'Report' constructions in Kambera (Austronesian)[i]

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1.   Introduction

Despite the typological data presented by Munro (1982), De Roeck (1994) and others, three major assumptions about quotative constructions seem to persist in both functional and generative linguistic models: (1) that the quote is a complement of the main predicate, (2) that there is a strict dichotomy between direct and indirect speech, and (3) that quotative verbs are speech verbs, or historically derived thereof.[ii]

In this paper I present a brief analysis of quotative constructions in Kambera and demonstrate that these assumptions do not tally with the facts of this language. Kambera belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian languages, is spoken on the island of Sumba in eastern Indonesia by approx. 150,000 speakers, and described in Klamer 1998.

In section 1 I consider the structural properties of the Kambera quotative construction and constrast them with the morpho-syntax of common Kambera verbs and arguments. In section 2, we will see that Kambera quotative constructions do not make a syntactic distinction between direct and indirect speech. More particularly, that the Kambera quotative construction is not only used for speech reports, but also to report thoughts, intentions, and physical perceptions. The latter is done by employing ideophonic roots in a quotative construction. In section 3 I discuss the use of *wà* as a discourse particle in two distinct types of contexts, and in section 4 the consequences our findings have for a semantic analysis of *wà* are

discussed. I propose that, rather than a speech verb, *wà* has the semantics of [REPORT]. In other words, the verb used in Kambera quotative constructions does not derive from a speech verb.

2.   The syntactic status of the Kambera 'quote'

Kambera is a head-marking language; verbal arguments are commonly marked on the verb by pronominal clitics. The agent argument of a simple declarative sentence and the single argument of an intransitive predicate are canonically marked with a nominative proclitic, a patient object is canonically marked with an accusative enclitic. The coreferent NPs are optional.

(1) *Na   tau   wútu   na- palu -ka   nyungga*
ART   person   be.fat   3sN- hit   -1sA   I
'The big man hit me'

(2) *Na   ài   na- tambuta   dàngu   amung*
ART   wood   3sN- drop.out   with   root
'That tree is uprooted'

Despite the fact that a nominative proclitic is their unmarked expression, we also find subjects expressed as genitive enclitics. The core function of a genitive clitic is to mark nominal possessors, as in (3).

(3) *Na   ama-mu*
ART   father-2sG
'Your father'

As a subject marker, the genitive is commonly used in syntactically embedded clauses: the relative clauses in (21)-(22) and the complement clause in the next example have genitive subjects:

(4) *Nda   ku- pí -a -nya   na ngàndi-**mu**   kuta*
NEG   1sN- know-MOD -3sD   ART take-2sG   pepper.plant
'I didn't know that you would bring *kuta*'

But we also find genitive subjects in syntactically non-embedded clauses:

(5) *Ba   meu-meu-**na**,   ba   na-imbu-ya*
while   RDP-roar-3sG   as   3sN-search-3sA
'And it roared while it went after him'

This type of 'nominal clause' functions to provide the background information for the clauses that carry the main narrative. They express irrealis mood, which explains why they are often used in questions or in expressions of concession, amazement, exaggeration, or unexpectedness, for example:

(6) *Hangu   butang   -butang –ma-a-**na**   bai manila,*
      straight.away RDP   -pull out-EMP-just-3sG real peanut
      nda   na-   hili   karai
      NEG   3sN- again   ask
      'He just began to pull out peanuts straight away, he didn't even ask'

Though syntactically not embedded, nominal clauses are functionally dependent. This is also reflected in the fact that adverbials expressing tense, aspect, mood and degree have scope over them, as illustrated by *hangu* 'straight away' in (6) and *lundu* 'until' in (7), which are both obligatorily followed by nominal clauses.

(7) *Lundu   njili-nggu   ba   ku-yaulu-ya   na wei*
     until   be.tired-1sG as   1sN-chase-3sA   ART pig
     'Till I got tired I chased the pig.'

In sum, genitive subjects are marked because they feature in clauses that are syntactically and/or discourse dependent, while the unmarked expression of subjects in main declarative clauses is by a nominative proclitic. (For more discussion, see Klamer 1998, section 4.2).

Kambera complements (including clausal ones) are crossreferenced on the verb with a pronominal object clitic. The regular form for patients/themes is an accusative clitic, as illustrated in (1) and (8), and for benefactives/ addressees/ recipients a dative one, as in (9). However, the dative is always selected (both for patients/themes *and* benefactives/ addressees/ recipients) when the citation form of the verb ends in a nasal. Illustrations are *paàrang* 'ask someone' in (10), where the dative object clitic *-nya* marks the addressee, and *píng* 'know something' in (4) where *–nya* marks the theme.

(8) *Da-   ngàndi   -**ya**   na   uhu*
     3pN-   take   -3sA   ART   rice
     'They take the rice'

(9) *Da-   ngàndi   -**nya**   na   uhu   i   Ama*
     3pN-   take   -3sD   ART   rice   ART father
     'They bring father the rice'

(10) *Jàka   na-paàra-**nya** –ka   nggi -ya-ka   i Umbu,...*
     if   3sN-ask-3sD –PRF   where-3sA-PRF   ART Lord
     'If he asks him where the Master is, if he asks that...'

