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Deproprial plural and associative in the Bambara of Segu region

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proper names vs. proprial lemmas
(Van Langendonck 2007; Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011; Van de Velde 2010)

- The term **proper names** refers to a semantic-pragmatic **comparative** concept
  - They "denote a unique entity at the level of established linguistic convention to make them psychosocially salient within a given basic level category"   [**pragmatic**]
  - "The meaning of the name, if any, does not (or not any longer) determine its denotation"   [**semantic**]
    (Van Langendonck 2007:87)

- Therefore, whether a word is a proper name or not depends on **the way** in which **it is used in an utterance**

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proper names vs. proprial lemmas
(Van Langendonck 2007; Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011; Van de Velde 2010)

- **proprial lemmas** are **lexical entries**, such as *Homer*, *Marge* and *Springfield*, which are **typically**, but not necessarily **used as proper names**

- **appellative lemmas** are lexical entries, such as *woman*, *city* and *car*, which are **typically**, but not necessarily **used as common nouns**

- **proprio-appellative lemmas** are lexical entries which are used as proper names or as common nouns with equal ease, such as *English*, *Hausa*, *Toyota*

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proper names vs. proprial lemmas
(Van Langendonck 2007; Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011; Van de Velde 2010)

- **proprial lemmas** used **as proper names**

  (1a) *Jeanne* habite à *Villejuif*

- **proprial lemmas** used **as common nouns**

  (1b) *C'est clair qu'on parle de Jeannes différentes. La Jeanne que je connais habite à Ivry.*

  (1c) *Y a-t-il un Villejuif en Belgique?*

  NB! When used as common nouns, the proprial lemmas *Jeanne* and *Villejuif* are not used to denote unique entities. They **refer to categories of entities** approximately defined as **'woman called *Jeanne*'** and **'settlement called *Villejuif*'**. That is, they have **asserted lexical meaning**.

- **appellative lemmas** used **as proper names**

  (2) *Langue* a plusieurs sens en français   [autonymic use]

  (3) *Spatule, Périphérique, Clafoutis*   [...parents with a strange sense of humor]

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proper names & meaning
(Van Langendonck 2007)

- proper names do not have asserted meaning, but they have different types of **presupposed meanings**: categorical, associative, emotive and grammatical
  - **categorical presuppositional meaning**: one cannot use a name felicitously without knowing the **basic level category** of its referent, such as:
    Jeanne : 'woman'   *Villejuif* : 'settlement'
  - **associative meanings** based on, for instance:
    ☞ a known name **bearer**:
    ☞ the **form** of the name
    ☞ the **etymology** of the name
    Villejuif

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proper names vs. Proper Names
(Van de Velde 2010; Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011)

- The term **proper names** refers to a semantic-pragmatic (cross-linguistically applicable) **comparative** concept

- The term **Proper Names** refers to a **language-specific descriptive category**

  - it is definted on a basis of language-specific grammatical criteria

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- **English** Proper Names: **close apposition** (Van Langendonck 2007:87)

  An important formal reflex of this pragmatic-semantic characterization of proper names is their ability to appear in such close appositional constructions as *the poet Burns, Fido the dog, the River Thames,* or *the City of London* [syntactic].

- **Orungu** Proper Names (Bantu B10, Gabon): **special agreement** & **special behaviour** with respect to **definitiness** (Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011)

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proper names vs. Proper Names

(Van de Velde 2010; Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011)

- The term **proper names** refers to a semantic-pragmatic (cross-linguistically applicable) **comparative** concept

- The term **Proper Names** refers to a **language-specific descriptive category**

  - it is definted on the basis of **language-specific grammatical criteria**

  - if there are several different criteria, they **need not coincide**

  - a language may have **more than one category** of Proper Names, such as Personal Proper Names vs. Non-Personal Proper Names

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deproprial nouns

(Van de Velde 2010; Van de Velde & Ambouroue 2011)

- The term **deproprial nouns** refers to a nouns meaning 'individual (settlement, etc.) called *X*' and derived from a proper name *X*

