'imaginer des scénarios tout aussi plausibles les uns que les autres faisant provenir SOVX de SVO canonique ou de SOV canonique.

La question qui se pose, et à laquelle aucune réponse n'a été apportée jusqu'ici, est donc de savoir s'il existe dans la morphologie des langues *mandé* des indices concrets susceptibles de servir de base à une hypothèse selon la méthode de reconstruction interne.

Dans ma communication au 5e Colloque International sur les Langues et la Linguistique *Mandé*, je voudrais proposer que l'observation du réfléchi et de la voix moyenne dans les langues *mandé* fournit des données susceptibles d'être interprétées en faveur de l'hypothèse d'un ordre SVO ancien.

D'une part, des pronoms réfléchis susceptibles de provenir d'un pronom réfléchi *proto-mandé* *i sont répandus à travers toute la famille *mandé*. D'autre part une voix moyenne (ou détransitivisante) marquée par une modification de la voyelle finale des bases verbales explicable par la suffixation d'un ancien *i est attestée avec plus ou moins de productivité en *soninké*, *bozo* et *bobo*. On ne peut pas exclure que cette coïncidence soit l'effet du hasard, mais la fréquence de l'évolution réfléchi > moyen à travers les langues du monde rend très plausible l'hypothèse que ce marqueur moyen soit issu de la grammaticalisation du pronom réfléchi *i en fonction d'objet. Or si cette grammaticalisation s'était produite dans le cadre d'une construction prédicative de type SOVX ou SOV canonique, elle n'aurait pas débouché sur la création d'un suffixe, mais plutôt d'un préfixe. Donc, à supposer que le marqueur de moyen attesté en *soninké*, *bozo* et *bobo* soit effectivement apparenté au pronom réfléchi *i, cela signifierait qu'au stade où s'est effectuée la grammaticalisation, la construction prédicative était de type SVO.

Références

- Claudi, Ulrike. 1994. Word order change as category change: The Mande case. In William Pagliuca (ed.) *Perspectives on grammaticalization* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 109), 201–241. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Nikitina, Tatiana. 2011. Categorical reanalysis and the origin of the S-O-V-X word order in Mande. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 32(2). 251–273.

Mande-Songhay

In this talk I explore the possibility that Proto-Songhay, whose morphosyntax is best reflected in eastern Songhay, not only resembles Mande languages typologically but may have directly borrowed the key grammatical morpheme that makes its morphosyntax work.

Like some Mande languages, eastern Songhay languages such as Koyraboro Senni (Gao) and Humburi Senni (Hombori) have S-infl-O-V-X syntax, except that some non-impact transitives are S-infl-V-X (X includes O). This pattern is likely reconstructible for Proto-Songhay. In the predominant S-infl-O-V-X type, both eastern Songhay and some Mande languages disallow direct contiguity of S and O. When this would otherwise occur, namely in the perfective positive, a linking morpheme (technically, a bidirectional case marker) is obligatorily inserted between S and O. In Songhay, this marker takes the form *na*.

The typological similarity between eastern Songhay and Mande is well known from publications by Creissels and others. Given that Mande is almost exclusively SOVX, a reasonable assumption is that Proto-Songhay was the product of language shift from a Mande substratum to an intrusive language, possibly of Nilo-Saharan stock. The hallmarks of rapid language shift are: substantial preservation of substratal phonology and prosody applied to exclusively or overwhelmingly superstratum core lexicon, and simplified morphosyntax including some substratal features. However, if the preserved substratal morphosyntax relied on a crucial linking morpheme that had no counterpart in the superstratum, this linker may be directly borrowed, as has recently been shown for the shift from Late Latin to archaic Moroccan Arabic including borrowing of a possessive linker.

The issue then is whether bidirectional *na* has a Songhay etymon (such as a ‘take’ verb) or was borrowed (as part of the S-infl-O-V-X construction) from Mande. I argue that there is no credible Songhay-internal etymology. I assemble evidence from several Mande languages pointing to an ancient **n(a)* in the relevant infl position, and suggest the possibility of an ancient borrowing into Songhay. As with Moroccan Arabic, this would confirm that an abstract grammatical morpheme may be directly borrowed even when no core lexicon is borrowed.

Bidirectional case marking in Wan

A number of West African languages, including Songhay and some Central Mande languages, make use of what has been described by Heath (2007) as a bidirectional case marker. It is a marker that only appears in SOV(X) structures, preventing linear adjacency of subjects and objects (examples 1a-c, based on Heath 2007). It does not appear in constructions where either the subject or the object is missing or where the subject and the object are separated by an auxiliary. Bidirectional case markers unambiguously identify the roles of the preceding and the following constituent as S and O, but they cannot, unlike other types of case markers, be grouped together with either the subject or the object. They are commonly described in grammars as transitivity markers or auxiliaries with a restricted distribution (Kastenholz 1989: 67; Creissels & Diagne 2013, *inter alia*).

This study presents evidence for the use of a bidirectional marker in Wan, a Southeastern Mande language spoken in Cote d'Ivoire. The marker behaves largely like previously described bidirectional markers from other Mande languages, but it is also in some respects unique. Its special properties shed light on the function and diachronic development of bidirectional marking.

First, the use of the marker is not fully determined by linear adjacency of S and O. There are contexts where the marker is optional. I discuss its distribution in texts and show that its use is sensitive to factors such as the argument's pronominality. This sensitivity suggests that bidirectional case marking may be subject to the same functional pressures as differential argument marking in canonical split alignment systems.

Second, the bidirectional marker of Wan has an additional function: besides serving as a separator between certain types of subjects and objects, it is also used, together with a post-verbal subject marker, to indicate subject focus (2a vs. 2b). I use parallels from languages with optional or pragmatic ergative marking to argue that the two functions of the marker are diachronically related.

I address implications of bidirectional case marking for functional accounts of differential argument marking. Unlike canonical cases of differential argument marking, bidirectional case marking cannot be explained by considerations of argument disambiguation. Mande languages have rigid word order and do not allow core argument to be dropped. As a result, subjects and objects are clearly distinguished and need not be disambiguated. A better alternative is presented by accounts based on considerations of syntactic parsing: the marker effectively marks the syntactic boundary of the subject constituent, making it easier for the listener to parse transitive clauses; such marking could be expected to be particularly useful in languages that lack nominal dependent marking and do not use intonation to mark constituent boundaries. I discuss data from Wan that presents problems for the simple parsing-based account and instead suggests linear constraints on the placement of certain types of pronouns.

A microtypological survey of inflectional tone in Mande

Mande languages have relatively little segmental morphology but they tend to use grammatically conditioned tone alternations to encode certain morphosyntactic meanings. For example, in Mwan (Southern Mande), any verb gets /M/ tone in imperfective construction (Perekhval'skaya 2006: 305). This phenomenon is particularly common for African languages (Welmers 1973) though its cross-linguistic patterning has been little studied to date. The paper presents a microtypological study of grammatical tone in Mande with a special focus on nominal and verbal inflectional morphology.

Inflectional tone is attested in languages belonging to various Mande branches – in Soninke, Bambara, Vai, Boko as well as various languages of Southwestern and Southern branches. In Mande, grammatical tones are overwhelmingly replacive, i.e. they tend to overwrite lexical tones of the morpheme, as is the case in Mwan. The other option, i.e. additive tone either preceding or following lexical tone without replacing it, is a much rarer case attested in Bambara (Manding, Vydrin 2016) with its low tone referential suffix and in Kono (Southwestern) having what could be analysed as a floating low tone 3SG prefix (Konoshenko 2017). The preference for replacive rather than additive tones in Mande can at least partly be explained by a commonly attested process of tone spread, which still is or might have been productive in these languages.

There is no implicational relationship between tone functioning as grammatical marker on nouns vs. verbs in Mande. Some languages, e.g. Bambara (Manding), Mende and Looma (Southwestern), only have inflectional tone on nouns, but not on verbs. Other languages, e.g. Mwan and Beng (Southern), only have tonal morphology on verbs. Finally, a large set of languages, e.g. Soninke (Soninke-Bozo), Vai (Vai-Kono), Guinean Kpelle (Southwestern), Mano (Southern) and Boko (Eastern), have tonal morphology on both nouns and verbs. However, the cross-linguistic distribution of grammatical tone on nouns vs. verbs and its functions in specific languages call for different historical scenarios.

