

A complement to complementation in early Sranan and Saramaccan: logophoricity

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1. Introduction

- sentential complementation is the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is functioning as the subject or object of a predicate (Noonan 1985: 42).
- logophoric pronoun: a special form that marks a logophoric domain, a stretch of discourse in which the words, thoughts, knowledge, or emotions of the referent of the subject of the main clause are reported.

2. Method

Table 1 Overview of types of early Sranan documents

SOURCES		LANGUAGE MANUALS		TOKENS	OTHER	TOKENS
EARLY	Herlein (HL)	(1718)	w; dl	200	Court Records (CR) (1707-1767)	500
SRANAN	Van Dyk (VD)	(c1765)	w; dl, p	14,000	Sranan version of Saramaka	
	Nepveu (N)	(1770)	w; dl	700	Peace Treaty (SPT) (1762)	1,900
	Schumann (SCHUM)	(1783)	dc	16,000		
	Weygandt (WEY)	(1798)	w; dl, p	15,000		
TOTAL				45,900	TOTAL	2,400

(w = wordlist; dl = dialogue; p = playlet; dc = dictionary)

- (1) *Granman langa coertoe sendie masara Louís Nepveú foú meki da fri. A poti alle dissi santi*
 governor and council send master Louis Nepveu to make the peace 3S put all this thing
deja na inni gi dem foe bakisi dem effi dem (xxx) wandi holli dati alle.
 here LOC in for 3P to ask 3P if 3P want hold that all

allekie disie onnoe kallie nem foe dem arrede gie na wie bacara. (SPT art. 13)

like REL 2P call name of 3P already give LOC 1P white

‘The Governor and the Court of Police have sent Mr Louis Nepveu to make peace. He wrote all these things down for them in order to ask them if they are willing to stick to all these agreements.’

- (2) *Onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe dattie onnoe no habie no wan condre morro*
 2P FUT must swear too that 2P no have no one village more

allekie disie onnoe kallie nem foe dem arrede gie na wie bacara. (SPT art. 13)

like REL 2P call name of 3P already give LOC 1P white

‘You’ll have to swear also that you do not have any other villages than those whose names you have already mentioned to us Whites.’

- (3) *Grand Gado soli wi, date wi no do bon* (CR 1766)
 big lord show 1P COMP 1P NEG do good
 ‘the master showed us that we did not do good’
- (4) *onnoe sa moessoe swerrie toe takie dem pikin dissie onnoe pottie na wie han,*
 2P FUT must swear too that DET.PL child REL 2P put LOC 1P hand
- dem na reijtie piekien foe heddeman.* (SPT art. 13)
 3P be right child of chief
 ‘you should also swear that the children you will hand over to us are really the children of captains’

Table 2 Early Saramaccan sources

	SOURCES	YEAR	AUTHOR	TOKENS
EARLY	Saramaka Maroon Letters	(1790-1818)	Christian Grego	3,500
SARAMACCAN	Chapt. 1-14 of the Act of the Apostels	(ca. 1793)	Johannes Alabi I.L. Wietz	13,000
			TOTAL	16,500

3 Utterance and propositional attitude predicates

3.1 Early Sranan

Table 3 Overview of utterance and propositional attitude predicates in early Sranan

	1707-1767			1718			1762			1765			1770			1783			1798		
	CR			HL			SPT			VD			N			SCHUM			WEY		
	SC	C	R	SC	C	R	SC	C	R	SC	C	R	SC	C	R	SC	C	R	SC	C	R
<i>aksi</i> ‘ask’				+	+	-	+	+	±	+	+	-	+	+	-	-			+	±	±
<i>bari</i> ‘shout’																-			-		
<i>begi</i> ‘beg’							-			+	-	-				+	+	-	+	-	+
<i>bilofi</i> ‘promiss’										-											
<i>bribi</i> ‘believe’							-			+	-	-				+	-	-	+	+	-
<i>kali</i> ‘call’				-			-			-						-			-		
<i>kry</i> ‘cry’							-			+	-	-				-			-		
<i>memre</i> ‘think’							+	-	-	+	-	-	-			+	-	-	+	±	±
<i>piki</i> ‘answer’							+	-	-	+	-	-				-			-		
<i>pramisi</i> ‘promiss’																-			+	+	-
<i>raai</i> ‘advice’																			+	+	+
<i>sendi moffo</i> ‘inform’							+	+	-							-					
<i>taki</i> ‘say’	+	-	-	-			+	+	-	+	+	-	-			+	±	±	+	±	-
<i>toli</i> ‘talk’							-			-						-			-		
<i>zweri</i> ‘swear’							+	±	-	+	-	-				-			-		

