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Grammaticalized quotations in Kambera, Buru and Tukang Besi

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GRAMMATICALIZED QUOTATIONS IN KAMBERA, BURU AND TUKANG BESI¹

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The complementizers *kua* and *fen* of the Malayo-Polynesian languages Tukang Besi (Donohue 1995) and Buru (Grimes 1991) may only occur following main verbs of speech (e.g., 'say'), mental perception (e.g., 'think', 'realize') or physical perception (e.g., 'see', 'hear'). In addition, *kua* and *fen* are used as grammatical markers that introduce a quote, while Tukang Besi *kua* also functions as a switch reference marker.

From a synchronic point of view, the several functions of both *kua* and *fen* seem unrelated, and should be analyzed as homophonous but distinct items that belong to different (lexical/functional) categories. As such, they are glossed differently.

In this paper, however, I propose a historical reconstruction of *kua* and *fen* in which I argue that both items were originally speech verbs which developed into complementizers as a result of the reanalysis of quotative structures.

As historical documentation on Buru and Tukand Besi is lacking, the account is based on synchronic comparative data, where Kambera (Sumba, Klamer 1994 and 1998a) is argued to be the language that reflects the least grammaticalized stage.

This historical account provides an explanation for (i) the distributional restrictions on the complementizers *kua/fen* and (ii) the relation between the various synchronic functions of *kua/fen*.

1. INTRODUCTION

The grammatical elements *kua* and *fen* of the Malayo-Polynesian languages Tukang Besi (WMP, 200,000 speakers, Southeast Sulawesi) and Buru (CMP, 43,000 speakers, island of Buru in Central Maluku) function as elements conjoining two clauses, as illustrated in (1) and (2):²

¹ I wish to thank Geert Booij, Mark Donohue, Gertjan Postma and Lourens de Vries, two anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier versions of this paper, as well as members of the audience at 8ICAL in Taipei, the TINdag in Utrecht and the ATW Colloquium in Amsterdam for stimulating discussion.

² In the Buru/Tukang Besi examples I have used the original glosses except for *kua* and *fen* which are not glossed. Glossing conventions in the Buru/Tukang Besi data include: Core: a case-marking article for a "core argument that is within the clause but not in nominative case" (Donohue, 1995: 46), Dat: Dative, Dist: Distant, Gen: Genitive, Irr: Irrealis, Loc: Locative, NL: Nominalizer, Nom: Nominative, Obj: Object, Obl: Oblique, P(l): Plural, Poss: Possessive, Prf: Perfective, R: Realis, S/s: Singular, Seq: Sequential, Voc: Vocative. Glosses in the Kambera data comprise: A: Accusative, Art: Article, Asp: Aspect, Cnj: Conjunction, Cont: Continuative

- (1) Buru³
 Sira em-tako **fen** sira dapak eflali
 3p Stat-fear FEN 3p get beat
 'They were afraid that they would be beaten.'
- (2) Tukang Besi⁴
 No-'ita-'e **kua** no-kanalako te osimpu
 3R-see-3Obj KUA 3R-steal Core young coconut
 'She saw that he had stolen the coconut.'

The clauses preceding and following *fen/kua* are both finite, which can be seen from the fact that both contain an overt subject. The contrast between clauses with and without a complementizer and complement clauses that contain a nominalizing morpheme is illustrated for Buru in (3) and for Tukang Besi in (4):

- (3) Buru
- a. Sira kita **fen** da iko
 3p saw FEN 3s go
 'They saw that he left.'
 - b. Sira kita da iko
 3p saw 3s go
 'They saw he left.'
 - c. Sira kita **nak** en-yiku-t
 3p see 3sPoss Abstract marker-go-NL
 'They saw his going.'
- (4) a. To-dahani **kua** no-'ita-kita i aba
 1plR-know KUA 3R-see-1plObj Obl before
 'We know they saw us before.'
- b. To-dahani no-'ita-kita i aba
 1plR-know 3R-see-1plObj Obl before
 'We know they saw us before.'

aspect, D: Dative, Dei: Deitic element, Der: Derogatory marker, Emp: Emphatic, Exc: Exclamation, Exist: Existential marker, G: Genitive, Impf: Imperfective, Loc: Location, Mod: Modal marker, N: Nominative, Neg: Negation, p: plural, Prf: Perfective, RDP: Reduplication, s: singular.

³ The Buru data are from Grimes (1991: 224, 396-399, 407-409, 425-429, 472, 531).

⁴ The Tukang Besi data are from Donohue (1995: section 12.8 and chapter 16).

- c. To-dahani-'e na 'ita-'a-no nu ikita
 1plR-know-3Obj Nom see-NL-3Poss Gen 1pl
 'We know their seeing of us.'

Kua and *fen* are complementizers with a restricted distribution: they must be preceded by a verb of speech, mental perception or physical perception in the main clause. Apart from being complementizers, *kua/fen* have the following functions: both also function as a quote marker. Buru *fen* is also used verbally, and Tukang Besi *kua* has an additional function as switch reference marker.

