

# Quotative markers in Western Mande

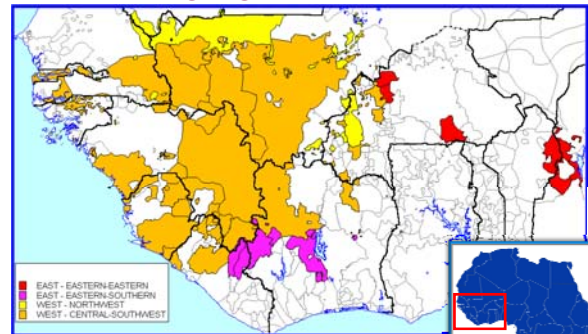
Dmitry Idiatov

University of Antwerp  
Center for Grammar, Cognition and Typology

Dmitry.Idiatov@ua.ac.be



## Mande languages



### What will be discussed...

- The types of **quotative indexes** found in Mande and how they are typically differentiated.

“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)

- quotative verbs**
- quotative predictors**
- quotative complementizers**
- quotative markers**

- In a given language the same form may show up in a number of different functions.

3

### What will be discussed...

- I will focus on **non-predicative quotatives**, viz. quotative complementizers and markers.

- some unusual synchronic properties
- etymological sources

4

### Quotative indexes in Mande: 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):

- dáali* (the speaker = God)
- jáabi* (the speaker = prophets, muslim scholars, knowledgeable persons) (otherwise ‘to answer’)
- máaxù* (the speaker = respected and older persons)
- ti* (the speaker = anybody), also a quotative complementizer

(1) *Alla dáali i kitaaben noxondi ti...*  
God QV 3SG book.DEF inside QCOMP

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

5

### Quotative predictors

- Quotative predictors 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 predictors are used without a predicative marker.

Bamana *kó* (also a complementizer)

Bamana

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

‘He said/says to me that...’

(2) *À táa-rá / À má táá / À bé táá / À té táá*  
3SG go-PPV 3SG PPV.NEG go 3SG IPFV go 3SG IPFV.NEG go

‘He went/ He didn’t go/ He goes / He doesn’t go’

6

## Quotative predicators

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

Bamana

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

7

## 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 *yè* (also a complementizer)

- (1) *(Jè (bùù)) yè (\*à nē): Gbēén*  
 CNU goat 3SG.QP 3SG.V to dog  
 '["Goat, wait till I ask you the last question. Who is your best friend?"] And the goat said, "The dog"' (CO)
- (2) *È wù-í (\*Jè): Gbēén*  
 3SG.I<sub>a</sub> say<sup>AOR-AOR</sup> CNU dog  
 'He said, "The dog"'

8

## Quotative markers

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

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

Bamana

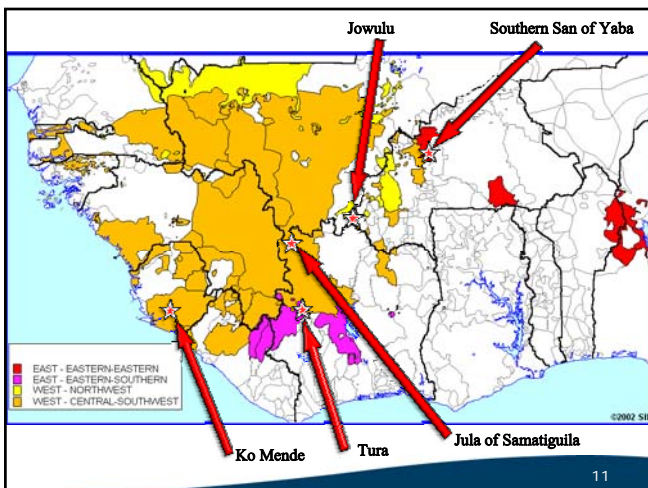
- (1) *Kó (\*à mà) à ká táá*  
 QM 3SG to 3SG SUBJ go  
 'He/they/we/I say(s)/said (\*to him) that he should go'

9

## Unusual properties of quotative 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)
  - Jowulu (West, Southwest-Central, Southwest; Carlson 1993)
  - Ko Mende (Southeast, East; Innes 1971)
  - Southern San of Yaba (Southeast, East; Pare 1998)
  - Tura (Southeast, South; Bearth 1971 & other data)

10



11

## Jula of Samatiguila

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

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

12

### Agreement on complementizers

- Remarkably, the controller is not always the subject
  - Jula of Samatiguila (West, Southwest-Central, Central, Great Manding)
  - Tura (Southeast, South)

