

Theticity in Fulfulde

Viktoria Apel

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

0 PhD Thesis ‘Information Structure in Fulfulde’:

Contents

- 1 Introduction
- 2 On the theory of INFORMATION STRUCTURE
 - 2.1 Definition of Information Structure
 - 2.2 Categorical vs. thetic statements**
 - 2.2.1 Definitions**
 - 2.2.2 Thetic statements: Functions and contexts**
 - 2.2.3 Cross-linguistic strategies for expressing thetic statements**
 - 2.3 The IS category TOPIC
 - 2.4 The IS category FOCUS
 - 2.5 Summary
- 3 The verbal system of Fulfulde
- 4 Categorical and thetic statements in Fulfulde**
 - 4.1 Categorical statements**
 - 4.2 Thetic statements**
 - 4.2.1 Usage of canonical sentences in thetic contexts**
 - 4.2.1.1 Canonical verbal sentences
 - 4.2.1.2 Canonical nominal sentences: Copula construction
 - 4.2.2 Ex-situ subject focus construction**
 - 4.2.3 Identificational clause**
 - 4.2.4 Definite articles in sentence-initial position**
 - 4.2.5 Locative construction**
 - 4.2.6 Stative construction**
 - 4.3 Summary**
- 5 The expression of TOPIC in Fulfulde
- 6 FOCUS in Fulfulde
- 7 The IS-encoding in different dialects in the closely related languages
- 8 Summary

1 Basic information on Fulfulde

- **Classification:** Niger-Congo > Atlantic-Congo > Atlantic > Northern > Senegambian > Fulani-Wolof > Fula(> West Central) (Lewis 2009)
- **ISO 693-3:** fuf
- Fulfulde is spoken in **18 countries** from Western to Central Africa by around **22 million people** (Gajdos 2004: 9-11).
- There are around **3 million speakers** of Fulfulde of *Fuuta Jaloo* in Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Sierra Leone (Lewis 2009)



Map 1: The Fulfulde dialect of Fuuta Jaloo (Guinea)¹

1.1 Basic phonology

- No tones
- The length of vowels and consonants is distinctive (e.g. *hubugol* ‘to sprain’, *hubbugol* ‘to turn on’)
- Consonant mutation (the first consonant of nouns may change in singular and plural, e.g. *suudu* ‘house’ → *cuudi* ‘houses’)

1.2 Basic morphosyntax

- SVO
- Head-initial
- **24 agreement classes:** agreement between the noun and definite articles, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and pronouns
- **Verbal morphology:**

(1) **stem**–(derivational suffix_n)–**TAM**–(subject pronoun)–(IO pronoun)–(DO pronoun)

➤ Verb paradigms:

- **Three perfective** paradigms vs. **five imperfective** paradigms
- In each paradigm the verbs are classified in three voices: **active**, **middle**, **passive**
- As in many Atlantic languages, the TAM-markers merge tense, aspect, voice and focus (see Robert 2010)

¹ Harrison (2003).

2 Theoretical introduction: Categorical vs.thetic statements

Two basic types of human “judgements”; firstly treated as psychological phenomena (see Brentano 1925, Marty 1940):

1) CATEGORICAL STATEMENTS:

- *Categorical* < *kategorikos* (Greek: accusatory, affirmative, categorical), related to *kategoria* (Greek: accusation, prediction, category): *kata* (to accuse→to name) + *agora* (public assembly)
- Pragmatically bipartite, complex structure (naming an entity and making a statement about it), two information units (i.e. topic-comment, focus-background, theme-rheme):
 “[The coroner]_{Topic} [examined the body at the crime scene.]_{Comment}”
- Grammatical level: Subject-predicate structure
- Information-structural level: Canonically topic-comment structure, where the subject is the default topic and the predicate is the default comment

2) THETIC STATEMENTS:

