Reported Speech in Ụt-Ma'in

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A data oriented workshop: The grammatical variation of reported speech across languages
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Main goals of this talk

1. Review the main strategies for speech reporting in Ụt-Ma'in.
   - *zə̄* 'say' construction
   - Speech Verb Phrase + *ə̄zə̄* 'saying' constructions

2. Observe a range of extended uses of the morpheme *ə̄zə̄*.

3. Discuss mono-clausal versus bi-clausal status of *ə̄zə̄* constructions
   (if time allows)
   - Constituency
   - Prosodic boundary phenomena

Introduction – Kainji Languages

Kainji location and classification within East Benue-Congo

Watters (2018: 3,5); Gerhardt (1989)

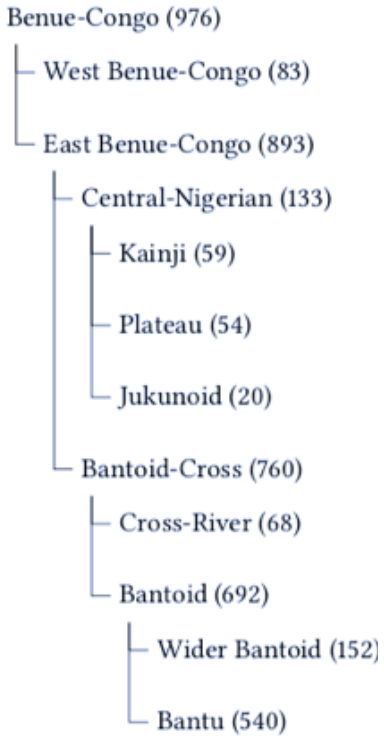
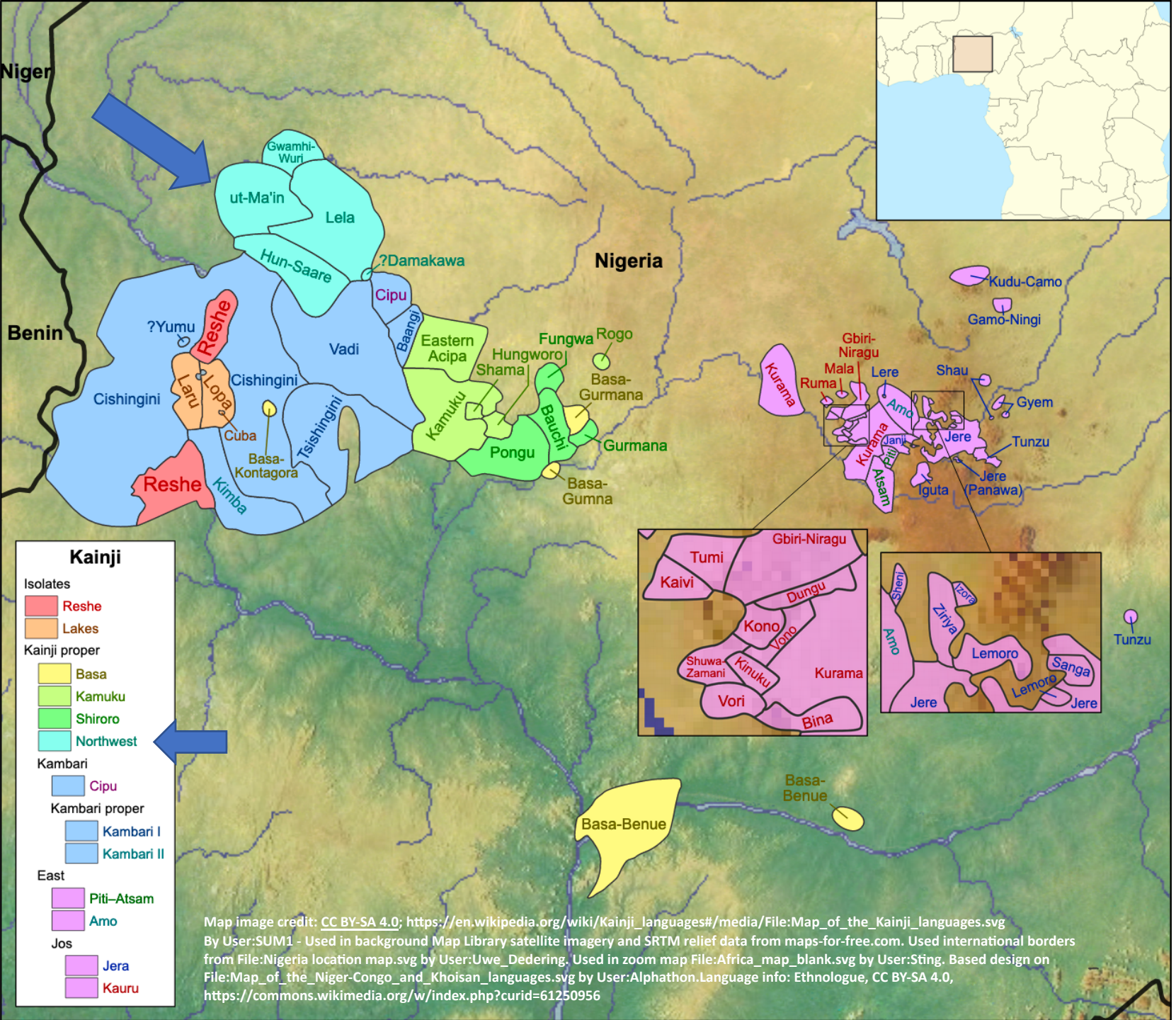


