DEVELOPMENT OF TAM AND POLARITY MARKING CONDITIONED BY TRANSITIVITY STATUS IN WESTERN MANDE

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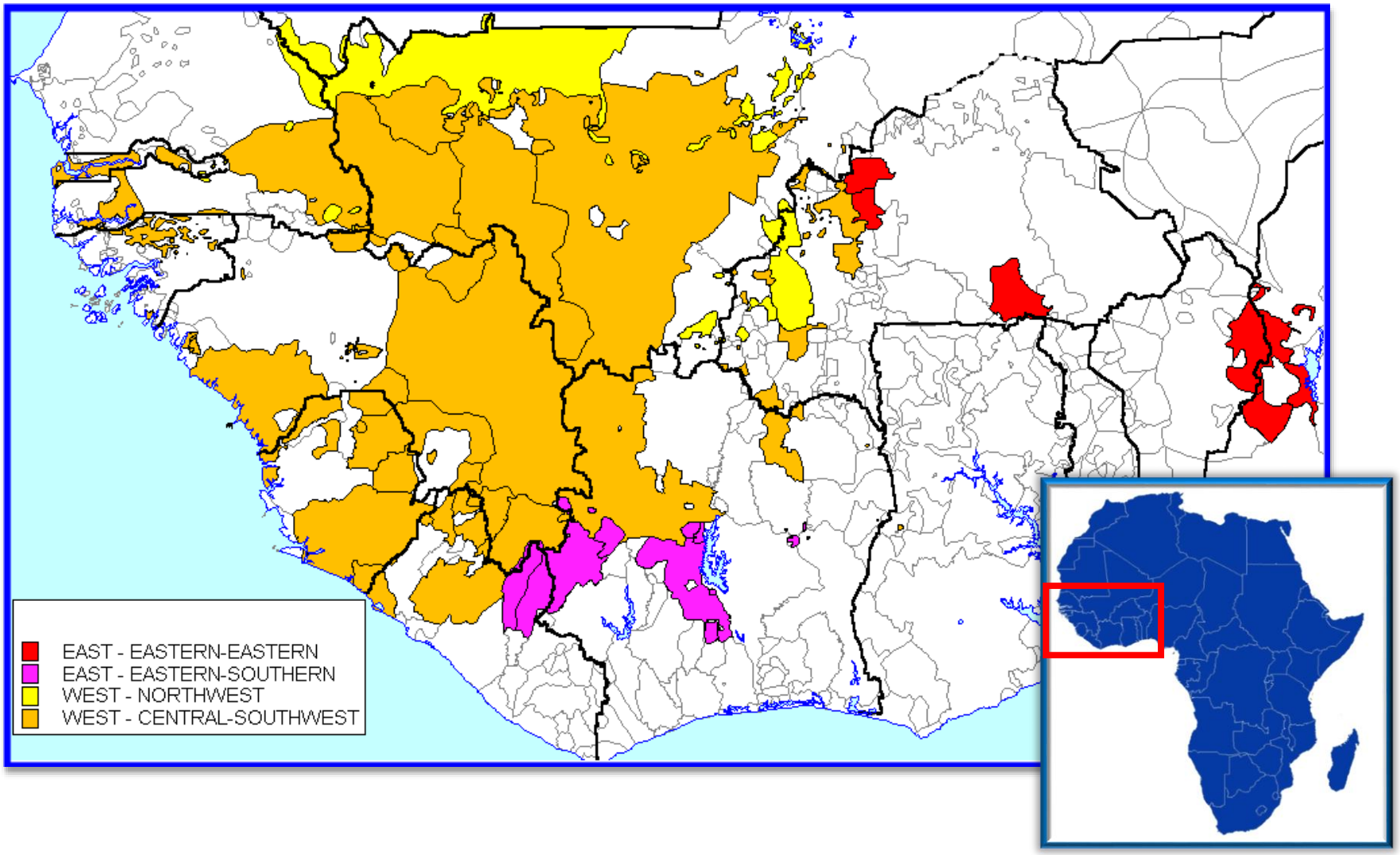
MANDE LANGUAGES



