

Person-number agreement on clause linking markers in Mande

Dmitry Idiatov
LLACAN-CNRS

e-mail: idiatov@vjf.cnrs.fr

Dmitry Idiatov
LLACAN-CNRS
7, rue Guy Moquet – BP 8
94801 Villejuif cedex
France

Abstract

Several Mande languages, viz. Jula of Samatiguila, Ko Mende, Jowulu, Yaba Southern San, and Tura, have person-number agreement on clause linking markers whose primary function, etymologically and often also synchronically, is to introduce reported discourse. Interestingly, in some of these languages the controller is not necessarily the subject of the main clause. This kind of agreement, which as such is already typologically unusual, is even more remarkable in Mande, since Mande languages have very little morphosyntactic agreement of any kind. I argue that agreement on clause linking markers in Mande is due to fusion of originally predicative quotatives with their pronominal subjects. The agreement with non-subject controllers is semantic in origin in that a non-subject controller is necessarily also the source of the reported discourse.

Keywords: Mande, agreement, clause linking, quotatives, morphology, syntax, historical linguistics

Person-number agreement on clause linking markers in Mande

1. Introduction¹

Clause linking markers are a type of clause relator, that is a syntactic or morphological element marking a relation between two (or more) clauses. The relation may be that of (i) complementation, when a clause functions as a core argument of a higher clause, (ii) relativization, when a clause functions as a modifier of a nominal within a higher clause,² or (iii) various semantic types of clause linking, when clauses are combined through any other way than complementation and relativization (cf. Dixon 2009, 2010a:93-95). The corresponding clause relators can be referred to as complementation markers (complement clause markers, complementizers), relativization markers (relative clause markers, relativizers) and clause linking markers (linked clause markers, clause linkers).

As becomes apparent from the cross-linguistic overview of agreement targets in Corbett (2006:40-53), among clause relators only the so-called relative pronouns, i.e. relativization markers that simultaneously represent the common argument of the two clauses within the relative clause, are known to be common agreement targets. Examples of agreeing complementation markers have been reported for a limited number of dialects of Continental West Germanic (see references in Corbett 2006:49-51),³ as in (1) from a West Flemish dialect of Dutch, where the controller is the subject of the complement clause, and for the Adamawan language Waja (Güldemann 2008:585), the Chadic language East Dangaléat (Güldemann 2008:454), the Ekoid language Ejagham (Güldemann 2008:454), several Bantu languages (cf. Rizzi 1990:51-60; Kawasha 2007, Güldemann 2008:370, 453), where the controller is the subject of the main clause, as in (2) from the Bantu language Lunda.⁴

¹ This work was made possible through the Belgian Federal Science Ministry Grant P6/44 (within the program of interuniversity attraction poles). Special thanks with respect to the present paper are due to Mark Van de Velde. Thanks also to Thomas Bearth for kindly providing some unpublished Tura texts. Last but not least, I am grateful to the anonymous referees and the editors for their constructive criticism.

² This nominal is the common argument of the two clauses that “may be stated in both clauses, or in just one, or in neither” (Dixon 2010b:314).

³ A plausible diachronic account of the agreement on complementation markers in Dutch dialects is provided by De Vogelaer & van der Auwera (2010), who explain it as analogical extension of verbal agreement morphology.

⁴ Güldemann (2008:420-421) also cites the case of the Atlantic language Gola, spoken in the immediate vicinity of several Southwestern Mande languages. However, as far as I can judge from the numerous examples and some explicit statements in Koroma’s (1994) description of Gola, the

West Flemish (Haegeman 1992:48-51)

- (1) a. *K=peinzen da-n Valère en Pol morgen goa-n*
 1SG=think COMP-3PL PROP and PROP tomorrow go-3PL
 ‘I think that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.’
- b. *K=peinzen da Valère morgen goa-t*
 1SG=think COMP[3SG] PROP tomorrow go-3SG
 ‘I think that Valère will go tomorrow.’

Lunda (Kawasha 2007:182, 185)

- (2) a. *Mu-kwenzi w-e-eluk-ili níndi mpata*
 G1-youth SBJ.AG1-TAM-know-REMOTE.PST COMP.AG1 (G8)country
y-a-telela ku-himp-ew-a
 SBJ.AG8-TAM-ought INF-change-PASSIVE-TAM
 ‘The young person knew that the country ought to be changed.’
- b. *A-kwenzi a-a-toñozhok-eli náwu Nswana*
 G2-youth SBJ.AG2-TAM-think-REMOTE.PST COMP.AG2 PROP(G1)
ne-enzh-i na-ku-mw-ot-a
 [SBJ.AG1]TAM-come-TAM with-INF-OBJ.AG1-ask.for.marriage-TAM
 ‘The young people thought that Nswana had come to ask her for marriage.’

Examples of clause linking markers as agreement targets can also be found in at least a few languages. Thus, in (3) from the East Caucasian language Tsakhur, two clause linking markers =*p-a* and =*d* are used to mark different kinds of addition relation. Both markers agree with the nominal in the absolutive case within their respective clauses.

inflected quotative in this language can always be construed as a predicative element rather than a complementizer. Thus, it can always be followed by a regular complementizer *kè* (e.g., Koroma 1994:193). What is more, the same form can also function as a regular ‘say, tell’ verb, as can be deduced from the fact that it can take a direct and indirect object without introducing any quote (e.g., Koroma 1994:192). It may also be worth pointing out that contra Güldemann (2008:420-421), both the root of this inflected Gola quotative and speech predicate, *yaa* (Westermann 1921:45), and its pattern of use look very much like a relatively recent borrowing from a Southwestern Mande language, such as Kpelle, as is already hinted at by Westermann (1921:45).

Tsakhur (Kazenin 1999:451)⁵

- (3) *WaXt* *qa = p = p-a,* *ok'-bi*
 time(G3)[ABS] AG3=come.PFV=AG3-CLM grass(G3)-PL[ABS]
wo = d = im-mi *jug-un,* *q'ildim-i-s*
 be=AG3/4.PL=ISM.AG3/4.PL-PL good-ADJ.AG3/4.PL winter(G4)-OBL-DAT
haIziriR *wo = d = nī,* *k'arma-bi = d*
 preparation(G4)[ABS] be=AG4=ESM fodder(G3)-PL[ABS]=AG3/4.PL.CLM
wo = d = im-mi
 be=AG3/4.PL=ISM.AG3/4.PL-PL
 ‘The time has come, the grass is good, the preparation for winter is [done], and there is fodder.’

In (4) from the Bantu language Lunda, the same form *níndi* that functions as complementizer in (2) is used as a purpose clause linking marker agreeing with the subject of the main clause.⁶

Lunda (Kawasha 2007:189)

- (4) *W-a-tachik-ili* *ku-mu-hañ-a*
 SBJ.AG1-TAM-begin-REMOTE.PST INF-OBJ.AG1-chase-TAM
níndi *a-tambul-i* *ñoma*
 CLM.AG1 SBJ.AG1-grab-SUBJ drum
 ‘He began to chase him so that he could grab the drum.’

The Australian language Kalkatungu, as described by Blake (1979), may provide another example of clause linking markers as agreement targets (Balthasar Bickel, p.c.).

In this paper I present more examples of this typologically rare phenomenon of agreeing clause linking markers (henceforth CLM) as found in several Mande

⁵ I have slightly modified the glosses here. Most importantly, I gloss =AG-*a* as a clause linking marker in accordance with its function in this construction as described by Kazenin (1999), rather than as an adverbializer (“adverbial representation marker”) as is done in the source in accordance with its etymology and synchronic use of identical forms in other constructions. For the same reason, the gloss ISM, i.e. ‘information structure marker’, replaces the gloss ‘attributivizer’ (“attributive representation marker”) used in the source. Again for similar reasons, I gloss =*d* as a clause linking marker here instead of using a more general gloss ‘coherence particle’ as is done in the source.

⁶ Apparently proceeding only from the identity of form, Kawasha (2007) refers to this kind of linked clause as “subjunctive complement clause” and the respective clause relator as complementizer, even though the relation here is clearly not that of complementation.

languages, where these markers agree in person and number with a controller in the main clause. Thus, in the Western Mande language Jula of Samatiguila, there is a CLM that has the form *nkò* /ɲgò/ with a first person controller, as in (5a), and *kò* with second and third person controllers, as in (5b).

Jula of Samatiguila (Braconnier 1987-88:48-51)

- (5) a. *Ń / Ān náà á fɔ-rà n-kò Sěkù tè shòn*
 1SG/ 1PL PFV 3SG say-PFV 1-CLM PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘I/We said (it) that Seku will not agree.’
- b. *Mùsà / Ī náà á fɔ-rà kò Sěkù tè shòn*
 PROP / 2SG PFV 3SG say-PFV [NON<1>]CLM PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘Musa/You said (it) that Seku will not agree.’

Although the translation uses complementation, the relation between the clauses in the original is a type of clause linking, viz. that of elaboration (in terms of Dixon 2009). That the second clause does not function as a core argument of the first clause (and consequently, is not a complement clause) can be unambiguously deduced from the fact that similarly to all Mande languages, Jula of Samatiguila has a strict AOVX constituent order in transitive constructions, where O in the immediately preverbal position is obligatory present, at least as a dummy pronoun, such as *á* 3SG in (5).⁷

Remarkably, the controller is not always the subject of the main clause. Thus, in (6) the use of the first person agreement marker *n-* on the CLM in Jula of Samatiguila is triggered by the 1SG pronoun *ñ* and not by the 3SG subject pronoun *á*.

Jula of Samatiguila (Braconnier 1987-88:50)

- (6) *Á yè ñ nyà nà n-kò Sěkù tè shón*
 3SG COP 1SG eye at 1-CLM PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘I have the feeling (lit.: it is at my eyes / it is according to me) that Seku will not accept.’

Moreover, unlike in Germanic, East Caucasian or Bantu, this very noncanonical kind of agreement in Mande contrasts strikingly with a general absence of other more canonical kinds of morphosyntactic agreement. In fact, this general lack of agreement sets them radically apart from most of the other language families traditionally held to constitute the Niger-Congo phylum and has been mentioned as an argument in discussions about the genetic affiliation of Mande (cf. Bennett & Sterk 1977). Thus, there is no person-number agreement on the verb in Mande. There is no gender either,

⁷ X stands for “oblique”, which is any constituent (an argument or an adjunct) other than S, A and O (cf. Creissels 2005, Nikitina 2009).

except in Jowulu (Western Mande; Carlson 1993:23) and in the Boko-Busa-Bokobaru language cluster (Eastern Mande; Jones 1998:132-134), which, somewhat like English, have pronominal genders. Usually, we find only rather trivial agreement in number on third person pronouns, which is often reserved to controllers on the higher end of the animacy hierarchy. For instance, in the Southern Mande language Tura human nominals are regularly marked for plural⁸ and 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, and even when they are, they still frequently fail to trigger agreement in number on pronominal targets. With respect to pronominal targets, it should be mentioned that in various Mande languages, in a range of constructions nominals must (or can) be followed by a resumptive third person pronoun. In several Southwestern and Southeastern Mande languages, the latter strategy in combination with the tendency for third person pronouns to fuse with the words following them have resulted in the development of some rather noncanonical agreement targets, such as certain postpositions, (alienable) possessive markers, (inalienable) possessums, coordinating conjunctions, and TAM-auxiliaries (cf. Konoshenko, to appear, for some examples).

