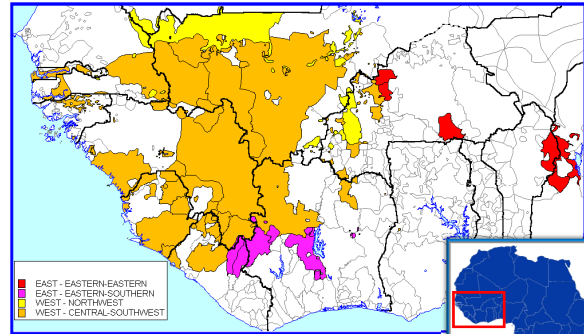


Person-number agreement on complementizers in Mande

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Mande languages



Some relevant grammatical properties

- rigid SVX, SOVX, NA, GN, NAdp (sometimes, with one or two AdpN)
- S and, for transitive verbs, O are obligatorily present
- PREDICATIVE MARKERS:** obligatory auxiliary-like morphemes with sentence constituting function (S PM OVX)
- In South-Eastern Mande and parts of Western Mande, pronominal subjects tend to fuse with PMs

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Tura personal pronominals (Nao dialect)

| PM | SG | | | | PL | | | |
|----------------|-----|----|----------|---------|--------|--------------|-----|---------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 LOG | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 LOG |
| Ia | ʔ | ǰ | ɾ | ɛ | kɔ | kā | wɔ | |
| Ib | kɛ | ǰ | ɾ | ɛ | kɔ | kā | wɔ | wɔ |
| Ic | ʔ | ǰ | ɾ | ɛ | kɔ, DU | kā | wɔ | wɔ |
| Id | ʔ | ǰ | ɾ | ɛ | kɔ | kā | wɔ | wɔ |
| IIa (PRF) | ʔ | mā | bāyā | āyā | yāyɛ | kwɛɛ | kāā | wā wɛ |
| IIb (PROSP) | PRN | mā | bɛɛyɛ | yɛ | kwɛɛ | kāā | wɔ | wɛ |
| IIIa (NEG.PFV) | -ā | mā | bāā' | yāā' | yā | kwāā | kāā | wāā wāā |
| | | | yāā' | | | | | |
| IIIb (NEG.PFV) | -ā | mɔ | bɔɔ'yɔɔ' | yɔɔ' | yɔɔ | kɔɔ | kāɔ | wɔɔ wɔɔ |
| | | | wɔɔ'ɔɔ' | wɔɔ'ɔɔ' | | | | |
| IIIc (PROH) | -ā | mɔ | bɔɔ'yɔɔ' | yɔɔ' | — | kɔɔ | kāɔ | wɔɔ — |
| | | | wɔɔ'ɔɔ' | wɔɔ'ɔɔ' | | | | |
| IV (IMP) | — | — | bɛ' | — | — | kwāā, DU kwā | kā | — |
| V (NON-SBJ) | — | ǰ | ɾ | ɛ | kɔ | kā | āǰ | wɔ |

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Tura personal pronominals: base forms

| | SG | | | | PL | | | |
|------------------|----|------|----|-------|----|----|----|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 LOG | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 LOG |
| SBJ series I | ǰ | ɾ | ɛ | ɛ | kɔ | kā | wɔ | wɔ |
| SBJ other series | mā | bāyā | yɛ | yɛ | kɔ | kā | wɔ | wɛ |
| NON(SBJ) | ǰ | ɾ | ā | ɛ | kɔ | kā | āǰ | wɔ |

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Agreement

- Agreement is rare (unlike most of Niger-Congo)
- No gender (except in Jowulu with pronominal genders)

Table 1. Jowulu personal pronominals (Carlson 1993:23)

| | SINGULAR | | PLURAL | |
|--------------|----------|--|--------|-----------|
| first | mí | | tɔ̀ɔ̀ | |
| second | mī | | ábéé | |
| t masculine | ú | | ki | human |
| h i feminine | ni | | | |
| r d neuter | ɲ | | yɪɪ | non-human |

- Usually, only trivial number agreement on personal pronominal targets (often reserved to controllers on the higher end of the animacy hierarchy)

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Number agreement: Tura

- Human nominals are regularly marked for plural (except in certain contexts)
- Human controllers normally trigger agreement in number on pronominal targets (even when they are not overtly marked as plural)
- Non-human nominals are often not marked for plural even when they could have been
- Non-human controllers trigger agreement on pronominal targets less frequently (even when they are overtly marked for plural).

