Focalization particles in Bambara[1]

Kirill Prokhorov
Moscow
bolshoypro@gmail.com

1. Introduction

This paper discusses two particles in Bambara – *dè* and *dɛ́*. As will be argued below, these two particles have parallel functions, namely they are used to distinguish between two different types of scope of focus – *constituent* and *operator focus*.

Before we proceed a terminological issue needs to be briefly mentioned. Since both particles are used for focus, I will refer to them as *focalization particles*. Calling them 'focus particles' would be equally accurate, however this term is widely used with a slightly different meaning. It is mainly used for English words such as *also*, *too*, *only*, etc. that are claimed to have special inherent association with focus (König 1991), but are not focus markers per se. In English these particles have scope over the focused constituent, which is highlighted by the sentence stress.

(1) Only FRED[2] regrets that he lost. (König 1991: 4)

Thus in (1) *only* has scope over the subject *Fred*, which is in focus and is marked by the sentence stress.

Unlike these examples, the particles *dè* and *dɛ́* in my view are genuine focus devices, just like English sentence stress itself.

---

[1] This research was conducted as part of the project B7 "Predicate-centered focus types: A sample-based typological study in African languages" of the Collaborative Research Centre 632 "Information structure" funded by the German Science Association (DFG). The paper is a revised and elaborated version of talks given at the Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics (Leiden, 2010) and the International Conference on Mande Languages (Paris, 2011). I would like to thank Valentin Vydrin, Tom Güldemann and Ines Fiedler as well as two anonymous reviewers for their comments on the final draft of the paper.

[2] Henceforth in English examples and translations I will capitalize the word that takes sentence stress.

The function of the two particles has been discussed and described by Masiuk (1986; 1994) and in (Dumestre 2003; 2011) and (Bailleul 2007).

The connection between *dè* and focus is well established and accepted by all major sources. Bailleul (2007) describes *dè* as a "particule de mise en relief", while Dumestre (1987) and Masiuk (1986; 1987) use the term "particule de focalisation"; Dumestre (2011) recognizes focalization as the main value of the particle.

In contrast, the particle *dɛ́*, although frequently mentioned, has received much less attention and, to my knowledge, its connection to focus has not been proposed before. Bailleul (2007) describes *dɛ́* as a "particule exclamative." Dumestre (2011) defines its value as "intensive" and "exclamative." Compare examples (2) and (3).

(2) Intensive

    à   ká   júgu   dɛ́!
    3SG QUAL nasty   OF
    'He is very nasty!' (Dumestre 2003: 321)

(3) Exclamative

    í   tɛ́na   táa   dɛ́!
    2SG FUT.NEG go.away OF
    'Don't go away!' (Bailleul 2007: 96)

Masiuk (1994) leaves *dɛ́* (among other particles) without any discussion. In her remarks concerning those particles she says that they lack "proper semiotic value" and rely more on discourse mode and the individual language habits of speakers.[3]

As argued in this paper, *dɛ́*'s basic function is the marking of contrastive truth-value focus and its other uses (like exclamative and intensive) can be derived from this basic function.

2. Constituent and operator focus

Before we proceed with Bambara material, a brief introduction to the framework in which the further discussion is developed is necessary.

My understanding of focus is in line with Dik (1989: 277):

---

[3] (Masiuk 1994: 4): "…étant donné qu'elles [= "particules monovolantes", incl. *dɛ́*] n'ont pas de valeur sémiotique propre, qu'elles peuvent être liées à une mode de discours et qu'elles ont surtout un rôle du point de vue de la stratégie communicative, leur utilization est plus sujette à des variations dialectales que celle des autres particules; les préférences et les "tics langagiers" entrent en jeu, si bien que l'inventaire des particules employées est different selon les individus et que l'acception dans laquelle elles sont utilisées peut également varier".

… information that is relatively the most important or salient in the given communication setting, and considered by S [=speaker, KP] to be the most essential for A [=addressee, KP] to integrate into his pragmatic information.

