Two cases of grammaticalization in the Diola Kasa language of Senegal

Introduction

This section details the factors that made possible this dissertation. The main motivation for this dissertation was the opportunity to participate in a three month-long training project in development aid held by a Spanish NGO in southern Senegal. Given the rich linguistic diversity of this geographical area, this training also offered the chance to complete linguistic fieldwork.

The second and the third part of this section respectively describe the criteria used when selecting the target dialect and the steps taken to create the linguistic corpus. Several meetings with local missionaries, translators, associations, and two radio stations were organized in order to develop and complete this project.

Justifications

The first part of the section outlines the reasons for selecting and studying a minority language. In particular, the idea that the more languages that are described, the deeper and wider will be our understanding of the faculty of language. In addition, many languages are losing ground or altogether disappearing and description and documentation of these endangered languages are urgently needed.

Part two provides the arguments for choosing a framework such as Grammaticalization Theory. These arguments include its universality and applicability to all existing languages, the possibility of drawing attention to unresolved linguistic problems, and finally the dynamic conception on languages provided by the framework. This dynamic conception relates and establishes interdependencies on semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology.

Framework

This section provides a brief summary of the theoretical framework's history and terminology. It also provides details on the lexical-grammatical continuum, source concepts, metaphorical abstraction, the relationship between metaphor and metonymy and the parameters of Lehmann. The section ends with a summary of the most important points of the theory.

Analysis

This section begins with a grammatical and sociolinguistic description of the Diola kasa language, the linguistic typology, classification, number of speakers and dialects.

It also outlines the composition of the corpus, which consists of four folktales that were narrated by old local women and transcribed and translated into French by a local missionary. The corpus includes up to 3850 words.

Moreover, the subsection on methodology explains how the verbs studied in this dissertation were selected. First, a morphosyntactic analysis of the folktales was completed and eight possible words were selected according to their frequency of use. Once the words were selected, all occurrences were extracted from the corpus and were aligned in synchronic clines. After that, the samples extracted from the corpus were glossed according to the Liepzig Glossing Rules (Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute).

Finally, further readings concerning the types of grammatical categories and word sample clines were carried out and two verbs were selected, *kalako* and *kaban*. The next section provides an analysis of the evolution of these two verbs from a synchronic perspective.

Path 1: the verb Ka-Lako (38 occurences)

This section describes the synchronic cline of the verb *kalako*, whose evolution corresponds with the locational schema. Within this schema, postural verbs (sit, stand, lie down) or durative verbs (live, stay) are modified for the codification of notional aspects such as the progressive aspect. The verbs' object is also modified and can be a verb behaving as a noun, in other words, an object-like argument.

In *kalako*, some changes are observed at both the semantic and syntactic levels. On the syntactic level it is possible to observe an analogical extension from examples (1) and (2). In example (1) lako shows its full form and its object is a noun whereas in example (2) its object is the verb *elob*,that has been nominalized by the suffixed article – *ayi:*

1. Saala li **a-lako** li kaalaab-uku
   Sara ? 3SG-stay con CL;women-the

"Sara stayed with the women"

2. Muñe'e li **ku-lako** to elob-ayi
   While ? 3PL-located in speak-the
   "While they were speaking"

Therefore, the following analogical extension is proposed for the object of the verb *lako*:

[CL-noun-art **]** → **analogical extension** → **[** CL-verb-art **]**

At the semantic level, the verb has been bleached of its spatial meaning but keeps its core meaning of localization. The verb *lako* does locate in space but also "locates the action on another verb", coding the progressive aspect. At the cognitive level, this semantic transformation is classified as a SPACE-TO-ACTIVITY metaphor (Heine, 1991).

Example (3) shows how the verb lako, despite having been grammaticalized, keeps some of it syntactic properties. It can still be suffixed by a dependence marker (DEP) such as *–muu*, exactly as other full verbs do (4).

3. Nan **ku-lako-muu** kabet-aku kata bununuken-abu
   When 3pl-located-DEP CL;cut down-the CL-of CL-tree-the
   "When they were cutting down the tree"

4. Nan e-ketu-muu
   When CL-die -DEP
   When he (the dragon) died

Later in this section the verb *lako* is analyzed within the parameters of verb to TAM paths proposed by Heine (1993) such as the desemanticization, decategorialization, cliticization and erosion. In the last part of this section a study of the frequency of occurrence of lako according to its object is proposed, were 25% of the occurrences show an object-like argument as an object.

Path 2: the verb Kaban and the discourse marker Ban

This section proposes the following synchronic cline for the verb kaban:

Verb < aspect marker < clause connective < discourse marker

Full forms of the verb ***kaban*** with the meaning of "to finish" have not been detected in the target dialect (diola Kassa), but the next form has been found in a neighboring dialect (diola Bandial):

Diola Bandial (West Atlantic, Niger-Congo)

5. **Ni-ban-e** bu-rokk-m
   1SG-finish-TAM CL5-work-POSS 3SG,
   "I have finished my work"

A full form of the verb was encountered in the corpus, that contained a slightly different meaning, that of "to finish off, to kill":

6. Ínje jájunfuu **a-ban-umuu** láale bukan
   1SG CL?-dragon 3sg-kill-DEP here(?) people
   Me, the dragon who finished that many people off in this village

