More than reported speech: Quotative evidentiality in Laal

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Introduction

- Evidentiality = indication by the speaker of the source of the information (s)he is uttering, i.e. the evidence a speaker has for his/her statement [cf. Aikhenvald 2004, de Haan 2013, a.o.]

Introduction

- Direct vs. indirect evidentiality [de Haan 2013 = WALS]
  - direct: speaker was a witness of the reported fact
    - firsthand (vs. secondhand, thirdhand)
    - sensory (visual, auditory, non-visual sensory)
  - indirect
    - inferential (must have etc.)
    - secondhand, thirdhand (vs. firsthand)
    - reportative (hearsay, quotative)

- Strict separation from epistemic modality [de Haan 1999, Michael 2012]:
  - evidentiality = speaker reports the source of his/her statement
  - epistemic modality = speaker's degree of confidence

Introduction

- Aikhenvald:

  - "Very few evidentiality systems have been described for African languages." (2004:291)

  - Evidentials are one of the "linguistic features almost unheard of in African languages" (2011:17)

Introduction

Aikhenvald (2004, 2011)	Shilluk	(Nilotic)	[Miller and Gilley 2007]
	Sissala	(Gur)	[Blass 1989]
	Lega	(Bantu)	[Botne 1995]
König (2013)	Luo	(Nilotic)	[Storch 2013]
	Fur	(Nilo-Saharan)	[Waag 2010]
	Tima	(Kordofanian)	[Schneider-Blum & Dimmendaal 2013]
	!Xuun	(Kx'a)	[König 2013]
WALS	Afrikaans	(Germanic)	[de Haan 2013]
	Beja	(Cushitic)	[Dahl 1984:95-6]

Introduction

- König (2013:72)

"Whether the rare occurrence of evidentials in Africa is due to lack of information or to the fact that the languages indeed have no grammaticalized evidential markers remains unclear.

"[...] it is very likely that the actual number of languages with evidentials is higher than has been established so far."

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Introduction

- Laal (isolate, Chad) has two evidential markers

  - fully grammaticalized quotative evidentials

  - including typologically rare "self quotation" marker

  - Rare evidential system, absent from Aikhenvald's (2004) typology

  - Confirmation of Michael's (2012) claim that self-quotation is a pragmatic category of its own, which may be grammaticalized separately from non-self-quotation markers

Introduction

Roadmap:

1) Reported speech in Laal

2) Quotative evidential *mɨ́*

3) The self-quotation marker *gā*

4) Modal use of *mɨ́*

5) Conclusions

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Introduction

Preliminary remarks on Laal basic clause structure:

	SBJ	MOD	ASP	VERB	OBJ etc.
(1)	**já** I		**tēé** IPFV	**juàŋà** buy	**súkàr** sugar
	'I am buying sugar'				
(2)	**… já** I	**mà** INJUNCTIVE	**wáā** ITIVE	**juàŋà** buy	**súkàr** sugar
	'(he said that) I should go buy sugar.'				

NB: *mà* (injunctive) is the only modal

1. REPORTED SPEECH IN LAAL

1. Reported speech

- Reported speech

	Quotative index	Quote
[John speaking]	**Mary <u>said</u>:**	**{ "I saw Jeff" }**
	Mary <u>said that</u>	**{ she saw Jeff }**
John = speaker	*Mary = author*	