  - **French**: restrictive modifiers, articles, (additive) plural…

  (1b) *C'est clair qu'on parle de **Jeannes** différentes. La **Jeanne** que je connais habite à Ivry.*

  - **Maninka of Kita** (Keïta 1985:212-217): tonal behaviour…

  ```
  Hàtú    →    Hàtú mán nà    "Hatou n'est pas venue"
  est différent de
  Hàtù mán nà    "aucune (personne du nom de) Hatou n'est venue"

  Sìdíkì  →    Sìdíkí hùlà tɛ́ yàn "il n'y a pas deux Sidiki ici"
  ```

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plurality: proper names vs. deproprial nouns

- **proper names** are **inherently singular** and can only have an **associative "plural"**, viz. '*X* and associates', rarely '*X* (place) and surroundings' (cf. Daniel & Moravcsik 2005)

- only **deproprial nouns** can have a genuine **additive plural** (cf. Daniel & Moravcsik 2005)

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Bambara: proper names, deproprial nouns…

- **Dumestre (1987, 2003)**: Bambara of Segu region (Dugukunna) & Standard Bambara

  - (first) personal proper names (*tɔ́gɔ́*) are often characterized by **"minor" tonal patterns**…

  - (first) personal proper names "n'acceptent que très marginalement le **pluriel** (*Musaw* [=-ù] 'Moussa et ses amis' [**associative**])" (2003:58)

  - some examples of **additive plural** with (first, *tɔ́gɔ*, and last, *jàmu*) personal **deproprial nouns**, with the same marker *-w* [=-ù]

  (1) *Òlú Ámádíw tùn tɛ̀ sírán*
       3PL PROP-PL PST NEG.IPFV fear
       'They, Amadis did not have fear' (1987:172, from *Amadi saba* 'Three Amadis' collected from the griot B. Konè in Segu)

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Bambara: proper names, deproprial nouns…

- **Diallo (2006)**: Bambara of Segu region

  - a special **associative "plural"** marker *-wn /-ù/* with **(first)** personal **deproprial nouns** different from the regular (additive) plural marker *-w /-ù/*.

    "Il est intéressant de remarquer que l'adjonction du morphème du pluriel aux noms propres de personne est **toujours accompagnée d'une nasalisation** qui s'étend et sur la voyelle finale du nom propre et sur le mor-phème du pluriel lui-même […] nous pensons qu'il pourrait s'agir là simplement d'**une question d'euphonie**."

    (31) *Ámádúwn táárá fòrò lá.*   'Les Amadou (= Amadou et ses amis/ et les autres) sont allés au champ.'

    (32) *Háwàwn yé mùn kɛ́ bì.*   'Qu'est ce que les Hawa ont fait aujourd'hui?'

  - the same special marker *-wn /-ù/* as **additive plural** (?) with **locative deproprial nouns** (settlements & countries)

    "… ce phénomène de nasalisation ne concerne pas seulement les noms propres, mais **aussi les noms de villes et de pays**."

Segu Bambara of Dugukunna: deproprial nouns

- **tone** (both *tɔ́gɔ* and *jàmu*)…

🔊 *Námòrì* **HLL**

🔊 *Námórí* (**HHH**) *dúúrú nànà* 'Five Namoris came'

🔊 *Ná⌐mórí* (**H⌐HH**) *sàbá nànà* 'Three Namoris came'

🔊 *Námórí* (**HHH**) *júgú ⌐té* 'It's not the mean Namori'

🔊 *Námórí* (**HHH**) *sí ⌐má nà* 'No Namori came'

Sékù **HL**

🔊 *Sékù* (**HL**) *sí ⌐má nà* 'No Seku came'

Segu Bambara of Dugukunna: plural & associates

- To begin with, proprial lemmas can be used with **both** "plural" markers: the general Bambara marker **-ù** and the special Segu one, **-ų̀**.

