Quotative markers in Western Mande

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What will be discussed...

- The types of quotative indexes found in Mande and how they are typically differentiated.
  “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” (Güldemann 2008:11)
  - quotative verbs
  - quotative predicators
  - quotative complementizers
  - quotative markers

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

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):
  - ċaali (the speaker = God)
  - jaaabì (the speaker = prophets, muslim scholars, knowledgeable persons) (otherwise ‘to answer’)
  - màaxù (the speaker = respected and older persons)
  - tà (the speaker = anybody), also a quotative complementizer

(1) Alla daali i kitaaben noxondi tí...
‘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 predicative marker.

  Bamana ko(also a complementizer)

(1) À kó má (kó)...
‘He said/says to me that...’

(2) À má tí / À mà tí / À má tí / À má tí / À má tí / À má tí
‘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 à 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 yè (also a complementizer)

(1) (ɓʊ̀ʊ̀) yè (*ȁn ɛ̏n): Gb ɛ̋ɛ́n
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) Èwɩ̀ɩ̀ (*lè): Gb ɛ̋ɛ́n
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) Kó (*àmà àká táá)
QM 3SG to 3SG SUBJ go
‘He/they/we/I say(s)/said (*to him) that he should go’

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)

Jula of Samatiguila

- Ñ/Án yè à à à à bē Sêkù yè tǎgà
1SG/1PL COP 3SG at 1-COMP PROP SUBJ go
‘We want that Seku goes away’

b. Mùsà yè à à à bē Sêkù yè tǎgà
PROP COP 3SG at [NON‹1›]COMP PROP SUBJ go
‘Musa wants that Seku goes away’

- Ñ/Án nà à à à à bē Sêkù tê sëhà
1SG/1PL PFV 3SG say-PFV 1-COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree
‘We said that Seku will not agree’

b. Mùsà nà à à à à bē Sêkù tê sëhà
PROP PFV 3SG say-PFV [NON‹1›]COMP PROP IPFV.NEG agree
‘Musa said that Seku will not agree’

Agreement on complementizers

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

Jula of Samatiguila

- n-1 vs. Ø NON‹1› (COMP is kò) (Braconnier 1987-88:49, 55)

(1) À yè a nà n-kò Sèkù t'l alòn
  tag. eye at 1-COMP PROP IPFV NEG agree
  ‘I have the feeling / I think that Seku will not agree’

(2) Wò kè tém D-alu ño bòrò n-kò by ná bí
  FOC PST say-PST.TR.PFV 1PL by 1-COMP all IPFV come toda
  ‘It was asked by us that everybody comes today’

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

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

Ko Mende (Innes 1971:139)

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<td>3</td>
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Kpa Mende (Aginsky 1935:75-76)

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- The form yè is also ‘be/PST’ which is the “mutated” form of kè ‘(vt) cause to be(come), make’.
- quotative verbs: Jogo/Ligbi kè (vi), Gban kè (vi).

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

Speech verbs

- (vi) QV < ‘(vi, [vt]) say’, [‘(vi) speak, talk’] < (by conversion) ‘voice, language, speech’
  - The ko-type quotatives (< *y'name’ neck, throat’)
    - Northwestern Mande: Tigemaxo Bozo nò, Débo Bozo yò
    - Central Mande: Manding kò
  - Bobo (Northwestern Mande, Soninke-Bobo) ò from ò ‘speech, language; matters, things; customs’ and ultimately ‘mouth’
- (vi) QV < ‘(vi, [vt]) say’ < ‘(vt) say’ < ? ‘(vt) give, produce’
  - Susu (Central Mande): náxà/náxà/náxàè(r) < náxà ‘Narrative past predicative marker’ + *ìí ‘(vi) say’ < ‘(vt) say’ (cf. Jalonke i ‘(vt) say’)

13 14 15 16 17 18
Non-speech verbs

- (vi) QV < (vi) general (change of) location/state verb < (vt) general action verb
  - A common Mande verb \( k\dot{e} \) intransitivised by conversion
    - Southwestern Mande: Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle
    - Central Mande: Jogo/Ligbi
  - Bobo (Northwestern Mande, Soninke-Bobo) \( t\dot{a} \) intransitivized overtly to \( \ddot{a} \)
    - (rare) quotative verb \( \ddot{d} \) (vi)
    - quotative predicator & complementizer \( \ddot{e} \) (tone: \( \ddot{e} = \text{PRS of } t\dot{e} \))

- (vi) QV < (vi) 'stay, remain; become' < (vt) 'let stay, leave; make'
  - Northwestern Mande, Samogo: Jowulu \( \ddot{t}\ddot{u} \)
    - intransitivised by conversion
    - Northwestern Mande, Samogo: Dzuun \( c\ddot{i} \), Seeku \( \ddot{i} \) / \( \ddot{\ddot{i}} \) / \( \ddot{\dddot{i}} \)
    - intransitivised by an affix
    - Northwestern Mande, Soninke-Bozo: Soninke \( t\ddot{t} \)
    - intransitivised by reflexivization
    - Central Mande, Manding: Xasonka \( \ddot{t}\ddot{i} \)

- (vi) QV < (vi) 'rise, go up' (< ? (vt) placement verb intransitivised by an affix)
  - Central Mande: Jeri \( \ddot{t}\dot{e} \)
    - (some semantic parallels: Jalonke (Central Mande) \( t\ddot{i} \)’(vi) stand (up); (vt) produce (also speech)’, Susu (Central Mande) \( t\ddot{i} \)’(vi) stop, stand; confess, recognize; (vt) put; build’)