Replacive tone lowering typically marks the last element (head) of non-anchoring possessive constructions with generic possessor and compounds of N_{GEN}+N type, sometimes also adjectives in N+Adj combination, where adjectives can be similarly analysed as syntactic heads, cf. Nikitina (2017: 1038) on Wan. Tonal head marking is attested in genetically very diverse set of languages, including Soninke, Vai, all Southwestern Mande languages and Dan-Mano-Tura branch within Southern Mande group. In yet other languages, e.g. in Manding group, Susu and Wan (Southern), there is no specific head-marking replacive tone, but similar NP types show what is commonly labelled as “tonal compactness”, for an up-to-date overview see Green (2017). In tonally compact phrases, lexical tone of the head is deleted, and the tone of the left element spreads on the head, cf. Vydrin (2016) on Bambara with tonal compactness vs. Dan-Gwɛɛtaa with head-marking replacive tone. The parallelism of these two phenomena resulting in the neutralization of lexical tone on NP heads suggests that tonal head-marking in NPs could be reconstructed already for Proto-Mande, cf. also Vydrin (2017: 34-35).

Tone marking on verbs, albeit being generally replacive, is otherwise structurally and functionally quite diverse across different Mande languages. Many languages, e.g., Southern and Eastern Mande, tend to have a single tonal morpheme occurring in a specific TAM construction. In such cases, a segmental diachronic source of tonal morpheme is sometimes traceable. Still, tonal marking on verbs can be more morphologically complex, involving inflectional classes, e.g. in Guro (Kuznetsova and Kuznetsova 2017) and/or polyfunctionality of a single morpheme (syncretism), e.g. in Beng (Paperno 2014). Tonal marking on verbs is attested in all Southern Mande languages, but it is quite likely to have appeared as a result of recent grammaticalization of segmental suffixes in individual branches or languages (Vydrin 2012). Grammatical tonal morphemes in the remaining Mande branches tend to be polyfunctional and syncretic suggesting that they are relatively old. Hence, more complex historical scenarios are needed to account for synchronic patterning of tonal morphology on verbs in Mande.

References

- Green, Christofer. 2017. Towards a typology of ‘tonal compactness’ in Mande. Paper presented at 48th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Indiana University Bloomington, March 30–April 2, 2017. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Christopher_Green22/publication/316191848_Towards_a_typology_of_%27tonal_compactness%27_in_Mande/links/58f60660a6fdcc839765bdb1/Towards-a-typology-of-tonal-compactness-in-Mande.pdf
- Konoshenko, Maria. 2017. Field notes on Kono, a Southwestern Mande lect of Forest Guinea. *Mandenkan* 57, 77–107.
- Kuznetsova, Natalia, and Olga Kuznetsova. 2017. Guro. In: Valentin Vydrin, Julia Mazurova, Andrej Kibrik, Elena Markus (eds.). *Jazyki mira: Jazyki mande [Languages of the world. The Mande languages]*. Saint-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria. 766–876.
- Nikitina, Tatiana. 2017. Wan. In: Valentin Vydrin, Julia Mazurova, Andrej Kibrik, Elena Markus (eds.). *Jazyki mira: Jazyki mande [Languages of the world. The Mande languages]*. Saint-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria. 1032–1051.
- Paperno, Denis. 2014. Grammatical sketch of Beng. *Mandenkan* 51, 1–130.
- Perekhval'skaya, Elena. 2006. Glagol'naya morfologija v mwan [Verbal morphology in Mwan] // *Proceedings of Institute for Linguistic Studies*. 2(2). Saint-Petersburg: Nauka. 296–322.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2012. Aspektual'nyje sistemy južnyx mande v diaxroničeskoj perspektive [Aspectual systems of Southern Mande in diachronic perspective]. In: Nikolaj Kazanskij (ed.), *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*, Vol. 8, p. 2.. Saint-Petersburg : Nauka, 566–647.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2016. Tonal inflection in Mande languages: The cases of Bamana and Dan-Gwæta. In: Enrique L. Palancar, Jean Léo Léonard (eds.). *Tone and inflection. New facts and perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 83–105.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2017. Mande jazyki [Mande languages] In: Valentin Vydrin, Julia Mazurova, Andrej Kibrik, Elena Markus (eds.). *Jazyki mira: Jazyki mande [Languages of the world. The Mande languages]*. Saint-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria. 16–45.
- Welmers, William. 1976. *A Grammar of Vai*. Berkeley — Los Angeles — London: University of California Press.

Tonal asymmetries between word classes and word shapes as a key to tonal reconstruction

Many Mande languages show important asymmetries in the tone patterns available for words of different classes and word shapes. Such tonal asymmetries offer an invaluable window on the history of tone systems that have them. This paper takes Tura, a Southeastern Mande language spoken in Côte d'Ivoire, as an illustration of how tonal asymmetries can be fruitfully exploited for purposes of tonal reconstruction with some far-reaching implications for the tonal reconstruction of Mande as a whole.

Tura uses the mora as the tone-bearing unit and has four tone levels: *ǎ* extra-high E (from the *e* of *extra*), *á* high H, *à* low L and *ǎ* extra-low G (from the *g* of *grave accent*). However, the full four tone level range is exploited only on bimoraic nominal stems and on monomoraic pronominal stems. Monomoraic CV nominal stems distinguish three tone levels, viz. E, H and G. Monomoraic CV postpositions and verbal stems are characterised by the smallest range of only two tone levels, viz. E and G for postpositions and E and H for verbal stems. I argue that CV verbal stems faithfully reflect the original two-level tone system with $E < *H$ and $H < *L$, while the present L and G also both go back to $*L$. In monomoraic words of other word classes, the original two level tone system has been somewhat blurred by later independent developments and borrowings. An important property of Tura segmental phonology that is directly relevant for tonal reconstruction is that Tura strongly tends to faithfully preserve the weight of bimoraic stems. This makes it very unlikely that the current tone patterns of CV verbal stems could have resulted from simplification of tone sequences due to contraction of earlier bimoraic stems.

Together with a number of other Southeastern Mande languages, Tura boasts some of the richest Mande tone systems in terms of tone levels. An important outcome of the proposed reconstruction is that even such exuberant tone systems as that of Tura (and even more exuberant ones of some of the neighbouring varieties of Dan) can be safely brought back to an earlier two-level tone system. Given that the same can also be argued for the tone systems of Western Mande languages which are usually much more modest (cf. Dwyer 1994 on Bobo), Proto Mande can be equally safely reconstructed with just two tone levels.

Question Intonation in Southern Bobo Madaré

There is growing interest in the intonation of West African languages, which have been underrepresented in the intonation literature despite having relevant typological features. For example, Downing & Rialland (2016) aims to address this by soliciting descriptions of the intonational systems of multiple African tone languages. However, no Mande languages are included in this volume and relatively little work has been done on the intonation of Mande languages so far. This is the motivation for the current project, which is to describe the intonational system of Southern Bobo Madaré, a Mande language spoken in Burkina Faso. This presentation will focus on its question intonation.

Bobo has a large inventory of lexical tones: three level tones (low, mid, high) and four contour tones (low-mid, low-high, mid-low, high-low). This makes it particularly interesting for the study of how intonation interacts with lexical tone. In Bobo, polar questions can optionally be formed using intonation only—that is, a polar question can be segmentally identical to the equivalent statement, as in the example below:

- (1) nēmē bǎ yàrà tiò.
 boy DEM women.PL know
The boy knows these women.
- (2) nēmē bǎ yàrà tiò?
 boy DEM women.PL know
Does the boy know these women?

The preliminary results show that elicited questions have a significantly prolonged final vowel and a falling intonational contour. Following the autosegmental-metrical approach (Pierrehumbert 1980), this falling intonational contour can be analyzed as result of a low boundary tone—a discrete tone associated with the edges of the phrase. This is partially consistent with the “lax question prosody” described by Rialland (2009), an areal question intonation found in languages spoken in the Sahel region. The data analyzed so far suggests that boundary tone is appended linearly after the final lexical tone, resulting in complex pitch contours. When the resulting final contours contain more than two tone targets, they may be simplified.

In recorded conversations, the intonational contours of polar questions are much more variable, showing that a combination of methods is necessary for a complete description. Elicitation of planned sentences allows for the controlled study of the linguistic contrast between different intonational contours, but obscures the influence of the pragmatic context. However, existing descriptions of intonation in Mande languages often do not explicitly discuss methods or are based on limited data, making their results difficult to interpret. This presentation will also discuss the available methods for collecting intonational data, especially in the context of West African tone languages.