- "Quotative index": introduces the quote being reported (Güldemann 2008:11)
  - "say" = speech verb
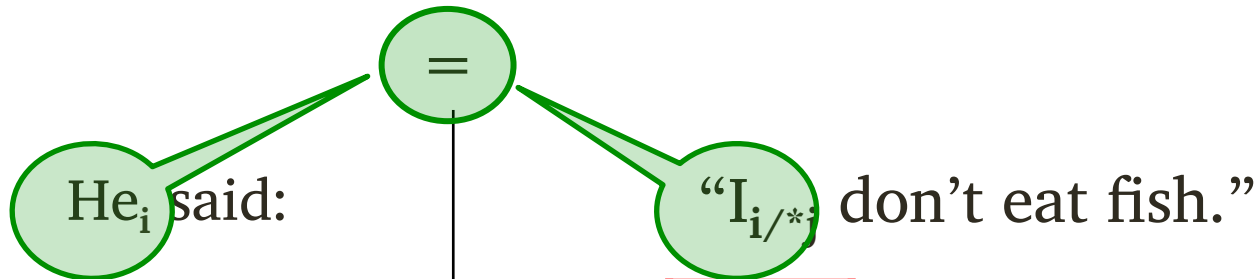 - "that" = quotative complementizer

1. Reported speech

Direct reported speech

(3) **nyé**   **ɓîlá**   **mî**   **{ uǎy kùnyú nyún }**

    elephant   say   (say)that you   leopard go
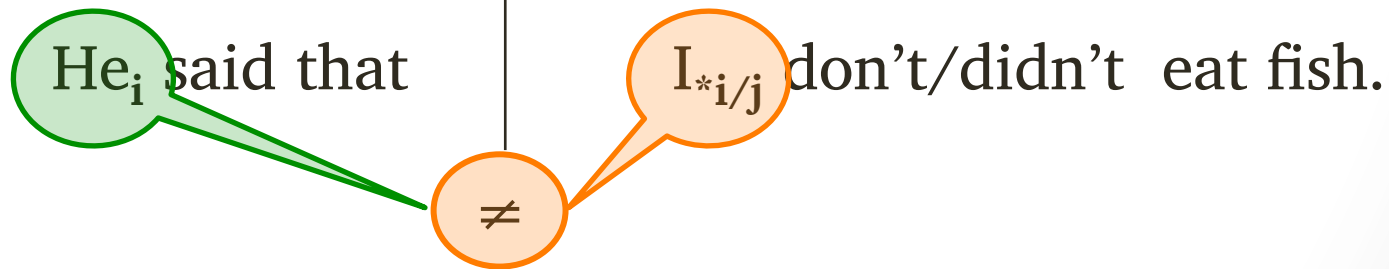
    'Elephant said: "You Leopard, go away!"'

(4) **nyàmgùr**   **mî**   **{ áīī̄ī }**

    (name)   (say)that   (excl)

    'Nyamgur went: "Aiii!"'

1. Reported speech

(5)

Dir.	**à**$_i$	**ɓɨ́lá**	**mɨ́**	{ **já**$_{i/*j}$		**nyàg**	**tāā**	**wó** }
	he	say	(say)that	I	QEV	eat	fish	NEG
Ind.	**à**$_i$	**ɓɨ́lá**	**mɨ́**	{ **já**$_{i/*j}$	**mɨ́**	**nyàg**	**tāā**	**wó** }

He$_i$ said that   I$_{*i/j}$ don't/didn't eat fish.