Focus typologies are usually built around several parameters that include the *scope* of focus (cf. Dik 1989; Lambrecht 1994; Kiss 1998). The scope of focus characterizes the entity the focus ranges over. In this paper the following classification of scope categories will be used (cf. Dik 1989; Güldemann 2009).

Table 1. Typology of the scope of focus
Term focus
       Subject-focus
       Non-subject focus
Predicate-centered focus
       Lexical-verb focus
       Truth-value focus
       TAM focus

Following Dik (1989) and Güldemann (2009), the main division here is drawn between term and predicate-centered focus. Term focus embraces the cases where the scope of focus ranges over a 'term' that is a non-predicative (e.g. nominal, adverbial) constituent. The term-focus domain is further divided into subject and non-subject. Predicate-centered focus on the other hand serves as a cover term for the focus types that are characterized by a focus scope over semantic components typically hosted by the predicate, such as the lexical meaning of the verb, truth value and TAM.

Figure 1. Constituent and operator focus
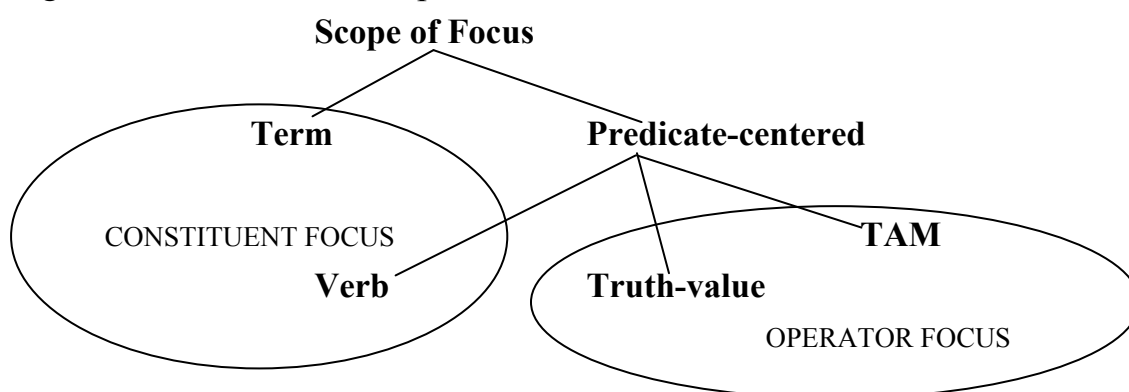
Watters (2010), following Dik (1989), suggests two further meta-categories – *constituent focus* and *operator focus*. In constituent focus "the scope of focus ranges over the lexical constituents" while in operator focus it "ranges over any sentential operator" (Watters 2010: 355). Among "sentential operators" are truth-value or polarity, and tense, aspect and mood (TAM). Thus, the two categories cut across the

distinction between term and predicate-centered focus as shown schematically in Figure 1.

As we will see below, the distinction between constituent and operator focus is relevant for Bambara and shows up in the distribution of the focalization particles.

3. *dè* as a constituent-focus marker

Bambara lacks any distinction within the term-focus domain. The particle *dè* equally follows any focalized constituent, be it a subject, a direct object, a postverbal dative, an oblique or even a verb. Compare examples (4–6). Curly brackets before the translation are used to indicate the context.

(4) Subject

Ámadu   dè   yé   sàgá`   fàga.
 PN   CF   PFV.TR sheep:ART   kill

{Who slaughtered the sheep?} 'AMADOU slaughtered the sheep.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

(5) Direct object

à   yé   sàgá`   dè   fàga.
 3SG PFV.TR sheep:ART CF   kill

{What did Amadou slaughter?} 'He slaughtered the SHEEP.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

(6) Verb

à   bɛ́nà   à   fàga   dè.
 3SG FUT   3SG   kill   CF

{What is he going to do with the sheep?} 'He is going to SLAUGHTER it.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

In (4) *dè* is used after the subject *Amadu*, thus marking focus on that constituent. In (5) it follows and marks focus on the direct object *sàgá`* 'the sheep'. Finally, in (6), an answer to a question about the lexical semantics of the verb, *dè* follows the verb *fàga* 'beat, kill, slaughter', which is the focus of the sentence.

