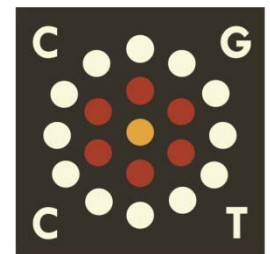# Person-number agreement on complementizers in Mande

Dmitry Idiatov
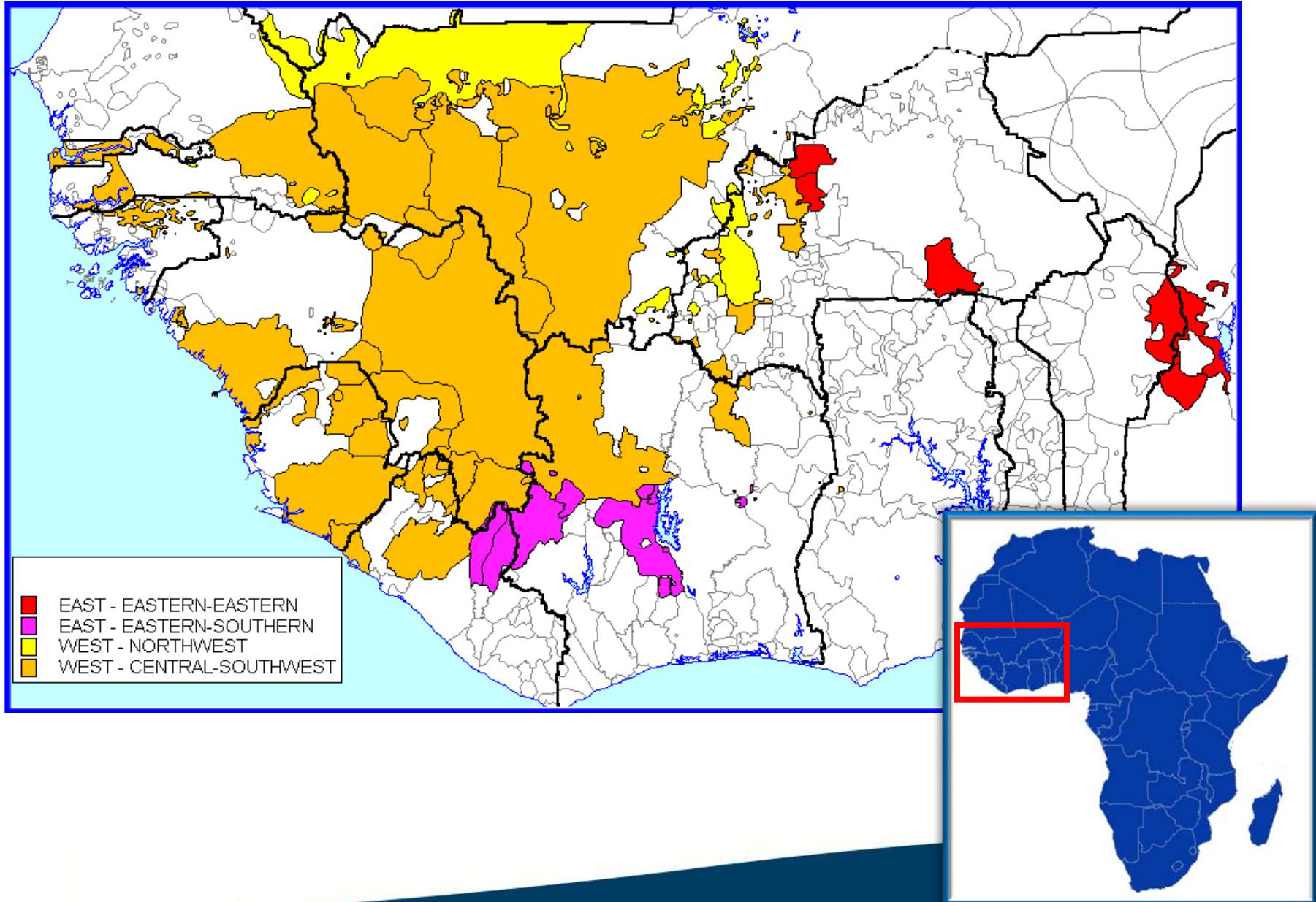
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Center for Grammar,
Cognition and Typology

