Prosodic correlates of information structure values in a tone language
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The current research is a contribution to the debate about the correlates of information structure categories in prosody. One long-contended issue is whether prosodic prominence can be considered as a universal correlate of focus, see Büring (2009), Selkirk (2011) in support of this hypothesis and Downing (2012), Rialland & Robert (2001) against it. There are also attempts to provide a list of intonemes which signal specific discourse values, an interesting example of it can be found in (Steedman 2007). I address the question of how to delimit lexical, syntactic and pragmatic functions of tone on the example of Kakabe language (<Mande, endangered). The question about how intonation can coexist with lexical tone is only beginning to be the subject of specialized discussion in literature (Hyman & Monaka 2011), and, to my knowledge, this problem has not been at issue for any of Mande languages so far.

The analysis is based on an oral corpus, containing more than six hours of spontaneous texts recorded in Guinea in 2013-2015. Kakabe is a tone language, which, according to the definition by L. Hyman (2001) means that "pitch enters into the lexical realization of at least some morphemes". Crucially, the participation of tone in the lexical realization is very restricted in Kakabe. The only category where tone is purely lexical and stable in any position within an utterance, are full nouns, e.g. *bàa* L 'goat' vs. *báa* H 'river'. Verbs also have arbitrary lexical tone, e.g. *kɛ́* 'happen' vs. *kɛ̀* 'defecate', yet in most cases it is neutralized in the utterance (one of the few the exceptions is an imperative with a pronominal DO or a perfective intransitive clause with a pronominal subject). Apart from this restricted case of lexical specification, tone is conditioned by the syntactic position of the morphemes in the clause and/or by their discourse functions. For example, adjectives always copy the tone of the head of the NP. The tonal behavior of determiners is a rather straightforward reflection of their discourse function: determiners like *wo* 'that', *kɛ* 'this', *tugun* 'also' are integrated into the prosodic group of the head noun and bear a falling tone, whereas the quantifiers like *fo* 'every', *dɔrɔn* 'only', which also occupy the rightmost position within the noun phrase, create an independent prosodic group and are pronounced with a high tone. I will analyze the internal architecture of the Kakabe noun phrase and its prosodic correlate and compare it with the prosodic structure of the finite clause. Both the anchoring of referent and assertion are associated with one intoneme, namely, falling contour. In general, topical elements at the level of noun phrase (pronominal possessors, demonstratives as determiners) intonationally and syntactically behave in the same way as topical elements at the level of finite clause.

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