

Chapter 8

Reflexive constructions in Mano

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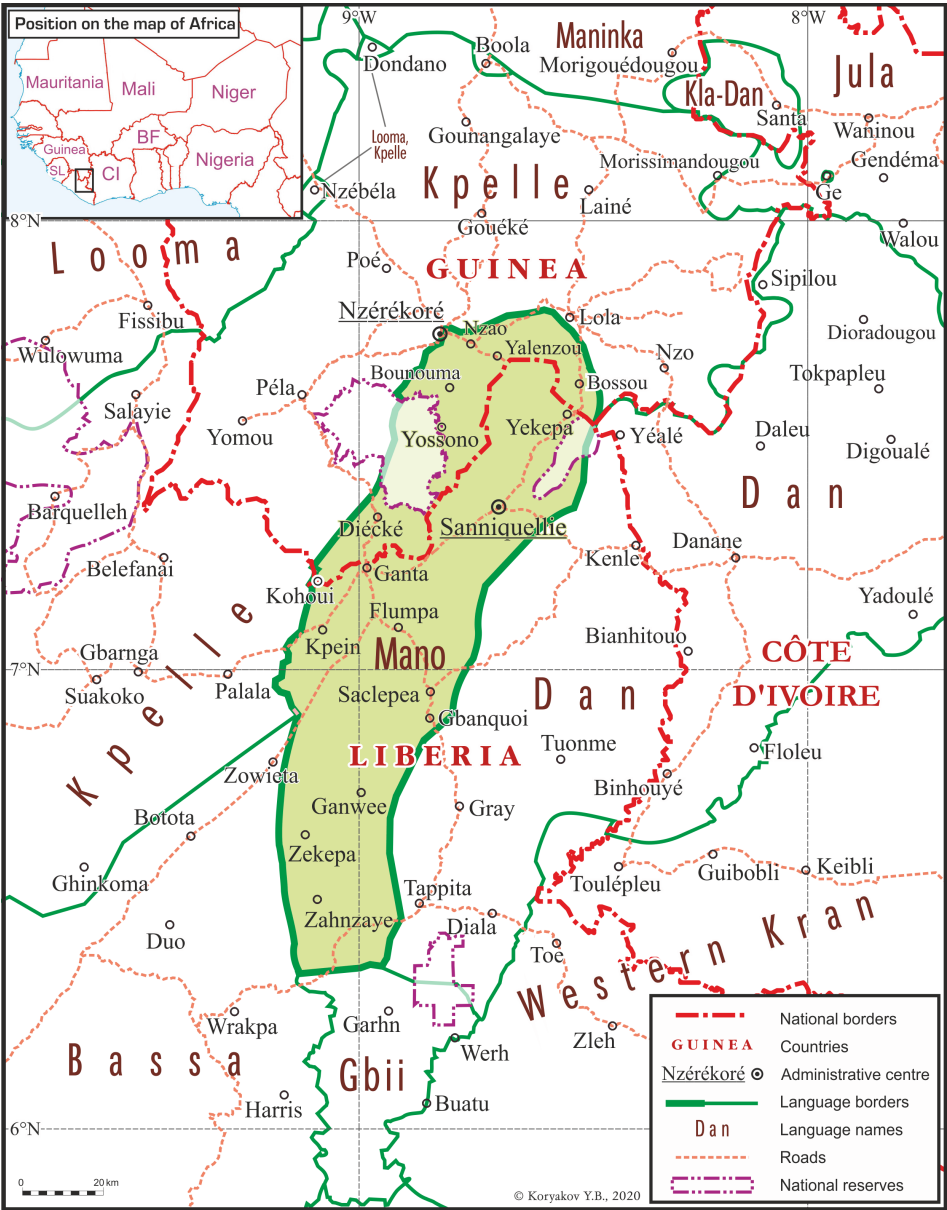
This paper focuses on reflexivity in Mano (Southern Mande). Mano has a dedicated reflexive pronoun *ē* used with [3sg] antecedents. It can be followed by the self-intensifier *diè* to form a complex reflexive. The highlights of the reflexivity system are the following: (1) frequent non-subject orientation (direct objects, arguments of postpositions and subject's possessors can serve as antecedents) challenges the current accounts of the syntax of Mande VPs; (2) the use of the intensifier cannot be explained by the semantic class of the verb alone (introverted vs. extroverted), as *diè* assures a broader function of reference continuity; (3) there are marginal cases of reflexives in the subject position; and (4) against typological predictions, the intensifier *diè* can be used in middle constructions, reflexive constructions and for intensification, but not to express reciprocity.

1 Introduction

Mano (*máá*) is a Southern Mande language spoken by 305,000 people in Liberia and 85,000 in Guinea (see Figure 1). It does not have an official status in the countries where it is spoken. In Guinea, Mano is a minority language, while in Liberia, it is the fifth most spoken language. Very little literature is produced in the language, with the high-quality translation of the New Testament published in Liberia as one of the exceptions (UBS 1978).