Mande languages

EAST - EASTERN-EASTERN
EAST - EASTERN-SOUTHERN
WEST - NORTHWEST
WEST - CENTRAL-SOUTHWEST

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 (usually, S PM OVX)

- In South-Eastern Mande and parts of Western Mande, pronominal subjects tend to fuse with PMs

Tura personal pronominals (Nao dialect)

	PM	SG				PL			
		1	2	3	3 LOG	1	2	3	3 LOG
Ia	̋	ắ̧	í̋		é̋	kő	kắ		wő
Ib	ké̋	ắ̧	í̋	è	é̋	kő	kắ	wò	wő
Ic	̏	ắ̧	í̋	è̏	é̋	kő, DU kò̏	kắ	wò̏	wő
Id	̏	á̧	í	è̏	é	kó	ká	wò	wó
IIa (PRF)	̋	má	ɓắ/yắ	à/yà	yắ/yé̋	kwé̋é̋	kắắ	wà	wắ/wé̋
IIb (PROSP)	PRN	máầ	ɓé̋è̂/yé̋è̂		yé̋è̂	kwé̋è̂	kắầ	wőò̂	wé̋è̂
IIIa (NEG.IPFV)	-ắ	máắ	ɓắắ/ yắắ/áắ	yàá/àá	yắắ	kwắắ	kắắ	wàá	wắắ
IIIb (NEG.PFV)	-ő	mɔ́ɔ̋	ɓőő/yőő/ wőő/őő	yò̏ó/ wò̏ó/ò̏ó	yőő	kőő	kắő	wò̏ó	wőő
IIIc (PROH)	-ó	mɔ́ɔ̋	ɓóó/yóó/ wóó/óó	yò̏ó/ wò̏ó/ò̏ó	—	kóó	káó	wò̏ó	—
IV (IMP)	—	—	ɓè̏/—	—	—	kwầắ, DU kwầ	kầ	—	—
V (NON‹SBJ›)	—	ŋ́	í	à̏	é	kó	ká	à̏ŋ̀	wó

Tura personal pronominals: base forms

	SG				PL			
	1	2	3	3 LOG	1	2	3	3 LOG
SBJ series I	ä̋	í̋	è̋	é̋	kő	kä̋	wò	wő
SBJ other series	mä̋	ɓí̋/yí̋	yè	yé̋				wé̋
NON‹SBJ›	ŋ́	í	à	é	kó	ká	àŋ̀	wó

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	ībēè	
second		mī	ábɛ́ɛ́	
t masculine		ù		
h			kí	human
i feminine		nl		
r				
d neuter		ɲ̀	yìrì	non-human

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

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).

Number agreement: Tura

(1)   ...ké í̋ *náò̋* lèè-ǐí ké í̋ *àȷ̈* *ɓɛ́* *bò̀* kéè̀-ǐí, ké̋
      CNJ 2SG.Iᵦ **child:PL** call-PROG CNJ 2SG.Iᵦ **3PL.V** **wound** **PL** do-PROG but

ké *ɓɛ́* lá̂à̀ *è* ɓáà̀ɛ̀n nïä wó zǐǐ=á fɔ́ɔ́...
CNJ **wound** that **3SG.Iᵦ** 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' (Bearth 1971:162)

(2)   È̀ tò̀-ò̀ *wǔ́n* *bò̀* lá̂à̀ *à̀* lè pé-à̀...
      3SG.Iᵦ 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)   À̀ lè mä̌ǐ ké̋ kpű́í pɔ́n *mɛ̀ɛ̀* *bò̀* lá̂à̀ *àȷ̈*
      3SG.V FOC truth\IZF PM giant.pouched.rat dig.up **man\IZF** **PL** that **3PL.V**

ní-í
lead.astray\AOR-AOR

'This surprised these giant pouched rat hunters' (CO)

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; Bearth 1971 & own data)