With this information as background knowledge we are equipped to analyze the structure of quotative constructions in Kambera. The default marker in these constructions is the quotative verb *wà*: more than 90% of the cases of reported speech in my database (12 hours of spontaneous texts) are accompanied by this element. It has always at least one pronominal clitic attached to it: a genitive enclitic that marks the speaker. The quote itself does not differ from any other declarative clause in Kambera (neither in the morphological form of the verb, or in

its mood, aspect or pronominal marking). Usually, there is no intonational break between the quote and the quotative verb. The following sentences are some illustrations. The quotative verb *wà* is glossed as 'report' in the examples for reasons to be discussed below.

(11) *"Ku-ngangu   –ma   duku"*   ***wà***   *-na-ma*
       1sN- eat   -EMP   EMP.1s   report   -3sG-EMP
       "I *have* eaten (it)", she said

(12) *"Bidi   mini-a   nú"*   *àmbu*   ***wà*** *-nda -i!*
       new   male-MOD   DEI   NEG.IRR   report -1pG-ASP
       'Don't say it's just the young guys!'

(13) *Njadi   u-u nda **wà**-na,   ndia   nda **wà**-na,*
       so   yes NEG report-3sG   NEG.emp   NEG   report-3sG
       'So he neither consents nor protests,
       hí -hí   –bia -nanya   –ka   duna
       RED -cry   -just -3s   -PRF   EMP.3s
       he just keeps on crying'

The verb *wà* is an intransitive root verb, and is mostly used in quotative constructions, though it can also function as a main speech verb:

(14) ***Wà**-nggu   ba **wà**-na   hama   tu-na-i   nú*
       report-1sG   while report -3sG   be.same put-3sG-ASP   DEI
       'I tell (it) as it was told'

Wà's argument-marking properties are limited: its subject must always be a clitic from the genitive paradigm (*-nggu* '1sG', *-mu* '2sG', *-na* '3sG', *-ma* '1pG.exclusive', *-nda* '1pG.inclusive', *-da* '3pG'). In other words, *wà* is always part of a nominal clause, and as such constitutes a dependent clause (see above).

    Wà is morphologically regular in that it can be derived with an applicative suffix *–ng*. This suffix licenses an additional addressee argument: *wà* 'report' > *wà-ng* 'report, say to X'. However, the other major Kambera word formation process, causativization, is resisted by *wà*, so we may say its morphological properties are reduced. [iii]

    The applicative suffix *–ng* is not visible when the verb is inflected, but is part of its citation form. The addressee is commonly expressed by a dative object clitic. Illustrations with the applicative form *wà-ng* are:

(15) *E,   **wà**   -nggu   -nya   na ama   -mu!*
       EXC report   -1sG   -3sD   ART father   -2sG
       'Hey, I was talking to your father!'

(16) *"Mài   -kai -wa"*   ***wà***   *-na -nggai*
       come   -2pA-HORT   report   -3sG -2pG
       'He says that you must come' (lit. "You come", he tells you')

Unlike ordinary complement clauses as the one in (4), quotes are not crossreferenced with clitics on the quotative verb, but are simply juxtaposed to the quotative clause. This is another indication that a quote is not a syntactic complement of the quotative verb. Sentence (17a) contains two quotes: "Kill the foal" and "Kill the foal, I said". Neither can be crossreferenced on the quotative verb, as shown in (17b) and (17c).

(17) a. *Tobu*   *-nya*   *na*   *ana*   *njara*   ***wà-nggu***
         slaughter -3sD   ART   child   horse   report-1sG

         ba   ***wà***   *-mi*   *nú*
         as   report   -2pG   DEI
         '"We'll kill the foal", you (pl.) said'

   b. [*Tobu-nya*   *na*   *ana*   *njara*]$_i$ *wà-nggu* ****-nya***$_i$ ...
       slaughter-3sD   ART   child   horse   report-1sG -3sD

   c. [*Tobu-nya*   *na ana njara*   *wà-nggu*]$_i$ *ba wà-mi* ****-nya***$_i$ ...
       slaughter-3sD   ART child horse report-1sG   as report-2pG-3sD

Indeed, coordinating conjunctions such as *hi* 'and, so', *ka* 'so that', *ba* 'and, as, while, because' and *jàka* 'if, when' may always appear optionally between the quote and the quotative clause, also suggesting that they are two independent, coordinated clauses. In (18) the conjunction in the quotative clause is *hi*, in (19) *ka* and in (20) *jàka*. Note that the quotes themselves also contain initial conjunctions: *ka, hi* and *hi*, respectively.

(18) *'Ai Umbu,*   ***ka***   *nda*   *u-*   *mila-ngga*   *nú eti'*
      EXC Lord   so.that   NEG   2sN- be.poor-1sD   DEI liver
      hi   *wà*   *-na*   *-nya*
      and   report   -3sG   -3sD
      '"Oh sir, if you would take pity on me,"' he said to him'
      (Lit. '"Wouldn't you have a poor liver for me," he said to him')

(19) *'...**hi***   *na-*   *ana*   *hàmu*   *na*   *wài*   *ngera-mu'*
      and   3sN-   DIM   be.good   ART   water   spirit-2sG
      ka   *wà-da*   *-du-nya-ka*   *nú*
      so.that   report-3pG   -MOD-3sD-PRF   DEI
      '"...so that you will fare well" (lit. so that your fate will be a little better), they said to him'

(20) *...**hi** nda*   *rongu*   *hàmu-bia-da-nya-i-ka*   *uda*
       and NEG   hear   be.good-MOD-3pG-3sD-ASP-ASP   EMP.3p
       '"...and they won't hear it clearly once again",
       jàka   *wà-na-ka*   *i*   *Umbu*   *Mbara, ...*
       when   report-3sG-PRF   ART Lord   Mbara
       when Lord Mbara said that...'

