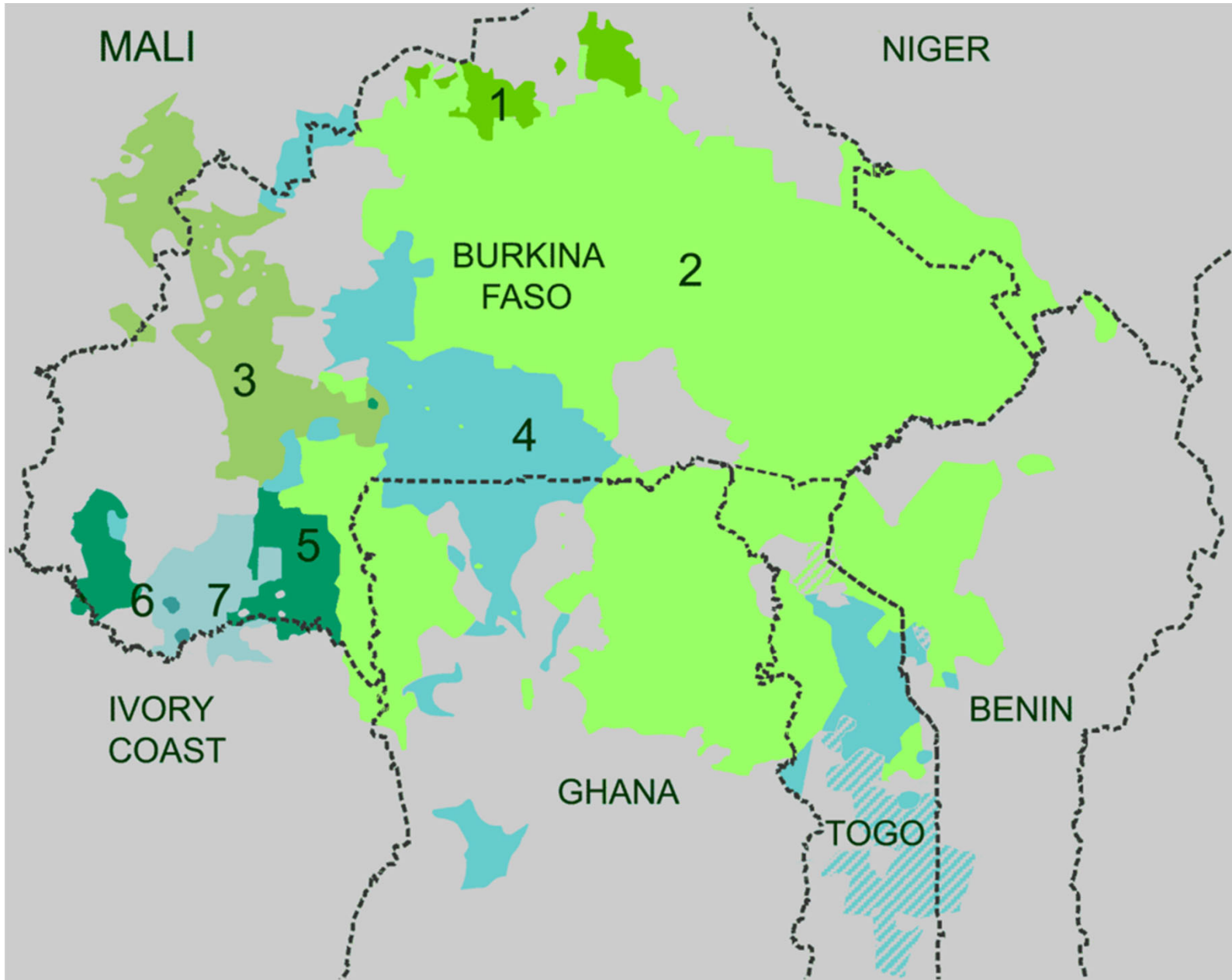


Synchronic Gender and Diachronic Agreement in Toussian

Anthony Struthers-Young

Languages and geography

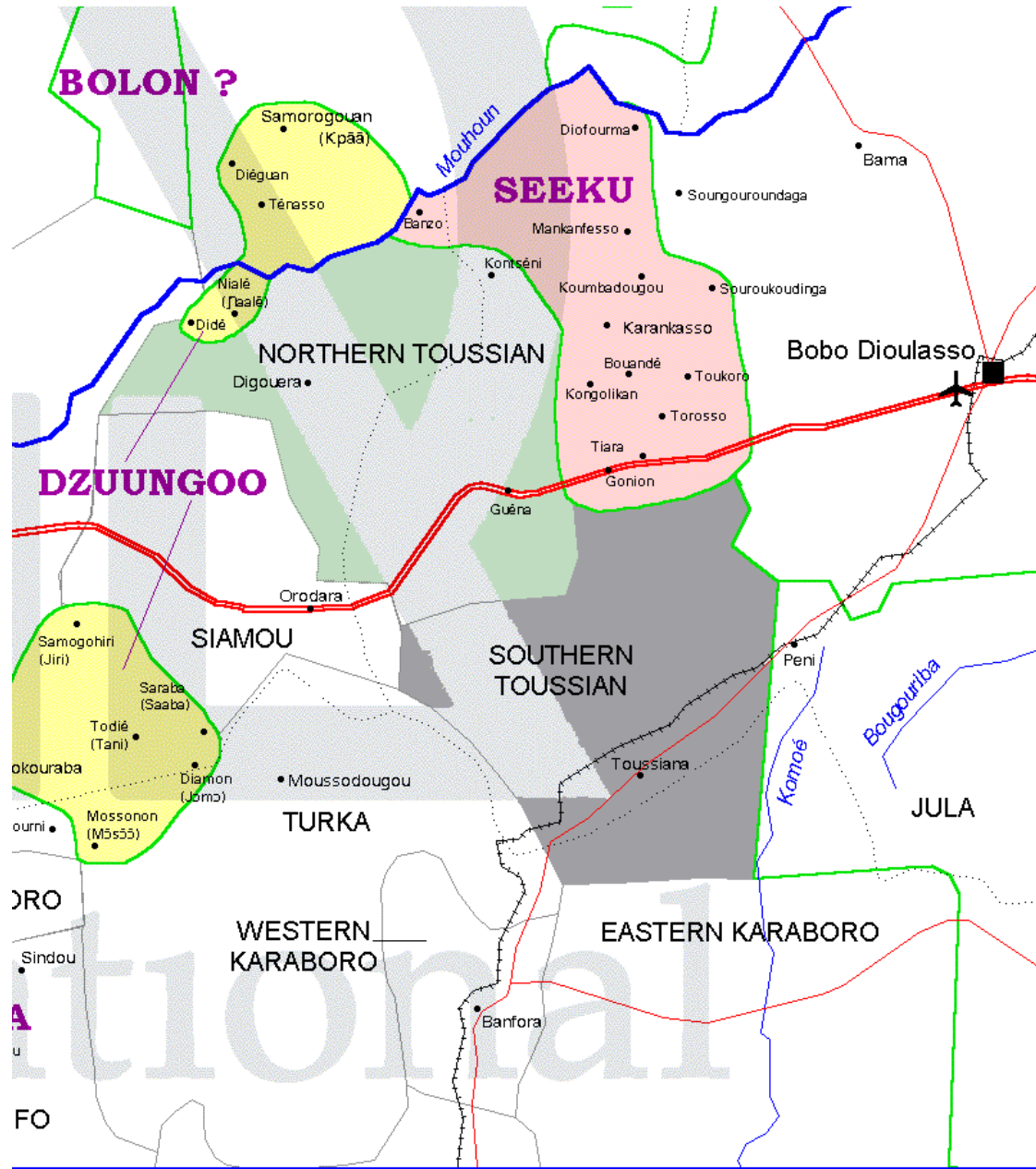
- The Toussian languages are often classified as Gur languages
- There are 2, maybe 3 Toussian languages
 - Northern Toussian
 - Southern Toussian
 - Moami Kan, the language of two villages, Moami and Tien
- Spoken in southwest Burkina Faso, to the southwest of Bobo-Dioulasso and to the north and east of Orodara
- Prost (1964) and Manessy (1979) note similarities between Toussian and Senufo, though Naden (1989) groups it as 'Improbable Central Gur'



Burkina Faso



Institut Géographique du Burkina Faso, Carte Linguistique, 1988



My research

- One 7 month trip studying the Toussian languagesI work with 3 different consultants, two speaking varieties of Northern Toussian and one speaker of Southern Toussian
 - One from Djigouera (Northern Toussian)
 - One from Kourinion (Northern Toussian)
 - One from Wempéa (Southern Toussian)



