## TWO BOLANCI COMPLEMENTIZERS: II AND NA\*

## MAHER AWAD

- 1. INTRODUCTION. The purpose of this paper is to report on an in-progress study in the sentential complementation of Bolanci, a West Chadic language spoken in southwestern Borno State in northeastern Nigeria. After a brief survey of the literature available on this language, I will present two complementizers in this language, ii and na. I will then propose an account for the diachronic evolution of one of the complementizers (ii). In the second half of the paper, I will explain what semantic functions the two complementizers encode. In connection with the question about the functions of the two complementizers, the findings reported here lend support to the de dicto/de re distinction advanced in Frajzyngier 1991. Specifically, it will be shown that the de dicto/de re distinction is encoded in the marking of the complement system of Bolanci.
- 2. WHAT IS AVAILABLE ON THE LANGUAGE. The most recent published work on Bolanci was done by Johannes Lukas (1969, 1970-72, 1971) in German. Lukas' work concentrates mainly on the phonology and the verbal system. Benton 1912 has a short grammatical sketch, and Meek 1931 is a wordlist. Among the known unpublished manuscripts, Schuh's 'The Bolanci verbal system' (1983a) and 'Bolanci genitives' (1983b) are the most recent. 'The Bolanci verbal system' is quite extensive. Abraham (n.d.) has some field notes in the Kaduna archives at Bayero University College (Nigeria), including grammatical notes and a wordlist (Schuh, p.c.). Finally, there is a B.A. thesis which is a contrastive analysis of Bolanci and English but which doesn't have a lot of information on Bolanci per se (Schuh, p.c.). There is no published work at all on Bolanci syntax.
- 3. THE TWO COMPLEMENTIZERS. As can be seen in the following examples, Bolanci has SVO word order. The embedded clauses (sentential complements) commence with either the complementizer ii or the complementizer na. The (a) version of each pair contains the complementizer ii, and the (b) version contains the complementizer na. These embedded clauses are the direct objects of the matrix clause verbs poro and mono.2
  - isin anbara. (1) a. poro Ъ. poro (na) isin anbara. 3.F.SG.NOM said (COMP) 3.M.SG.NOM hunter 'She said that he is a hunter.' mono (ii) isin karuu (2) a.
  - kom. b. ita mono (na) isin karuu kom. 3.F.SG.NOM know (COMP) 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered cow 'She knows that he slaughtered a cow.'

After some verbs, notably verbs of saving (e.g. 'sav', 'ask') and verbs denoting mental activities (e.g. 'think', 'remember', 'know'), the presence of these two complementizers is optional. This optionality is indicated in parentheses in the above examples. Apparently, there is no difference in meaning between the (a) and (b) sentences in 1 or the (a) and (b) sentences in 2. In §5 we shall see, on the other hand, that after verbs of perception (such as 'see' and 'hear'), the presence versus absence of a complement zer serves an important semantic function, namely a modality function. But before we go to that discussion, I will trace in the next section the diachronic origin of the complementizer ii. I have no similar evidence about the sources for the complementizer na.

4. SOURCES FOR THE COMPLEMENTIZER II: FROM ANAPHORA TO COMPLEMENTIZER. It is a well-documented fact that in many languages of the world complementizers are identical to, or are diachronically derived from, demonstrative or anaphoric pronouns. In this section, I will show how the origin of one complementizer in Bolanci, namely  $i\hat{i}$ , is traceable to anaphoric pronouns.

In the following pair of examples, the anaphoric pronoun ii ('it') in the second clause of each

sentence refers back to the NP antecedent in the first clause.

dinko-naa tii-wo ii. 3.F.SG.NOM cooked-1.SG.ACC food. 1.SG.NOM eat-PERF it 'She cooked some food for me. I ate it.'

(4) isin loori. innaa-wo ii. **q**oักันน 3.M.SG.NOM bought truck. 1.SG.NOM see-PERF 'He bought a truck. I saw it.'

In 3, the antecedent of ii is the noun phrase wotto. In 4, the antecedent of ii is the noun phrase loori. The anaphora ii and its antecedent are both direct objects of their respective verbs. The anaphora ii can also refer to a whole proposition, as can be seen in the following set:

(5) a. isin poyyuu wokka. 3.M.SG.NOM broke calabash 'He broke the calabash.'

> mono ii. 1.SG.NOM know that 'I know that.'

konnaa-wo ii. 1.SG.NOM hear-PERF that 'I heard that.'