Another important difference between Kambera quotes and true verbal complements is the fact that though the unmarked constituent order in Kambera is verb-object, without exception quotes *precede* the quotative verb (i.e. represent OV word order).

In addition, the fact that Kambera quotes may appear *without* the quote verb *wà* also suggests that they are not verbal complements but embedded at the discourse level.

Evidence for the non-transitive status of *wà* is that this verb, unlike normal transitive verbs, cannot appear in object relativizations. Object relativizations in Kambera are marked by the morpheme *pa-*. Patients/themes and beneficiaries/addressees/recipients undergo the same relativization. Below this is illustrated for the theme of *ngàndi* 'take something' and the recipient of *ngàndi-ng* 'take something to someone':

(21) *Na   nggula   na   **pa**-   ngàndi-nggu*
     ART   sugar   ART   RMO-   take -1sG
     'The sugar that I took (along)'

(22) *Da   makaweda   da   **pa**-   ngàndi-nggu   nggula*
     ART   old.woman   ART   RMO-   take.to-1sG   sugar
     'The old ladies whom I brought the sugar'

Relativizations are standardly used in questions, as in (23), and may function like passives, as in (24) and (25). (Kambera does not have a separate passive construction, as argued in Klamer 1996; 1998, section 8.1.5).

(23) *Nggàra   **pa-   ngàndi**-mu,   Rambu?*
     what   RMO-   like-2pG   Lady
     'What did you bring, ma'am?'

(24) a. [*Nggula   [pa-   ngàndi-na*$_j$]]   *-nya*$_k$
         sugar   RMO-   take-3sG   -3sD
         'It$_k$ (is) sugar that (is) brought by her$_j$'

    b. [*Pa-   ngàndi   (-na*$_j$)]   *-ya*$_k$
        RMO-   take   (-3sG)   -3sA
        'It$_k$ is brought (by her$_j$)'

If we now consider the quotative verb *wà*, we find that this verb never appears in object relativizations, or in such passive-like structures:

(25) * [*Pa-   wà   -mu*]   *-nya*
       RMO-   report   -2sG   –3sD
       'It is said (by her)'

Does this mean that a Kambera speaker cannot question what is being said? The answer is negative: in questions about the content of a quote, a bare form of *wà* is used – the object relative marker *pa-* is absent:

(26) *Nggàra   **wà**   -mu,   Rambu?*

what   report   -2pG   Lady

'What did you say/think, ma'am?'

Interestingly, the same construction is used to question adjuncts of *wà*, such as *pira* 'how much', and *nggiki* 'how, in what way':

(27) *"Pira   wà-mu-nja   nú?"*   *"Ana hau ndui" wà-na*
     how.much report-2sG-3pD   DEI   DIM one   money report-3sG
     "How much did you ask from them?"   "'Just one coin", he said'

(28) *Nggiki   **wà-**nggu   ba   ku- karai   -nya?*
     how   report-1sG   while   1sN- ask   -3sD
     'How should I ask him?'

(29) *Nggiki   **wà**   -mu?*
     how   report   -2sG
     'How do you think about it?'

The absence of the relative marker in these questions is explained when we assume that the questioned elements are all adjuncts: like *pira* 'how much', and *nggiki* 'how', *nggàra* 'what' does not question an argument but an adjunct of *wà*. This confirms our analysis that Kambera quotes are not syntactic complements of the quotative verb.

In sum, we analyze the Kambera quote verb *wà* as an intransitive verb. This converges with the crosslinguistic observations about 'say' verbs of Munro (1982) and the typological findings reported by De Roeck (1994). Indeed, intransitive quote verbs are very common crosslinguistically: 37,5 % of the verbs of De Roeck's sample behave intransitively, and 10 % behave transitively only with an Addressee argument (like Kambera *wà-ng*). Only 47,5 % allow for the quote to be treated as the verbal complement. In other words, Kambera is very common in this respect.

Interestingly, there are indications that *wà* with a third person singular genitive marker may become reanalyzed as a monomorphemic verbal root. The motivation for this reanalysis comes from the prosodic structure of the verbal root *wà*. Phonologically, this root does not comply with the minimal word requirements of Kambera, which state that the roots of content words must be bimoraic feet. The sequence *wà-na*, however, is a bimoraic foot, and is therefore a good candidate to become analyzed as a verbal root. In this reanalysis, the genitive clitic loses its referential function, so the subject must be marked otherwise. What we find is that the nominative may take over the job:

(30) *Ba   **na**- wà**na**   -nya   i Zacharia   ama-na…*
     when   3sN- report   -3sD   ART Zacharias   father-3sG
     'When he told his father Zacharias...'

