

About markers grammaticalized from the report verb ‘say’ in Abui

This paper discusses the grammaticalization of the cognate marker *ba* in Abui, Sawila and a number of related Trans New Guinea family languages spoken in Alor-Pantar archipelago in Eastern Indonesia.

PROBLEM: The marker *ba* links clauses of various types and allows embedding of relative clauses. The main focus of this paper is on Abui, but instances of *ba* in other Alor-Pantar languages are also dealt with. Abui *ba* is multifunctional. It appears in the nominal, clausal and sentence domain. In the nominal domain, *ba* functions as a relativizer (1).

- (1) [ama **ba** {tanga kang}_{RC}]_{NP}
 person REL speak.CNT be.good
 ‘a person that can speak well’

In the clausal domain, *ba* marks topical constituents (2a), introduces complements (2b) and marks speech reports (2c). Its use as a complementizer and quotative marker is optional and seems restricted mainly to speech verbs.

- (2) a. {[do aremang]_{NP} **ba**,# pi-d-o cc[Aila seerang]_{NP} do}
 PRX clan TOP 1pl.i-HOLD-PNCT place people PRX
 ‘as for this clan, we are the Aila people’
- b. {a he-fangi} **ba** {wan te-r tama-d-i}_{speech report}
 2SG 3II.LOC-say.CPL COMP already DISTR.LOC-reach fat-HOLD-PFV
 ‘you said that they have already become fat’
- c. {A[ne-nahaa]_{NP} di he-fanga=ti} {ha-rik}_{speech report} **ba**
 1SG.AL-younger.sibling 3A 3II.LOC-say.CNT=PHSL.C 3II.PAT-hurt QT
 ‘my younger brother/sister has said s/he was sick’

In the sentence domain, *ba* introduces purpose clauses (3a), links simultaneous events (3b) and as an evidential marker indicates reported source of information (3c).

- (3) a. {di na-beek-d-i} **ba** {no-mong-e}_{speech report}
 3A 1SG.PAT-be.bad-HOLD-PFV PURP 1SG.REC-die-IPFV
 ‘he is doing black magic on me so that I would die’
- b. {do-yai-panen-i-a}_{speech report} **ba** {sieng tapei} **ba** {moku ho-l}
 3I.REC-song-make.CPL-PFV-DUR SIM rice pound SIM kid 3II.REC-give
 ‘she is song-singing for herself (and) pounding rice (and) cradling the kid’
- c. {de-l fir he-r} **ba**_{evidentiality}
 3I.LOC-give star 3II.LOC-reach REPORT
 ‘it is said that they became stars’

ANALYSIS: The paper reconstructs the grammaticalization process using evidence from related languages. It identifies constructions with a speech report verb that were the source for extension and consequent grammaticalization of the original speech report verb becomes reanalyzed as a grammatical marker. Furthermore, the paper examines the grammaticalization path in which the different markers, such as *complementizer*, *topic marker*, *relativizer*, *purpose linker*, *quotative marker*, *reported evidential marker* and *simultaneous marker* became grammaticalized in Abui.