Mandinka

Jowulu

Southern San of Yaba

EAST - EASTERN-EASTERN
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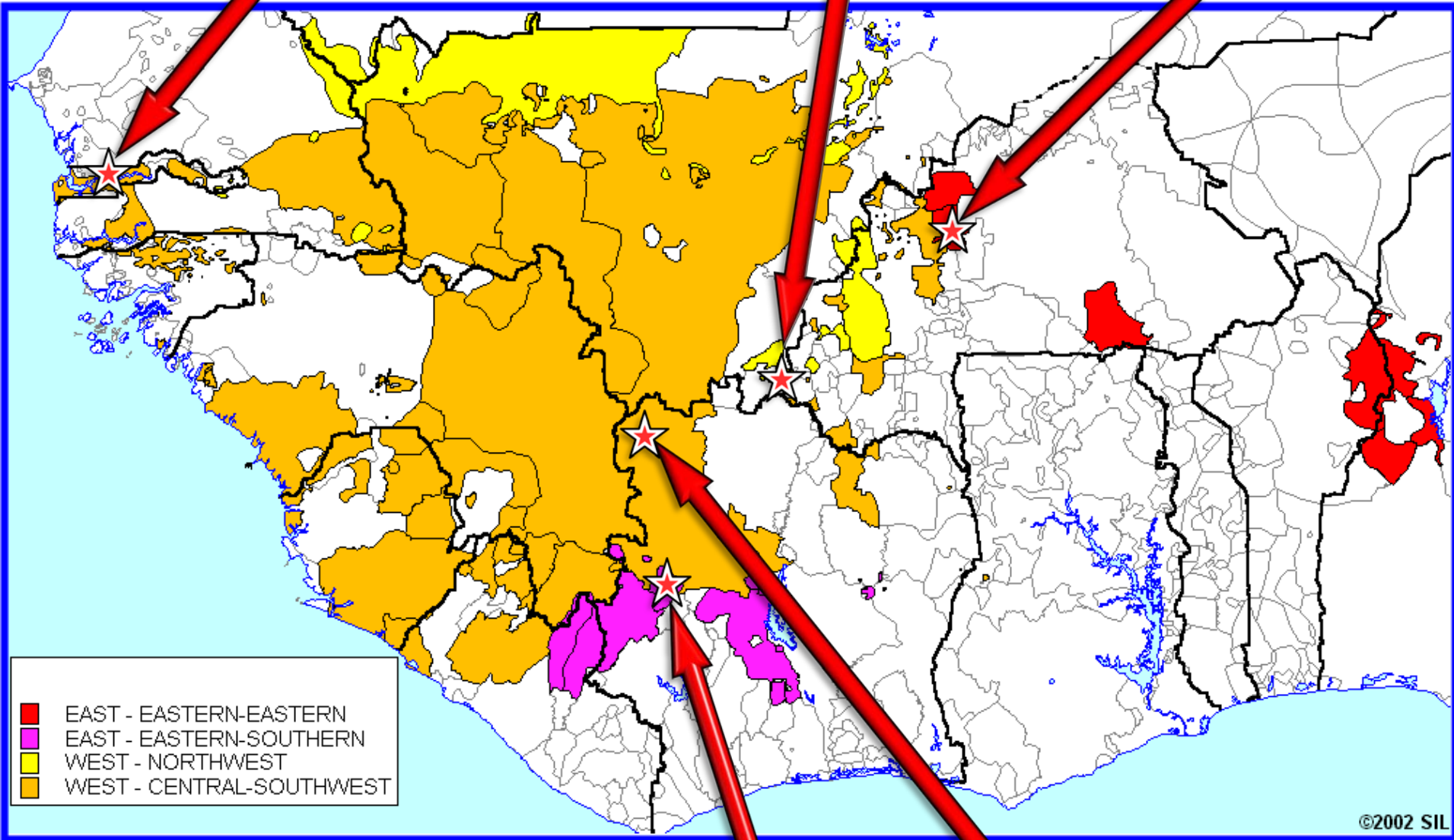
Jula of Samatiguila

Tura

Jula of Samatiguila

- **n-** 1 vs. **Ø** NON‹1› (COMP is **kò**)

(1) a. *Ń/Ăn   yè   á   fé̃   n-kò   Sĕkù 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   fé̃   kò   Sĕkù yè   tàgà*
PROP   COP 3SG at   **[NON‹1›]COMP** PROP   SUBJ go
'Musa wants that Seku goes away'

(2) a. *Ń/Ăn   náà á   fɔ̃-rà   n-kò   Sĕkù tè   shɔ́n*
1SG/1PL PFV   3SG say-PFV **1-COMP**   PROP IPFV.NEG agree
'I/We said that Seku will not agree'

   b. *Mùsà   náà á   fɔ̃-rà   kò   Sĕkù tè   shɔ́n*
PROP   PFV   3SG   say-PFV   **[NON‹1›]COMP** PROP IPFV.NEG agree
'Musa said that Seku will not agree'