Evidence that *wà-na* is treated as a morphological unit comes from the relative position of emphatic clitics and adverbs. Normally, emphatic clitics such as *-ma* and *-du* must precede the genitive clitic, see (33) (and (19)-(20)). With *wà*, however, the order is obligatorily reversed, as the grammaticality contrast in (34a,b) shows:

(31) *E,* *ba* *namu*   ***-ma -na*** *-nya* *na* *ana njara*
   EXC as remember -MOD-3sG-3sD ART child horse
   'Hey, he loves the foal'

(32) a. *"Na-palu-ka* *i* *Ina"* *nda wà* ***-na -ma*** *-nya -i*
     3sN-hit-PRF ART mother NEG report-3sG-MOD-3sD-ASP
     'He never tells him that his mum hit him again'

   b. * *"Na-palu-ka* *i* *Ina"* *nda wà –ma –na –nya -i*
     3sN-hit-PRF ART mother NEG report -MOD-3sG-3sD-ASP

Normally, adverbs appear directly adjacent to the verb, interfering between the verb and the clitic cluster, see the position of *mema* 'immediately' in (33). With *wà*, however, the adverb must appear to the right of the clitic, as in (34):

(33) *Ngandi*   ***mema***   ***-na*** *-nggai*
   take   immediately -3sG -2sD
   'He brought it to you (pl) immediately'

(34) *'U' wà*   ***-na***   *mema*   *-nggai*
   yes report -3sG   immediately -2pD
   'He agreed with you (pl) immediately'

Other evidence comes from speech errors. Strictly speaking, sentence (30) is ungrammatical because it contains two subject markers, one genitive and one nominative. Similarly, sentences may contain two genitive markers: [iv]

(35) *"Ndia* *ná"*   *wà* ***-na*** *-ma -du* ***-na*** *-nya-ka*   *nú*
   NEG.EMP DEI report -3sG –MOD-MOD -3sG-3sD-PRF DEI
   '"No way!", he said to him'

These are all indications that the quotative verb *wà* plus the subject marking –*na* may be developing into a monomorphemic verb *wàna*. Note however that the reanalysis only concerns forms with a third person singular subject. In general, then, *wà* is still seen as the root form.

3. The variable nature of the Kambera 'quote'

In this section I discuss the various functions of the Kambera quote. We will see that there is no syntactic distinction between direct and indirect speech, and that the quotative construction is also used to report thoughts, intentions, and even physical perceptions. The latter is done by quotative constructions with ideophonic roots.

Let us first consider the direct-indirect speech distinction. In Kambera this distinction is not expressed syntactically. Instead, the language uses pronominal reference strategies and the semantic embedding of quotes to indicate distinct speaker perspectives. A simple illustration is (36). (36a) is a direct quote, because the speaker is expressed in the quote by the first person singular *ku-*. In (36b) the subject pronominal in the quote is third person singular *na-*, and this makes it an indirect speech report.

(36) a. ***Ku**ⱼ- lua   haromu   wà   **-na**ⱼ *-nggaₖ*
       1sN- go   tomorrow   report   -3sG -1sD
       '"I am leaving tomorrow", she told me'

   b. ***Na**ⱼ- lua   haromu   wà   **-na**ⱼ *-nggaₖ*
       3sN- go   tomorrow   report   -3sG -1sD
       'Sheⱼ told meₖ that sheⱼ is leaving tomorrow'

The following example illustrates how indirect quotations may be embedded into another quote:

(37) *Kambí*   wà   *-da*   wà   *-mu -nya*
     bean   report   -3pG   report   -2sG -3sD
     'Tell her that they want beans' (Lit. '"They said "beans"", you tell her')

Embedding is often used in combination with pronominal reference strategies. This is illustrated in the following sentence, where a man instructs someone else to tell his future father-in-law about his ability to pay a dowry:

(38) *"Na tanda-na   na   mila-nggu*ⱼ*"   ka   **wà**-mu*ₖ-nya*ᵢ   *i Ama*ᵢ*,*
      ART sign-3sG ART be poor-1sG   so   report-2sG-3sD ART father
      wà   *-nggu*ⱼ   *-nggau*ₖ *-ka   nú,   **wà**-na*ⱼ-nya*ₖ*
      report   -1sG   -2sG   -PRF   DEI   report-3sG-3sD
      'Iⱼ ask youₖ to inform Fatherᵢ about my povertyᵛ, heⱼ said to himₖ'
      (Lit. "The evidence of my poverty", you tell Father, I say to you, he said to him')

The embedding of quotes may become rather complex. The following piece of narrative is itself a quote: the narrator quotes someone who is warning the main character of the story, Prince Ndilu, to be aware that he'll need to pay a dowry to get a bride. This is done by quoting a future bride's reaction to his proposal: "If you want it, I'll be your wife – but first get me some dowry":

(39) a. *Napa*   *na-paàra-nya*   *-ka*   *nyuna*   *lai   nú:*
        later   3sN-ask-3sD   -PRF   her   LOC DEI

'When he'll propose over there, (she'll say:)

b.   *" "tunú"   wà-nggu"   ba   wà-mu*
     like.this   report-1sG   as   report-2sG
     "if you want it,

c.   *kalembi-ya   wà -nggu   -ma -nggau   -ka úna   nú*
     family-3sA   report-1sG   -EMP-2sD   -PRF DEI.3s DEI
     I'll be your wife   (Lit. "He's family", I'll say to you)

d.   *nanyuna, ngàndi   -ngga   bùdi   banda",*
     but   take.to   -1sG   firstly   cattle
     but first get me some dowry",

e.   *wà   -na -nya -ka   nú   i   Umbu   Ndilu.*
     report   -3sG -3sD -PRF   DEI ART   Lord   Ndilu
     she'll say to Prince Ndilu.