In 5b and 5c, ii, the direct object of the verbs mono and konnaawo, substitutes for the whole proposition of 5a, 'He broke the calabash'. In 7a below, the whole of the sentence in 6 is embedded as the direct object complement clause of the verb poro.

(6) anbara. 3.M.SG.NOM hunter 'He is a hunter.'

isin anhara 3.M.SG.NOM said 3.M.SG.NOM hunter 'He said he is a hunter.'

isin poro ii. 3.M.SG.NOM said that 'He said that.'

In 7b, the anaphoric pronoun ii stands for the whole of the proposition in 6, 'He is a hunter'. Example 8 shows the last step in the evolution of the pronoun ii into a complementizer. Example 8 is identical to 7a except in the presence of the optional complementizer ii. There is no difference in meaning between 7a and 8.

anbara. isin 3.M.SG.NOM said COMP 3.M.SG.NOM hunter 'He said that he is a hunter.'

Unlike the demonstrative 'that' in English, ii has no deictic functions. Thus, one cannot use it to point to some extralinguistic situation. Its function is limited to an NP or propositional anaphora, as the previous examples illustrate. The deictic pronouns in Bolanci are ama (remote) and eme (proximate):

(9) rewe ama tree that tree' (10) rewe eme

tree this tree'

The fact that the anaphoric pronoun *ii*, which only refers to elements mentioned in speech (de dicto elements) rather than to elements in the real world (de re elements), does not have a deictic function is evinced by the ungrammaticality of the string in 11:

(11) \*rewe ii for: 'this/that tree'

Conversely, deictic pronouns, such as those in 9 and 10, cannot refer to elements in the domain of speech, as the ungrammaticality of the example in 12 demonstrates; cf. 13.

(12) \*isin poro ama/eme for. 'He said that/this'

(13) isin poro ii. 3.M.SG.NOM said that 'He said that.'

The only circumstance under which 12 can be felicitous is with an interpretation like 'He said (the word) amaleme'.

The examples in 3 through 8 above show how ii has evolved from an NP anaphora to a propositional anaphora and finally into a complementizer. The morpheme ii has all these three functions in the synchronic state of Bolanci.

Although I cannot show any motivation for it, another possible alternative for the development of the anaphoric pronoun *ii* into a complementizer may be seen in the following set, where *ii*, the direct object cataphora of the verb *poro* 'say' in 16, may have been reinterpreted later as a complementizer in 15:

- (14) isin poro ii: isin anbara.
  3.M.SG.NOM said that: 3.M.SG.NOM hunter
  'He said that: He is a hunter.'
- (15) isin poro ii isin anbara.

  3.M.SG.NOM said COMP 3.M.SG.NOM hunter

  'He said that he is a hunter.'

According to Frajzyngier 1991, Lockwood 1968 proposes for Germanic that the demonstrative was first the direct object of the verb 'say' and then later became a constituent of the embedded clause, becoming thus a complementizer. Thus, the complementizer at in 17 is derived from the demonstrative tao in 16. The examples are from Faroese (cited in Frajzyngier 1991):

- (16) Eg sigi tað: hann kemur.
  'I sav that: he comes.'
- (17) Eg sigi at hann kemur. 'I say that he comes.'

Frajzyngier criticizes this proposed path of demonstrative—complementizer evolution for Germanic on the grounds that it is unmotivated: It is not clear why there should be a demonstrative in the direct object position in 16. This criticism only partially applies to my parallel example in 14 because, as we have seen in 7b for example, the anaphora ii quite often occurs in the object position of verbs of saying. Where 14 is unmotivated lies in the observation that unlike in 7b, where ii is a true anaphora (i.e. coming after its antecedent in speech), in 14 ii is a cataphora preceding its antecedent. We have not seen in any of the examples above an instance where ii has a cataphoric function. In fact, I do not have examples in my corpus of ii functioning as a cataphora, and I believe that such examples cannot be found in a synchronic study of Bolanci.

Before moving on to the next section, I will briefly mention how Schuh 1983a, who is not concerned with complementation, treats the morpheme ii. In Schuh 1983a, ii is treated as a transitive verb suffix (-ii; allomorph: -yii) occurring after the perfective marker and whose function is to mark the "understood direct object" (p. 32). He calls it a zero direct object marker. The following examples are modified from Schuh (1983:38):

(18) a. (isin) doppi-nii-woo.
(3.M.SG.NOM) follow-3.M.SG.ACC-PERF
'He followed him.'
b. (isin) doppuu kom.
(3.M.SG.NOM) followed cow
'He followed the cow.'
c. (isin) doppu-woo-yii.
(3.M.SG.NOM) follow-PERF-ø obj. marker
'He followed (it).'