In what follows, I argue that *kua/fen* were originally speech verbs which developed into complementizers as a result of the reanalysis of the structures that were originally used to present quotes.⁵ In section 2, I discuss the various functions of quotative constructions in a third language, Kambera (Klamer 1998a). This language is supposed to still represent the original stage, where the speech verb has not developed into a complementizer. In section 3 and 4, I deal with the properties of Buru *fen* and Tukang Besi *kua* in some detail, and in section 5, I offer a scenario of the reanalysis process as it must have taken place in Buru and Tukang Besi. This account provides an explanation for why the reanalysis did take place in Buru and Tukang Besi but not in Kambera.

2. THE FUNCTIONS OF KAMBERA QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The Kambera speech verb *wàng(u)* 'say' is used as a speech act verb translated as 'talk', 'tell', 'speak', or 'say' in (5)-(8):⁶

⁵ In the text the following terminology will be used: "quotative structure" refers to a biclausal construction with one clause containing a quotative verb and another clause containing the quote. The clause containing the quotative verb is the "quote-introducing" clause. A "quote marker" is a grammatical element that marks "speech reports".

⁶ The citation form of this verb is *wàng(u)*: the verb ends in a velar nasal which is followed by an epenthetic vowel that creates open syllables. The final nasal disappears when a genitive clitic attaches to the verb (for a full account of the interaction between final nasal consonants and pronominal clitics, see Klamer 1998a, section 6.2). The accent on the vowel /a/ indicates that this vowel is short/tensed/RTR rather than long.

wàng(u) has reduced morphosyntactic properties: (i) Kambera verbs commonly allow their subject to be marked by a nominative proclitic or a genitive enclitic, but the subject of *wàng(u)* can only be genitive and (ii) commonly, genitive subject enclitic are separated from the verb by mood clitics marking, e.g., emphasis (resulting in the order V-mood clitics-genitive subject), but *wàng(u)* is the only verb where the mood clitics follow the genitive subject clitic, resulting in the order V-genitive subject-mood clitics.

- (5) E, *wà* -nggu_i-nya_i [na ama-mu]_j !
Exc say -1sG -3sD Art father-2sG
'Hey, I was talking to your father !'
- (6) *Wà*-nggu ba *wà*-na hama tu-na-i nú kangiu
say-1sG Cnj say-3sG be same put-3sG-Asp Dei yesterday
'I tell (it) as it was told before.'
- (7) Nggiki *wà* -nggu ba ku -karai-nya?⁷
how say -1sG Cnj 1sN-ask-3sD
'How should I ask him?' (lit. 'How (do) I speak when I ask him?')
- (8) Nggiki *wà*-na la hilu Humba?
how say-3sG Loc language Sumba
'How do you say it in Sumbanese?'

The verb *wàng(u)* is also used to report speech. In Kambara, there is no syntactic distinction between direct and indirect speech, as the following examples illustrate. In (9) the quote is *u* 'yes', in (10) it is *maing* 'come', and in (11) it is *tau Tabundung-kau* 'you're Tabundung people':

- (9) Ka u *wà* -na-ka una
Cnj yes say -3sG-Prf Emp.3s
'So he agreed.' (lit. 'So 'yes' he said.')
- (10) Nda na- hili paterung maing ba *wà*-nggu-nya
Neg 3sN- again hesitate come Cnj say-1sG-3sD
'He didn't even hesitate when I told him to come.'
(lit. 'He did not even hesitate (when) 'come' I said to him.')
- (11) Kabihu nuna, tau Tabundung-kau hi *wà*-da-nya
clan Dei.3s person Tabundung-2sA Cnj say-1pG-3sD
'That clan was called the Tabundung People.'
(lit. 'That clan, "you're Tabundung People", they told it.')

In (12), the quote is *na-lua haromu* 'she goes tomorrow'. A direct speech construction may contain two different pronominals with the same referent, an indirect speech construction may not. Sentence (12) may thus be analyzed as an

⁷ In (i) the quotative characteristics of *wàng(u)* have been bleached:

(i) Kambara

Nggiki *wà*-nggu ba ku-wua-nggau?
how say-1sG Cnj 1sN-give-2sD
'How should I give it to you?'

indirect speech report because the subject pronominal *-na* '3sN' in the quote does not refer to the speaker in the first person. Syntactically, however, the quote sentence is not distinct from any other main, declarative clause in Kambera. Sentence (13) is a quote of a quote, which is marked by a distinct object pronominal on the verb (compare *-ngga* '1sD' of (12) with *nggau* '2sD' of (13)).

- (12) Na-paní-ngga ka na-lua haromu wà-na-ngga
 3sN-tell-1sD Cnj 3sN-go tomorrow say-3sG-1sD
 'She told me that she is leaving tomorrow.'
 (lit. 'She told me that "she leaves tomorrow" she said to me.')
- (13) Na-paní-ngga ka na-lua haromu wà-na-nggau
 3sN-tell-1sD Cnj 3sN-go tomorrow say-3sG-2sD
 'She told me to tell you that she is leaving tomorrow.'
 (lit. 'She told me that "she leaves tomorrow" she said to you.')