The fact that it is the future bride who says the words in (39b-d) is evident from (39e), where Prince Ndilu is the addressee. The woman's quote contains two more embedded quotes. The first of those is in (39b), where she expresses Ndilu's intentions by entering him verbally (""like this" I want", you say). The second is in (39c), where she expresses her own intentions by quoting the words she would use to him in the future ("'He's family' I'll say to you", i.e., "I'll be your wife").

Note that the latter quotation expresses an intention, but is also a naming strategy. In general, Kambera quotative constructions are regularly used for both of these purposes. The following sentences are additional illustrations of naming constructions:

(40) *Laku   pa-   peknik   ba   wà-da*
     go   CTR-   picnic   as   report-3pG
     '"Go for a picnic", as they call it'

(41) *Nyumu   Peteru-kau,   Peteru   wà -nggu-ka   nàhu,*
     you   Peter-2sA   Peter   report-1sG-PRF   now
     "You (are) Peter, I'll say Peter now,
     nyumu   nàhu   Peteru   wà-nggu-nggau,
     you   now   Peter   report-1sG-2sD
     I call you Peter now,
     Peteru   ba   wà-na,   watu   wà-na.
     Peter   as   report-3sG   rock   report-3sG
     'Peter' means 'rock'." (Lit. 'when one says 'Peter' one says 'rock'')

And the following quotative constructions express intentions and thoughts:

(42) *Tobu-nya   na   ana njara   wà-nggu ba wà-mi nú*
     slaughter-3sD   ART child horse   report-1sG as report-2pG DEI
     'You wanted to kill the foal'

(43) *Nggiki*   ***wà**-nggu*   *ba*   *ku-*   *wua* *-nggau?*
     how   report-1sG   as   1sN- give -2sD
     'How should I give it to you?'

(44) *Nda* *na-tanda*   *-a-ya*   *una*   *na* *bai* *tau...*
     NEG   3sN-know   -MOD-3sA   DEI.3s   ART real man
     'She didn't recognize him, that man...

     jia   *na* *lei-nggu*   *amang*   *nda* ***wà**-na*   *mbu* *-pa*
     EXIST ART husband-1sG   earlier   NEG report-3sG also-IMPF
     (that) he was her former husband she didn't even realize'

(45) *"Banda*   *-nggu*   *nda*   *ningu-a"*
     cattle   -1sG   NEG   be-MOD

     ***wà**-na-ka*   *nú* *dá*   *la*   *eti* *-na*   *i*   *Ndilu*
     report-3sG-PRF   DEI inside   LOC liver -3sG   ART Ndilu
     'I don't have property, thought Ndilu'

     Finally, to express physical perceptions of motions, sounds and visions, quotative constructions are used in combination with ideophonic roots that express such notions. Illustrations:

(46)

pòk	'grunt'	*yidi*	'shiver' (dislike)
ngùru	'murmur'	*wàdi*	'blink'
hèri	'tearing noise'	*ngàdu*	'nod'
tòru	'rattle'	*linji*	'jump'
mbùtu	'thud'	*nggidi*	'shiver' (cold)
pàka	'smack'	*jila*	'glimmer, flash'
mbùku	'snap/tap'	*bila*	'light, brightness'

Unlike what the English gloss suggests, these are not verbs but sound-symbolic roots. (To be used as verbs they must undergo circumfixation first). The ideophones constitute a separate lexical category with its own formal characteristics: ideophones use special, low vowels (*ò, è, à, ù*), and they are the only Kambera roots that undergo circumfixation with *ka—k,* for example, *mbùtu* 'thud' > ***ka-mbùtu-k*** 'fall with a thud'. [vi] In quotative constructions the roots occur as they are, but in order to be used verbally, they must be morphologically derived: circumfixed, or reduplicated:

(47) a.   ***Mbùtu***   *wà-na*   *tu-na*   *nú*
           thud   report-3sG   put-3s   DEI
           'Thud!, it did'

       b.   *Hili*   *odah*   *-ya*   *na*   *hapapa*
           again   stroke   -3sA ART   side
           'Again (he) stroke the (horse's) side,

           ka-mbùtu-k   *–danya*   *da*   *marara*

        fall.thudding   -3p   ART   gold
        thudding the gold fell out'

c. *Waring... nggiki-na wà-mu,*[vii]   **mbùtu-mbùtu** *da njara*
    rub   how-3sG report-3sG   RDP-thud   ART   horse
    '(He) rubbed... amazing!, 'thud!' fell the horses'

    Additional illustrations of ideophonic roots in quotative constructions are (50) and (51). The subject of the sentence is marked by the genitive clitic attached to *wà*. The ideophonic root itself expresses the perceived state of affairs and is found in the position that would otherwise be occupied by a quote. In this way, the perception of states of affairs is given a vivid, lively and direct sense.