- *Thetic* < *thetikos* (Greek) < *thetos* (Greek: placed) < *tithenai* (Greek: to lay down, to place, to put, to set) < **dhē-* (Indo-European: to set, to put)
- Pragmatically unitary, simplex structure (expressing an event/state/situation), one information unit:
 “[It is raining.]”
- Grammatical level: Subject-predicate structure
- Information-structural level: The subject is not the topic, respectively the predicate is not the comment; the subject and the predicate form together one unit

Japanese (Japonic) or Korean (isolated) use special morphemes following the subject to mark thetic and categorical statements (see Kuno 1972, Kuroda 1972):

(2) Inu **wa** hasitte iru.
 dog TOP running is
 ‘The dog is running.’

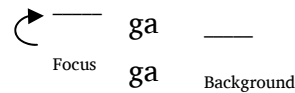
(3) Inu **ga** hasitte iru.
 dog *ga* running is
 ‘The/A dog is running.’

(Japanese; Kuroda 1972: 161)

(4) Topical subject
 — wa —
 Topic wa Comment

(5) a. Thetic statement
 ↻ — ga —

b. Contrastive subject focus



⇒ *Ga* is a marker for salient information

THETIC STATEMENT: (...) a grammatical device to CANCEL a sentence-internal information structure that is induced by the morphosyntax of an unmarked sentence. That is, the relevant grammatical structure indicates to the hearer that the individual pieces of information in the sentence are not to be analyzed in terms of foreground vs. background, salient vs. not salient, etc. (Güldemann 2010: 86)

⇒ No element has a higher information status than the other

⇒ A situation is presented as a whole

For Sasse (1987),

“(...) thethetic type of statement is used whenever the speaker assumes that the hearer expects unitary information to be given about the whole situation in question, and the categorical type of expression is used whenever he assumes that the hearer expects information units about the constituent parts of the situation to be built up successively.” (Sasse 1987: 568f.)

2.1 Thetic statements: Functions and contexts

Thetic statements can have different functions and occur in different domains:

Function	Domain
Annuntiative function “Out of the blue”	(Newspaper headlines)
Introductive function First mention subjects as a text-opening strategy	(Beginning of a story)
Interruptive function “Sudden event” effect	Surprising or unexpected events
Descriptive function Environmental conditions presented as a background to the main story line	Background descriptions (local, temporal, etc., setting); Weather expressions; General statements (aphorisms (e.g. “Life is short.”) etc.); Existential statements (presence, appearance etc.)

Explanative function	Explanations
a) Explanation of the preceding utterance,	
b) Answer to “What happened”,	
c) Explanation of an extralinguistic setting, e.g. gesture or mimics	

Table 1: Discourse-functions and domains for thetic statements
(adapted from Sasse 1987, 1996)

Thetic statements can be “salient against the rest of the discourse, e.g. as “all-new” sentences, but they can also be used as the background against other sentences of the context” (Güldemann 2010: 86).

2.2 Cross-linguistic strategies for expressing thetic statements

In Sasse (1987, 1996) and Lambrecht (1987, 2000) eight strategies for expressing thetic statements are found. Their goal is to mark the subject as the non-topic of the sentence (≠ categorical sentences) which may lead to the identical form of thetic statements and subject focus statements since in both constructions the subject does not represent the topic of the sentence (Lambrecht 1987; Lambrecht & Polinsky 1997 use therefore the term “detopicalization”).

Prosody	Syntax	Morphology
Subject accentuation	Subject inversion	Incorporation
	Split structures	Verb nominalization
	Serial-Verb constructions	Special Particles (e.g. <i>wa/ga</i>)
		Special morphology for “thetic” predicates

Figure 1: Cross-linguistic strategies for expressing thetic statements
(adapted from Sasse 1987, 1996 and Lambrecht 1987, 2000)

1. Subject accentuation (Lambrecht: “Prosodic inversion”)

- English, German, Dutch (Germanic < Indo-European); Polish (Slavic < Indo-European)

(6) What was that? The CAT miaowed. (Sasse 1987: 521)

