INTRODUCTION

Contemporary approaches to language change:
- Tokens of innovated and original linguistic forms occur side by side
- Synchrony and diachrony are viewed as an integrated whole
- Variation in phonology is ubiquitous & sound change is drawn from a pool of synchronic variation (Ohala 1989)
- Invention of new forms → beginning of language change; essentially a synchronic process
- Ordered steps of language change:
  - Innovation, propagation, cross linguistic variation
- Language change is conceived as a function of ongoing language use by its speakers
  → usage-based model of language change:
- Problems:
  - First occurrence of an innovation is difficult to pinpoint.
  - What about morphosyntactic variation?
- Croft (2010) tackles these problems: based on twenty oral narratives of the 'Pear Story' (Chafe 1980):
  - Investigates whether synchronic variation is as pervasive on the morphosyntactic level (as on the phonological)
  - Whether such variations represent the origins of grammaticalization?
- His conclusions:
  - First-order variation is pervasive in the verbalization of the different scenes and is just "a consequence of the normal way of speaking."
  - The variation is structured in a way that less grammaticalized variants are the sources of more grammaticalized variants.
  - Morphosyntactic change is indeed drawn from a pool of synchronic variation (Croft 2010:40, 41)

GOAL OF PRESENTATION:
- Evaluate Croft's conclusion on the basis of data from a complete different language and a complete different context
- Analysis of morphosyntactic variation in a controlled situation, here: the retelling of a picture story in Pana
- Is the variation structured in a way that less grammaticalized variants function as sources of more grammaticalized variants?
- Evaluate additional data from related and neighboring languages

THE DATA

THE 'FIRE STORY' IN PANA
- 91 Speakers; recorded data transferred to toolbox
- The PRESENTATIVE FUNCTION:
  - Drawing attention to an element that comes into the view or to the attention of the addressee.
  - Introduce an entity into the world of discourse.
Introduction of human actors is proper locus for presentative constructions (Croft 2010: 36)

Picture 1 (p1) and picture 5 (p5) provide possibilities for verbalizing of presentative functions

Northern Gurunsi Languages

- Lyele: Nicolas (1953) “Glossaire Lyele” (with gram. sketch)
- Kasem: Zwernemann (1957), grammatical sketch, (includes some elicited phrases)
  Bonvini (1988), grammatical description (French structuralism)
- Samoma: no data on phrase or discourse construction available.

Verbalizations of the Presentative Function

The Basic Declarative Construction:

 Â It is the most frequent means for presenting new actors in the Fire Story (75 tokens).
 Â There is a high variability within this type according to its individual components.
 Â 10 tokens are in intransitive form, but only when describing the scene with the boy in p5. Most instances are followed by subordinate as in 2):

1) (J6, p5)
   sé bì-sè má swá dé já-á fûrí yà
   DEM child-DEM also run.PFV CNJ house-def burn FOC
   "This child there also ran because the house burns"

The majority of tokens (38 in p1; 21 in p2) are in transitive structure:

2) (B9, p1)
   bá-lè tòrá sì'arté c'dj
   man-def take.PFV cigarette on.ground
   "The man took the cigarette"

3) (A2, p5)
   bì dáaré sàna wùsèrí dé'bë lùrè
   child certain see smoke still come.out
   "A certain child sees smoke still coming out"

6 instances of the declarative type present the newly introduced agent with a sort of dislocated NP followed by the main declarative.

The Copula Constructions: Identification clause

 Â this construction is generally used for any item a speaker wants to identify for the hearer.
 Â Typical usage is the answer to Who is there? It's me!
 Â 6 tokens, all followed by a second clause that predicates an action of the newly introduced person (with anaphoric pronoun).
 Â Four of six tokens have unspecific determiner dáaré "certain" in NP

4) (J1, p1)
bá dāarè yà; ò ná sigárté cè... ò tôrò kè
man certain IDT; 3SG find cigarette on ground... 3SG takes thing
"There is a certain man; he finds a cigarette on the ground and he takes it"

The other two clauses have a demonstrative pronoun to present the agent and are accompanied by a pointing gesture of the speakers:

5) (F1, p1)
sé yà; ná wûndó tôrò sigárté
DEM IDT; 3SG.EMP PROG take cigarette
"This (one); he is taking a cigarette"

THE COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS: Existential clause

Â The presentative function expressed with an existential clause also followed by a second part
Â 31 tokens of this structure → more common means for presenting a new human actor to the discourse universe
Â Simplest form: bi-clausal structure where the first part presents the new actor and the second part expresses his action.
Â The presented human actor is introduced with a demonstrative pronoun often accompanied by a pointing gesture of the speaker.