SC = sentential complement (+ present; - absent)
 C = complementizer (*taki, dati, fu, effi*, question word)(+ present; - absent; ± both present and absent)
 R = reduced SC (no subject or tense marking) (+ reduced; - full SC; ± variation)

- (5) a. *a za kiele hem zlifi* (VD c1765: 68)
3S FUT kill 3S self
[‘hy zou zig zelf aan kant maaken’]
‘he_i will kill himself_i’
- b. *a bron hem* (Nep 1770: 280)
3S burn 3S
[‘hij of zij heeft zig gebrandt’]
‘he_i burned himself_i’
- (6) *Ferner ist noch ein Unterschied zwischen HEM u. A, just wie im lateinischen zwischen se u. eum; und zwar ist HEM das lat. se, u. A das eum: Nemlich, wenn ich jemandes Worte anführe, u. dieselben gehen auf ihn selber, so setze ich "hem"; gehen aber die Worte auf einen dritten, so setze ich "a". z.E. (Schumann 1783: 65)*

[The distinction between *hem* and *a* resembles the Latin distinction between *se* and *eum*; *hem* equals the Latin reflexive pronoun *se*, and *a* corresponds to the third person pronoun *eum* (accusative case): That is to say, when I quote somebody, and the quote refers to that person, I’ll use *hem*, but when it concerns a third party, I’ll use *a*.]

- (7) a. *a takki, a no komm jette* (Sch1783: 65)
3S say 3S no come already 3S
[‘(lat. dicit, eum nondum venisse,) er sagt, dass er ein anderer noch nicht gekommen ist.’]
‘he_i says that he/she/it_k has not yet come’
- b. *a takki, hem no komm* (Sch1783: 65)
3S say LOG no come
[‘(lat. dicit, se non venturum,) er sagt von sich selbst, dass er nicht kommt.’]
‘he_i says that he_i has not yet come’
- (8) a. *a membre, a de wan bigisanni* (Sch1783: 65)
3S think 3S be a big.thing
[‘er denkt (von jenem Menschen), dass er (der andere) etwas grosses ist.’]
‘he_i thinks that he/she/it_k is the greatest’
- b. *a membre, hem de wan biggisanni* (Sch1783: 65)
3S think LOG be a big.thing
[‘er denkt von sich selber, dass er etwas grosses ist’]
‘he_i thinks (of himself) that he_i is the greatest’

Table 4 Logophoric *hem* in early Sranan

	1707-1767	1718	1762	c1765	1770	1783	1798
	CR	HL	SPT	VD	N	SCHUM	WEY
a_i UPP [a_i]	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
a_i UPP [hem_i]	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
a_i UPP [a_k]	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
a_i UPP [hem_k]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(UPP = utterance and propositional attitude predicates; + ‘present’, - ‘not present’)

- (9) *mi miti wan buy de na passi* (VD c1765:77/8)
 1S meet a boy be LOC crossing
 [‘ik ben een Jongen teegen gekoomen’]
 ‘I met a boy at the crossing’

da buy takke hem zi Filida ron go na bossi a takki kro buy na hem
 that boy tell LOG see F. run go LOC bush 3S say good bye LOC 3S
 [‘die had haar gezien, die zei mijn dat ze hem Genagt zei en in het Bos liep’]
 ‘the boy_i says that he_i saw Filida_k run to the bushes, she_k said goodbye to him_i’

- (10) *Neen a taagi en dda taki, da en o go bika en wan a uman* (Huttar & Huttar 1994:76)
 then 3S say-give 3S father that that LOG FUT go because 3S want the woman
 ‘Then he_i told his father that he_i would go because he_i wanted the woman’

No logophoric *hem*:

