

On the Reconstruction of Person Marking in South-Western Mande

To date, no attempt on reconstructing personal pronouns or person markers in SWM languages has been made, though this topic definitely deserves significant attention within the framework of the comparative studies of the Mande languages. Moreover, even the synchronic data on person marking systems in South-Western Mande (further referred to as SWM) languages is far from being systematised.

The objective of the present paper is thus

- 1) to gather all the available data on the subject from various sources into an organised comparative survey completed by my own field data for the Zialo language (hitherto unknown) collected in 2010 in Southern Guinea, and
- 2) to deliver a tentative reconstruction of the Proto-SWM system of person marking.

The full version of the analysis will be published in [Babaev, forthcoming].

In the six sections below, I have grouped person markers of all the SWM languages into similar charts. Syntactically independent pronouns, clitic and bound markers are given together for the sake of uniformity. Paradigm sets are consistently numbered according to their syntactic functions and grammatical meanings from I to XIII. So Set I in each of the languages corresponds to Set I in the proto-language reconstructed in Section 7:

- I basic
- II progressive
- III independent
- IV associative
- IVa conjunctive
- V polyfunctional
- VI possessive
- VII inflected postpositions
- VIII conditional
- IX imperative
- X negative-1
- XI negative-2
- XII inhoative
- XIII quotative

Series which do not correspond among the languages are numbered after XIII and vary in grammatical semantics.

1. Bandi¹

Chart 1

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl. incl.	1pl.excl.	2pl.	3pl.
I	ŋí	yí	ì (ŋì)	mù, mò	nì	wú	tì
Ia	ŋí	yí	í (ŋí)	mù, mò	nì	wú	tí
II	ŋá(à)	yá(à)	á(à) (ŋà)	má(à)	ná(à)	wá(à)	tá(à)
III	ná	yá	aá (ŋáá), làá	mùyà, mùà, miá	nìá	wúyá, wúá, wá	tíá
IV	ŋé	íyè/íyé	là, lá	mùyè, múyé	nìyè, níyé	wúyè, wúyé	tìyè, tíyé
IVa	-	-	-	mää, má	nää, ná	wää, wá	tää, ta

¹ Data from: [Heydorn 1940/41; Dwyer 1973; Kovac 1978; Rodewald 1985; Grossmann & al. 1991; Grossmann 1992; Smal 2004; Bandi, ms.]. Variants from different sources hereinafter are separated by commas.

V	ó-	í-	ò-	mù-, mú-	nì-, ní-	wú-	tì-, tí-
VI	ní	í	ngì	mù	nì	wú	tì
VII	ó-		ò-		niye		tiye
VIII	ngó(ɔ)	yó(ɔ)	óò, òò(ngòò)	mó(ɔ)	nó(ɔ)	wó(ɔ)	tò(ɔ)
IX	-	ø	-	mu (du.), àmú (pl.)	-	a	-
X	ngáá	yáá, yàa	àà (ngàà), láà	màà	nàá	wáá, wàa	tàà
XI	ngéí	yéí	èì (ngèì)	m̀̀ì, méì	nèì, néì	wèì, wéì	tèì
XII	ngà	yáyà, yaa	áà (ngaa)	mámá, maa	náná, naa	wáwá, waa	tátá, taa
XIII	ngè	yè	è		nè	wè	tè
XIV	ngóò	yóò	óò	móò	nóò	wóò	tóò

In the 3sg., the initial prenasalised phoneme appears under the influence of the preceding *-ŋ, a Proto-SWM syllabic nasal now extinct in Bandi on the surface level [Grossmann 1992: 23]. In the proto-language, it ended the Class II nouns (called also *ngi*-nouns) [Bandi, ms.: I, 10] which now use the definite marker *-ngi*, as opposed to *-i* in Class I nouns. When found in the indefinite form, they influence the following person marker:

jàhá àà lì ‘a woman [she] can go’ (Class I indefinite noun);

màsà ngáá lì ‘a chief [he] can go’ (Class II indefinite noun) [Rodewald 1989: 29].

