

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

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Introduction

1 Context

- Not much attention has been paid to the grammar of reported speech in LFG.
- In some cases, the reported segment patterns with complement clauses (category = CP/IP; GF = COMP and/or OBJ (Dalrymple & Lødrup 2000)).
- This is found in the indirect speech of many well-studied languages like English.
- However, in the reported speech of Kafire, an underdescribed Senufo language, the reported segment is neither a complement clause, nor an argument or an adjunct.
- Therefore, how to account for the grammar of reported speech in Kafire?
- I propose to treat the reported segment as bearing a discourse-like function that is functionally or cataphorically linked to the manner oblique function that the predicate governs.

2 The language and the data

Kafire (Northern Côte d'Ivoire : Sirasso, Nafoun, Kanoroba) :

- Niger-congo<Gur<Senufo<Central Senari.
- Word order → [SUBJ-AUX-OBJ-V-OBL, ADJ, COMP]

Data → 2 hours of annotated narratives ; **1128 reported speech constructions** (Silué 2022) (sometimes complemented with narrative-based elicitation data).

Facts

1 The reported segment is not a complement clause in Kafire

- Clausal complement = 'clause' or 'sentence'.

- (1) a. wò ñ cĕ/ tégé á lí dāà kù
1PL PRF.AFF know/ believe CIPRT 3SG.G3 FUT die
'We know/ believe [that] she [pejorative] will die.' [SENTENCE]
(Kaf_Narr_Animals-Mothers-Funeral_01-SN_035)[modified]
- b. à dā?ā=w jō fō=w cō
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)
- **BUT** Reported segment = anything that can be uttered, namely interjections, onomatopoeias, vocative phrases, discourse markers, sentences.
- (2) à wú jō hĕ/ kĕkĕkĕkĕ/ wèè ñ pā
CIPRT 3SG.G1 say INTJ/ ONOM ONOM/ EMPH1.SG PRF.AFF come
'She said: hein ! / 'konkonkon' / he has come.'
(Kaf_Narr_The_Old-Man's-Young-Wife_SN_213)[modified]

2 The reported segment is neither an argument, nor an adjunct

- Unlike an adjunct the reported segment is obligatory (3).

(3) *à wú jō
CIPRT 3SG.G1 say
'He said.'
(Kaf_Narr_Turn-and-Throw_01_NW_091)[modified]

- Contrary to an argument the reported segment is iterable (4).

(4) à wú jō wĕj wèè figĕnwá 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)

- The reported segment includes categories that do not function elsewhere in the grammar as arguments or adjuncts (cf. (2)).

3 The actual argument of the speech predicate is a demonstrative adverb

- A demonstrative manner adverb can occur along with the reported segment, but cannot stand alone without it (5). It has the properties of oblique arguments, i.e., it is post-verbal, focalisable, non passivizable like obliques.

(5) a. à wāà jō nāmĕ ʔūū zĕ=w wòlò
CIPRT INDF1.SG say like_that INTJ bad_behaviour=DEF1.SG 1PL
nūbĕ=w nā dĕ
guest=DEF1.SG on EXCL
'Someone said like this: hum ! Our guest really behaves badly.'
(Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_043)

b. *à wāà jō nāmĕ
CIPRT INDF1.SG say like_that
'Someone said like this.'
(Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_043)[modified]

c. à wāà jō ʔūū zĕ=w wòlò
CIPRT INDF1.SG say INTJ bad_behaviour=DEF1.SG 1PL
nūbĕ=w nā
guest=DEF1.SG on
'Someone said : hum ! Our guest really behaves badly.'
(Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_050)