As can be seen from these examples, morphosyntactically *dè* can be described as a "floating" particle with scope over the constituent immediately to its left. Since *dè* is used with all major constituent types including the verb, it seems plausible to describe the particle *dè*'s function as "constituent focus."

4. *dɛ́* as an operator-focus marker
4.1. *dɛ́* and truth-value focus

In this section, I argue that *dɛ́* functions as a marker of contrastive truth-value focus, and that its other uses that have been noted in the literature (including intensive and exclamative ones) do not contradict this analysis.

Notions of "intensivity" and "exclamation" fail to explain an important feature of the particle *dɛ́* that the sources do not mention: the particle is sensitive to the truth value of the clause. Consider examples (7) and (8).

(7)   *àyí,*   *à*   *má*   *nà*   *dɛ́.*
        no   3SG   PFV.NEG   come   OF
        OK {Did Amadou come?} B: 'No, he didn't come.'
        *{Amadou didn't come.} 'No, he didn't come.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

(8)   *à*   *nà-nà*   *dɛ́.*
        3SG   come-PFV.ITR   OF
        *{Did Amadou come?} '(Yes), He did come!'
        OK {Amadou didn't come.}. '(No) He did come.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

In question-answer pairs the particle *dɛ́* is only allowed in answers that have a truth value which is the opposite of that of the question/stimulus (in curly brackets). Example (7) features the negative perfective auxiliary *má*. Because of this *dɛ́* is allowed only in an answer to the positive-polarity question *Did Amadou come?*, but not as a reaction to a negative utterance *Amadou didn't come*. In the same way an affirmative clause with *dɛ́* (8) is not allowed as an answer to a preceding positive-polarity question, but can only be used as a contradiction to a negative utterance.[4]

Examples like (7) and (8) constitute my main piece of evidence in favor of a definition of *dɛ́* as a marker of focus on the truth-value operator, but there are some further facts that are in accordance with the explanation just proposed.

It is crucial to mention that *dɛ́* doesn't occur in clauses with constituent focus (9) marked by the particle *dè* or in true (non-rhetorical) questions, either in WH- (10) or polar ones (11).

(9) Subject focus
    Ámadu   *dè*   *yé*   *sàgá`*   *fàga (*dɛ́).*
    PN   CF   PFV.TR   sheep:ART   kill
    {Seydou killed the sheep} '(No,) AMADOU killed the sheep.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

---

[4] Examples like (7) a (8) should not be taken the ultimate evidence for a grammatical constrain on *dɛ́* occurrences. As an anonymous reviewer fairly mentions, it might well be that positive sentences with final *dɛ́* would be possible after a formally positive sentence that bears a presupposition running counter of what the following *dɛ́*-marked sentence asserts. To the moment however, I cannot confirm this claim by language examples.

(10) WH-questions

Ámadu	*yé*	*mùn*	*kɛ́*	*(*dɛ́)*?
PN	PFV.TR	what	do	OF

'What did he do?' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

(11) Polar questions

à	*má*	*sàgá`*	*nìn*	*fàga*	*(*dɛ́)*	*wà*[5]?
3SG	PFV.NEG	sheep:ART	DEM	kill	OF	Q

'Didn't he slaughter a sheep?' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

What sentences (9–11) have in common is that in each of them there is either a specialized focus marker *dè* or an element which is inherently connected with (a certain type of) focus, viz. a WH-word, like *mùn* 'what', and the polar-question particle *wà*. The fact that *dɛ́* is not used in these cases is in accordance with the hypothesis about *dɛ́*'s connection with truth-value focus. Since *dè* marks constituent focus, its incompatibility with *dɛ́* is expected. The same is true of WH-words like *mùn* 'what' in (10), since WH-words in questions are in focus by default. In contrast, the incompatibility with the polar-question particle *wà* can be explained by *wà*'s inherent association with focus on the truth value, which would make the use of *dɛ́* redundant. Alternatively, it can be argued that *dɛ́* doesn't occur in (non-rhetorical) polar questions because of its contrastive nature. This argument will be discussed below in Section 4.2.