The principal grammatical meanings for the numbered series of the previous chart are given below:

Chart 2

Set	Syntactic functions and grammatical meanings
I	Predicative person markers (PPM): - past action: imperfect, aorist, perfect, analytic tense / aspect constructions; - stative in the past; - factative.
Ia	PPM: relative dependent clauses with optative / debitive / factative meanings.
II	PPM: - progressive; - desiderative / prospective; - conditional and temporal clauses.
III	Subject pronouns: - prospective with the copula <i>lɔ(a)</i> : <i>ja lɔ(a) li</i> ‘I am just leaving’; - stative; - emphasis; - copulative phrases.
IV	Subject pronouns: - indirect object following the associative marker <i>ngáà</i> ‘with’: <i>ngáà mùyè</i> ‘with us’; replaced by <i>là / lá</i> ‘with him / it’ in the 3sg.; - the second conjunctive pronoun: <i>wá tìyè-ní wáá lì</i> ‘you guys and they, you’ll go’.
IVa	The first conjunctive pronoun of a coordinative group.
V	Prefixed person markers: - direct object; - argument of qualitative verbs; - inalienable possession (body parts); - argument of postpositions.
VI	Clitic nominal person markers: alienable possession.
VII	Indirect object pronouns contracted with postposition <i>mbe</i> ‘for’ with a directive /

	benefactive meaning: <i>niye</i> ‘for us (excl.)’.
VIII	PPM: projected action (conditional, debitive, intentional prospective).
IX	PPM: imperative / hortative.
X	Negative PPM: - imperfect, aorist, perfect; - factative; - progressive; - relative clauses.
XI	Negative PPM: - future; - conditional / temporal clauses.
XII	PPM: inhoative / progressive / intentional prospective.
XIII	Quotative markers
XIV	PPM: habitual

The tonal pattern for person markers in Bandi:

Chart 3

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
H	H	L	L	L	H	L

Rodewald [1989: 46-49] describes the rule of “left polarisation” which affects the whole phonological system of Bandi including the person markers: the tone of the 1pl. (both inclusive and exclusive) and the 3pl. is determined by the following word’s tone. At the same time, the tone of the 3sg. marker depends on the preceding noun: the LH or HL patterns of the noun leave the marker’s tone low, the monosyllabic H or L patterns make it high.

2. Mende²

Chart 4

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
I	ŋí	bí	ì	mú	wú	tí
Ia	ŋí	bí	í	mú	wú	tí
II	ŋá	bá	à	má, múá	wá, wúá	tá
III	ná, ŋí(á)	bíá	tá	múá, múá, maa	wúá, wúá, waa	tíá, tíá, tàá
IV	ŋé(é)	bíé	ŋíé (anim.), là (inanim.)	mùé(-ni)	wùé(-ni)	tíé(-ni)
IVa	-	-	-	máá	wáá	táá
V	ná-	bí-	ŋí- / ŋí- (anim.), ò- (inanim.)	mù- / mú-	wù- / wú-	tì- / tí-
VI	ná	bí	ŋì	mù	wù	tì
VII	ó-	bíé, bɛ	ŋíé, ŋgué, ò-	mùé	wùé	tíé
VIII	ŋàá	bàá	àá	máá	wáá	táá
IX	-	ø	-	mù (du.), àmù	a	-
X	ŋî	bî	î(î)	mûi, múù	wûi, wúù	tî
XI	ŋéè	béè	è(è)	mûè, méè	wûè, wéè	téè
XIII	ŋê	bê	yè, ɛɛ	mê, múè	wê	tê

² Data from: [Migeod 1908; Aginsky 1935; Spears 1967; Innes 1971; Dwyer 1973; Sengova 1981].