In Mande, at least diachronically and often also synchronically, the primary use of the CLMs comparable to the one illustrated above for Jula of Samatiguila is to introduce (direct or indirect) reported discourse, i.e. a quote. Therefore, they can conventionally be referred to as quotative CLMs. Quotative CLMs are part of a broader class of conventionalized quote introducing devices, or simply QUOTATIVES. In many Mande languages, the same quotative can be construed in several ways, viz. as a quotative CLM, quotative verb, quotative predicator and/or quotative marker. I consider these types of quotatives and the ways they are typically differentiated in Mande in Section 2. In Section 3, I provide an overview of the paradigms of the agreeing quotative CLMs found in Mande. In Section 4, I offer a historical account of the ways each of these agreeing CLMs developed. The observed polyfunctionality of many of the Mande quotatives is suggestive of the ways they tend to evolve diachronically in Mande. Thus, the general trend appears to be for the non-predicative quotatives, such as quotative CLMs, to originate from predicative quotatives, such as quotative predicators and verbs. I argue that the predicative origin of the quotative CLMs taken together with the obligatory realization of subjects in Mande languages accounts straightforwardly for the person-number agreement on quotative CLMs. Finally, in Section 5, I also briefly discuss the factors that have shaped the observed paradigms.

⁸ Except when they are generic, refer to a group or are modified by a numeral or a quantifier such as *tó* ‘all, every’.

2. Quotatives in Mande

2.1. A classification of quotatives

Quotatives, such as quotative CLMs, form the nuclear part of a construction that Güldemann (2008) calls a QUOTATIVE INDEX.

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.

(Güldemann 2008:11)

This definition of quotative index can be exemplified with (7) from English.

(7) [*He told her,*]_{QUOTATIVE INDEX} [*“John isn’t coming today”*]_{REPORTED DISCOURSE (= QUOTE)}

The nuclear part of the quotative index in (7) is the generic speech verb *tell*. The verb *tell* is not considered as a quotative though, since it is not conventionalized in the function of introducing an adjacent representation of reported discourse, i.e. a quote. In Mande, quotes always follow quotative indexes.

Semantically, quotatives are largely similar to generic speech verbs, such as *tell* in English, with which they share the feature of reference to an utterance. Functionally, however, they differ from the latter in being conventionalized in relation to reported discourse. That is, either they are not used in other contexts at all or they lack (fully or partially) the feature of reference to an utterance when no representation of reported discourse is adjacent. Consider, for instance, *be like* in English, as in (8), as an example of a quotative.

(8) *And he’s like, “That’s great!”*

Güldemann (2008) provides a detailed classification of quotatives. Thus, syntactically, quotatives can be either predicative or nonpredicative elements. Morphosyntactically, predicative quotatives may behave as regular verbs and are then classified as QUOTATIVE VERBS. Those predicative quotatives that do not fully qualify for the status of verb in a given language are referred to as QUOTATIVE PREDICATORS. Nonpredicative quotatives do not show any properties characteristic of verbs in a given language. When a quote is in complementation relation to some higher clause, viz. a clause-level quotative index, nonpredicative quotatives marking such a quote are called QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENTIZERS. When the relation of a quote to the adjacent clause-level quotative index is not that of complementation but of some type of clause

linking as is the case in Mande (cf. Section 1),⁹ nonpredicative quotatives marking such a quote can be referred to as QUOTATIVE CLAUSE LINKING MARKERS.¹⁰ Finally, non-predicative quotatives that do not relate the quote to a clause-level quotative index form a leftover category of QUOTATIVE MARKERS. Importantly, the same quotative form can be construed in more than one way in a given language depending on the construction it enters.¹¹ Let us briefly consider each type of quotatives and the ways they are typically differentiated in Mande (2.2-2.6).

2.2. *Quotatives in Mande: quotative verbs*

Quotative verbs are verbs used to signal the occurrence of reported discourse and whose “utterance’ meaning is partially or completely absent in other predicative contexts or [...] they have no use at all outside a QI [Quotative Index]” (Güldemann 2008:12). They are similar to regular verbs in their structural coding and behavioral potential. In Mande, this implies that they can be marked for tense, aspect, mood, and polarity.¹² The clause containing a quotative verb can also be introduced by various CLMs that cannot introduce the quote on their own. Furthermore, quotative verbs require an overt subject, since subjects are obligatorily realized in Mande. The semantic role of such a subject is always the source of the reported discourse so that it can be referred to as SPEAKER. Finally, quotative verbs are always used intransitively in Mande¹³ and licence a postpositional phrase expressing the addressee of the reported discourse.

⁹ I would expect that similarly to Mande, semantically the clause linking relation involved is always that of elaboration, or some other kind of addition (in terms of Dixon 2009). However, to verify this hypothesis more data are needed from other languages with quotative clause linking markers.

¹⁰ Quotative clause linking markers are not mentioned as a possible type of quotatives by Güldemann (2008), who speaks only about “sentential complementation outside of the traditional domain of narrow reported speech”, and in accordance with that, about complementizers (2008:14).

¹¹ In other words, identity of form does not necessarily entail identity of “underlying” structure or function (cf. Croft 2010).

¹² In Mande, these categories tend to be expressed syncretically. At the same time, it is not uncommon for the respective morphology to be distributed within a clause (cf. Bearth 1995, 2009, Kastenholz 2003, 2006). Typically, this morphology consists of the so-called predicative markers (auxiliary-like morphemes immediately following the subject), verbal inflection (segmental and/or suprasegmental), and sometimes also clause-final particles and various secondary operators occupying different slots within the clause structure.

¹³ In Mande, intransitive constructions (SVX) are clearly distinguished from transitive ones (AOVX) in that the latter obligatory contain a direct object in the immediately preverbal position (minimally, a dummy pronoun). Both the transitivity status and the semantic role of the subject of quotative verbs are just facts of Mande. There is no logical requirement for these properties to be this way.

A language may have several quotative verbs. Thus, according to the description in Diagona (1995), Soninke (Western, Northeastern; Mali) distinguishes four such verbs depending on who is the source of the (direct or indirect) reported discourse, viz. (i) *dáalí* when the source is God, (ii) *jáabì* when it is a prophet, a Muslim scholar or a knowledgeable person,¹⁴ (iii) *máaxù* when it is a generally respected and older person or (iv) *tí*¹⁵, which is a default quotative verb that can be applied to anyone. The same form *tí* also functions as a quotative CLM. Example (9) illustrates the quotative verb *tí* which is marked for TAM, and in its second occurrence, licences a postpositional phrase expressing the addressee of the reported discourse.

- (9) *O Yinmanke-n tí, “Jaajifunce haqe danqanaaxu me ga*
 1PL chief-DEF QV[PFV] grass(sp.):seed amount faith equal COND
axa maxa, axa ga na tí yittinje danja, “Doof=an nan
 2PL with 2PL COND FUT QV[PFV] tree:trunk for uproot=2SG SUBJ
daga lori geeji noxo-n ja”...
 go plant sea inside-DEF in
 ‘And the Lord said, “If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this [sycamine] tree, ‘Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea’ [; and it should obey you”]’ (Luke 17:6 via <http://www.asawan.org/Documents/Luka-1.htm>)

The first instance of *tí* in (9) where the speaker is *o Yinmanken* ‘the Lord (litt.: ‘our chief’)’ also shows that *tí* is a default quotative verb that can be used instead of the specialized honorific quotative verbs, such as *dáalí* in (10). Note that *tí* in (10) is a quotative CLM.

- (10) *Alla daali i kitaabe-n noxo-n di tí...*
 God QV[PFV] 3SG book-DEF inside-DEF in CLM
 ‘God said in his book that...’ (Smeltzer & Smeltzer, no date)

2.3. Quotatives in Mande: quotative predicators

Quotative predicators are predicative elements similar to quotative verbs that cannot be classified as full-fledged verbs in a given language (cf. Güldemann 2008:15). In descriptions, they are often called defective verbs precisely because they deviate from canonical verbs in various respects. In the Mande context, this implies that such a

¹⁴ In the non-quotative use, the verb *jáabì* means ‘answer’.

¹⁵ According to Diagona (1995), the tone of this verb is opposite to the preceding tone.

quotative cannot be marked for tense, aspect, mood, and/or polarity.¹⁶ Its similarity to canonical verbs can manifest itself in a number of ways. Thus, for the quotative to be a predicator it minimally needs to be preceded by a nominal argument encoding the speaker, which is comparable to the obligatory subject of a canonical intransitive verb. This requirement can be violated only when the quotative is inflected for person-number, as for instance the Tura quotative predicator *wò* ‘3PL.QP’ in (11).

- (11) *Wò* *ɓáàǣ* *tó=ò* *tó* *kwí=ǎ*
 3PL.QP person all=SUBJ become white.man=PP
 ‘They say that everybody must become like whites’ (DG)

It should be noted that, as such, the presence of a preposed nominal argument encoding the speaker is not a sufficient indicator that the quotative is a predicator, since such a quotative can also be construed as an adposition, i.e. something comparable to English *according to N*, as in *According to Peter, John is not coming*.

We have an additional argument in favour of the predicator (and against the adpositional) analysis when the quotative also licences a subsequent postpositional phrase expressing the addressee of the reported discourse.¹⁷ Consider, for instance, the Bamana quotative *kó* in (12), which is not marked (and cannot be marked) for TAM, cannot be negated, is preceded by a nominal argument encoding the speaker and followed by a postpositional phrase expressing the addressee.

- (12) *Á* *kó* *ń* *mà*, “*Nǎ yàn!*”
 3SG QP 1SG to come here
 ‘S/he said/says to me, “Come here!”’

¹⁶ Quotative predicators are regularly deficient on all of these categories together, which may have something to do with the fact that they tend to be expressed syncretically in Mande. In fact, the only “exception” I am aware of concerns the possibility to use the quotative predicator *kó* (and the like) in various varieties of the Manding dialect continuum with a so-called past tense marker, such as *tùn* in Bamana. However, strictly speaking, the semantics of this marker is not temporal (or at least not only temporal) and it is not characteristic of a predication but rather of the utterance as a whole (cf. Idiatov 2000 on *tùn* in Bamana). Following Plungian & van der Auwera (2006), a better term for this marker is discontinuous past which is “roughly characterizable as ‘past and not present’ or ‘past with no present relevance’”.