References

- Downing, L. & Rialland, A. (Eds.). (2016). *Intonation in African Tone Languages* (1-16). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pierrehumbert, J. B. (1980). *The Phonology and Phonetics of English Intonation*. MIT. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.
- Rialland, A. (2009). The African lax question prosody: its realisation and geographical distribution. *Lingua* , 119, 928-949.

The Phonology of Gbɛɛka of Gbessoba

Gbɛɛka is a group of Manding dialects spoken by about 30,000 people in the prefecture of Beyla, Guinea, and also in Cote d'Ivoire. The western Gbɛɛka varieties are linguistically close to the neighbouring varieties of Konya.

Apart from some usual South Manding characteristics, such as inverted tones, Gbɛɛka has a number of specific phonological features which may be arguably explained by South Mande (Dan, more specifically) substratum.

These features include, in vocalism: 1) the emergence of *u* as a result of the fall of intervocalic velars in the *i-i* vocalic frame, cf. Gbɛɛka *súuu* 'to sit', *túuu* 'owner' and Maninka *sìgi*, *tìgi*; 2) the emergence of *ə* as a result of the fall of intervocalic velars the *i-ε/e-e* vocalic frames: *tàə* 'to cut' (cf. Bamana *tìgε* and Maninka *tège*); 3) the emergence of *ʌ*. In consonantism, the emergence of approximant consonants: Gbɛɛka *bʌð* 'hand' and Maninka *bólo*, Gbɛɛka *kʌn* and Maninka *kàran* 'to read'.

ə, *u* and *ʌ* also occur quite unpredictably in other contexts, e.g.: *mə* 'where?', *súsa* 'to scratch', *sùnuun* 'tomorrow', *siúri* 'to tie', *dínun* 'root', *bélè* 'work', *mʌè* 'rice', *démè* 'to help', *jèna* 'mouse', *kè* 'heritage', *kénè* OPT:NEG, etc. It can be argued that a "standard" Manding 7-vowel system has evolved in Gbɛɛka into a 10-vowel one.

Pronominalization of the NP head in Dan-Gwɛetaa

Normally, a pronoun substitutes an entire noun phrase (NP), although there are well-known exceptions, such as English *one*. *One* can substitute N' and have an attribute (1) or a prepositional adjunct (2), however, it cannot replace the head of NP (i.e. N) and have a complement (3).

In Dan-Gwɛetaa (South Mande) the personal/anaphoric 3SG pronoun *ǎ*, whose main function is to substitute a whole NP (4), can also substitute the first projection of noun, i.e. N'. Cf. (5), where the pronoun is coreferential to the segment of the NP that includes the head and the left modifier (possessor), but not the right modifier (an attribute). *ǎ* can be coreferential to the head of NP, excluding both leftward and rightward modifiers (6). Such a pronominalization is not acceptable when the attributive modifier is represented by a clausal attribute, i.e. a relative clause. In this case, the 3SG pronoun appears with a determinant *dhé* 'other' (7).

If a NP head has a left modifier (a genitive), *ǎ* cannot be used. In this case, pronominalization is assured by the lexeme *bhǎ*. *Bhǎ* goes back to the possessive connector in the construction of alienable possession which, in its turn, goes back to the locative postposition *bhǎ*. In fact, the possessive connector can still be regarded as a postposition, while the pronoun *bhǎ* (glossed as PRON in (8)) is already a different lexeme: its function is radically different, and the construction with *bhǎ* cannot be represented as a result of an ellipsis of the head noun. This fact is illustrated by the example (9), where *bhǎ* substitutes the word *zlǎǎ* 'younger sibling' which is an inalienable possessee and does not require a possessive connector. It is important to note that in (9), the element substituted by *bhǎ* is not N', but the relational head noun *zlǎǎ* 'younger sibling' (N), which has a complement, *Sàkpà*: this is highly untypical of pronouns.

An obligatory condition for the pronoun *bhǎ* is the presence of a left modifier (a genitive attribute). At the same time, a right modifier (an adjectival attribute) is allowed (10a), but with considerable restrictions (presumably, of lexical or semantical character), cf. ex. (10b) rejected by my language consultant.

In comparison with the English *one*, *bhǎ* displays two major distinctions. First, *one* substitutes the constituent of the level N' in all cases, while *bhǎ* appears only when a left modifier is available; in order to pronominalize a head with a right modifier, Dan-Gwɛetaa recurs to the personal 3SG pronoun *ǎ*. Second, *bhǎ* can substitute the head noun N, which is impossible for *one*.

The use of *ǎ* with an attributive (right) modifier in Dan-Gwɛetaa violates the constraint for personal pronouns to have modifiers (Bhat 2004: 53-54); it should be emphasized that in sentences (5) and (6) the adjective modifiers of *ǎ* are not appositions. A following explanation of these uses can be suggested: in Dan (like in many other Mande languages), there is a strong tendency for the 3SG pronoun to evolve into a definite article (this tendency has reached its completion in the Southwestern Mande languages). If so, a NP of the type of *ǎ tīī* 'the black one' can be interpreted as follows: the adjective *tīī* is nominalized, and the 3SG pronoun appears here in its definite article function.

Similar situations are observed in many other Mande languages, although with nuances (e.g., pronouns *à* and *tà* in Manding).

Examples:

(1) *Trump's Monday [to-do list] is a long one.*

(2) *The [advertisement] inside of King's Cross station is like the **one** from the Half Blood Prince film.*

(3) **The [advertisement] of shugar is like the **one** of chewing-gum.*

(4) *Sũř ř dă ä gú.*
fear 3SG.JNT rise-JNT 3SG.NSBJ in
'He got scared'.

(5) *Bhán kpăn [Gřř bhă kó]_i kpũ-sũ bhă, kěeη bhiin*
1SG.PRF see Geu POSS house big-SEL on but 1SG.NEG.PFV

kpăn ä_i séëndhán-sũ bhă.
see 3SG.NSBJ small-SEL on

'I have seen Geu's big house, but I haven't seen the small one'.

(6) *Wă ä bhă [tö]_i pũu kwàan, yă*
3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS chicken white steal 3SG.PRF

ä_i tĩ dhó.
3SG.NSBJ black buy

'He has been stolen a white chicken, and he has bought a black one'.

(7) *Ā kā kpăn ū bhă blăădhě ř ú yā*
1SG.EXI RETR see\NTR 2SG.NSBJ POSS farm.CMM REL 2SG.JNT work
kă ä bhă, kěe bhiin kpăn ä dhé ř bhă.
do\JNT 3SG.NSBJ on but 2SG.NEG.PFV see 3SG.NSBJ other REL on

bhiin yā kā ä bhă.
2SG.NEG.PFV work do 3SG.NSBJ on

'I saw the farm that you had tilled, but I did not see the (other) one that you had not tilled'.

(8) *Gřř bhă kó yă wènn, Săkpă bhă yĩ wènn.*
Geu POSS house 3SG.PRF pour Sakpa PRON 3SG.NEG.PFV pour

'Geu's hous has collapsed, while Sakpa's one has not collapsed'.

(9) *Ā dhò Gřř zláă pĩř, yř ú dhō*
1SG.EXI go\NTR Geu younger.sibling κ CONS 2SG.JNT go\JNT

Săkpă bhă pĩř.
Sakpa PRON to

'I'm going to the younger sibling of Geu, and you are going to the younger sibling of Sakpa'.

(10a) *Zân yă Săkpă bhă kó zĩ pă-kā, kěe yĩ*
Zan 3SG.PRF Sakpa POSS house old mend but 3SG.NEG.PFV

Yö bhă dèe pă-kā.
Yo PRON new mend

'Zan has repaired Sakpa's old house, but he has not rapair Yo's new house'.

(10b) **Zân yă Săkpă bhă tő zöndhē kwàan, yĩ*
Zan 3SG.PRF Sakpa POSS chicken red steal 3SG.NEG.PFV

Yö bhă tĩ kwàan.
Yo PRON black steal

(an expected meaning: 'Zan has stolen Sakpa's red chicken, but he hasn't stolen Yo's black chicken'.)