Apart from speech act contexts, the verb *wàng(u)* is also employed in contexts of mental perception: in such contexts, the 'quote' is a thought, not a speech act, and *wàng(u)* may be translated as 'think' or 'realize':

- (14) Ka nyimi nggamu-ya na ana tau ba wà-mi?
 Cnj you who-3sA Art child person Cnj say-2pG
 wà-na-nja
 say-3sG-3pD
 ' "And you, who do you think the man is?" he asked them.'
 (lit. 'And you, you say "who is that man", he said to them.')
- (15) Nda na-tanda-a-ya una na bai...
 Neg 3sN-know-Mod-3sA Dei.3s Art Der
 jia na lei-nggu amang nda wà-na mbu-pa una
 Exist Art husband-1sG earlier Neg say-3sG also-Impf Dei.3s
 'She didn't recognize him, that (man) he did not even realize he was her former husband.'
 (lit. '... she didn't even say, "he used to be my husband".')

The Kambera quotative construction is also used with ideophones such as the ones in (16).⁸ Using ideophones in quotative constructions is a way to express the perception of states of affairs.

⁸ An 'ideophone' is a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a state/action with a particular manner, colour, sound, smell, or intensity.

(16) Ideophones in Kambera

Sounds

ngùru	'murmur'
mbùtu	'thud'
hèri	'tearing noise'
tòru	'rattle'
nggòru	'crack' (thunder)
tòku	'knock/bang'
ndùru	'roll' (thunder)
pàka	'smack'
mbàti/	'drip'
mbàli	
mbùku	'snap/tap'
tiku	'creak/click'
ndùku	'roll'/'drum'
bèri	'crack/crunch'
mbèri	'rasp/grate'
bèsu	'click (w. cheek)
dòtu	'click' (back of mouth)

hètu	'sniff'
ndòri	'silent' (no reaction)
padi	'quiet' (no sound)
reu	'sound of talking'

Motions

yidi	'shiver' (in dislike)
wàdi	'blink'
ngàdu	'nod' (V: 'agree')
linji	'jump'
nggidi	'shiver' (of cold)
tila	'convulsion'
ndiku	'jerk to get loose'
tàta	'vibrate/shake/with chattering teeth'

Sights

jila	'glimmer/flash'
rèri	'ablaze' (fire) /
	'shine' (ring)
bila	'light/brightness'

Ideophonic roots in Kambera have various properties that set them apart from other roots: semantically, they describe sounds, motions and sights, i.e., things that are physically perceived. Phonologically, they are exceptional because they are the only roots in the language with lexical pharyngealized (Retracted Tongue Root) short vowels /è, ò, ù/ (cf. Klammer 1998a).⁹ Morphologically, they are unique because they are the only class of Kambera roots that may be derived with a circumfix (*ka- ...-k*); a derivation they may undergo to function as predicates. Syntactically, the roots are unique because they can appear as a quote in a quotative construction, as illustrated in (17) and (18):¹⁰

⁹ In Kambera orthography, an RTR vowel is indicated by a grave accent (e.g., ù), while a long vowel is indicated by an accute accent (e.g., ú), as in the deictic element nú, in example (17).

¹⁰ Ideophonic roots appear in two other structural contexts: as reduplication (which suggests an ongoing event) or as part of a morphologically derived verb (with the circumfix *ka- ... -k*), meaning 'make, emit, or have sound/visible property X':

(i) a. Waring, mbùtu-mbùtu da njara
 rub RDP-thud Art horse
 '(He) rubbed... 'Thud, thud,' (did) the horses.'

- (17) Mbùtu wà-na tuna nú, na -puru nuna nú
 thud say-3sG thus Dei 3sN -descend that one Dei
 'Thud ! it did and he climbed down.' (Context: valuables
 suddenly fall out of a magic horse's stomach; person climbs down from
 horse)
- (18) Jila.k wà-na.jila.k wà-na-ma-ka la Kawau
 Reduplication-gleam say -3sG-Emp-Prf Loc Kawau
 'There was lightning over Kawau.' (lit. "Gleam !" it did repeatedly...')

In clauses with such ideophonic roots, the subject of the clause is marked as the genitive subject of the verb *wàng(u)*, while the ideophonic root itself expresses the perceived state of affairs and occupies the position of a quote. By using the quotative construction, the interpretation of sentences with ideophones is rendered more 'vivid', 'lively' and 'direct'. Thus ideophonic roots in the quotative construction express punctual aspect.

We conclude that in Kambera the quotative construction is used to express speech acts and (in)direct speech reports, mentally perceived events ('think', 'realize', cf. (14) and (15)) and physically perceived events (the constructions with ideophones). For many languages around the world, quotative constructions are described as expressing speech acts and mental/physical perception (see for instance, for Papuan language Reesink 1993, De Vries 1990 and for Andean languages Adelaar 1990).

