Contrast and Logophoricity: reflections on the use of the emphatic pronoun *ale* in Jula

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This paper is concerned with the interpretive effects associated with the use of the third person emphatic pronoun *ale* in Jula, a West-African Mande language of the Manding dialect group (Niger-Congo). Depending on the context, the pronoun may be used to express two different types of information: contrast and logophoricity. In this respect, *ale* contrasts with the third person pronoun *a*, as illustrated below in (1) and (2).

(1) **Logophoric use**

    a. *Adama*$_i$ *kó* (*ko*)   *ale*$_{i/*j}$ / *a* $_{i/j}$ *hakili ka*   *di.*
        Adama say COMP 3EMP 3SG mind COP good
        'Adama said that he is clever.'

    b. *Adama*$_i$ *ŋɛ na ko*   *ale*$_{i/*j}$ / *a* $_{i/j}$ *hakili ka*   *di.*
        Adama eye Post COMP 3EMP 3SG mind COP good
        'Adama thinks that he is clever.'

(2) **Expression of contrast**
    A: I heard that Awa became a pilot, what about Adama?

    B*:* a. **ale** *kɔni kɛ-ra*   *polisi*   *ye.*   *Contrastive reading*
           3EMP TOP become-PFV   policeman PostP
           'As for him, he became a policeman.'

        b. # *a* *kɔni kɛ-ra*   *polisi*   *ye.*   *Non- contrastive reading*
           3SG TOP become-PFV   policeman PostP
           'Indeed, he became a policeman.'

I will first review some insights of the standard approach on logophoric pronouns, which treats them as variables that are bound by an operator in their local CP-domain (Koopmann and Sportiche 1989, Speas 2004, Safir 2004, Adesola 2005, Anand 2006, i.a.). I will show that this solution is not fully compatible with the empirical data observed in Jula. Given this, I discuss facts that I take to be suggestive of another approach. I suggest, relying on the form, distribution, interpretation, and referential properties of the pronoun, that the logophoric reading of *ale* in (1) is related to the contrastive reading in (2). The link between the two readings is explained along the following lines: Contrast marking operates in any discourse context, where it conveys the exclusion of some discourse relevant alternatives in favor of a particular one (cf. Vermeulen 2011, Zimmermann 2007, Repp 2017 i.a.). Logophoricity is rather restricted to reported discourse contexts. Nevertheless, it involves contrast, in the sense that logophoric marking excludes the perspective of the reporting speaker by promoting the perspective of a sentence-internal argument, following standard view on the function logophoricity (cf. Clements 1975 and others after him). If the hypothesis advanced here is true, it may suggest that a better understanding of the phenomenon of logophoricty may require exploring the semantic input of the logophoric markers themselves, especially when they are used elsewhere than in logophoric contexts.

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