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Number agreement: Tura

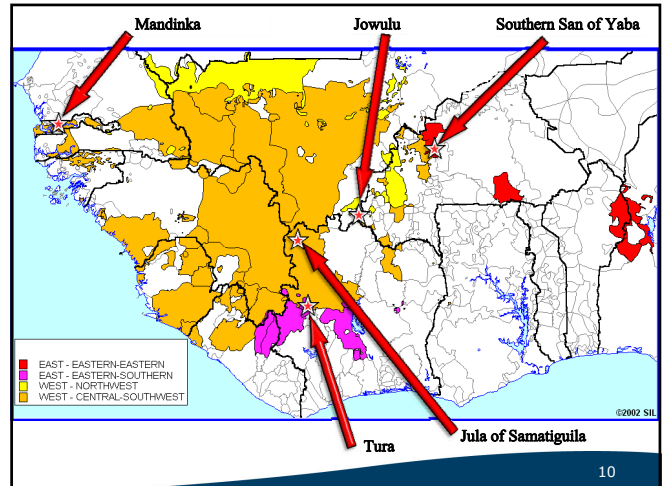
- (1) ...ké ɾ **nā̀** lèè-ɿ kɛ ɿ **ā̀j** **ɔ̀** **b̀** kèè-ɿ, kɛ
 CNJ 2SG.I_b **child:PL** call-PROG CNJ 2SG.I_b **3PL.V** **wound PL** do-PROG but
 kɛ **ɔ̀** **lā̀** **è** **bā̀** **nā̀** wó zii=á fɔ̀...
 CNJ **wound** that **3SG.I_b** person impairment cause:HAB old=PP formerly
 ‘...that (now) you call children and heal their wounds, whereas in the old days these wounds caused severe impairments’ (Beath 1971:162)
- (2) È tō-ò **wūn** **b̀** **lā̀** **ā̀** lè pé-ā̀...
 3SG.I_b stay\AOR.FOC-AOR.FOC **thing PL** that **3SG.V** FOC say-DEP
 ‘He kept on thinking about these things [until the day broke]’ (CO)
- (3) Ā lè māi kɛ kpɔ̀i pɔ̀n **mɛ̀** **b̀** **lā̀** **ā̀j**
 3SG.V FOC truth\IZF PM giant.pouched.rat dig.up **man\IZF PL** that **3PL.V**
 nɪ-ɪ
 lead.astroy\AOR-AOR
 ‘This surprised these giant pouched rat hunters’ (CO)

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Agreement on complementizers

- Several Mande languages have person-number agreement on complementizers with a controller in the main clause
 - Jula of Samatiguila (West, Southwest-Central, Central, Great Manding; Braconnier 1987-88)
 - (some dialects of) Mandinka (West, Southwest-Central, Central, Great Manding; Creissels 1983)
 - Jowulu (West, Northeast, Samogo; Carlson 1993)
 - Southern San of Yaba (Southeast, East; Pare 1998)
 - Tura (Southeast, South; Beath 1971 & own data)

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Jula of Samatiguila

- n-1** vs. **∅**NON<1> (COMP is **kò**)

- (1) a. *N/Ān yè á fě **n-kò** Sèkù yè tàgà* (Braconnier 1987-88:48-51)
 1SG/1PL COP 3SG at **1-COMP** PROP SUBJ go
 ‘I/We want that Seku goes away’
- b. *Mùsà yè á fě **kò** Sèkù yè tàgà*
 PROP COP 3SG at **[NON<1>]COMP** PROP SUBJ go
 ‘Musa wants that Seku goes away’
- (2) a. *N/Ān nāá á fɔ̀-rà **n-kò** Sèkù tɛ shón*
 1SG/1PL PFV 3SG say-PFV **1-COMP** PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘I/We said that Seku will not agree’
- b. *Mùsà nāá á fɔ̀-rà **kò** Sèkù tɛ shón*
 PROP PFV 3SG say-PFV **[NON<1>]COMP** PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘Musa said that Seku will not agree’

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Jowulu

- n-1&2** (SG?) vs. **∅**3 (and 1&2PL?) (COMP is **tú**)

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Southern San of Yaba

- after utterance predicates (especially manipulative) and desiderative predicates

| | SG | PL |
|---|----------------|------------|
| 1 | <i>mā(à)mā</i> | <i>wṣā</i> |
| 2 | <i>mà</i> | <i>mà</i> |
| 3 | <i>mā</i> | <i>māà</i> |