The similar marking of speech acts and cognitive acts such as 'think' and 'know' has been explained by considering cognitive activities such as 'thinking' as a type of 'inner speech' (Vygotsky 1962). In other words, mental perceptions are linguistically expressed like speech acts. This is not true in Kambera: the data show that mental events such as thinking are expressed in quotative constructions, as are physical perceptions of motions, sounds and visions. There is no way we can consider the latter a type of (inner or outer) 'speech'.

What the three uses of the Kambera quotative construction have in common is that they report on a physically or mentally perceived event of state of affair. In

-
- b. Hili odah-ya na ha.papa ka.mbùtu.k-danya da marara
 again stroke-3sA Art side fall thudding -3pCont Art gold
 'Again (he) stroke the side (of the horse), thudding the gold fell out.'
- (ii) a. Na- ka.jila.k na uma
 3sN-gleam Art house
 'The house shines/gleams.' (e.g., because it is newly painted)
- b. ba ji- jila -bia-na-ka
 Cnj RDP-gleam Mod-3sG-Prf
 'because it is shining/gleaming...' (e.g., lightning during thunderstorm)

'SAY X', and would rather be something like 'REPORT X'.¹¹

How unique is the use of the Kambera quotative construction within the Austronesian language family? It appears that the use of quotative constructions both in speech acts and in contexts of mental perception is more frequent towards the east than towards the west. A survey of the lexical items 'say' and 'think' (=be of the opinion) in the Comparative Austronesian Dictionary (Tryon 1995) showed that of the 39 Non-Oceanic languages reported on in this work, none have the same lexical item for 'say' and 'think', i.e., express mental perception as if it were speech acts. Of the 32 Oceanic languages, however, 6 express 'say' and 'think' alike:

(19) Oceanic languages with the same lexical item for 'say' and 'think':

- Takia (WOC): -bol 'say, think'
- Mbula (WOC): -so 'say, think'; -so+verb 'intention, purpose'
- Kaulong (WOC): o 'say', o taku 'say try' → 'think'
- Motu (WOC): toma 'say, think'
- Kwaio (CEOC): iri-a 'say, think'
- Kiribati (CEOC): taku 'say, think'

Sources on individual MP languages such as Muna (van den Berg 1985), Leti (van Engelenhoven 1995), Karo Batak (Woollams 1996) and Savu (Walker 1982) also suggest that the Kambera use of the quotative construction is exceptional within the non-Oceanic Malayo-Polynesian languages.

In the next two sections, we will see that synchronically, this conclusion is correct, but we will also consider evidence that suggests that at least two other Malayo-Polynesian languages, Buru and Tukang Besi, would have employed a quotative constructions with functions similar to the Kambera one. However, in these two languages, the construction has developed into a more general type of clause complementation.

3. BURU QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Buru *fen(e)* may be used predicatively in speech reports, as in (20). Note that the subject of *fen* is not formally expressed.

¹¹ One of the consequences of this view is that 'quotative construction' is a misnomer, as quotes are part of the class of perceived events to which the complements of perception verbs like 'hear' and 'see' also belong (see Klamer 1998b for more discussion). However, I maintain the term 'quotative' for communicative/typological reasons.

- (20) **Fen**, “Ng-ina, nang dah.dehu-k”
 FEN 1sVoc-mother 1sPoss bunch repeat-k
 ‘(He) said, “Mother, (then) the next hand is for me”.

Fen(e) also occurs as quote marker in speech reports. In such contexts, it follows a specific speech verb. This is illustrated in (21), where the speech verb is *prepa* ‘say’ and is followed by two occurrences of *fen(e)*. The first *fene* can be interpreted as having either a predicative function (but without an overt subject) or as a quote marker (‘He said to me, saying ...’). The second *fen* is slightly more grammaticalized: it has lost its final vowel and it functions more like a quote marker than a predicate.

- (21) Da *prepa* la yako **fene**, “ku enika ama-n dii
 3s say Dat 1s FEN 2s ask father-Gen Dist
fen ma iko leu-k fi doo?”
 FEN 1pl go precede-k Loc where
 ‘He said to me, “As father where we should go first”.’
 (Grimes, 1991: 407/426)

Sentence (22) illustrates *fen* as a quote marker or complementizer:

- (22) Ringe *prepa* **fen** da moho
 3s say FEN 3s fall
 ‘He said that he fell.’ (ibid: 224)

In (23) *fen* functions as complementizer only, its speech verb and quote marking function is absent. As a complementizer *fen* follows verbs expressing mental perception, such as *kita* ‘see’ and *tako* ‘fear’:

- (23) Ya *kita* **fen** da iko haik
 1s see FEN 3s go Prf
 ‘I saw that he had already left.’
 (24) Sira *em-tako* **fen** sira *dapak* eflali
 3p Stat-fear FEN 3p get beat
 ‘They were afraid that they would be beaten.’

Fen contrasts with the complementizer *la* ‘Irrealis’, as illustrated in (25) and (26):

- (25) a. Da *prepa* **fen** ringe iko
 3s say FEN 3s go
 ‘He_i said that he_j left.’