1. Reported speech

(6)
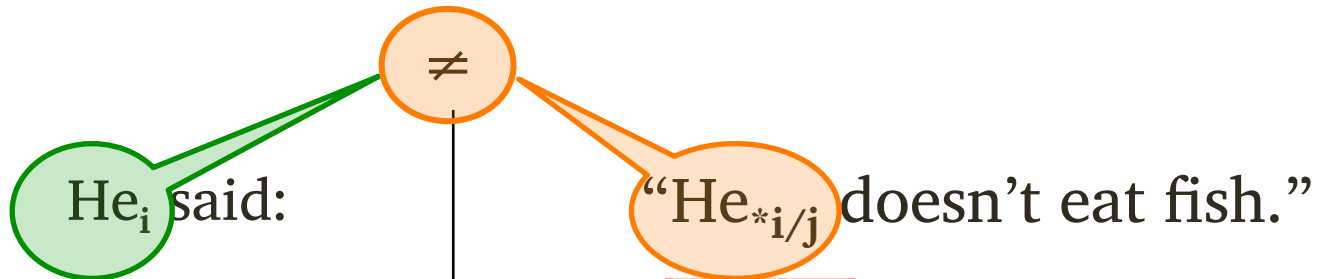
Dir.	$\textbf{à}_i$	$\textbf{ɓɨ́lá}$	$\textbf{mɨ́}$	$\{ \textbf{à}_{*i/j}$		$\textbf{nyàg}$	$\textbf{tāā}$	$\textbf{wó} \}$
	he	say	(say)that	he	QEV	eat	fish	NEG
Ind.	$\textbf{à}_i$	$\textbf{ɓɨ́lá}$	$\textbf{mɨ́}$	$\{ \textbf{à}_{i/j}$	$\textbf{mɨ́}$	$\textbf{nyàg}$	$\textbf{tāā}$	$\textbf{wó} \}$

He$_i$ said: "He$_{*i/j}$ doesn't eat fish."

He$_i$ said that he$_{i/j}$ doesn't/didn't eat fish.
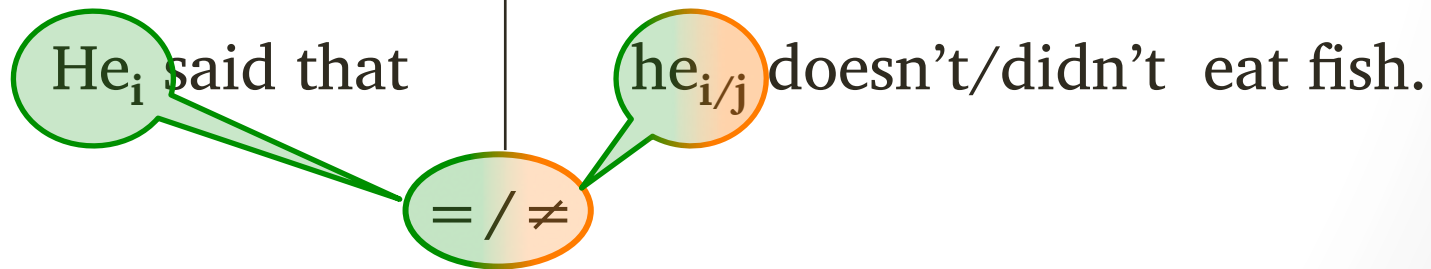
1. Reported speech

(7) ǐ   huàr   nār   mí   { náár   mí   pāy }

they   send   to.him (say)that his.mother QEV be.sick

'He was sent a messenger who told him that his

mother was sick.'

1. Reported speech

(8) Research team asks question in French. Translator:

mɨ́ { **ǐ** **mɨ́** **nyíní** **mínǐ** **piàr** **yà** **nā** }
(say)that they QEV come INT chat with you.SG
'They say that they came to chat with you,

{ **ò** **mɨ́** **ká** **nǐ** **làà** **bān** }
you.SG QEV do to:them tale many
(that) you told a lot of folktales for them,

{ **ò** **mɨ́** **yìrà** **wúrá** **bān** **gɨ̌** **pɨ̄ɨ̄l** }
you.SG QEV know things many in village
(that) you know a lot of things about the village.'

1. Reported speech

Distribution of QEV **mɨ́**:

SBJ	QEV	MOD	ASP	VERB	etc.
ò	**mɨ́**	**--**	**wáā**	**ɨ́ny**	**ɗē guāārā**
you.SG	QEV		ITIVE	settle	at Niellim
'(they are asking) whether you settled among the Niellim?'					

- Clause-internal (≠ complementizer **mɨ́** '(say)that')
- between subject and verbal complex
- before aspect marker
- In complementary distribution with modal *mà* (injunctive)

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1. Reported speech

So far:

- quotative index **mî** '(say) that'
- 2nd marker **mî**
  - homophonous with the quotative index **mî**
  - But different
    - Category: clause-level marker, NOT complementizer
    - Distribution: only between subject and verbal complex

1. Reported speech

- Possible analysis: **mɨ́** is an embedded reported speech clause marker.

