DEPENDENT CLAUSES AND FOCUS PARTICLE IN KAKABE

Alexandra Vydrina[†]

Laboratoire de Phonétique et Phonologie, UMR-7018 CNRS

edited by *Valentin Vydrin*

Abstract: The paper deals with the syntax of focalization in Kakabe (Mokole < Western Mande). By default, the argument focus is marked by a specialized particle *lè* following the focused constituent which remains *in situ*. To mark the sentence focus, *lè* usually follows the subject. *lè* cannot appear inside adverbial and relative subordinate clauses, in infinitive constructions; it cannot follow most of adverbial expressions. At the same time, it can be hosted by adverbs and postpositional phrases of time, manner and place.

Key words: focalization, focus particle, external focalization, Kakabe language, Mande languages

Editor's preface

Information structure of Kakabe was in the center of Alexandra's academic interest during the final period of her life. Already in her PhD thesis (Vydrina 2017), she paid lots of attention to focalization. Two big papers published after the defence of the thesis dealt with sentence focus (Vydrina 2020a) and with operator focus in Kakabe (Vydrina 2020b). Another big paper, "Morphological focus and its agreement features", was prepared for publication (hopefully, it will appear before the end of 2023). In these theoretical articles, different aspects of Kakabe focalization (and information structure in general) are considered in detail, in the framework of several formal approaches, with ample references to the relevant linguistic literature. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these writings represent so far the most

profound and detailed analysis of the information structure in the Mande linguistics.

This paper is of a different kind. It presents, in an extremely frugal way, the Kakabe data on the syntax of focalization, with a special attention to the island constraints for the placement of the focalization particle *lè*. In fact, it remained unfinished, and it required some editing (a number of repetitions have been removed, some phrases have been completed, the numeration of examples has been corrected, etc.).

Certainly, this paper cannot be compared with Alexandra's other focalization papers with respect to the analytical depth, however, it represents some language data which are absent elsewhere. Another advantage of this presentation is that it provides an inventory of syntactic contexts applicable for the study of focalization in other Mande languages (and beyond).

I don't know if Alexandra would publish this paper in its present form. Most probably, she would rather use it as a starting point for another in-depth analytical study. Alas, this study cannot be continued by the author. But still, publication of this text, however sketchy it may be, seems to me not devoid of interest for the African linguistics.

Valentin Vydrin

1. General information about Kakabe

Kakabe < Western Mande < Mande; ~50 000 speakers.
Rigid S (aux)-O-V-X word order where X stands for any adjunct.

(1) | Sbj | Aux | DO | V | IO | pp |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *à* | *sí* | *nìngéé* | *sàn* | *mànsáà* | *yèn* |
| *à* | *si* | *nìngi-È* | *sàn* | *mànsa-È* | *yen* |
| 3SG | POT | cow.ART | buy | chief-ART | BNF |

'He will buy a cow for the chief.'[1]

---

[1] Kakabe phrasal examples are presented systematically in three lines. In the first line, a superficial realization is provided; in the second line, the underlying form; in the third one, the glosses. Every example is followed by a free translation into English.

　　　Kakabe is a **tonal language**, with H and L, floating L tones and downstep (non-automatic downdrift). The distance between the underlying (lexical) tones and their surface realization can be rather important. Examples are given with two lines of transcription: the first line represents the surface phonemic transcription and the second line gives the underlying lexical forms for each morpheme.

2. Focus in simple sentences

2.1 Narrow vs. broad focus

Focus is signaled by dedicated particle *lè* (*dè* after nasals). The focused constituent always remains *in situ*.

(2) a. [*mùséè*　　*lè*]$_F$　*ka*　　*sòbéè*　　*tàbì*　　Sbj focus
　　　mùsu-È　　*lè*　　*ka*　　*sòbo-È*　　*tàbi*
　　　woman.ART　FP　PFV.TR　meat.ART　prepare
　　　'THE WOMAN prepare the meat.'

b.　　*mùséè*　　*ká*　　[*sòbéé*　　*lè*]$_F$　*tàbì*　　Obj focus
　　　mùsu-È　　*kà*　　*sòbo-È*　　*lè*　　*tàbi*
　　　woman.ART　PFV.TR　meat.ART　FP　prepare
　　　'The woman prepared THE MEAT.'

