The SOV Structure of Mende Jason Smith ACAL 52 April 8, 2021

1. Derived Nature of Mende's OV structure

V

In this talk I argue that Mende's SOV word-order is underlyingly SVO. The subject, verb, and object all subsequently raise out of the verbal shell generating the canonical SOV order.

Mande languages are claimed to have a strict SOVX order (Gensler 1994, Nikitina 2009, Creissels 2005).

 $(1)^1$ **S O** Peter m

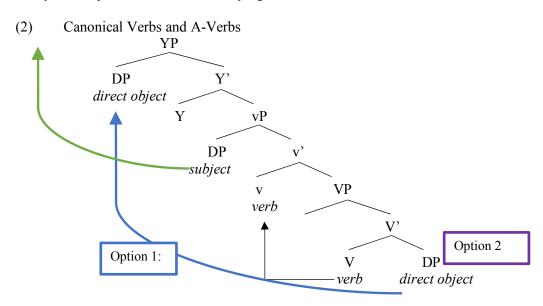
Peter mbe-i yeya-i-lo² Peter rice-DEF.SG buy-PST-ASP 'Peter bought the rice'

I argue that:

- The base order in the verbal shell is SVO (Kayne 1994)
 - On the surface: two types of verbs
 - V with pre-verbal object
 - V with post-verbal objects
- They are distinguished by how they get case

Empiral Objective: Mende is not strictly SOV

Analytical Objective: Mende's underlying structure is SVO



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² I use standard Mende orthography throughout

Evidence for this analysis from 3 sources:

- a) Existence of verbs that take post-verbal objects
- (3) ngi {*guli} ja-i-lo a {guli} 1SG tree touch-PST-ASP A tree 'I touched the tree'
 - b) Unergative verbs that take pre-verbal or post-verbal cognate objects
 - c) Quantifier float

Roadmap:

- Background on Mende
- Previous research on Mende and Mande languages
- Evidence for this analysis from 3 sources
- Conclusion

2. Background:

• Data collected in Bo, Sierra Leone, in 2019 through structured elicitation with 2 native speakers, and follow up via WhatsApp and Zoom

Mende Background

 Mende (ISO 639-2 men) ~ two million speakers in the southern and eastern parts of Sierra Leone and Liberia (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2020).

4 Major Dialects of Mende

Кээ	(eastern Sierra Leone)
Кра	(southwestern Sierra Leone)
Sewama	(south-central Sierra Leone)
Waanjama	(south-eastern Sierra Leone and Liberia)



Figure 1 - Mende Speaking Areas of Sierra Leone (https://dmaps.com/carte.php?num_car=66061&lang=en)

- Previous research *Koo* (c.f. Innes 1967)
- My research and examples *Sewama*

Language Family: Niger Congo - Mande - Western Mande (Williamson and Blench 2000).

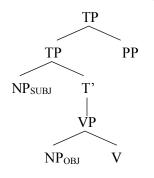
3. Previous Syntactic Analyses:

Mende

- Very little syntactic analysis (most work on tone (c.f. Leben 1973, Goldsmith 1978) and consonant mutation (c.f. Dwyer 1969, Conteh, Cowper and Rice 1986, and Tateishi 1990))
- Descriptive grammar Innes (1971)
- Tense/Aspect Sengova (1981)

Mande Family

- Western Mande: Mahou (Koopman 1984), Kpelle (Travis 1989), Bambara (Koopman 1992), Dafing (Sande, Baier, Jenks 2019)
- Eastern Mande: Wan (Nikitina 1997, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2019)
- (4) Clausal Structure of Wan (adapted from Nikitina 2009: 19)



LFG Analysis - doesn't seem like it could be straightforwardly transferred to Mende

• Post-verbal direct objects

4. Towards an Analysis

- 4.1 *A*-verbs
 - There are verbs in Mende with post-verbal objects, *a*-verbs.

A-verbs: ja 'touch', *lo* 'want', *la* 'believe', *li* 'take', *lawe* 'brag', *njia* 'quarrel', *lolo* 'hate', *ngi* 'remember', and *waa* 'bring', etc.