- b. Da prepa **la** ringe iko
 3s say Irr 3s go
 'He_i said that he_j should go.'

- (26) a. Sira erei **fen** dui eptea fi dii
 3p refuse FEN 3p sit Loc Dist
 'They_i refused (saying) they_j would stay here.'

- b. Sira erei **la** dui eptea fi dii
 3p refuse Irr 3p sit Loc Dist
 'They refused to stay here.'

The contrast between the two elements used in combination with speech verbs¹² is that *fen* is used to introduce a clause with a "descriptive (indicative)" sense, while *la* indicates a "manipulative (jussive)" sense (Grimes, 1991: 426). We will see below that also in *Tukang Besi kua* may function to introduce a "discourse" complement similar to the "descriptive" one in Buru.

Various semantic types of verbs can in general be followed by complementizers such as *la* 'Irrealis' and *petu* 'Sequential'. *Fen*, however, does not occur in such contexts, as illustrated in (27) and (28):

- (27) Da iko **la** / ***fen** da kaa
 3s go Irr FEN 3s eat
 'He went to eat.'

- (28) Da iko, **petu** / ***fen** da kaa
 3s go Seq FEN 3s eat
 'He went and (then) he ate.'

In other words, the distribution of the element *fen* is semantically more restricted than that of other complementizers: *fen* is only allowed to occur with a particular set of main verbs: speech act verbs and verbs of mental and physical perception. This restrictive synchronic distribution is explained when we assume that historically, Buru, like Kambara, employed quotative constructions to report speech as well as perception. The proposed development of Buru *fen* is thus:

- (29) The quotative verb *fen(e)* in Buru developed a derived function as a quote marker, and in contexts where it follows speech act and perception verbs it may be reanalyzed as a complementizer.

¹² *La* has other functions and contexts that we are not concerned with here.

4. TUKANG BESI QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The *Tukang Besi* element *kua* functions like a quotative marker when it follows speech act verbs such as *potae* 'say' and *wuju* 'persuade', as in (30)-(31):

- (30) a. No-potae¹³ -m(o) **kua** "To-motindo'u na ikita"
 3R-say -Prf KUA 1pl.R-thirsty Nom we
 'They said: "We're thirsty!"'

- b. No-potae-m(o) **kua** no-motindo'u na amai
 3R-say-Prf KUA 3R-thirsty Nom they
 'They said that they were thirsty.'

- (31) To-wuju-'e **kua** to-'ita-'e
 1pl.R-persuade-3Obj KUA 1pl.R-see-3Obj
 'We persuaded her to let us see her.'
 (lit. 'We persuaded her *kua* we see her.')

Kua acts as a complementizer when it follows physical/mental perception verbs:

- (32) No-'ita-'e **kua** no-kanalako te osimpu
 3R-see-3Obj KUA 3R-steal Core young coconut
 'She saw that he had stolen the coconut.'

- (33) To-dahani **kua** no-'ita-kita i aba
 1pl.R-know KUA 3R-see-1plObj Obl before
 'We know that they saw us before.'

The distribution of *kua* is restricted – it cannot follow a verb like *helo'a* 'cook', as in (34a); in such cases, clauses are combined by juxtaposition as in (34b):

- (34) a. *Ku-helo'a-ke **kua** 'u-manga-'e
 1s-cook-3Obj KUA 2sg.R-eat-3Obj
 'I cooked it KUA you ate it.' (Donohue, p.c)

¹³ Compare Muna (WMP, Sulawesi) *potae* (variant *potee*), one of the language's quote markers. It has a more restricted function in that it is only used to quote the words which the hearer (2nd person) is advised to use on some future occasion. Van den Berg (1989:264) refers to it as a "future quote":

(i) Hadhi amaitu no-tudu-mo anahi moelu maitu
 haji that 3sR-order-Prf child orphan that
 na-k[um]ala na-bahsi guru-no potee: "no-bhasi-ko hadhi welo kaendea"
 3sI-go 3sI-call teacher-his POTE 3sR-call-you haji in plantation
 'The haji ordered the orphan child to go and call his teacher and to say: "The haji in the plantation calls you".'

- b. Ku-helo'a-ke 'u-manga-'e
 1s-cook-3Obj 2sg.R-eat-3Obj
 'I cooked it (and) you ate it.'

Clause combinations in *Tukang Besi* can be coordinating, as in (34b), or subordinating. Subordinations include nominalized clausal complements of certain verbs (e.g., *hada* 'want' and *nde'u* 'not want') and controlled clauses with a particular verbal form, see Donohue (1995). Here, we concentrate on clause combination with *kua*.

A clause can be introduced by various elements such as *bara* 'lest' in (35), *ka'ano* 'in order' in (36). In the same context, *kua* may also be used, as in (37).