(7) Was gibt’s Neues? HARry kommt. (Sasse 1987: 527)

2. Subject inversion (Lambrecht: “Syntactic inversion”)

- English, German; Latin; Romance, e.g. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese (Indo-European); Slavic, e.g. Russian, Serbo-Croatian (Indo-European); Bulgarian, Modern Greek, Albanian (Indo-European); Hungarian (Uralic); Swahili, Kinyarwanda (Narrow Bantu < Niger-Congo); Modern Arabic dialects (Semitic < Afro-Asiatic); Kuanua (Oceanic < Austronesian); Chinese (Sino-Tibetan)

(8) There was a king. (Sasse 1987: 531)

(9) En ese momento, entró un soldado.

‘In this moment, a soldier came in.’, lit. ‘In this moment, came in a soldier.’

(Spanish; Sasse 1987: 531)

3. Split Structures

Splitting the subject off from the rest of the sentence

- Romance, e.g. French, Italian, Rhaeto-Romance, Spanish; Welsh, Irish (Celtic < Indo-European); Semitic, e.g. Hebrew, Arabic; Mandarin Chinese; Aweer (also called Boni) (Cushitic < Afro-Asiatic)

(10) Maman, [il y a ma poupée] [qui s’est cassée].

‘Mum, my doll’s broken.’, lit. ‘Mum, there is my doll which is broken.’

(French; Sasse 1987: 538)

(11) [Mɔrɔɔri-a], [hɪlɛkɛ kɪ-d’ifidi].

elephant-COP friend-my LOC-hit

‘[What’s the matter?] It’s an elephant hitting my friend.’

(Boni; Sasse 1987: 542)

4. Verb nominalization

- Tongan (Polynesian < Austronesian); Modern Arabic

(12) Fi(h) sar?.

exist stealing

‘There is stealing.’

(Modern Arabic; Sasse 1987: 553)

After having exemplified the different strategies, Sasse (1987: 526f.) differentiates two types ofthetic expressions:

1. ENTITY-CENTRALthetic statements state the existence of an entity: “There was a **man**.”
2. EVENT-CENTRALthetic statements state the existence of an event: “It is **raining**.”

Link between form and function of examples like “The CAT miaowed.”?

- Grammatically bipartite: subject + predicate
- One needs more linguistic effort to remove this grammatical bipartiteness, e.g. by word order, intonation or incorporation

3 The expression of categorical andthetic statements in Fulfulde

3.1 Categorical statements

The formal expression of a categorical statement is the unmarked canonical sentence. Being an SVO language, the topic (=subject) on which the comment (=predicate) adds information stands in the sentence-initial position:

- (13) [Doftooru on]_{Topic} [ɲawnd-ii barmu-ɓe ɓen.]_{Comment}
doctor.1 DEF.1 medicate-A.PFV1 injured-2 DEF.2
‘The doctor medicated the injured people.’ (Diallo 2000: 175)

- All verb forms in perfective and imperfective occur
- There are different types of categorical statements, e.g. left-dislocation of the topic or focus constructions:

- (14) Left-dislocation of the topical subject (topic-comment structure)
[Karamoko-jo on, o]_{Topic} [alaa ɗoo.]_{Comment}
teacher-1 DEF.1 3S NEG here
‘The teacher, he is not here.’ (Diallo 2000: 69)

- (15) Assertive object focus (focus-background structure)
[Ko welo]_{Focus} [Maria sood-ata.]_{Background}
T.FOC bicycle.1 PN buy-A.IPFV4
‘[What will Maria buy?] Maria will buy a BICYCLE.’ (Apel forth.)