Liberian Mano has three dialects: the Northern dialect Maalaa (*máá lāā*), spoken around Sanniquellie; the Central dialect Maazein (*máá zèñ*), spoken in Ganta; and the Southern dialect Maabei (*máá bēi*), spoken in Saklepea. Guinean Mano also has three dialects: Zaan (*zāā*), the easternmost dialect spoken around the town of Bossou; Maa (*māā*), the central dialect spoken in the city of Nzérékoré and to the south of it; and Kpeinson (*kpeñsɔ̃*) spoken near Diecké. All dialects are





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Figure 1: Location of Mano and surrounding areas

mutually intelligible. This paper is based on Maa (*màá*), the central Guinean dialect. On the dialectal situation, see Khachaturyan (2018). A grammatical description of Mano can be found in Khachaturyan (2015). For a typological portrait of the language, see Khachaturyan (2020a).

In Guinea, Mano is in intense contact with Kpelle, a Southwestern Mande language spoken by 460,000 people. This results in widespread and often unreciprocated bilingualism (Mano speaking Kpelle more often than the other way round) and unidirectional transfer of certain lexical (Khachaturyan 2020b) and grammatical features (Khachaturyan 2019). Contact arguably affects the reflexivity system, as well, in the speech of bilinguals and monolinguals alike. On contact between Mano and Kpelle, see Khachaturyan & Konoshenko (2021).

This paper is largely based on my first-hand fieldwork material from Mano, elicited (el.) or naturally occurring, coming from my oral corpus (MOC). A small number of examples are taken from the Bible translation (UBS 1978), all checked with my primary language consultant for naturalness; the verses are marked correspondingly.

The discussion in this paper is organized as follows. In §2, I present the basics of Mano morphosyntax. In §3, I introduce the pronominal system, including the dedicated [3sg] reflexive pronoun. In §4, I discuss the intensifiers used in reflexive and reciprocal constructions, in particular, *diè*, which forms complex reflexive markers. §5 is dedicated to the syntax of reflexivity: the coreference domain, subject-oriented and non-subject-oriented uses, as well as reflexives in the subject position. In §6, I briefly discuss the valency changing function of reflexive markers. §7 gives a preliminary assessment of the influence of Kpelle on Mano in the domain of reflexivity. I provide a concluding discussion of the findings in §8.

2 Basics of Mano morphosyntax

2.1 Clause structure and word order

Mano has rigid word order typical of the Mande family: S Aux O V X, where Aux is an auxiliary expressing TAMP and functioning as the site of subject indexation, and X are postpositional phrases and adverbs. In (1a–1b), the 3rd person singular auxiliary *āà* belongs to the perfect series. There are in total eleven auxiliary series occurring in different TAMP contexts. The full subject noun phrase is never obligatory (1b), and reflexives can appear in clauses without an overt subject noun phrase, as is typically the case of languages with pro-drop. In copular

clauses, the word order is S Cop X, where the subject noun phrase is obligatory (see 5a below).

- (1) a. *Pèé āà kónó yà Pólāá sónó*
Pe 3SG.PRF food put Pola near
'Pe has put the food near Pola.' [el.]
b. *āà kónó yà Pólāá sónó*
3SG.PRF food put Pola near
'(S)he has put the food near Pola.' [el.]

Some series of auxiliaries incorporate the [3SG] pronominal direct object. In some cases, the incorporating forms are distinct, as in the case of the past series (2a–2b). In some cases they coincide with non-incorporating ones, as in the case of the perfect in (1b) and (2c).

- (2) a. *ē ló*
3SG.PST go
'(S)he went.' [el.]
b. *ā yà*
3SG.PST>3SG put
'(S)he put it.' [el.]
c. *āà yà*
3SG.PRF>3SG put
'(S)he has put it.' [el.]

As argued in Nikitina (2009), all postpositional phrases are adjoined at the level of the clause, rather than belonging to the verb phrase (see also Nikitina 2018). This issue presents a major challenge for the analysis of reflexivity in Mano in terms of c-command, a question that I return to in §8.

2.2 Noun phrase structure

Mano has relatively limited nominal morphology, with only one productive derivational suffix (*-là*, suffix on abstract nouns) and two tonal forms: high tone forms used, in particular, when the noun is followed by a demonstrative (*gā* 'man', *gí wē* [man:H DEM] 'this man') and low tone construct forms used to mark heads of noun phrases with specific preposed dependents (*lēē* 'woman', *gí lèè* [stomach woman:CSTR] 'pregnant woman'). On construct forms in African languages, see Creissels & Good (2018). There is no morphological case in the language, and

definiteness is not grammaticalized. Mano distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. Inalienable possession is expressed by juxtaposition of the possessor and possessee; the possessor can also be expressed by a basic pronoun (3). Alienable possession is expressed by possessive pronouns or with full possessor NP + possessive pronoun + head noun, as seen in (4).

- (3) a. *à dàā*
 3SG father
 ‘his father’
 b. *Pèé dàā*
 Pe father
 ‘Pe’s father’
- (4) a. *là ká*
 3SG.POSS house
 ‘his house’
 b. *Pèé là ká*
 Pe 3SG.POSS house
 ‘Pe’s house’

Plurality is expressed by number words: one (*vò*) for additive plural, as in *gbá vò* ‘dogs’, and one (*nì*) for non-additive, including associative and emphatic plural, as well as for the plural of kinship terms, as in *dàā nì* ‘fathers’ (father and his kin). A few nouns have irregular plural forms, such as *mī* ‘person’ vs *mīā* ‘people’ (5a). The word order in noun phrases is typically: genitival dependent – head noun – adjective – numeral – determinative. Determinatives include quantifiers, demonstratives, number words, as well as self-intensifiers, which will be discussed in detail in §4.