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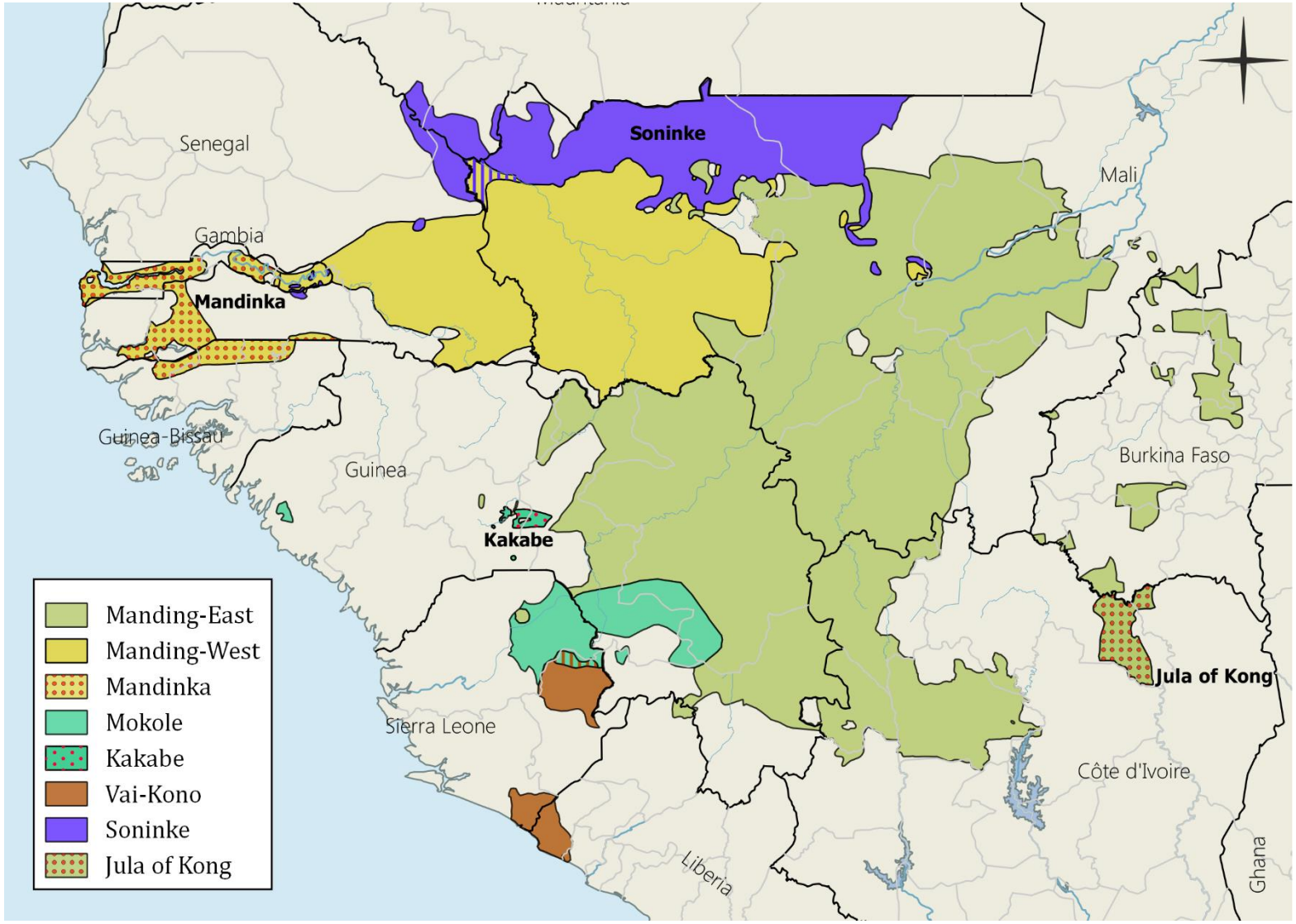