List of glosses

1, 2, 3 — 1, 2, 3 person

cmm — common case
 exi — existential of predicative pronominal markers
 jnt — conjoint series of predicative pronominal markers; conjoint form of verb
 neg — negative
 nsbj — non-subject pronoun
 ntr — neutral aspect form of verb
 pfv — perfective
 poss — possessive connector
 prf — perfect series of predicative pronominal markers
 pron — pronouns *bhā*
 rel — relativization marker
 retr — retrospective marker
 sel — suffix of selectivity
 sg — singular

References

Bhat, D. N. S. 2004. *Pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Mande languages and typology of number

As Greville Corbett stated in his book about this grammatical category «Number is the most underestimated of the grammatical categories. It is deceptively simple, and is much more interesting and varied than most linguists realize» [Corbett 2000: 1]. In fact this category has a lot of important features to be typologized both crosslinguistically and with a certain language family. This presentation aims at making an attempt to offer a typological matrix for comparing number varieties in Mande languages. An intensive work on the description of Mande languages (see, for example, a huge volume “The Mande languages” [Vydrine et al. 2017]) though still lacking sufficient data on some languages gives an opportunity to observe rather extensive data concerning the category of number in Mande. As a very preliminary remark we can conclude that typologically number in Mande tends to mark the whole noun phrase rather than its head, is not used with explicit lexical marking of plurality (numerals), has no tendency for agreement/doubling. However more thorough analysis shows a lot of variations among the languages. First, we analyzed the typological features concerning number and used in WALS [Dryer, Haspelmath 2013] and their relevance to Mande languages: locus of number coding, frequency of its occurrences in various nouns and pronouns, the existence of associative plurality, plurality in independent personal pronouns. Then after making a sort of database of number characteristics in Mande (21 language were under consideration, the data being mostly taken from [Vydrine et al. 2017]) we offer quite more extensive matrix of typological features covering all possible nuances of number in various languages of this family. We offer the following typological parameters:

1. The opportunity to used in NP with numerals
2. Locus of marking (affixes, clitics, reduplication, suppletive forms)
3. “Intensiveness” of marking (only once for NP or not)
 - 3.1 Possibility for agreement
 - 3.2 Possibility of doubling
4. Influence of referentiality (syncretic/separate)
5. Influence of animacy hierarchy (specifics of pronouns, human/animate nouns, kinship terms etc.)
6. Existence of singulatives (for which lexical items)
7. Specifics of paired objects
8. Differences/similarities in pronominal/nominal plurality
9. Associative plural (specific/non-specific, lexical idiosyncrasies)
10. Suppletive forms (lexical specifics)

Then the data are presented in the form of tables which helps to reveal the common and specific features of number in Mande, while some gaps in this matrix show where the description is not sufficient and what kind of data is needed for further typology of number in Mande.

Literature

Corbett Greville G. Number. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) 2013. The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info>, Accessed on 2017-04-05.)

Языки мира: Языки манде [Languages of the world: Mande languages] / Отв. ред. В.Ф. Выдрин, Ю.В. Мазурова, А.А. Кибрик, Е.Б. Маркус. РАН. Институт языкознания. — СПб.: Нестор-История, 2017.

Split reference of inclusory pronouns in Mande

This paper deals with the semantics of the inclusory construction and its interaction with associative plurality in Mano, a Southern Mande language, and several other Mande languages. The behavior of the marker of associative plurality allows to draw nontrivial conclusions regarding the semantics of inclusory construction itself and in particular the inclusory pronoun which is the central element of the inclusory construction.

The inclusory construction, or IC (Lichtenberk 2000, Haspelmath 2004:25-26), is a conjunction strategy, along with coordinative and comitative constructions. The crucial property of an IC is that one of its constituents has the same reference as the entire construction. The example (1) from Mano features an inclusory construction *kò Pèé*, where *Pèé* is a proper name and *kò* ‘we’ is an inclusory pronoun. The group of participants includes the speaker and a person named Pe. A proper English translation would therefore be ‘Pe and I’. However, only one of the participants, namely, Pe is overtly specified, while the speaker is implied by the choice of the 1st person plural pronoun. Pe is the overt subset of the construction, while the speaker is the covert subset. Unlike coordination or comitative strategy, the inclusory pronoun ‘we’ refers to the whole group of participants. The construction can be literally translated as ‘we [including] Pe’.

The markers of associative plurality are defined as markers which “denote a set comprised of the referent of the nominal (the main member) plus one or more associated members” (Corbett 2000:101). In Mano, one of the functions of the marker *nì* is associative plurality. The referent of the noun phrase *Píēr nì* in (2) is not several people named Pierre, as an additive reading of plurality would suggest, but rather a set comprised of a person named Pierre and some other members are associated with him (other apostles).

The semantic particularities of the associate plurality marker include the following.

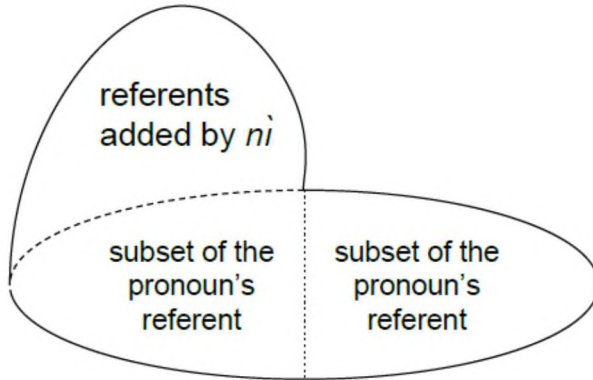
1. First, the scope of the marker *nì* in the inclusory construction does not necessarily include the noun it is syntactically adjacent to. In the inclusory construction, *nì* can have scope over either of the subsets. Thus, in the examples (3) *nì* has scope over the overt subset, but in (4) it has scope over the covert subset. Such variability of the scope is also attested in Dan-Gweetaa (Vydrin 2010:166-167), in Kla-Dan (Makeeva 2012) and in Kpelle (Konoshenko 2015:75).

2. Second, in Mano, the inclusory pronoun can be used in a construction which includes only a pronoun and the marker *nì*. Just like in the inclusory construction, the referent of the construction also comprises two subsets, however, both subsets are covert. One of the subsets always has to be the third person. *Nì* can have scope over either of the subsets. Thus, in (5) and (6) the same construction *kò nì* has two different interpretations. In (5), the plural marker has scope over the subset including the speaker, while the other subset remains singular, which triggers the interpretation ‘we and him’. In (6), the plural marker has scope over the third person subset, while the other subset remains singular, which triggers the interpretation ‘me and them’. A similar behavior of markers of associative plurality is attested in Dan-Gweetaa (Vydrin 2010).

The behavior of the marker of associative plurality *nì* is remarkable in two respects. First of all, it may take scope beyond its seeming syntactic host: the noun it is adjacent to, as in (4), *wà ñ né nì* ‘my child and them’. This problem can be resolved if we assume that in the case in question *nì* attaches to the inclusory construction *wà ñ né*, rather than the noun phrase of the over subset, *ñ né* ‘my child’. But that solution would imply that some inclusory constructions in Mano do not correspond to the typological definition: if the marker of associative plurality adds some referents to the set which the construction *wà ñ né* refers to, it means that the referent of the inclusory pronoun alone does not coincide with the overall set of participants. The second property is more peculiar: *nì* can take scope over a part of the referent of a pronoun. Thus, in (5) and (6), *kò nì* does not mean ‘we and other people associated with us’, but it rather means ‘me and them’ or ‘us and him’. Such readings have important consequences regarding the function of the pronoun *kò* in (5) and (6): the pronoun is semantically “split”, it does not refer to a coherent whole, but to a combination of two subsets. This is what allows for the selective applicability of the marker *nì*. Such internal organization and the “split” reference of inclusory pronouns corresponds to the intuition that Cysouw expressed regarding the compound pronouns in the Bantoid languages (which have a lot in common with inclusory pronouns in Mande):

“I suspect that there is a difference regarding the internal organization of the participants. Probably, a compound pronoun is used when there are two different groups set up in the discourse, that are now acting together for a short moment” (2003:170).

Schematically, the reference of constructions in (4), (5) and (6) could be represented the following way:



- (1) *kò Pèé*
we PN
'Pe and I (lit.: we [including] Pe).'

- (2) *Píēr nì*
PN PL
'Pierre and other (apostles)'

- (3) *wà ò gbē nì*
3PL.IP 3PL son PL
'He and his sons'

- (4) *wà ò né nì*
3PL.IP 1SG.POSS child PL
'They and my child'

- (5) *ḃà néḃ ḃē bēē lēé ɲòò kōḃ mò,*
2SG.POSS child DEM too 3SG.NEG.AUX push 1PL on

- kò_{i+j} nì kòó_{i+j} gbā ló lūú.*
1PL.IP PL 1PL.NEG.AUX NEG go bush
'Your child didn't approach us, we and him (lit.: we-pl.), we didn't go to the bush.'

