

An LFG-account of the grammar of reported speech in Kafire (Senufo, Côte d’Ivoire)

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Abstract

The study of the grammar of reported discourse has not received much attention in LFG, except for cases where the reported segment can merely be a complement clause with the grammatical function COMP and/or OBJ (Dalrymple & Lødrup 2000). This is particularly the case for indirect speech constructions of many well-known languages like English. However, in Kafire, an underdescribed Senufo language of Côte d’Ivoire, the reported segment is neither a complement clause, nor an argument or an adjunct. The evidence for that is not related to any syntactic difference between direct and indirect speech and includes the following :

1. While complement clauses in Kafire are ‘clauses’, the reported segment can be any category that can be uttered, namely interjections, vocative phrases, onomatopoeias.

- (1) a. wò ò cĕ [á lí dāà kù]
1PL PRF.AFF know CIPRT 3SG.G3 FUT die
‘We know [that] she [pejorative] will die. [SENTENCE]’
(Kaf_Narr_Animals-Mothers-Funeral_01-SN_035)
- b. à dā?ā=w jō [fō=w cǒ]
CIPRT driver_ant=DEF1.SG want python=DEF1.SG catch
‘The driver ant wanted to catch the python. [CLAUSE]’
(Kaf_Narr_Origin-Cult-Of-Water_01_SN_020)

(2) a. à wú jō [hê]
 CIPRT 3SG.G1 say INTJ
 ‘She said: hein ! [INTERJECTION]’
 (Kaf_Narr_The_Old-Man’s-Young-Wife_SN_213)

b. á wú jō [kōkōkōkōkōkō]
 CIPRT 3SG.G1 say ONOM ONOM
 ‘He [=Warthog] said ‘konkonkon [ONOMATOPOEIA]’
 (Kaf_Narr_Lion’s-mother_01_SN_257)

2. The reported segment includes categories that are not subcategorizable in the language, nor they can function as adjuncts (interjections, onomatopoeias, sentences). Moreover, unlike an adjunct the reported segment is obligatory and contrary to an argument the reported segment is iterable (3).

(3) a. *à wú jō
 CIPRT 3SG.G1 say
 ‘The python said.’
 (Kaf_Narr_Turn-and-Throw_01_NW_091)[modified]

b. à wú jō [wèj][wèè figènwá wí]
 CIPRT 3SG.G1 say INTJ EMPH1.SG turn-and-throw IDEN1.SG
 ‘He said : yeah ! It is him Turn-and-throw-away !’
 (Kaf_Narr_Turn-and-Throw_01_NW_091)

3. The actual argument of the predicate is a demonstrative manner adverb. Not only that demonstrative manner adverb can occur along with the reported segment and has properties of oblique arguments (i.e., it is post-verbal, focalisable, non passivizable like obliques) (4), but also manner related-words are used to target the ‘reported segment’ (5).

- (4) a. à wàà jō **ɲǎmɛ̃** ʔūū zǝ=w wòlò nūbǝ=w
 CIPRT INDF1.SG say **like_that** INTJ bad_behaviour=DEF1.SG 1PL guest=DEF1.SG
 nā dē
 on EXCL
 ‘Someone said **like this**: hum ! Our guest really behaves badly.’
 (Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_043)
- b. à wàà jō ʔūū zǝ=w wòlò nūbǝ=w
 CIPRT INDF1.SG say INTJ bad_behaviour=DEF1.SG 1PL guest=DEF1.SG
 nā
 on
 ‘Someone said : hum ! Our guest really behaves badly.’
 (Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_050)
- (5) a. **mɛ̃** wàà jō è
how INDF1.SG say Q
 ‘What [lit. **How**] did someone say?’
 (Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_050)[modified].
- b. **ɲà** wàà jō
like_that INDF1.SG say
 ‘It is that [lit. **like that**] someone said.’
 (Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_050)[modified].

Based on those facts, I propose a particular way for analyzing the grammar of reported discourse in Kafiré within LFG. In that analysis, the reported segment is treated as a category bearing a discourse-like function (labelled as DEM(ONSTRATION), cf. Clark & Gerrig (1990), Nikitina & Bugaeva (2021)) whose value is a set of f-structures. It is integrated in the f-structure by being linked to the actual argument function of the speech predicate, i.e., the oblique manner function (cf. Extended coherence condition (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987)). On the one hand, when the demonstrative manner adverb bearing that function occurs in the c-structure, it is obligatory coreferential to the reported segment. Then the two functions have the same indexical marker in the f-structure showing that coreferentiality. The obligatory coreferentiality of the oblique manner is related to the fact that it is a cataphoric pronoun. This is shown with the presence of an existential con-

straint in the lexical entry of the manner demonstrative adverb requiring the presence of the function of the reported segment. On the other hand, when the demonstrative manner adverb bearing the oblique manner function is absent in the c-structure, the function bears by the reported segment shares its value with that of the oblique manner in the f-structure.

The analysis is illustrated below:

- (6) a. wú jō wèè ò pā
 3SG say EMPH1.SG PRF come
 ‘He said that he has come.’
- b. wú jō òmè; [wèè ò pā]_i
 3SG say like_that EMPH1.SG PRF come
 ‘He said thus [lit. like this] he has come.’