The optionality of the subject pronoun and the different forms of the transitive verb stem doppuu 'follow' are not relevant for our discussion. What is important about these examples is that when the direct object of the verb is overly mentioned, as in 18a and 18b, the  $\emptyset$  direct object marker (-yii) does not appear. That is to say, an overt direct object preempts -yii. On the other hand, when there is no overt direct object (i.e. when there is zero direct object), as in 18c, the  $\emptyset$  direct object marker -yii appears, and its position is at the end of the verb complex after the perfective marker. It will be noticed that these facts about 18c in connection with -yii (my ii) are quite parallel to the second clause complexes in my examples 3 and 4. In other words, in regards to the status of the morpheme ii, Schuh's and my analyses are not discrepant with each other, but rather that my analysis takes the further step of showing how this  $\emptyset$  object marker came to be interpreted as an anaphora and (later) as a complementizer.

5. THE FUNCTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS. Frajzyngier 1991 finds the complementizer n = n in Mupun (Chadic) to have similarly evolved from an anaphora. He also shows that when it occurs after verbs of saying and after verbs denoting mental activities, the complementizer n = n carries no modal function. This is completely true for the two Bolanci complementizers as well. In the following set of examples no modality is expressed in any of the sentences:

(19)Шa а. poro isin karuu kom. b. ita poro na isin karuu kom. 3.F.SG.NOM said COMP 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered cow 'She said that he slaughtered a cow.' (20)a. mono ii isin anbara. mono na isin anbara. 3.F.SG.NOM know COMP 3.M.SG.NOM hunter 'She knows that he is a hunter.' (21)a. isin kono ii iта ndii gaa gomaa nzono. isin kono na ndii gaa gomaa nzono. 3.M.SG think COMP 3.F.SG went PREP market yesterday 'He thinks that she went to the market yesterday.' a. n tunnaa-wo îi isin saa taaba.

tunnaa-wo

b. n

ii and næ 'I remembered that he smoked tobacco.' ollowing Frajzyngier 1991, it appears that the function of both complementizers it and na is to nark the embedded clause as belonging to the domain of speech (domain de dicto in Frajzyngier's erminology). This is true by virtue of the fact that these complementizers follow verbs of saying. hese complementizers do not carry any information about the epistemic value of the embedded

na

1.SG.NOM remember-PERF COMP 3.M.SG.NOM smoke tobacco

isin

saa

taaba.

lause when occurring after a verb of saying. However, since these complementizers are ssociated with complements of verbs of saying, which have an inherent epistemic value, such that ne information obtained through speech (hearsay) is less reliable than information obtained arough direct perception, their use with verbs of perception ('see', 'hear') functions as an adication of less than direct evidence. When either  $\ddot{u}$  or na occurs after a verb of perception, they

em to function as markers of indirect evidence. Wimess the following examples:

(**Ž**3) a. n konnaa-wo ii isin karuu kom. Awad: b. n konnaa-wo na isin karuu kom. 1.SG.NOM hear-PERF COMP 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered 'I heard that he slaughtered a cow.' konnaa-nii-wo karuu 1.SG.NOM hear-3.M.SG.ACC-PERF slaughtered 'I heard him slaughter a cow.'

23a and 23b, the subject did not actually hear the event or action of slaughtering; his evidence is direct -- hearsay. In 24, on the other hand, the subject witnessed the event firsthand. The vidence for these claims is that it is possible to felicitously precede (or follow) 24 with 25, but it is ot possible to do so with 23.

lookaši laa boi boo bin REL 1.SG.NOM stand PREP time back mouth room 'when I was standing behind the door'

he native consultant dismissed as semantically dubious the sentence in 23 when preceded or llowed by 25. In this situation, the translation he rendered for this string was 'When I was anding behind the door I heard him that he slaughtered a cow', and when prompted to repeat the anslation, he rendered 'When I was standing behind the door I heard him SAY that he slaughtered cow'. While these renditions are a little odd upon analogy with similar sentences, they reinforce

the claim that the subject in 23 does not actually hear the event or action of slaughtering but rather hears ABOUT it. Similarly, 23 can be felicitously followed by the string in 26, while 24 cannot.

inko ayša por-naa-wo because Aysha tell-1.SG.ACC-PERF 'because Aysha told me (so)'

While it is true that when either ii or na occurs after a verb of perception they indicate that the evidence for the information expressed in the embedded clause is indirect, as in 23, their absence per se does not necessarily mean that the evidence is direct. Witness the following example, which, except for the absence of the complementizers, is identical to 23. Examples 23 and 27 have the same meaning. In 27, the evidence for the event of slaughtering is also indirect - hearsay:

karuu kom. (27)n konnaa-wo isin kom. konnaa-wo isin karuu 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered cow 1.SG.NOM hear-PERF 'I heard that he slaughtered a cow.'