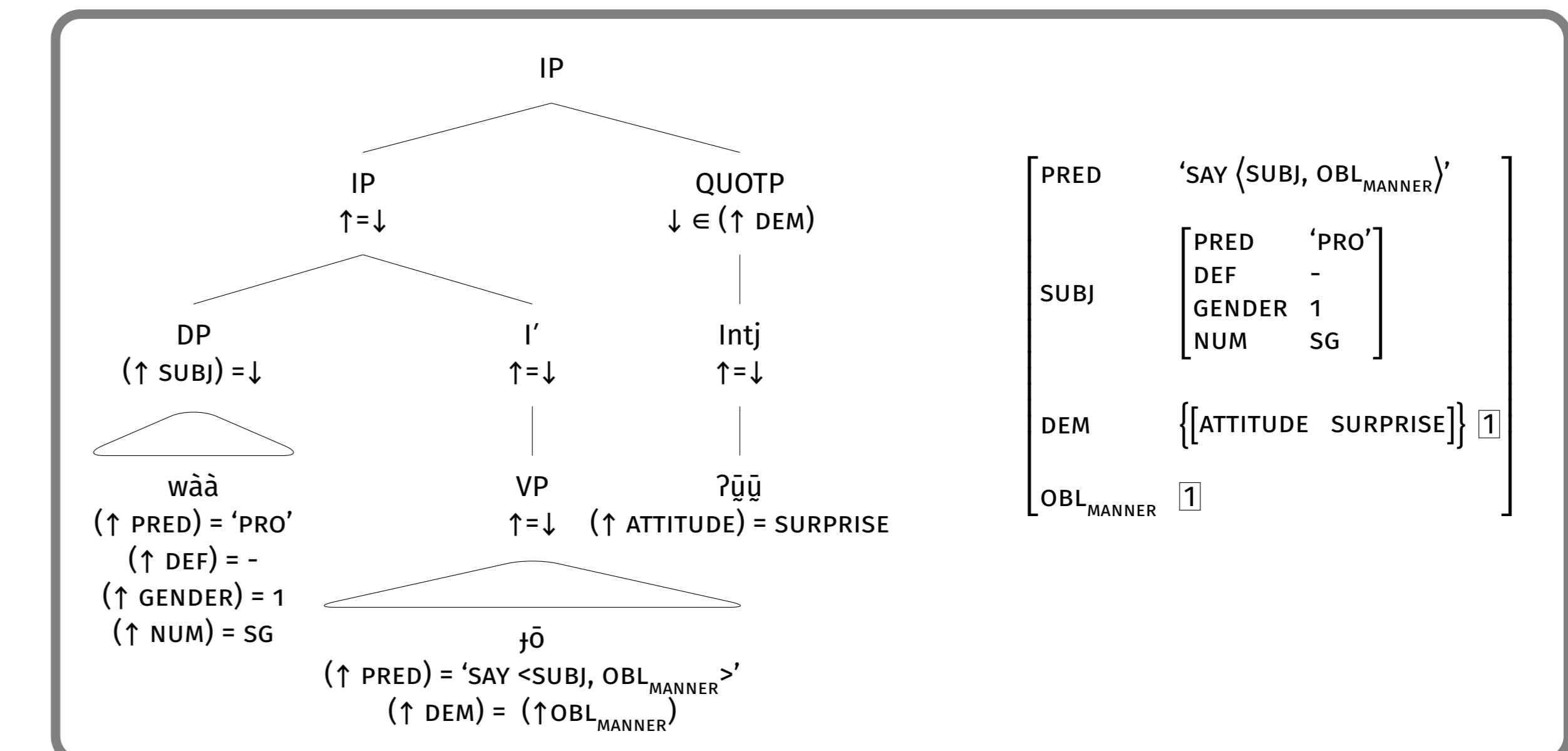
- Manner related words are used to target the 'reported segment' even if it is not by nature related to manner (6).

- (6) a. mĕ wāà jō è
how INDF1.SG say Q
'What [lit. How] did someone say?'
(Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_050)[modified].
- b. nā wāà jō
like_that INDF1.SG say
'It is that [lit. like that] someone said.'
(Kaf_Narr_Old-Witch_01-SN_050)[modified].