Set	Syntactic functions and grammatical meanings
I	PPM: - perfect, aorist, preterite; - factative; - copulative phrases with a final copula: <i>ngí mbéí lè</i> 'I am here'. - prospective.
Ia	PPM: relative dependent clauses with optative / debitive / factative meanings.
III	Subject pronouns: - emphasis; - copulative phrases.
IV	Pronouns: - indirect object following the associative marker <i>à</i> 'with': <i>à miyè</i> 'with us'; replaced by <i>là / lá</i> 'with it' in case of the 3sg. inanimate objects; - the second conjunctive pronoun: <i>maa tie-ni mu li</i> 'we and them, we go'.
IVa	The first conjunctive pronoun.
V	Bound person markers: - direct object; - argument of qualitative verbs; - inalienable possession (body parts, relational nouns); - argument of postpositions.
VI	Clitic nominal person markers: alienable possession (autosemantic nouns).
VII	Indirect object pronouns (directove), contraction with postposition <i>we</i> 'to'.
VIII	PPM: - unreal condition in the past (affirmative and negative); - optative / desiderative negative; - prohibitive: <i>wáá lí</i> 'do not (pl.) go!'.
IX	PPM: imperative / hortative.
X	Negative PPM: - past tenses; - factative; Independent negative pronouns.
XI	Negative PPM: - prospective, debitive, intentive.
XIII	Quotative markers

The tonal pattern for the pronominal paradigm is not that uniform as in Bandi, but generally looks the following way:

Chart 6

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
H	H	L	H	H	L

3. Loko³

Chart 7

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
I	ngí	bí	í	mí	ní	wú	tí

³ Data from: [Innes 1964; Dwyer 1973; Kimball 1983; Morozova 2006].

Ia	ηγέέ	βέέ	έέ	μέέ	νέέ	ωέέ	τέέ
II	ηγάά	βάά	άά	μάά	νάά	ωάά	τάά
III	ηά	βιά	άλά	μούά	νούά	ωούά	τούά
IIIa	ηέε	βιέε	άλέε	μούεε	νούεε	ωούεε	τούεε
IV	ηγέ(έ)	βιέ(έ)	ηgee / là	μούέ(έ)	νούέ(έ)	wue(e)	τούέ(έ)
IVa	-	-	-	mεε	νεε	ωεε	τεε
V	ø-	βί-	ø-	mì-, mù- ⁴	nì-	wú-	tì-
Va	ηά-	βί-	άλά-	mì-, mú- / mù-	ní- / nì-	wú-	tí- / tì-
VI	ηί, ηί	βί	ηγι / ηγι	mì, mù / mú	nì	wú	tì / tí
VII	ø-, ηέέ	βιέέ	ø-	*μούέέ	νούέέ	ωούέέ	τούέέ
VIII	ηγόό	βόό	όό	mòó	nòó	wóó	tòó
VIIIa	ηγόό	βόό	òò	mòó	nòó	wóó	tòó
IX	-	ø	-	àmí	-	à	àtí
X	ηγέέ	βέέ	έέ	mèé	nèé	wèé	tèé
XI	ηγάί	βάί	άì	μάί	νάì	ωάì	τάì
XIII	ηγέέ, ηγε'è		èγε			wéé	tèé

Chart 8

Set	Syntactic functions and grammatical meanings
I	PPM: - preterite; - resultative; - habitual present; - factative; - analytic constructions with auxiliaries.
Ia	PPM: - aorist - imperfect; - prospective in the past.
II	PPM: - progressive; - habitual in dependent clauses; - potentive, debitive.
III	Subject pronouns: - emphasis; - with a nominal predicate; - stative; - copulative phrases.
IIIa	Subject pronouns contracted with copula verb <i>nwè</i> 'to be'.
IV	Indirect object pronouns following the associative marker <i>ηγάà / àà</i> 'with' optionally replaced by <i>là</i> 'with him / it' in the 3sg.
IVa	Conjunctive pronouns: <i>mεε àlá o</i> 'me and him' (lit. 'we with him').
V	Bound person markers: - direct object; - argument of qualitative verb forms;

⁴ The variability of 1st plural inclusive *mì / mù* in certain sets is of dialectal nature. The appearance of *mì* may be a late analogical change from *mù* under the influence of *nì*, the exclusive marker.