In addition, the presence versus absence of the complementizer in 28 below apparently does not bear on the meaning of the sentence. Note, however, the spontaneous use of 'realized' in the translation of 28, an inference (indirect evidence) verb by definition.

kom. n innaa-wo isin karuu (na) kom. karuu isin n innaa-wo (COMP) 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered cow I see-PERF 'I realized that he slaughtered a cow.

The absence of a complementizer in 24 seems to be a by-product of the process of subject-toobject raising: The subject of the embedded clause in 24 is raised to object position in the main clause. Notice that the syntactic structures in 24, on the one hand, and 23, 27, and 28, on the other, are different. In 24, the embedded clause has no overt subject, and in the main clause the direct object is -nii (3.M.SG.ACC), suffixed onto the verb. In contrast, in 23, 27, and 28 there is no NP direct object (the direct object is the whole of the embedded clause -- the sentential complement), and the embedded clauses all have overt subjects (isin). That subject-to-object raising has operated in 24 is evinced by the fact that a sentence cannot have both a direct object in the main clause and a subject in the embedded clause, hence the ungrammaticality of the following

(29)\*n konnaa-nii-wo (ii) isin karuu kom \*n konnaa-nii-wo (na) isin karuu kom

for: 'I heard him slaughter a cow' or 'I heard that he slaughtered a cow.'

\*n innaa-nii-wo (na) isin karuu kom (30)\*n innaa-nii-wo (ii) isin kanuu kom

for: 'I saw him slaughter a cow' or 'I saw that he slaughtered a cow.'

\*n innaa-wo yusup isin karuu kom (31) for: 'I saw Yusup slaughter a cow' or 'I saw that Yusup slaughtered a cow.'

\*n innaa-nii-wo yusup karuu kom (32)for: 'I saw Yusup slaughter a cow' or 'I saw that Yusup slaughtered a cow.' (33)\*n innaa-nii-wo isin karuu kom for: 'I saw him him slaughter a cow' or 'I saw that he slaughtered a cow,'

It is interesting to note that on a different occasion the consultant admitted the strings in 29 only if interpreted as 'I heard from him that he slaughtered a cow' or 'I heard him SAY that he slaughtered a cow'. I think that it is no accident that 29 and 23 were interpreted as having the verb 'say', even when in fact these sentences do not contain this verb. This observation further reinforces the claim that the primary function of the two complementizers in Bolanci is to mark the embedded clause as belonging to the domain of speech. These facts provide additional support for Frajzyngier 1991, who reports on a similar phenomenon involving Mupun.

The verb 'see' behaves similarly to the verb 'hear'. Direct evidence involving the verb 'see' is also indicated by a structure of subject-to-object raising:

- innaa-nii-wo (34) n karını kom. 1.SG.NOM see-3.M.SG.ACC-PERF slaughtered COW 'I saw him slaughter a cow.'
- innaa-wo anbara karuu kom. 1.SG.NOM see-PERF hunter slaughter 'I saw the hunter slaughter a cow.'

The evidence that the subject of the matrix verb in 34 and 35 actually saw the cow being slaughtered is the fact that both 34 and 35 can felicitously be followed by the string in 36:

(36)inko because 1.SG.NOM PREP 3.M.SG.NOM 'because I was with him'

Example 35 is the first instance we have so far of a raised-to-object nominal NP. The test for whether the NP anbara is in fact a constituent of the main clause is complementizer insertion. The complementizers ii or na can only be inserted before anbara in 35, never after it. We conclude that subject-to-object raising cannot coincide with the presence of the complementizer.

(37) \*n innaa-wo anbara ii/na karuu kom for: 'I saw the hunter slaughter a cow' or 'I saw that the hunter slaughtered a cow.'