- (5) a. Peter la-i-lo ***(a) ndupu-i-sia** Peter believe- PST-ASP A child-DEF-PL 'Peter believed the children
 - Property 1: Post-verbal object
 - Property 2: Preceded by *a*
 - b. *Peter (a) ndupu-i-sia la-i-lo Peter A child-DEF-PL believe- PST-ASP 'Peter believed the children
 - Object cannot be pre-verbal
 - c. *Peter **ndupu-i-sia** la-i-lo **a** Peter child-DEF-PL believe- PST-ASP A 'Peter believed the children
 - *A*-particle cannot be stranded

(6)	*Peter majia-i-lo / negeya-i-lo / lo-i-lo / nguwa-i-lo / gbafa-i-lo a nike-i-sia Peter sell-PST-ASP / buy-PST-ASP / see-PST-ASP / wash-PST-ASP / insult-PST-ASP A cow-DEF-PL 'Peter sold / bought / saw / washed / insulted the cows'							
•	<i>A</i> -verbs are generally lexically idiosyncratic (I'll look later at a few counter-examples) Canonical verbs cannot have post-verbal direct objects							
4.1.1	Function of the a Particle							
	is canonically postpositional, except for the preposition t contexts:	<i>a</i> . It occurs post-verbally in three other						
(7)	Peter yenge-i-lo <u>a</u> Mary kɛ Lawrence kpaa hun Peter work-PST-ASP A Mary and Lawrence farm on 'Peter worked with Mary and Lawrence on the farm'	(Introduces a Comitative Object)						
(8)	Peter yenge-i-lo <u>a</u> kali-i ke koni-i Peter work- PST-ASP A hoe-DEF.SG and axe-DEF.SG 'Peter worked with the hoe and the axe on the farm.'	(Introduces an Instrumental Object)						
(9)	Peter Mary gε-i-loa TommyPeter Mary introduce- PST-ASP A Tommy'Peter introduced Mary to Tommy'	(Introduces a Goal)						
•	Category: <i>a</i> seems to be a preposition Semantic meaning is unclear							
<i>4.1.2</i> (10)								
(11)	ti Peter lɔ-i-lɔ 3PL Peter see-PST-ASP 'They (Mary and Lawrence) saw Peter'	(Canonical Subject Pronoun) v Peter'						
(12)	Peter la-i-lo <u>a</u> tiye Peter believe-PST-ASP A 3PL 'Peter believed them (Mary and Lawrence)'	(A-object Pronoun)						
•	Case is not marked in Mende, except on pronouns. A different paradigm of pronouns is used for <i>a</i> -objects.							
Co	nclusion: The <i>a</i> -prepositon assigns case to the direct obje	ect						
<i>4.1.3</i> (13)	The a-object as Complement							

(13) a. ngi ja-i-lo **a nike-i-sia** 1SG touch-PST-ASP A cow-DEF-PL 'I touched the cows'

- b. ngi ja-i-lo **a nike-i-sia** a koni-i-sia 1SG touch-PST-ASP A cow-DEF-PL A axe-DEF-PL 'I touched the cows with the axes' *'I touched the axes with the cows'
- c. ngi ja-i-lo **a koni-i-sia** a nike-i-sia 1SG touch-PST-ASP A axe-DEF-PL A cow-DEF-PL 'I touched the axes with the cows' *'I touched the cows with the axes'
- Only the *a*-string adjacent to V interpreted as theme/patient
- Conclusion: *a*-object merged as sister to V

Correlations:

- Post-verbal: dummy preposition a
- Pre-verbal: no dummy preposition
- Two different sets of lexical verbs

Koopman (1984, 1992) on Bambara: DO raises to preverbal position for Case.