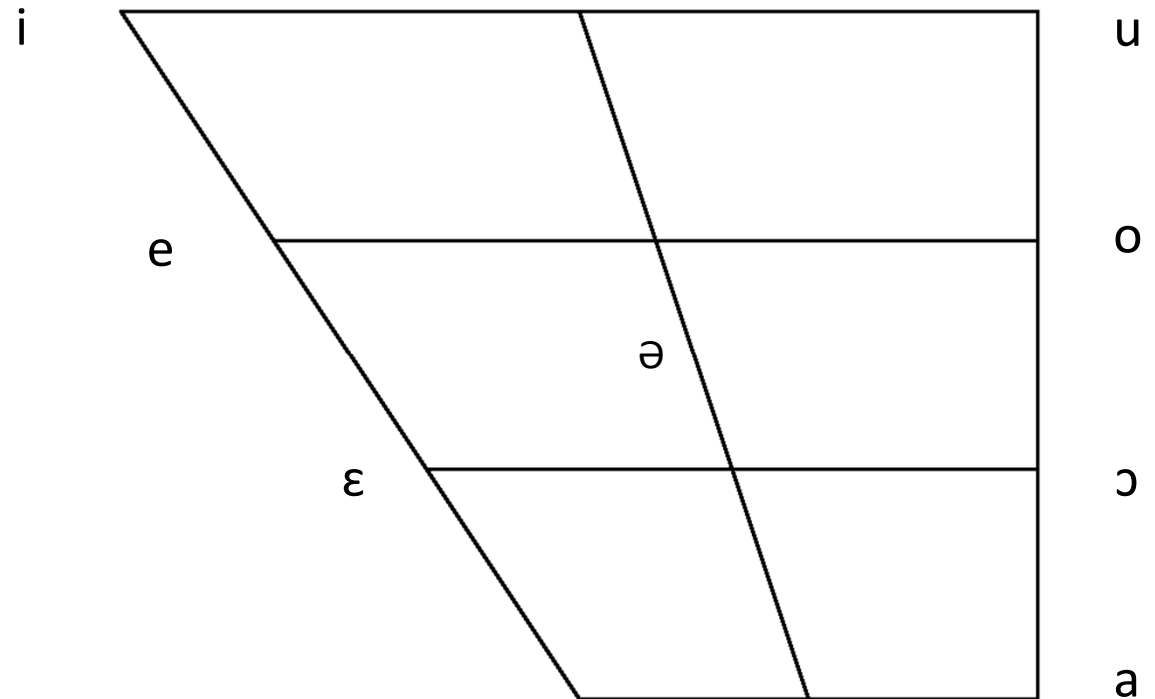


Key to colors and transcriptions

- I will be discussing several varieties of the Toussian languages, and will color words accordingly
 - Words from the Northern Toussian variety spoken at **Djigouera** will be in **orange**
 - Words from the Southern Toussian variety spoken at **Wempéa** will be in **blue**
 - Words from **Southern Toussian** varieties studied by other researchers will be in **green**
- IPA palatal glide j is written with ⟨y⟩
- Nasalization is written under the vowel, so ɔ̃ is a nasal vowel, not a creaky vowel

Vowel inventory of the variety at Djigouera

- 8 oral vowel phonemes:
/i e ε a u o ɔ ə/
- 5 nasal vowel phonemes:
/ĩ ẽ ã ãũ õ/, maybe ẽ̃ as well,
but I need to check its
distribution
- 2 glottalized vowel
phonemes:
/εʔ aʔ/
- 2 glottalized nasal vowel
phonemes:
/ĩ̃ʔ ã̃ʔ/



Consonant inventory

CONSONANTS	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Postalveolar		Palatal		Velar		Labiovelar	
Plosive	p	b			t	d				ʃ	k		kw	
Nasal		m				n				ɲ		ŋ		
Trill						r								
Fricative			f	(v)	s	(z)	ʃ					ɣ		
Approximant										y			w	
Lateral approximant						l								

Notable segmental phonology facts and processes

- Most words are monosyllabic (C)CV(S), where S is a sonorant and the phoneme /ɣ/
- If a word which, in isolation, ends with /ɣ/, in connected speech inserts an epenthetic [a] at the end
 - Isolation: *dàɣ* ‘manner’; connected speech [dàɣà], as it *dàɣ=sē* [dàɣàsē] ‘in that way’
 - Historically, likely derived from Proto-Toussian *k
- The sequence -ən, -ər, and ST -əl are pronounced as syllabic -ŋ̣, -ṛ, and -ḷ, respectively

Phonological differences between other Toussian varieties

- Most varieties of both Northern Toussian and Southern Toussian have a phoneme /œʔ/ instead of the /ɛʔ/ found at Djigouera
- Southern Toussian tends to be more disyllabic than Northern Toussian
 - Northern Toussian /ɣ/ corresponds to Southern Toussian /k/, which has an intervocalic allophone [g].
- The Southern Toussian reflex of /b/ is labiovelar /gb/

Tonology

- 3 flat tones: H, á; M, ā; L, à
- At least 3 lexical contour tones: rising, ǎ; high falling, ā̄; low falling, ā̄
- Levelling of pronouns' tones to H in possessive constructions
 - *pà* 'they'; *pá sú* 'their father'
- Complicated grammatical tone rules – I still don't understand most of the system
 - Correlation between valency and tone
 - Grammatically induced downstep