- (35) No-wuju-'e **bara** no-wila pe'esa-no
 3R-persuade-3Obj lest 3R-go own-3Poss
 'They persuaded him not to go on his own.'
- (36) No-wuju-'e **ka'ano** saba'ane no-lemba-'e
 3R-persuade-3Obj in order all 3R-carry-3Obj
 'They persuaded him to carry it all.'
- (37) No-wuju-'e **kua** saba'ane no-lemba-'e
 3R-persuade-3Obj KUA all 3R-carry-3Obj
 'They persuaded him that they would carry it all.'

The verbs in (38) may be optionally followed by a clause with *kua*. Observe that all of them are speech act verbs or verbs expressing mental and physical perception:

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---------|---------------------|
| (38) waa | 'tell, command' | usaha | 'worry' (ibid: 492) |
| wuju | 'persuade' | roda | 'remember' |
| 'elo | 'call' | wikiri | 'think' (ibid: 512) |
| 'ema | 'ask' | putusu | 'decide' |
| balo | 'answer' | harapu | 'hope' |
| jandi | 'promise' | ita | 'see' |
| ma'eka | 'fear' | rodongo | 'hear' |
| dahani | 'know, believe, understand' (ibid: 522) | | |

Depending on the context, the function of *kua* may vary, as illustrated in (39) and (40). In (39a), *kua* introduces a clause that Donohue describes as a "discourse complement" (i.e., in this sentence a verbal act is implied), contrasting to the "manipulative" complement in (39b), (Donohue, 1995: 394) (where the persuasion could have been non-verbal as well as verbal):

- (39) a. Ku-wuju-'e **kua** no-lemba'e
 1s-persuade-3Obj KUA 3R-carry-3Obj
 'I persuaded them that they carried it.'

- b. Ku-wuju-'e no-lemba-'e
 1s-persuade-3Obj 3R-carry-3Obj
 'I persuaded them to carry it.'

In (40b) the use of *kua* presents the perception as "less direct" than (40a). This marks the contrast between witnessing the actual theft or witnessing it because the coconut had disappeared after he had been in the room:

- (40) a. No-'ita-'e **kua** no-kanalako te osimpu
 3R-see-3Obj KUA 3R-steal Core young coconut
 'She saw that he had stolen the coconut.'

- b. No-'ita-'e no-kanalako te osimpu
 3R-see-3Obj 3R-steal Core young coconut
 'She saw him stealing the coconut.'
 (lit. 'She saw him, he stole the coconut.')

The sentences in (41) illustrate a similar contrast in "directness". Here the contrast is not only marked by the absence or presence of *kua* but also by the fact that the second clause in (41b) is a nominalized clause:

- (41) a. To-dahani **kua** no-'ita-kita i aba
 1pl.R-know KUA 3R-see-1plObj Obl before
 'We know that they saw us before.'

- b. To-dahani-'e na 'ita-'a-no nu ikita
 1pl.R-know-3Obj Nom see-NL-3Poss Gen 1pl
 'We know their seeing of us.'

Thus, the use of *kua* makes the perception less direct. Another function of *kua* is to mark switch reference in ambiguous contexts.¹⁴ Consider the coordination in (42). Without *kua* the subjects of both clauses may or may not have an identical reference as in (42a); with *kua*, on the other hand, the referent switches, as in (42b).

¹⁴ Though Donohue's translation of (40a) is identical to the one in (40b), the discussion of the function of *kua* and the fact that he also gives contrasting translations like (33a-b) indicate that the difference between (40a-b) is similar to what is indicated here. (Mark Donohue confirmed this in personal communication)

- (42) a. Na-roda tabeda no-wila
 3s-remember must 3R-go
 'She_i remembered that she_{ij} had to go.'
- b. Na-roda kua tabeda no-wila
 3s-remember KUA must 3R-go
 'She_i remembered that she_{ij} had to go.'

We can make sense of both the distributional restrictions on *kua* and its particular functions if we assume that this grammatical element originated from a speech verb. The evidence for this can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, we have seen that *kua* occurs with verbs of exactly the same semantic domain in which quotative constructions were used in both Buru and Kambera.

Secondly, *kua* functions to introduce a "discourse" clause or to loosen the semantic connection between two adjacent clauses or as a marker that prohibits the pronoun in the second clause to have the same referent as the one in the first clause. These functions are all artefacts of the original function of *kua* as speech verb in quotative constructions. Quotes are not usually semantically related to the clause by which they are introduced. In other words, there is no co-reference relation between the arguments in a quote and the clause introducing it (for example, the second subject *he* in *He answered, "he must go"* is not co-referent to the first; except in unusual contexts). A quote clause is logically independent of the clause introducing it, and only loosely connected to it. When the speech verb develops into a complementizer, we thus expect the semantic connection between the first and second clause to be less direct, as is the case.

A third argument that *kua* is derived from a speech act verb is that one of its synchronic functions is as a quote marker, see (30). It is a well-known fact that quote markers often derive from speech verbs (Harris and Campbell, 1995: 168-172).