　　　Constructions with *lè* following DO can also have the broader VP focus reading (3).

(3)　　*mùséè*　　*kà*　　*sòbéé*　　⁺*lé*　*tàbì*
　　　mùsu-È　　*ka*　　*sòbo-È*　　*lè*　*tàbi*
　　　woman-ART　PFV.TR　meat-ART　FP　prepare
a.　　'(What did the woman prepare?) The woman prepared THE MEAT.'
b.　　'(What did the woman do?) The woman PREPARED THE MEAT.'

　　　Nevertheless, there is no ban on placing *lè* on the verb, and narrow V-focus is signaled by *lè* following the verb (4).

(4) *mùséé*   *kà*   *sòbéé*   *bàràbárá*   *lè*
     mùsu-È   *ka*   *sòbo-È*   *bàrabara*   *lè*
     woman-ART   PFV.TR   meat.ART   boil   FP
     '(Did the woman fry or boil the meat?)
     The woman BOILED the meat.'

2.2 Complex DPs

Complex DP is transparent for the focus particle which can be placed after the head as well as after the possessor; cf. the focus on the whole complex DP (5a), on the head (5b), and on the possessor (5c):

(5) a. *ǹ*   *ká*   [*ń*   *nɛ̀ɛ̀nɛ̀*   *lá*   *nìngéé*   *lè*]$_F$ *màyìtà*
     ǹ   *ka*   *ǹ*   *nɛ̀ɛnɛ*   *la*   *nìngi-È*   *lè*   *mayìta*
     1SG PFV.TR   1SG mother   POSS   cow-ART   FP   sell
     '(Did you sell your father's goat or your mother's cow?)
     I sold MY MOTHER'S COW.'

b.   *ǹ*   *ká*   *ń*   *nɛ̀ɛ̀nɛ̀*   *lá*   [*nìngéé*   *lě*]$_F$ *màyìtà*
     ǹ   *ka*   *ǹ*   *nɛ̀ɛnɛ*   *la*   *nìngi-È*   *lè*   *mayìta*
     1SG PFV.TR   1SG mother   POSS   cow-ART   FP   sell
     '(Did you sell your mother's goat or your mother's cow?)
     I sold my mother's COW.'

c.   *ǹ*   *ká*   *ń*   [*nɛ̀ɛ̀nɛ̀*   *lè*]$_F$ *lá*   *nìngéé*   *màyìtà*
     ǹ   *ka*   *ǹ*   *nɛ̀ɛnɛ*   *lè*   *la*   *nìngi-È*   *mayìta*
     1SG PFV.TR   1SG mother   FP   POSS   cow-ART   sell
     '(Did you sell your father's cow or your mother's cow?)
     I sold MY MOTHER'S cow.'

The focus encoded by *lè* can be opposed to one alternative only, as in (6) or be construed against an open set of alternatives (7).

(6) *ɔ̀*   *máá*   *ň⁺lé*   *⁺lé*   *gbàsì*
     ɔ̀   *máa*   *ňdè*   *lè*   *gbàsi*
     2PL   NEG.PFV   1SG.LG   FP   beat

ɔ̀	ká	ɔ́	là	dé⁺ɲɛ́	⁺lé	gbàsì
ɔ̀	ka	ɔ̀	la	dén-È	lè	gbàsi
2PL	PFV.TR	2PL	POSS	child-ART	FP	beat

'You have not beaten ME, you have beaten YOUR CHILD.'
(sakeke_Mamadu_2010_059)

(7)

à	kà	ké⁺rén	⁺dé	nààtí	yàn
à	ka	kéri-È-nu	lè	nàati	yàn
3SG	PFV.TR	hoe-ART-PL	FP	bring	here

'[What has this one brought to you?]
He brought THE HOES here.' (numu_SNKeita_2009_042)

2.3. Sentence Focus

In the context Sentence Focus, *lè* is mostly placed after the subject (8).