¹⁷ The presence of a postpositional phrase expressing the addressee following the quotative can, with a high degree of certainty, be construed as a verbal feature because to the best of my knowledge, only canonical verbs (sometimes, also when overtly nominalized) can licence such a postposed argument in Mande. Of course, the argument goes only way. That is, the impossibility to use a subsequent postpositional phrase does not tell us that the element in question is not a verb (or at least, a predicator), since it is not the case that all verbs licence a subsequent postpositional phrase.

Finally, for the quotative to be a predicator it is expected that it is possible to introduce it by means of some CLM that cannot introduce the quote on its own.¹⁸ This criterion can be applied even to quotatives such as the Tura quotative predicator *yè* ‘2SG.QP, 3SG.QP’. Thus, as illustrated in (13), although *yè* can be used without a preposed nominal argument encoding the speaker and does not licence a subsequent postpositional phrase expressing the addressee, it can be introduced by a CLM *lè* ‘and, then’.

- (13) *Lè (bùù) yè (*à nè): Gbǣǣ*
 CLM goat 3SG.QP 3SG.NON<SBJ> to dog
 ‘[“Goat, wait till I ask you the last question. Who is your best friend?”] And (the goat) said (*to him), “The dog”’ (CO).

In other constructions, both the Tura quotatives in (11) and (13) and the Bamana one in (12) can be construed as quotative CLMs (cf. 2.4 and 3.5); the Bamana form also as a quotative marker (cf. example 14).

2.4. *Quotatives in Mande: quotative clause linking markers*

Quotative CLMs are nonpredicative quotatives marking the presence of a quote whose syntactic relation to the adjacent clause-level quotative index is that of some type of clause linking, as in (5) from Jula of Samatiguila. In texts, the reported discourse introduced by quotative CLMs tends to be framed as indirect.¹⁹

Phonologically, a quotative CLM can be integrated into the quotative index to its left or into the quote to its right. For instance, both possibilities are attested for the quotative CLM *kó* in Bamana. Thus, especially when the reported discourse that follows *kó* is direct, *kó* may be followed by a pause, its vowel lengthened and a falling tone superimposed. This is the pattern characteristic of non-final pauses in Bamana. In allegro speech, the consonant of *kó* can be lenited to [ɣ] (after an oral vowel) or [g] (after a nasal). Alternatively, the prosodic border and potentially a pause can precede *kó*, so that any preceding downdrift is blocked and the tone register is reestablished. Furthermore, if *kó* is followed by a vowel, the vowel of *kó* will be regularly fully

¹⁸ The usability of this criterion is hampered by the lack of the necessary examples in some descriptions.

¹⁹ Judging from Güldemann (2008:167), cross-linguistically, this is also a common tendency for quotative complementizers. Given that Güldemann (2008) does not distinguish quotative complementizers and quotative CLMs, it is not immediately clear from his data whether the same holds true for quotative CLMs, although I strongly suspect it does, since these two kinds of quotatives are both clause relators, and therefore, are expected to go together with a stronger syntactic integration between the quotative index and the quote.

assimilated to the latter, as in ...*kó í ká nà* → ...*kí í ká nà* ‘[He said] that you should come’.

Creissels (2009:36, 183) reports that in Maninka of Kita, which belongs to the same Manding dialect continuum as Bamana, a clause boundary needs to be posited before the quotative CLM *kó* even in the absence of any pause because *kó* blocks low tone spread.

2.5. Quotatives in Mande: quotative markers

The last type of quotatives to be considered are quotative markers. This is a leftover category including non-predicative quotatives that do not relate the quote to a clause-level quotative index. Good examples of quotative markers are Mwan (Southeastern Mande, Southern; Ivory Coast) sentence-initial *dɔ̃ɔ̃*, which is also a CLM, and Bamana *kó* (14), which can also function as a CLM or a predicator. I do not know of any dedicated quotative marker in Mande.

Bamana

- (14) *Kó (*à mà) (*kó) à táá-rá*
 QM 3SG to CLM 3SG go-PFV
 ‘S/he / they / we / I / you said / say(s) (*to him) (*that) s/he went’

3. Agreement paradigms

3.1. The languages: an overview

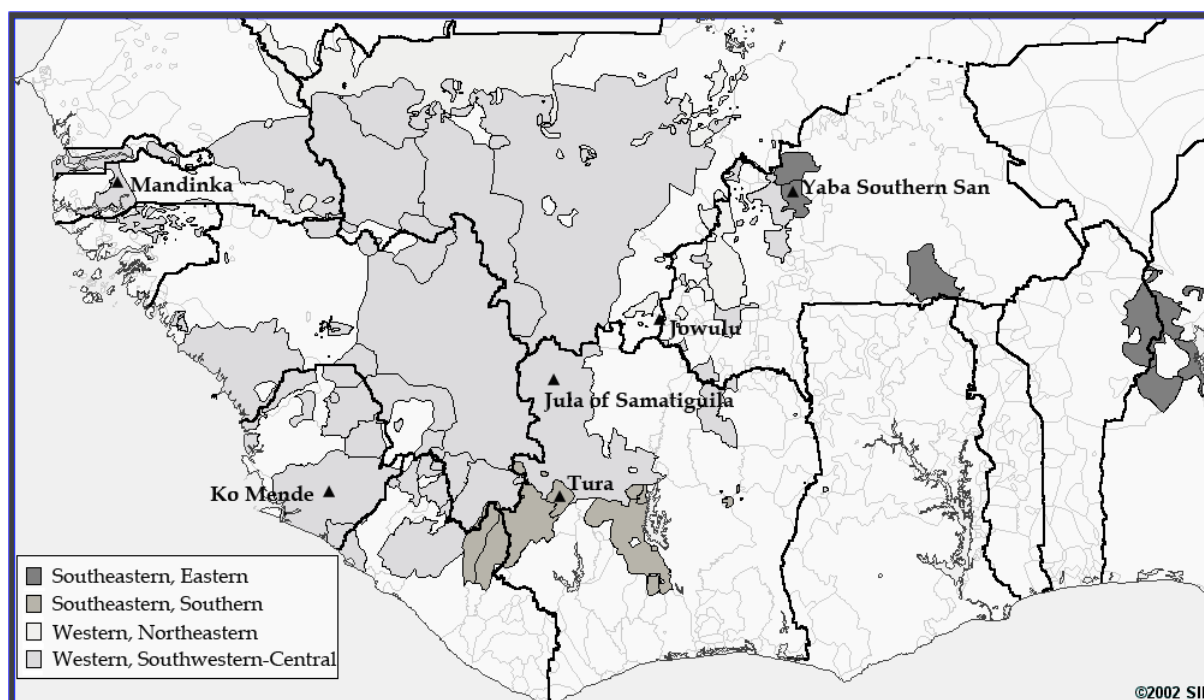
A survey of the available descriptions of Mande languages has revealed unambiguous examples of person-number agreement on CLMs in five languages from the two major branches of the Mande family, viz. Western and Southeastern Mande. These languages are summarized in (15). For each language I give its genealogical classification within Mande, the country where it is spoken, the principle source I used and the section in which the data are subsequently presented.

- (15) a. Jula of Samatiguila (Western, Southwestern-Central, Central, Manding; Ivory Coast; Braconnier 1987-88; cf. 3.2)
 b. Jowulu (Western, Northeastern, Samogo; Mali and Burkina Faso; Carlson 1993; cf. 3.3)
 c. the Yaba dialect of Southern San (Southeastern, Eastern; Burkina Faso; Paré 1998; cf. 3.4)
 d. Tura (Southeastern, Southern; Ivory Coast; Bearth 1971; cf. 3.5)

- e. the Ko dialect of Mende (Western, Southwestern-Central, Southwestern; Sierra Leone; Innes 1971; cf. 3.6)

In addition to these five languages, some dialects of Mandinka (Western, Southwestern-Central, Central, Manding; Gambia, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau) as described by Creissels (1983) and discussed in Section 3.7 can be analyzed as having person-number agreement on the quotative CLM as well. However, I have not included Mandinka in the list in (15) because it is most likely that an alternative analysis in terms of morphophonologically conditioned allomorphy is preferable. Map 1 shows the approximate locations of Mandinka and the languages listed in (15).

Map 1. *Mande languages with agreement on CLMs (plus Mandinka) (the source map is adapted from Vydrine, Bergman & Benjamin 2000)*



The controller of the agreement on the CLM is always the subject of the main clause in Jowulu and Southern San. In Jula of Samatiguila and Tura, the controller can also be a non-subject element when it expresses the source of the reported discourse²⁰ (cf. example (6) in Section 1 and Sections 3.2 and 3.5). The agreement with such a non-subject element is optional in Tura and obligatory in Jula of Samatiguila. In Mandinka, provided we follow the (less likely) analysis in terms of agreement rather

²⁰ Similarly to Güldemann (2008:4-10), reported discourse here is understood broadly and also includes “texts that were never actually uttered like so-called ‘internal speech’, or in general any representation of cognitive acts or states”.

than allomorphy, the controller is never the subject but always the oblique argument expressing the addressee of the reported discourse.

3.2. *Jula of Samatiguila*

According to the description in Braconnier (1987-88), the quotative CLM in Jula of Samatiguila obligatory agrees in person with a controller in the main clause. Thus, with the second and third person controllers it has the form *kò*, whereas with the first person controller it has the form *nkò* /*ŋgò*/ where the agreement is marked by *n-*. The controller in the main clause is the element that expresses the source of the reported discourse. Usually, it is the subject, as in (16-17).

- (16) a. *Ń / Ān náà á fɔ-rà n-kò Sěkù tè shòn*
 1SG/ 1PL PFV 3SG say-PFV 1-CLM PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘I/We said (it) that Seku will not agree’ (Braconnier 1987-88:49, 51)
- b. *Mùsà / Ī náà á fɔ-rà kò Sěkù tè shòn*
 PROP / 2SG PFV 3SG say-PFV [NON<1>]CLM PROP IPFV.NEG agree
 ‘Musa/You said (it) that Seku will not agree’ (Braconnier 1987-88:48, 50)
- (17) a. *Ń / Ān yè á fě n-kò Sěkù yè tàgà*
 1SG/ 1PL COP 3SG at 1-CLM PROP SUBJ go
 ‘I/We want (lit.: ‘I/We are at it’) that Seku goes away’ (Braconnier 1987-88:49, 51)
- b. *Mùsà / Ī yè á fě kò Sěkù yè tàgà*
 PROP / 2SG COP 3SG at [NON<1>]CLM PROP SUBJ go
 ‘Musa/You want(s) (lit.: ‘Musa is/You are at it’) that Seku goes away’
 (Braconnier 1987-88:48, 51)

However, it can also be an oblique, as in (6) and (18).