3 Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns

Mano has five series of pronominal forms used in different syntactic contexts: (1) basic pronouns, used in non-subject argument positions (direct object, argument of postposition, inalienable possessor, 5a); (2) possessive pronouns used to express alienable possessors (5b); (3) emphatic pronouns used for emphasis as well as for NP coordination (5c); (4) high-tone pronouns used in the same contexts as high-tone nouns (5d); and (5) inclusory pronouns used as heads in

inclusory constructions (5e). There are no subject pronouns, as auxiliaries are the sites of subject indexation. All pronouns distinguish between two numbers and three persons, with the exception of inclusory pronouns, which have only plural forms. Pronominal forms are given in Table 1.¹

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Mano

Pronouns	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
(1) basic	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>à/ā/á</i>	<i>kō</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>ō</i>
(2) possessive	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡà</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>wà</i>
(3) emphatic	<i>mā(ē)</i>	<i>bī(ē)</i>	<i>à, (à)yē, (à)yé, yō</i>	<i>kō(ē)</i>	<i>kā(ē)</i>	<i>ō(ē)</i>
(4) high-tone	<i>má</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>(à)yé</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>ó</i>
(5) inclusory				<i>kò~kwà</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>wà</i>

- (5) a. *pèè kē mià wó ō ká*
fetish do person.PL:CSTR COP.NEG **3PL** with
‘They are not witches (lit.: fetish-doing-people aren’t with them).’
[MOC]
- b. *ō wà ká d̄*
3PL.PST 3PL.POSS house build
‘They_i built their_{i,j} house.’ [el.]
- c. *ōē ō kèè lèé b̄ né pèèlē m̄*
3PL.EMPH 3PL year 3SG.NEG go.out not.yet two on
‘Those (of them) who haven’t yet reached two years.’ (Matthew 2:16; UBS 1978)
- d. *ó ā, ō mé ē sí*
3PL.H DEM 3PL surface 3SG.PST take
‘Those ones, they were cleansed.’ [el.]
- e. *gbóó-wè wà mīā gbéé-wè*
sobbing-speech:CSTR **3PL.IP** person.PL cry-speech:CSTR
‘sobbing and people’s crying’ (Matthew 2:18; UBS 1978)

All transitive verbs are obligatorily used with a direct object, a noun phrase or a pronoun. In speech reports, a dummy pronoun is used: it is impossible to use

¹The tone of the [3SG] basic pronoun optionally assimilates to the tone of the preceding vowel.

a speech verb without a [3SG] direct object pronoun. A typical introduction of a report would be *lâà gèē* ‘(s)he is saying it’, followed by the reported discourse (see 19 and 29). Thus, [3SG] pronouns are not always referential.

3.2 Reflexive pronoun and basic pronouns in the reflexive function

Mano has a dedicated [3SG] reflexive pronoun *ē* which is used in the same positions as the basic pronouns, namely as a direct object (6), an argument of a postposition and as an inalienable possessor. It is used within the same minimal finite clause (§5.1), with a 3rd person singular antecedent (6a) and is typically not used with antecedents other than [3SG] (6d). In most contexts it is in complementary distribution with the [3SG] basic pronoun *à* (6a–6b). Some contexts, however, allow variation between the two forms (§5.2.2 and §7). In other persons and numbers, there are no dedicated reflexives and instead basic pronouns are used in the reflexive function (6c), in particular, the [3PL] pronoun *ō* which, unless it is accompanied by a self-intensifier (§4), routinely has ambiguity between coreferential and disjoint readings (6e). Thus, the paradigm of pronouns used in the contexts of coreferentiality between two arguments in the same clause consists of the basic pronouns plus the reflexive [3SG] pronoun *ē*.

- (6) a. *ē ē gũ*
 3SG.PST 3SG.REFL wound
 ‘She wounded herself.’ [el.]
- b. *ē à gũ.*
 3SG.PST 3SG wound
 ‘She wounded him.’ [el.]
- c. *kō kō gũ*
 1PL.PST 1PL wound
 ‘We wounded ourselves.’ [el.]
- d. **kō ē gũ*
 1PL.PST 3SG.REFL wound
 (Intended reading: ‘We wounded ourselves.’) [el.]
- e. *ō ō gũ.*
 3PL.PST 3PL wound
 ‘They wounded themselves/them.’ [el.]

In some rare cases the reflexive pronoun can be used with antecedents other than [3SG]. In (7a) the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is a [1PL] subject; cf.

ungrammatical (6d) with a similar configuration. It is the [1PL] basic pronoun *kō* that is typically used in the reflexive function with a [1PL] antecedent (6c, 7b). It can also sometimes be used without any antecedent, in a non-referential function, as in (8) where it occurs with the adjective *yīè* ‘good’ in a comitative postpositional phrase whose overall meaning is adverbial, ‘well’. The exact contexts where there is a mismatch between the person and number value of the [3SG] reflexive pronoun *ē* and the antecedent require further investigation.