(8)

mɔ́nbí⁺lé	⁺lé	bèètà
mɔ́nbili-È	lè	bèe-ta
car-ART	FP	fall-PFV.I

'[What happened?] The car crashed.'
(KKEC_AV_NARR_150124_AK1_124)

When both core arguments in SF are full DPs and non-given, *lè* appears after the subject NP, according to the principle of subject priority. This is illustrated by the two introductory SF constructions below (9).

(9)

túlân	dè	ká	ɲààréènù	súbɛ́	tólóɲɛ̀	là
túla-nu	lè	ka	ɲàari-È-nu	súbɛ	tólon-È	la
mouse-PL	FP	PFV.TR	cat-ART-PL	choose	game-ART	OBL

'(Beginning of a story:) The mice chose the cats to make a party.'
(tula_SNKeita_2009_003)

But other position for *lè* are possible in SF as well, depending on the discourse properties of the referents. In (10), as is clear from the

preceding context, the QUD is of the type 'What happened?' and therefore the clause has the SF articulation. Again, the subject is pronominal and *lè* is placed after the nominal DO 'my hoes'.

(10) | *ǹ* | *bi* | *ǹ* | *na* | *kérè-nu* | *lè* | *jígalen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ǹ* | *bi* | *ǹ* | *la* | *kéri-È-nu* | *lè* | *jíga-len* |
| 1SG | be | 1SG | POSS | hoe-ART-PL | FP | take-PC.ST |
| *káà* | *dòni* | *nùméè* | *báta* | | | |
| *kà-à* | *dòni* | *nùmu-È* | *báta* | | | |
| INF-3SG | send | smith-ART | at | | | |

'[Birds, listen to me what happened]: I took my hoes and went with them to the smith's.' (numu_SNKeita_2009_063)

3. Internal vs. external focalization of subordinate clauses

3.1. Adverbial clause

When the focus is on a subconstituent of a subordinate clause, e.g. an adverbial clause as in (11), *lè* cannot appear after the semantically focused constituent. Instead, the focus marker is found at the end of the matrix clause.

(11) a. | [[*à* | *tááta* | *lúúmè* | *tɔ (lé)*] | [*à* | *ní* | [*bàntárà*]$_F$ | *sàn*]] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *à* | *táa-ta* | *lúumɔ-È* | *tɔ lè* | *à* | *ni* | *bàntara-È* | *sàn* |
| 3SG | go-PFV.I | market-ART | in FP | 3SG | SBJV | manioc-ART | buy |

'He went to the market to buy MANIOC (not rice).'

b. *[à tááta lúumè tɔ] [à ní [bàntárà lè]$_F$ sàn]*

The same happens for when the focus is, pragmatically, on the whole adverbial clause (external focalization of the dependent clause). Here, again, *lè* appears not at the end of the focused constituent but at the end of the matrix clause (12).

(12) Adverbial clause focus: focus particle in the main clause
a.   *káá   wò   bì   táá-lá   lè*   [*wò   nì   wó   dɔ̀n*]_F
     or.Q   2PL   be   go-GER   **FP**   2PL   SBJV   2PL   dance
     '[Do you go there TO STUDY] or do you go there IN ORDER TO
DANCE?'(Lit. 'SO THAT YOU DANCE')
b.   **káá   wò   bì   táá-lá   wò   nì   wó   dɔ̀n   dè*

(13) *ì   yíli   yáà   ma   lè* [*wò   ni   ɲɔ̀gɔn   gbéllɔn*]_F
     ì   yíli   bi-à   ma   lè   wò   ni   ɲɔ̀gɔn   gbéllɔn
     2SG   wish   be-3SG   on   **FP**   2PL   SBJV   each.other   chase
     '[Are you looking forward to that you would play football] or
are you looking forward to GO CHASING AFTER EACH OTHER?' (TALK03_228)

3.2. Relative clause

When a subconstituent of a relativized clause is focused, the focus
particle appears on the resumptive pronoun *wò* which is also used as
the distal demonstrative 'that' in the language (14).

(14) **Correlative relativization**
     kánkáɲɛ̀   mín   kà   sààgáá   kànká   ànù   kà   wó   lè   bìtà
     *kánkan-È   mîn   ka   sààga-È   kànka   ànu   ka   **wò   lè**   bìta*
     thief-ART   REL   PFV.TR   sheep-ART   steal   3PL   PFV.TR   that   FP   catch
     'They caught the thief who stole the sheep (not the thief who
stole the goat).'

