

Morphosyntactic variation in Pana
(with some additional evidence from Northern Gurunsi Languages).

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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)
- Nuni: Zwernemann (1958) “Notizen über das Verbum des Nuna”, Prost (1999), grammatical sketch (post mortem publication)
- 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:

- “ It is the most frequent means for presenting new actors in the Fire Story (75 tokens).
- “ There is a high variability within this type according to its individual components.
- “ 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 bí-sè má swá dé já-á fúrí 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 àrté c
 man-def take.pfv cigarette on.ground
 "The man took the cigarette"
- 3) (A2, p5)
- bí** **dáaré** sáná wùsèrí dé é 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

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

- 4) (J1, p1)

bá dáarè yà; ò ná sîgàrté cè... ò tòró kè
man certain IDT; 3SG find cigarette on.ground... 3SG takes thing
"There is a certain man; he finds a cigarette on the ground; 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; náa wùndó tòró sîgàrté
DEM IDT; 3SG.EMP PROG take cigarette
"This (one); he is taking a cigarette"

THE COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS: Existential clause

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

6) (H3, p1)

sé wùní; ò kwè sîgàrté tòró
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 wùní dé ò tòró sîgàrté-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 [*wùndó*] 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 wùní dé ò né sîgàrté
DEM EXIS CNJ 3SG drink cigarette
"There is this one who drinks the cigarette"

9) (J5, p1)

bá-sè wùní dé ò tòró sîgàrté 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:

	<i>NP-IDT, í</i>	<i>NP-EXIS, í</i>	<i>NP-V, ...</i>	<i>NP-V-O</i>	<i>NP, PP-V-O</i>	<i>Total</i>
Picture 1	6	20	-	38	-	64
Picture 5		11	10	21	6	48
Total	6	31	10	59	6	112

ADDITIONAL DATA

- In all three N-Gurunsi languages instances of **identificational copula**: *yi/e*
 Kasem: Bonvini (1988) ò yì kŭ /il/être/cela
 Nuni: Prost (1999) o ye pio il est chef
 Lyle: 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 **existential copula** *wu, wóne*
 Lyle: Nicolas (1953) *woné* “exister, être dans un lieu”
 Kasem: Bonvini (1988): *ò 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 úlà a ná* “ich sehe gerade”

- In the contact language Ffulde (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.
 - “ Ffulde 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)

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