

Quotative constructions in Kugama and Dijim

Lora Litvinova & Chika Kennedy Ajede
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Kugama and Dijim

- Kugama and Dijim are traditionally classified within the Adamawa language family (Niger-Congo), but within different subgroups (Eberhard et al. 2023, Blench 2004).
- Note that the Adamawa family is a hypothetical genealogical unit of languages. Most Adamawa languages are undescribed.
- Our focus is on common features of quotative constructions in Kugama and Dijim.

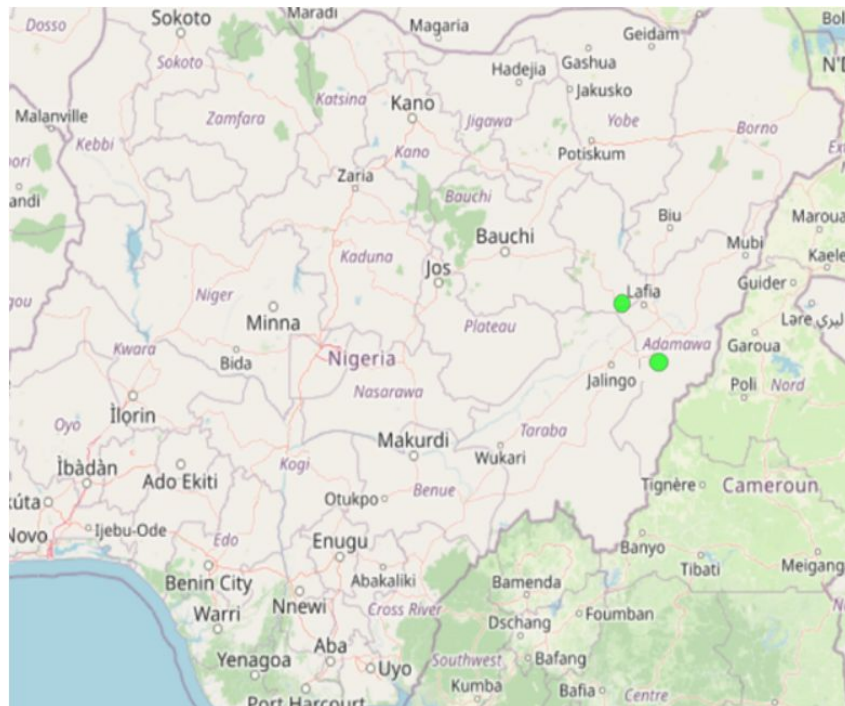
Kugama and Dijim

Both languages are is spoken in north-eastern Nigeria: **Kugama** in Adamawa State, **Dijim** at the border of Gombe and Adamawa States.

Kugama is spoken by less than 10.000 speakers (Eberhard et al. 2023). **Dijim** is spoken by 30.000 speakers (Adelberger 1989-1993).

First grammatical description of **Kugama** is done by (Litvinova 2023). First grammatical description of **Dijim** is done by (Ajede, PhD in preparation).

Our research is part of the Adagram project that focuses on data collection and description of Adamawa languages.



Our presentation focuses on:

- The structure of quotative constructions in Kugama and Dijim
- The use of quotative markers in Kugama and Dijim
- Kugama and Dijim pronominal system in reported speech

Our analysis is based on:

- Elicited data
- Several naturalistic texts

Quotative constructions

Word order in a simple declarative verbal clause in Kugama and Dijim : SVO

Quotative constructions in Kugam and Dijim have the following structure:

- [Speech reporting event + QUOT + Reported speech]

(1) Kugama

ā	kəm=rí	mā	Lúkpêwà	kā=tí	zêy=wā
1SG.S	say=PFV	1~2.QUOT	Lukpewa	see=PFV	dog=PFM

‘I said that Lukpewa saw a dog.’

Quotative constructions

Word order in a simple declarative verbal clause in Kugama and Dijim : SVO

Quotative constructions in Kugam and Dijim have the following structure:

- [Speech reporting event + QUOT + Reported speech]

(2) Dijim

à-sù-è gó k-à-dáw-tón
3.S-say-FV 3.QUOT AFF-3.S-good-APPL?

‘S/he/it/they₁ said that s/he/it/they₂ is good.’