- (7) a. *kóáà wálà pḗ ē kiè bà*
 1PL.JNT God pray:JNT 3SG.REFL RECP in
 ‘We pray together.’ [MOC]
 b. *kō kō kiè bà*
 1PL.EXI 1PL RECP in
 ‘We are together.’ [MOC]
- (8) *ō ō kò yà à wì ē yīè ká*
 3PL.PST 3PL had put 3SG under 3SG.REFL good with
 ‘They welcomed him very well (lit.: with its goodness).’ [MOC]

4 Reflexive and reciprocal determinatives

4.1 Self-intensifier *diè* and complex reflexive markers

Basic and reflexive pronouns can be accompanied by determinatives: self-intensifier *diè* as well as reciprocal marker *kiè* (§4.3) and possessive intensifier *zì* (§5.2.1). *Diè* is an intensifier, somewhat similar to English *himself*, as in *The President himself came*. It derives from the adjective *diè* ‘true’. Consider (9).

- (9) *kε kō miidāāmì diè là tié wē é kú kō zò pié*
 so.that 1PL Lord INT 3SG.POSS fire DEM 3SG.CONJ catch 1PL heart at
 ‘So that the fire of our Lord himself ignites in our hearts.’ [MOC]

Crucially, *diè* can also be used with the reflexive (10a) and with basic personal pronouns (10b–10c) to form complex (as opposed to simplex) reflexive markers. While the basic [3PL] pronoun is ambiguous between the coreferential and the disjoint readings (6e), the complex marker *ō diè* is unambiguously coreferential (10b). *Diè* can also be used with the basic 3SG pronoun (16b, 19, and 20).

- (10) a. *lē bǐ-pèlè ē diè mò*
 3SG.EXI touch-INF 3SG.REFL INT on
 ‘He touches himself.’ [el.]

- b. *ō bɛ́-pɛ̀lè ō diè mɔ̀*
 3PL.EXI touch-INF 3PL INT on
 ‘They_i touch themselves_i/*them_j.’ [el.]
- c. *kō bɛ́-pɛ̀lè kō diè mɔ̀*
 1PL.EXI touch-INF 1PL INT on
 ‘We touch ourselves.’ [el.]

4.2 Complex vs. simplex reflexive markers

While the complex reflexive marker – pronoun + *diè* – is always possible, there are some restrictions on the use of the simple reflexive and basic personal pronouns in reflexive contexts. In the direct object position, the simplex marker is acceptable with verbs such as *zúlú* ‘wash’, *gǔ* ‘hurt’, *gélé* ‘burn’, *bǐ* ‘hide’, *kú* ‘warm up’, and *mǐmí* ‘move’. The simplex marker is marginally accepted with verbs such as *lí* ‘make beautiful’, *mè* ‘beat’, *zǎ* ‘show’, *dà* ‘drop’, *gɛ* ‘fight against’, and *gɛ* ‘see’. The simplex marker is even less acceptable with verbs such as *fòlò* ‘detach’, *gɛ* ‘consider’, *dòkè* ‘give’, *tènè* ‘appreciate’, and *kpàā* ‘annoy’. Corpus data partially confirms elicitation: the simplex reflexive is amply attested with the verb *zúlú* ‘wash’, while the complex one is attested with *gélé* ‘burn’, *zǎ* ‘show’, *kè* ‘make, become’, *tènè* ‘raise’, *fɔ̀* ‘inflate’ (‘swagger’ in the reflexive context, see 11), *sí* ‘take’ (‘boast’ in the reflexive context), and *sòlò bō* ‘obtain’ (‘become fully formed, developed’ in the reflexive context).

- (11) *lòkèmɔ̀ ɔ̀ yē wó mū í ī diè tènè, í*
 love DEM 3SG.EMPH COP.NEG person 2SG.CONJ 2SG INT raise 2SG.CONJ
ī diè fɔ̀
 2SG INT swell
 ‘Love, it isn’t (like) man, you should raise yourself, you should swagger
 (lit.: inflate yourself).’ [MOC]

The rules of distribution between the simplex and the complex markers in the direct object position require further investigation; so far, it seems that the verbs used with simplex and complex markers cannot be neatly divided into introverted and extroverted classes, respectively, as is the case in some other languages (König & Vezzosi 2004).

In oblique argument positions expressed with postpositional phrases, the complex marker is usually preferred (16a). However, the simplex marker is also marginally possible with the verbs *nāā* ‘love’, *yé* ‘stab’, *tāā* ‘annoy’, and *gbū* ‘help’.

The simplex marker is unacceptable with the verbs *túó* ‘frighten’, *pá* ‘touch’, *nū* ‘bring’, and *lēmā* ‘forget’.

In the benefactive context (12), both complex and simplex markers are acceptable.

- (12) *Pèé āà ká ló ē (diè) lēē*
 Pe 3SG.PRF house buy 3SG.REFL INT PP
 ‘Pe bought a house for himself.’ [el.]

In non-argument, locative PPs (13), simplex markers seem to be preferred, at least according to the corpus, where they occur more frequently than the complex ones.

- (13) *é ló ē mēē*
 3SG.CONJ go 3SG.REFL behind
 ‘(So that) he returns.’ [MOC]

If both a complex reflexive and a simplex one can be used, *diè* adds intentionality (14), and emphasis (15).