(15) *mîn   sɔ́gɔ́   bí   ì   là,   ì   wɔ́   lè   tún   yén   là*
     mîn   sɔ́gɔ   bi   ì   la,   ì   wɔ́   lè   tún   yén   la
     REL   wish   be   2SG   OBL   2SG   that   FOC   only   see   GER

ì   kà   mîn   là   kóo   fɔ́,   ì   wò   lè   tún   yén   lá
ì   ka   mîn   la   kóo   fɔ́,   ì   wò   lè   tún   yén   la
2SG   PFV.TR   REL   POSS   matter   say   2SG   that   FOC   only   see   GER
'[When you go hunting], you will find whatever you wish. Whatever
you say, you will see it.' (banba_SNKeita_2009_082)

Correlative with relativized DO: focus particle *lè* in matrix clause on the resumptive pronoun *wò* (16).

(16) [[*jàtáà   kà   kàyéè   mín   mágba*]
      jàta-È   ka   kàyi-È   mîn   mágba
      lion-ART   PFV.TR   man-ART   REL   wound
[*ànù   kà   wó   lè   dònì   lábútánè   tɔ̀*]]
ànu   ka   wo   lè   dòni   lábutanɛ-È   tɔ
3PL   PFV.TR that FP   send   hospital-ART in
'They sent the man THAT THE LION WOUNDED to the hospital (not the man that fell down himself).' (Lit. 'The lion wounded that man, they sent HIM to the hospital')

Embedded relativization is also attested in Kakabe, even though it is much less frequent than the correlative strategy. The focus particle, again, cannot appear in-situ, i.e. within the subordinate clause and appears instead in the matrix clause. It appears linearly, at the end of the relativized NP which, in this case, coincides with the end of the relativized clause (17).

(17) *ànu   ka   [_{DP}kánkaɲè [_{REL}mín ka   sàagáá_{F.}   kànka] lè] bìta*
      ànu   ka   kánkan-È   mîn   ka   sàaga-È   kànka   lè   bìta
      3PL   PFV.TR   thief-ART   REL   PFV.TR   sheep-ART   steal   FP   catch
      'They caught the thief who stole the sheep (not the thief who stole the goat).'

See also (18)–(19) with embedded relativization in which the relativized NP occupies the DO position and the focus is on a DP within the embedded relativized clause.

(18) *ànù   kà   [_{DP}kánkaɲè [_{REL}dénnènù_{F}   kà   mín   yèn] dè] bìta*
      ànu   ka   kánkan-È   dénden-È-nu   ka   mîn   yén   lè   bìta
      3PL   PFV.TR   thief-ART   child-ART-PL PFV.TR   REL   see   FP   catch
      'They caught the thief who THE CHILDREN saw (not the one who the women saw).'

(19) ànu   kà   [kàyéɛ̀   [jàtáà   kà   mín   mágbá]   lè]
     ànu   ka   kàyi-È   jàta-È   ka   mîn   mágba   lè
     3PL   PFV.TR man-ART   lion-ART PFV.TR REL   wound   FP

dònì *lábútánɛ̀*   *tɔ̀*
dòni *lábutanɛ-È*   *tɔ*
send   hospital-ART   in

'They sent the man THAT THE LION WOUNDED, to the hospital (not the man that fell down himself).' (Lit. 'The lion wounded that man$_i$, they sent HIM$_i$ to the hospital.')

3.3. Infinitive

Examples (20)–(21) illustrate the unavailability of the infinitival clause for in situ focus particle: the semantically focused DO of the infinitive triggers *lè* in the matrix clause instead.

(20) *ì*   *kà*   *kán*   *dè*   *kà*   *yɛ́gɛ̀*$_F$ *dàmù*
     ì   *ka*   *kán*   *lè*   *kà*   *yɛ́gɛ-È*   *dámu*
     2SG   PFV.TR   ought.to   FP   INF   fish-ART   eat
     'You have to eat FISH.'