	- inalienable possession (body parts), except 1sg.; - argument of postpositions.
Va	Bound nominal person markers duplicating most functions of set V.
VI	Clitic person markers: alienable possession (autosemantic and relational nouns).
VII	Indirect object pronouns with postposition <i>mbe</i> 'to, for': <i>ɲéé</i> 'for me'.
VIII	PPM: perfect.
VIIIa	PPM: debitive, desiderative, probabilitive.
IX	PPM: imperative / hortative.
X	PPM: prohibitive.
XI	Negative PPM: various tense / aspect meanings.
XIII	Quotative markers

The tonal pattern for the pronominal paradigm in Loko is hard to reconstruct due to numerous tone changes in various series. The 1st and the 2sg. have high tones. A low tone for the 3sg. is strongly supported.

4. Kpelle⁵

Dialectal forms vary greatly, especially between Liberia and Guinea, and will be separated by commas in the following chart. To differentiate, Guinean (northern) forms are given in *italic* when different from the Liberian ones.

Chart 9

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
I	ɲá, <i>ɲé, ɲə</i>	í, <i>é</i>	è	<i>gù, gǔ</i>	kú	ká	dí, <i>dǐ</i>
Ia	ɲá, <i>ɲé, ɲə</i>	í, <i>é</i>	é	<i>gù, gǔ</i>	kú	ká	dí, <i>dǐ</i>
II	ɲā	bā, yā	ā	<i>guā</i>	kwā, <i>kūā</i>	kā	dā
IIa	<i>ɲǎ</i>	<i>yǎ</i>	<i>ǎ</i>	<i>gwǎ</i>	<i>kwǎ</i>	<i>kǎ</i>	<i>dǎ</i>
III	ɲá(ā), <i>ɲǎ</i>	yá, bía, <i>yɛ</i>	ɲāā, là, <i>ya</i>	<i>guo</i>	kūá, kúā, <i>kuo</i>	kāā	dīā, <i>die</i>
IV	ɲá(ā), <i>ɲǎ</i>	yá, bía, <i>yɛ</i>	là	<i>guo</i>	kūá, kúā, <i>kuo</i>	kāā	dīā, <i>die</i>
V	ń-, ó-	í-, <i>é-</i>	ò-, (ɲ-)	<i>gò-, gù-</i>	kú-, kó-	ká-	dí-, ddí-, <i>dì-, dè-</i>
VI	ɲá, a, <i>ɲó, ɲó</i>	í, <i>é, yɛ</i>	ɲò, ɲà, <i>ɲə</i>	<i>gù, guo</i>	kú, <i>kuo</i>	ká	dí, ddí, <i>die, dié, dia</i>
VII	mā	yā	mà	<i>gùò</i>	kūā, <i>kúò</i>	kāā	dīā, <i>die</i>
VIIa	mí	yê	mì, mè		kūê	kāā	dīê, <i>dîê</i>
VIII	ɲà, <i>ɲàà</i>	bà, yà, <i>yàà</i>	à	<i>guà, gwà</i>	kwà, <i>kua</i>	kà	dà
VIIIa	ɲâi	îi	èi		kūi	kâi	dîi
IX	-	ø, yē, bē, <i>bè</i>	è	<i>gu, kagu</i>	kú	kā, <i>kà</i>	<i>dǐ</i>
XIII	ɲēē, <i>gē</i>	íyēē, bīyēē, <i>yē</i>	ɲēē, <i>yè</i>	<i>gùò</i>	<i>kúò</i>	<i>kàà, ka</i>	dīyēē, dīyēē, <i>dìè</i>
XIV	ɲāā, <i>ɲáá</i>	bāā, <i>yáá</i>	āā, <i>áá</i>	<i>gwàá</i>	kwāā, <i>kwáá</i>	kāā, <i>kàá</i>	dāā, <i>dàá</i>

Chart 10

⁵ Data from: [Dwyer 1973; Thach & Dwyer 1981; Leidenfrost & McKey 2005; Konoshenko 2008, 2009].