- To qualify as a quotative evidential, it needs to be used in non-embedded clauses as well.

3. QUOTATIVE EVIDENTIAL *mɨ́*

3. Quotative evidential *mɨ́*

(9) Research team asks question. Translator:

wógə̀d	**yí**	**ǐ**	**mɨ́**	**nyùŋ-án**	**nūŋ**
moment	which	they	QEV	marry-you.SG	TOP

'When they married you [= you got married],

ò	**mɨ́**	**wáā**	**ɨ́ny**	**ɗē**	**guāārā**
you.SG	QEV	ITIVE	settle	at	Niellim

… did you go settle among the Niellim…

ɓēē	**ò**	**mɨ́**	**ɨ́ny**	**lá**	**nùŋú**	**à**
or	you.SG	QEV	settle	village	here	Q

… or did you settle here in the village?'

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3. Quotative evidential *mɨ́*

(10) Conversation between A and B:

A:	**luāā**	**nǐ**	**bān**		**à**
	years	my	be.many		Q

'Is my age old?'

B:	**ò**	**sáál**	**wó**
	you.SG	be.old	NEG

'You are not old.'

A:	**jǐ**	**sáál**	**à**
	1F.SG	be.old	Q

'I am old?'

C (to A):	**ò**	**mɨ́**	**sáál**	**wó**
	2SG	QEV	be.old	NEG

'[B said that] you are not old.'

3. Quotative evidential *mɨ́*

(11) Diviner interpreting signs on the sand

dáámìr   **mɨ́**   **cə̀r**   **gòò**
(figure)   QEV   want   goat
'(according to the signs) Daamɨr wants a goat …

hásà kə́w ò   mɨ́ káàn gòò kán mɨ́ 'yá
now   too   you.SG QEV give.it goat DEF QEV take
… give it a goat right now and it will accept it.'

→ the diviner is not the author of the message, the signs on the sand are.

→ He is just a messenger (no endorsement).

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3. Quotative evidential *mɨ́*

<u>Summary</u>:

- **mɨ́** is a specialized **quotative evidential**
- NOT a just an indirect-reported-speech embedded clause marker
- NOT a *reported* evidential (hearsay):
  - *reported*: "stating what someone else has said without specifying the exact authorship"
  - *quotative*: "introducing the exact author of the quoted report"

    [Aikhenvald 2004:177]
    - In Laal, the author is always known (even when not explicitly mentioned) → *quotative*

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4. THE SELF-QUOTATION MARKER

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

- Self-quotation is a relatively neglected phonomenon (cf. Golato 2002, Michael 2012)

- Dedicated self-quotation markers are typologically very rare.

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4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

(12) (In)direct reported speech:

Context: John is sleeping in the house; Peter is sitting outside the house. A child comes, saying his mother wants to see John. Peter tells the child:

ɓílá	kî	náá	mî	{à	gā	tēé	tǐnǐ	mūr }
say	to	your.mother	(say)that	he	QEV1	IPFV	lie	sleep

'Tell your mother that { (I said that) he is sleeping}.'

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

(13) Direct reported speech

A: *Who taught you to count to ten in Laal?*

B: [did not understand the question, wrong answer]

A: [repeats the question three more times]

B: [misunderstands the question three more times]

A: **já ɓîlá mî**　　{ **ʼí　jè　jà　gà　ɓír-nà**
　I　say　(say)that　　it.is　who　FOC　QEV1　show-you

　dāní　ò　　gā　　yìrà　míná　kán
　then　you.SG　QEV1　know　thing　DEF

'I said: "Who is it that taught you that thing so that you
　know it now?"'