6) (H3, p1)
sé wûní; ò kwè sigárté tôrò
DEM EXIS; 3SG come.IPF cigarette take
"There is one; he comes and takes the cigarette"

The more widespread variant of this construction is slightly more complicated: the second part is a subordinate clause with resumptive pronoun and verb in neutral aspect.

7) (E8, p1)
bá-lè wûní dé ò tôrò sigárté-lè
man-DEF EXIS CNJ 3SG take cigarette-DEF
"There is the man who takes the cigarette"

Constructions of this type [S wuni de pp NV...] developed into a progressive marker; its three elements amalgamate into one single [wûndó] unit.

Greater variation of noun and its determiners then in identificational clause.

Most often in a definite form but also with demonstrative determiners or replaced by a demonstrative pronoun.

8) (B9, p1)
sé wûní dé ò nè sigárté
DEM EXIS CNJ 3SG drink cigarette
"There is this one who drinks the cigarette"

9) (J5, p1)
bá-sè wûní dé ò tôrò sigárté cè
man-DEM EXIS CNJ 3SG take cigarette on ground
"There is this man who takes the cigarette"

This variant of the presentative function is often in combination with a pointing gesture.
**SUMMARY PANA:** High internal variation

Different types and subtypes of verbalizations for the presentative function:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>NP_IDT, é</th>
<th>NP_EXIS, é</th>
<th>NP_V,...</th>
<th>NP_V-O</th>
<th>NP_PP-V-O</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>Picture 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Picture 5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**ADDITIONAL DATA**

- In all three N-Gurunsi languages instances of **identificational copula:** yí/e
  
  Kasem: Bonvini (1988)  
  ó yì ñù  /il/être/cela
  
  Nuni: Prost (1999)  
  o ye pio  il est chef
  
  Lyele: Nicolas (1953)  
  o yí nasára  Il est un blanc

Typical usage in identificational phrase and in left dislocated topic/focus (impressionistic data)

  As no texts are available, for the time being, no hints its usage in presentative contexts can be cited.

- In all three N-Gurunsi languages instance of an **exitential copula** wu, wóne
  
  Lyele: Nicolas (1953)  
  woné  “exister, être dans un lieu”
  
  Kasem: Bonvini (1988):  
  ó wu yo  il/se trouver/ ici “il est ici”
  
  Nuni: Prost (1999):  
  o wo do wu  ‘Il est dans la cour’; o wa ‘il y est’
  
  Zwernemann (1958): progressive in Nuna with verb “to be, exist, be there” (compare with progressive in Pana):  
  a ùlà a ná  “ich sehe gerade”

- In the contact language Fufulde (all data Viktoria Appel (p.c.)):

  woni = polyfunctional copula verb; basic lexical meaning ‘to be, to be at’

  Functions: equative copula, locative copula, term focus marker (in cleft constructions), progressive reading (with verbal noun in subordinate clauses)

  woni seems to have the same range as wùní in Pana...but is not reported in presentative function!

**CONCLUSION**

- Variation in the verbalization of the presentative function in Pana is wide spread!

- Copula constructions:

  - *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* lists verbs of location including the locative copulas as source for presentative ‘there is’ constructions (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 101-102, 203-204)

  - In Pana, ’wùní’ is the main copula source for expressing the presentative function.

  - Fulfulde influence is not negligible

- Declaratives:
Verbs of appearance and motion like 'come', 'go', 'run', 'pass by' figure in presentative declaratives of both pictures. However more in (p5, 24) than in (p1,10)

They are 'presentative' in connection with specialized constructions (i.e. with the 'there' construction in English) Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995

 Perception verbs like 'see' and 'find' are also frequent 12 in (p1) and 18 in (p5) (compare French voice-construction to express presentative function)

References