🔊 *Ná⌐mór**ų́ų́** ⌐béé nànà* 'All the Namoris came' [**additive PL** with (*tɔ́gɔ*) **personal deproprial nouns**]

🔊 *Námórí wéré**ú** ⌐bé kéné mɔ̀* 'The other Namoris are outside'

  - **Younger speakers** (ca. < 40): the marker marker **-ų̀**, at least with *tɔ́gɔ*, can mark both the **associative** and the **deproprial additive plural** (NB: it is not used with appellative lemmas!). It seems to be **freely interchangeable** with the general plural marker *-ù*.

  - **Older speakers** (ca. > 50): the marker marker **-ų̀** with **any kinds of PNs** marks **only** the **deproprial additive plural** (it is not used with appellative lemmas!). In general, it is **not freely** interchangeable with the general plural marker *-ù*. The latter does not seem to be used in the associative function either.

👉 Such a **dedicated deproprial additive plural marker** appears to be **typologically unique**

Segu Bambara of Dugukunna: plural & associates

- For any kinds of PNs, **after a modifer** only the oral **-ù** is possible.

  *Ná⌐mór**ų́ų́** ⌐béé nànà* 'All the Namoris came'

  *Námórí **wéréú** ⌐bé kéné mɔ̀* 'The **other** Namoris are outside'

- **Elsewhere**, for last PN (*jàmu*), the oral **-ù** is used in **indefinite** contexts and the nasalized **-ų̀** in **definite** contexts

  [What kind of *jàmu* do you find in Dugukunna?]

  *Kùlíbàlí**ú** ⌐bé yɛ̀, Jàrá**ú** ⌐bé yɛ̀…* 'There are Kulibalis, Jaras…'

  [There is only one *Jàra* family in the village. Coming to a meeting a person may ask:]

  *yálá Jàr**ą́ų́** ⌐bé yɛ̀?* 'Are the Jaras there?'

Segu Bambara of Dugukunna: plural & associates

- **Elsewhere**, for **any kinds of PNs**, only the nasalized **-ų̀** is possible.

  - **settlements** 🔊 *Kàt**ų́ų́** ⌐bé Màlí là* 'There are several (towns called) Kati in Mali'

  - **countries** *Màl**ų́ų́** ⌐bé yɛ̀* 'There are several (countries called) Mali'

  - **rivers** *Jèlìb**ą́ų́** ⌐bé yɛ̀* 'There are several (rivers called) Jeliba'

  - **forests** *Mìsìrìnt**ų́ų́** ⌐bé yɛ̀* 'There are several (forests called) Misirintu'

  - **days of the week**

    *tàrat**ą́ų́** ⌐té yɛ̀* 'There are not several (days of the week called) Tuesday'

  - (marginally) **names of the months**

    NB! Not autonyms

Segu Bambara of Dugukunna: plural & associates

- The possibility to use the nasalized marker **-ų̀** can be considered as **a criterion for Proper Name status** of a given noun in Segu Bambara.

  kùlù-bâ 'a big hill' [**appellative lemma**]
  hill-AUG.ART

  Kùlùbâ 'Kuluba (an important hill in Bamako)' [**…construed as a proper name**]

🔊 *Né ⌐yé kùlùb**áú** ⌐yé Bàmàkɔ́ kɔ́ fɛ̀*
  'I have seen big hills behind Bamako'

🔊 *Kùlùb**ą́ų́** ⌐bé yɛ̀*
  'There are several (hills called) Kuluba'

The marker -ų̀: a diachronic account

- The marker **-ų̀** appears to be a **local innovation** in the Bambara of Segu region.

- Historically, its **dedicated deproprial plural use** must be **older** than its associative use, as suggested by:

  - the distribution in Dugukunna

  - its use with non-personal PN elsewhere in Segu Bambara (Diallo 2006)

  - typologically, the expected direction of change: (very unusual) dedicated deproprial plural > (relatively common, especially in this part of the world) associative

- A possible **source** of *-ų̀* is [postposed DEM *(n)ì* 'this, that, the aforementioned' + regular PL *-ù*], as suggested by the use of *-ų̀* vs. *-ù* with *jàmu* in Dugukunna.

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