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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>Sissala</td>
<td>(Gur)</td>
<td>[Blass 1989]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lega</td>
<td>(Bantu)</td>
<td>[Botne 1995]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>König (2013)</td>
<td>Luo</td>
<td>(Nilotic)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fur</td>
<td>(Nilo-Saharan)</td>
<td>[Waag 2010]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tima</td>
<td>(Kordofanian)</td>
<td>[Schneider-Blum &amp; Dimmendaal 2013]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>!Xuun</td>
<td>(Kx’a)</td>
<td>[König 2013]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALS</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>(Germanic)</td>
<td>[de Haan 2013]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>(Cushitic)</td>
<td>[Dahl 1984:95-6]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.”
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 $mî$

3) The self-quotatation marker $gā$

4) Modal use of $mî$

5) Conclusions
Introduction

Preliminary remarks on Laal basic clause structure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SBJ</th>
<th>MOD</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>OBJ etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>já</td>
<td></td>
<td>tēé</td>
<td>juànà</td>
<td>súkàr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>buy</td>
<td>sugar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) ‘I am buying sugar’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SBJ</th>
<th>MOD</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>OBJ etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... já</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>wáā</td>
<td>juànà</td>
<td>súkàr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>INJUNCTIVE</td>
<td>ITIVE</td>
<td>buy</td>
<td>sugar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) ‘(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quotative index</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[John speaking]</td>
<td>Mary <em>said</em>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary <em>said that</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ “I saw Jeff” }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ she saw Jeff }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- “Quotative index”: introduces the quote being reported (Güldemann 2008:11)
  - “say” = speech verb
  - “that” = quotative complementizer
1. Reported speech

Direct reported speech

(3) nyé  bílá  mí  \{ uỳy  kùnyú  nyùn \}
  elephant  say  (say)that  you  leopard  go
  ‘Elephant said: “You Leopard, go away!”’

(4) nyàmgùr  mí  \{ áiīi \}
  (name)  (say)that  (excl)
  ‘Nyamgur went: “Aiii!”’
1. Reported speech

(5)

He said:

“He said that I don’t/didn’t eat fish.”

He said:

“I don’t eat fish.”

Dir.

ài bîlá mí

he say (say)that

Ind.

ài bîlá mí

{ jài/*j nyàg tāā wó }

{ jài/*j mí nyàg tāā wó }

The diagram illustrates the structure of reported speech, showing the transformation from direct to indirect speech.
1. Reported speech

(6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>à_{i}</td>
<td>bîlâ</td>
<td>mî</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>(say)that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>à_{i}</td>
<td>bîlâ</td>
<td>mî</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>QEV</td>
<td>eat fish NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ẹ̄̀̄́ ̌̃̊ ṭ ḥ̌́ r ̣̄́ ṇ̌́ ạ̄ r ṃ̌́ i { ̣̌́ ṇ̌́ ạ̄ r ṃ̌́ i p̣̌́ ạ̄ y } 
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:

\[
\text{mí} \quad \{ \text{i mí nyíni mínlí piààr yà nà } \}
\]
\begin{align*}
\text{(say)that} & \quad \text{they QEV come INT chat with you.SG} \\
\text{‘They say that they came to chat with you,} \\
\{ \text{ò mí ká nǐ làà bān } \}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{you.SG QEV do to:them tale many} \\
\text{(that) you told a lot of folktales for them,} \\
\{ \text{ò mí yìrà wúrā bān gǐ pāēl } \}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{you.SG QEV know things many in village} \\
\text{(that) you know a lot of things about the village.’}
\end{align*}
1. Reported speech

Distribution of **QEV mí**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SBJ</th>
<th>QEV</th>
<th>MOD</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò you.SG</td>
<td>mí QEV</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>wáā ITIVE</td>
<td>íny settle</td>
<td>dē guāārā at Niellim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(they are asking) whether you settled among the Niellim?’

- Clause-internal (≠ complementizer mí ‘(say)that’)
- between subject and verbal complex
- before aspect marker
- In complementary distribution with modal mà (injunctive)
1. Reported speech

So far:

- quotative index *mî* ‘(say) that’
- 2\textsuperscript{nd} 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: mí 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 $m\acute{i}$
3. Quotative evidential *mí*

(9) Research team asks question. Translator:

![Translation of the text](image_url)

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

... did you go settle among the Niellim…

... or did you settle here in the village?’
3. Quotative evidential *mí*

(10) Conversation between A and B:

A:  luāā  nǐ  bān  à
    years  my  be.many  Q
    ‘Is my age old?’

B:  ò  sāāl  wó
    you.SG  be.old  NEG
    ‘You are not old.’

A:  jī  sāāl  à
    1F.SG  be.old  Q
    ‘I am old?’

C (to A):  ò  mǐ  sāāl  wó
    2SG  QEV  be.old  NEG
    ‘[B said that] you are not old.’
3. Quotative evidential mɪ́

(11) Diviner interpreting signs on the sand

dáámìr  mɪ́  cèr  göò
(figure)  QEV  want  goat
‘(according to the signs) Daamìr wants a goat ...

hásà kéw ò  mɪ́  káàn  göò  kán  mɪ́  ’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).
3. Quotative evidential mí

Summary:
• mí 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*
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.
4. Self-quotatation 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:

*bîlá kí náá mî {à gā tēé tînî mūr}*

say to your. (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 bįlá mį { ‘į ję jà $gā$ bįr-nà
    I say (say)that it.is who FOC QEV1 show-you

dānį ò $gā$ yìrà mîná 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 dàà nì yé
    you bring:VEN to.me what

    ‘What did you bring me?’