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

(14) Direct reported speech

A: **ò**   **ɗàà**   **nī**   **yə́**

    you   bring:VEN   to.me   what

    'What did you bring me?'

B: *[does not answer]*

A: **jî**   **ɓîlá**   **mî**   { **ò**   **gā**   **ɗàà**   **nī**   **yə́** }

    1F.SG   say   (say)that   you   QEV1   bring:VEN   to.me   what

    'I said: "What did you bring me?"'

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

(15) Non-embedded context

já	**gā**	ɓîlá	**mî**	{...}
1M.SG	QEV1	say	(say)that	

'I said that {...}.'

ùrú	**gī**	ɓîlá	**mî**	{...}
1EX.PL	QEV1	say	(say)that	

'We said that {...}.'

- Context: the speaker(s) said something, but no one listened, so they repeat it with insistence.
- → reinforces the illocutionary force of the utterance
- (Cf. Michael 2012 and citations therein for similar effects in other languages)

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

(16) Non-embedded context

já	gā	tēé	ɓî̵lá	nŭŋ.
1M.SG	QEV1	IPFV	talk	to.you.PL

ɓî̵lál	má	já	tēé	ɓî̵lá	nŭŋ	ɗāŋ
speech	which	1M.SG	IPFV	say	to.you	TOP

nō	mà	kòy	wó
person	INJ	joke	NEG

"I'm talking to you guys! What I am telling you is something people shouldn't joke about!'

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

Not a logophoric marker [Hagège 1974]
(matrix and dependent clause share the same subject)

(17) Ewe [Hagège 1974:302]

a. kofi   be   e   dzo
   K.   say   he   go
   'Kofi$_i$ said that he$_{*i/j}$ [=someone else] left.'

b. kofi   be   yè   dzo
   K.   say   LOG   go
   'Kofi$_i$ said that he$_{i/*j}$ [=Kofi] left.'

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

- Not a logophoric marker [Hagège 1974]
  (matrix and dependent clause share the same subject)

ɓîlá	kî	náá	mî	{à	**gā**	tēé	tǐnǐ	mūr }
say	to	your. mother	(say)that	he	QEV1	IPFV	lie	sleep
'Tell your mother that				(I said that) he is sleeping.'				
Matrix subject: 'you'				Embedded subject: 'he'				
				gā refers to speaker (1st person)				

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4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

- Not a logophoric marker [Hagège 1974]
  (matrix and dependent clause share the same subject)

Logophoric	Self-quote evidential **gā**
- mostly pronouns - endophoric (utterance-internal reference)	- clause-level marker - not a deictic per se (implicit reference is exophoric)

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

Comparing **gā** and **mɨ́**:

- same distribution, mutually exclusive

SBJ	QEV	MOD	ASP	VERB	etc.
ò you.SG	**mɨ́** QEV	░░░░░░	**wáā** ITIVE	**ɨ́ny** settle	**ɗē guāārā** at Niellim
'(they are asking) whether you settled among the Niellim?'					
à he	**gā** QEV1		**tēé** IPFV	**tǐnǐ** lie	**mūr** sleep
'(I said that) he is asleep.'					
à he	**gā** QEV1	**mà** INJ		**ká** do	**dūrār** work
'(I said that) he should work.'					

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

Comparing **gā** and **mɨ́**: separate grammaticalization

- **mɨ́** :
  - most probably grammaticalized from quotative index **mɨ́**
  - Possibly from lexical verb 'say' originally (extremely frequent grammaticalization path, cf. Aikhenvald 2004:281-3)