- no agreement after other complement taking predicates (e.g., *má* 'hear') → the complementizer is *mā*

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Tura

- after utterance predicates, propositional attitude & epistemic modality predicates and desiderative predicates (sometimes also after predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge)

| | SG | PL |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | <i>má</i> | <i>kó</i> |
| 2 | <i>yè</i> | <i>ká</i> |
| 3 | <i>yè</i> | <i>wò</i> |

- elsewhere the complementizer *ké* is used or the constructions that do not require a complementizer

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Tura

| | SG | PL |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | <i>má</i> | <i>kó</i> |
| 2 | <i>yè</i> | <i>ká</i> |
| 3 | <i>yè</i> | <i>wò</i> |

- 3SG *yè* has replaced the original 2SG forms **bé/yé*
- 2SG forms **bé/yé* have been preserved:
 - 2SG.II_b (PROSP) forms *béè/yéè* (< **bé/yé* + *ké* 'this' + *ĩ* 2SG.I_x)
 - conjunction/preposition *yé* 'as, like'
 - Bamana *í kó* [2SG say] 'as, like, as if' (litt.: 'you say')
 - Bamana *í n' à l'í* [2SG FUT:3SG say] 'as, like, as if' (litt.: 'you will say')

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Tura

- As a complementizer (but not as a quotative predicator), 3SG *yè* can be used instead of all other forms

- (1) *Ká wĩ-í yé / ká kó à pé wèèn*
 2PL.I_d say\COND-COND 3SG.COMP 2PL.COMP 1PL.I_c 3SG.V say Tura
wòò gĩ...
 language\TZF PP
 'If you say that we should speak in Tura...' (DG)

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Agreement on complementizers

- Remarkably, the controller is not always the subject
 - Jula of Samatiguila (West, Southwest-Central, Central, Great Manding; Braconnier 1987-88)
 - (some dialects of) Mandinka (West, Southwest-Central, Central, Great Manding; Creissels 1983)
 - Tura (Southeast, South; Bearth 1971 & own data)

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Jula of Samatiguila

- n*-1 vs. \emptyset NON<1> (COMP is *kò*)

(Braconnier 1987-88:49, 55)

- (1) *Á yè à nyà nà n-kò Sèkù tè shón*
 3SG COP 1SG eye at 1-COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 'I have the feeling / I think that Seku will not agree'

- (2) *Wò lé tén Ì-nìn ãn bòrò n-kò byè yè ná bí*
 DEM FOC PST say-PTCP.PFV 1PL by 1-COMP all IPFV come today
 'It was asked by us that everybody comes today'

- The controller is always the source (the speaker) of the reported discourse

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Tura

- (1) È f gí má ...
3SG.1_s 1SG in COMP.1SG
'I think that [if she keeps her promise, everything will be fine]' (CO)
- (2) È f gí yè ...
3SG.1_s 1SG in COMP.3SG
'I think that [all those who are reading this story would like to find out the monkey's secret]' (CO)

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Mandinka (some dialects)

- *n*-1 vs. ØNON<1> (COMP is *kó*)
 - The controller is always the oblique encoding the addressee (N *yé*)
- (1) À kó á /à yé n-kó ... (cf. Creissels 1983:185)
3SG QP 1SG 1PL to 1-COMP
'He said to me / us that...'
- However, it is not completely clear whether this is really agreement...
...or rather a case of morphologically conditioned allomorphy
- / *ʃpɛŋkó* /
- We also don't know where the word border is: *n#yé#nkó* or *n#yé#kó*?

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Mandinka (some dialects)

- At least historically, the morphologically conditioned allomorphy is clearly the source of the observed pattern
- In several other Manding varieties the postposition *yé* is found as *yeg* or *ɲeg* (Creissels 1983:185).
**dɛŋ* 'to, for'
- The postposition *yé* is realized as *ɲé* only after *n*'1SG' and *n*'1PL' (cf. Rowlands 1959:10-12)

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Quotatives: complementizers, etc.

- Both diachronically and synchronically, the primary use of such complementizers is to introduce reported discourse, i.e. a quote. Therefore, they can conventionally be referred to as **quotative complementizers**.
- Quotative complementizers are an instance of what Güldemann (2008:11) calls **quotative indexes**.
"A quotative index is a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse."
- Besides quotative complementizers, other kinds of conventionalized quotative indexes exist, viz. **quotative verbs**, **quotative predicators**, and **quotative markers**.
- In a given language the same form may show up in a number of different functions.