- (6) *míáḃ kò_{i+j} nì kò_{i+j} sḡḡ kè ḃē*
person.PL>REL 1PL.IP PL 1PL.AUX work do:IPFV DEM

- òóḃ ḡḡ kú kpēḡ.*
3PL.NEG.AUX 1SG take good
'People who I work with (lit.: who we-pl, we work) don't accept me well.'

References

- Corbett, Greville G. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cysouw, Michael. 2003. *The paradigmatic structure of person marking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Haspelmath, Martin. 2004. "Coordinating constructions: an overview". In Haspelmath, Martin (ed.), *Coordinating constructions*, pp. 3-39. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Konoshenko, Maria. 2015. *Lichno-chislovoe soglasovanie v jazykah mande: vnutregeneticheskaya tipologiya* (Person and number agreement in Mande languages: an intralinguistic typology). PhD dissertation, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 2000. Inclusory pronominals. *Oceanic Linguistics* 39: 1–32.
- Makeeva, N. (2012). *Grammatičeskij stroj jazyka kla-dan v tipologičeskom kontekste rodstvennyh jazykov* [The grammatical structure of the Kla-Dan language in a typological context of genetically related languages]. Ph. D. thesis, Institute of linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2010. Co-ordinative pronouns in Southern and South-Western Mande: A second compound pronouns area in Africa? In: Pozdniakov, Konstantin, Valentin Vydrin, and Alexandr Zheltov (eds.). *Personal pronouns in Niger–Congo languages: International workshop*, 13–15 September 2010, pp. 164–172. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Press.

Marques rétrospectives en kla-dan

Il existe en kla-dan deux marques rétrospectives: *kũ* et *kà*. La marque *kũ* est, du point de vue morphosyntaxique, un verbe qu'on pourrait traduire comme 'être au passé'. Cette marque rapporte au passé des situations exprimées par des énoncés non-verbaux et verbaux. Dans le dernier cas, la proposition avec le verbe lexical (dont le sujet ne peut pas être exprimé) s'insère dans une proposition avec le verbe *kũ*. Le verbe *kũ* sert à former la construction de plus-que-parfait (1) sur la base de la construction de parfait et la construction irréelle (2) sur la base de la construction de futur.

- (1) *Fáŋlǎ yá kà lǔ fétí tǎ yà kũ yà*
 Fanta 3SG.JNT RETR venir\JNT fête sur 3SG.PRF être.PST 3SG.PRF

bàǎ.

arranger

'Quand Fanta est venu à la fête, elle était bien habillée'.

- (2) *Yǎǎlě bǎbǐ yè kũ yèé bǎ ñ bǎ.*
 hier voiture 3SG.EXI être.PST\NTR 3SG.PROSP frapper 1SG.NSBJ sur

'Hier une voiture a failli m'abattre'.

La construction de plus-que-parfait exprime les valeurs suivantes: plus-que-parfait, parfait expérientiel dans le passé, résultat annulé. La construction irréelle a conservé sa valeur originelle intentionnelle, mais en général elle s'emploie à valeur avertive et apparaît dans les deux propositions d'une phrase conditionnelle imaginaire ou contrefactuelle.

La marque *kà* est un opérateur, dans l'énoncé verbal elle occupe la position entre la marque prédicative conjuguée et le complément d'objet direct (si le verbe est transitif) ou le prédicat verbal (s'il est intransitif). La marque *kà* sert à former la construction rétrospective sur la base de la construction d'aspect neutre. La construction rétrospective exprime les valeurs suivantes: passé éloigné, passé interrompu, résultat annulé; elle s'emploie aussi dans la protase de la construction conditionnelle contrefactuelle.

- (3) *Lě kǎ glǔ yí dǎ kǎ ì kà*
 avant pour.que guerre 3SG.NEG.PFV monter encore 1PL.EXCL.EXI RETR

lǔěŋ běě kǎ kěě bǎǎ lǎǎ bǎ dǎ.

vie bon faire\NTR mais 1SG.NEG.IPFV demain propriété savoir

'Avant que la guerre a commencé notre vie était bonne, et maintenant je ne suis pas sûr de l'avenir'.

La construction rétrospective est en concurrence avec la construction irréelle et la construction de plus-que-parfait. En outre, elle exprime assez souvent les valeurs de la zone perfective et s'avère en concurrence avec les constructions d'aspect neutre et de parfait. Dans la plupart de ces cas, la construction rétrospective s'emploie pour exprimer l'idée de rupture avec le moment de la parole ou d'éloignement des participants de la situation du lieu de la parole. Il existe aussi une forte tendance d'employer la construction rétrospective en présence des circonstants temporels, tels que "hier", "l'année passée". Apparemment c'est grâce à cette particularité caractéristique de la construction rétrospective qu'elle ne peut pas être remplacée parfois par la construction de plus-que-parfait. Par exemple, elle ne peut pas exprimer la valeur de résultat annulé si les traces de l'événement sont visibles au locuteur.

Abréviations

EXCL – marque prédicative conjuguée exclusive; EXI – marque prédicative conjuguée de la série existentielle; JNT – marque prédicative conjuguée de la série conjointe; changement de contour tonal du verbe dans la construction conjointe; NEG.IPFV – marque prédicative conjuguée de la série négative imperfective; NEG.PFV – marque prédicative conjuguée de la

série négative perfective; NSBJ – pronom de la série non-sujet; NTR – changement de contour tonal du verbe dans des constructions avec la marque prédicative conjuguée de la série existentielle; PL – pluriel; PRF – marque prédicative conjuguée de la série de parfait; PROSP – marque prédicative conjuguée de la série prospective; PST – passé; RETR – marque rétrospective; SG – singulier.

Some notes on the TAM system of Jeli (Central Mande)

Abstract

Jeli or Jeri is an endangered Central Mande language still spoken by less than 2.000 speakers in the north of Côte d'Ivoire. Jeli exhibits the "typical" Mande word order [S-AUX-O-V-"Other"], "Other" standing for all kinds of adjuncts.

In addition to formally marked TAM categories, Jeli has a zero-marked perfective category. Thus, in contrast to many Central Mande languages such as Greater Manding, Jeli employs auxiliaries more marginally. The distinction of an unmarked (perfective) and a marked (imperfective) verb stem is basic for the expression of TAM categories in Jeli.

The purpose of the paper is threefold:

1. The formal means and the semantics of the core TAM categories in Jeli (perfective, imperfective, perfect and subjunctive) are discussed by using a functional-typological approach (Comrie 1976, Chung & Timberlake 1985, Sasse 2002, Nurse 2008) as well as the framework of grammaticalization theory (Bybee et al. 1994).
2. Following functional discourse approaches suggesting that aspect can only be fully understood if analysed in terms of such notions as "foreground", "background" and "taxis" on the one hand (Hopper 1979, Hopper & Thompson 1980, Givón 1984 and Maslov 1988) as well as "theticity" on the other (Sasse 1987, 1995, Serzisko 1992), special attention is paid to the discourse functions of the core TAM categories in narrative discourse.
3. The Jeli data is examined from a comparative perspective by drawing on Kastenholz' (2006) typology of "distributed predicative syntax in Western Mande". I shall comment on the intermediate position of Jeli with regard to what Kastenholz (2006) refers to as Type (I) and Type (II) languages.

References

- Bybee, Joan et al. 1994. *The evolution of grammar*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Carlson, Robert 1994. *A grammar of Supyire*. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- Chung, Sandra & Alan Timberlake 1985. Tense, aspect, mood. In: Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Vol. 3, Grammatical categories and the lexicon*. Cambridge: CUP. 202-258.
- Comrie, Bernhard 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Givón, Talmy 1984. *Syntax. a functional-typological introduction. Vol. 1*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul 1979. Aspect and foregrounding in discours. In: Givón, Talmy (ed.), *Syntax and semantics. Vol. 12, Discours and syntax*. New York: Academic Press. 213-241.
- Hopper, Paul & Sandra Thompson 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discours. *Language*: 56,2: 251-299.
- Kastenholz, Raimund 2006. On distributed predicative syntax in Western Mande. In: Caron, Bernard & Petr Zima (eds.), *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel*. Paris: Peeters. 185-204.
- Maslov, Jurij 1988. Resultative, perfect, and aspect. In: Nedjalkov, Vladimir (ed.), *Typology of resultative constructions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 63-85.
- Nurse, Derek 2008. *Tense and aspect in Bantu*. Oxford: OUP.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 1987. Thethetic/categorial distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25,3: 511-580.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 1995. „Theticity“ and VS order: a case study. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 48,1/2: 3-31.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 2002. Recent activity in the theory of aspect: Accomplishments, achievements, or just non-progressive state? *Linguistic Typology* 6: 199-271.
- Serzisko, Fritz 1992. *Sprechhandlungen und Pausen. Diskursorientierte Sprachbeschreibung am Beispiel des Ik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Tröbs, Holger 1998. *Funktionale Sprachbeschreibung des Jeli (West-Mande)*. (Mande Languages and Linguistics; Vol. 3) Köln: Köppe.