Lexical verb ? > quotative index > quotative evidential

 ***mɨ́** 'say'   **mɨ́** '(say)that'   **mɨ́**

4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

Comparing **gā** and **mî**: separate grammaticalization

- **gā/gī**: a/i~ɨ alternation characteristic of verbal system:
  - Most verbs in /a/ → pl. in /ɨ~i/ (e.g. *ká/kî* 'do')
  - Modal:
    - *mà/mì*   Injunctive
  - Aspectual auxiliaries:
    - *tāá/tĩî*   Imperfective
    - *wáā/wĩî*   Itive
    - *ná/nî*   Prospective
    - *náā/nĩî*   Prospective + Itive
  - modal + aspectual auxiliary:
    - *mɨnà/mínɨ̌ ~ máā/mĩî*   Intentional
    - *mɨ̌ná/mìnî*   Counterfactual, avertive
    - *màá/mɨ̌î*   Injunctive + Itive

5. MODAL USE OF *mɨ́*

5. Modal use of *mɨ́*

(18)

sū	**yɨ́**	**tuáál**	**gɨ̀**	**bō**	**tɨ́m**	**rāāg**	**mɨ́**	**tēé**	**mòò**
water	REL	drop		LOC	leaves	like	CF	IPFV	rain

'The water that drops from the leaves, it's **as if** it was raining.'

5. Modal use of *mɨ́*

(19) 'Take Mr. X, for example: he left Chad and settled in France, but he married a Chadian woman…

…**bèrè**	**à**	**mɨ́**	**nyàŋ**	**nàsárà**	**gàná**
if	he	CF	marry	White	then

… if he had married a White woman,

à	**nyíní**	**à**	**mé**	**kɨ́ny,**	**yɨ̄gēr**	**nàr**	**ʼí**	**nàsárà**	**ʼá**
he	come	he	die	away	children	his	it.is	White	already

… his children would be considered White now.'

5. Modal use of *mɨ́*

- Epistemic status of a quotative: neutral
  - no endorsement
  - no rejection
  - no degree of certainty stated
- Possible pragmatic inference:
  - If the speaker chose to quote this statement rather than endorse it, it might mean that they don't have any evidence that the statement is true → they want to distance themselves from the statement
  - Predicted possible semantic grammaticalization of this pragmatic inference (*distance* metaphor):
    - uncertainty, dubitative modality, etc.

5. Modal use of *mɨ́*

- In Laal: all the way to *counterfactual*

<div align="center">

Verb 'say' (?)

⬇

Quotative index

mɨ́ '(say) that'

⬇

Quotative evidential

mɨ́

⬇

Counterfactual

mɨ́

</div>

CONCLUSION

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Conclusion

- Laal has two quotative evidentials:
  - **mɨ́**: non-self quotation
  - **gā/gɨ̄**: self quotation (used for insistence/ emphatic effect)

    → One more language with this category!

- **Mɨ́** and **gā/gɨ̄** are used :
  - in embedded reported speech clauses
  - in non-embedded contexts (with similar meaning)

Conclusion

- **Mɨ́** and **gā/gɨ́** have different origins
  - **mɨ́** derives from a quotative index (ultimately from 'say')
  - **gā/gɨ́** may derive from a former auxiliary verb?

  → Confirmation that self-quotation is a pragmatic category of its own, which may be grammaticalized separately from non-self-quotation markers

- **Mɨ́** also grammaticalized into a counterfactual marker
  → An example of an evidential grammaticalizing into an epistemic modal

Conclusion

- Typology of Evidentials: a new type?
- Aikhenvald's types which include "quotative"
  1. are always rich (at least three terms)
  2. there seems to be an implicational relation: if a language has a "quotative" evidential, then it also has other evidentials (most of the time at least "reported/hearsay")
     - Three-term system "B5"
       - B5: Reported, quotative, everything else
     - Four-term systems "C3"
       - C3: Direct, inferred, reported, quotative
     - Five-term system (Kashaya)
       - performative, factual/visual, auditory, inferential, quotative
- **Laal's three-term system:**
- **self-quotative vs. non-self-quotative vs. everything else**
- **→ A new type**

THANK YOU!
ありがとう

Special thanks to:
- The Laal-speaking community in Chad
- Lev Michael

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