(21) *à*   *nàtà*   *lúúmɛ̀*   *tɔ́*   *lè*   *kà*   *bàntárà*   *sàn*
     à   *na-ta*   *lúumɔ-È*   *tɔ*   *lè*   *kà*   *bàtara-È*   *sàn*
     3SG   come-PFV.I   market-ART   in   FP   INF   manioc-ART   buy
     'He came to the market and bought MANIOC.'

3.4. Gerund, nominalization: no restrictions on in situ FP

No restrictions on in-situ focalizations are found for subconstituents of gerunds and nominalizations.

(22) *à*   *fɔ́lɔ́tá*   *yɛ́gɛ̀*   *lè*   *dàmùlà*   Gerund
     à   *fɔ́lɔ-ta*   *yɛ́gɛ-È*   *lè*   *dámu-la*
     3SG   start-PFV.I   fish-ART   FP   eat-GER
     'He started eating fish (and not meat).'

(23) *yégὲ   lè   dámòè   káà   lágbàndì*   Nominalization
      yége-È   lè   dámu-È ka-à   la-gbàndi
      fish-ART FP eat-ART PFV.TR-3SG CAUS-fall.ill
      'It is because of eating fish that he fell ill.' (Lit. 'The eating of
FISH made him ill')

3.5. Utterance complement: no restriction on in situ FP

Differently from the subjunctive, relative and infinitive clauses, complement clauses impose no restriction on the expression of their internal focalization *in situ*.

(24) *ǹ   báà   fɔ́lá   nɔn mɔ̀ɔ̀nì   sɔ́ngὲ   wó*
      ǹ   bi-à   fɔ́-la   nɔn mɔ̀ɔni sɔ́ngɔ-È   wò
      1SG be-3SG say-GER DISC porridge price-ART that
kàyéè   lè   yáà   dílá   mùséè   bòlò
kayi-È   lè   bi-à   dí-la   mùsu-È   bólo
man-ART FP   be-3SG give-GER woman-ART hand
'I was saying, the money for the porridge THE MAN gives it to the woman.' (KKEC_AV_CONV_131207_TALK03_053)

3.6. Utterance complement: external focalization

As shown in §3.5, subconstituents of utterance complements can be focused in situ. In contrast to that, when focus is on the utterance complement **as a whole**, *lè* appears in the matrix clause and not at the end of the utterance complement, as would be expected if it were in situ.

(25) *mà   yáà   fɔ́lá   ànì   yén   dè*
      mà   bi-à   fɔ́-la   ànu   yen   lè
      1PL be-3SG say-GER 3PL   BNF   FP
[*àn   nì   sáli   kútáà   sàn   mà   yèn*]₍F₎
ànu   ni   sáli   kùta-È   sàn   mà   yen
3PL SBJV holiday clothes-ART buy   1PL   BNF
'(What do you ask them to do?) We tell them [that they should buy clothes for us]₍F₎.' (TALK03_122)

(26) *ì   kánáà   fɔ́   [à   si   úlúfíté]*_F

     ì   káni-à   fɔ́   à   si   úlufitɛ

     2SG   IMP.NEG-3SG   say   3SG   POT   fall.in_{PULAR}

*ì   báà   fɔ́lá   lè   [ì   sí   bìri]*_F

ì   bi-à   fɔ́-la   lè   ì   si   bìri

2SG   be-3SG   say-GER   FP   2SG   POT   fall.in

'You shouldn't say: "it will *ulufitɛ*" you should say "you will fall in".'
(prel_2010_080)

In (27) the focus is on the greeting *tàna máa téle* 'Hello'. It is under the scope of focus and also under the scope of the exclusive focus particle *tún* 'only' with both the non-specialized focus particle *lè* and the exclusive *tún* appearing after the utterance predicate:

(27) *sì   ì   kétá   ì   báà   fɔ́la   lè   tún*

     sì   ì   ké-ta   ì   bi-à   fɔ́-la   lè   tún

     if   2SG   arrive-PFV.I   2SG   be-3SG   say-GER   FP   only

[*tànà máá   télé*] *ì   bi   wó   lè   tún   fɔ́là*

tàna máa   téle   ì   bi   wò   lè   tún   fɔ́-la

evil   PFV.NEG   day   2SG   be   that   FP   only   say-GER

'When you come you say only: "Hello". You don't say anything else.'