The conservatism of subordinate clauses and reflexive pronouns: evidence from Western Mande languages

In Kakabe, a minor Mande language spoken in Guinea, the middle-reflexive pronoun *ì* displays a cross-linguistically unusual pattern of use. This pronoun can corefer exclusively with the third person subjects of dependent clauses, such as the covert subject of infinitive and gerund clauses, and is not possible in main clauses, cf. (a) and (b). It is never obligatory in Kakabe, and a personal pronoun coreferent to the subject can be used instead, as in (a).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) <i>à nàtà kà ì/à kò</i>
3SG came INF REFL/ 3SG wash
He came and washed himself. | (b) <i>à bát' à (*ì) kò</i>
3SG PRF 3SG (*REFL) wash
He washed himself. |
|---|---|

The results of elicitation show that there are different degrees of acceptability for the reflexive *ì* depending on the type of the dependent clause. Thus, the zero-marked nominalization is a less favorable environment for the reflexive *ì*, compared to gerund. In subordinated clauses with *máni* and *ní* where the subject is overt *ì* is usually rejected, but can be considered as “more or less” acceptable by some speakers.

The cognate reflexive pronouns in other Western Mande languages recurrently display interchangeability with personal pronouns. For example, in Kita Maninka, the reflexive *i* can always be replaced by the personal pronoun but, in contrast to Kakabe, it is used both in main and in subordinate clauses (Creissels and Sambou 2009). In Mandinka, differently from both Kita Maninka and Kakabe, the reflexive pronoun can signal coreference not only with the third person, but also with the second person, singular as well as plural. Besides, in Mandinka, *í* cannot be replaced by the personal pronoun. In Koranko, a language of the same subgroup as Kakabe, it is also limited to dependent clauses.

The limitation of the reflexive pronoun in Kakabe and Koranko to dependent clauses can be seen as a result of its retention in this context. Dependent clauses are reported to be a more conservative environment, compared to main clauses: innovations tend to be first introduced in the main clause, whereas the dependent clause can continue using an old form: as stated in the title of Bybee's (2007) paper, “main clauses are innovative, subordinate clauses are conservative”.

In this perspective, it is logical to suppose that, in the case of Kakabe and Koranko, a specialized reflexive marker was originally used both in main and in subordinate clauses and was then replaced by personal pronouns in the main clause. This replacement was preceded by the stage of free variation between the specialized reflexive and the personal pronoun in the main clause, the situation which is currently attested in Bamana and Kita Maninka. To conclude, though a reflexive marker restricted to subordinate clause seems to be uncommon cross-linguistically, nevertheless, the data of related languages where this pronoun is attested and the conservatism of the subordinate clause attested cross-linguistically, allows us to suggest how this kind of reflexive pronoun could have evolved.

Bybee, Joan L. “Main Clauses Are Innovative, Subordinate Clauses Are Conservative: Consequences for the Nature of Constructions.” In *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse*, edited by Joan L. Bybee and Michael Noonan, 1–17. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002.

Creissels, Denis. *Le Malinké de Kita: Un Parler Mandingue de L'ouest Du Mali*. Mande Languages and Linguistics, v. 9. Köln: R. Köppe, 2009.

Creissels, Denis, and Pierre Sambou. *Le Mandinka*. Paris: Karthala, 2013.

5^e Colloque International sur les langues et la Linguistique mandé.

Morphologie nominale du Soninké du Diafounou/Jàahúnú

Cette communication s'intéresse à la morphologie nominale de la variété de soninké parlée dans le Jàahúnú. Cette question a déjà été traitée pour d'autres variétés de Soninké, cf. notamment Diagana (1995), Diagana (1994), essentiellement basés sur le parler de Kaédi, ainsi que Grégoire (1987). Nous nous proposons de comparer leurs résultats à nos propres observations sur le parler du Jàahúnú.

Dans cette communication nous ferons d'abord un inventaire de différents types de correspondance possibles entre les formes autonomes du singulier et celles du pluriel. Nous avons relevé 3 types possibles de formation du pluriel, et le tableau suivant résume leur distribution par rapport aux cinq terminaisons possibles pour les formes de singulier :

pl.	~u	~o	+nu
sg.			
...i			+
...e	+	+	+
...a		+	+
...o	+		+
...u			+

Ensuite, nous ferons la même chose pour les correspondances possibles entre la forme non-autonome des noms et la forme du singulier. Nous avons relevé trois types possibles de correspondance. D'abord la forme non-autonome et la forme de singulier peuvent avoir la même forme segmentale. Ensuite, elles peuvent être reliées l'une à l'autre par l'une des cinq alternances suivantes : ~i, ~u, ~o, ~a, ~an, par exemple : **dèbê→dèbì-, yúgô→yúgú-, mòllê→mòllò-, láqqè→láqqá-, bárantè→bárántán**. Enfin, il peut arriver que la forme non-autonome puisse se décrire comme résultant de la chute de la voyelle finale de la forme du singulier, chute qui peut entraîner d'autres modifications du fait des contraintes sur les structures syllabiques.

Enfin, nous ferons une synthèse sous forme d'un inventaire des classes morphologiques de noms en soninké du Jàahúnú, et nous comparerons cet inventaire à ceux déjà proposés dans la littérature pour d'autres variétés de soninké.

Références

- Diagana, Ousmane Moussa. 1995. *La langue soninkée: morphosyntaxe et sens*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Diagana, Yacouba. 1994. *Éléments de grammaire du soninké*. Paris: Association Linguistique Africaine.
- Grégoire, Claire. 1987. Morphologie et morphologie nominale en soninké. *Mandenkan*. 1-59.

La reduplication des bases verbales complexes en màñgàxàñ du Dantila.

La reduplication morphologique, comprise comme « la répétition du matériel phonologique dans un mot à des fins sémantiques ou grammaticales » (Rubino 2013) est un procédé de formation de mots bien attesté dans les langues mandé (Koité-Herschel 1981 ; Creissels 2009, 2013; Creissels & Sambou 2013 ; Dumestre 2003). En màñgàxàñ du Dantila (une langue de la famille mandé, de l'ensemble mandin, du sous-groupe mandin de l'Ouest parlée dans le Dantila, au sud-est du Sénégal), cette reduplication se manifeste, formellement, de deux manières. Dans l'une, le matériel phonologique est partiellement dupliqué, comme en (1a), tandis que dans l'autre, il l'est totalement, comme en (1b).

(1) a. *séréndé* 'déchirer' → *séréndé~¹ndé* 'déchiqueter'

b. *túlún* 'se distraire' → *túlún~túlún* 'se distraire plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

Phénomène bien grammaticalisé², la reduplication est, en màñgàxàñ, un procédé régulier de formation de mots. Dans cette langue, la base³ peut être adverbiale (2a), nominale (2b), adjectivale (2c) ou verbale (2d).

(2) a. *fólóo* 'premier' → *fólóo~fólóo* 'tout premier'

b. *kũñ* 'tête, boule, débris' → *kũñ~kũñ* 'menus débris issus du pilage de céréales'

c. *fĩñ* 'noir' → *fĩñ~fĩñ* 'suie'

d. *lón* 'connaître' → *lón~lón* 'bien connaître, connaître à fond'

Dans ce travail, nous voudrions nous intéresser uniquement à la reduplication totale des bases verbales en màñgàxàñ. Il s'agira, précisément, non pas de la reduplication totale des bases verbales simples comme en (3a-b),

(3) a. *sáfé* 'écrire' → *sáfén~sáfén* 'écrire plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

b. *bõñ* 'verser quelque chose' → *bòm~bój* 'verser quelque chose plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

mais plutôt de la reduplication totale des bases verbales complexes⁴ comme en (4a-e).