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Quotative verbs

- Quotative verbs are verbs used to signal the occurrence a reported discourse and whose "utterance' meaning is partially or completely absent in other predicative contexts or because they have no use at all outside a QI [Quotative Index]" (Güldemann 2008:12)

Soninke (intransitive) quotative verbs (Diagana 1995):

- *dáalí* (the speaker = God)
- *jáabì* (the speaker = prophets, theologians, knowledgeable persons) (otherwise 'to answer')
- *máaxù* (the speaker = respected and older persons)
- *tí* (the speaker = anybody), also a quotative complementizer

- (1) Alla *daali* i kitaaben noxondi *tí*...
God QV 3SG book.DEF inside QCOMP
'God said in his book that...' (Smeltzer & Smeltzer 2001)

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Quotative predicators

- Quotative predicators are predicative elements similar to quotative verbs which however cannot be classified as verbs in a given language (cf. Güldemann 2008:15). They are often called "defective verbs" in the descriptions.

- In Mande, quotative predicators are used without a PM.
Bamana *kó*, Jula of Samatiguila *kò* (also complementizers)

Bamana

- (1) À *kó* ní mà (*kó*)...
3SG QP 1SG to QCOMP
'He said/says to me that...'
- (2) À *táa-rá* / À *má* *táa* / À *bé* *táa* / À *té* *táa*
3SG go-PFV 3SG PFV.NEG go 3SG IPFV go 3SG IPFV.NEG go
'He went/ He didn't go/ He goes / He doesn't go'

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Quotative predicators

- When preceded by a constituent expressing the speaker, a quotative predicator can be followed by a postpositional phrase expressing the addressee.

Bamana

- (1) *À kó ní mà (kó)...*
 3SG QP 1SG to QCOMP
 'He said/says to me that...'

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Quotative predicators

- The expression of the speaker and/or the addressee may be optional or even impossible, but the quotative predicator can be introduced by some clausal conjunction which cannot introduce a quote on its own.

Tura *yé* (etc.) (also a complementizer)

- (1) *(Jè (bùù)) yé (*à nē): Gbèén*
 CNU goat 3SG.QP 3SG.V to dog
 '["Goat, wait till I ask you the last question. Who is your best friend?"] And the goat said, "The dog"' (CO)
- (2) *È wù-í (*Jè): Gbèén*
 3SG.I_s say^{AOR-AOR} CNU dog
 'He said, "The dog"'

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Quotative markers

- A leftover category including the quotatives that are not embedded in a higher predication and do not show any predicative properties either.

Bamana sentence-initial *kó* (also a predicator and a complementizer),
 Mwan sentence-initial *dɔ̃ɔ̃* (also a complementizer)

Bamana

- (1) *Kó (*à mà) à ká táá*
 QM 3SG to 3SG SUBJ go
 'He/they/we/I say(s)/said (*to him) that he should go'

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Quotative complementizer: diachrony

- Diachronically, quotative complementizers appear to be always related to quotative predicators and ultimately verbs (which may still be present in the language and have the same form, e.g. Soninke *tí*).

- the Manding (Jula, Mandinka, Bamana, etc.) quotative *ko* can be compared to Soninke *ko* '(vt) say', Jeli *kù* (PFV) *kùε* (IPFV) '(vi) speak, talk'
- the Jowulu quotative *tú* is also a verb '(vt/vi) say; think; stay, remain'
- the Tura quotatives result from a fusion of subject pronouns with a common Mande verb *ke* '(vt) do, make', often also as '(vi) be; say'
- the San of Yaba quotatives result from a fusion of subject pronouns with a common Mande verb *ma* '(vt) do, make', often also as '(vi) be; say'

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Quotative complementizer: agreement origins

- The predicative origin of the quotative complementizers & the obligatory realization of S account for the fact that in some languages the complementizers show person-number agreement (except Mandinka)
- The agreement with non-subject controllers is semantic in origin (except Mandinka), as S of the predicative quotative index is naturally the speaker (the source of the reported discourse) irrespective of which syntactic role the constituent expressing the speaker has in the main clause.
- In which person-number combinations the agreement is still overtly marked on the quotative complementizers is a language-specific accident.
 - phonology: strong preference for onsets: C, NC, CL/CR (not V-initial)
 - paradigm simplification: 3SG quotative tends to become the default form

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