- (18) *Wò lé tén fɔ-nìn ǎn bòrò n-kò byè yè ná bí*
 DEM FOC PST say-PTCP.PFV 1PL by 1-CLM all IPFV come today
 ‘It was asked by us that everybody comes today’ (Braconnier 1987-88:55)

The only case where the object of a transitive verb may be said to encode the source of the reported discourse, and correspondingly, to be the controller is the naming construction as in (19).²¹

²¹ In principle, in this naming construction *kò* could equally be analyzed not as a CLM but as a nominal relator similar to case markers and adpositions. However, given that the latter analysis does not add anything to the description and only makes it more complex, I prefer to uphold the analysis of the proper name introduced by *kò* as a clause and of *kò* itself as a CLM. In this respect, compare

- (19) *Ǻn náà á tǔgǔ là-rà n-kǔ / kǔ Mùsà*
 1PL PFV 3SG name put-PFV 1-CLM/ [NON<1>]CLM PROP
 ‘We named him Musa’ (Braconnier 1987-88:57)

According to Braconnier (1987-88:56-57), the marking of agreement on *kǔ* is optional in this naming construction. However, I believe that what (19) actually shows is not the freedom in use of the agreement morphology on *kǔ* but the freedom in choice of the controller for the otherwise obligatory agreement. Thus, there are two possible sources of the reported discourse (i.e., the name *Mùsà*) in (19) and consequently two possible controllers of the agreement on *kǔ*. The first one is obviously the name-giver expressed by the subject *Ǻn* ‘1PL’ which triggers the first person agreement marker *n-* on *kǔ*. The second one is the object *á tǔgǔ* ‘his name’ which triggers the unmarked non-first person form *kǔ*. In the latter case, a more literal translation of (19) would be something like ‘We gave him the name that (says) Musa’. In this respect, compare (20).

- (20) *Ǻ tǔgǔ kǔ Mùsà*
 1SG name [NON<1>]CLM PROP
 ‘My name is Musa’ (lit.: ‘My name (is the one) that (says) Musa’) (Braconnier 1989:882)²²

3.3. Jowulu

In Jowulu, “the complementizer [in fact, the CLM] *tú*, which derives from the verb *tú* ‘say’, carries what appears to be a concordial prefix [*n-*] when the subject is first or second person” (Carlson 1993:27), as in (21) as opposed to (22).

- (21) *MǺ mǔ-ị n-tú ŋáá tírí*
 1SG 3SG.NON<HUM>.say-PRF NON<3>-CLM 1SG.LOG.FUT go\FUT
 ‘I said that I will go’ (Carlson 1993:72)
- (22) *Ǻ mǔ-ị tú à tírí*
 3SG.HUM.M 3SG.NON<HUM>.say-PFV [3]CLM 3SG.LOG go[PRF]
 ‘He_i said that he_i went’ (Carlson 1993:72)

Matushansky (2008) who argues that in many languages, including English, the proper name in a naming construction functions as a “nominal small clause”.

²² Although in principle, *kǔ* here could also be analyzed as a copula or as a quotative predicator, I prefer to consider it as a CLM largely for the same reasons as in the case of the naming construction in (19). Note as well that in many other varieties of the Manding dialect continuum, such as Bamana, a (equational) copula is still possible before *kǔ* in such a construction, although even in these varieties it tends to be omitted.

Carlson's account of the CLM *tú*, however, appears to be somewhat incomplete. First, I suppose that *n-* on the CLM marks agreement only with the singular first and second person subjects and not with the plural ones. The reason is that the agreement morphology on the CLMs in Mande has pronominal origin (cf. Section 4) and among the Jowulu first and second person pronominals, only the singular forms contain a nasal, as in the reflexive-logophoric pronominal series which is the most likely source of the agreement morphology on the CLM *tú* in Jowulu and which is reproduced in Table 1.

Table 1. *Jowulu reflexive-logophoric pronouns (Carlson 1993:26)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>ɲ̃</i>	<i>yì</i>
2	<i>ɲ̃</i>	<i>á</i>
3	<i>à</i>	<i>àrì</i>

Unfortunately, Carlson (1993) does not provide examples with plural controllers and I was not able to verify this point with him directly.

Second, as can be deduced from the comparison of (21) to (23), the agreement on the CLM *tú* is restricted to certain types of predicates in the main clause.

- (23) *Mí ñámɛ-í tú wáá ná*
 1SG 3SG.NON<HUM>.hear-PRF CLM 3SG.HUM.M.FUT come\FUT
 'I heard that he will come' (Carlson 1993:64)

Presumably, these are only the predicates whose subject is also the source of the reported discourse, such as *bì* '(vt) say, think', as in (21-22), but not for instance *dámɛ* '(vt) hear, understand', as in (23). In this respect, compare the situation in the Yaba dialect of Southern San discussed in Section 3.4.

Finally, in the examples in (Carlson 1993) many clauses are linked without the CLM *tú*. It is not clear whether the lack of the CLM is obligatory or optional. In the examples with the verb *tú* '(vi, sometimes vt) say, think', the presumed source of the CLM, the CLM is always missing, as in (24), presumably because it would be redundant.

- (24) *Nî ñ-tù-à ú tírì-ì*
 3SG.HUM.M.PRS 3SG.NON<HUM>-think-PRS 3SG.HUM.M go-PRF
 'She thinks he has gone (lit.: 'She thinks it, he has gone')' (Carlson 1993:18)

3.4. The Yaba dialect of Southern San

According to Paré (1998:101), the CLM in the Yaba dialect of Southern San has two forms: (i) *wā̀*, used only when the clause expresses an order and the subject of the main clause is first person plural, as in (25), (ii) *mà*, used elsewhere, as in (26).

- (25) *Wš lē dīà wō-ā dī lā wā̀ à dà ñ*
 1PL mouth send\PFV 1PL-POSS father PP 1PL.CLM 3SG come\PFV REFL
dš wš lé
 attach\PFV 1PL PP
 ‘We called our father so that he comes and helps us’ (Paré 1998:102)

- (26) *Lš lè bīŋ pè Bōjō nī mà à dāā*
 woman DEF EXPER.PRF say\PFV PROP PP NON<1PL>.CLM 3SG come
 ‘The woman has already told Boyo that he should come’ (Paré 1998:102)

However, a somewhat different system emerges from the numerous examples of clause linking provided by Paré (1998). First of all, as summarized in Table 2, 1SG (27-28) and 3PL (29) subjects in the main clause can trigger special agreement forms of the CLM as well.

Table 2. *Person-number agreement on the CLM in the Yaba dialect of Southern San (based on Paré 1998)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>mā(à)/mà</i>	<i>wā̀</i>
2	<i>mà</i>	<i>mà</i>
3	<i>mà</i>	<i>mā̀</i>

- (27) ...*māŋ pīī nī mā wō-ā bḕ̀̀ bā̀̀̀ wā̀*
 1SG.PROG say\IPFV 3SG.PP 1SG.CLM 1PL-POSS pant:PL EXIST.NEG NEG
 ‘[When our mother comes back] I’m going to tell her that we do not have pants’
 (Paré 1998:66)

- (28) *Māŋ gī̀̀̀ mā̀̀̀ ñ wṑ̀̀*
 1SG.PROG look.for\IPFV 1SG.CLM 2SG go
 ‘I want that you go’ (Paré 1998:51)

- (29) *N̄ nè gīè mǎà k̄á jáá wó*
 3PL PROG look.for\IPFV 3PL.CLM 2PL laugh carry
 ‘They want that you laugh’ (Paré 1998:51)

As compared to Paré’s explicit description, the paradigm in Table 2 has a lower degree of syncretism.

The second observation that can be made is that the CLM agrees with the subject of main clauses with desiderative predicates, such as ‘want’ in (28-29), and utterance predicates, as in (27), especially the manipulative ones, such as ‘call, tell somebody to do something’ as in (25-26). There is no agreement after main clauses with predicates whose subject is not the source of the reported discourse, such as *mǎ* ‘(vt) hear, get to know, learn’, as in (30). Actually, a CLM is rarely used after clauses with such predicates anyway (cf. Paré 1998:103). In this respect, recall a similar situation in Jowulu (Section 3.3).

- (30) *Wǎá rē mīē mà á gā*
 1PL.HAB FUT hear\IPFV CLM 3SG.PFV die\PFV
 ‘We will learn that he died’ (Paré 1998:103)

3.5. Tura

Bearth (1971:432) distinguishes a series of “pronouns” in Tura, summarized in Table 3, that introduce reported discourse and refer to the person who is the source of the latter, as in (31-32). The paradigm in Table 3 is well differentiated. The only case of syncretism occurs in the cells for 2SG and 3SG, viz. *yè*.

Table 3. *Tura (the Nao dialect) quotative “pronouns”* (Bearth 1971:432)

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

- (31) *ǎ nú-ú ké ǎ à gélà wó má*
 1SG.I_b come\PFV-PFV CLM 1SG.SUBJ 3SG.NON<SBJ> request do 1SG.CLM
è ń = bǎ wééé fai boo
 3SG.SUBJ 1SG.NON<SBJ>=POSS money change
 ‘I came to ask him to change my money’ (Bearth 1971:433)

- (32) *Kó nú-ú ké kó wíí í nè kó*
 1PL.I_b come\PFV-PFV CLM 1PL.SUBJ say 2SG.NON<SBJ> PP 1PL.CLM
òè kó=à wééé fàì bòò
 2SG.IMP 1PL.NON<SBJ>=POSS money change
 ‘We came to tell you to change our money’ (Bearth 1971:433)

Unlike other pronouns, however, they are said to function “à l’instar des conjonctions, comme marques de propositions ou de phrases” [similarly to conjunctions, like markers of clauses or sentences] (Bearth 1971:432). In accordance with their function, a more adequate label for the quotative pronouns *má* and *kó* in (31-32) is quotative CLMs. The same forms can also function as quotative predicators (see further in the present section). The quotative CLMs in Tura are used after main clauses with utterance predicates, propositional attitude and epistemic modality predicates, as well as desiderative predicates and sometimes predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge. Elsewhere, either a different non-agreeing CLM *ké* is used or constructions that do not require a CLM.

As a quotative CLM, the syncretic 2SG/3SG form *yè* can be used instead of all other person-number forms. For instance, in (33) *yè* is used instead of *ká* and in (34) instead of *wò*, the expected 2PL and 3PL forms of the CLM respectively.

- (33) *Ká wíí-í yè kó à pé wèè*
 2PL.I_c say\COND-COND CLM 1PL.SUBJ 3SG.NON<SBJ> say Tura
wòò gí...
 language\IZF PP
 ‘If you (PL) say that we should speak in Tura...’ (DG)

- (34) ...*ké wò wíí yè vraiment ká=à wún é*
 CLM 3PL.SUBJ say CLM really_{French} 2PL.NON<SBJ>=POSS thing this
à líá ké kó gí...
 3SG.NON<SBJ> pleasure PM.I_b 1PL.NON<SBJ> PP
 ‘...that they say, ‘Really, we like your thing’ ...’ (DG)

When the same forms function as quotative predicators, as in (35-36), *yè* cannot freely replace them.