(48) *Pòk*   *wà -da-ka*   *da wei*   *lua*
      grunt   report-3pG-PRF   ART pig   over.there
      '"Grunt", did the pigs over there'

(49) *Mbùku*   *wà -na-bia-ka*   *na tau*   *meti yena*
      snap   report-3sG-MOD-PRF   ART person   die this.one
      '"Snap", did the dead body'

    There is one other class of roots that appear in quotative constructions: roots derived with the prefix *ha-*:

(50) Kambera roots of *ha-* verbs: [viii]

ngàtar	'be amazed'	**ha**-*ngàtar*	'be amazed'
lutur	'be sad'	**ha**-*lutur*	'be sad'
nduka	'be stuck/hidden'	**ha**-*nduka*	'be in trouble'
likir	'tilt head'	**ha**-*likir*	'tilt/lean over'
lata	'base/foundation'	**ha**-*lata*	'be stiff'
mbàda	'extinguished' (fire)	**ha**-*mbàda*	'be gone/have left'
lela	'cut thongs/slivers'	**ha**-*lela*	'be light'(not heavy)
mbila	'clear/clean'	**ha**-*mbila*	'be clear/shiny'
ngganggar	'sway'	**ha**-*ngganggar*	'fall backwards'
ngànja	'snobbish/arrogant'	**ha**-*nganja*	'watch w. surprise'
dànggit	'brief/short'	**ha**-*danggit*	'be brief/short'
ngijir	'pull a face' (w.lips)	**ha**-*ngijir*	'pull a face' (w.lips)
wanjir	'sway with arms'	**ha**-*wanjir*	'prepare X'
mata	(1) 'raw' (2) 'face/eye'	**ha**-*mata*	'keep eye on X'
kuku	'cock-a-doodle-doo'	**ha**-*kuku*	'to crow' (rooster)

The derived forms with *ha-* and their roots have distinct functional and distributional characteristics. This is illustrated for the verb *ha-likir* 'tilt, lean away' in (53). The verb can be used as a normal predicate, but the root *likir* can only appear in a quotative construction. A full verb cannot appear in such a context.

(51) a. **Ha**-*likir*   *-ki*   *-nya!*
        lean away   -MOD   -3sD

'Lean away from it a bit!'

b. ***Likir***   *wà-na*   *-bia*   *-ka*

tilted (of head)   report-3sG   -MOD   -PRF

'He just tilted his head'

In other words, quotative constructions appear with roots from two different categories. The roots of thederivations with *ka-, pa-, la-, ma-, ta-* never appear in quotative constructions, but *ha*-roots do. In this respect, they behave like ideophonic roots, though they do not share the other structural characteristics of the ideophones. The explanation for the partly similar behavior of ideophones and *ha*-roots is found in their similar semantics: both types describe physically and mentally perceived states or actions. And the quotative construction is used to report on these perceptions.

We conclude that the quotative construction is used to report perceived events that can be mentally or physically perceived. Speech acts belong to the physically perceived events; thoughts and intentions are mentally perceived. The naming function of the quotative construction is clearly related to its function to report speech acts. This is to say that, though *wà* may be *used* as a speech verb, its semantics does not necessarily include the notion of a speech act. Rather, the common denominator of the various uses of *wà* seems to be that it always reports something – words, thoughts or perceptions. Therefore, the semantics of *wà* must be [REPORT] rather than, for example, [SAY]. In such an analysis, 'real' quotes are a subclass of the set of physically perceived events that speakers may report on using the verb *wà*.[ix] I will return to this in section 4, after discussing some derived functions of the quotative construction.[x]

4.   Derived functions of the Kambera report construction

The Kambera quotative verb has developed a secondary function as a discourse particle with two related, but distinct functions. Firstly, it is commonly used in questions concerning a wish, an intention or a guess; i.e. something that has not (yet) taken place. In this sense, it is a type of irrealis marker. Of course, this function of *wà* is derived from its function to express intentions or wishes, discussed in the previous section. Illustrations are (52)-(55).

As such, the clause *kama-nya* 'try it' in (52a,b) could also be used as an imperative, as could *karia-ngga* 'accompany me' in (54). However, (52b) does not have an imperative reading, and the use of *unung* 'drink' in (53), an uninflected verb form with an implied object, shows that imperative constructions are not obligatory when *wà* is used in a question context. Sentence (54) shows that *kama-nya, karia-*

ngga and *unung* are not actual quotes either: to be a 'real' quote, *karia-ngga* '(you) come with me' should have been *karia-nggau* '(I) come with you'. Given the question contexts, it is not surprising that the subject of *wà* is mostly a second person singular, but (55) shows that this is not an obligatory feature of *wà* as question particle.

(52) a.   *Kama*   *-nya*   **wà**   **-mu?**
         try   -3sD   report   -2sG
         'Wanna try it?'

      b.   *M,*   *kama*   *-nya*   **wà-nggu**-*dú*   *làti*
         yes   try   -3sD   report-1sG-MOD   in.fact
         'OK, let me try it'

(53) *Unung*   **wà**   **-mu?**
     drink   report   -2sG
     'Do you want a drink?'

(54) *Karia*   *-ngga*   **wà**   **-mu?**
     accompany   -1sD   report   -2sG
     'Are you coming with me?' / 'Want to come with me?'

(55) *Màla*   *la*   *Umalulu*   *na-mbana*   **wà-nggu?** [xi]
     well   LOC   Melolo   3sN-be hot   report-1sG
     'Well, I guess it's hot in Melolo?'

In contrast to the analysis I proposed in Klamer (1998:351), *wà-mu* does not seem to be a question tag: it is not literally a tag because it is not preceded by an intonational break, and it occurs in contexts other than questions – in (52b) it expresses an intention.