Figure 2: The external and internal classification of E

Figure 1: The locations of the five branches of EBC



Map image credit: CC BY-SA 4.0; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kainji_languages#/media/File:Map_of_the_Kainji_languages.svg By User:SUM1 - Used in background Map Library satellite imagery and SRTM relief data from maps-for-free.com. Used international borders from File:Nigeria location map.svg by User:Uwe_Dedering. Used in zoom map File:Africa_map_blank.svg by User:Sting. Based design on File:Map_of_the_Niger-Congo_and_Khoisan_languages.svg by User:Alphathon.Language info: Ethnologue, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=61250956

Location – Kainji Languages

Northwest Kainji

(McGill & Blench 2012 and Blench 2018)

- **U̱t-Ma'in** (aka Kag-Fer-Jiir-Koor-R̄or-Us-Zuksun. Puku-Geeri-Keri-Wipsi, Fakkanci, Gelanci)
- C'Lela (aka Dakkarkari)
- u̱t-Hun / u̱s-Saare (aka Duka(wa))
- Gwamhi-Wuri-Mba
- Damakawa (moribund)

See McGill & Blench (2012) for a state of the art on Kainji languages.

Some typological features of Ụt-Ma'in, a NW Kainji Language

- Constituent order (Paterson 2019):
  - S V (O_1) (O_2)
  - S AUX V (O_1) (O_2) – 15+ AUX encode Tense, Aspect, Modality, Polarity and more
  - S AUX (O_1) V (O_2) – limited to *nɔm* 'do' auxiliaries; V is in nominalized form.
- Primary object (O_1) used for patient in transitive clauses and recipient in ditransitive clauses; secondary object (O_2) used for theme in ditransitive clauses.
- **O_1 position used for Reported Listener; O_2 position used for Speech Reports.**
- Prefixing and suffixing (Hoffmann 1967; Good 2018)
- Derivational verbal suffixes (akin to Bantu *verbal extentions*) (McGill & Blench 2012)
- Noun class language with concord agreement on many targets
  - "Striking reduction of nominal prefixes to a single consonant" (Blench*)

Data

Audio corpus

- 6 + hrs total
- 25 + speakers, 7 varieties/dialects
- Field recordings from 2005, 2007, 2013, 2017
- Various genre – folk narrative, personal narrative, pear stories, conversations, songs

Written corpus

- Words: 60,000 +
- Spellings follow Ror variety
- Edited/crafted materials: e.g., literacy materials and translated portions of the Bible

Ụt-Ma'in Reported Speech Constructions

Terminology and abbreviations

Speech word: often the **verb of speaking**, verb phrase, or ***ɘzɘ*** morpheme; bolded throughout examples.

$[\ldots\ ]_M$: marks right edge of Discourse Reporting Event (M for Matrix)

Report: the speech being reported; marked in **purple** throughout examples.