Pronouns

- Clitic and emphatic form, which appears to be dictated by prosody
- The 2sg pronoun has a separate accusative form
- The 3sg pronoun has a separate structural (nom/acc) form (as opposed to the oblique form (genitive/reflexive etc.))
- Human/non-human split in the 3rd person pronouns
- Logophoric pronouns
- A pronoun that appears to function somewhat like a same subject marker of a switch reference system
 - Only exists in the Toussian of Djigouera, not at Kourinion or Wempéa
 - Two sentences in a row with a normal 3rd person pronoun will be interpreted as having two different subjects

à p̄ w̄? ʃā ñ=ŋāŋ

3sg impf road watch SS=eat

‘he is watching the road while eating’

	singular		plural	
	clitic	emphatic	clitic	emphatic
1st	m̄	mḡ	á	ān
2nd	á	ār	í	ḡīn
2nd obj	ḡ	ār	-	-
3rd human sbj/obj	à	tār	pà	pān
3rd human oblique	tə	tār	-	-
3rd nonhuman	kà	krē	sà	sān
logophoric	pá	pār	pá	pān
same subject	ḡ	nà	ḡ	nà

Synchronic gender system NT

- Northern Toussian currently has a simple semantic pronominal gender system, reflected in a human/non-human split

	sing	plur
3rd human	à	pà
3rd non-human	kà	sà

- Assignment of the genders is purely semantic
 - personified animals in fables are often assigned a human pronoun, otherwise they are assigned a non-human pronoun

Synchronic gender ST

- Southern Toussian splits the 3rd person pronouns along an animate/inanimate division

	sing	plur
3rd animate	ò	pè
3rd inanimate	kè	sè

Complex agreement

- Currently, there is no productive complex morphological gender or declension system in either of the Toussian languages
 - Nouns do not agree with any other part of speech
- The only (relevant) nominal marking is a singular/plural distinction, most often indicated by the morpheme *-n̄*
 - *t̄* 'ladder'; *t̄-n̄* 'ladders'
- Many plurals (~31% of 355) formed by different lexical plural
 - *ṭ̄* 'owner'; *ṭ̄ŋ* 'owners'
- Evidence of a prior agreement system can be gleaned due to lexicalized plural markers, as opposed to the productive plural marker *-n̄*
 - The singulars, when paired with lexical plurals, are noun forms that most likely comprised different declensions
 - Because there is no nominal agreement, few salient hypotheses can be made about the genders or agreement classes of the ancient complex agreement system

Previous work

- Two prior missionary linguists
 - André Prost, who worked on many languages of the region, and only worked on Toussian for around a month, focusing on Southern Toussian from the village Toussiana, but also working on Northern Toussian from the village Guéna
 - Hannes Wiesmann, SIL
 - Worked on the Southern Toussian of Nianha
 - He worked there for around two decades, but only published a discourse analysis, a lexicon, and a manuscript of noun suffixes
- Kerstin Winkelmann
 - Used data from Prost and Wiesmann to write the Toussian chapter of Mieke and Winkelmann 2007, *Noun class systems in Gur languages*
 - Did not collect any new data

Survey of Noun class systems in Gur languages

- Grouped words into 22 classes, most of which have additional subcategories
- Most have general semantic categories of some sort, though many have no discernable pattern

'noun classes' according to Kerstin Winkelmann

Declension	sg	pl	meaning	declension semantic grouping
-∅/-bɪ	sú	sú-bí	father	human beings
	pɛ	pɛ-bɪ	husband	
	nékâ ^ɸ	nɛka ^ɸ -bí	stranger	
-∅/-am	gbɛ̃	gbam	junior	some kinship terms
	tɛ̃	tam	brother/sister	
	ledɛ	ledam	chief	
<u>-kɪ</u> /Aɪ	lésɛ̃-kì	lésâl	mother's brother	things in general, body parts, 'giant,' miscellaneous
	pɛ̃-kì	pâl	giant	
	kɛ̃-kì	mâl	mat	
	sɛ̃-kì	sâl	war	
			hole	