Concerning *dɛ́*'s relation to questions, it is also important to mention that there is one type of question, namely rhetorical questions, in which the use of *dɛ́* is allowed. In my view this fact can also be explained from the basic assumption about *dɛ́* as a contrastive truth-value focus particle. See Section 4.3 for details.

4.2. *dɛ́* and contrast

Based on the data presented above I propose that *dɛ́* functions as a marker of contrastive truth-value focus. We saw that *dɛ́* is sensitive to focus and to the truth value of the clause, but its relation to contrast needs further demonstration.

In my treatment of contrast I follow Zimmermann (2007: 154), according to whom:

> Contrastive marking on a focus constituent *α* expresses the speaker's assumption that the hearer *will not consider* the content of *α* or the speech act containing *α* is likely to *be(come) common ground*. (italics in the original)

Zimmermann states this as the Contrastive Focus Hypothesis, which is primarily intended to capture the facts about contrastive term focus. Applying this definition to

---

[5] The reverse ordering **wà dɛ́* is also ruled out.

truth-value focus, this would mean that the speaker focuses on the truth value of the utterance (e.g. positive) because s/he assumes that the hearer holds the opposite value (e.g. negative) to be or likely to become part of the common ground. This explanation indeed fits well with the observation that *dɛ́* cannot be used in question-answer or stimulus-reaction pairs to confirm the speaker's assumption, but only to mark statements that contradict it.

As has been noted above, the contrastive nature of *dɛ́* can be evoked to explain the particle's non-occurrence in true (non-rhetorical) polar questions. Such questions typically inquire whether or not the proposition stated is true (according to the hearer's knowledge), and thus can be claimed to have an inherent truth-value focus. This truth-value focus, however, is not contrastive, since it doesn't express the speaker's assumption about whether a certain proposition is true or not true in contrast to the hearer's assumption, but rather the speaker's unawareness of the actual situation.

4.3. Other uses of *dɛ́*

If one accepts that the basic function of *dɛ́* is to mark truth-value focus, both its "exclamative" and "intensive" readings can be explained from the point of view of this general assumption.

In Sadock & Zwicky's (1985: 162–163) approach, which I adopt here, an exclamative like a declarative statement "represents the proposition as being true," but also emphasizes the speaker's "strong emotional reaction to what he takes to be a fact."

This definition of exclamation is compatible with my understanding of *dɛ́*'s basic function as truth-value focus. Pragmatically a strong emotional reaction is appropriate when the speaker assumes that the content of the statement is not known to the hearer or at least the hearer doesn't take this information to be relevant in the current speech situation. In other words the content of the statement is not part of the common background. This makes exclamation and contrastive truth-value focus very similar (cf. Table 2).

Table 2. Exclamation and contrastive truth-value focus

Pragmatic function of statement X	Contrastive truth-value focus	Exclamation
Emphasis on truth value of X	+	+
Information in X is not part of the common ground of speaker and hearer	+	+
Emphasis on speaker's emotional reaction to what he takes to be a fact	–	+

As shown in Table 2, the two categories differ only in the emotional aspect which exclamatives contribute to the speech act. Thus, in the case of *dɛ́* it is plausible to explain the exclamative reading by pragmatic factors.

The same can be shown for the intensive reading of *dɛ́*. As can be seen from the examples provided by Dumestre (2011) and Bailleul (2007), the intensive reading of *dɛ́* is found where the particle occurs with quality predicates.