: marks prosodic boundary - extended pause or shift in intonation

RS: reported speaker

RL: reported listener

‘say’ construction: *zə̄* + Report

- S V (O_1) (O_2) → [RS *zə̄* (RL_1)]$_M$ (#PAUSE/PITCH) (Report)
  - Monoclausal
- RL in O_1 position
- Report in O_2 position
- If no RL, Report in O_1 position
- There can be a #$_{\text{PAUSE}}$ and/or #$_{\text{PITCH}}$ shift preceding a Report.

1) a. *kɘ́nà:* #PAUSE *nā* *wɔ́ʔɔ́tɔ̀* *ū-kɔ̄ʔtínkɔ̄*
there NPERS put.PFT C7-shrike(k.o.bird)

b. *wā* *hɘ́* *wá* *gɘ̄p* *ɘ̄t-káp*
AG1.SBJ go AG1.OBJ beat C6-wing

c. *wā* *zɘ̄* #PITCH ↑ *tʰíkʰɔ́* *tʰíkʰɔ́* *tʰíkʰɔ́* *tʰíkʰɔ́* *tʰíkʰɔ́* *tʰíkʰɔ̰́*
AG1.SBJ go IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO

d. *kɔ́wān-ɘ̀* *há-ɘ̄n-ɛ́* *r-bɘ̄n* *d-ɘ̀ = s-hɛ́w* (x 3)
everyone-C2.SBJ go-DIST -FOC C5-gathering AG5-ASSOC =C4-dancing

e. #PITCH ↓ *ìyā* *wā* *kɘ̄n-tɛ̀* *kɔ́:*
like.that AG1.SBJ cry-PFT TAG.Q\Hausa

'So then Kotinko was chosen. He goes to beat his wings. He says, "Tiko, tiko, tiko, tiko, tiko, tiko. Everyone come for the dancing celebration! Everyone come for the dancing celebration! Everyone come for the dancing celebration! "
That's how he has cried, right?' (GF_IT_Jiir_2007: 010-011)

‘say’ construction

Discourse Reporting Event + Report

2) ***nā=zɘ̄*** ***jān-ɔ́*** ***w=ɔ́ʔt*** ***ɘ̄s-kán***

INDEF.SUBJ=say what-C3 C1.SUBJ=have C4-crying

‘Someone asked, “**Why are you crying**?” ’

(lit: “they say, what he have crying?”)

(YM_IY_Ror_2013: 007)

‘say’ construction (with RL in M)

3) [RS = say]$_M$ #$_{Pitch}$ Report

[***wā = zə̄***]$_M$ [*ʃág-n = mɛ́* *tʃán-ú = ró*]$_R$

AG1.SUBJ say lend-DIST = 1SG.OBJ feather-C7 = 2SG.POSS

‘(If he reaches that one), he (will) say “Loan me your feather”.’ (GF_IT_Jiir_2007: 034)

4) [RS = say RL]$_M$ #$_{Pitch}$ Report

[***wə̄n zə̄ k^{w}árə́g***]$_M$ [*ʃág-n = mɛ́* *tʃán-ū = ró*]$_R$

3SG say bush.fowl lend-DIST = 1SG.OBJ feather-C7 = 2SG.POSS

‘(He reached the place of the bush fowl), he says to the bush fowl “Loan me your feather”.’

(GF_IT_Jiir_2007: 037)

‘say-FOC’ construction

5)	*dà-ú*	***kwɘ̄mb-rɘ̀***	***zɘ́-jɛ́***	#PAUSE	[song]
	time-C3	okra-C5.SBJ		say-FOC	[song]

‘That time the okra said “[song…]”

(OK_MI_2013: 028-029)

Distribution of forms of *zɘ̄* ‘say’

Form of ‘say’	# in 100 page sample	# with REPORT	# occurring with *ɘ̄zɘ̄*
zɘ̄ ‘say’	250	240	0
zɘ̄-ɘ̄g ‘say-PST’	72	18	0
zɘ̄-ɘ̄t/zɘ̄-tɛ̀ ‘say-PFT’	32	19	1
zɘ̄-jɛ̀ ‘say-FOC’	59	11	0
ɔ́ =t-zɘ̄ ‘PROG.AUX =C6-say’	19	15	0
ɔ́-g =t-zɘ̄ ‘PROG.AUX-PST =C6-say’	8	8	0
dɛ́ =t-zɘ̄ ‘FUT =C6-say’	7	2	0
ɘ̄zɘ̄ ‘saying’	875	94	n/a