<u>-kl</u> /-nl	sèsò ^ɸ -kǐ	sèsò ^ɸ -nǐ	worm	body parts, things in general, abstract nouns, miscellaneous
	wár-kì	mâr-n	nail	
	yà ^ɸ -kì	yà ^ɸ -nì	nerve	
-Ø/-nl	dùkù	dùkù-nǐ	forest	body parts, 'bow,' 'arrow,' 'name'
	sèkuku	sèkùkù-nǐ	trunk	
	fɔkɔ	fɔkɔ-nɪ	belly	
	yín	y-ní	tooth	
-LI/-E	kèpi-l	kèpy-e	bird	small persons, small animals, 'thing,' deverbal nouns, miscellaneous
	pi-ri	py-e	child	
	yèpi-r	yèpy-e	shelter	
	létúkú-rí	létúk-é	dwarf	
-nl/-LO	gba ^ɸ -nɪ	gba ^ɸ -lɔ	plot	miscellaneous
	tà ^ɸ -ní	tà ^ɸ -lɔ	ring	
	yětó-ní	yětó-lɔ	portion of tô	

-ỹ/-LO	kḗ-ỹ	kḗ-ló	chain	miscellaneous
	plé-ỹ	plé-ló	hare	
	gbé-ỹ	gbé-ló	lorry	
	lépé-ỹ	lép-ló	stick	
-O/-An or -Ø/-An	gbò	gb-àṅ	hand	miscellaneous
	kép-ó	kép-âṅ	sheep	
	sès-ò	sèsè-n	horse	
	sét-ṛ	sét-àṅ	spirit	
-An/-RO	lès-àṅ	lès-nṵ	shin (bone)	body parts, tools, 'bush,' 'sauce'
	n-an	n-nṵ	liver	
	m-an	m-nṵ	axe	
	gb-àṅ	gb-nṵ	bush	

-a ^ɛ /-Eỹ (-Ø/-I?)	dy-â ^ɛ	dy-í	old	body parts, miscellaneous
	pw-à ^ɛ	pĩ	hole	
	ny-a ^ɛ	nì	fire	
	sɔ	swɛỹ	back, behind (n)	
-Ø/-LO	pà ^ɛ	pā ^ɛ -lɔ	dog	miscellaneous
	sɛ	sɛ-lɔ	bee	
	níkí	níkí-ló	ear	
	kèngbɔ	kèngb-lɔ	finger	
-Ø/ <u>-nɔ</u>	dó	dó-nó	fetish	miscellaneous
	wil	wil-nɔ	body	
	vĩ	vĩ-nɔ	guinea-fowl	
	ni	ni-nɔ	water	
	tíki	tíkí-nɔ	fear	

-bl/inconsistent	da ^ɸ -bɪ	dye	shea tree	trees
	ỵɪ-bí	ỵɪy	Parkia biglobosa	
	sɛ-bɪ	smɔ	baobab	
	syɪ-bɪ	syeỹ	medicine	
inconsistent/-l	wòkò	vì	house	miscellaneous
	kò	kyɔ	meat	
	tɥ	tw-ɿ	mortar	
	ỵɪn	ỵɪ	eye	
	na ^ɸ y	nye ^ɸ	cow	
inc./-mɔ	kɔɪ	k-mɔ	debt	only these 4 words
	yɔɪ	y-mɔ	mountain, hill	
	sɛbɪ	s-mɔ	baobab	
	pɔkɪ	p-bɔ	bundle	

inc./-O	gb̥í	gby-ǰ	egg	person,' 'woman,' 'head,' 'egg,' miscellaneous
	sesê	sesy-ó	basket	
	yṵ	yw-ṵ	head	
	nεỹ	n-o	person	
-rɪ	dá ^ɸ -rɪ		gravel	mass nouns, abstracts, deverbal nouns
	syε-rɪ		honey	
	sya ^ɸ -rɪ		trepidation	
	yó-ré		speech	
	yṵr/yε		tô	
-N	ni/ninɔ		water	fluids
	mi/minɔ		flour	
	nô		pus	
	mò		dew	
	tṵ		blood	
	yetj̥		tears	

-am	yam/yamno	sickness	abstract nouns, 'palm wine'
	yam	poorness	
	sédám	period after accouchement	
	tenyam	palm wine	

- Derivations

- *ke-* diminutive

- *kèdèkì/kèdàl* 'clipped tail' from *dèkì* 'tail'; *kèngbo/kèngblo* 'finger' from *gbò* 'hand'

- *se-* for trees and animals

- *séswô/sésân* 'tree'; *sèkuku/sèkùkùnì* 'trunk'; *sèso'kì* 'worm'; *sèswò* 'fly'

Observations and notes about this system

- While many declensions can be grouped according to semantic category, most cannot
- There exist both a suffix *-kl* and a prefix *ke-*, which Winkelmann attributes to the inanimate pronoun *kè*
 - This is an important fact when compared with Northern Toussian data
- The productive plural in ST is the plural class *-n̄*, which does not seem to have a pattern as to semantics
 - This is the same productive plural in Northern Toussian, likely an established productive plural morpheme since Proto-Toussian