- (11) *A ben takie a sa deeja na halfoe aitie* (Wey 1798: 114)
 3S PST tell 3S FUT be.there at half eight
 [‘Hy heeft gezegd om half agt hier te zullen zijn’]
 ‘He_i said that he_i shall be there at half past seven’

- (12) *Mastra takki a go na gron ono locke bon na hosse.* (VD c1765: 55)
 master say 3S go LOC ground 2P take.care good LOC house
 [‘De Meester zeid hy gaat na de Grond, kyk je luy wel na het Huis’]
 ‘The master_i says that he_i is going to the grounds, you take care of the house’

- (13) *Koo táki, a ná e abaa wataa a dee ten* (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994:4)
 turtle say 3S no ASP cross water LOC dry time
 ‘Turtle_i says he_i doesn’t cross the river in the dry season’

3.2 Early Saramaccan

- (14) *a takki hem srepi sa go na Matawari* (SML 3)
 3S say LOG self FUT go LOC Matawari
 ‘he_i said he_i would go to Matawai himself’

- (15) *mi Brara Johanunis de takki na oene, va hem no sa libi hem boene Massra* (SML 9)
 1S brother Johannes ASP say LOC 2P COMP LOG NEG FUT leave 3S good master
 ‘my brother Johannes_i tells you that he_i will not leave his good Lord’
- (16) *mi brara Johannus de takki hem no de liebi hem Massra Helpiman* (SML 11)
 1S brother Johannes ASP say LOG NEG ASP leave 3S master savior
 ‘my brother Johannes_i tells you that he_i will not leave his Savior’
- (17) *Bika otro dagga Theudas hoppo, a takki a de wan sondi* (Wietz 5, 36)
 other day Theudas emerge 3S say 3S BE a thing
 ‘recently Theudas_i came up; he_i said he_i was a prophet’
- (18) *a bi pramüssi da hem, va a keh da hem ...* (Wietz 7, 5)
 3S PST promise give 3S COMP 3S want give 3S
 ‘he_i promised him_k that he_i would give him_k...’
- (19) *a begi va a findi wan hosso va di Gado va Jakob* (Wietz 7, 46)
 3S beg COMP 3S find a house for the God of Jacob
 ‘he_i begged he_i would find a house for the God of Jacob’

Anti-logophoric pronoun *a*:

- (20) *a bi takki na Moses hufa a sa meki hem* (Wietz 7, 44)
 3S PST say LOC Moses how 3S MOD make it
 ‘he_i told Moses how he_k should make it’
- (21) *a jeri va a tan lesi na buku va prophet Jesaias* (Wietz 8, 30)
 3S hear COMP 3S ASP read LOC book of prophet Isaiah
 ‘he_i heard him_k read from the book of the prophet Isaiah’
- (22) *A begi hem va a da hem briffi va go na Damascus* (Wietz 9, 2)
 3S beg 3S COMP 3S give 3S letter COMP go LOC Damascus
 ‘he_i begged him_k that he_k give him_i a letter to go to Damascus’

3.3 Logophoricity in the substrate

- (23) *Kofi be e dzo* (Ewe, Hagege 1974:302)
 Kofi say 3S leave
 ‘Kofi_i said he_k left’
- (24) *Kofi be yè dzo* (Ewe, Hagege 1974:302)
 Kofi say LOG leave
 ‘Kofi_i said he_i left’

(25) *É d̩ èmì m̩ èmì-d̩èè* (Fongbe, Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002: 81)
3S say LOG see LOG-self
'(s)he_i said that (s)he_i saw himself_i/herself_i'

(26) *ó s̩rì n̩ à ó byàrà* (Igbo, Hyman & Comrie 1981: 19)
3S say that 3S come
'He_i said he_k came'

(27) *ó s̩rì n̩ à yà byàrà* (Igbo, Hyman & Comrie 1981: 19)
3S say that LOG come
'He_i said he_k came'

3.3 Logophoricity in the lexifier: indirect reflexives

(28) John_i was furious. The picture of himself_i in the museum had been mutilated.
(Pollard and Sag 1992: 268; Culy 1997: 846)

4 Conclusion

- Igbo most likely source of Sranan/Saramaccan logophoric *hem*
- Sranan / Saramaccan logophoric pronoun versus Haitian Creole

Acknowledgements

- Purdue University (grant)
- University of Amsterdam

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