4. Focus on non-clausal XPs and ex-situ focus particle

4.1. Contexts requiring the ex-situ focus particle

Apart from subordinate clauses, ex-situ position of focus maker (when it is not on the XP semantically in focus) is found in context when the semantic focus is on one of the following categories of XPs:

- quotes, names (28)–(30), complements of comparative constructions (31),
- clause-level adverbials and adverbial constituents, e.g. *dóndèn-dóndèn* 'little by little' (32), *báakɛ* 'a lot', and polarity items, e.g. *kán↑wóokánkan* 'anyhow', *lùn↑wólùn* 'any day' (33),
- some manner adverbs have an "expressive form" associated with raised high tone and, optionally, reduplication (34),

- clauses-level focus sensitive particles of epistemic stance/ commitment judgement: *féw* 'emph', *tún* 'only' etc. (35)–(36),
- adverbial intensifiers, lexically specific adverbs (37),
- onomatopoea (38)–(39).

Importantly, they are often accompanied by register raising, signaled by ↑, that can be interpreted as **downdrift break**.

(28) Naming construction with *fɔ́*
 sòmáádûn à ì fɔ́lá lè kánfĩ̀nɛ̀
 sòmáadun à bi fɔ́-la lè kán-fin-Ɛ̀
 otherwise 3sg be say-GER FP neck-black-Ɛ̀
 '[The language is called "Kakabe"], otherwise, it is called "BLACK NECK".' (mosque3_078)

(29) Naming construction with *kó*
 sòséènù kó àn má lè ɲɔ́ɔ̀la mìkifɔ́ɔ̀rɛ
 sòso-Ɛ̀-nu kó ànu ma lè ɲɔ́ɔ̀la mìkifɔ́ɔrɛ
 sousou-ART-PL say 3PL to FP there mikifore
 'Susu call them there MIKIFOORE.' (KKEC_AV_CONV_131220_ mosque3_082)

The use of *lè* in the non-verbal naming construction with *tɔ́gɔ* (30).

(30) *kɛ̀ lɔ́gɔ́ déɲɛ̀ tɔ́gɔ́ lè káppɛ̀*
 kɛ̀ lɔ́gɔ dén-Ɛ̀ tɔ́gɔ lè káppɛ̀
 that tree child-ART name FP yam
 'This fruit is called yam.' (KKEC_AV_CONV_131207_ TALK02_083)

(31) Comparative construction
 à káá bìtá lè kó à níímɔ́gɛ̀
 à ka-à bìta lè kó à níimɔgɔ-Ɛ̀
 3sg PFV.TR-3SG take FP say 3SG sibling.in.law-ART
 'She considered her AS HER SISTER-IN-LAW.' (KKEC_AV_ NARR_131227_AK3_119)

(32) Clause-level adverbials
     mà   *ì*   *tólónná*   *lè*   *↑dóndèndóndèn*
     mà   *bi*   *tólón-la*   *lè*   *dóndendonden*
     1PL be play-GER FP slowly
     '(Do you quarrel when you play?) No, we play QUIETLY.' (KKEC_
AV_CONV_131207_TALK03_240)

(33) Polarity items
a.   *à*   *bì*   *wálílá*   *lè*   *lùn↑wólùn*
     à   *bi*   *wáli-la*   *lè*   *lùn↑wólùn*
     3SG be work-GER FP any.day
     'He works ANY DAY/ANY TIME.'
b.   *à bì wálílá lùn↑wólùn dè*

(34) Expressive manner adverbs
a.   *à*   *bì*   *bòrìlá*   *lè*   *↑dóyi-dóyi*
     à   *bi*   *bòri-la*   *lè*   *↑dóyi-dóyi*
     3SG be run-GER FP slowly.EMPH
     'He is running VERY SLOWLY (INDEED).'
b.   *à bì bòrìlá ↑dóyi-dóyi lè*

   Clause-level particles of epistemic stance (35)–(36).