Contribution of Northern Toussian data

- There is a lesser tendency for plurals to be lexical in Northern Toussian than in Southern Toussian
 - From my data, around 74% of nouns use lexical plurals in Southern Toussian, vs 31% of Northern Toussian nouns
- The vestigial genders of Northern Toussian do not line up neatly with the Southern Toussian data, for the most part

Declension	sg	pl	meaning	declension semantic grouping
-a/-Eη	bàrw-a	bàrw-èη	male agama lizard	animals, miscellaneous
	n-ǎʔ	nīēη	bovine	
	w-ǎ	w-ēη	snake	
	b-āʔ	b-ēη	leg	
	k̄p-āʔ	k̄p-ēη	thing	
	γ-āʔ	γ-ēη	day	
	sūsù-à	sūsù-εη	worm	

inconsistent/-n	bī	bā-n	scale, shell	miscellaneous
	bū	bā-n	house	
	bùfú	bùfā-n	male goat	
	ǰàɣ	ǰà-n	jewelry	
	dwāʔ	dwā-n	penis	
	fātàɣ	fātə-n	mud	
-Ø/-ξ	blè	bl̥̃	bamboo	body parts, miscellaneous
	dēʔ	d̥̃	stone	
	dìèʔ	ǰ̥̃	neck	
	drè	dr̥̃	tail	
	flēʔ	fl̥̃	pelt	
	kámblēʔ	kámbl̥̃	concession	
	lō	l̥̃	cailcedrat	
	lè	l̥̃	uncle	

-mɔ̄/-man	fà-mò	fà-màn	shirt	miscellaneous
	kə̄-mò	kə̄-màn	courtyard wall	
	mò	màn	hand/arm	
-an/-rɔ̄~nɔ̄	ɲān	ɲā̄r-nɔ̄	horn	miscellaneous
	ɲān	ɲā̄r-nā̄	breast	
	m̄mān	m̄-rā̄	axe	
	pān	prɔ̄	sauce	
inc./-LO	b̀p̄wē	b̀p̄-lō	rib	miscellaneous
	flě	f-lō	pig	
	fwē	f-lō	cloth/clothes	
	m̀bwé	m̀b-ló	finger	

inc./-l	tər	ti	thing	miscellaneous
	diaʔ	di	old/elder	
inc./-rɛ	yō	yɛ-r	marigot	miscellaneous
	ŋǎʔ	nī-rē	fire	
	yò	yìrɛ̃	broom	
inc./-ŋ	tɛ̃	tàŋ	owner	miscellaneous
	nāy	nīŋ	ear	
	ndù	ndùn	(a type of) drum	

Comparing the two systems

- In general, most Southern Toussian declensions do not line up neatly with the Northern Toussian declensions