Speech Verb Phrase + *ə̄zə̄* construction

- S V (O_1) (O_2)
- [RS **V** (RL_1)]$_M$ ***ə̄zə̄*** (#PAUSE/PITCH) (Report)
  - Monoclausal??
- RL in O_1 position
- Report in O_2 position
- If no RL, Report in O_1 position
- There can be a #$_{\textbf{PAUSE}}$ or #$_{\textbf{PITCH}}$ shift preceding a Report and following *ə̄zə̄*.

A note on the form of nominalized ‘say’: /ə̄t-zə̄/ → [ə̄zːə̄] OR [ə̄ʔzə̄]

Speech Verb Phrase + *ɘ̄zɘ̄* CXN

Discourse Reporting Event + *ɘ̄zɘ̄* + Report

6)

a.	*dá*	***ná***	***shítɜ̀***	***wɘ̄n***	***ɘ̄zɘ̄***
	time	INDEF.SUBJ	ask	3SG	saying
b.	*wɘ̄ná*	*hjànɛ́ ɘ́*	*ís-ɘ̄r=ró*		*à*
	who?	see.FOC	with	eye-C5=2SG.POSS	Q

‘then they asked him saying “Did you see it yourself?”

(GK_IY_Ror_2013: 038-039)

ɔ̄zɔ̄ ‘saying’ is attested before **REPORTS** introduced by the following verbs (counts from 100 page sample):

‘tell’ (24)

‘ask’ (17)

‘beg’ (6),

‘call-out’ (4)

‘call’ (3)

‘shout’ (3)

‘remember’ (1)

‘rebuke’ (1)

‘instruct’ (1)

‘promise’ (1)

‘swear.oath’ (1)

‘accuse’ (1),

‘say’ (1)

‘hear’ (1)

‘do debate’ (3)

‘do talking’ (7)

‘do riddle’ (1)

‘do story’ (3)

‘do prayers’ (1)

‘do announcement’ (1)

‘do abuse’ (2)

‘start talking’ (1)

‘do warning’ (4)

‘do prophesy’ (1)

‘send’ (3)

‘desire’ (1)

‘worry’ (1)

‘go surprised’(1)

‘wrote’ (8) - always in the past tense, quoting written source

Distribution of forms of *wàr* ‘tell’ + *ɘ̄zɘ̄*

Form of ‘tell’	# in 100 page sample	# with REPORT	# occurring with *ɘ̄zɘ̄*
wàr(ɘ̀) ‘tell’	246	6	6
wàr-ɛ́ ‘tell-FOC’	51	15	15
wár-ɔ́g ‘tell-PST’	20	1	1
wàr-ɘ̄n ‘tell-DIST’	9	1	1
wàr-tɘ̀. ‘tell-PFT’	3	0	0
wár-g-ɛ́ ‘tell-PST-SUBJ.FOC’	1	1	1

zɘ̄ ‘say’ > *ɘ̄zɘ̄* ‘saying’ complement (**Report**)

7) a. ***wā*** ***nòm*** ***ɘ̄msék^{h}*** ***ɘ̄zɘ̄*** **#PAUSE**

AG 1.FOC do.AUX C6B-riddle saying

b. # PITCH ↑ ***mɛ́*** ***ɔ́*** ***fándárnàk^{h}í***

1SG.FOC COP chameleon

‘He did a riddle saying, "**Me, I am chameleon**…” ’

(SFC_IT_Jiir_2007: 044-045)

Comments

- Pause follows ***ɘ̄zɘ̄***.
- Pitch adjustment precedes Report.