3.2 Thetic statements

3.2.1 Usage of canonical sentences in thetic contexts

3.2.1.1 Canonical verbal sentences

In many cases, “normal” canonical sentences are used:

- (16) Be war-ii lan-do on.
3P kill-A.PFV1 leader-1 DEF.1
‘[What happened?] They killed the king.’ (explanation; QUIS Fulfulde 0126-A)

(17) Nan-nde woo naa-nge ngen imm-oto.
 day-5 every sun-8 DEF.8 get.up-M.IPFV3
 ‘The sun rises every day.’ (general statement; QUIS Fulfulde 0532)

- ⇒ Found for statements related to body parts, weather expressions, explanations, general statements
- ⇒ Explanative/descriptive function
- ⇒ EVENT-CENTRAL thetic

3.2.1.2 Canonical nominal sentences: Copula construction

The copula construction is mainly used for general statements:

(18) Afrique ko continent.
 PN COP continent.1
 ‘Africa is a continent.’ (general statement; QUIS Fulfulde 0535)

(19) Tee-wu ko jaametee.
 meat-10 COP food.1
 ‘Meat is food.’ (general statement; Evans 2001: 17)

- ⇒ Found for general statements
- ⇒ Explanative/descriptive function
- ⇒ ENTITY-CENTRAL thetic statements

3.2.2 Ex-situ subject focus construction

One main strategy is to mark morphosyntactically and prosodically the subject as the non-topic of the sentence, identical to the ex-situ subject focus construction:

(20) Ko suud-u makko ndun yan-i.
 T.FOC house-7 3S.POSS DEF.7 fall-A.PFV2
 ‘[What has collapsed?] His HOUSE collapsed.’
 ‘[Whose house collapsed?] HIS house collapsed.’
 ‘[What happened?] His house collapsed.’ (explanation; QUIS Fulfulde 0002-B)

- Syntactic marking: bi-clausal structure consisting of the focus clause ‘Ko suudu makko ndun’ and the out-of-focus clause ‘yani’;
- Morphological marking: term focus marker *ko* and restriction on the verb forms PERFECTIVE 2 and IMPERFECTIVE 4 in the out-of-focus clause;
- Prosodical marking: primary stress displacement from the verb stem (in a canonical verbal sentence) to the initial syllable of the focused element

- No prosodic difference between thethetic statement and the subject focus
- The whole subject NP (or parts of it) OR the whole sentence is in focus
- Both definite and indefinite subject NPs

⇒ Found for explanations, general statements and existential statements

⇒ Explanative/descriptive function

⇒ Mainly for EVENT-CENTRAL thetic statements

3.2.3 Identificational clause

The identificational clause – which is morphologically identical to the focus clause of the ex-situ term focus construction and to the 2nd part of the copula construction – is used in presentational sentences for introducing the discourse topic:

(21) **Ko** nawlir-be.
 ID co-wife-2
 ‘There were (two) co-wives.’ (Salvaing 1985: 118)

(22) **Ko** fii pay-kun kanasee-hun!
 ID for child-21 terrible-21
 ‘This is about a terrible child!’ (Salvaing 1985: 66)

⇒ Introductory function

⇒ ENTITY-CENTRAL thetic statements

3.2.4 Definite articles in sentence-initial position

Within a noun phrase, definite articles follow the noun whereas demonstrative articles precede it:

(23) a. curbaa-jo kaana-r-o **on** b. **oo** curbaa-jo kaana-r-o
 girl-1 ugly-CONN-1 DEF.1 DEM.1 girl-1 ugly-CONN-1
 ‘the ugly girl’ ‘this ugly girl’

For stage setting, e.g. in the beginning of a story, definite articles PRECEDE the noun:

(24) **On** curbaa-jo kaana-r-o.
 DEF.1 girl-1 ugly-CONN-1
 ‘There was an ugly girl.’ (Salvaing 1985: 162)

(25) **Ben** nawlir-be dīdo (be any-indir-i fota).
 DEF.2 co-wife-2 two 3P hate-RCPR-A.PFV2 very
 ‘There were two co-wives (, they hated each other a lot).’ (Salvaing 1985: 124)

- Is this really a definite article or a pronoun?
- Are the definite article and the noun forming one NP as in example (23)?
- Do they occupy two different positions?