The other discourse function of the element *wà* is as an interjection that adds vividness to the discourse. Though its exact function is still unclear, it seems to draw the attention of the listener, especially in contexts where something unexpected happens.[xii] The following piece of discourse comes from a conversation between three women about pictures that they considered hilarious.[xiii] One woman tells about a picture taken of M., while she was preparing food on an open fire in the field, for the workers who were harvesting there. She uses *wà-mu* three times:

(56) *Hàla-i-ka*   *úna*   *i M.*   *úna*   **wà-mu**,
     finish-again-PRF   DEI.3s   ART M.(name) DEI.3s   report-2sG
     'And then that M., oh no!
     ba   *padukul*   *-na-nya*   *na*   *bai* *tulur,*
     when   lighten   -3sG-3sD   ART   real stone
     when she was lighting the fire,
     bai wuru   *bàhi*   *úna*   **wà-mu**,
     real pot   iron   DEI.3s   report-2sG
     (handling) that iron pot, you know,

> *ka tiri   mànu-ma-nanya-ka   úna   nàhu   wà-mu,*
> so capsize always-EMP-3s-PRF   DEI.3s   now   report-2sG
> and she capsizing there (crouching, turned away from photographer),
> *ba   na- yutu -ya   na   wuru   bàhi!*
> when   3sN- hold -3sA ART   pot   iron
> when she held the iron pot!'

The following illustrations comes from different narratives, where *wà-mu* signals a peak in the narrative:

> (57) *Ka   da- puru -ka   uda   nú   wà-mu,*
>   CNJ   3pN- descend -PRF   EMP.3p   DEI   report-2sG
>   'So they got down, man!
>   *ngandi-danya   bi   kabela   bi   nímbu du-ka nú   wà-mu...*
>   take   -3p   real   machete   real   spear -EMP-PRF DEI   report-2sG
>   they (were) all bringing along machetes and spears, you know!'

> (58) *Njadi   na-   pàda -nya -ka   una   nú   wà-mu,*
>   so   3sN-   feel -3sD -PRF   EMP.3s   DEI   report-2sG,
>   'She *knew* it was him, you know!,
>   *na   ma- kaliti   njara   miting!*
>   ART   RMS-ride   horse   be.black
>   the one riding the black horse!'

> This function of *wà-mu* as an interjection calling for the listener's involvement in the story would be comparable to the form and function of English interjections like *you know!* and *what d'you say!*

5.   The grammaticalization of the Kambera report construction

In the preceding sections we have seen the following evidence for the idea that *wà* is not a canonical Kambera verbal root: (1) *wà* is smaller than the minimal prosodic word in Kambera, (2) *wà* has limited argument-marking possibilities (subjects are always genitive), (3) *wà* has limited morphological possibilities (it allows no causative derivation), (4) *wà* cannot occur in an object-relative clause (a passive-like structure), (5) *wà* has a very general semantics: [REPORT], and (6) *wà* has two distinct non-verbal discourse functions. The reduced structural properties and multifunctionality of *wà* suggest that it is grammaticalized to a certain extent.

The grammaticalization of *wà* involves a network of related functions that can be represented as in Figure 1. (See Güldemann (this volume) for another proposal where the grammaticalization of an item involves a network of

functions).[xiv] The element that lies at the heart of the *wà* network is a [REPORT] verb, which reports about events perceived by the speaker, either physically or mentally. The shaded circle in the center of Figure 1 indicates this central meaning of the verb.
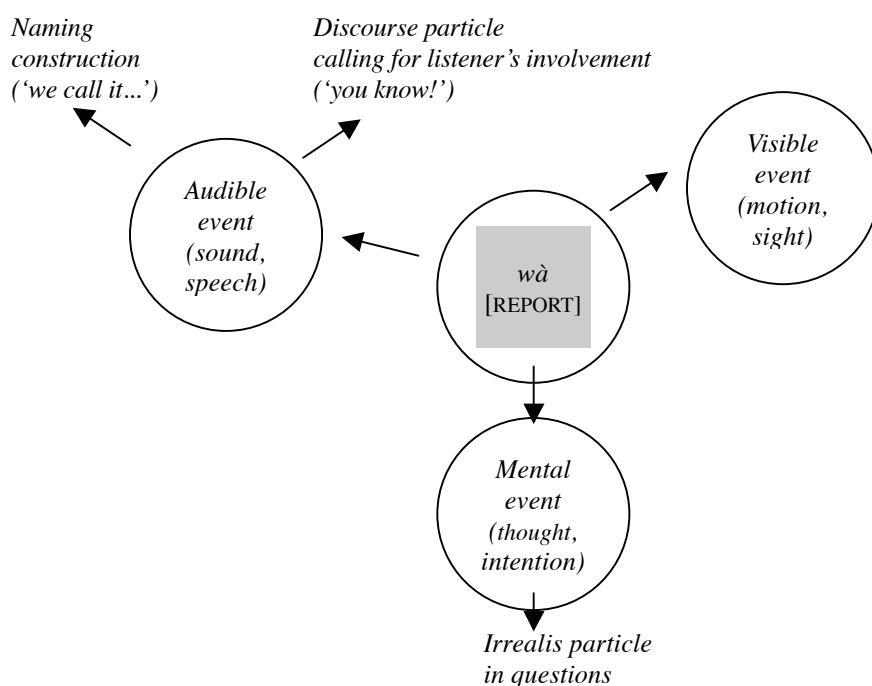
Naming
construction
('we call it...')