- (35) *Wò báàè tó=ò tó kwí=á*
 3PL.QP person all=SUBJ become white.man=PP
 ‘They say that everybody must become like whites’ (DG)

- (36) *Ká à má-à téé gí wò gwìlì=í dàà*
 2PL.I_a 3SG.NON<SBJ> hear-FUT moment PP 3PL.QP war=PRF enter
ká gwílé yòó múú wó-à
 2PL.NON<SBJ> belly 3SG.NEG.SUBJ fear do-FUT
 ‘When you hear (it, they say) a war has begun, don’t be afraid (lit.: ‘your belly should not fear’)’ (Bearth 1971:302-303)

The controller of the agreement on quotative CLMs is the element in the main clause that expresses the source of the reported discourse. Usually, it is the subject, as in (31-32), but it can also be an oblique, as in (37) and (38). It cannot be an object for the simple reason that in Tura no transitive verb encodes the source of the reported discourse as its object. There is no naming construction with a quotative CLM comparable to that of Jula of Samatiguila in (19), where the direct object can be interpreted as the source of the reported discourse.

- (37) *È ń gí má é wùù=ú pé yè=á láà,*
 3SG.I_b 1SG.NON<SBJ> PP 1SG.CLM 3SG.I_a speech=FOC say NMLZ=PP TM
è tò-ó à tà, wúnló ké tó-à sè=á
 3SG.I_c stay\COND-COND 3SG.NON<SBJ> PP everything PM.I_b stay-FUT good=PP
 ‘I think (lit.: ‘It is in me’) that if she keeps her promise, everything will be fine’
 (CO)

- (38) *...à nàà ké dàà-á àñ yàá wò é*
 3SG.NON<SBJ> limit PM.I_b enter\PFV-PFV 3PL.NON<SBJ> PP 3PL.CLM 3SG.I_a
núú wíí-à nà wó lè wó=á lè
 PST say-IPFV with 3PL.NON<SBJ>.LOG FOC 3PL.NON<SBJ>.LOG=PP TM
 ‘[And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard his parables,] they understood (lit.: ‘its essence entered them’) that he was speaking about them’
 (NTMAT:21.45)

Unlike in Jula of Samatiguila (3.2), agreement with the non-subject source of the reported discourse in (37) and (38) in Tura is not obligatory. Syntactic agreement with the subject is always possible, as in (39) which can be compared to (37), and in texts it actually appears to be more common.

- (39) *È ñ gí yè méè=é ká sèikwé é*
 3SG.I_b 1SG.NON<SBJ> PP 3SG.CLM man=FOC 2PL.I_a paper this
à wùù pé-ì é...
 3SG.NON<SBJ> speech\IZF say-PROG TM
 ‘I think (lit.: ‘It is in me’) that you all who are reading this story [want to find out the monkey’s secret]’ (CO)

3.6. The Ko dialect of Mende

The Ko dialect of Mende has a set of quotatives marked for person-number (Table 4) that can function as CLMs or predicators.

Table 4. *The quotatives in the Ko dialect of Mende (Innes 1971:139)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>ngê</i>	<i>mê</i>
2	<i>bê</i>	<i>wê</i>
3	<i>yè</i>	<i>tê</i>

Examples (40-41) illustrate the use of quotative CLMs in Mende. In (41), the controller of the agreement is the implicit subject of the imperative.

- (40) *Ngí ndé-ìlò ngì má ngê í wá*
 1SG 3SG.say-PST 3SG.POSS on 1SG.CLM 3SG.SUBJ come
 ‘I told him to come’ (lit.: ‘I said it to him that he should come’)’ (Innes 1971:139)
- (41) *Ndé ngì má bê í wá*
 3SG.say 3SG.POSS to 2SG.CLM 3SG.SUBJ come
 ‘Tell him to come (lit.: ‘(You) say it to him that he should come’)’ (Innes 1971:139)

3.7. Mandinka

Similarly to other varieties of the Manding dialect continuum, which also includes Jula of Samatiguila considered in 3.2, Mandinka has a quotative CLM *kó*. The same form can also function as a quotative predicator. Both uses are illustrated in (42).

- (42) *À kó ñ yé kó à làfí-tá táá lá*
 3SG QP 1PL to CLM 3SG want-PFV go PP
 ‘He said to us that he wanted to go’ (Creissels 1983:185)

Creissels (1983:185) notes that in some dialects of Mandinka, in examples like (42) with the addressee *n̄* 1PL or *n̄* 1SG, a nasal appears at the junction of the postposition *yé* and the CLM *kó*, which, I assume, phonologically is /j̄pɛŋkó/ for ‘[he said] to me that...’ and /j̄pɛŋkó/ for ‘[he said] to us that...’. However, Creissels finds it difficult to decide whether the nasal goes with the postposition *yé*, which in several dialects has the forms *yéŋ* or *ɲéŋ*, or with *kó*. In the former case, we are dealing with an example of morphophonologically conditioned allomorphy in the form of a postposition. In the latter case, it is in principle possible to analyze the nasal as the marker of agreement with the oblique argument expressing the addressee of the reported discourse. However, this analysis depends on many assumptions which cannot be clarified with the data available.²³ Furthermore, at least historically, the morphophonologically conditioned allomorphy in the form of the postposition is clearly the source of the observed pattern. This is supported by (i) the existence of dialectal forms of the postposition with an unconditioned final nasal,²⁴ (ii) the fact that the postposition *yé* in Mandinka is realized as *ɲé* only after *n̄* 1SG and *n̄* 1PL (cf. Rowlands 1959:10-12), i.e. the initial nasal of the postposition in this context can favor the preservation of its final nasal, (iii) the fact that semantically, it is very unlikely for an oblique encoding the addressee of the reported discourse to become a controller of the agreement on a CLM.

4. Agreement origins

4.1. Verbal quotatives and obligatory pronominal subjects

As discussed in Section 3, in Mande, a given quotative form is often used in a number of functions, both predicative, viz. as a quotative verb or predicator, and non-predicative, viz. as a quotative CLM or marker. This one-to-many form-function mapping is suggestive of some trends in the diachrony of the quotatives in Mande. In particular, the development appears to be from predicative to non-predicative uses. This process can also be framed in terms of downgrading or reduction of the morphosyntactic behavioral potential of the quotatives. In the case of the quotative CLMs considered in Section 3, comparative data points more specifically to verbs (both speech and non-speech ones) as the ultimate source of the quotative CLMs. However, the verbal origin of the quotative CLMs on its own is not sufficient to account for the

²³ Denis Creissels (p.c.) reports that he encountered the form *nkó* only in some published texts. His consultants at the time acknowledged its existence but did not use it themselves. He does not have any other data that could help to clarify the issue.

²⁴ In fact, this postposition can be rather certainly reconstructed with a final nasal for Proto Mande as something like **dɛŋ*, as is further corroborated for instance by such Southern Mande forms as Wan *lɛŋ*, Dan-Gweetaa *dɛ*, and Tura *nɛ*.

possibility of person-number agreement marking as verbs are not indexed for person-number of their nominal arguments in Mande. It is therefore important to add that in Mande (i) subjects are obligatory realized and (ii) pronominal subjects tend to fuse with the functional words following them. Typically, these functional words are the so-called predicative markers, which are obligatory auxiliary-like morphemes with clause constituting function ubiquitous in Mande. For instance, Table 5 summarizes series of subject pronominals resulting from such a fusion of personal pronouns with predicative markers in Tura. The table also presents the corresponding predicative markers used with non-pronominal subjects.

Table 5. *Tura (the Nao dialect) personal pronominals (based on Bearth 1971)*²⁵

	PM	SG				PL			
		1	2	3	3 LOG	1	2	3	3 LOG
Ia	ˊ	ǎ	í		é	kó	ká		wó
Ib	ké	ǎ	í	è	é	kó	ká	wò	wó
Ic	ˋ	á	í	è	é	kó	ká	wò	wó
Id (SUBJ)	ˋ	ǎ	í	è	é	kó, DU kò	ká	wò	wó
II (PRF)	ˊ	mǎ	bǎ/yǎ	à/yà	yǎ/yé	kwéé	kǎǎ	wà	wǎ/wé
III (PROSP)	PRN	mǎǎ	béé/yéé		yéé	kwéé	kǎǎ	wóó	wéé
IV (IMP)	—	—	bè—	—	—	kwǎǎ, DU kwǎ	kǎ	—	—
Va (NEG.IPFV)	-ǎ	mǎǎ	bǎǎ/ yǎǎ/ǎǎ	yǎǎ/ǎǎ	yǎǎ	kwǎǎ	kǎǎ	wǎǎ	wǎǎ
Vb (NEG.PFV)	-ó	móó	bóó/yóó/ wóó/óó	yóó/ wóó/óó	yóó	kóó	kǎó	wóó	wóó
Vc (NEG.SUBJ)	-ó	móó	bóó/yóó/ wóó/óó	yóó/ wóó/óó	—	kóó	kǎó	wóó	—

In texts, the subjects of quotative verbs or predicators are typically pronominal, since their referents tend to be introduced for the first time by means of a full nominal expression in clauses preceding the quotative index. This frequency of co-occurrence of quotative verbs or predicators with pronominal subjects must be largely responsible for the observed tendency to their univerbation and subsequent fusion.

²⁵ The numbering of series is a reference convention. Their functions are indicated between brackets, except for series Ia, Ib and Ic whose functions cannot be easily substracted from those of the construction in which they are used. A period with a tone mark stands for a copy of the preceding vowel which carries the respective tone. In the prospective, a non-pronominal subject is followed by a corresponding third person form of series III (PRN) which then functions as an agreeing predicative marker.

In what follows, I present the comparative data supporting the pronominal origins of the person-number agreement markers on CLMs considered in Section 3 (4.2) and the evidence for verbal origins of the CLMs themselves (4.3).

4.2. Pronominal sources of the agreement markers

4.2.1. Mende

The clearest piece of evidence for pronominal origins of the person-number agreement markers on quotative CLMs and simultaneously of predicative origins of the CLMs themselves comes from the Kpa dialect of Mende described by Aginsky (1935).²⁶ In Kpa Mende, we can observe the fusion of subject pronouns with a quotative predicator *in vivo*, since in this dialect of Mende quotatives can appear in two forms. The most common form, where the pronoun is fused with the predicator, Table 6, is almost identical to the paradigm that was presented for Ko Mende in Section 3.6. The two paradigms differ only in their 1PL forms, viz. *múè* in Kpa Mende and *mê* in Ko Mende.

Table 6. *The fused quotatives of Kpa Mende (Aginsky 1935:75)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>ngê</i>	<i>múè</i>
2	<i>bê</i>	<i>wê</i>
3	<i>yè</i>	<i>tê</i>

Unlike in the Ko dialect, the fused quotatives in Kpa Mende appear to function only as predicators as can be deduced from the fact that, for instance, in (43), unlike in (40-41), the 3SG form *yè* introduces a postpositional phrase expressing the addressee of the reported discourse, which is a verbal feature in Mende (cf. 2.3).