⇒ Introductory function

⇒ ENTITY-CENTRALthetic statements

3.2.5 Locative construction

The locative expression does not make use of a verb at all; instead, the nominal subject + the locative copula *no* (or the long subject pronoun without the locative copula) is used without any conjugated verb:

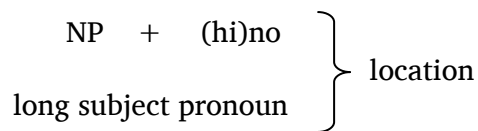


Figure 2: The locative construction

(26) *Église no d'oo?*
 church.1 LOC.COP here
 'Is there a church here?' (existential statement; QUIS Fulfulde 0551)

(27) *Defte-re no ka hoo-re taab-al.*
 book-5 LOC.COP PREP head-5 table-11
 'There is a book on the table.' (existential statement; QUIS Fulfulde 0211)

⇒ Found for existential statements

⇒ Descriptive function

⇒ ENTITY-CENTRALthetic statements

3.2.6 Stative construction

The stative construction is formed as illustrated in Figure 2:

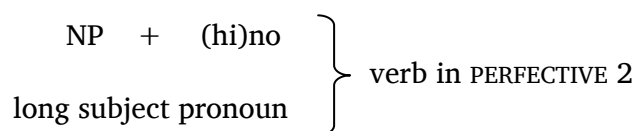


Figure 3: The stative construction

Mainly stative verbs (e.g. *to be good, to be sweet, to be small* etc.) are used in the stative construction:

(28) **Suud-u ndun (hi)no njand-i.**
 house-7 DEF.7 LOC.COP be.big-A.PFV2
 ‘The house is big.’ (QUIS Fulfulde 0089)

(29) **Mido njand-i.**
 1s be.big-A.PFV2
 ‘I am big.’ (Evans 2001: 13)

3.2.6.1 Derivation from the locative construction

The parallels between the locative and the stative are semantically motivated and can be observed throughout different Fulfulde dialects and hold also for the progressive and the habitual (Ard 1979; Breedveld 1995: 241-244):

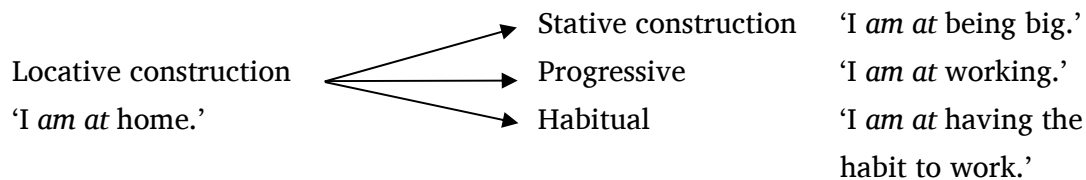


Figure 4: The locative construction in verbal expressions (adapted from Ard 1979)

- The locative copula *no* is used with nominal subjects in the above mentioned verbal expressions
- The morphology of the long subject pronouns can be traced back to a locative construction (Ard 1979):

number/ person	short subject pronouns	long subject pronouns
1s	mi	mi ^{do} /hilan/himi
2s	a	hida
3s	o	himo
1P.INCL	en	hiden
1P.EXCL	men	meden/himen
2P	on	hidon
3P	be	hibe

Table 2: The short and long subject pronouns

- *mido*: short subject pronoun *mi* (1s) + *-do* (from the locative element *do* ‘here’)
- *hilan/himi/hida/himo/hiden/himen/hidon/hibe*: *hi-* (in other dialects also as *?e* or *he*) + (clitical) subject or object pronoun; in the Gombe dialect of Nigeria *?e*

means ‘where’

- unexplained: *meden* (1P.EXCL)

3.2.6.3 On the verb form in the stative construction

In the previous section I showed that the verb form PERFECTIVE 2 is used in the stative construction. This verb form is also used in

- the out-of-focus clause in ex-situ term focus constructions (example 20)
- relative clauses
- temporal clauses

They all have in common, that they mark background information towards the matrix clause.