And finally, in this context it is relevant that Duri (South Sulawesi), a language geographically close to Tukang Besi (South-East Sulawesi) has a verb *kua* 'say' which synchronically functions both as a speech verb and as a quote marker (Valkema, 1995: 77).¹⁵

¹⁵ Duri *kua* has also developed a function as control verb of ability:

(i) ... na teqda ku-kuamale N-ala-i
 and Neg 1sg-able go AF-fetch-3
 '... and I can't fetch it.' (Lit. '... and I don't KUA go fetch it.')

(43) Duri (WMP, Valkama, 1995: 77)¹⁶

a. Na-**kua**-mo ambeq-na "..."

3s-say-CMP father-3PO

'His father said (replied) "...'"

b. Ia tonna dua-ng bongiq-mo pura-[n]na na-**kua**-an

3s when two-QNL nights-CMP already-3PO 3-say-BEN

ambeq-na Lajanak **kua** "..."

father-3PO Lajanak RS

'Two days later, Lajanak said to his father "...'"

We conclude that the complementizer *kua* developed as follows:

(44) The Tukang Besi quotative verb *kua* (now obsolete) developed into a quote marker and an optional complementizer with a speech and perception verbs.

Tukang Besi has another homophonous element: the allative¹⁷ preposition *kua*:

(45) Ku-wila **kua** ito

1Sg.R-go KUA there.higher

'I'm going to the north.'

Does the preposition *kua* derive from the same source as the complementizer *kua*? Though direct diachronic or synchronic evidence for such a relation is lacking, it would not be implausible to assume such a relation. Firstly, prepositions that derive from speech verbs have been attested (for instance, Heine *et al.* (1991) mention case of prepositions with the semantics of 'give'). Secondly, of the five prepositions that Tukang Besi has, three are derived from existent verbs, while the verb *ako* 'do something for' is mentioned as a likely candidate to develop into a preposition (Donohue 1995: 310). However, because the historical account of the element *kua* does not depend on its prepositional function, I leave it open,¹⁸ and

¹⁶ Valkama's (1995) abbreviations are as follows: BEN: Benefactive, CMP: completive, PO: Possessive, QNL: Quantifier ligature, RS: Reported Speech.

¹⁷ That is, this preposition indicates a direction rather than a destination; the latter would use the general locative case marker *i*:

(i) Ku-wil(a) i Waha

1s.R-go Obl Waha

'I'm going to Waha.'

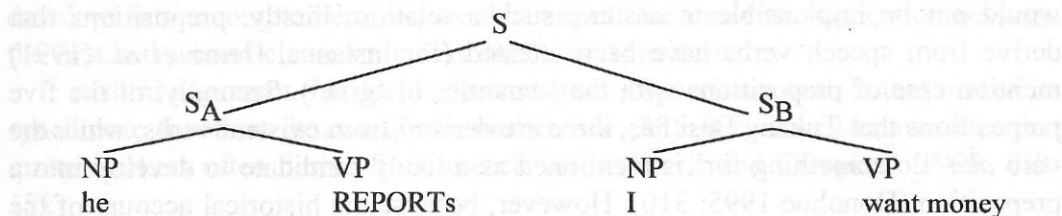
¹⁸ In any case, I do not think that the preposition derives from the directional preposition *ke* in Trade Malay, *ka* in Sulawesi Malay, as suggested by Donohue (1995:310). The phonological adaption of *ke/ka* into *kua* [kwa] involves an increase in the complexity of the borrowed functional item in its target language (monosyllabic → (lexically) disyllabic, one vowel → two

just conclude that there is enough synchronic evidence to analyze the complementizer function of *kua* as derived from a speech verb *kua* which has become obsolete.

5. A STRUCTURAL SKETCH OF SPEECH VERBS BECOMING CONJUNCTIONS

The historical development where a verb develops into a complementizer is an instance of semantic bleaching and subsequent category change. The recategorization has involved the reinterpretation of a particular structural configuration (Harris & Campbell 1995). In Buru and Tukang Besi, the original verb in the quotative construction lost a number of its morpho-syntactic features, most notably its subject marking.¹⁹ This resulted in a mismatch between the morphosyntactic surface form of the verb and its argument (the agent argument being no longer overtly expressed), which resulted in a 'repair' by which argument structure was lost. As a result, the semantics of the verb became more generic, which, given the appropriate context, allowed the element to be reanalyzed as a complementizer. In (46)-(48), the reanalysis is sketched.

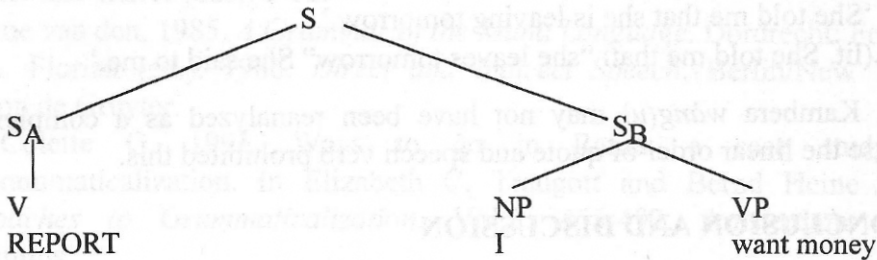
- (46) Basic quotative construction (now obsolete in Buru and Tukang Besi): A quote-introducing clause with a quotative verb + subject marking (S_A) is coordinated with a quote clause (S_B).