B:  *[does not answer]*

A:  jì bìlá mí { ̀ò gā dàà nì yé }
    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

$\text{jà} \quad gā \quad bîlā \quad mî \quad \{\ldots\}$

1M.SG QEV1 say (say)that

‘I said that {…}.’

$\text{ùrú} \quad gî \quad bîlā \quad mî \quad \{\ldots\}$

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 \textit{gā}

(16) Non-embedded context

\begin{verbatim}
 já gā tēé bīlā nũŋ.
 1M.SG QEV1 IPFV talk to.you.PL

 bīlál má já tēé bīlā nũŋ dāŋ
 speech which 1M.SG IPFV say to.you TOP

 nō mà kòy wó
  person INJ joke NEG
\end{verbatim}

“I’m talking to you guys! What I am telling you is something people shouldn’t joke about!’
4. Self-quotation marker \( g\ddot{a} \)

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

(17) Ewe [Hagège 1974:302]

\[
\text{a. } \text{kofi be } \underline{\text{e}} \text{ dzo} \\
\text{K. say he go}
\]

‘Kofi said that he\textsubscript{i/j} [ = someone else] left.’

\[
\text{b. } \text{kofi be yè dzo} \\
\text{K. say LOG go}
\]

‘Kofi said that he\textsubscript{i/*j} [ = Kofi] left.’
4. Self-quotation marker $gā$

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$bīlā$</th>
<th>$kī$</th>
<th>$náá$</th>
<th>$mī$</th>
<th>${ à \ gā \ tēé \ tĭńĭ \ mūr }$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>your.</td>
<td>(say)that</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Tell your mother that’</td>
<td><em>(I said that)</em> he is sleeping.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrix subject: ‘you’

Embedded subject: ‘he’

$gā$ refers to speaker

(1st person)
4. Self-quotation marker $gā$

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Logophoric</th>
<th>Self-quote evidential $gā$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• mostly pronouns</td>
<td>• clause-level marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• endophoric</td>
<td>• not a deictic per se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(utterance-internal reference)</td>
<td>(implicit reference is exophoric)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4. Self-quotation marker *gā*

Comparing *gā* and *mî:*

- same distribution, mutually exclusive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SBJ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò</td>
<td>mî</td>
<td></td>
<td>wáā</td>
<td>ìny</td>
<td>dē guāārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you.SG</td>
<td>QEV</td>
<td>ITIVE</td>
<td>settle</td>
<td>at Niellim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(they are asking) whether you settled among the Niellim?’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| à    | gā  | tēé | tīnī | mūr    |
| he   | QEV1| IPFV| lie   | sleep  |
| ‘(I said that) he is asleep.’ |

| à    | gā  | mà  | ká   | dūrār  |
| he   | QEV1| INJ | do   | work   |
| ‘(I said that) he should work.’ |
4. Self-quotation marker $g\bar{a}$

Comparing $g\bar{a}$ and $m\acute{i}$: separate grammaticalization

- $m\acute{i}$:
  - most probably grammaticalized from quotative index $m\acute{i}$
  - Possibly from lexical verb ‘say’ originally (extremely frequent grammaticalization path, cf. Aikhenvald 2004:281-3)

Lexical verb ? $>$ quotative index $>$ quotative evidential

*$m\acute{i}$ ‘say’ $m\acute{i}$ ‘(say)that’ $m\acute{i}$
4. Self-quotation marker \(gā\)

Comparing \(gā\) and \(mī\): separate grammaticalization

- \(gā/gī\): a/i~i alternation characteristic of verbal system:
  - Most verbs in /a/ → pl. in /i~i/ (e.g. \(kā/kī\) ‘do’)
  - Modal:
    - \(mà/mì\) Injunctive
  - Aspectual auxiliaries:
    - \(tāā/tū\) Imperfective
    - \(wāā/wū\) Itive
    - \(nā/nī\) Prospective
    - \(nāā/nū\) Prospective + Itive
  - modal + aspectual auxiliary:
    - \(mānā/mūnī \sim māā/mūī\) Intentional
    - \(mānā/mūnī\) Counterfactual, avertive
    - \(māā/mūi\) Injunctive + Itive
5. MODAL USE OF $mî$
5. Modal use of mĭ

(18)

sū yî tuááł ǧĩ bō tîm rāāg mî tēé mòò
water REL drop LOC leaves like rain CF IPFV rain

‘The water that drops from the leaves, it’s as if it was raining.’
5. Modal use of mǐ

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

... bèrè à mǐ nyàŋ nàsàrà gàna
if he CF marry White then

... if he had married a White woman,

à nyíní à mé kîny, yīgōr nàr ’i nàsàrà ’á
he come he die away children his it.is White already

... his children would be considered White now.’
5. Modal use of *mí*

- 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 *mî*

- In Laal: all the way to *counterfactual*

Verb ‘say’ (?)

\[\downarrow\]

Quotative index

*mî* ‘(say) that’

\[\downarrow\]

Quotative evidential

*mî*

\[\downarrow\]

Counterfactual

*mî*
CONCLUSION
Conclusion

• Laal has two quotative evidentials:
  • mî: non-self quotation
  • gā/gī: self quotation (used for insistence/emphatic effect)
    → One more language with this category!

• Mî and gā/gī are used:
  • in embedded reported speech clauses
  • in non-embedded contexts (with similar meaning)
Conclusion

- Mî and gā/gī have different origins
  - mî derives from a quotative index (ultimately from ‘say’)
  - gā/gī 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

- Mî 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!

ありがとうございます

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

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References