Quotative constructions

Kugama and Dijim have **two quotative markers** that agree in person with the subject of a speech reporting event:

- Kugama
mā ~ *má* is used with first- and second-person pronominals
kà is used with third-person controllers
- Dijim
mǎ ~ *mǎ́* is used with first- and second-person pronominals
gǎ ~ *gǎ́* is used with third-person controllers

(3) Kugama

ā ḳem=rí mā
1SG.S say=PFV 1~2.QUOT
‘I said that Lukpewa saw a dog.’

Lúkpêwà

Lukpewa

kā=tí

see=PFV

zēy=wā

dog=PFM

(4) Kugama

Àlí ḳem=rí kà
Ali say=PFV 3.QUOT
‘Ali said that Lukpewa saw a dog.’

Lúkpêwà

Lukpewa

kā=tí

see=PFV

zēy=wā

dog=PFM

- (5) Dijim
bè-n-sù **mó** bèrè wòlái ñ-nèṅà ɲàṅ
FUT-2SG.S-say 1~2.QUOT because why 1SG.S-do so
‘You will say that why did I do this?’

- (6) Dijim
kè b-á-gún b-á-sù **gó** sùgà níbàrì kí
then FUT-3.S-wake_up FUT-3.S-say 3.QUOT greet husband COND
‘Then she will wake up and see if she will say, “good morning, husband”.’

Continuation

A sentence may have one speech reporting event and more than one reported segment. Each of these reported segments are introduced by a quotative marker.

(7) Kugama

dē tòò **kà** ēwé sīzáā tì gē=kī=L=wē
3SG.HUM.S say 3.QUOT PL.LOG.POSS children PROG wait=NMLZ=TR=LOG.O

kà wè náńí=L=kī
3.QUOT LOG.S leave=RES=NMLZ

‘She₁ said that her₁ children were waiting for her₁, and/so she₁ had to leave.’

Continuation

A sentence may have one speech reporting event and more than one reported segment. Each of these reported segments are introduced by a quotative marker.

- (8) Dijim
kǎ-n-sù-è mǎ kǎ-n-dí à sír
AFF-1SG.S-say.PST-FV 1~2.QUOT AFF-1SG.S-go.PST to farm
- mǎ kǎ-n-tǎ sǎ
1~2.QUOT AFF-1SG.S-see.PST snake
- mǎ kǎ-n-mòktè sô
1~2.QUOT AFF-1SG.S-kill.PST snake

‘I said that I went to the farm, I saw a snake and I killed the snake.’

Non-speech event

A quotative marker in Kugama and Dijim can occur with different types of predicate verbs, i.e. not only with a speech predicate but also with non-speech predicates

(9) Kugama

mū yò̀òlī=tí=wā má í l'é=tí=wē
2SG.S like=PFV=PFM 1~2.QUOT IMPS.S give_birth=PFV=LOG.O

ḡáā=L wàā kàm
in=GEN Kugama EMPH

‘(Since you like the Kugama), you would like that you were born among the Kugama.’

Non-speech event

A quotative marker in Kugama and Dijim can occur with different types of predicate verbs, i.e. not only with a speech predicate but also with non-speech predicates

(10) Dijim

k-à-gósón-ó	gò	kà	tú:	à-bwíyá-í
AFF-3.S-smell-PLUR	3.QUOT	EXS	rat.W	3.S-die.PST-W

à	mùrà	káí
at	in	house

‘S/he/they/it perceived that there is a rat that died in the house.’

Non-speech event

(11) Kugama

mù mílī=kī à úū=^L váā mù yí=ī=^L=ré
2SG.S return=NMLZ COM on=GEN child 2SG.S beat=NMLZ=TR=3SG.HUM.O

má káà gbògbótótó nōy 6áā=^L nóō=ré
1~2.QUOT INTERJ very_big eye in=GEN eye.CF1=3SG.HUM.POSS

kàwé=è=rá
how=PRST=QM

‘(If you fight with your husband), you will go back on your child, you will beat him:
Hey! How big his eyes are!’

Non-speech event

(12) Dijim

à-fì-è

3.S-descend-FV

wòlák

quickly

à-bé

3.S-come

ʃiʃi-əŋ

sit-NMLZ

gò

3.QUOT brother.W

ʃi

á

GEN

mí-ú

1SG.POSS-W

njóné

how

‘He descended quickly and sat down: My brother, how (are you)?’