Set	Syntactic functions and grammatical meanings
I	PPM: preterite.
Ia	PPM: relative dependent clauses with optative / debitive / factative meanings.
II	PPM: - progressive; - prospective; - resultative; - stative; - possibilitive; - habitual (Liberian).
IIa	PPM: habitual (Guinean)
III	Subject pronouns: - emphasis; - identification / presentation; - conjunctive (the second actor).
IV	Indirect object pronouns following the associative marker <i>à</i> 'with' replaced by <i>là</i> 'with him / it' in the 3sg.: <i>pá là</i> 'bring it!'
V	Bound person markers: - direct object; - indirect object with postpositions; - inalienable possession (relational nouns); - alienable possession with clitic <i>wɔ</i> (Guinean): <i>é wɔ</i> 'your (sg.)'; - qualitative verb argument.
VI	Clitic possessive markers: alienable possession (Liberian).
VII	Indirect object pronouns (directive meaning) contracted with postposition <i>ɸà / mà</i> 'on, to, towards'.
VIIa	Indirect object pronouns (benefactive meaning) contracted with postposition <i>mì</i> 'for'.
VIII	PPM: - perfective; - conditional clauses (non-past action).
VIIIa	PPM: irrealis (past action).
IX	PPM: imperative / hortative.
XIII	Quotative markers.
XIV	PPM: resultative (present result of a recent action).

The tonal pattern for the Kpelle person markers:

Chart 11

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
H	H	L	L	H	H	H

5. Zialo⁶

Chart 12

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1du. incl.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
I	gè	yè	é	mó	àmó	né	wò	té
II	gà	yà	á	má	àmá	ná	wà	tá
IIa	gà	yà	éyá	móyá	àmóyá	néyá	wòyá	tíyá

⁶ Data collected in 2010 from the informants speaking the Bayawá dialect of Zialo.

III	jà	yà	á / éyà, nò, sì	móyá	àmóyá	néyá	wà, wòyà	tíyá
IIIa	jà	yà	é	móyá	àmóyá	néyá	wà	tíyá
IIIb	jàyéy(gì)	yàyéy(gì)	éyáy(gì)	móyáy(gì), méy(gì)	àmóyáy(gì)	néyáéy(gì), néy(gì)	wèy(gì)	tíyáy(gì)
IV	gè	yè	á, nò	mòyè	àmòyè	nèyè	wòyè	tìyè
V	ò-	ì-	ó-	mó-	àmó-	né-	wò-	tí-
VI	nè	ì	gé ⁷	mó	àmó	né	wò	tí
VII	gè-yà	è-yà	gé-yà	mó-yá	àmó-yá	né-yà	wò-yá	tí-yá
VIII	nágá	néyá	nà	námá	ànámá	náná	nàwá	nàtá
IX	-	ø	-	mó	àmó		á, wà	
X	-	yà	-	mà	àmà	nà	àwà	-
XI	gèy	yèy	éy	méy, móy	àméy, àmóy	néy	wèy	téy
XIa	(nè)gèyè	(n)èye	(n)éye	(nà)móyè	(nà)néyè	à(nà)móyè	(nà)wèyè	(nà)téy
XII	nágá	yá	álò	mámà	ámámà	nánà	wá	tátà