Discourse particle
calling for listener's involvement
('you know!')

Audible
event
(sound,
speech)

wà
[REPORT]

Visible
event
(motion,
sight)

Mental
event
(thought,
intention)

Irrealis particle
in questions

Figure 1. Network of meanings and functions of *wà*

Figure 1 also indicates that there are three types of reports: of audibly, visibly and mentally perceived events. The audibly perceived events include perceptions of all sounds: sounds expressed by ideophonic roots, but also speech sounds. In Kambera, quotes are thus treated as a subtype of perceived events. In this function, *wà* developed secondary functions as the predicate of a naming construction ('we report on it as X' = 'we call it X') and as a discourse particle calling for the listeners involvement ('you report!' = 'you know!'). The visible events reported on by *wà* include the visible characteristics as they are expressed by ideophonic roots and roots of *ha*-verbs. The mentally perceived events are thoughts, intentions and wishes. In this function, *wà* developed a secondary use as a discourse particle expressing irrealis modality, to be used in questions.

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Notes

[ii] For a recent overview see De Roeck 1994, who discusses some of the origins of the first two assumptions, and tests them against the data from a representative sample of 40 languages. It appears that the assumptions are valid for at most half of the languages investigated.

[iii] This raises the question of whether the language employs other other causativized speech verbs. After *wà*, the most general speech verb is *paní* 'tell', but as this is a lexicalized causative form (*pa-ní* 'cause-be'), causativization of this verb is blocked. Other, more specialized verbs such as *peka* 'confess, inform' may undergo both applicative and causative derivation: *pa-peka-ng* 'teach, proclaim'.

[iv] When we came across such sentences during text transcription, my consultant initially did not consider them illformed, but after thinking about them for a while he explained that the first *–na* should better not be there.

[v] *Na mila-nggu* 'my poverty' is idiomatic for 'my wealth'.

[vi] Common roots may be prefixed, suffixed, or reduplicated, but not circumfixed.

[vii] This is the same quotative construction as (29); here it is idiomatic for 'Wow! Gee! Amazing!'

[viii] Not all the roots of *ha*-verbs can occur in the quotative construction. The following classes are the major exceptions : (1) the roots of fully lexicalized *ha*-derivations that do no longer function as independent words, (2) 'roots' with a foreign origin, for instance in phonotactically adapted loans from Indonesian (*se-* > *ha-*).

[ix] In their contributions to this volume, Güldemann and Meyerhoff discuss other cases where quotative verbs/markers do not derive from a speech verb: *olsem* in Bislama (a SW Pacific creole) and the element *ti* in Shona (a Bantu language) are both originally deictic elements meaning something like 'thus, like'.

[x] See also Klamer (1999), where the Kambera quotative construction is compared to similar constructions in two other Austronesian languages (Buru and Tukang Besi), and which contains a proposal for the lexical representation and grammaticalisation of [REPORT] verbs.

[xi] Alternatively, the emphatic negation *ndia* can be used:

(1)	*Màla*	*la Umalulu*	*na-mbana*	*ndia?*
	well	LOC Melolo	3sN-be hot	NEG.EMP

'Well, it's hot in Melolo, isn't it?'

[xii] The notion of unexpectedness is also be found in the Dutch translations of *wà-mu*: it would often translate as *man!*, but also as *toch* 'yet, still, nevertheless' or *immers* 'after all', adverbials expressing contrast to expectation:

(1)	*Kwam hij*	**(*toch*)**	*ineens*	*naar*	*beneden*	*met een mes,*	***man!***
	came he	yet	suddenly	to	downstairs	with a knife	man

'Man! He came down carrying a knife!'

(2)	*Hij*	*zat*	***toch***	*te*	*líegen!*
	he	sat	yet	to	lie

'Boy, was he lying!'

(3)	*Waarom*	*deed*	*ze het,*	*ze kénde*	***immers***	*de gevaren?*
	why	did	she it	she knew	after.all	the dangers

'Why did she do it, while she *knew* about the dangers?'

[xiii] Pictures of Sumbanese people in working clothes, engaged in every-day activities are a source of fun because the costs involved in picture-taking make it a serious event for which many Sumbanese dress up and adopt a solemn posture.

[xiv] The advantage of a network representation is that items are allowed more interconnections than when the relation between them is assumed to be linear (a>b>c).

Abbreviations

A	Accusative
ART	Article (*na* = singular, *da* = plural, *i* proper noun)
CAU	Causative
CNJ	Conjunction
CTR	Marker of controlled complement clause
D	Dative
DEI	Deictic element (space/time/discourse)
DEM	Demonstrative
DIM	Diminutive
EMP	Emphasis
	EMP.2s: 2nd person sg. emphatic pronoun,
	EMP.3s: 3rd person sg. emphatic pronoun, etc.
EXC	Exclamation
G	Genitive
HORT	Hortative particle
IMPF	Imperfective marker (*-pa*)
LOC	Locative preposition
MOD	Mood marker
N	Nominative
NEG	Negator
p	plural
PRF	Perfective marker (*-ka*)
RM	Marker of relativization
	RMO: relativization of object
	RMS: relativization of subject
RDP	Reduplication
s	singular

List of languages mentioned in the paper

Main text: Kambera
Notes: Bislama (SW Pacific creole)
          Shona (Bantu)
          Buru (Austronesian)

Tukang Besi (Austronesian)