- (43) *Kè súgbù gbáwò-ngà bé yè hàgbé má...*
 then lion growl-PRF even 3SG.QP rabbit to
 ‘Then Lion growled to Rabbit [: “What are you doing here?”]’ (Aginsky 1935:101)

The second form, as illustrated in Table 7, consists of two elements, viz. a subject pronoun and the quotative predicator *yè* (see 4.3.1 on other functions of this form and

²⁶ Aginsky (1935) herself does not specify the dialect described. However, such forms as *mbiyá* ‘name’ (1935:15) suggest that the dialect is not Ko but in all probability Kpa.

its etymology). Aginsky (1935:75) calls the forms in Table 7 “uncontracted” and points out that they are used “very rarely”.

Table 7. *The “uncontracted” quotatives of Kpa Mende (based on Aginsky 1935:75-76)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>ŋí yè</i>	<i>mú yè</i>
2	<i>bí yè</i>	<i>wú yè</i>
3	<i>ì yè</i>	<i>tí yè</i>

Thus, the Kpa Mende data provide a clear example of an ongoing fusion of subject pronouns with a predicative quotative. This process has already been completed in Ko Mende where the corresponding fused quotatives can also function as CLMs.

4.2.2. Tura

The Tura quotatives discussed in Section 3.5 are reproduced here in Table 8.

Table 8. *Tura (the Nao dialect) quotatives*

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

The forms in Table 8 bear a striking resemblance to the Tura subject pronominals of series II-V presented earlier in Table 5, which is strongly indicative that they are built on the same pronominal stems as their initial element.

Only the syncretic 2SG/3SG quotative form *yè* departs from the general pattern of the Tura subject pronominals. However, this departure has a rather straightforward diachronic explanation. Thus, historically, *yè* is clearly the 3SG form that has ousted the two original 2SG forms **bɛ́* and **yɛ́*. This is suggested, for instance, by its low tone, which is parallel to that of the 3PL form *wò*. The pattern lower tone with third person (non-logophoric) pronominals vs. higher tone with first and second person pronominals is recurrent in Tura. Presumably, the fact it is the 2SG slot in the paradigm that was overtaken by the 3SG form is due to a combined effect of the formal similarity of the latter to one of the two 2SG forms and the considerably higher token frequency

of the 3SG form. In this respect, note also the partial syncretism between 2SG and 3SG forms of subject pronominals in several other paradigms in Table 5.

A reflex of the 2SG form **bé* can be found in the prospective 2SG subject pronominal *béè* in Table 5. The link between the quotative and the prospective is much clearer in the eastern dialects of Tura, such as Gwao, where the prospective is expressed by means of the construction [a quotative + *ké* ‘this’ + a corresponding subject pronoun of an extra-low toned series that does not exist in the Nao dialect]. For instance, consider the prospective construction in the Gwao dialect, as spoken in the village of Gbonné, summarized in Table 9 (alternative forms are separated by slashes).

Table 9. *The prospective construction in the Gwao dialect of Gbonné*

	SG	PL
1	<i>mââ + V / má kââ (má ké à) + V</i>	<i>kôô + V / kó ké kò + V</i>
2	<i>bîî + V / béè + V / yè kîî (yè ké ì) + V</i>	<i>kââ + V / ká ké kà + V</i>
3	<i>yéè + V / yè ké è + V</i>	<i>wôô + V / wò ké wò + V</i>

The development of a prospective construction out of a quotative construction is not uncommon elsewhere in Mande either (e.g., in Bamana and Loko).²⁷

In the Nao dialect, the 2SG form **yé* has been preserved as the similitive preposition ‘as, like’ and a (non-quotative) CLM ‘that’ in the construction *à tó yé* ‘the fact is (being) that P’ (lit.: ‘it has become that P’) and as the first part of the similitive circumpositional construction *yé N PP* ‘as, like N’, where typically the postposition is *nè* ‘to, for, for the reason of’.²⁸ The development from a quotative to a similitive marker is attested elsewhere in Mande. For instance, in Bamana quotative constructions *í kó* ‘you say’ (2SG QP) or *í n’â fɔ* ‘you will say’ (2SG FUT:3SG say) are regularly used as similitive markers.

²⁷ Prospective pronominal series, formally similar to that of Tura, are also found in several varieties of Dan (another Southern Mande language spoken immediately to the west of Tura), such as Gwèèta Dan (Vydrine & Mognan 2008:25-26) and Kla Dan (Makeeva 2008). This suggests that Dan also used to have quotative predicators inflected for person-number. I found no evidence of the clause linking use of these quotatives in Dan.

²⁸ With *nè* following the nominal, *yé* can be omitted provided the similitive remains the preferred reading of *nè* of the resulting construction.

4.2.3. Jula of Samatiguila

The first person agreement marker *n-* on the CLM *kò* in Jula of Samatiguila (discussed in 3.2) can be compared to the 1SG and 1PL pronouns, presented in Table 10, which are also the only personal pronouns containing a nasal.

Table 10. *The personal pronouns of Jula of Samatiguila (based on Braconier 1989)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>ṅ</i>	<i>ṅn</i>
2	<i>ì</i>	<i>àì</i>
3	<i>á</i>	<i>áí</i>

4.2.4. Jowulu

The most likely source of the non-third person (singular) agreement marker *n-* on the CLM *tú* in Jowulu (3.3) are the 1SG and 2SG pronouns of the reflexive-logophoric pronominal series. As can be observed in Table 11, these two pronouns are also the only pronouns in this series that contain a nasal.

Table 11. *Jowulu reflexive-logophoric pronouns (Carlson 1993:26)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>ṅ</i>	<i>yì</i>
2	<i>ṅ</i>	<i>á</i>
3	<i>à</i>	<i>àrì</i>

4.2.5. Yaba Southern San

The paradigm of quotative CLMs of the Yaba dialect of Southern San discussed in Section 3.4 is reproduced here in Table 12.

Table 12. *Quotative CLMs in Yaba Southern San (based on Paré 1998)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>mā(â)/mâ</i>	<i>wōâ</i>
2	<i>mâ</i>	<i>mâ</i>
3	<i>mâ</i>	<i>māâ</i>

At least the 1PL form *wɔ̃à* bears clear resemblance to the corresponding personal pronoun whose basic (“non-emphatic”) form is *wɔ̃*. Furthermore, the basic forms of *mā* 1SG, *n̄* 2SG and *n̄* 3PL personal pronouns also start with a nasal.

Like in many Mande languages, in Yaba Southern San pronominal subjects tend to fuse with the functional words following them. In the case of the pronominal part of the quotative CLMs, the most likely source seems to be the combination of the (basic) subject pronouns with the perfective predicative marker *nɔ̃* (cf. 4.3.5).

4.3. Verbal sources of the quotatives

4.3.1. Mende

As suggested by the Kpa Mende data considered in 4.2.1, the quotative CLMs of Ko Mende are built on the quotative predicator *yè*. The most likely source of this predicator is *yè* ‘(vi) be.PST’, which following Innes (1971:133), is from *kè/yè* ‘(vt) do, make, cause to be, cause to become’.²⁹ The latter is a reflex of a common Mande generic action verb **kè*. In transitive use, the reflexes of the common Mande verb **kè* regularly translate as ‘do, make, transform’ and in intransitive use as ‘happen, occur, take place; become’ and, especially in non-present and/or non-imperfective constructions, as ‘be (equational or locative)’, as with Bamana *ké* (Western, Southwestern-Central, Central; Mali) or Boko *kē* (Southeastern, Eastern; Benin, Nigeria; Jones 2004). In Southwestern Mande languages, which include Mende, the cognate forms in intransitive use in addition frequently function as quotative verbs and predicators, as Bandi and Looma *ké/yé* (Heydorn 1940-41; Dwyer 1981) and Loko and Kpelle *ké/gé~yé* (Innes 1964; Kimball 1983; Westermann & Melzian 1930). In Gban (Southeastern, Southern; Ivory Coast), the reflex *kè* functions only as (intransitive) quotative verb (Le Saout 1976). The generic action verb use of **kè* appears to be the oldest. Its use as a quotative verb or predicator originates from its inchoative, equational or location uses, which is in line with Güldemann (2008:303-315)’s typological observation that both in Africa and elsewhere, it is not uncommon for equational, inchoative and location verbs to develop quotative uses. The preference of the inchoative, equational and location reflexes of **kè* for non-present and/or non-imperfective constructions, as with Mende *yè* ‘(vi) be.PST’, also squares well with the fact that in texts, quotative predicators derived from them typically function as ‘X said’ rather than ‘X is saying’ or ‘X will say’.

²⁹ The doublet form reflects the initial consonant alternation typical for the languages of the Southwestern Mande group of Western Mande. The rules governing this alternation have little relevance for the present discussion.

4.3.2. Tura

Only indirect evidence can be adduced for the reconstruction of the predicative quotative on which the current quotative predicators and CLMs have been built in Tura. Thus, the similarity between the 3SG quotative *yè* in Tura and the corresponding Mende quotative form *yè* points to the same common Mande generic action verb **kè* as the source of the quotative (cf. 4.3.1).³⁰ However, the Tura forms are clearly separate evolutions, as is suggested, among other things, by the considerable differences in the pronominal stems fused with the quotative.

Given that the evidence for the reconstruction of the original predicative element of the Tura quotatives is only indirect, an alternative hypothesis involving a shift from a regular subject pronominal to a quotative (in the spirit of Güldemann 2008:116-117) could be envisaged. However, this would have been a rather unusual development for Mande languages. Thus, in all the other cases where the etymology of a quotative is more transparent, a clausal structure with a quotative verb or predicator is clearly involved. Furthermore, I do not know of any Mande language for which such an “independent”, quotative use of a regular subject pronominal has been reported.

4.3.3. Jula of Samatiguila

The quotative predicators, quotative CLMs and quotative markers in the Manding dialect continuum, such as Jula of Samatiguila *kò* or Bamana and Mandinka *kó*, can be compared to speech verbs *kù* (PFV)/ *kùè* (IPFV) ‘(vi) speak, talk’ in Jeli (Western, Southwestern-Central, Central; Ivory Coast; Tröbs 1998) and *kó* ‘(vt) say’ in Soninke (Western, Northeastern; Mali; Diagona 1995).³¹

³⁰ The reflex of **kè* that served as the source verb for the quotative has not survived into present-day Tura. The seemingly similar Tura verb *kèè* ‘(vt) do, make, transform; affect; chase; (vi) happen, occur, take place’ appears to belong to a different cognate set, which for Southern Mande can provisionally be reconstructed as **kèlè*, as reflected for instance in Gban *ké* ‘(vi) happen, occur’ (Le Saout 1976) (as opposed to the quotative verb *kè*, which is a reflex of **kè*), Guro *kèlè* ‘(vt) do, make; repair; (vi) become; happen, turn out’ (Kuznetsova & Kuznetsova ms.) and Wan *klé* ‘(vt) chase’ (Nikitina ms.).