(12) *à   ká   júgu dɛ́!*
    3SG QUAL   nasty OF
    'He is very nasty!' (Dumestre 2003: 321)

(13) *à   ká   jàn   dɛ́!*
    3SG QUAL   big   OF
    'He is very big' / 'What (a) big (man) he is!' (Bailleul 2007: 96)

It is reasonable to suppose that in these examples, the property concept denoted by the quality predicate gets intensified as a result of pragmatic reinterpretation of the focus on the truth value, as represented schematically in Figure 2.

Figure 2. 'Truth-value focus → intensive' reinterpretation

a. Truth-value focus: *He is nasty indeed.*

↓

b. Intensive: *He is very nasty.*

The emphasis on the truth value of the proposition with a quality predicate expressed in (a) by the adverbial *indeed* is reinterpreted as intensification of the property concept denoted by the adjectival predicate *very nasty* in (b).

Such a semantic development is well known from studies of grammaticalization of adjectival intensifiers. Thus, Lorenz (2002: 146–147) concerning the origin of the English intensifier *very* says: "it is derived from Latin *verus* through old French *verai* and Middle English *verray*, all with a modal meaning of 'tru(ly)' 'truthful(ly)'."

The intensifier reading of *dɛ́* has not been grammaticalized in Bambara since it is not used exclusively with adjectival predicates but has several other functions. It is hence safer to suppose that this is another pragmatic reading of *dɛ́* as a truth-value focus marker.

Some examples of the use of *dɛ́* provided by Dumestre (2003; 2011) can be understood as rhetorical questions. Unfortunately he doesn't give any context, but at least in the examples (14)–(16) the most natural interpretation seems to be rhetorical.

(14) | *í* | *y'* | *à* | ***dɔ́n*** | *mùso* | *ní* | *jànfa* | *má* | *bán* | *dɛ́?*
| 2SG | PFV.TR | 3S | know | woman | with | betrayal | PFV.NEG | be.over | OF

'You know (well), women don't stop betraying, do they?' (Dumestre 2011: 232)

(15) | *wágati* | *má* | *sé* | *dɛ́?*
| time | PFV.NEG | arrive | OF

'Wouldn't it be the time (now)?' (Dumestre 2003: 321)

(16) | *kása* | *t'* | *à* | *lá* | *dɛ́?*
| smell | be.NEG | 3SG | LOC | OF

'Doesn't it have a strong smell?' (Dumestre 2011: 232)

Following Quirk et al. (1985) and Koushik (2005) I understand rhetorical questions as being "conducive," that is, as showing that the speaker is predisposed to receive a particular answer to his/her question. In the case of rhetorical polar questions, this means the speaker's predisposition to one of the two possible truth values of the sentence. In this sense rhetorical questions can be seen as carrying a strong assertion, which makes them similar in a way to sentences with contrastive truth-value focus. In both cases the truth value of the assertion is the most important information that the speaker wants to become part of the common background. Examples (14)–(16) conform to this definition.

The rhetorical nature of (14) is clear since it starts *í y'à dɔ́n* 'you know well', which unequivocally shows the conduciveness of the following question. The question itself is a reference to a common (sexist) belief about the character of women. It is important to note that (14) refers to a "common truth" and the answer is assumed to be known by the hearer too, as all sexists share the same belief about the character of women. In my understanding however it is not this common truth itself that the speaker wants to utter, but rather the relevance of this common truth to the current speech situation. What the speaker really wants to say in (14) is that this woman or these women (not mentioned in the question itself) will cheat as all women do. That is why using a conducive, assertion-carrying question is appropriate here: the reestablishing of a "common truth" as being true in the common background activates its relevance for the current speech situation.

Example (15) doesn't refer to some "common truth" but rather to a single event. According to the speaker, the current reference time (now) is exactly the moment when this event should happen, but it has not happened yet. The speaker's main intention is now to convince the hearer that the time for this event has come or, in other words, that the proposition *this would be the time* is true. To do this the speaker uses a conducive negative question with final *dɛ́*, which presupposes a positive-

polarity answer. Similarly in (16), a negative question with *dɛ́* at the end is used to elicit a positive-polarity answer. The speaker believes that the smell is really strong and wants this to become part of the common background.