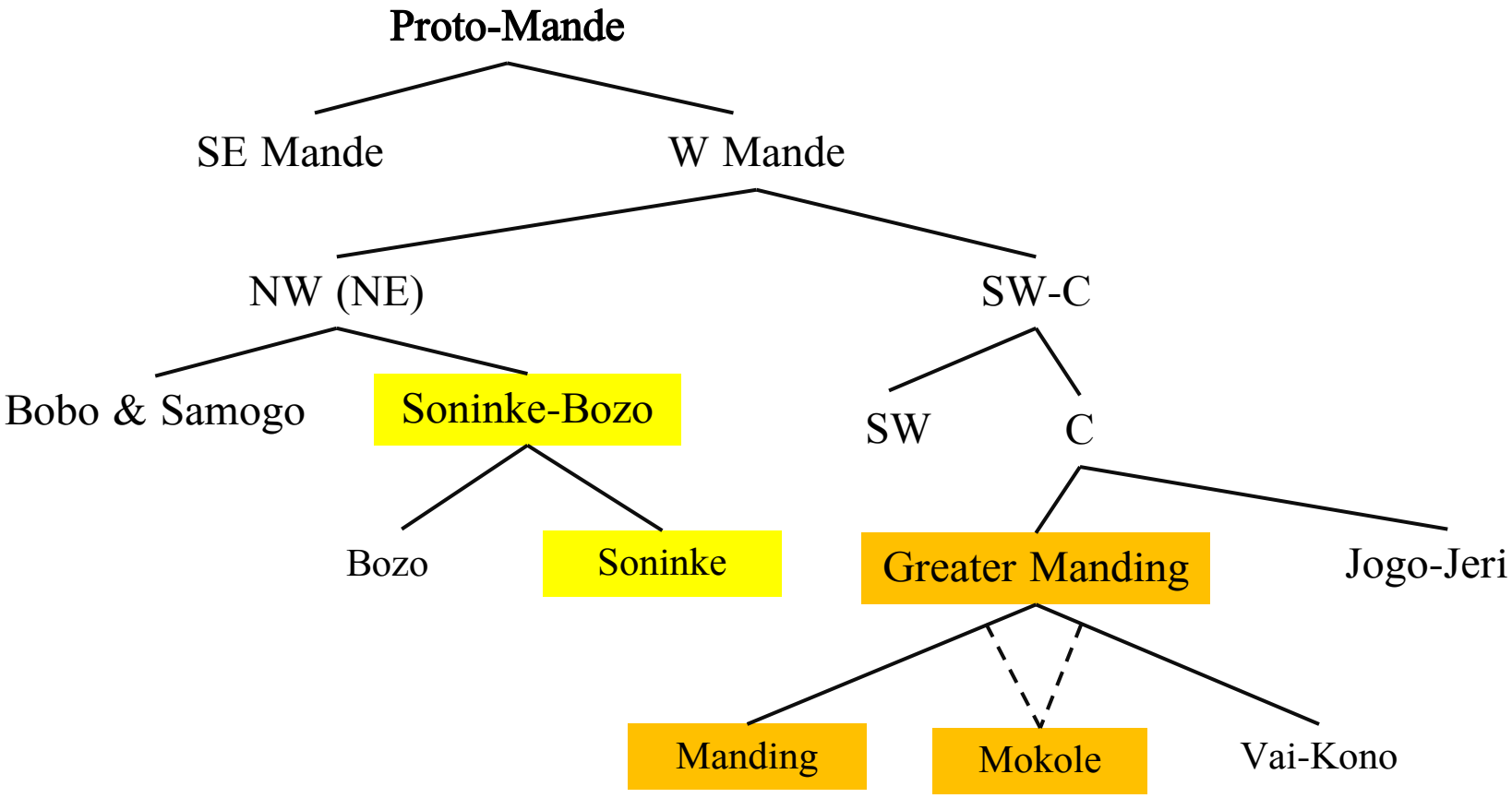
GREATER MANDING & SONINKE