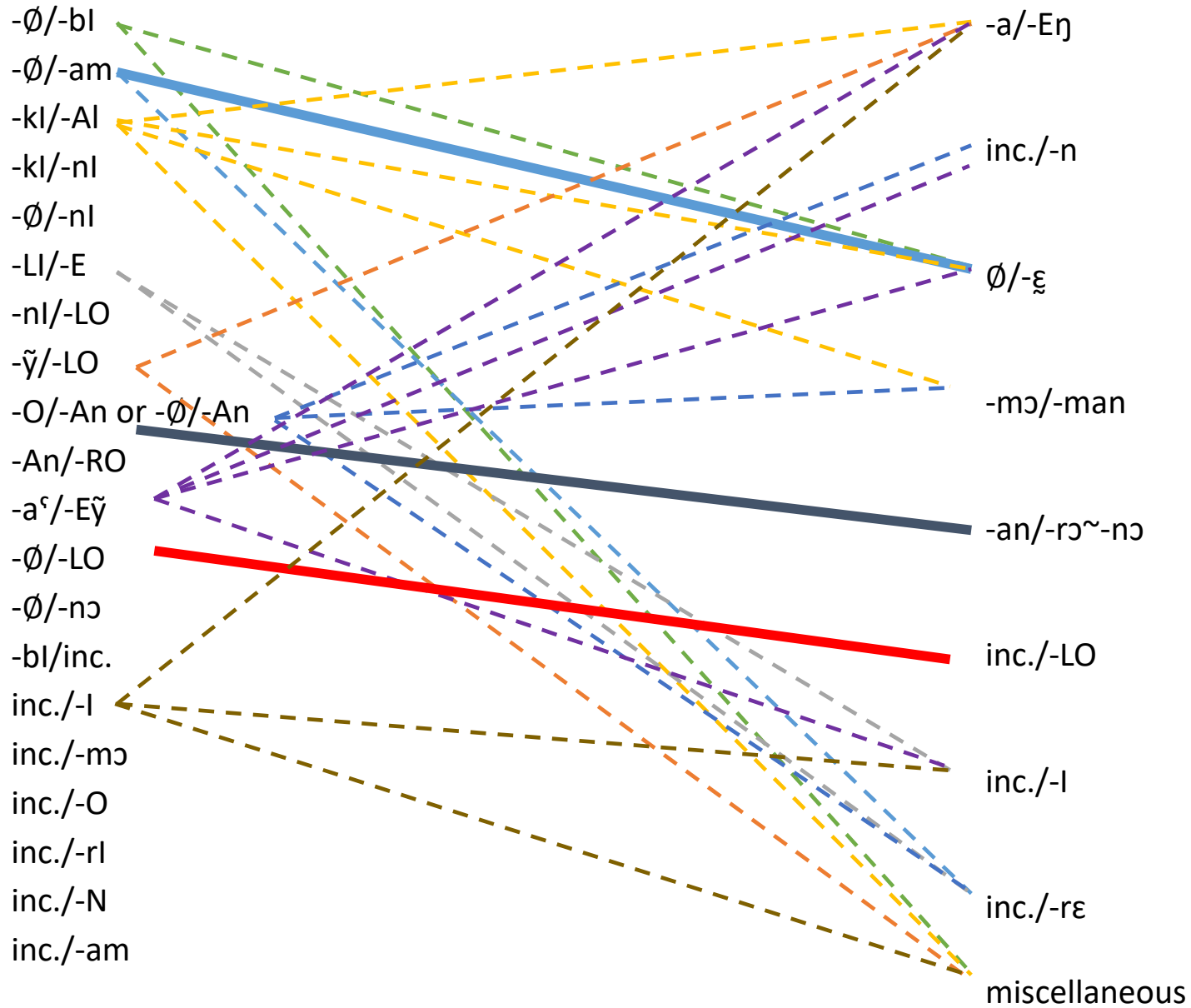
Spreadsheet comparing the data

worm	sèsò [◌] ki/sèsò [◌] ni	kl/nl	sūsùà/sūsùèŋ	a/Eŋ		
cheek	kǎ [◌] kí/kyê [◌]	kl/nl	kǎ/kéŋ	a/Eŋ		
ear	niki/ni	kl/nl	nāy/nīŋ	nasal coda		
stone	dá [◌] kì/dyé [◌]	kl/nl	dē [◌] /dē	ɛ		
bird	kèpil/kèpye	lI/E	kəpɪ/kəpī	inc./l		
thing	tir/tye~tyi	lI/E	tɪ/ti	inc./l		
fire	nyà [◌] /nyè	lI/E	nǎ [◌] /nīrē	rɛ		
person/people	neỹ/no	ỹ/LO	nəŋ/nō	-		
snake	wa [◌] ỹ/vye [◌]	ỹ/LO	wǎ/wéŋ	a/Eŋ		
hand	gbò/gbàn	O/An or Ø/An	mǎ/màn	mɔ/man		
house	gbò/gbèn	O/An or Ø/An	bū/bñ	əŋ		
horse	sèsò/sèsèn	O/An or Ø/An	sùsù/səsñ	əŋ		
broom	yò/yàn	O/An or Ø/An	yò/yiré	rɛ		
drum	hò/hèn	O/An or Ø/An	hù/hùn	nasal coda		
horn	kèyàn/kèyno	An/RO	ŋān/ŋōmō	An/RO		

- The following slide contains a schema Southern Toussian on the left, Northern Toussian on the right, with lines indicating which declensions match in the two languages
 - Solid lines indicate there is a pattern of several words which share the same pattern
 - dotted lines show pairings which occur only once or twice, with no discernable pattern

Southern Toussian

Northern Toussian



Summary of the table

- There are three classes which can still be linked
 - ST kl/Al and NT \emptyset/ξ
 - ST An/RO and NT An/RO
 - ST \emptyset/LO and NT \emptyset/LO
- Otherwise, classes are scattered seemingly at random between different categories
- This points to the agreement system potentially still being in use at the Proto-Toussian stage, but already at a stage of advanced deterioration, where analogy has mixed up the terminations

Prefix/suffix kV

- Southern Toussian uses both a prefix and a suffix derived from the pronoun *kè*
- A cognate for the prefix exists in Northern Toussian, but not a cognate for the suffix
- It is necessary to look at sound changes to verify this

Reflex of kV

- The reflex of word final *-kV* in ST appears to be *-ɣ* in NT due to apocope and lenition