(4) a. *lá-síláy* 'effrayer, faire peur' → *lá-sílán~síláy* 'effrayer, faire peur plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

b. *mà-siinóxó* 'endormir' → *mà-siinóxón~siinóxóñ* 'endormir plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

c. *tó-fásá* 'corser' → *tó-fásám~fásáy* 'corser plus ou davantage, corser de façon répétitive'

d. *líi-dómó* (miel-manger) 'manger quelque chose comme du miel' →

líi-dómón~dómóñ 'manger quelque chose comme du miel plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

e. *mànsà-táxámá* (*mànsá* 'roi', *táxámá* 'marcher') 'marcher comme un roi' →

mànsà-táxámán~táxámáy 'marcher comme un roi plusieurs fois ou de façon répétitive'

De ces exemples empruntés au màñgàxàñ, un premier constat semble s'imposer : alors que le matériel phonologique des verbes bases simples est totalement dupliqué, celui des verbes bases complexes n'est, quant à lui, que partiellement dupliqué. Dans le cas de ces verbes bases complexes, le matériel phonologique du radical verbal seul est dupliqué. Celui des premiers formants de ces verbes bases complexes, respectivement les unités *lá-*, *má-*, *tó-* ; *líi* et *mànsá* n'est pas dupliqué (4a-e). Si ce constat devait se confirmer, nous pourrions être amené à tirer la conséquence que la reduplication semble fournir un argument en faveur de

¹ Le tilde indique la présence d'une reduplication (cf. Règle 10 de The Leipzig Glossing Rules).

² Grammaticalisé signifiant ici 'qui fait partie des procédés réguliers de la langue, et donc de sa grammaire'.

³ La base étant perçue ici comme « le point de départ lexical, sémantique de la dérivation » (Roché, 2011, p. 18).

⁴ La « base est normalement un lexème », un lexème « qui peut être lui-même, naturellement, un mot construit » (Roché, 2010, p. 97).

l'idée qu'il n'existerait peut-être pas d'intégrité lexicale totale entre les formants de ces bases verbales complexes du màñngàxánj. En outre, nous serions conduit à nous demander si la reduplication pourrait ou non avoir son mot à dire dans la détermination du statut des unités *lá-*, *má-*, *tó-* dans cette langue : des préfixes (comme le soutiennent Koité-Herschel 1981 ; Dumestre 2003 ; Diané & Vydrine 2014), des clitiques (comme le pense Creissels 2009, 2013) ou des préverbes (comme le préfèrent Creissels & Sambou 2013) ? Nos analyses seront effectuées dans le cadre de la Grammaire de Construction (Goldberg 2006 ; Booij 2010, 2012) à partir d'un corpus pertinent. Nous esquisserons d'abord la façon la plus canonique dont s'opère la reduplication des bases verbales simples. Nous présenterons ensuite la reduplication des bases verbales complexes. Nous procéderons enfin à la comparaison de la reduplication des deux types de bases verbales. Pour ce faire, dans chaque cas, nous déterminerons la forme (catégorie, nombre de syllabes, schèmes tonals) et le sens (les deux grands types de sens : pluralité (/aspect) et évaluation), aussi bien des verbes bases que des verbes dérivés qu'ils permettent de former par reduplication. Nous pouvons d'ores et déjà indiquer que les redupliqués construits à partir des deux types de bases verbales montrent des schèmes tonals comparables (Haut et Bas-Haut) et partagent les sens de pluralité (Newman 1980, 2012 ; Cusic 1981 ; Greenberg 2010 ; Tovéna & Kihm 2008 ; Rose 2007) et d'évaluation (Grandi 2012 ; Amiot & Stosic 2011).

Références Citées

- Amiot, D. & Stosic D. (2011)**, « Sautiller, voleter, dansoter : évaluation, pluriactionnalité, aspect », In : E. Arjoca-Ieremia, C. Avezard-Roger, J. Goes, E. Moline & A. Tihu (éds.), *Temps, aspect et classes de mots : études théoriques et didactiques. Actes du septième colloque international de linguistique française et roumaine*, Artois Presses Université, pp. 277-297. **Booij, G. (2010)**, *Construction Morphology*. New York: Oxford University Press. **Booij, G. (2012)**, *The Grammar of Words. An Introduction to Linguistic Morphology*, Oxford University Press. **Creissels, D. (2009)**, *Le malinké de Kita*. Köln : Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. **Creissels, D. (2013)**, Le maninka du Niokolo (Sénégal oriental), Esquisse phonologique et morphosyntaxique, liste lexicale, textes glosés. *Mandenkan* 49, pp. 1-218. **Creissels, D. & P. Sambou (2013)**, *Le mandinka : phonologie, grammaire, textes*. Paris : Karthala. **Cusic D. (1981)**, *Verbal Plurality and Aspect*, PhD dissertation, Stanford University. **Diané, M. & Vydrine, V. (2014)**, « Propositions pour l'orthographe du maninka (Guinée) », *Mandenkan* 52, p. 3-21. **Dumestre, G. (2003)**, *Grammaire fondamentale du bambara*. Paris: Karthala. **Goldberg, A. (2006)**, *Constructions at Work*. New York : Oxford University Press. **Grandi, N. (2002)**, *Morfologie in contatto. Le costrizioni valiative nelle lingue del Mediterraneo*. Milan, FrancoAngeli. **Greenberg Y. (2010)**, « Event Internal Pluractionality in Modern Hebrew : A Semantic Analysis of One Verbal Reduplication Pattern », *Brill's Annual of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 2: 119-164. **Koité-Herschel, U. (1981)**, *Le xàsonga (Mali): phonologie, morphosyntaxe, lexique xàsongafrançais et textes*. Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Grenoble III. **Konta, M. & Vydrine, V. (2014)**, « Propositions pour l'orthographe du bamanankan », *Mandenkan* 52, p. 22-54. **Roché, M. (2010)**, « Base, thème, radical », *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes* 39. **Roché, M. (2011)**, « Quelle morphologie ? », In : M. Roché, G. Boyé, N. Hathout, S. Lignon, M. Plénat (eds.), *Des unités morphologiques au lexique*, Lavoisier, Paris. **Rose, F. (2007)**, « Action répétitive et action répétée: aspect et pluralité verbale dans la reduplication en émérillon », In: A. Michaud, A. Morgenstern (eds.), *La reduplication*, Faits de Langues 29, OPHRYS. **Tovéna, L. & Kihm, A. (2008)**, « Event internal pluractional verbs in some Romance language » *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 37.

In 1943, Joseph Joffre wrote an article in 'Man' about a new West African alphabet for the Toma, or Loma, language of Guinea and Liberia. He published as Figure 5 a text entirely written in the Loma script, with no transcription or translation provided. This was reprinted, unfortunately upside-down, in a 1945 article by Joffre in the journal 'Mémoires de l'IFAN' as Figure 8. In 2016, one of the co-authors of this paper traveled to Conakry and recorded a video of Péma Toupou reading the text from the syllabic writing. Upon his return, he worked from the video to transcribe the letter and translate it into French. While the dialect in which the text is written is not definitively identified, it is likely either Woi-Balagha, Yaghala, Guizima, or Koemè. The 1945 caption notes that the author is Brahim Koivogui, from the village of Yéla, in the canton of Guizima, Liberia. The text offers sparse but interesting insight into the author's intent in writing and having a message sent, and on the author's view of his relationship to white people.

Soumission pour:
5e Colloque International sur les Langues et la Linguistique Mandé
le 18-20 avril, 2018

« Savoir-faire, travail, discipline » : Raffinement linguistique et civique du mouvement N'ko dans l'espace mandingue

Au sens le plus restreint, “N’ko” fait référence à une écriture non-arabe et non-latine inventée par l’intellectuel Sulemaana Kanté en 1949 afin d’écrire ce qu’il concevait comme une seule langue. Aujourd’hui, cette conception du mandingue en tant que langue—unie par le registre, surtout écrit, dit *kángbɛ*—se propage à travers des territoires où les populations post-coloniales se comprennent comme locuteurs de variétés distinctes malgré leur similitude: par exemple, le bambara, le malinké ou le dioula. Dans cette communication, je révèle et analyse deux aspects de ce processus sociolinguistique. En premier lieu, à travers les propos des maîtres et des étudiants de N’ko, je montre que le registre *kángbɛ*— intégré en partie dans l’orthographe N’ko elle-même—est une analyse linguistique séduisante de la phonologie et l’étymologie mandingue. Ensuite, le registre *kángbɛ*—indépendamment des faits linguistiques—est valorisé et compris comme une partie intégrale d’une philosophie plus large du « savoir-faire, travail, discipline » (*kólon’*, *báara’*, *télen’*). Se former afin d’être capable de lire, écrire et potentiellement parler « la forme claire » du mandingue est le moyen par lequel les étudiants et les adeptes visent à se parfaire discursivement pour devenir le contraire de ceux qui qu’ils considèrent responsables de l’état désorganisé et sous-développé des pays de la sous-région toute entière dans laquelle ils vivent.