GREATER MANDING & SONINKE



- **2 tones**: L vs H, L vs ∅, L vs ∅ vs H
- downdrift, downstep, different types of **prosodic boundaries**
- canonical syllable structure: **CV(N)**
- only a **few V-initial morphemes**: personal pronouns, functional morphemes, borrowings

- limited inflectional morphology
- suffixing
- **rigid** S (O) V X order
- TAMP (tense, aspect, mood, polarity) tend to be expressed syncretically but can be distributed across as many as 4 sites within the clause:

$TAMP_0$ S **$TAMP_1$** (O) V-**$TAMP_2$** X $TAMP_3$

* $TAMP_1$ aka Predicative Marker or AUX

TRANSITIVITY STATUS IS OBVIOUS

- **rigid SOVX** constituent order
- **obligatory S** (except for imperatives)
- in a transitive construction: **obligatory O** (except in Bobo and Boko-Busa cluster)
- minimally, **O slot** is filled with a **dummy 3SG** pronoun (such as *à* in Greater Manding)
- typically, S and O are separated by **$TAMP_1$** marker
- in some languages, detransitivizing and transitivizing **verbal derivational affixes**

- In Greater Manding and Soninke, **transitivity status** may condition **the choice of TAMP marking** in clauses with certain TAMP values

Mandinka of Sédhiou (Creissels 2013:62)

(1) a. PFV_I^+: *-tá* ($TAMP_2$)

sùl-óo	*sèlè-tà*	*yír-ôo*	*sántò*
monkey-ART	climb-PFV.I	tree-ART	at.the.top

'The monkey climbed to the top of the tree.'

b. PFV_T^+: *yé ~ ŋá* ($TAMP_1$)

sùl-óo	*yè*	*yír-óo*	*sèlè*
monkey-ART	PFV.T	tree-ART	climb

'The monkey climbed the tree.'

Mandinka of Sédhiou (Creissels 2013:70, 181)

(2) a. $\mathbf{PFV_I^-}$: *máŋ*^{L} ($\mathbf{TAMP_1}$)

*ŋ́ **máŋ** ˈsíláŋ féŋ ná jàŋ*

1SG PFV.NEG fear thing OBL here

'The monkey climbed to the top of the tree.'

b. $\mathbf{PFV_T^-}$: *máŋ* ($\mathbf{TAMP_1}$)

*ŋ́ **máŋ** móórí jé jèè*

1SG PFV.NEG marabout see there

'The monkey climbed the tree.'

- the **range of TAMP constructions involved** varies across the languages according to:
  - **polarity**: always some positive constructions, sometimes also some negative constructions
  - **TAM**: always PFV^{+}, sometimes also IPFV, PROG, SUBJ, IMP

For instance, in **Mandinka of Sédhiou**:

	Transitivity status			
	Intransitive		Transitive	
PFV^{+}	*-tá*	$TAMP_2$	*yé ~ ŋá*	$TAMP_1$
PFV^{-}	*máŋ*^{L}	$TAMP_1$	*máŋ*	$TAMP_1$
IPFV^{-} (_V-*lá*)	*té*^{L}*~tî*^{L}	$TAMP_1$	*té~tî*	$TAMP_1$
PROG^{-} (_V-*kàŋ*)	*té*^{L}*~tî*^{L}	$TAMP_1$	*té~tî*	$TAMP_1$

DIFFERENTIAL TAMP MARKING: TWO TYPES

- the type involving **similar TAMP makers** (**SIM** type), actually only similar $TAMP_1$ markers which differ only at their right edge:
  - **tonal SIM** type: floating ^{L} vs. its absence (e.g., Mandinka *máŋ*^{L} vs. *máŋ*)
  - **segmental SIM** type: final nasal vs. its absence (e.g., Soninke *nàn* vs. *nà*)
- the type involving **different TAMP makers** (**DIF** type), such as:
  - $TAMP_1$ marker vs. $TAMP_2$ marker (e.g., Mandinka *yé* ~ *ŋá* vs. *-tá*)
  - $TAMP_1$ marker vs. zero (e.g., Soninke *dà* vs. ∅)
  - *($TAMP_1$ marker vs. a different $TAMP_1$ marker)

SIM TYPE: EXPLANATION VS. DESCRIPTION

- In the case of **SIM** type, the difference in TAMP marking allows for two analyses:
  - **two TAMP markers** ⇒ TAMP marking is conditioned by **transitivity status** of the construction
  - one TAMP marker with **two allomorphs** ⇒ TAMP marking is conditioned by **its right context** / the type of **prosodic boundary to its right**
- The choice between the two analyses depends on our **goals**:
  - **explanatory adequacy** (diachronic & comparative perspective) ⇒ **two allomorphs**
  - **descriptive simplicity** (synchronic perspective) ⇒ it depends on the language

    (e.g., Mandinka of Sédhiou vs. Jula of Kong or Kakabe)

SIM TYPE: EXPLANATION

(Idiatov 2015, ms.)