- (14) a. *ē ē gǔ*
 3SG.PST 3SG.REFL wound
 ‘He wounded himself.’ [el.]
 b. *ē ē diè gǔ*
 3SG.PST 3SG.REFL INT wound
 ‘He wounded himself intentionally.’ [el.]
- (15) a. *Pèé āà kónó yà ē sónó*
 Pe 3SG.PRF food put 3SG.REFL near
 ‘Pe put food near himself.’ [el.]
 b. *Pèé āà kónó yà ē diè sónó*
 Pe 3SG.PRF food put 3SG.REFL INT near
 ‘Pe put food near himself (contrastive: there are other people around).’ [el.]

The two functions of the self-intensifier *diè*, reflexive and non-reflexive, should be considered functions of the same lexeme. In (16a), *diè* follows the reflexive pronoun *ē* forming a complex reflexive pronoun. In (16b), an utterance that directly followed (16a) in the recording, it occurs in the subject noun phrase, has an intensifying reading, and is used with a basic [3SG] pronoun *à* with the same reference as the reflexive pronoun in the preceding clause.

- (16) a. *lèfùnṣò òkílíḃē ē nū ē diè pàà*
 light 3SG.REFL.DEM 3SG.PST come 3SG.REFL INT at
 ‘The light came at his own (home).’ [MOC]
- b. *à diè pàà mià óó gbāā ō kò yà à wì*
 3SG INT at person.PL:CSTR 3PL.NEG NEG 3PL arm put 3SG under
 ‘His own people (lit.: the people at his own) did not accept him.’
 [MOC]

4.3 Reciprocal marker *kiè*

Reciprocal constructions are formed with basic plural pronouns followed by the reciprocal determinative *kiè*, as shown in (17).

- (17) *kóò kō kiè gè tòò jéné dōkézè*
 1PL.IPFV 1PL RECP see:IPFV tomorrow hour same
 ‘We will see each other tomorrow at the same hour.’ [el.]

5 Syntax of reflexives

5.1 Coreference domain

The coreference domain of Mano reflexives is always the minimal finite clause. There cannot be antecedents for reflexive markers outside the minimal clause (with the rare exception of reflexives in the subject position, see §5.4). In (18a), the subject of the main, finite clause is the antecedent of a reflexive marker situated in the argument position of a gerund. In (18b), the reflexive marker is situated in the dependent finite clause. There is potential ambiguity: where the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential, the subject of the main clause appears as the antecedent of the reflexive marker, but if the subject of the dependent clause is distinct from the subject of the main clause, then it is apparent that it is the subject of the dependent finite clause, and not the main clause, that is the antecedent.

- (18) a. *léè nàà b́í-à ká ē diè m̀.*
 3SG.IPFV want:IPFV touch-GER with 3SG.REFL INT on
 ‘He_i wants to touch himself_i.’ [el.]
- b. *léè nàà é b́í ē diè m̀.*
 3SG.IPFV want:IPFV 3SG.CONJ touch 3SG.REFL INT on
 ‘She_i wants to touch (lit.: that she_i touches) herself_i./She_i wants that he_j touches himself_j/*her_i.’ [el.]

To express coreference between the subject of the main clause and a non-subject argument in the finite dependent clause, the basic pronoun *à* has to be employed. However, the intensifier *dìè* is often added in such cases to mark that the antecedent is to be found in the immediate discourse context; it may be the subject of the main clause (19) or some other prominent referent (20).

- (19) *Yèi ā gèē Kòó lèē é à dìè gè*
 Yei 3SG.PST>3SG say Ko PP 3SG.CONJ 3SG INT see
 ‘Yei_i said to Ko_j (so that) she_j looks at her_i/him_k/*herself_j.’ [el.]
- (20) *kē-ηwò-yōō séŋ lé mī à kè ē à*
 do-problem:CSTR-bad every ATT person 3SG.SBJV>3SG do:IPFV BKGR 3SG
tíè lèé à dìè kú
 fire 3SG.NEG 3SG INT catch
 ‘Any sin_i that a person commits_j, it_i does not hurt him_j (lit.: its_i fire does not catch him_j.)’ (1 Corinthians 6:18; UBS 1978)

Unlike many African languages, including some very closely related, such as Dan (Vydrin 2017), Mano does not have logophoric pronouns.

5.2 Subject orientation

5.2.1 Possessive position

The previous sections amply demonstrated the autopathic and oblique constructions with reflexive markers where the antecedent is the subject. Similarly, the reflexive pronoun can be used in the inalienable possessor position and be coreferential with the subject. It can occur within the direct object NP (22) as well as within the NP occupying the role of the argument of a postposition (21).

- (21) *máriá lē wéé-pèlè ē yóò ηwéŋ*
 Maria 3SG.EXI speak-INF 3SG.REFL in.law about
 ‘Maria is speaking about her brother-in-law.’ [el.]

Typical grooming contexts (shaving, combing, brushing one’s teeth) are expressed with reflexive markers in the inalienable possessor position, as in (22).

- (22) *lē ē sòó pélé-pèlè*
 3SG.EXI 3SG.REFL teeth wash-INF
 ‘She is brushing her teeth.’ [el.]

When the possessor coreferential with the subject is alienable, there are several strategies available. First, a possessive pronoun can be used, (23). In the 3rd person, it is potentially ambiguous between a coreferential and a disjoint reading.

- (23) *ē lā pɔ̃ɔ́ sí*
 3SG.PST 3SG.POSS thing.PL take
 ‘(The spider) collected its belongings.’ Potential additional reading:
 ‘somebody else’s belongings’ [MOC]

Another option is to use a basic or, in 3SG, reflexive pronoun and the self-intensifier *diè*, as in (24). In such a case, the possessee optionally takes a low-tone construct form (compare with 19 where the lexical tone is used). The reading is unambiguously coreferential.