These additional ungrammatical strings illustrate the same point, namely that raising cannot coincide with complementizer presence:

- \*ita konnaa-nii-wo iiina karuu kom for: 'She heard him slaughter a cow' or 'She heard that he slaughtered a cow.'
- \*ita innaa-nii-wo ii/na karuu kom for: 'She saw him slaughter a cow' or 'She saw that he slaughtered a cow.'

On the other hand, if anbara is analyzed as a constituent of the embedded clause (its subject), we would expect that the complemenizer may grammatically precede it. This is in fact the case, as can be seen in 40, but with an important difference in meaning from 35:

kom. (40)ii/na anbara karuu innaa-wo hunter slaughter cow 1.SG.NOM see-PERF 'I saw that the hunter slaughtered a cow.'

When contrasted with 35, example 40 clearly shows the function of the complementizer: In 40, the complementizer functions as the sole marker of indirect evidence.

One may conclude from the preceding discussion that for verbs of perception, direct evidence is indicated by the structure of subject-to-object raising, with the concomitant absence of a complementizer, while indirect evidence, at least for the sentences containing a nominal NP after the main verb -- which is ambiguous between a matrix object and embedded subject interpretation -- is indicated by the presence of the complementizer. Clearly, for 28 we do not want to say that the complementizer functions as the marker of indirect evidence since the presence of the complementizer in that example is optional. On the other hand, that sentence has the unambiguous nominative pronoun isin, which can only be interpreted as the subject of the embedded clause.

- 6. AN OPEN PROBLEM: TWO COMPLEMENTIZERS IN A SEQUENCE. In my corpus, there exist a lot of examples of complex sentences where both complementizers ii and na occur in a sequence. The following are just a sample:
  - kom. isin karuu (41) ita mono ii na1.F.SG.NOM know COMP COMP 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered cow 'She knows that he slaughtered a cow.'
  - kom. konnaa-wo ii na isin 1.SG.NOM hear-PERF COMP COMP 3.M.SG.NOM slaughtered cow 'I heard that he slaughtered a cow.'

When the two complementizers occur in a sequence ii always precedes na. Thus, the following strings are ungrammatical:

- isin karuu kom \*ita mono na ii
- \*n konnaa-wo na ii isin karuu kom

I was unable to detect any difference in meaning between any of the following sentences, all of which are attested. All four sentences mean 'She knows that he slaughtered a cow'.

- ita mono isin karuu kom.
- (46)ita mono ii isin karuu kom.
- (47) ita mono na isin karuu kom.
- ita mono ii na isin karuu kom.

Whenever the two complementizers occur in a sequence, regardless of whether the main clause verb is a verb of saying or a verb of perception, it is possible to eliminate at least one of the two complementizers with apparently no difference in meaning. This situation runs counter are recent functional literature on complementizers. For example, Frajzyngier 1992 provides evidence from other languages, including Chadic languages, that complementizers are closely linked with other modality markers in the complex sentence. Specifically, complementizers are in complementary distribution with other modality markers in the sentence. Therefore, it would be expected that one versus two complementizers in a sentence should result in a (modality) meaning difference. I was unable to confirm this prediction for my sentences, however.

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7. CONCLUSIONS. In §4, I provided some evidence on the derivation of the complementizer ii from anaphoric pronouns. In the synchronic state of Bolanci, the morpheme ii has at least two functions, as an NP or propositional anaphora and as a complementizer. This dual (or triple) function may suggest that the status of this morpheme is in transition. In §5, I showed that after verbs of saving, the primary function for the complementizers is to mark the embedded clause as belonging to the domain of speech (de dicto). Unlike in some other languages, e.g. Lele (Chadic, reported in Frajzyngier 1992), where one complementizer functions as a marker of de dicto (and indirect evidence) and another complementizer as a marker of de re (direct evidence), in Bolanci both complementizers seem to function as markers of de dicto. De re (direct evidence) is marked by the obligatory absence of the complementizer. In Bolanci, the presence of a complementizer after a verb of perception indicates that the evidence for the event described in the sentence is indirect or inferred. The absence of the complementizer and the concomitant change in the structure of the sentence (subject-to-object raising) indicate that the evidence is direct. Further investigation is needed into the function of the two complementizers in a sequence.

NOTES

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∃ ¹Other names for this language are Bole and Bolewa.

<sup>2</sup>Bolanci is a tone language. To the best of my knowledge, the fact that I have not transcribed tone here does not affect the analysis or conclusions of this study. As far as I am aware tone does not bear on the question of sentential complementation.

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