(35) a. *à*   *gbàndìyàtà*   *lè*   *↑féw*
      à   *gbàndiya-ta*   *lè*   *↑féw*
      3SG fall.ill-PFV.I FP indeed
      'Indeed, he fell ill!'
b.   *à gbàndìyàtà ↑féw lè*

(36) a. *nògósà* *à*   *bì*   *nàlá*   *lè*
      nògósà *à*   *bi*   *nà-la*   *lè*
      maybe 3SG be come-GER FP
      'Maybe, he will come.'
b.   *nògósà lè à bì nàlà*

(37) Intensifiers, lexically specific adverbs
a.   *à   gbétá   lè ↑pɔ́s*
      à   gbé-ta   lè ↑pɔ́s
      3SG be.clean-PFV.I   FP   INTSF
      'It is totally clean (it is not just a little bit clean)!'
b.   **à gbétá ↑pɔ́s lè*

   Onomatopoea (38)–(39).

(38) *nìngéè báá   fɔlá   lè múú   (ɲáw   máa   dɛ)*
      nìngi-È bi-à   fɔ́-la   lè mùu   ɲáw   máa   dɛ
      cow-ART be-3SG say-GER FP "moo" "meow" ID.NEG EMPH
      'Cow makes "moo" and not "meow".'
      *nìngéè báá fɔlá múú lè (ɲáw máa dɛ)

(39) *jéè   báà   mála   lè cɔ́rr cɔ́rr   cɔrr*
      jíi-è   bi-à   má-la   lè cɔ́rrcɔrrcɔrr
      water-ART be-3SG do-GER FP   IDEO
      'The water was falling: PLOP-PLOP-PLOP!' (bayimanu_
SNKeita_2010_019)

4.2 Adverbials hosting focus particle in situ

Adverbs and postpositional phrases of time, manner and place can
host *lè*.

(40) *à   nàtà   kúnùn   dè / kúnùn dè à nàtà*
      à   nà-ta   kúnùn   lè
      3SG come-PFV.I yesterday FP
      'He arrived YESTERDAY.'

(41) *à   bì   bòrìlá   dòyì   lè*
      à   bi   bòri-la   dòyi   lè
      3SG be   run-GER slowly FP
      'He runs SLOWLY.'

(42) *à   kìnnɔ̀gɔ̀tà   bóɲɛ̀   là   lè*
       à   kìnnɔgɔ-ta   bón-È̀   la   lè
       3SG come-PFV.I   house-ART   OBL   FP
       'He slept IN THE HOUSE.'

5. Summary and a tentative explanation

Truncated CP is an island for in situ focalization of subconstituents.

Infinitives, adverbial and relativized clauses have truncated CP structure in Kakabe.

Expressive adverbs, ideophones, names in naming constructions, appear in the CP position.

Gerunds and nominalizations display the same behavior as complex DPs that are transparent for sub-constituent focalizations and can also be focused as whole in situ.

Abbreviations

<div style="columns:2">

ART – referential article
BNF – benefactive
COP – copula
CP – constituent phrase

DIM – diminutive

DP – determiner phrase
F – focus
FD – focus domain
FP – focus particle
G – given
GER – gerund
IDENT – identificational copula
INCL – inclusive
LG – long form of pronouns
NEG – negation
OBL – oblique
OF – operator focus

PASS – passive
PC.ST – stative participle
PFV.OF – perfective with operator focus
PFV.I – intransitive perfective
　　　(without operator focus)
PFV.TR – transitive perfective
　　　(without operator focus)
PL – plural
POSS – possessive
POT – potential
PST – past
Q – interrogative
QUD – question under discussion
REL – relativizer
SF – sentence focus
SBJV – subjunctive
SG – singular
SBJV – subjunctive

</div>

References

Vydrina, Alexandra. 2017. *A corpus-based description of Kakabe, a Western Mande language: prosody in grammar*. Paris: INALCO Ph.D. dissertation.

Vydrina, Alexandra. 2020a. Topicality in sentence focus utterances. *Studies in Language* 44(3). 501–547.

Vydrina, Alexandra. 2020b. Operator focus in discourse and grammar: the two perfectives in Kakabe. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 41(1). 99–145.