Chart 13

Set	Syntactic functions
I	PPM: - past action: preterite, aorist; - resultative; - factative; - dependent clauses. - adjective as predicate: <i>gè wólò</i> 'I am big'.
II	PPM: - desiderative, debitive; - negative PPM for set I meanings.
IIa	PPM: - prospective; - irrealis.
III	Subject pronouns: - nominal predicate phrases; - durative state; - conjunctive pronouns.
IIIa	Subject pronouns preceding the identification copula <i>wà</i> : <i>é wà kálàmò-y</i> 'he is a teacher'.
IIIb	Emphatic pronouns: <i>jàyéygi, nágá lí</i> 'me, I am going'.
IV	Indirect object pronouns following the associative marker <i>gà</i> 'with': <i>gà wòyè</i> 'with you (pl.)'.
V	Bound person markers: - direct object; - argument of qualitative verbs; - inalienable possession (body parts); - argument of postpositions.
VI	Clitic possessive markers.
VII	Indirect object pronouns: - in a possession phrase: <i>so-y ló gèyà</i> ;

⁷ *gí* in the Lawolozu dialect

	- with postposition <i>ya</i> 'to' (directive / benefactive): <i>ve gèyà</i> 'give me'.
VIII	PPM: conditional.
IX	PPM: imperative / hortative.
X	PPM: prohibitive.
XI	Negative PPM: desiderative, past intentive.
XIa	Negative PPM: conditional.
XII	PPM: inchoative / progressive.

The tonal paradigm of Zialo person markers is equal to the “inverted” tonal pattern of Looma:

Chart 14

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1du. incl.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
L	L	H	H	LH	H	L	H

6. Looma

Below is a joint chart for all the forms we have encountered in the literature⁸. In the chart below, forms written in *italic* are taken from northern, mostly Guinean dialects. Regular font forms are from southern varieties of Looma, most of which were recorded in Liberia. **Bold** type is for those forms common for the majority of dialectal groups.

Chart 15

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1du.incl.	1pl. incl.	1pl.excl.	2pl.	3pl.
I	gè	è	é; é/gé (recap.)	dé	<i>àdé</i>	<i>gé, gí</i>	wò, wò	<i>té, tí</i>
II	gà(a), nà(à)	<i>yà(a), jà, dà(à)</i>	tó, tówà(à), tóyà, tóa, tówà, túa; á/gá (recap.)	dá(a), dà	<i>àdá(á), adà</i>	gá(á), gà	wà(à), wá, àwà, wùà	tá(á), tà
III	nà	<i>dà, jà</i>	tó, tóa	dá, déyá	<i>àdá, adeya</i>	gá, gíyá	<i>wà, woá</i>	tía, tá
IIIa	<i>nōō, nḗ</i>	<i>dōō, dḗ</i>	<i>tōō, tḗ</i>	<i>dōō, dḗ</i>	<i>adōō, adḗ</i>	<i>gōō, gḗ</i>	<i>wōō, wḗ</i>	<i>tōō, tḗ</i>
IIIb	<i>nài, ney</i>	<i>yài, dey</i>	<i>nùì, tey</i>	<i>dài(tìè), dey</i>	-	<i>gài(tìè), gey</i>	<i>wài(tìè), wey</i>	<i>tài(tìè), tey</i>
IV	<i>zè, zù</i>	<i>dè, je, yè</i>	dá/lá, là, tḗ	<i>dí(y)é, díé, díè</i>	<i>àdí(y)é</i>	<i>gí(y)é, gíé, gíè</i>	<i>we/wó(y)é, wìè</i>	<i>tí(y)é, tíé, tíè</i>
IVa	<i>nà</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>dá</i>	<i>àdá</i>	<i>gá</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>tía</i>
V	ò-	è-	ó-	dé-, dí-	<i>àdé-</i>	gé-, gí-	wò-, à-	té-, tí-
VI	nà(g), nè(g)	<i>yà, jà, yè, dà</i>	ná(g), né(g)	dá, dé	<i>àdá</i>	gá, gé	wà, à, wù, wùà/gbà	tá, té
VIa	<i>nḗnḗ, nḗdḗ</i>	<i>dḗnḗ, jḗdḗ</i>	<i>nḗnḗ, nḗdḗ</i>	<i>dḗnḗ, dḗdḗ</i>	<i>àdḗnḗ, àdḗdḗ</i>	<i>gḗnḗ, gḗdḗ</i>	<i>wḗnḗ, wḗdḗ</i>	<i>tḗnḗ, tḗdḗ</i>
VII	zè(e)à	è(y)à	zé(e)á	dé(y)á	<i>àdéyá</i>	<i>géa, gíyá</i>	<i>woea, wèa, wòyà</i>	<i>tea, tí(y)á</i>
VIII	<i>gḗ</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>dé</i>		<i>gó</i>	<i>wḗ, à</i>	<i>tó</i>
IX	-	ø	<i>é</i>	dé	àdé	-	á	<i>tí</i>
XI	<i>gè</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>àdé</i>	<i>gé</i>	<i>(á)wè, wò</i>	<i>té</i>
XII	<i>naga,</i>	<i>jannga,</i>	<i>tɔyaga,</i>	<i>dada,</i>	<i>àdága</i>	<i>gága</i>	<i>wawa, wàga</i>	<i>tata,</i>