- The relation with transitivity status is **indirect** (correlation, not conditioning)
- **Differential phonological evolution** of a single $TAMP_1$ marker as a function of its right context: N (☞ O) vs. anything else
- This also explains why SIM type involves **only $TAMP_1$ markers** and affects only their **right edge**.
- **Frequency effects**:

  In C_T (but never in C_I), $TAMP_1$ is frequently followed by a **3SG pronoun *à*** that has **L tone** (☞ tonal SIM type) and is **V-initial** (☞segmental SIM type).

- Patterns of **Western Mande phonotactics**:
  - **segmental** (segmental SIM):
    - verbs begin with C, but 3SG pronoun *à* is V-initial
    - word-final nasals tend to be deleted before vowel (☞ C_T), but be preserved before consonant (☞ C_I & C_T)

Soninke:

	Intransitive$_1$	Transitive
SUBJ$^+$ (TAMP$_1$)	*nàn*	*nà*

Standard Bamana:

	Intransitive	Transitive
PFV$^-$ (TAMP$_1$)	*má*	
QUAL$^-$ (TAMP$_1$) (< *PFV$^-$)	*mán* /mã́/	—

- Patterns of **Western Mande phonotactics**:
  - **tonal** (tonal SIM):
    - when two L tone domains meet at the word boundary, one of the two L tone domains tend to be retracted (usually, the first one)
    - L tone of a 3SG pronoun is the L tone that is most resistant to delinking or deletion
    - floating ^{L} that does not originate in the L tone of the 3SG pronoun tends to be deleted (☞floating ^{L} deletion in C_T before *à* 3SG)
    - In some languages (such as Jula of Kong), H tone spreads rightwards over the word boundary (☞floating ^{L} preservation in C_T before *à* 3SG)

		Intransitive	Transitive
Mandinka of Sédhiou:	PFV^{-} (TAMP$_1$)	*máŋ*^{L}	*máŋ*
Jula of Kong:	PFV^{-} (TAMP$_1$)	*má*	*má*^{L}

DIF TYPE: TAMP VALUES

- **DIF** type is attested for a limited number of positive constructions:
  - PFV^{+} constructions in Soninke and most Greater Manding languages
  - two constructions **historically related to PFV^{+}** in Soninke, viz. SUBJ^{+} and IMP.2PL^{+}
  - one **IPFV.FOC^{+}** construction in Soninke

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CREISSELS (1997)

- similarity in form between some $TAMP_1$ **in** PFV^{+}_{T} constructions and **postpositions**
- passive and causative/anticausative **P-lability** typical for the relevant Western Mande languages

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CREISSELS (1997)

- **PFV_I^+** (with its $TAMP_2$ marker) is the **older** construction with originally resultative meaning and **$*PFV_I^+ \Rightarrow PFV_T^+$**
- ***agentive postposition** (of a topicalized NP) > $TAMP_1$ in PFV_T^+

(3) $*PFV_I^+$ with a fronted (topicalized) oblique:

	[NP	$PP]_{OBL}$	$[NP]_S$	$V\text{-}TAMP_2$
	↓	↓	↓	↓
PFV_T^+:	$[NP]_S$	$TAMP_1$	$[NP]_O$	V

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CREISSELS (1997)

(3) *PFV_I^+ with a fronted (topicalized) oblique:

	[NP	$PP]_{OBL}$	$[NP]_S$	$V\text{-}TAMP_2$
	↓	↓	↓	↓
PFV_T^+:	$[NP]_S$	$TAMP_1$	$[NP]_O$	V

(4) ***As for me***, *the letter is written* > ***I*** *have written the letter*

as for > $TAMP_1$ in PFV_T^+

me > I_S

the letter$_S$ > *the letter*$_O$

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CREISSELS (1997) – PROBLEMS

(3) *PFV_I^+ with a fronted (topicalized) oblique:

	[NP	$PP]_{OBL}$	$[NP]_S$	$V\text{-}TAMP_2$
	↓	↓	↓	↓
PFV_T^+:	$[NP]_S$	$TAMP_1$	$[NP]_O$	V

- Although typologically plausible, this account is **not natural** within **Mande morphosyntax**:
  - the **presumed source** construction, viz. *PFV_I^+ with a fronted (topicalized) agentive oblique is extremely rare in West Africa and **absent in Mande**
  - most relevant languages **disallow** or **strongly disprefer** expressing the agent or the person concerned as oblique in passive/anticausative intransitive constructions
  - difficult to account for the **deletion** of the **original** $TAMP_2$ **suffix** & its **uniform character** across Greater Manding despite that the change in (3) must have occurred independently across Greater Manding

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CONSTRUCTION MERGER ACCOUNT

- **Merger** of **two constructions**, C_1 and C_2, as variants of the new construction C' (i.e. the present-day PFV^{+} construction)
  - construction $\mathbf{C_1}$ – primarily **intransitive**
  - construction $\mathbf{C_2}$ – largely **indifferent to transitivity**
- **Specialization** of $\mathbf{C_1}$ as the intransitive variant $\mathbf{C'_I}$ of C'
- **Specialization** of $\mathbf{C_2}$ as the transitive variant $\mathbf{C'_T}$ of C'

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CONSTRUCTION MERGER ACCOUNT

- The construction **C_1**, the source of PFV_I^{+}, was a construction based on a **perfective participle** [V-PTCP.PFV]:
  - as the **complement of a COP** in the **RES** construction [S COP V-PTCP.PFV] (or less likely, [S V-PTCP.PFV COP])
  - as a **dependent predication** [S V-PTCP.PFV] being part of the construction $[[P_1]_{dependent}\ P_2]$ and expressing temporal precedence of P_1 to P_2
- Both the copula-based type and the dependent predication type are **very common** in Greater Manding
- In most languages, they are **exclusively intransitive**
- In Jogo (Kastenholz 1997), PFV^{+} $TAMP_2$ marker *-rɛ*, **cognate** to Greater Manding PFV_I^{+} $TAMP_2$ marker *-ta*, is **indifferent to transitivity**