³¹ Güldemann (2008:344-345) hypothesizes with respect to the Mandinka quotative *kó* that it has a non-verbal origin as a simulative marker ‘like, as’. However, Güldemann’s hypothesis is contradicted by comparative data. Besides the fact that the Mandinka quotative predicator *kó* has clearly verbal cognates in several other Mande languages, the development from quotative to simulative allows for a much more straightforward account than the reverse change would require in those cases where a clear connection between a quotative and a simulative is attested in Mande (cf. 4.2.2). It should be noted though, that for the present discussion Güldemann’s hypothesis would actually work just as well, since the transition from the simulative to the quotative advocated for by Güldemann would have occurred through a predicative use of the simulative anyway, comparably to English [*he is like* + quote].

4.3.4. Jowulu

In Jowulu, the same form as the quotative CLM *tú* also functions as a quotative verb ‘(vi) say’, a propositional attitude verb ‘(vi) think’, a speech verb ‘(vt) say’, a cognition verb ‘(vt) think’, and a non-speech verb ‘(vi) stay, remain’. It is the non-speech use that is etymologically primary here. This is suggested by the fact that its numerous known cognates in other Mande languages do not have speech meanings. Thus, we find Mandinka *tú* and Bamana *tó* both meaning ‘(vi) stay, remain; continue; (vt) leave, abandon; leave untouched; maintain; allow to continue, let’ and Tura *tó* ‘(vi) stay, remain; continue; be(come) (something, somebody, of some quality – *gǎ*); (vt) leave, let remain; make, transform (into – *gǎ*)’. Furthermore, recall the typological observation by Güldemann (2008) that equational, inchoative and location verbs commonly develop quotative uses.

4.3.5. Yaba Southern San

Similarly to the case of Tura (4.3.2), the high degree of fusion of the original predicative quotative with the pronominal agreement markers leaves us only with indirect evidence for the reconstruction of the predicative quotative. Thus, the forms of the quotative CLMs, reproduced in Table 13, taken together with the semantic evolutions discussed above for the comparable Mende (4.3.1) and Jowulu (4.3.4) quotatives suggest that they result from the fusion of subject pronouns, the perfective predicative marker *né* (cf. Table 14) and a quotative predicator derived from the perfective form of an intransitive generic change of state verb **bāā* (in transitive use, also a generic action verb). The paradigm was subsequently simplified through merger and loss of some of the forms.

Table 13. *Quotative CLMs in Yaba Southern San (based on Paré 1998)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>mā(à)/mà</i>	<i>wōà</i>
2	<i>mà</i>	<i>mà</i>
3	<i>mà</i>	<i>māà</i>

Table 14. *Subject pronouns of the perfective series in Yaba Southern San (based on Paré 1998:38, 40-41)*

	SG	PL
1	<i>má</i> (<* <i>mā nǝ</i>)	<i>wɔ</i> (<* <i>wɔ̄ nǝ</i>)
2	<i>ní</i> (<* <i>n̄ nǝ</i>)	<i>ká</i> (<* <i>kā nǝ</i>)
3	<i>á</i> (<* <i>à nǝ</i>)	<i>nǝ́</i> (<* <i>n̄ nǝ</i>)

The quotative construction with **bāā* must have undergone fusion before the perfective predicative marker *nǝ* was integrated into the personal pronouns resulting in the perfective subject pronominal series presented in Table 14. This assumption is necessary to account for the nasal in the 3SG form of the quotative CLM.

The verb **bāā* seems to have been lost in Yaba Southern San, but its cognates can be found in other (Eastern) Mande languages, such as Toma Southern San *bā* ‘(vi) become’ (Platiel 1974) and Lebir Bisa of Zabré *bá* ‘(vt) do, make; hunt (rabbits, birds); (vi) become’ (Vanhoudt 1999).³² The regular perfective form of **bāā* recruited for the function of a quotative predicator is **bāā̄*. The final L of the perfective form accounts for the M and L tones on the quotative CLMs in Table 13. In Yaba Southern San, *CV* verbs can have any lexical tone, viz. H, M or L, but they all get M tone in their perfective form, whereas *CVV* verbs always have lexical M tones on both vowels and in the perfective their tone pattern is ML (Paré 1998:22-23). Therefore, the presence of the final L in the reconstructed perfective form also necessarily points to **bāā* as the lexical form of this verb.

5. Explaining the paradigms

As discussed in Section 4, the person-number agreement markers on the quotative CLMs originate in personal subject pronominals. However, only in Mende the quotatives form a fully differentiated paradigm distinguishing all the six possible person-number combinations. In the remaining languages, various degrees of syncretism within the paradigms are observed, as illustrated in (44), where syncretic cells are colored in the same shades of gray. We find a five-member paradigm in Tura (44a), a four- to two-member paradigm in Yaba Southern San (44b-e) and two-member paradigms in Jula of Samatiguila (44f) and Jowulu (44g).

³² The reconstruction of the form **bāā* with the generic action (when transitive) and change of state (when intransitive) meanings pertains only to some earlier stage of Southern San, even though the cognates of this verb are found throughout Mande.

(44) *Patterns of syncretism in the paradigms of quotative CLMs in Mande*

a.	b.	c.	d.	e.																														
SG PL	SG PL	SG PL	SG PL	SG PL																														
1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>							1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>							1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>							1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #d3d3d3;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #d3d3d3;"></td></tr></table>							1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #696969;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr></table>						
2	2	2	2	2																														
3	3	3	3	3																														
f.	g.																																	
SG PL	SG PL																																	
1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #696969;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #696969;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr></table>							1 <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #696969;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #696969;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px; background-color: #c0c080;"></td></tr></table>																											
2	2																																	
3	3																																	

In the two-member paradigms (44e-g), only one member of the paradigm (shaded as dark gray) is characterized by some overt agreement morphology and therefore, can be considered as formally marked. In (44f), the marked member is the first person and in (44g) it is the first and second persons singular. In the case of Jula of Samatiguila (44f), the formal markedness of the first person form is further corroborated by the fact that in all other varieties of Manding the quotative CLM has the form that corresponds to that of the non-first person in Jula of Samatiguila.

Given that personal subject pronominals are the source of the agreement marking morphology on quotatives, all the paradigms in (44) result from various simplifications of previously differentiated paradigms. The general pattern seems to be to generalize the 3SG form, as was for instance discussed for Tura (44a) in 3.5 and 4.2.2. However, the observed restructuring of the quotative paradigms can be given a more accurate explanation. This explanation has a formal and a functional part.

The formal part has to do with Mande phonotactics and prosody. Mande languages have a strong preference for (simple) onsets, viz. *C*, *NC* or *C* followed by a glide or a liquid. In most languages, vowel-initial words are found only in borrowings and function words, including personal pronouns. The 3SG pronoun is the only one that tends to have the structure *V* throughout Mande. The quotative verbs and predicators to which the agreeing quotative CLMs go back all have a *C* onset and as lexical elements, they are prosodically equally or more prominent than a preceding

pronominal subject (e.g., in their intensity, segmental quality and length).³³ When personal subject pronominals and such a quotative verb or predicator undergo univerbation and fusion due to the frequency of their co-occurrence, the most natural outcome on the segmental level depends on the form of the pronominal. Thus, *V(V)* pronouns, which often implies just the 3SG pronoun, are expected to be simply dropped leaving a bare quotative. In combination with *CV(V)* pronouns (where *C* is any type of consonant), the initial *C* of the quotative is expected to be elided due to its secondary position in the new *CV(V)CV* stem and further coalescence of the remaining vowels to occur. Finally, for *(V)N* pronouns, any initial vowel is expected to be dropped and the nasal is expected to form an *NC* onset with the initial *C* of the quotative, which eventually may be further simplified. The most relevant observation here is that the 3SG form of the quotative CLM consistently turns out to be not overtly marked for person-number agreement.

The functional part of the explanation invokes as its starting point the fact that in general, Mande languages are deprived of any kind of canonical agreement except the trivial agreement in number for the third person pronouns (cf. Section 1). In such an agreement-unfriendly environment, it would be only natural for such noncanonical agreement targets as CLMs to tend to lose their agreement potential.³⁴ In this process, the number of distinctions in a paradigm becomes reduced through emerging syncretism, which ultimately, leads to the complete loss of agreement on CLMs and reestablishment of the canonical Mande pattern. Within a quotative CLM paradigm, the forms that are not overtly marked for person-number agreement have the biggest potential to spread as they lend themselves more easily to a reanalysis as default forms indifferent to agreement. The observation that generally, the quotative paradigms are simplified through the generalization of the 3SG form simply follows from the fact that due to the phonological causes outlined above, it is the 3SG form of the quotative CLM that consistently turns out to be not overtly marked for agreement. In this respect, note that the quotative paradigms in Jula of Samatiguila and Jowulu are most likely to have always been characterized by a high degree of syncretism. The reason is that in these languages, several subject pronouns (and not only the 3SG one) have a *V(V)* structure (cf. Tables 10 and 11, respectively) and are therefore expected to result in quotatives not overtly marked for person-number agreement.

³³ In their prominence they normally differ, for instance, from predicative markers.

³⁴ In this respect, it is instructive to recall that in Tura (3.5), where the same forms can function as both quotative CLMs and predicators, the syncretic 2SG/3SG form *yè* can be used instead of all other person-number forms only when these function as CLMs.

5. Conclusions

Typologically, CLMs are rather noncanonical agreement targets. Therefore, it is probably not surprising that the few cases of agreement on CLMs found in the literature come from languages which already have quite exuberant agreement systems, such as East Caucasian and Bantu. As discussed in the present paper, to this small group we should add several Mande languages with person-number agreement on quotative CLMs (cf. Section 3). Remarkably, these Mande languages lack other more canonical kinds of morphosyntactic agreement, except the rather trivial agreement in number for the third person pronouns (cf. Section 1). Another exciting peculiarity of the agreement on CLMs in Mande discussed in the present paper is that at least in two languages, viz. Jula of Samatiguila and Tura, the syntactic function of the controller of the agreement on CLMs is not necessarily that of subject, which appears to be typologically unique. The only requirement is that the controller is also the source of the reported discourse. Thus, the source of the reported discourse can also happen to be expressed as an oblique, for instance, in a verbless clause or passive construction. The two languages differ from each other in that whenever the latter condition is fulfilled, Jula of Samatiguila requires the agreement to be triggered by such a non-subject controller, whereas this is optional in Tura. Only in Jula of Samatiguila and only in one construction, the controller can optionally be the object of a transitive verb.