Thus, in my understanding the use of *dɛ́* in rhetorical questions doesn't contradict the assumption about its relation to truth-value focus, but only shows another possible pragmatic reading of the particle in addition to the exclamative or intensive uses discussed above.

5. Syntax of focalization particles

If one accepts *dɛ́* as a marker of contrastive truth-value focus, its syntactic features can be understood as being parallel to those of the constituent-focus particle *dè*. Syntactically both particles can be described as elements with scope. Like other elements with scope over other constituents in Bambara, the particle *dè* immediately follows the element in its scope. Take as an example the relativizer *mín* (17):

(17) Relative clause: relativized direct object

[*í   bɛ́   cɛ̀`       mín`   dɔ́n*] *né   yé   ò   yé.*
2SG   IPFV man:ART   REL:ART   know 1SG   PFV   3SG   see
'I saw the man that you know.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

Interestingly, both the focus particle *dè* and the relativizer *mín* are insensitive to the constituent structure of the clause. Thus, both occur between a postposition and its complement in constructions with a postpositional phrase, as in (18) and (19).

(18) PP focus

*Ámadu   yé   wári`   dí   à   [dɔ́gɔ-muso **dè**   mà]*
PN   PFV.TR   money:ARTgive   3SG   younger-woman   CF   DAT
{Who did Amadou give the money to?} 'Amadou gave the money to his younger SISTER.' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

(19)   PP relativization

*Kéyítà   tùn   yé   bàtakî`    cí     [**móri`***
PN   PST   PFV.TR   letter:ART   send   marabout:ART

***mín`   mà],** ò   sà-ra.*
REL   DAT   ANA   die-PFV.ITR
'The marabout who Keita sent a letter to is dead.' (Vydrin 2008: 96)

In contrast, the clause-final slot, where the particle *dɛ́* is found, is occupied by particles that have scope over the truth value of the clause, as for example the polar-question particle *wà* (21).

(20) *yírì`   bɛ́   bìn sísan   wà?*
    tree:ART   IPFV fall now   Q
    'Is the tree going to fall now?' (Prokhorov, f. n.)

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that the particle *dè* can be described as a constituent focus marker, while *dɛ́* is a contrastive truth-value focus marker. The exclamative, intensive reading of *dɛ́* and its use in rhetorical questions found in the literature can be derived from *dɛ́*'s basic truth-value-focus function. The syntax of the two particles is parallel in that both occur in a position that is typical for scope elements of their type. Like elements with constituent scope (e.g. the relativizer *mín*), *dè* follows the constituent, while *dɛ́* occurs in the clause-final position typically occupied by elements with scope over a clausal truth-value operator (like the polar-question particle *wà*).

In this view Bambara's focus system constitutes an example of a focus alignment with a basic distinction between constituent and operator focus (recall Figure 1), thus lending further support to the relevance of these categories in the typology of the scope of focus.

Glosses and Abbreviations

ANA	anaphoric	NEG	negative
ART	article	OF	operator focus
CF	constituent focus	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PN	personal name
DAT	dative	PST	past
IPFV	imperfective	Q	question
ITR	intransitive	QUAL	qualitative
f. n.	field notes	REL	relativizer
FUT	future	SG	singular
LOC	locative		

References

Bailleul, Charles. 2007. *Dictionnaire Bambara-Français*. 3e édition. Bamako: Donniya.

Dik, Simon C. 1989. *The Theory of Functional Grammar, Part I: The Structure of the Clause*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Dumestre, Gérard. 1987. *Le bambara du Mali: Essai de description linguistique*. Thèse de Doctorat d'Etat. Paris: INALCO.

Dumestre, Gérard. 2003. *Grammaire fondamentale du bambara*. Paris: Karthala.