Naming construction

Quotative markers developed a non-quotative extension like naming in Kugama and Dijim.

(13) Kugama

nīm=mí	kà	Ándrù	Krìstófà	Yáálò
name=1SG.POSS	3.QUOT	Andrew	Christopher	Yaalo
'My name is Andrew Christopher Yaalo'				

Naming construction

Only the quotative *m̀* ~ *ḿ* is used for naming in Dijim.

(14) Dijim

mɛ́,	dùn	d-á	mì-ən	m̀	ɖ̀úmàì	sáálé
1SG.IDP	name.D	D-POSS.LK	1SG.POSS-D	1~2.QUOT	Jumai	Saale

‘I, my name is Jumai Saale.’

(15) Dijim

dùn	d-á	ɲgə̀-n	ḿ	tʃíká
name.D	D-GEN	3SG.POSS-D	1~2.QUOT	Chika

‘His name is Chika.’

Pronominal system in reported speech in Kugama and Dijim

- Kugama: logophoricity marks 2SG and 3SG.HUM
neutralization between 2PL and 3PL.HUM distinction
- Dijim: logophoric system that marks 3SG/PL

Pronominal system of Kugama reported discourse

- Logophoric system that marks 2SG and 3SG.HUM

All logophoric pronominals share a similar segmental form : *we ~ wi*

e.g. *wē ~ wī ~ wé ~ wí* (IPFV, PFV),
wè ~ wì (FUT), etc.

- Neutralization between 2PL and 3PL.HUM distinction

Forms for reported 2PL and 3PL.HUM are similar to forms for non-reported 3PL.HUM

Subject pronominals in Affirmative Future		
	non-reported	reported
1SG	à	à
2SG	mù	mù / wè (~ wì)
3SG.HUM	dě	dě / wè (~ wì)
3SG.NHUM	ḃò	ḃò
1PL	tù	tù
2PL	nù	dī
3PL.HUM	dī	dī
3PL.NHUM/EXPL	ò	ò
IMPRS	ì	í (?)

Pronominal system of Kugama reported speech

(16) Kugama

mú kəm=rí má wí náńí=L=tí=wā à ɓáá^Ltóō
2SG.S say=PFV 1~2.QUOT LOG.S leave=RES=PFV=PFM COM bush
'You said that you went to the bush.'

(17) Kugama

ā kəm=rí má dí náńí=L=tí=wā à ɓáá^Ltóō
1SG.S say=PFV 1~2.QUOT 2~3PL.S leave=RES=PFV=PFM COM bush
'I said that you(PL)/they went to the bush.'

Pronominal system of Kugama reported speech

Logophoricity and neutralization between 2PL and 3PL.HUM are found for different types of pronominals, e.g. subject (for all paradigms), object, possessive.

(18) Kugama

dē tòò kà ēwé sīzáā tì gē=kī=L=wē
3SG.HUM.S say 3.QUOT PL.LOG.POSS children PROG wait=NMLZ=TR=LOG.O

kà wè náńí=L=kī
3.QUOT LOG.S leave=RES=NMLZ

‘She₁ said that her₁ children were waiting for her₁, and/so she₁ had to leave.’

Pronominal system of Dijim reported speech

- No number distinction for third person
- Logophoricity marks only third person
- Logophoric form occurs in subject and independent pronominal paradigms. Other types of pronominals need to be checked

	Subject pronominals in Dijim	
	non-reported	reported
1SG	ń-	ń-
2SG	ṅ-	ṅ-
1PL	nə̀n-	nə̀n-
2PL	tə̀-	tə̀-
3SG/PL	à-	à- / gə̀-

(19) Dijim

k-à-kómá gó kə-gə-ʈfú só
AFF-3.S-think.PST 3.QUOT AFF-LOG.S-see.PST snake

gó kə-gə-mùktè
3.QUOT AFF-LOG.S-kill.PST

‘S/he/they/it₁ thought that s/he/they/it₁ saw a snake and that s/he/they/it₁ killed (it).’

(20) Dijim

à-sù-è gó k-à-dáw-tén
3.S-say-FV 3.QUOT AFF-3.S-good-APPL?

‘S/he/they/it₁ said that s/he/they/it₂ is good.’

Thank you!

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