The main focus of the present paper was on explanation of the noncanonical agreement on quotative CLMs in Mande, and of the specifics of its realization in concrete languages. As aptly stated by Dryer (2006), “the crucial explanations for why languages are the way they are are tied to events that take place during language change”. Fully in accordance with this insight, I have argued in Section 4 that the person-number agreement on quotative CLMs in Mande can be offered a convincing diachronic explanation. This explanation consists of the following components: (i) the agreeing quotative CLMs all have predicative origins (from generic speech or action/change of state verbs), (ii) subjects are obligatory realized in Mande, and (iii) pronominal subjects in Mande tend to fuse with the functional elements that follow them. In other words, in origin, the CLMs in Mande are clauses and the agreement on them is anaphoric. As such, the development of CLMs from clauses is relatively well attested, especially in languages with clause chaining or so-called serial verb constructions (cf. references and examples in Hopper & Traugott 1993:177-183, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Maisak 2005, Aikhenvald 2009:397-399). The specificity of the Mande languages described in the present paper is that their CLMs are also agreement targets. I believe the latter is related not only to the fact that subjects are obligatory realized in Mande but also to the specific semantic type of clause linking relation

involved, viz. that of (quotative) elaboration of the main clause, where the original quotative index (i.e. the source of the CLM) was used as a kind of bridging device to enhance discourse continuity (cf. Dixon 2009:8). The resulting paradigms of agreeing CLMs are further shaped and evolve in accordance with the phonological and functional factors discussed in Section 5. These factors are common to Mande languages. Likewise, although the cases of development of agreement on CLMs discussed here are all parallel innovations, they emerged out of similar structures.

The range of syntactic functions that the controller of the agreement on CLMs can have in Mande languages, viz. the subject of the main clause in all languages with such CLMs, an oblique argument of the main clause in Jula of Samatiguila and Tura, and the object of the main clause only in Jula of Samatiguila and only in one construction, is again accounted for by the diachrony of these CLMs and the original semantic type of the clause linking relation involved. Since in origin, the agreement on CLMs is anaphoric and the relation is that of quotative elaboration, the controller of the agreement is naturally the constituent in the main clause which encodes the source of the discourse being reported. It is not particularly surprising that its syntactic function would then be of little importance. Still, most frequently, the source of the reported discourse is encoded by subjects rather than obliques (within verbless clauses or passive constructions). In some languages, this frequency correlation may eventually lead to controllers becoming restricted to subject function. Controllers are hardly ever objects for the simple reason that in Mande languages the source of the reported discourse is hardly ever encoded by objects of verbs, which is not a particularly unexpected gap as far as mapping of semantic roles on syntactic functions is concerned.

Glosses:

I _a , I _b ...	subject pronominal of series	DU	dual
	I _a , I _b etc. (cf. Table 5)	ESM	epistemic status marker
ABS	absolutive	EXIST	existential
AG	agreement pattern	EXPER	experiential
CLM	clause linking marker	FOC	focus
COMP	complementizer	FUT	future
COND	conditional	G	gender
COP	copula	HAB	habitual
DAT	dative	HUM	human
DEF	definite	IMP	imperative
DEM	demonstrative	INF	infinitive
DEP	dependent verb	IPFV	imperfective

ISM	information structure marker	PROG	progressive
IZF	izafat	PROP	proper name
LOG	logophoric pronominal	PROSP	prospective
M	masculine	PRS	present
NEG	negation	PST	past
NMLZ	nominalizer	PTCP	participle
NON<...>	non-...	QP	quotative predicator
OBJ	object	QV	quotative verb
OBL	oblique	REFL	reflexive
PFV	perfective	SBJ	subject
PL	plural	SG	singular
PM	predicative marker	SUBJ	subjunctive
POSS	possessive	TAM	tense-aspect-modality
PP	postposition	TM	terminal marker
PRF	perfect		

References:

- CO, DG unpublished Tura texts kindly provided by Thomas Bearth
- NTMAT the New Testament according to Matthew in Tura
- Aginsky, Ethel G. 1935. A grammar of the Mende language. *Language* 11(3). 7-111.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2009. Semantics and grammar in clause-linking. In R.M.W. Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.), *The semantics of clause linking*, 380-402. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bearth, Thomas. 1971. *L'énoncé toura (Côte d'Ivoire)*. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Oklahoma.
- Bearth, Thomas. 1995. Nominal periphrasis and the origin of the predicative marker in Mande languages – an alternative view. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (41). 89-117.
- Bearth, Thomas. 2009. Operator second and its variations in Mande languages. In Petr Zima (ed.), *The verb and related areal features in West Africa: Continuity and discontinuity within and across Sprachbund frontiers*. München: LINCOM.
- Bennett, Patrick R. & Jan P. Sterk. 1977. South-Central Niger-Congo: A reclassification. *Studies in African Linguistics* 8. 241-273.
- Blake, Barry J. 1979. *A Kalkatungu grammar*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Braconnier, Cassian. 1987-1988. *Kò/nkò à Samatiguila. Mandenkan* 14-15. 47-58.
- Braconnier, Cassian. 1989. *Dioula d'Odienné (parler de Samatiguila): dictionnaire et études de linguistique descriptive*. Grenoble: Université de Grenoble III.

- Carlson, Robert. 1993. A sketch of *Jɔ*, a Mande language with a feminine pronoun. *Mandenkan* 25. 1-109.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Creissels, Denis. 1983. *Éléments de grammaire de la langue mandinka*. Grenoble: l'Université des Langues et Lettres de Grenoble.
- Creissels, Denis. 2005. S-O-V-X constituent order and constituent order alternations in West African languages. In Rebecca Cover & Yuni Kim (eds.), *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society 31st annual meeting*, 37-51. Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley.
- Creissels, Denis. 2009. *Le malinké de Kita: Un parler mandingue de l'ouest du Mali*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Croft, William. Ten unwarranted assumptions in syntactic argumentation. In Kasper Boye & Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, *Language usage and language structure*, 313-350. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- De Vogelaer, Gunther & Johan van der Auwera. 2010. When typological rara become productive: the extension of grammatical agreement in Dutch dialects. In Jan Wohlgemuth & Michael Cysouw (eds.), *Rara & Rarissima: Documenting the fringes of linguistic diversity*, 47-73. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Diagana, Ousmane Moussa. 1995. *La langue soninké: morphosyntaxe et sens (à travers le parler de Kaédi (Mauritanie))*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 2009. The semantics of clause linking in typological perspective. In R.M.W. Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.), *The semantics of clause linking*, 1-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 2010a. *Basic linguistic theory*. Vol. 1: Methodology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 2010b. *Basic linguistic theory*. Vol. 2: Grammatical topics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dryer, Matthew. 2006. Functionalism and the metalanguage – theory confusion. In G. W. G. Libben, T. Priestly, R. Smyth & S. Wang (eds.), *Phonology, morphology, and the empirical imperative: Papers in honour of Bruce Derwing*, 27–59. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Company.
- Dwyer, David J. 1981. *Lorma: a reference handbook of phonetics, grammar, lexicon and learning procedures*. East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative indexes in African languages. A synchronic and diachronic survey*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1992. *Theory and description in generative syntax: A case study in West Flemish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heydorn, Richard. 1940-41. Die Sprache der Bandi im nordwestlichen Liberia. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 31(3). 188-217.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Idiatov, Dmitry. 2000. Le sémantisme des marqueurs aspecto-temporels du bambara: une tentative d'analyse. *Mandenkan* 36. 1-60.
- Innes, Gordon. 1964. An outline grammar of Loko with texts. *African Language Studies* 5. 115-173.
- Innes, Gordon. 1971. *A practical introduction to Mende*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Jones, Ross McCallum. 1998. *The Boko/Busa language cluster*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Jones, Ross McCallum. 2004. *Boko dictionary*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 2003. Auxiliaries, grammaticalization, and word order in Mande. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 24(1). 31-53.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 2006. On distributed predicative syntax in Western Mande. In Bernard Caron & Petr Zima (eds.), *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Kawasha, Boniface. 2007. Subject-agreeing complementizers and their functions in Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, and Luvale. In Doris L. Payne & Jaime Peña (eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 37th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 180-190. Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. 1999. Formy glagol'nogo skazuemogo. In Aleksandr E. Kibrik & Jakov G. Testelec (eds.), *Élementy grammatiki caxurskogo jazyka v tipologičeskom osveščanii*, 448-452. Moskow: Nasledie Press.
- Kimball, Les. 1983. *A description of the grammar of Loko*. Freetown: The Institute for Sierra Leonean Languages, Lutheran Bible Translations.
- Konoshenko, Maria. to appear. Soglasovanie v jazykax mande. In a Festschrift.
- Koroma, Regine. 1994. *Die Morphosyntax des Gola*. Köln: Universität zu Köln.
- Kuznetsova, Natalia & Olga Kuznetsova. (ms.). *Dictionnaire gouro-français*.
- Le Saout, Joseph. 1976. *Étude descriptive du gban (Côte-d'Ivoire): Phonétique et phonologie*. Paris: SELAF.
- Maisak, Timur A. 2005. *Tipologija grammatikalizacii konstrukcij s glagolami dviženija*. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskix kul'tur.
- Makeeva, Nadezhda. 2008. Morphologie des pronoms personnels en kla-dan. 2nd *International conference on Mande languages and linguistics*, St. Petersburg,

- September 15-17, 2008. Available at: http://mandelang.kunstkamera.ru/files/mandelang/make_pron.pdf.
- Matushansky, Ora. 2008. On the linguistic complexity of proper names. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31(5). 573-627.
- Nikitina, Tatiana. (ms.). *Dictionnaire wan-français*.
- Nikitina, Tatiana. 2009. The syntax of postpositional phrases in Wan, and “SOVX” language. *Studies in Language* 33(4). 910-933.
- Paré, Moïse. 1998. *L'énoncé verbal en s̄an (parler de Yaba)*. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou.
- Platiel, Suzy. 1974. *Description du parler samo de Toma (Haute Volta): phonologie, syntaxe*. Paris: Université René Descartes (Paris 5).
- Plungian, Vladimir & Johan van der Auwera. 2006. Towards a typology of discontinuous past marking. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 59(4). 317-349.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rowlands, E.C.R. 1959. *A grammar of Gambian Mandinka*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Smeltzer, Brad & Susan Smeltzer. no date. Soninke-French-English lexicon. Available at: http://www.asawan.org/Documents/Soninke_Lexicon/lexicon/main.htm.
- Tröbs, Holger. 1998. *Funktionale Sprachbeschreibung des Jeli (West-Mande)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Vanhoudt, Bettie. 1999. Lexique bisa-français. *Mandenkan* 34. 1-113.
- Vydrine, Valentin, T.G. Bergman & Matthew Benjamin. 2000. Mandé language family of West Africa: Location and genetic classification. *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2000-003. Available at: <http://www.sil.org/silestr/2000/2000-003/silestr2000-003.htm>.
- Vydrine, Valentin & Alphonse Kessébeu Mongnan. 2008. *Dictionnaire Dan – Français (dan de l'Est) avec une esquisse de grammaire du dan de l'Est et un index français-dan*. St Pétersbourg: Nestor-Istoria.
- Westermann, Diedrich. 1921. *Die Gola-Sprache in Liberia: Grammatik, Texte und Wörterbuch*. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen.
- Westermann, Diedrich & H.J. Melzian. 1930. *The Kpelle language in Liberia: Grammatical outline, colloquial sentences and vocabulary*. Berlin: Dietrich Riemer & Ernst Vohsen. [Reprinted in 1974, Nendeln: Kraus Reprint].