⁸ [Sadler 1949, 1951; Prost 1967; Koly 1970; Heydorn 1971; Dwyer 1973; Dwyer & al. 1981a; Guilavogui 1975; Vydrin 1987; Wilhoit 1999; Mishchenko 2009, p.c.]

	<i>nãga,</i> <i>gan̄ga,</i> <i>gaga</i>	<i>yaga,</i> <i>dàga,</i> <i>dada</i>	<i>tóága,</i> <i>tɔyana</i>	<i>dága</i>				<i>táága</i>
XIII	gìè	yìè, yè	yíé, yé	díé, dié	-	gíé, gíè	wiè	tíé, tié

Chart 16

Set	Syntactic functions and grammatical meanings
I	PPM: - factative; - aorist; - resultative, perfect; - durative in the past; - analytic imperfect; - dependent clauses.
II	PPM: - prospective; - progressive; - durative; - habitual (with particle <i>da</i>): <i>gà da li</i> 'I usually go'.
III	Subject pronouns: - emphasis; - identification, location, presentation. - nominal predicate phrases.
IIIa	Emphatic pronouns in a contrastive phrase (Guinean): <i>nõð kpàleave, dõð è lowogave</i> 'Me, I worked, and you, you had rest' [Prost 1967].
IIIb	Emphatic pronouns: <i>nài gè lóni ve</i> 'I who stood there'.
IV	Indirect object pronouns, following the associative marker <i>gà</i> 'with' replaced by <i>dá/lá</i> 'with him / it' in the 3sg.
IVa	Conjunctive pronouns in a coordinative group.
V	Bound person markers: - direct object; - argument of qualitative verbs; - inalienable possession (body parts, relational nouns); - argument of postpositions.
VI	Clitic possessive markers: alienable possession (with autosemantic nouns).
VIa	Possessive pronouns: <i>gɔnɔ-y ya kpala-gi</i> 'ours is the field'
VII	Indirect object pronouns contracted with the nominal phrase <i>ze(e) yà</i> 'in my hand': <i>so-y ya zèa</i> 'I have the horse'.
VIII	PPM: unreal condition in the past (Vekema, Liberian).
IX	PPM: imperative / hortative.
XI	Negative PPM.
XII	PPM: inhoative / progressive / intentional prospective.
XIII	PPM: imperfective in dependent clauses, mostly sense perception.