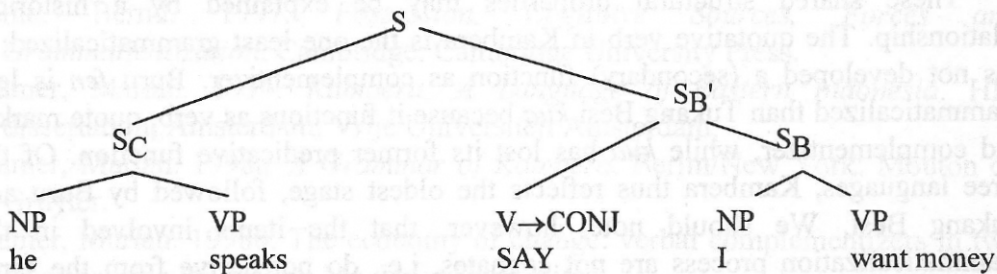
full lexical vowels). Given general patterns of borrowing, we would rather expect a decrease in phonological complexity.

¹⁹ The motive for this could be economy of production - 'use as few signs as possible': if the subject of a speech verb is clear from the context, it may be omitted.

- (47) Semantics of quote verb become generic, its subject is omitted/lost: S_A consists of a generic verb REPORT only. The verb is a bare stem without derivational or inflectional morphology.



- (48) Because the clause node S_A has no daughters other than V there is no evidence for this separate node and the node becomes uninterpretable. The structure is now simplified to make interpretation easier: the S_A node disappears and the V node is left-adjoined to S_B . As a structure where a bare verb stem is adjoined to another clause deviates quite strongly from canonical clause structure (verbs prefer to be (part of) clause predicates), the adjoined verb is reanalyzed as an element that does fit into the mould of a canonical clause: a complementizer. For communicative reasons a new verb (here represented as 'speak') may be introduced, projecting into a new quote-introducing clause S_c :



Thus, in the reanalysis proposed here, both functional and structural forces play a role: economy of communication ('use as few signs as possible' and 'be as clear as possible') and canonical clause structure.

Unlike Buru *fen* and Tukang Besi *kua*, Kambera *wàng(u)* has not been reanalyzed as a complementizer. In (46)-(48), this difference is accounted for because the reanalysis can only take place in the proper structural context: a quote verb is only likely to be re-interpreted as a complementizer when it precedes the clause with the quote (cf. (47)). Though all the three languages under discussion are complementizer-initial, only in Buru and Tukang Besi does the quote verb precede the quote. In Kambera, the speech verb canonically follows the quote, as

illustrated in (49), where the verb *wà* follows the quote *na-lua haromu*:

- (49) Na-pani-ngga ka na-lua haromu *wà* -na-ngga
 3sN-tell-1sD Cnj 3sN-go tomorrow say-3sG-1sD
 'She told me that she is leaving tomorrow.'
 (lit. She told me that: "she leaves tomorrow" She said to me.)

Thus, Kambara *wàng(u)* may not have been reanalyzed as a complementizer because the linear order of quote and speech verb prohibited this.

6. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this paper, I proposed that the multifunctional grammatical elements *kua* in Tukang Besi and *fen* in Buru were originally quote verbs. The verbs became grammaticalized as quote markers and further developed into complementizers as a result of the reanalysis of quotative constructions. As an aside, we observed that (Kambara) quotes may be seen as a subclass of physically perceived events/states of affair.

The above comparative structural analysis of *kua*, *fen* and *wàng(u)* provides an explanation for the semantic restrictions on the distribution of *fen* and *kua* and explains why in Buru and Tukang Besi the speech verb underwent reanalysis while in Kambara it did not. It also reveals structural similarities between Kambara, Buru and Tukang Besi that are not visible on the synchronic surface.

These shared structural properties may be explained by a historical relationship. The quotative verb in Kambara is the one least grammaticalized: it has not developed a (secondary) function as complementizer. Buru *fen* is less grammaticalized than Tukang Besi *kua* because it functions as verb, quote marker and complementizer, while *kua* has lost its former predicative function. Of the three languages, Kambara thus reflects the oldest stage, followed by Buru and Tukang Besi. We should note, however, that the items involved in the grammaticalization process are not cognates, i.e., do not derive from the same source.

In grammaticalization studies, it has been stressed that shared structural properties do not necessarily point to a common history but may also be due to common conceptual source: languages choose the same conceptual source for a grammatical form or expression, independent of one another (e.g., Heine 1997). As we also find speech act verbs to (have) developed into complementizers in many other languages across the world, the development sketched in this paper is probably due to such a common conceptual source rather than evidence we can use to establish a historical relationship between the languages discussed.

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