Proposal for Mende: **DO raises to preverbal position for Case = canonical Verb**

OR

DO remains in merge position and dummy P inserted = *a*-Verb

4.2 Unergatives with Cognate Direct Objects

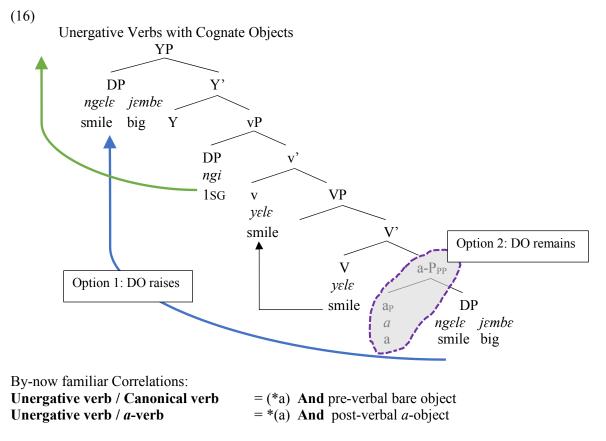
A class of unergative verbs that permit their cognate direct object to either precede or follow the verb.

ngele 'smile', *tiso* 'cough', *pinde* 'jump', *pime* 'run', *jia* 'walk', *hambo* 'yawn', *lapi* 'fight', *ndaapi* 'swim', etc.

- (14) Peter {(*a) ngɛlɛ jɛmbɛ} yɛlɛ-i-lɔ {a ngɛlɛ jɛmbɛ} Peter { A smile big} smile-PST-ASP {A smile big} 'Peter smiled a big smile' (yɛlɛ = mutated form of ngɛlɛ)
- (15) Peter {(*a) pindε jεmbε} windε-i-lo {a pindε jεmbε}
 Peter A jump big jump-PST-ASP A jump big
 'Peter jumped a big jump' (windε = mutated form of pindε)
 - Generalization: post-verbal object introduced by *a*
 - Generalization: pre-verbal object cannot be introduced by *a*

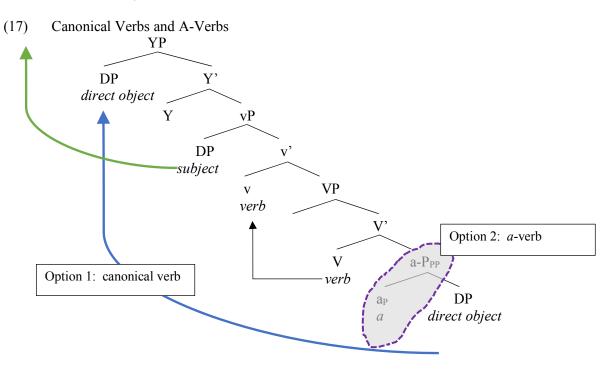
Analysis: Unergatives and Object Raising

- Pre-verbal object of unergative (**a*) and bare object
- Post-verbal object of unergative = *(a) and *a*-object



Analysis in a nutshell:

- Surface patterns for A-verbs and canonical verbs arise from the same processes as unergatives.
- OV is derived from VO.



- 4.3 Stranded Quantifiers
- (18) the children will all sing
 [DP the children]will [VP [DP all [DP the children]] sing]

Given that only leftward movement is permitted, quantifier float is significant in showing the base position of the moved DP (Sportiche 1998, Fitzpatrick 2006).

If a quantifier can be floated in position X, then the associated DP must have been in position X at some point in the derivation.

(19)	a. ndopo-i sɛlɛ-i-sia kpɛlɛ me-i-lɔ child-DEF.SG banana-DEF-PL all eat-PST-ASP 'The child ate all the bananas'				S [OQ] V <i>t</i>
		sɛlɛ-i-sia G banana-DEF-I tte all the banar	PL eat-PST-AS		S [O] V [<i>t</i> Q]

- Direct object and quantifier both raise into pre-verbal position (like a canonical verb)
- Direct object can raise while quantifier is stranded (like an *a*-verb)

5. Conclusions

Mende:

- Both pre-verbal (canonical verbs) and post-verbal (a-verbs) direct objects
- They differ in how they assign case to their object (Koopman (1984, 1992)
- Their behavior is reflected in the two positions of cognate direct objects of the class of unergative verbs.
- Quantifier Float points to the direct object having been in a post-verbal position.
- Mende's SOV surface order is derived from an underlying SVO order

Other evidence to be considered:

- Other post-verbal object constructions
- Binding

Further Research:

• Post-verbal objects in related Mande languages (Loko, Bandi, etc.)

wu sie

(thank you)

6. References

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