The tonal paradigm of person markers in Looma:

Chart 17

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1du. incl.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
L	L	H	H	LH	H	L	H

7. Reconstruction.

The following pronominal series have correspondences among the SWM languages:

Chart 18

Set	Tense / Aspect / Mode	Languages
I	preterite, aorist, resultative, factative	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
II	prospective, progressive, stative	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
III	independent (emphatic) pronouns	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
IV	indirect object with the associative marker	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Zialo, Looma
IVa	conjunctive (CP1)	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Looma
V	direct object, inalienable possession, argument of qualitative verbs, argument of postpositions	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
VI	alienable possession	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
VII	indirect object	Bandi, Zialo, Looma ya < zee yà 'to, at smb's disposal' Mende, Loko, Kpelle ɓà / mbe / mi 'to, for'
VIII	conditional, habitual	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
IX	imperative, hortative	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle, Zialo, Looma
X	negative for past action, prohibitive	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Zialo
XI	negative for projected or conditioned action	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Zialo, Looma
XII	progressive, inchoative, intentive	Bandi, Zialo, Looma
XIII	quotative markers	Bandi, Mende, Loko, Kpelle (Looma?)

The tonal pattern of SWM person markers may be reconstructed the following way:

Chart 19

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
H	H	L	L	L	H	L

For the plural person markers, I am governed by the inverted tones of Zialo and Looma, and the evidence of Bandi whose predicative markers has apparently preserved much of the original tonal patterns of SWM [Dwyer 1973]. External evidence from other Mande languages support this reconstruction, cf. in [Seeger 2002-2007]. See the Soso paradigm of personal pronouns for an example [Touré 2004: 57]:

Chart 20

1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl. incl.	1pl. excl.	2pl.	3pl.
ń	í	à	wǒn	mùxú	wó	è

The tentative reconstruction of Proto-SWM series of person markers will look as follows:

Chart 21

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
I basic	*ńé	*í / *é	*ì / *è	*mù	*wó	*tì
Ia dependent	*ńé	*í / *é	*í / *é	*mù	*wó	*tí
II progressive	*ńàá	*yáà	*ńàà	*màà	*wàà	*tàà

III independent	*ná	*íyá / *bíyá	*à (lɔ)	*mùyà	*wóyá	*tìyà
IV associative	*ń-yé	*íyé	*lá	*mùyè	*wóyè	*tìyè
IVa conjunctive	-	-	-	*mà	*wá	*tà
V polyfunctional	*ń-	*í-	*ń-	*mù-	*wó-	*tì-
VI possessive	*ńí- / *ńé-	*í-	*ńì-	*mù-	*wó-	*tì-
IX imperative	-	*ø	-	*mù (du.)	*kà	-
XI negative	*ńèè	*yéè	*ńèé	*mùèé	*wóèè	*tìèè

Morphologically, only series III, IV, and IVa may be called personal pronouns. Sets V and VI are strictly inseparable from their argument and therefore, as suggested by Vydrin (p.c.), should be regarded as prefixed person markers. Series I, II, IX and XI, acting as verbal subjects, are required (in a recapitulative position) in a phrase with a nominal group subject, as shown throughout this paper. The presence of an emphatic pronoun does not allow to omit them either. Consequently, following the logic in [Vydrin 2009] (regarding SM) we need to call them predicative markers.

Abbreviations

anim.	animate noun	pl.	plural
du.	dual	PPM	predicative person markers
excl.	exclusive	recap.	recapitulative
inanim.	inanimate noun	sg.	singular
incl.	inclusive		

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К.В.Бабаев

К реконструкции личных показателей в юго-западных манде

В статье проводится сравнительный анализ систем личного маркирования в языках юго-западной группы семьи манде (ЮЗМ), а также предпринимается попытка реконструкции праязыковой системы личных местоимений, предикативных и атрибутивных показателей лица ЮЗМ. К анализу, помимо обширной литературы, привлечены данные Российской лингвистической экспедиции в Западную Африку 2010 года, в ходе которой был обнаружен и предварительно исследован автором ЮЗМ язык зиало.