An aside: Change in word order

S V $O_{1.}$ O_2

[RS **V** RL]$_M$ ***ɘzɘ*** (#PAUSE/PITCH) **Report**

'e.g., they ask him **saying** QUOTE'

S AUX V $O_{1.}$ O_2

[RS Aux [**V** RL]$_{VP}$]$_M$ ***ɘzɘ*** (#PAUSE/PITCH) **Report**

'e.g., they **will ask** him **saying** QUOTE'

S AUX O_1 V O_2???/ parallel clause

[RS ***nɔ́m*** RL **V**]$_M$ (#PAUSE/PITCH) ***ɘzɘ*** **Report**

'e.g., they **warn him saying** QUOTE'

Güldemann (2008) on grammaticalization

quote > **complement** > **purpose** > **reason *and/or* condition** > other

Güldemann (2008: 523)

Extended uses of *ə̄zə̄* in Ṯt-Ma'in

Complement (report) >
(see slide 17)

Complement (content of speaking) >
'talked about…[clause]'

Complement (thinking/sensing)
'know/think/agree/remember/boast/see/hear that…'

Complement (intention/result) >
'in order to…' / 'with the result that…'

Subordinator*!?!* **(reason)** >
'because…'

Complement (hypothetical condition?)
'suppose that…'

quote > **complement** > **purpose** > **reason** *and/or* **condition** > other
(Güldemann 2008: 523)

Complement (**report**) > Complement (**content of speaking**)

8) a. ***ɛ̄*** ***nɔ́m-ɔ́g*** ***ī-nān*** ***i = ` = s-rém***

C2.SUBJ do-PST CDIM-argument.AGDIM =ASSOC =C4-talking

b. #PAUSE ***ɘ̄zɘ̄*** *wábā* *m-hā-ɘn* *ɘ́ = dà-ù* *únɔ̀*

saying first.one C6B-go-DIST LOC =time-C3DEM.C3

'They did a debate saying who was the first to come at that time.'

(SFC_IT_Jiir_2007: 001-004)

Comments

- Event preceding ***ɘ̄zɘ̄*** is still speech related.
- Slight pause precedes ***ɘ̄zɘ̄***; no pause after ***ɘ̄zɘ̄***; no pitch adjustment.

Complement (thinking/sensing)

9) *nɛ̄t t-ə̀ há-ːn-ɛ́ r-tàkə̀n]* ***tʃə́ŋ*** ***ə̄zə̄***…[thought]

person C6-REL go-DIST-FOC C5-beginning think.PST saying

‘People who came first thought that…[thought]’

(MT_draft_2019: 20.10)

10) *ə̄m* ***nák*** ***ə̄zə̄*** *nú-ú=rí* *ɔ́*

1SG.SUBJ know.PST that mouth-C3=1SG.POSS DEF.AG3

‘I know it is my fault’ (SR_SJ_Ror_2013: 011)

Complement (**intention/result**)

Look **in order to**…
Finish **with the result that**…
Sacrifice **so that**…
Leave him **so that…**

Note: Needs more careful investigation.

Subordinator!?! (reason)

rēm + *ɘzɘ̄* → *rēmɘ̄zɘ̄*

a. *ɘ̄r-**rém*** [ɘ̄lːém]
   C5-tongue
b. *ɘ̄t-**rém***
   C6-tongue
c. *ɘ̄s-**rém***
   C4-talking

gòŋgū = d-ɘ̀ = s **rém**
drum = AG 5-ASSOC = C4-talking
'talking drum'

Form	# in sample	# with REPORT
ɘ̄zɘ̄ 'saying'	875	94
rēmɘ̄zɘ̄	193	0

rēm ‘words/talking’ + *ɘzɘ̄*

11) rém = **ɘ̄zɘ̄** = m hɘ́-ːt = ɘ́t bàks ɘ́ = bɔ̄ = nɛ̀

word = say = 1SG go-PFT = C6 remembering LOC = 2SG = with

‘ “…because I always remember you.” ’ (MA_IY_Ror_2013: 011)

Comments

- Seems to be a clear subordinator.
- No pause before or after *ɘzɘ̄*; no pitch adjustment.

Complement (hypothetical condition?)

‘Suppose **that**…[SITUATION] / (It is) better **that**…[SITUATION]’
(Lit: get.PST *ɘzɘ̄*)

Other (???)

‘(It) means…[DEFINITION] ’
(Lit: sit.IMP *ɘzɘ̄*)

Note: Both of these need more careful investigation.

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Thank you!