- (24) *ō ō diè kà gɛ̀-pɛ̀lè*
 3PL.PST 3PL INT house:CSTR see-INF
 ‘They see their own house/*somebody else’s house.’ [el.]

The final option is to use the self-intensifier *zì*. It is typically used in possessive contexts, even without an overt possessee (25), and can also be used in reflexive possessive contexts (26–27).

- (25) *kā zì ā bɛ̃k káà lɔ̃ɔ́ dɔ́*
 2PL POSS.INT DEM too 2PL.JNT>3SG trade:CSTR do:JNT
 ‘Your (share), you sell it.’ [MOC]
- (26) *yé wɛ̃ɲ āà ē zì kè néɲnèɲ kò gínì*
 when salt 3SG.PRF 3SG.REFL POSS.INT do:NMLZ tasty arm:CSTR lose
ā...
 BKGR
 ‘But when the salt has lost its matter of being tasty... (lit.: its-being-tasty-manner) [how can it become tasty again?]' (Matthew 5:13; UBS 1978)
- (27) *mīā séɲ wáà ō zì bèlè kù*
 person.PL every 3PL.JNT 3PL POSS.INT string catch:JNT
 ‘Every person grasped his own rope.’ [MOC]

In §5.3, we will see multiple examples of non-subject orientation of reflexive markers, including in the inalienable possessor position. The possibility of non-subject orientation was not tested for reflexive possessives marked with *diè* and *zì*.

5.2.2 Basic pronoun in the reflexive function

In the postpositional phrase, the basic pronoun *à* coreferential with the subject can occasionally be used instead of the reflexive pronoun, as demonstrated by a handful of corpus examples. In (28), the pronoun is an argument of a postposition, in (29) it is used as an inalienable possessor within the argument of postposition and in (30) it is used as an alienable possessor expressed with the self-intensifier *diè*.

- (28) *ē nū à pà*
3SG.PST come 3SG at
'He came back home (lit.: he came at him).' [MOC]
- (29) *à gbē áà gèè à lòkó lēē*
3SG son 3SG.JNT>3SG say:JNT 3SG mother PP
'Her son said it to his mother.' [MOC]
- (30) *lē tá kē-pèlè à diè bū gā-à yí*
3SG.EXI dance do-INF 3SG INT rice die-GER in
'She is dancing in her (field of) ripe (lit.: dead) rice.' [MOC]

Such examples are generally disapproved in elicitation, but nevertheless occur in corpus and in production experiments.

5.3 Non-subject orientation

5.3.1 Direct object

Apart from subject antecedents, reflexives in Mano can have non-subject antecedents: direct object, argument of postposition and subject's possessor. In all examples attested, the reflexive marker is situated in the postpositional phrase. I begin with the direct object position, illustrated by (31).

- (31) *ō néfú ā gè ē lòóò Mēlé kèlè*
3PL.PST child DEM see 3SG.REFL mother Mary hand
'They saw the child in the hands of his mother Mary.' (Matthew 2:11; UBS 1978)

In (32) the reflexive marker in the postpositional phrase has two readings: its antecedent is either the DO or the subject. Without the self-intensifier *diè* the preferred interpretation is subject-oriented.

- (32) *Pèé lē Mária zǝǝ-pèlè ē diè lēē*
 Pe 3SG.EXI Maria show-INF 3SG.REFL INT PP
 ‘Pe is showing Maria to himself/to herself.’ [el.]

5.3.2 Postpositional phrase

The antecedent of a reflexive in a postpositional phrase can be found in another postpositional phrase, as in (33). A full NP with the same referent, *dǝwálàlélàmìà nǝfé dò* ‘any prophet’, is in the topic position and cannot occupy the role of the syntactic antecedent.

- (33) *dǝwálàlélàmìà nǝfé dò òó ló dō ō kǝ yà à wì*
 prophet each INDF 3PL.NEG go once 3PL hand put 3SG under
bèlēyà ká ē diè pàà
 respect with 3SG.REFL INT at
 ‘Any prophet_i, they (=people) have never welcomed him_i (lit.: put their hands under him) in his own_i country (lit.: at his own).’ [MOC]

However, it seems that the basic pronoun *à* is preferred to the reflexive pronoun if the antecedent is in a PP. It is also preferably, but not obligatorily, used with a self-intensifier *diè*, as in (34).

- (34) *Pèé ē wée Mária lēē à (diè) ηwéh*
 Pe 3SG.PST speak Maria PP 3SG INT about
 ‘Pe_i spoke to Maria_j about herself_j/someone else_k/*himself_i.’ [el.]

5.3.3 Subject’s possessor

Some examples are attested where the antecedent of the reflexive is the subject’s possessor. Example (35) is a resultative copular construction where the syntactic position of the subject is occupied by a nominalized form of the verb whose thematic argument occupies the syntactic position of the inalienable possessor. There are examples where the subject is a noun whose inalienable (36) and alienable (37) possessors are antecedents of the reflexive. It is not yet clear what allows such uses, but in all examples attested the antecedent was a human and a prominent discourse character.