Jowulu

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

Southern San of Yaba

- after utterance predicates (especially manipulative) and desiderative predicates

	SG	PL
1	*mā(à)/mà*	*wɔ̄à*
2	*mà*	*mà*
3	*mà*	*māà*

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

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	*má*	*kó*
2	*yè*	*ká*
3	*yè*	*wò*

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

Tura

	SG	PL
1	*má*	*kó*
2	*yè*	*ká*
3	*yè*	*wò*

- 3SG *yè* has replaced the original 2SG forms *ɓé/yé

- 2SG forms *ɓé/yé have been preserved:

  ➤ 2SG.II_b (PROSP) forms *ɓéề/yéề* (< * *ɓé/yé* + *kě* 'this' + *ǐ* 2SG.I_x)

  ➤ conjunction/preposition *yé* 'as, like'

  Bamana *í kó* [2SG say] 'as, like, as if' (litt.: 'you say')

  Bamana *í n'à fɔ́* [2SG FUT:3SG say] 'as, like, as if' (litt.: 'you will say')

Tura

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

(1) *Ká*   *wì̃ì̃-í*   **yé** /   **ká**   *kő*   *ä̀*   *pé*   *wɛ̀ɛ̀n*
 2PL.I$_d$ say\COND-COND   **3SG.COMP**   **2PL.COMP**   1PL.I$_c$ 3SG.V   say   Tura

   wʋ̀ʋ̀   *gɯ̋...*
 language\IZF   PP

'If you say that we should speak in Tura...' (DG)

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)

Jula of Samatiguila

- ***n-*** 1 vs. **Ø** NON‹1› (COMP is ***kò***)

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

(2)   *Wô   lé   tén   fɔ̀-nìn   ǎn   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 everbody comes today'

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

Tura

(1)   *È*   *ŋ́*   *gɯ̃́*   *má*   *...*
         3SG.I$_b$ 1SG   in   COMP.1SG
         'I think that [if she keeps her promise, everything will be fine]' (CO)

(2)   *È*   *ŋ́*   *gɯ̃́*   *yè*   *...*
         3SG.I$_b$ 1SG   in   COMP.3SG
         'I think that [all those who are reading this story would like to find out the monkey's secret]' (CO)

Mandinka (some dialects)

- *n-* 1 vs. *Ø* NON‹1› (COMP is *kó*)

- The controller is always the oblique encoding the addressee (N *yé*)

(1) *À*   *kó*   *ń*   / *ǹ*   *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 morphonologically conditioned allomorphy

  / *ɲɲéŋkó* /

  We also don't know where the word border is: *ń#yé#nkó* or *ń#yén#kó* ?

Mandinka (some dialects)

- At least historically, the morphonologically conditioned allomorphy is clearly the source of the observed pattern

- In several other Manding varieties the postposition *yé* is found as *yeŋ* or *ɲeŋ* (Creissels 1983:185).

  *deŋ 'to, for'

- The postposition *yé* is realized as *ɲé* only after *ń* '1SG' and *ǹ* '1PL' (cf. Rowlands 1959:10-12)

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 segmentaly 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.

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, theologicians, 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*   *ti...*
         God   QV   3SG   book.DEF   inside   QCOMP

'God said in his book that...' (Smeltzer & Smeltzer 2001)

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** *ń* *mà* *(kó)...*
     3SG **QP** 1SG to **QCOMP**

     'He said/says to me that...'

(2) *À* *táa-***rá** */ À* **má** *táá* */ À* **bέ** *táá* */À* **tέ** *táá*
     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'

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*   *ń*   *mà*   *(kó)...*
       3SG   QP   1SG   to   QCOMP

    'He said/says to me that...'

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) (*lè* (*ɓùʊ̀*)) *yè*   (**à*   *nɛ̀*): *Gbɛ́ɛ́n*
    CNJ 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*   *wìì-í*   (**lè*): *Gbɛ́ɛ́n*
    3SG.I$_b$ say\AOR-AOR CNJ   dog

  'He said, 'The dog''

26

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 *dɔ̄ɔ̄* (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'

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)/*kùɛ* (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 *kɛ* '(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'

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