The stative construction is not only used in the domains illustrated above (i.e. expressions related to body parts, explanations, weather expressions, introductions of new topics), but it serves also in narratives to designate background descriptions:

(30) (O ar-t-i ka makko,) **himo jas-u-noo** woy-ndu
3S come-INV-A.PFV2 PREP 3S.POSS 3S dig.up-A.PFV2-PRET well-7

ka tan-nde makko.
PREP courtyard-5 3S.POSS

‘(He came back to his place,) (long time ago) he had dug up a well in his courtyard.’
(background description; Salvaing 1985: 12)

3.2.6.2 The stative construction inthetic contexts

By definition, stative verbs denote an actual state or quality rather than an action and are thus likely to occur in event-centralthetic statements:

(31) Ba-ndu an ndun no **wul-i**.
body-7 1S.POSS DEF.7 LOC.COP be.hot-A.PFV2

‘I have fever.’, lit. ‘My body is hot.’

(expression related to body parts; QUIS Fulfulde 0504)

Active verbs can also be used in the stative construction (see Evans 2001: 16):

(32) Barea-ru no **jokk-i** pay-kun.
dog-7 LOC.COP follow-A.PFV2 child-21

‘[What is happening?] A dog is at chasing a boy.’ (explanation; QUIS Fulfulde 0218-B)

(33) Maw-do no **jood-ii** ka julle-re.
old.man-1 LOC.COP sit-M.PFV2 PREP chair-5

‘An old man sits on a chair.’

(OKD-03.01)

If the event is marked as being in the past or in the future, the past particle *hari* or the particle *haray* is added to the stative verb:

(34) Hanki **hari** no duulin-i.
 yesterday PST LOC.COP be.cloudy-A.PFV2
 ‘Yesterday it was cloudy.’ (weather expression; QUIS Fulfulde 0465)

(35) Jango **haray** duul-e no wood-i.
 tomorrow probably cloud-3 LOC.COP exist-A.PFV2
 ‘Tomorrow it will be cloudy.’, lit. ‘Tomorrow there will possibly be clouds.’
 (weather expression; QUIS Fulfulde 0467)

⇒ Found for weather expressions, general statements, expressions related to body parts, existential statements, explanations

⇒ Explanative/descriptive function

⇒ Mainly for EVENT-CENTRALthetic statements

4 Summary

Strategies used forthetic statements:

- Canonical verbal sentences
- Canonical nominal sentences: Copula construction
- Ex-situ subject focus construction
- Identificational clauses
- Definite article in sentence-initial position
- Locative construction
- Stative construction

⇒ Canonical verbal statements: all verb forms

⇒ In the ex-situ subject focus and stative construction: PERFECTIVE 2 (or IMPERFECTIVE 4 for ex-situ subject focus)

⇒ No clear influence of transitivity

⇒ But: Active verbs show the tendency to occur more often in the ex-situ subject focus construction than in the stative construction

Two main strategies:

- Lifting of the subject in the ex-situ subject focus construction via stress and the term focus marker
- Lowering of the predicate in the ex-situ subject focus construction (simultaneously to the lifting of the subject) and in the stative construction via the background verb form

⇒ Lambrecht's terminology of 'sentence focus' is not preferable

Open questions and further research:

- The copula construction
- The definite article in sentence-initial position
- The morphological shape of the long subject pronoun of the 1P.EXCL *meden* is still unexplained
- Detailed and intensive description of the verb system to get a clear picture

5 Abbreviations

A	active voice	n	number of elements
CONN	connective	NEG	negation
COP	copula	P	plural
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PN	proper name
DO	direct object	POSS	possessive pronoun
EXCL	exclusive	PREP	preposition
FOC	focus	PRET	preterite
ID	identification	PST	past
INCL	inclusive	RCPR	reciprocal
INV	inversive	S	singular
IO	indirect object	T	term
IPFV	imperfective	TAM	tense/aspect/mood
LOC	locative	TOP	topic
M	middle voice		

