Person-number agreement on complementizers in Mande

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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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PM</th>
<th>SG</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia</td>
<td>̃</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ib</td>
<td>kē</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ic</td>
<td>̃</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Id</td>
<td>̃</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIa (PRF)</td>
<td>̃</td>
<td>mā</td>
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<tr>
<td>IIb (PROSP)</td>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>māā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIa (NEG.IPVF)</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>māā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIb (NEG.PFV)</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>māā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIc (PROH)</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>māō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (IMP)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (NON/SBJ)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ū</td>
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## Tura personal pronominals: base forms

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ series I</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ other series</td>
<td>má</td>
<td>bĩ/yǐ</td>
<td>yē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON⟨SBJ⟩</td>
<td>ūj</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ā</td>
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Agreement

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>mĩ</td>
<td>ìbèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>mĩĩ</td>
<td>̀bèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t masculine</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i feminine</td>
<td>nĩ</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r neuter</td>
<td>̀jĩ</td>
<td>ỳìrĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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 ́ ńəd  lèè-̀ií  ké ́  a̋n̋ j  bé  bò  kèè-̀ií,  ké  CnJ 2SG.Ib  child:PL  call-PROG  CnJ 2SG.Ib  3PL.V  wound  PL  do-PROG  but  ké  bé  láà  è  báäèn  nịa  wó  zií  =á  fóó...  CnJ  wound  that  3SG.Ib  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) È  tò-ô  wûn  bò  láà  à  lè  pé-à...  3SG.Ib  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) À  lè  mài  ké  kpốí  pön  mëé  bò  láà  a̋nj  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)
Jula of Samatiguila

- **n-1 vs. Ø NON<1>** (COMP is kò)

(1) a. Ǹ/Ǎn yè á fê n-kò Sěkù yè tàgà  
    1SG/1PL COP 3SG at 1-COMP PROP SUBJ go  
    ‘I/We want that Seku goes away’

   b.  Mùsà yè á fê kò Sěkù yè tàgà  
    PROP COP 3SG at [NON<1>]COMP PROP SUBJ go  
    ‘Musa wants that Seku goes away’

(2) a. Ǹ/Ǎn náà á fɔ-rà n-kò Sěkù tè shón  
    1SG/1PL PFV 3SG say-PFV 1-COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree  
    ‘I/We said that Seku will not agree’

   b.  Mùsà náà á fɔ-rà kò Sěkù tè shón  
    PROP PFV 3SG say-PFV [NON<1>]COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree  
    ‘Musa said that Seku will not agree’

(Braconnier 1987-88:48-51)
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

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mā(â)/mà</td>
<td>w5à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>màn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>māà</td>
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- no agreement after other complement taking predicates (e.g., mà ‘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)

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>má</td>
<td>kó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>wò</td>
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- elsewhere the complementizer *ké* is used or the constructions that do not require a complementizer
3SG *yè has replaced the original 2SG forms *bè/yè

2SG forms *bè/yè have been preserved:
  - 2SG.II₂ (PROSP) forms bèè/yèè (<* bè/yè + kè ‘this’ + î 2SG.Iₙ)
  - conjunction/preposition yè ‘as, like’

Bamana í kò [2SG say] ‘as, like, as if’ (litt.: ‘you say’)
Bamana í n’à fɔ̀ [2SG FUT:3SG say] ‘as, like, as if’ (litt.: ‘you will say’)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>yè</td>
<td>ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>wò</td>
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</table>
As a complementizer (but not as a quotative predicator), 3SG ye can be used instead of all other forms

(1) Ká wǔ̱-í  ye / ká kő å pé wè̱n
2PL.Id say\COND-COND 3SG.COMP 2PL.COMP 1PL.Ic 3SG.V say Tura
wʊ̱  gĩ...
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)  
  (Braconnier 1987-88:49, 55)

1. Á yè nỳà nà n-kò Sèkù tè shón  
   3SG COP 1SG eye at 1-COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree  
   ‘I have the feeling / I think that Seku will not agree’

2. Wô lé tén fɔ-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 everybody comes today’

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

(1) È  ý  gĩ  má  
3SG.ib  1SG  in  COMP.1SG
‘I think that [if she keeps her promise, everything will be fine]’ (CO)

(2) È  ý  gĩ  yè  
3SG.ib  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)  
\[3SG\ kó \ 1SG / 1PL to 1-COMP \]

‘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

/ ñénékó /

We also don’t know where the word border is: ń#yé#nkó or ń#yén#kó ?
Mandinka (some dialects)

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

- In several other Manding varieties the postposition *ye* is found as *yenj* or *jenj* (Creissels 1983:185).
  
  *denj* ‘to, for’

- The postposition *ye* is realized as *nej* only after *nî* ‘1SG’ and *nî* ‘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 segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse.”

- Besides quotative complementizers, other kinds of conventionalized quotative indexes exist, viz. **quotative verbs, quotative predicitors**, 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 of 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* **tí**...
   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* ñ 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-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 predications

- 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 (bòù)) \text{ yè (*à nè): Gbéeén}\
\text{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 \text{ wìè-ì (*lè): Gbéeén}\
\text{3SG.Ib say\AOR-AOR CNJ dog}\

‘He said, ‘The dog’’
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) \textbf{Kó} (*à mà) à ká táá
\textbf{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 predicatives 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