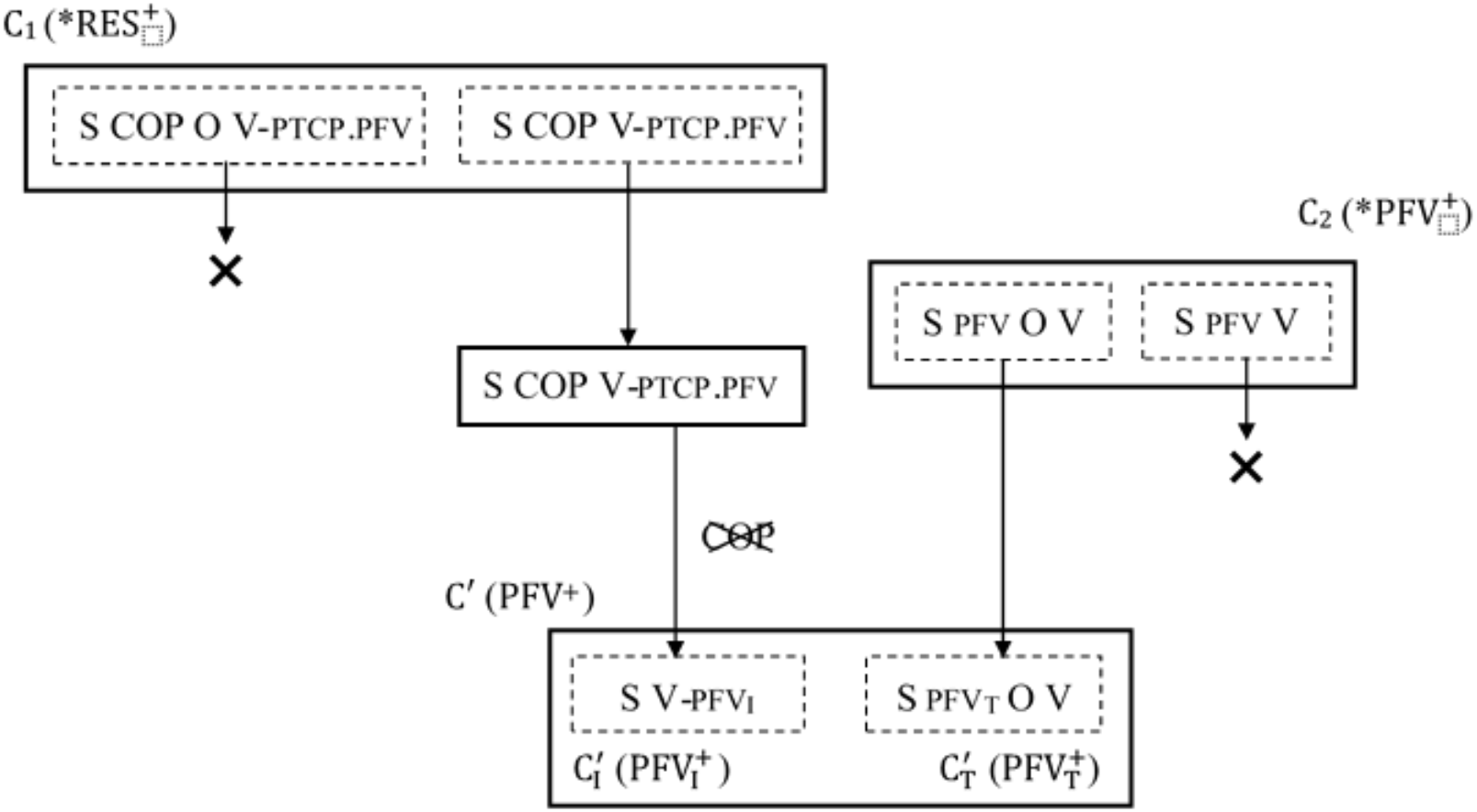
PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CONSTRUCTION MERGER ACCOUNT

- **Independent uses** of the [S V-PTCP.PFV] construction are well attested and can be explained through:
  - COP loss
  - insubordination
- Both pathways help to account naturally for the fact that in **PFV^{-} TAMP marking** is **not conditioned by transitivity** and has the same structure as PFV$^{+}_{T}$, viz. using a **TAMP$_1$** marker

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CONSTRUCTION MERGER ACCOUNT

- Reflexes of the PFV^{+} TAMP$_1$ marker **kà* in Greater Manding provide an example of **specialization of a TAMP$_1$** marker originally indifferent to transitivity status to an exclusively transitive use as **PFV$^{+}_{T}$**:
  - Typically, reflexes of the PFV^{+} marker **kà* are used in PFV$^{+}_{T}$
  - In some languages, it still allows for a limited (or fossilized) use in PFV$^{+}_{I}$ (e.g., in Maninka of Kankan and Mandinka of Sédhiou)
  - One of the common reflexes of **kà* is used in QUAL^{+} construction, which is exclusively intransitive due to its semantics

PFV^{+} DIF TYPE: CONSTRUCTION MERGER ACCOUNT



DIF TYPE: WHY PFV$^+$?

- In WM, the **positive PFV domain** (but not the negative one!) tends to be **crowded**, with further distinctions made:
  - by using motion and phasal verbs as quasi-auxiliaries ⇒ $TAMP_1$ markers
  - by recruiting RES constructions
- Some of these constructions tend to **lose their specific semantics** evolving into a general PFV$^+$ construction
- Due to their **semantics**, **RES** constructions tend to be much more common in **intransitive** uses ⇒ specialize as intransitive constructions ⇒ generalize as PFV_I^+ ⇒ trigger the specialization $*PFV^+ > PFV_T^+$.

CONCLUSION: EXPLANATION IN LINGUISTICS

- Explanation is historical
- Explanation is construction-based
- Explanation is grounded in language use and its frequency patterns

- Explanation is largely language-specific
- Broad typological tendencies (such as the differential PFV marking conditioned by transitivity status) are largely epiphenomenal