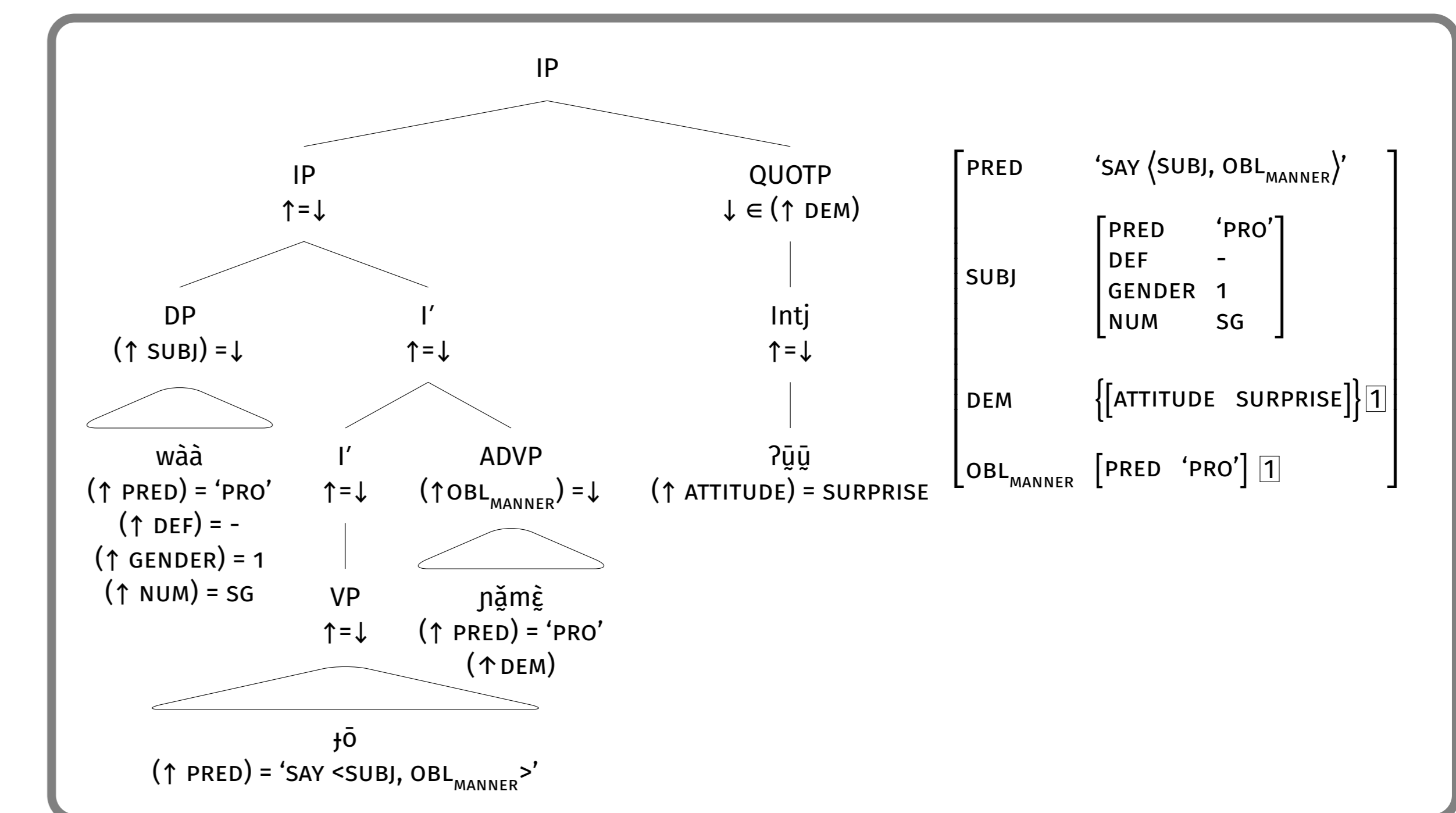
Formal analysis

nāmĕ ADV (↑PRED) = 'PRO' jō V (↑PRED) = 'say <SUBJ, OBL_MANNER>'
(↑DEM) ((↑DEM) = (↑OBL_MANNER))
(↑GF) : DEM(ONSTRATION) (Nikitina & Bugaeva 2021) QUOTP : Quotative Phrase

1 When the manner demonstrative is not expressed in the c-structure.



2 When the manner demonstrative is expressed in the c-structure.



Conclusion

- I treat the reported segment in Kafire as a category bearing a discourse-like function whose integration follows the Extended Coherence Condition.
- **Upcoming puzzle** : Other reported speech constructions in Kafire do not involve a reporting segment. How to analyze them within LFG?

References

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