NT	ST	Meaning
dàɣ	dùkù	way
nāɣ	nīkī	ear
fàɣ	fùkù	bellows
jàɣ	ɣèkè	song

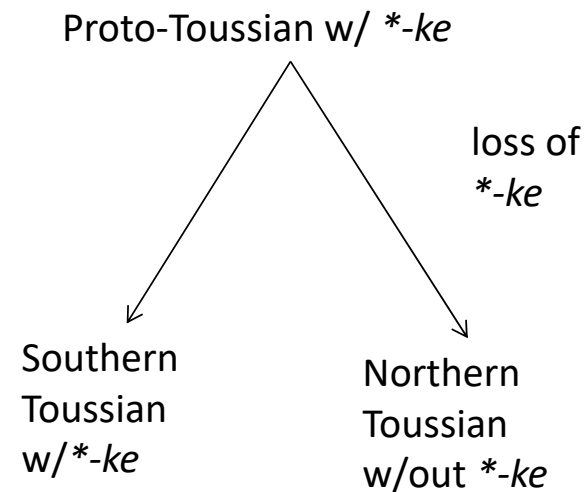
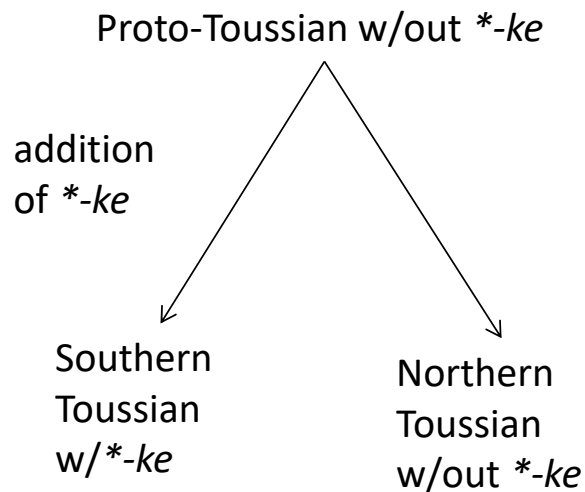
The suffix -kE

- Where the suffix *-kε/-ke* (in the variety Kerstin Winkelmann studied, *-kɪ* or *-ki*) is present in Southern Toussian words, the *-ɣ* reflex is not typically present

NT	ST	Meaning
<i>bwé</i>	<i>gbē-kē</i>	cough
<i>dēʔ</i>	<i>dé-ké</i>	stone
<i>mā̄kēʔ</i>	<i>gbǝ̀kè-kè</i>	wing
<i>wǝ̀ʔ</i>	<i>wèʔ-kè</i>	road

3 possibilities

1. Loss of **-ke* in NT - not due to phonological attrition
2. Addition of **-ke* in ST
3. Lack of data, there might be examples of Northern Toussian words with a reflex of **-ke*



Prefix *ke-/kl-* and *sè*

- Both varieties utilize prefixes likely derived from the nonhuman/inanimate pronouns **kè* (3sg) and **sè* (3pl)
- They are paired with both animals and objects

NT sg	ST sg	meaning	source of ST data
<i>kə̀-pā̀r</i>	<i>kə̀-pəl</i>	bird	me
<i>kətì-àʔ</i>	<i>kə̀-tìàʔ</i>	elephant	me
<i>kēʔ</i>	<i>ké-tē</i>	concession	me
<i>kā-tṵ</i>	<i>kè-tṵ</i>	drum griot (NT); blacksmith (ST)	Winkelmann
<i>kā-tīāntāy</i>		a type of basket	me
	<i>kè-yṵn</i>	horn	Winkelmann
<i>sə̀-kāṅ</i>	<i>sè-kékè</i>	agama lizard	me
<i>sùsù</i>	<i>sè-sò</i>	horse	Winkelmann
<i>sùsāṅ</i>	<i>sè-swṵ</i>	fly	Winkelmann

Prefix *ke- and *se-

- Since the prefixes are used for both animals and objects, historically, the gender divide for the pronouns was likely a human/non-human divide
- The prefixation of nonhuman classifiers was likely productive or well-established around the time of Proto-Toussian, since it exists in both varieties
 - Potentially a second gender system established after the first complex agreement system fell apart
- Why is *se- used for singular entities like agama lizards and horses?

Discussion of hypothesized agreement system

- It seems likely that at a point in Toussian's prehistory, there was a complex agreement system
- However, at the time of Proto-Toussian, it was likely messy and falling apart
- The ke-/se- prefixes might have been used as a sort of gender system, a second round of grammatical gender marking before falling apart again
- We are left with two languages with quite different vestiges of the ancient system, both of which are analytical and isolating languages which lack agreement outside of the pronominal system