Dumestre, Gérard. 2011. *Dictionnaire bambara-français, suivi d'un index abrégé français-bambara*. Paris: Karthala.

Güldemann, Tom. 2009. Predicate-centered focus-types: A sample-based typological study in African languages. Description of project B7 SFB 632. Berlin.

Kiss, Katalin É. 1998. Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74(2). 245–273.

König, Ekkehard. 1991. *The Meaning of Focus Particles: A Comparative Perspective*. London – New York: Routledge.

Koushik, Irene. 2005. *Beyond Rhetorical Questions: Assertive questions in everyday interaction*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lorenz, Gunther. 2002. Really worthwhile or not really significant ? A corpus-based approach to the delexicalization and grammaticalization of intensifiers in Modern English. In Wischer, Ilse and Gabriele Diewald (eds.). *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, 143–161. Amsterdam – Philadelphi: John Benjamins.

Masiuk, Nadine. 1986. La particule de focalisation "dè" du bambara. *Mandenkan* 1. 75–88.

Masiuk, Nadine. 1987. Note sur la description des particules du bambara. *Mandenkan* 14-15. 247–250.

Masiuk, Nadine. 1994. L'emploi des particules, des formes pronominales fortes, et de l'exposition en bambara – parler de Bamako. *Mandenkan* 27. 3–110.

Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sidney, Leech, Geoffrey and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman

Sadock, Jerrold M. and Arnold M. Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,* Vol. 1, 155–196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vydrin, Valentin (Выдрин, Валентин Ф.) 2008. *Yazyk bamana. Uchebenoe posobie* (Язык бамана. Учебное пособие) [La langue bambara. Manuel]. St. Petersburg: SPBGU.

Watters, John R. 2010. Focus and the Ejagham verb system. In Fiedler, Ines. and Anne Schwarz (eds.). 2010. *The Expression of Information Structure: A Documentation of its Diversity across Africa* (Typological Studies in Language, 91). 349–376. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zimmermann, Malte. 2007. Contrastive focus. In Féry, Caroline, Fanselow, Gisbert and Manfred Krifka (eds.). *The Notion of Information Structure* (Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 6). 147–159.

Particules focalisatrices en bambara
Kirill Prokhorov

Il existe deux particules focalisatrices en bambara : *dè* (« particule focalisatrice ») qui suit l'élément focalisé, et *dɛ́* (« particule exclamative ») qui apparaît à la fin de l'énoncé. Dans cet article j'essaie de montrer que ces particules marquent deux types différents de focalisation : *dè* est utilisé pour la focalisation d'un constituant, et *dɛ́* est la marque du focus de l'opérateur de véracité (Watters 2010). Cette distinction est reflétée dans la syntaxe des deux particules.

Focalization particles in Bambara
Kirill Prokhorov

There are two particles in Bambara: *dè* ("focus particle"), which follows the element under its scope, and *dɛ́* ("exclamative particle"), which occurs clause-finally. In this paper I argue that these particles are used to mark two different types of focus: *dè* is used for constituent focus while *dɛ́* is a marker of truth-value operator focus (Watters 2010). This distinction is mirrored in the syntax of the two particles.

Фокализующие частицы в языке бамана
Кирилл Прохоров

В языке бамана имеется две похожие по форме частицы – *dè* (т.н. «фокусная частица»), которая следует за элементом, находящимся в её сфере действия, и частица *dɛ́* («восклицательная частица»), которая используется в конце предложения. В этой работе приводятся аргументы в пользу трактовки данных частиц, как маркеров двух различных видов фокуса – *dè* используется в качестве маркера фокуса на синтаксической составляющей, а *dɛ́* маркирует фокус на операторе значения истинности (см. Watters 2010). Данное противопоставление также находит отражение в синтаксисе двух частиц – *dè* следует за составляющей, находящейся в фокусе, в то время как финальная позиция частицы *dɛ́* свидетельствует о том, что в её сфере действия находится абстрактный оператор уровня предложения.