13

### Jula of Samatiguila

- *n*-1 vs. ØNON<1> (COMP is *kò*) (Braconnier 1987-88:49, 55)
- (1) *Á yè ñ nyà ná n-kò Sèkù tè shón*  
 3SG COP 1SG eye at 1-COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree  
 'I have the feeling / I think that Seku will not agree'
- (2) *Wò lé tén fɔ̀-nìn ã̀n bòrò n-kò byè yè ná bí*  
 DEM FOC PST say-PTCP.PFV 1PL by 1-COMP all IPFV come today  
 'It was asked by us that everybody comes today'
- The controller is always the source (the speaker) of the reported discourse

14

### Quotative complementizer: agreement origins

- 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 *ti*).
- The person-number agreement markers on complementizers derive from fusion with personal pronouns (sometimes, also a predicative marker)

15

#### Ko Mende (Innes 1971:139)

	SG	PL
1	<i>ngé</i>	<i>mé</i>
2	<i>bé</i>	<i>wé</i>
3	<i>yé</i>	<i>té</i>

#### Kpa Mende (Aginsky 1935:75-76)

	SG	PL
1	<i>ngé</i>	<i>mú yé</i>
2	<i>bé</i>	<i>wé</i>
3	<i>yé</i>	<i>té</i>

	SG	PL
1	<i>ngí yé</i>	<i>mí yé</i>
2	<i>bí yé</i>	<i>wí yé</i>
3	<i>í yé</i>	<i>tí yé</i>

- The form *yé* is also 'be'PST' which is the "mutated" form of *ké* '(vt) cause to be(come), make'.
- quotative verbs: Jogo/Ligbi *ké* (vi), Gban *ké* (vi).

16

### Western Mande quotatives: their typical sources

- Various quotative predicators and ultimately verbs:
  - speech verbs
  - non-speech verbs ('be(come)', 'stay, remain', 'rise, go up')
- In several cases the verbs have become lexicalized in their PST/PFV forms
- Sometimes, the verbs have become lexicalized with some overt intransitivizing morphology

17

### Speech verbs

- (vi) QV < '(vi, [vt]) say', ['(vi) speak, talk'] < (by conversion) 'voice, language, speech'
  - The *ko*-type quotatives (< \**ɣ*<sup>o</sup>*ɔ̀dɪ* 'neck, throat')
    - Northwestern Mande: Tigemaxo Bozo *wò*, Débo Bozo *yò*
    - Central Mande: Manding *kó*
  - Bobo (Northwestern Mande, Soninke-Bobo) *dā* from *dā* 'speech, language; matters, things; customs' and ultimately 'mouth'
- (vi) QV < '(vi, vt) say' < '(vt) say' < ? '(vt) give, produce'
  - Susu (Central Mande): *náxài/náxàa/náxè(é)* < *náxà* 'Narrative past predicative marker' + \**íi* '(vi) say' < '(vt) say' (cf. Jalonke *i* '(vt) say')

18

### Non-speech verbs

- (vi) QV < (vi) general (change of) location/state verb < (vt) general action verb
  - A common Mande verb *kê* intransitived by conversion
    - Southwestern Mande: Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle
    - Central Mande: Jogo/Ligbi
  - Bobo (Northwestern Mande, Soninke-Bobo) *tã* intransitived overtly to *tē*
    - (rare) quotative verb *dē* (vi)
    - quotative predicator & complementizer *rē/ yē/ yē* (tone: *tē* = PRS of *tē*)

19

### Non-speech verbs

- A common Mande verb *tō*: (vi) QV < (vi) 'stay, remain; be(come)' < (vt) 'let stay, leave; make'
  - intransitived by conversion
    - Northwestern Mande, Samogo: Jowulu *tū*
  - intransitived by conversion & overtly marked by the PST/PFV affix
    - Northwestern Mande, Samogo: Dzuun *cī*, Seeku *īī*
  - intransitived by an affix
    - Northwestern Mande, Soninke-Bozo: Soninke *tī*
  - intransitived by reflexivization
    - Central Mande, Manding: Xasonka *tū*

20

### Non-speech verbs

- (vi) QV < (vi) 'rise, go up' (< ? (vt) placement verb intransitived by an affix)
  - Central Mande: Jeri *tè*

(some semantic parallels: Jalonke (Central Mande) *tīī* '(vi) stand (up); (vt) produce (also speech)', Susu (Central Mande) *tīī* '(vi) stop, stand; confess, recognize; (vt) put; build')

21