- (35) *à wàà lē ē kèlè yí*
 3SG enter.GER COP 3SG.REFL shell in
 lit. ‘She is stuck in her shell (said about a child who does not grow fast enough).’ [MOC]

- (36) *à bèlēyà wó à ká ē diè pàà*
 3SG respect COP.NEG 3SG with 3SG.REFL INT at
 ‘He is not respected in his own country (lit.: his_i respect isn’t in his_i own country).’ [MOC]
- (37) *là bò vò ò péé-pèlè ē diè kèlè*
 3SG.POSS goat PL 3PL.EXI multiply-INF 3SG.REFL INT hand
 ‘His_i goats are breeding in his_i possession.’ [MOC]

5.4 Reflexives in the subject position

Some rare examples from my corpus, disapproved in elicitation, contain reflexives in the long-distance function, where the subject NP contains a reflexive marker without antecedent within the same clause, as in (38). In (39), the noun phrase ‘her skin’ was repeated twice, in the first case, with the reflexive pronoun, and in the second case with the basic pronoun, which is the preferred variant.

- (38) *ē dàā ē kē dōmì ká*
 3SG.REFL father 3SG.PST do chief with
 ‘His (lit.: his own) father was a chief.’ [MOC]
- (39) *ē kūr bō-ò ē mò gbāā, à kūr āā bō*
 3SG.REFL skin take.off-GER 3SG.REFL on now 3SG skin 3SG.PRF take.off
 ‘Her_i (lit.: herself’s) skin being peeled off from herself_i, her_i skin was peeled off.’ [MOC]

6 Valency-changing function

In Mano, as is typical of Mande languages, the majority of verbs are labile and can be employed in transitive and intransitive constructions with active/causative or passive/inchoative meaning, respectively, without overt marking, as shown in (40a–40b) (on passive lability in Mande, see Cobbinah & Lüpke 2009). However, to explicitly mark the inchoative nature of the action, a postpositional phrase *ē diè lēē* ‘by itself’ can be added (40c).

- (40) a. *ē bō fóló*
 3SG.PST goat detach
 ‘He released the goat.’ [el.]

- b. *bò ē fóló*
goat 3SG.PST detach
'The goat released.' [el.]
- c. *bò ē fóló ē diè lēē*
goat 3SG.PST detach 3SG.REFL INT PP
'The goat released by itself.' [el.]

In some contexts, some speakers accept the complex reflexive marker in the direct object position, still in the valency-changing, rather than autopathic function. The context where such a construction sounded the most natural was a famous West-African cartoon about the child warrior Kirikou, who was born by himself.² Consider (41).

- (41) *Kirikú ē ē diè yē*
Kirikou 3SG.PST 3SG.REFL INT give.birth
'Kirikou was born by himself.' (in the French original: 'Kirikou s'est enfanté tout seul, lui-même') [el.]

7 Influence of Kpelle in the reflexive domain

As mentioned above, Mano is in intense contact with Kpelle, a Southwestern Mande language. In contrast to Mano, Kpelle lacks a dedicated reflexive pronoun and employs either basic pronominal prefixes for the expression of reflexivity (in the 3SG, the prefix is expressed by consonant alternation and tonal change), or a combination of a prefix with a self-intensifier. Compare the use of the reflexive (42) and basic (43) pronouns in Mano with the use of the basic prefix in Kpelle (44).

- (42) *ē ē zúlú*
3SG.PST 3SG.REFL wash
'He washed himself.' [el.] (Mano)
- (43) *ē à zúlú*
3SG.PST 3SG wash
'He_i washed him_j.' [el.] (Mano)

²<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yg8GcN0rBLA>

- (44) àá ηwàa
 3SG.RES 3SG\wash
 ‘He_i washed him_j/himself_i.’ [el.] (Kpelle)

As a result of contact with Kpelle, some Mano-Kpelle bilinguals employ the Mano basic pronoun in their Mano speech even in the contexts where such use is normally disallowed, namely, in the direct object position. Such use is especially common in the speech of young bilingual children and of L2 speakers of Mano. The example (45) was obtained from a 19-year-old speaker whose father is Mano and whose mother is Kpelle but who grew up in the Kpelle-speaking village of her maternal grandparents; in addition to a different pattern in the use of reflexives, her speech shows interference in the use of tones, which is why they are not marked.

- (45) nefu le a die gɛ-pele gaazu yi
 child 3SG.EXI 3SG INT see-INF mirror in
 ‘The child is seeing her (meaning: herself) in the mirror.’ [el.]

It was mentioned in §5.2.2 that the basic pronoun is sometimes used in the reflexive function in the speech of (quasi-)monolinguals. The examples given above (28–30) concerned the position within the postpositional phrase. Another context is the inclusory construction, which is the main means for the expression of nominal coordination. In this construction, the inclusory pronoun expresses the entire set of coordinated participants, or the superset, and is followed by a noun phrase expressing a subset of participants (46). In this construction, bilinguals and monolinguals alike employ both basic and reflexive pronouns. (Inclusory constructions in Mande languages in typological and diachronic perspective are described in Khachaturyan 2019.) Note also that it is a syntactically unusual position where the antecedent is not a subject and is not overtly expressed: the antecedent is included in the referent of the inclusory pronoun.

- (46) wà ē / à lòkòò
 3PL.IP 3SG.REFL 3SG mother
 ‘he_i and his_i mother (lit: they (including) his mother)’ [el.]