Vers un corpus multilingue des textes en langues mandé

Au cours des missions de terrain annuelles dans les pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest par un groupe de chercheurs, des volumes considérables de textes en différentes langues mandé ont été collectés : le mwan, plusieurs variétés du dan, le gouro, le goo, le kpellé, le mano, le looma, le kakabé, etc. Actuellement, ces textes existent sous différents formats : certains sont partiellement glosés dans le logiciel Toolbox ; d'autres ont été saisis et, en partie, glosés manuellement dans Word ; d'autres encore n'existent que sous forme manuscrite. Des textes publiés dans ces langues (livres de lecture pour les néo-alphabets, traductions de la Bible) sont également disponibles, sous format papier et parfois en version électronique. Pour toutes ces langues, des dictionnaires (sous format Toolbox, avec le français, le russe et l'anglais comme métalangues) sont disponibles.

Le but du projet du Corpus mandé multilingue est la création d'un corpus intégré de textes en différentes langues, en profitant de l'expérience acquise dans la réalisation du Corpus Bambara de Référence et Corpus maninka de référence. Il s'agit, en particulier, des instruments suivants (« le paquet de programmes Daba ») :

- interface pour l'introduction de l'information métatextuelle « Métaéditeur » ;
- analyseur morphologique pour l'annotation automatique des textes recourant à la base lexicale (dictionnaire électronique) et au « fichier grammatical » comportant une représentation formelle de la morphologie de la langue analysée. L'analyseur morphologique tient compte du caractère tonal des langues mandé et possède des options permettant de traiter des textes, que les tons soient notés ou non ;
- interface de désambiguïsation manuelle ;
- pour le moteur de recherche en ligne, on a choisi le logiciel ouvert NoSketchEngine (déjà utilisé pour le Corpus Bambara de Référence et du Corpus Maninka de Référence) en l'adaptant à la spécificité des langues mandé (en particulier, cela concerne le choix entre représentation des données avec ou sans mention du ton).

Le projet du corpus mandé multilingue comporte les composantes suivantes : (a) élaboration d'une annotation standard pour les langues mandé concernées (en perspective, elle pourrait servir de base à un standard régional) ; (b) élaboration du logiciel nécessaire (sur la base du logiciel Daba) ; (c) création des corpus de textes dans les différentes langues mandé ; amélioration des corpus existants ; (d) intégration de ces corpus dans un corpus multilingue.

Le développement d'un système d'analyse morphologique automatique pour chaque langue mandé demandera une représentation formelle de la morphologie de cette langue et une connexion avec le dictionnaire où toute l'information nécessaire doit être représentée de façon homogène. Pour certaines langues, des textes sont disponibles dans des orthographes différentes de celles utilisées dans les corpus électroniques. Dans ce cas, on prévoit l'élaboration des convertisseurs automatiques d'orthographe (si nécessaire, avec l'aide de dictionnaires électroniques) intégrés dans le parseur morphologique. Cette approche permettra une analyse automatique des textes où les tons ne sont pas marqués.

Le corpus multilingue est conçu de manière à ce qu'une recherche simultanée soit possible dans les corpus de toutes les langues qu'il comportera (ou dans les langues que l'utilisateur indiquera). Les résultats attendus d'une telle recherche seront assurés par l'unification du système d'annotation. La création du corpus multilingue sera effectuée graduellement, à fur et à mesure de la création des corpus des langues individuelles. La solution des problèmes techniques et linguistiques concernant l'intégration des corpus individuels dans le corpus multilingue se fera à mesure de leur apparition (spécifiques à chaque langue, ces problèmes ne peuvent pas être pronostiqués à l'avance).

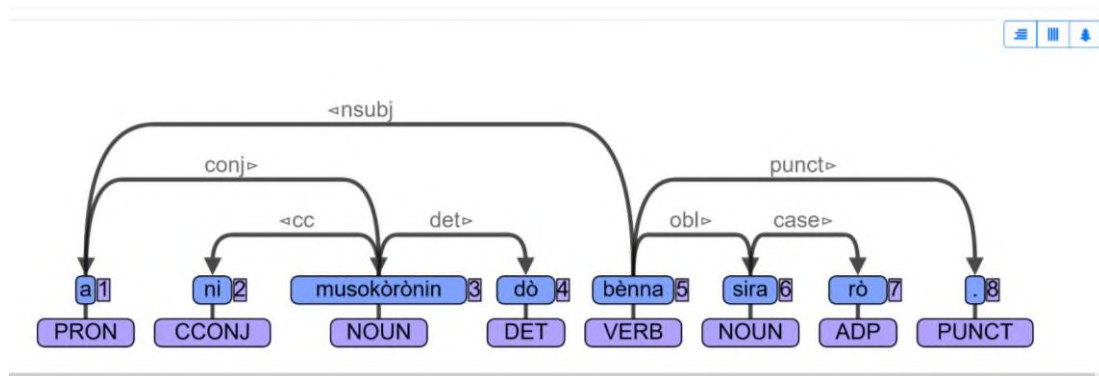
Au Colloque « Mandé-5 », les résultats concrets atteints vers avril 2018 seront présentés.

Dependency annotation for Bamana

The paper deals with a dependency annotation scheme for Bamana. The scheme is based on Universal Dependencies. We describe part-of-speech, morphological features and dependencies and the annotation of a small 50-sentence sample for dependencies.

Universal Dependencies is a project that is developing cross-linguistically consistent treebank annotation for many languages, with the goal of facilitating multilingual parser development, cross-lingual learning, and parsing research from a language typology perspective. The general philosophy is to provide a universal inventory of categories and guidelines to facilitate consistent annotation of similar constructions across languages, while allowing language-specific extensions when necessary. The Bamana Reference Corpus (Corpus Bambara de Référence, <http://cormand.huma-num.fr/>) was created in April 2012. Since the Bamana orthographic standard is relatively undeveloped, the corpus assumes different levels of orthographic normalisation. The corpus includes a non-disambiguated sub-corpus (~ 4 million tokens) and a disambiguated one (~900.000 tokens). Texts are disambiguated using Daba [Maslinsky:2014], a morphological analyser based on a language-independent framework dictionary and a rule-based morphological analyser. In order to annotate the Corpus, we converted the original annotation into the Universal Dependencies format and we kept all initial information. To convert the corpus we used a Python script which reads the HTML format of the Bamana Reference Corpus performed substitution of tags and wrote the output in CoNLL-U format. Sentences in CoNLL-U format can be annotated using Annotatrix, which is a tool for manual annotation of Universal Dependencies.

Picture 1. A Bamana sentence annotated using Annotatrix



On the Picture 1, there is an example of a Bamana sentence annotated using Annotatrix. Arrows illustrate dependencies between components; abbreviations above the arrows indicate dependency relations (cf. <http://universaldependencies.org>). The translation of this example is 'He and an old woman met on the road' (glosses: 3SG and woman.old.DIM some meet.PFV root on).

During the annotation process, we faced numerous challenges connected with the peculiarities of Bamana morphosyntax, e.g. qualitative verbs, non-verbal predication, infinitive marker, relative clauses etc.

As far as future work is concerned, our immediate objective is to annotate 10,000 tokens in order to solidify the annotate scheme and produce a first version. After this, we aim to annotate up to 100,000 tokens. There are also smaller corpora for other Mande languages which could be annotated under a similar scheme and we would also like to experiment with cross-lingual parsing for this language group.

References

- Maslinsky, K. (2014). Daba: a model and tools for Manding corpora. In *Proceedings of TALAf 2014 : Traitement automatique des langues africaines*, pages 114–122.
- Tyers F., Sheyanova M., Washington J. 2017. *UD Annotatrix*. <https://ftyers.github.io/ud-annotatrix/standalone/annotator.html>
- Vydrin V., Maslinsky K., Méric J.J. et al. 2012-2017. *Corpus Bambara de Référence*. <http://cormand.huma-num.fr/index.html>