In the following examples (7), (8) and (9), the verb kaban occurs in final position, and codes the completive aspect by means of the serial schema:

7. Li ku-tiñ **ku-ban**
   and(?) 3PL-eat 3PL-finish
   "And they finished eating"

8. Nan ku-tokoñ-umuu ejaameen-ayi ku-jow **Ku-ban**
   When 3PL-eat-DEP CL;sheep-la 3PL-go 3PL-finish
   "When they finished eating the goat"

9. Nan Saala a-lob-umuu jaawool loon muña'a
   When Sara 3SG-say -DEP mother;POSS;3SG that this way
   a-ban
   3SG-finish

   "When Sara finished saying that in this way to her mother"

In his descriptive grammar on the standard dialect, the Diola Fogny, Sapir (1965: 108) proposed that the discourse marker ***ban*** (then, so, therefore) may originate from the verb ***kaban***. In the Diola Kasa dialect, the same ***ban*** marker exists:

10. Nan Jiseekañaama ajukoolumuu, li atey ajow
    When Jiseekañaama 3SG;see;OBJ;REL (?) 3SG;run 3SG;go

álomool **ban** Li áŋalul ébila min
3SG;?;OBJ then (?) 3sg;take;INV(?) CL;knife para
Ámiitool.
3SG;shave;OBJ
"Whn JIseekañanaaba saw him (her brother), she ran to him and hugged him, then she took a knife and shaved his head"

The verb to aspect marker change

In this section a definition and some characteristics of the serial schema are provided. According to Heine (1993) a serial schema is a sequence of two or more verbs that can all be, or not, conjugated. This schema is used cross-linguistically to code the completive aspect through the next predicate: **x does y, it is finished:**

11. Nan i-muk ho-muu i-sen-iil ku-tokoñ
When 1SG-kill OBJ-DEP 1SG-dar- 3PL obj 3PL-eat
Ku-jow **ku-ban**
3PL-go 3PL-finish
"After killing him, I gave it to them (the kids) to feed them"

It is observed that, when coding the completive aspect, ***kalako*** always occurs in final position. This fact is, in our view, related with syntagmatic variability, one of the grammaticalization parameters proposed by Lehmann (2002). This parameters says that the more grammaticalized is a particle, the more it loses its syntactic freedom.

It was also observed that the evolution of the verb corresponds also with the definition of diagrammatic iconicity provided in Hopper and Traugott (2003): "systematics arrangements of signs (…) the relation among the signs mirror the relationship among the icon's referents". When occurring in final position of a series of verbs, the relation between ***kaban*** (to finish) and the other verbs in the series is mirrored to the relationship among the referents, in such a way that the actions expressed in the series are completed when the verb ***kaban*** is enunciated.

The section ends with a study of the verb's frequency of occurrence in its full form and as an aspect marker wherein 10% code to the full form and 90% of the occurrences code to the completive aspect.

The development of the discourse marker *ban*.

This section provides data on the transformation of the verb *kaban* at the semantic-pragmatic level. In particular, when becomes a discourse marker, *ban*, by means of a SPACE-TO-DISCOURSE metaphor. This metaphor makes possible spatial concepts that can be used to designate points and relationships in the discourse. In this case, we think that the position of the verb in a series of verbs is the starting point of this transformation and that the relational properties of the original *kaban* completive marker are extended from the propositional level (12) to the sentence level (13) and textual level (14):

12. Dan li á-tifen babun **a-ban**
    Dan ? 3sg-start/light fire 3g-finish
    "Dan started a fire"

13. Li a-walen to kadalla **ban** li a-anil:
    Li 3SG-leave there sandal CON li 3SG-say
    "The king left his sandal there and said"

14. **Ban** li á-tong akijen aan:
    DM li 3SG-play 3SG-sing 3SG-say:
    "Then she continued playing (guitar) and singing this:"

On the syntactic level, a reanalysis is proposed. In (14) the verb marks the completive aspect. In (15) ban works as a clausal connective, whereas (15*) is a hypothetical stage that could be the origin of the connective function:

(14) **[**Dan li á-tifen babun **a-ban]** Dan started a fire
(15*) **[**Li a-walen to kadalla **ban] [**li a-anil**]**: The king left the sandal, said:
(15) **[**Li a-walen to kadalla**] ban [**li a-anil**]**: The king left the sandal and said

In (16) ban occurs in initial position and expresses a logical relation between two sentences; namely, a relationship expressing the succession of events. Since it occurs in initial position, the expressed relation is anaphoric:

(16) **Ban** li á-tong akijen aan: **Then** she continued playing…

This section concludes by showing how the *ban* discourse marker increase structural scope and violate the scope decrease principle

proposed by Lehmann (2002: 128). Discourse markers are used as a counterexample to this principle in Traugott (1995):

14) **[**Dan li á-tifen babun **a-ban]**	Dan started a fire
(15) **[**Li a-walen to kadalla**] ban [**li a-anil**]**:	The king left the sandal and said:
(16) **Ban** li á-tong akijen aan:	Then, she continued playing…

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Abbreviations

Art: article

CL: nominal class

DM: discourse marker

DEP: dependence marker

INV: inversive

OBJ: object

POSS: possessive

TAM: tam marker

xSG/xPL: subject marker

(ʔ): undetermined function or meaning