The use of the non-reflexive pronoun in the inclusory construction may be a direct consequence of contact and the fact that that very construction (or, more specifically, the pronoun) was borrowed into Mano from Kpelle (Khachaturyan 2019).

An interesting fact for the syntax of binding is that when the inclusory construction occurs in the non-subject position, the reflexive pronoun can only have a reading disjoint from the subject (47). To express coreference with the subject, the basic pronoun must be chosen (48). Thus, these contexts, which have been tested only in elicitation, provide an intriguing example of obligatory non-subject orientation of the reflexive pronoun and require further explanation.

- (47) *Pèé ē Mária wà ē yóò gè*
 Pe 3SG.PST Maria 3PL.IP 3SG.REFL in.law see
 ‘Pe_i saw Maria_j and her_j/*his_k/*his_i brother-in-law.’ [el.]
- (48) *Pèé ē Mária wà à yóò gè*
 Pe 3SG.PST Maria 3PL.IP 3SG in.law see
 ‘Pe_i saw Maria_j and his_i/his_k/her_j brother-in-law.’ [el.]

8 Discussion

Mano has one dedicated reflexive pronoun, *ē*, typically used with 3SG antecedents, and two self-intensifiers, *diè* and *zì*, the latter being used only in possessive contexts. Alone, *ē* forms a simplex reflexive marker, and accompanied by *diè* it forms a complex reflexive marker. Both simplex and complex markers are used in autopathic, oblique and possessive contexts and their use cannot be accounted for by the semantic class of the verb (introverted and extroverted). The self-intensifier *diè* is preferred in oblique argument position (§4.2), as well as in all cases where the coreference relation extends beyond the subject-and-its-co-argument pair, such as when the antecedent is not the subject (§5.3), when the coreference domain extends beyond the minimal final clause (§5.1), or when there are some additional pragmatic factors, such as contrast (15b). The function of *diè* is thus much more than to form a complex reflexive marker used in specific syntactic and semantic contexts: it is employed to reduce referential ambiguity and ensure reference continuity within, but also outside the co-argument domain (a somewhat similar account of logophoric marking can be found in Dimmendaal 2001).

In the direct object position, the reflexive pronoun *ē* is in complementary distribution with the basic pronoun *à*: only *ē* is allowed with subject antecedents. However, in the postpositional phrase, *à* is also frequently allowed, especially for non-subject orientation. This lack of complementarity of reflexive and non-reflexive markers in non-core domains has been attested cross-linguistically (Testelets & Toldova 1998). In addition, under the influence of Kpelle, which does not distinguish between reflexive and nonreflexive pronouns, in Mano the basic pronoun

can replace the reflexive even in the direct object position in the speech of bilinguals and in the inclusory construction borrowed from Kpelle.

One distinctive feature of the Mano reflexivity system is the possibility of non-subject orientation, especially with direct object antecedents. Table 2 summarizes the uses of reflexive and basic [3SG] pronouns *ē* and *à* with different antecedents. The rows reflect the position of the antecedent and the columns reflect the position of the pronouns.

Table 2: Subject and non-subject orientation in 3SG

		DO	PP
SBJ	REFL	REFL (preferred in el., occurs in corpus); basic (corpus)	
DO	-	REFL (preferred in el., occurs in corpus); no basic pronouns in the corpus	
PP	-	basic (preferred in el., no corpus examples); REFL (1 corpus example)	

According to the most recent analysis, Mande languages have a reduced verb phrase structure, with only the direct object belonging to the verb phrase, while all other verbal arguments are expressed by postpositional phrases and adjoined at the level of the IP (Nikitina 2018). Although there are arguments in support of this analysis for Mano, reflexivity presents a challenge for it, at least if analyzed within the framework of binding theory which imposes the restriction of c-commanding. The reason is that direct object NPs are widely accepted as antecedents to reflexive markers in the position of arguments of postpositions, which is a direct violation of c-commanding, assuming that postpositional phrases are base-generated in the IP-adjoined position, higher than the DO. To address these binding possibilities, an obligatory movement account of PPs from the VP to the IP position has been proposed by Nikitina (2018), who at the same time highlights its shortcomings. Alternatively, if the choice of antecedent is regulated not by the principle of c-commanding, but by the scale of syntactic roles (Testelefs & Toldova 1998), then the behavior of reflexive markers is much easier to explain: the antecedent is always found in the same position on the scale or higher. In addition, there is a potential case of obligatory non-subject orientation of reflexives as part of the inclusory construction, as well as the possibility of the subject's possessor to act as an antecedent for a reflexive, which require an explanation and should be addressed in future research.

One final remark concerns the use of the self-intensifier *diè* in anticausative constructions. The prediction by König & Moyse-Faurie (2020) states that if a marker is used for middle voice (including anticausative), for coreference between the core arguments and in the self-intensifier function, which is the case for Mano, then it has to be used in the reciprocal function. Mano data clearly contradicts this prediction, since there is a dedicated reciprocal marker *kiè*.

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Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

ATT	attention drawer	H	high tone
BCKGR	backgrounding	INT	intensifier
CONJ	conjunctive	IP	inclusory pronoun
CSTR	construct form	JNT	conjoint
EMPH	emphatic	PP	postposition, postpositional phrase
EXI	existential		
GER	gerund		

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