6 Annex

Construction Type		Domains	Function	ENTITY- or EVENT-central
+ Verb	Canonical verbal sentences	Explanations Weather expressions Statements related to body parts General statements	Explanative Descriptive	EVENT-central
	Ex-situ subject focus construction	Explanations General statements Existential statements	Explanative Descriptive	Mainly EVENT- central
	Stative construction	Weather expressions Statements related to body parts Existential statements Explanations	Explanative Descriptive	Mainly EVENT- central
- Verb	Identificational clause	(Beginning of a story)	Introductive	ENTITY-central
	Sentence-initial definite article	(Beginning of a story)	Introductive	ENTITY-central
	Canonical nominal sentences: Copula construction	General statements	Explanative Descriptive	ENTITY-central
	Locative construction	Existential statements	Descriptive	ENTITY-central

Table 3: Overview: Constructions types for thetic statements

7 References

- Apel, Viktoria. forthcoming. A synchronic and diachronic examination of the ex-situ term focus construction in Fulfulde of Fuuta Jalloo (Guinea). *Afrikanistik online*.
- Ard, Josh. 1979. A comparative and historical study of locative-based periphrastic verbal forms in Fula dialects. *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(2). 119-158.
- Breedveld, J.O. 1995. *Form and meaning in Fulfulde: A morphological study of Maasinankooore*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.
- Brentano, Franz. 1925. Vorstellung und Urteil, zwei Klassen. In Oskar Kraus (ed.), *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkt*, 38-82. Leipzig: Felix Meiner.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2000. *Grammaire descriptive du pular du Fuuta Jalloo (Guinée)*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Evans, Barrie. 2001. *Teaching grammar of Pular*. Christian Reformed World Missions.
- Gajdos, Martina. 2004. *Fulfulde: Lehrbuch einer westafrikanischen Sprache*. Wien: Edition Praesens.

- Güldemann, Tom. 2010. The relation between focus and theticity in the Tuu family. In Fiedler, Ines and Anne Schwarz (eds.), *The expression of information structure: A documentation of its diversity across Africa*, 69-93. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Harrison, Annette. 2003. *Fulfulde language family report*, SIL Electronic Survey Reports 2003-009. <http://www.sil.org/silesr/2003/silesr2003-009.html>. (17 March, 2013.)
- Kuno, Susumu. 1972. Functional sentence perspective: A case study from Japanese and English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3. 269-320.
- Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1972. The categorical and the thetic judgement: Evidence from Japanese syntax. *Foundations of Language* 9. 153-185.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1987. Sentence focus, information structure, and the thetic-categorical distinction. *Berkely Linguistics Society* 13. 366-382.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 2000. When subjects behave like objects: An analysis of the merging of S and O in sentence-focus constructions across languages. *Studies in language* 24(3). 611-682.
- Lambrecht, Knud & Maria Polinsky. 1997. Typological variation in sentence-focus constructions. In Singer, Kora, Randall Eggert and Gregory Anderson (eds.), *Papers from the panels. Chicago Linguistic Society* 33(2). 189-206.
- Lewis, M. Paul (ed.). 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, 16th edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com/>. (17 March, 2013.)
- Marty, Anton. 1940. Von den logisch begründeten Synsemantika beim Urteilsausdruck. In Otto Funke (ed.), *Psyche und Sprachstruktur*, 125-177. Bern: A. Francke.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2010. Focus in Atlantic languages. In Ines Fiedler and Anne Schwarz (eds.), *The Expression of Information Structure: a documentation of its diversity across Africa*, 233-260. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Salvaing, Bernard. 1985. *Contes et récits peuls du Fouta Djallon*. Paris: Conseil international de la langue française.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. The thetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25. 511-580.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1996. *Theticity*. Arbeitspapiere, Neue Folge 27. Köln: Institut für Sprachenwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln.