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# The use of manner demonstratives in discourse: A contrastive study of Wan (Mande) and Kambaata (Cushitic)

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*This chapter compares manner demonstratives in two unrelated African languages, Kambaata (Cushitic, Ethiopia) and Wan (Mande, Côte d'Ivoire). Both languages have specialized manner demonstratives yet differ strikingly in their typological profile and in the way the manner demonstratives behave syntactically. Through systematic comparison of data from both languages, similarities, which are likely due to common semantic mechanisms of meaning extension, and differences, which are likely due to structural differences between the languages, are identified. It is argued that, despite the shared core meanings, manner demonstratives belong to different syntactic classes in Kambaata and in Wan. The difference in syntactic category helps account for the striking dissimilarities in the range of attested extended uses.*

## 1. Introduction

Manner demonstratives are deictic expressions that identify a way of carrying out an event or the extent to which a property holds, as observed in the speech situation (exophoric use) or expressed in the preceding discourse (endophoric anaphoric use). Manner demonstratives are generally assumed to be adverbs (cf. Diessel 1999:

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74). We take as our starting point a semantic definition of “manner demonstrative”, since as we will see, the syntactic category to which they belong in different languages may vary. Despite a recent increase of interest in manner demonstratives on the part of the typological community (e.g. Guérin 2015, König 2017, König & Umbach 2018), they remain poorly studied even in well-described languages. The ways they function in discourse, in particular, remain critically underexplored, so that the few existing studies focusing on their grammaticalization (e.g. König 2015) are still dissociated from synchronic corpus-based studies of new and emergent usage.<sup>1</sup>

This study is a contrastive description of the use of manner demonstratives in two unrelated African languages, Kambaata (Cushitic, Ethiopia) and Wan (Mande, Côte d’Ivoire). We chose to compare these two languages, since they both have specialized manner demonstratives yet differ strikingly in their typological profile and in the way the manner demonstratives behave syntactically. Through systematic comparison of data from Kambaata and Wan we hope to identify similarities (which are likely due to common semantic mechanisms of meaning extension) and differences (which are likely due to structural differences between the languages), and to address the challenge of accounting for these similarities and differences within the same model.

We first discuss and classify the common uses attested in both languages (§2); these uses, we argue, correspond to the “core” meanings of manner demonstratives, which we predict to cluster in other languages as well. We then turn to differences in the ways manner demonstratives behave syntactically in the two languages. We argue that despite their close semantic similarity, manner demonstratives belong to different syntactic classes in Kambaata and in Wan (§3). The difference in syntactic category helps us account for the striking dissimilarities in the range of attested extended uses. We use a semantic map approach to model the differences, and end with a brief discussion of the study’s methodological and theoretical

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<sup>1</sup>

Notable exceptions include König & Nishina (2015) on Japanese, Shor (2018) on Hebrew *kaḥa*, Karssenbergh & Lahousse (2018) on French *ainsi*, and Keevallik (e.g. 2005, 2010) on Estonian.

implications (§4).

## 2. Same core uses

### 2.1. Contextually salient manner and represented speech

Manner demonstratives of Kambaata and Wan are characterized by strikingly similar core uses. They occur most frequently in two types of context, indexing either contextually salient manner or instances of represented speech.

Contextually salient manner can be inherent in the current speech situation, as in (1a) and (1b), or it may be suggested by an accompanying gesture, as in (2a) and (2b). Both uses are deictic: in order to interpret the manner to which the demonstrative refers it is important to observe the situation in which they were uttered. In (1a), the manner demonstrative refers to the way the addressee is acting. In (1b), it indexes the looks of the child present at the site where the sentence is uttered.<sup>2</sup>

#### (1) Manner inherent in the current speech situation

##### a. Kambaata

*Lankii harabas-á hitt-ita torr-itókkoot!*

again dirt-M.ACC like\_this[1]-F.ACC throw-2F.APPR

(Speaker sees addressee dropping dirt in the front yard and tells her off:) ‘Don’t throw the dirt away again **like this!**’

[written]

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<sup>2</sup>

All Wan examples are from a corpus of spontaneous oral data (consisting mostly of narratives). The Kambaata examples are from three different types of source: spontaneous oral data (indicated as: [oral]), local written publications (indicated as: [written]) and from elicitation (indicated as: [elicited]). In the data collection, direct translation elicitation was generally avoided. Instead speakers were asked to come up with near-natural mock dialogues for situations that were laid out by the researcher. Additional elicitations were made on the basis of examples attested in recordings, written text data and mock dialogues.

b. Wan

*àà bāā nē é kēé wà, bāā nē é zìèzìè yā kēé wà*  
INTJ LOG+ALN child DEF like\_this not LOG+ALN child DEF  
ugly with like\_this not  
'Oh, my child is not like this, my child is not ugly **like this.**'

In (2a) and (2b), the relevant manner is represented by a gesture, so that in order to interpret the manner demonstrative, the listener needs access to the accompanying visual information.

(2) Manner suggested by an accompanying gesture

a. Kambaata

*Hitt-íta ass-í fann-óomm*  
like\_this[1]-F.ACC do-1S.PCO open-1S.PFV  
(Speaker demonstrates his opening technique:) 'I opened it **like this.**' [elicited]

b. Wan

*è é ɔ̃ wō kēé*  
3SG REFL hand did like\_this  
'He made a gesture with his hand **like this.**'

In addition to pointing to a contextually salient manner, the same markers can also be used to refer to a following instance of reported speech. Unlike in (1) and (2), the context in which the manner demonstrative is interpreted in (3) is non-concomitant with the demonstrative's utterance. Unlike the accompanying gesture, representation of speech necessarily follows the use of the demonstrative in time, so this use could be treated, strictly speaking, as discourse-cataphoric. Yet that difference seems to derive directly from the fact that gestural representation relies on the multimodal potential of oral discourse, which is unavailable in the case of representation of speech, for rather technical reasons.

(3) Reference to represented speech

a. Kambaata

*Ká-s haar-óo xah-á dagg-oommí-i shool-kí bar-é gassim-á*  
*ées hitt-íta y-itoonté- 'e-ta j-éechch-u*  
A\_DEM1.M.ACC-DEF new-M.ACC thing-M.ACC know-  
1S.PFV.REL-NMZ1.M.NOM four-ORD day-M.GEN morning-  
M.ACC 1S.ACC like\_this[1]-F.ACC say-2S.PFV-1S.O.REL-  
F.COP2 time-SG-M.PRED

‘I came to know that new detail on the morning of the fourth day, when you said to me **like this** ...’ [followed by a direct quote] [written]

b. Wan

*bé mɔ́ŋ zō bé mɔ́ŋ gé é dè lèŋ kɛ́é bé à dè gé ɔ́ŋ lèŋ kɛ́é*  
 then LOG.PL came then LOG.PL said REFL father to like\_this  
 then 3SG father said 3PL to like\_this  
 ‘And they came to their father and said **like this**, and their father said **like this** ...’ [followed by a representation of their interaction with the father, by means of a dialogue.]

Both the salient manner and the represented speech use have discourse-anaphoric equivalents, where the demonstrative refers to a description in the preceding discourse, rather than to the concomitant situation or a following speech representation. In (4), the relevant manner is suggested by a preceding description; the description can be concise or potentially comprise an entire portion of the preceding narrative.

(4) Anaphoric reference to previously described manner

a. Kambaata

*Tah-íchch-u dango hitt-íta afuu'll-it zug-gáni-yan waall-ó=da (...)*  
 fly-SG-M.NOM suddenly like\_this[1]-F.ACC sit-3F.PCO  
 lie\_in\_ambush-3F.ICO-DS come-3M.PFV.REL=COND  
 ‘When a fly comes suddenly while it (lit. she = the chameleon) is lying (lit. sitting) in ambush **like this** (...).’  
 (= in a way previously described, i.e. without moving, apart from its eyes going up, down, left, right) [oral]

b. Wan

*bé ɔ́ŋ màŋ yì é bō, ké ɔ́ŋ dī kɛ́é lèŋ kɛ́é ...*  
 then 3PL rice water DEF served if 3PL+3SG offer that to like\_this  
 ‘And they served the rice water, and when they offered it to someone **like this** ...’ (= in a way previously described, i.e. boiling hot, brought directly to the lips)

The demonstratives can also refer back to a preceding representation

of speech, as in (5).

(5) Anaphoric reference to preceding representation of speech

a. Kambaata

(...) *ées áchche hittig-úta y-ee- 'é j-áata iyy-áqq-u- ' góoff*  
*fájj-o*

1S.ACC then like\_this[2]-F.ACC say-1S.PFV-1S.O.REL time-  
F.ACC carry-MID-M.NOM-1S.POSS finish.3M.PCO  
do\_completely-3M.PFV

'Then when he said **like this** (= as quoted in the preceding  
discourse) to me, (...) my patience was exhausted.'  
[written]

b. Wan

*6é kōlē nē é wō é gbè lè kēé*

then man DIMIN DEF did REFL manner on like\_this

'And the old man acted **in this way** (= as she has said).'

As seen in the preceding examples, Kambaata has two manner demonstratives, *hittíta* and *hittigúta*, glossed like\_this[1] (see ex. 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a) and like\_this[2] (see ex. 5a), respectively. Both are morphologically transparent: they consist of a simple or extended demonstrative base *hitt-* / *hittig-* plus a portmanteau morpheme of feminine gender and an adverbial case, i.e. either the accusative,<sup>3</sup> the instrumental or the oblique case (see Treis (2019) for details on the morphology). Diachronically, the extended stem *hittig-* is the result of a merger of a demonstrative and a simulative morpheme \*-g 'like'. The two manner demonstratives, *hittíta* and *hittigúta*, are interchangeable in the context of the core uses described above.

Table 1 summarizes the uses of the manner demonstratives described in this section, with reference to the relevant examples. All four types of use are widely attested in Kambaata and in Wan, forming the "core" of the manner demonstrative category. The close similarity of these uses in two unrelated languages suggests that the category may

3

The accusative case is the case of direct objects but also of adverbial constituents in Kambaata, see e.g. (3a) in which *xah-á* 'thing' is the accusative-marked direct object of *dag-* 'know' and *gassim-á* 'morning' an accusative marked noun in adverbial function.

be cross-linguistically relevant.

	Grounded in the current speech situation	Anaphoric
Contextually salient use	(1), (2)	(4)
Reference to represented speech	(3)	(5)

*Table 1: Core uses of manner demonstratives in Kambaata and in Wan*

## 2.2. The “just so” implicature

Besides the core functions discussed in §2.1, both languages display a surprisingly similar range of uses that we believe is derived by a common mechanism of Gricean implicature (Grice 1975). Suppose that the manner demonstrative is uttered in the absence of any contextually salient indication of manner. If the listener assumes that the speaker is being cooperative, she would be led to believe that by referring to manner when no particular circumstances are suggested by context, the speaker implies that the event involved *no* circumstances that are worth mentioning. This could imply, for example, that an action that is usually performed for a particular reason was in this particular case performed for no reason at all (“just so”), or perhaps an event normally involving a long preparatory stage in this particular case happened without any preparation.

The ‘just so’ interpretation resulting from this implicature can differ in detail, as the circumstances expected to accompany the event may vary. Hence, different kinds of expected circumstance may be assumed to be lacking, depending on the type of situation described. This variation is illustrated below starting with a very general interpretation in (6). Note for Kambaata that only one of its two



manner demonstratives can be used with a ‘just so’ interpretation.

(6)

a. Kambaata

*Út-u-s má-ma kaa'll-áno-a-la?* –

thorn-M.NOM-DEF what-CF help-3M.IPV.REL-M.COP2-PRAG1

*Ut-á hitt-ínta le'-is-sáa bagáan mexx-u=rr-á-a kaa'll-*

*umb-ó-ssa-a*

thorn-M.ACC like\_this[1]-F.ACC<N> grow-CAUS1-3F.IPV but

single-M.ACC=NMZ4-M.ACC-ADD help-3M.NEG5-M.PRED-

3P.O-M.COP2

[Speaker A:] ‘Then *what* are the thorns good for?’ –

[Speaker B:] ‘They (= roses) grow them **like this** (= just like this, without a reason), (the thorns) are of no use for them.’ [elicited]

b. Wan

*à bò kēé*

3SG leave like\_this

‘Leave it **like this**.’ (= Do not follow up on it; do not do anything special about it.)

Different aspects of the situation are interpreted as involving only the minimal circumstances, depending on what is most relevant for the particular type of event in a given context. In (6a) above, in the context of a question concerning the use of the thorns, the answer implies that there is no particular use associated with their growth. In (6b), the situation is taken to involve no particular circumstances in very general terms, and ‘just so’ can be interpreted as referring to very different possible types of follow-up, depending on what is seen as most relevant in the given context (in the context of a conflict, it may suggest that no retaliation should follow; in the context of leaving a room it may describe leaving the door open, etc.).

In (7), the situation is understood to come about without the expected preparatory stage: in (7a), no customary food preparations precede the event of visiting; in (7b), the arrival of the intruders is described as sudden, unforeseen, with nothing warning the the villagers of their

approach.

(7)

a. Kambaata

*Hitt-inta mar-áammi-ndo, mexx-u=rr-á qixx-an-s-u'nnáan?*

like\_this[1]-F.ACC<N> go-1S.IPV-Q single-M.ACC=NMZ4-M.ACC be\_ready-PASS-CAUS1-1S.NEG4

(The daughter asks the mother whether she is about to visit the circumcised boy. The mother answers:) '(Do you expect that) I go **like this**, without having prepared anything (to take along)?' [elicited]

b. Wan

*m̃ m̃ é η zò à η blá kà tã kégé cáá*

people PL DEF PERF come 3PL PERF come\_out 1PL.INCL on like\_this QUOT

'[saying:] these people arrived, they just came out at us **like this**' (= suddenly, without warning)

In (8), where a buying event is concerned, the relevant circumstances are taken to be the price (as suggested directly by Speaker A's question). Hence, the absence of relevant circumstances is interpreted as implying that contrary to Speaker A's expectation, no payment was involved.

(8) Kambaata

*Me'-lin hi'rr-iti-la? –*

how\_much-F.ICP buy<MID>-2F.PCO-PRAG1

*Hitt-inta aass-ée-'e*

like\_this[1]-F.ACC<N> give-3M.PFV-1S.O

[Speaker A:] 'For how much did you buy it?' – [Speaker B:] 'He gave it to me **like this** (= for free).' [elicited]

In (9), the discussion centers on an event of arrival: Speaker A asks Speaker B if upon their arrival, they brought with them a particular object. The absence of relevant circumstances is most naturally interpreted in this context as implying that there was no accompanying bringing event involved, i.e. even though Speaker B did arrive, the

additional event of bringing was not there to talk about.

(9) Kambaata

*Ber-e- 'ée=bii éeb-bi-ndo? –*  
yesterday-F.GEN-ASC.F.GEN=NMZ2.M.ACC bring-2F.PCO-Q  
*Kám-be, hitt-ínta-be orbá' waall-oommii. Mánn-unk-u-s*  
*yóo-ba'a*  
INTJ-PRAG5 like\_this[1]-F.ACC<N>-PRAG5  
face\_difficulties.1S.PCO come-1S.PFV.REL.VV people-  
M.NOM<N>-DEF COP1.3-NEG1  
[Speaker A:] 'Have you brought yesterday's thing?' –  
[Speaker B (disappointed):] 'Far from it! I faced  
difficulties and came back **like this** (= empty-handed, I  
went there in vain). The people (I wanted to meet) where  
not around.' [elicited]

In (10), the relevant event is that of hosting a bride at her in-laws' place. The circumstances that are taken as salient, in the context of this particular story, is whether she slept by herself. The use of the manner demonstrative, without any suggested special manner, implies that no special circumstances could be mentioned, i.e. the bride was left in a separate room with no one accompanying her.

(10) Wan

*bé trē gó bō à m̄, àṇ lē yí tē á kū é pāṇ dō lé kēé*  
then night inside arrived 3SG PRT 3PL woman sleep kill  
ADJ.FOC house DEF side one at like\_this  
'And when the night came, they put the woman to sleep in  
a room in the house **like this** (= all by herself).'

Finally, in (11), the situation of yams staying in granaries without any special circumstances is interpreted, in context, as a situation where the yams did not receive proper treatment, and became spoiled.

(11) Wan

*bé à pā yrē ló yā pí wà gē bé gāṇ mù é bō gōṇ wā kēé*  
then 3PL could work do PPS still not PRT then yams PL DEF  
stayed granary under like\_this  
'They could no longer work, and the yams stayed in the  
granaries **like this** (= rotting away).'

The selection of the examples above illustrates the flexibility of the 'just so' interpretation when it comes to determining which aspect of the situation is described as reduced in accompanying circumstances. It is not possible to assign any specific meaning to the manner

demonstrative that would fit all such contextual uses. Instead, we believe that the particular interpretation is derived for each use according to the type of event described and the larger context. The mechanism by which the specific meaning is derived is grounded in Gricean principles of relevance and quantity: if the speaker refers to the manner in which the event was realized without suggesting that any special circumstances were involved, they most likely imply that the expected circumstances were absent or significantly reduced.

We leave aside the question of more precise characterization of the nature of the ‘just so’ interpretation. An approach that seems promising involves treating manner demonstratives as functions evoking contextually salient alternatives in the domain of manner, along the lines suggested by Eckardt (2001) for German intensifying *selbst*. On such an approach, the ‘just so’ interpretation could be related to the contextual choice of the most salient aspects of the situation, roughly corresponding to expected answers to the question “How instead (did it happen)?”. Just as the answer to this question may vary depending on situation type, the ‘just so’ interpretation evokes different kinds of circumstances normally associated with the event.

This line of reasoning could perhaps explain the otherwise puzzling relationship of the Kambaata ‘just so’ demonstrative use with focus: the ‘just so’ reading involves a focus-related *n*-morpheme (glossed N in the examples above). On the other hand, the alternative-based approach would run into difficulties explaining the rather specific meaning manner demonstratives receive in the particular examples: rather than implying any kind of surprising manner, as one would expect on the focus-based account, they suggest consistently the *absence* of any particular manner or circumstances with respect to a contextually salient aspect of the situation. This specific reading suggests that the ‘just so’ interpretation may be closer to the *assistive* reading of German *selbst*: ‘by oneself, rather than with the help of others’. This reading does not fit very well with its focus and intensifying meanings, causing Eckardt to introduce for it a special ASSIST-function: the assistive version of *selbst* expresses “the *absence* of any person that stands in the ASSIST-relation to the event in question” (2001: 402). We believe that manner demonstratives show a similar interpretation in the domain of manner: as described above in very general Gricean terms, they signal the absence of any contextually relevant circumstances accompanying the event in question. We leave the formalization of that interpretation to future

### 3. Differences in extended uses explained by differences in syntax

#### 3.1. Adverbial vs. clause-final marker

Our main goal in this study is to argue that the ways new uses of a marker develop from its core use are intimately related to the marker's syntax. As syntactic behavior determines the word's collocational potential, even minor differences in syntactic category may lead to drastically different paths of development of semantically similar or identical markers. The differences in the use of manner demonstratives of Kambaata and Wan illustrate just that correlation. We would like to argue that the most important difference underlying the markers' different range of uses is syntactic. In Kambaata, manner demonstratives behave as adverbials, while in Wan, the manner demonstrative is a clause-final particle.

As shown in §2, Kambaata has two manner demonstratives, *hittíta* and *hittigúta*, glossed like\_this[1] and like\_this[2], respectively. In their core uses, they are placed in the pre-verbal position (see the examples above), usually immediately preceding the verb. In the corpus data there are a few examples in which they are separated from the verb by other adverbials (12a). They can also be used predicatively (12b), and they appear in all sorts of finite and non-finite constructions, including subordinate clauses with nominalizations, cf. its use in a relative clause in (12c), in a converb clause in (4a), and in adverbial clauses headed by *jeechchúta* 'time' in (5a). All these properties also

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<sup>4</sup>

We are grateful to Carla Umbach for suggesting to us the relevance of Eckardt's account.

characterize adverbs.

(12)

a. Kambaata

**Hittig-úta** *m-íi xawaaqq-itáyyoont, ko mán-ch-o?*  
like\_this[2]-F.ACC what-M.DAT speaker-2F.PROG 2S.VOC  
people-SG-M.OBL  
'Hey (my) man, why do you say **this** (lit. like this)?'  
[written]

b. Kambaata

(...) *hanaqal-í=g-u ikkodáa hittig-u-ta-ba'a*  
dish\_sp-M.GEN=way-M.NOM however like\_this[2]-F.PRED-  
F.COP2-NEG1  
'(...) but the preparation (lit. way) of the *hanqalú*-dish is  
not **like this**.' [oral]

c. Kambaata

**Hitt-íta** *xe'-áyyoo burtukaan-ú xuud-im-bá'a*  
like\_this[1]-F.ACC taste\_good-3M.PROG.REL orange-M.ACC  
see-1S.NIPV-NEG1  
'I have never seen oranges that taste **this good** (lit. taste  
good like this!') [elicited]

In Wan, the manner demonstrative is not morphologically transparent, and it behaves in a way that is strikingly different from the adverbial demonstratives of Kambaata. It can only occur in one position within the clause: in the clause-final position following all adverbials, as in (13).<sup>5</sup> Unlike adverbials, it cannot be fronted, and it cannot be used predicatively.

(13) Wan

*ké mɔ̃ɲ gāā klā tǎííí kēé gē ō mɔ̃ɲ zòɲ dī-ɲ à mī wá*  
if LOG.PL went behind always like\_this PRT PRT LOG.PL  
PROSP reach-PROSP 3SG at not  
'If we always go after him **like that**, we are not going to  
reach him.'

The manner demonstrative only occurs in Wan in finite clauses; it cannot occur with nominalizations. Characteristically, the same restriction applies to the use of the negation marker, which is also

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<sup>5</sup>

Like adverbials, it precedes the negation marker if there is one.

limited to the position at the end of a finite clause (Nikitina 2009: 923–924). It is explained by the fact that both negation markers and manner demonstratives attach at the IP-level in the clause structure (Nikitina 2008, 2019a). Due to that structural peculiarity, they can only appear in finite clauses, and not with nominalizations.

The manner demonstratives in Kambaata and in Wan differ in one more important respect. In Kambaata, manner demonstratives can occur by themselves, e.g. in answer fragments in a dialogue. Ex. (14a) illustrates the use of ‘it is like this’, a non-verbal predicate, as an affirmative answer synonymous to *āā* ‘yes’. In (14b), speaker B gives an answer fragment to A’s first question. No such use is available in Wan: while adverbials do commonly occur on their own in similar contexts, the manner demonstrative cannot appear by itself. This difference is consistent with the difference in syntactic category: unlike in Kambaata, the manner demonstrative in Wan is not an adverbial but a non-projecting particle, and it cannot occur on its own like lexical constituents.

(14)

a. Kambaata

*Mat-ú mat-lin usu ’rr-ám-u-a?* –  
 one-M.ACC one-M.ICP tie<MID>-PASS-M.PRED-M.COP2  
*Hittíg-u-ta*  
 like\_this[2]-F.PRED-F.COP2  
 Speaker A: ‘(Does it mean) to tie one to the other?’ –  
 Speaker B: ‘Yes (lit. It is like this).’ [written]

b. Kambaata

*Káan m-ií hír-teent? M-á ass-áno-he?* –  
 P\_DEM1.M.ACC what-M.DAT buy-2S.PRF what-M.ACC do-  
 3M.IPV-2S.O  
*Hitt-ínta*  
 like\_this[1]-F.ACC<N>  
 [Speaker A:] ‘Why did you buy this, what’s the use?’ –  
 [Speaker B:] ‘(I bought it just) like this (= without  
 considering its use).’ [elicited]

All in all, the unusual behavior of the manner demonstrative in Wan suggests that it is not an adverbial, as in Kambaata, but a non-projecting clause-final particle that shares a number of syntactic properties with the negation marker. Table 2 summarizes the different syntactic properties of the manner demonstratives of Kambaata and Wan. In the next sections we relate the syntactic difference to

differences in the demonstratives’ extended use, arguing that as the syntactic category defines the contexts where the marker appears, it ultimately determines the new meanings the marker develops over time.

	Kambaata: Adverbial	Wan: Clause-final particle
Position in the clause	Within the verb phrase, Clause-final only preceding the verb	
Finiteness restrictions	Appears in finite or non-finite clauses	Appears in finite clauses only
Independent use	Yes, e.g. as an answer fragment	No

Table 2: Differences in the syntactic behavior of manner demonstratives

### 3.2. Extended uses in Kambaata

There are three types of extended use of manner demonstratives in Kambaata that are not attested in Wan. All three depend on the adverbial status of the relevant markers.

First, the manner demonstrative in Kambaata shows a characteristic interactional use: in the context of a dialogue, one of the two demonstratives, *hittigúta* (like\_this[2]), can be used on its own as an affirmative answer (‘yes’) to the interlocutor’s question, as has been demonstrated in (14a). Since the manner demonstrative is an adverbial, it can naturally occur in constructions such as ‘It is like this’, where the manner demonstrative refers anaphorically to the state of affairs described in the previous utterance. In its interactional use it is marked as a non-verbal predicate. This use results in a conventionalized affirmative form ‘like this’, which may in time become a major interaction-structuring device.<sup>6</sup>

As mentioned in §3.1, no such use is attested in Wan, due to the

<sup>6</sup> A reviewer points out this use is very frequent cross-linguistically, citing examples such as Finnish *niin* ‘thus’, Hungarian *igen* (<*így* ‘so’), Easter Slavic e.g. Polish and Ukrainian *tak* ‘so’. A brief discussion of this use can be found in



difference in the manner demonstrative's syntactic status. Unlike adverbials, particles cannot be used predicatively in Wan. Neither do they project their own constituents that could be used by themselves as answer fragments. The difference from adverbials predicts that the interactional affirmative use could not develop in Wan.

Secondly, the form *hittigúta* (like\_this[2]) appears in Kambaata in coordination-like structures, with the meaning 'also, too, likewise'. On that use, it combines obligatorily with the focus marker *-n*. The coordinated constituents can be sentences or noun phrases (of any syntactic function) (15a)-(15b).

(15)

a. Kambaata

**Hittig-únta** *esáa mát-it fiit-íchch-ut hé'-ee-'e ikkeeráan*  
(...)

like\_this[2]-F.ACC<N> 1S.DAT one-F.NOM flowering\_plant-  
F.NOM exist-3M.PRF-1S.O IRR

(Preceding sentence: If I had, for instance, a silk scarf, I  
could wear it around my neck and walk around.) 'And (lit.  
like this) if I had a flowering plant, (...).' [written]

b. Kambaata

(...) *báar-uhu-u shambalál-uhu-u hittig-únta wól-u uull-á*  
*al-í wó'-u hór-unku-u móoll goof-áno*

sea-M.NOM-ADD lake-M.NOM-ADD like\_this[2]-F.ACC<N>  
other-M.NOM earth-F.GEN top-M.GEN water-M.NOM all-  
M.NOM<N>-ADD dry\_up.3M.PCO finish-3M.IPV

'(...) the sea, the lakes **and** (also) other (bodies of) water on  
the earth would all dry up.' [written]

We believe that the coordination-like uses derive from constructions with ellipsis. In the case of intersentential 'and, also' (15a), one could assume that a converb clause with a focused proposition-anaphoric manner demonstrative, lit. '(it) being (exactly) like this', was reduced to the extent that only the sentence-initial demonstrative *hittigúnta* was left. In the case of the NP-coordinating 'so' (15b), the development in Kambaata is likely to have proceeded as outlined for English *also* in König (2015: 44f). The manner demonstrative likely referred anaphorically to a preceding verbal or sentential constituent (cf. the manner demonstrative element *so* in *also*), and the two parallel

juxtaposed sentences were later simplified through the ellipsis of material that was shared, i.e. ‘The sea would dry up. In the same way other bodies of water would dry up.’ > ‘The sea in the same way (> also, and) other bodies of water would dry up’. The function of intersentential ‘and’ probably preceded the NP-coordinating ‘and’.

Thirdly, the combination of the manner demonstrative *hittíta* (or rather its reduced form *hitt*) and the 3m perfective converb form *ikk* of the verb *ih-* ‘become’ has fused and been lexicalized as an intersentential contrastive connective, *hitt=ikk* ‘but’ (lit. ‘having become so’). This use is illustrated in (16).

(16) Kambaata

***Hitt=ikk*** (...) *kasal-á-s hi'rr-i=ké' isí kuntaal-lichch íi kuntaal-áan wor-aammí j-áata kasal-i-sí mereer-óon ább-at ább-at háqq-it yoo 'i-i xuujj-óomm*

like\_this[1]=become.3M.PCO charcoal-M.ACC-3M.POSS  
buy<MID>-1S.PCO=SEQ 3M.GEN sack-M.ABL 1S.POSS sack-M.LOC put\_in-1S.IPV.REL time-F.ACC charcoal-M.GEN-3M.POSS interior-M.LOC big-F.NOM big-F.NOM wood-F.NOM  
COP1.3.REL-NMZ1.M.ACC see-1S.PFV

(Context: Speaker bought charcoal from a seller who claimed to have the best quality product on the market.)

‘**But** when I had bought his charcoal and started putting it from his sack into mine, I found out that there were big pieces of wood (hidden) in his charcoal.’ [elicited]

The lexicalization happened in a construction involving a manner demonstrative in the function of an oblique argument of the verb ‘become’, lit. ‘having become so’, where *hitt* ‘so’ is a propositional anaphora. The frequent use of *hitt=ikk* between sentences that were semantically contrastive caused the contrast to become associated with the element *hitt=ikk* itself. The adverbial’s argument status was essential for boosting the frequency of the collocation to the point where it has become stored in the mental lexicon as a separate lexical item, and started a life of its own, independent of the manner demonstrative.

In contrast to Kambaata, the manner demonstrative has not undergone lexicalization in Wan. The absence of parallel uses follows in Wan from the fact that the manner demonstrative is not an adverbial, and cannot function as an argument of any particular verb. As a clause-final marker, it does not form a constituent with the preceding verb and is not closely associated with any specific verbs to the extent that

would allow them to undergo lexicalization typical of collocations.

Table 3 summarizes the extended uses attested in Kambaata, along with the suggested path of their development from one of the core uses.

	Meaning	Path of development
Fused with 'become'	Contrastive 'but'	Lexicalization in a high-frequency collocation
Interactional affirmative	'yes'	Conventionalization of the anaphoric predicative use '(It is) like this'
Coordination- like use	'likewise, also'	Conventionalization of the anaphoric predicative with verb ellipsis: '(V) like this NP' = 'same with NP' = 'likewise NP'

*Table 3: Extended uses of manner demonstratives in Kambaata*

### 3.3. Extended uses in Wan

The manner demonstrative particle in Wan also has uses that are not attested with the manner demonstrative adverbials in Kambaata. We would like to suggest that all these uses can be subsumed under the same type, and follow from the marker's special syntactic status. In particular, all the extended uses attested in Wan can be viewed as instantiations of the same construction: they involve the manner demonstrative particle introducing a clause-external constituent.

Several types of constituent are attested in this position. First, the manner demonstrative commonly introduces ideophones – words of a special morphosyntactic class that are not integrated in Wan in the clause structure but appear in a clause-external position. Ideophones differ in this respect from other word classes such as adverbs: while adverbs can occur clause-initially or, sometimes, before the verb, ideophones are restricted to the clause-final position; while adverbs appear before the clause-final markers such as the negation marker or the exclamative particle (as in (13)), ideophones appear after them, suggesting once again that they are attached to the clause at a higher

point in the clause structure.

The examples in (17a) and (17b) show how the manner demonstrative refers cataphorically to a manner suggested by an ideophone in a clause external position. This use is not attested in Kambaata, presumably for two reasons. First, as already discussed, the manner demonstrative in Kambaata is an adverbial; adverbials appear in Kambaata before the verb and cannot serve to introduce dislocated or clause-external constituents. Second, ideophones in Kambaata must be introduced by a verb, such as ‘say’ or ‘do’, hence they do not appear in the same syntactic position as in Wan, and they cannot be considered the same syntactic category as the ideophones in Wan, despite their common descriptive denomination.

(17)

a. Wan

*klègè kpàì é àà glògò á kēé kprò-kpròò-kprò*  
chili\_pepper real DEF 3PL+3SG crush HAB like\_this IDPH  
‘Real chili pepper, they crush it **like this**: kro-kro-kro.’

b. Wan

*ké è tá-í yī ē gó kēé dùùù*  
if 3SG put-HAB water DEF in like\_this IDPH  
‘When he throws himself in the water **like this**: duuu!’

Second, the manner demonstrative particle is used to introduce elements extraposed from the clause. These are most typically numerals and adjectives.<sup>7</sup> When a numeral appears within the noun phrase, it normally follows the head (18a). In (18b) and (18c), it is extraposed from the clause, and a manner demonstrative refers to it cataphorically from within the clause. Wan has no other pronominal that could refer to numerosity, and hence the manner demonstrative seems to be the element that serves best the purpose of substituting a

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<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult to say exactly why this type of extraposition is so prominent in Wan; it could be related to the fact that for historical reasons (Nikitina 2011), Mande languages have a highly reduced VP structure (e.g. there are no ditransitive verbs, as only one argument can be accommodated inside the verb phrase). Heavy constituents tend to appear in extracausal positions, with co-referring pronouns replacing them in the canonical argument positions.

numeral within the clause.

(18)

a. Wan

*gbòlò á*  
maiden three  
'three maidens'

b. Wan

*lāā gbòlò kēé á bé á á gá lé ɔ́ḡ gá*  
2SG+ALN maiden like\_this three then 3SG COP go PROG  
firewood search  
'There were once three maidens (lit. maidens **like this**: three), and they were going to search for firewood.'

c. Wan

*è bé wò kŭ sɔ̀ɔ̀ à dèḡ á ḡ bò kēé ɔ́ḡ dō kpó*  
3SG that do until IDPH 3SG remaining 3PL PERF stay  
like\_this piece one single  
'And he kept doing it until just one of them was left (lit. until they remained **like this**: a single one).'

Adjectives, like numerals, normally follow the head, and they also have no corresponding pronoun. When extraposed, they are referred to within the clause by the clause-final manner demonstrative.

(19)

a. Wan

*nē é, è bōō lé è ḡ bàò kēé yèḡglèḡ*  
child DEF 3SG stay+3SG at 3SG PERF become\_thin like\_this  
skinny  
'The child, sometime later, grew very skinny (lit. **like this**: skinny).'

b. Wan

*ké yī é dèḡ nì bō á bōḡ mī kēé sēní kēé ... è gé*  
if water DEF remaining little stayed RSLT bank at like\_this  
little like\_this 3SG said  
'When there remained just a little water by the bank, little **like this** ... he said ...'

Structures with extraposition are widely used in narrative discourse to introduce different kinds of what Labov & Waletzky (1967) describe as *evaluation* (see also Labov 1972). Traditional narratives in particular are characterized by such uses, which do not normally

appear in elicitation. A rare story consists of narration proper; normally, the storyline is interrupted by the narrator's remarks, explanations, and other types of evaluation. The manner demonstrative often marks such expressions of subjectivity, helping the narrator bridge the gap between the reported events and the current speech situation. In (20a) and (20b), for example, the storyline is related to the moment of narration through the use of a structure with an extraposed element, introduced by a manner demonstrative; such structures are very common in our data.

(20)

a. Wan

*ǵǵ gǵ á trǵǵ klǵ-ǵǵ lǵpǵǵ yǵ pǵǵ Bǵwlǵnǵ tǵ gǵǵ kǵǵ*  
 3PL go ADJ.FOC earth pour-NMLZ as\_if here and B. on like  
 like\_this  
 '[As they were digging the hole,] they went and took out  
 earth like (lit. **like this**:) from here up to Bowlino.'

b. Wan

*ǵ bǵ é mǵ yǵ lǵpǵǵ blǵ é gǵǵ kǵǵ bǵ ǵ klǵzǵ ē gǵ*  
 3SG arrive NMLZ at here as\_if baobab DEF like like\_this  
 then 3SG little\_sister DEF say  
 '[When he is coming to trap the woman], he arrives at a  
 distance like (lit. **like this**:) from here to the baobab, and  
 her sister says ...'

Table 4 summarizes the extended uses attested in Wan that do not occur in Kambaata. All of them can be viewed as instances of the same construction – a structure with right dislocation, where the clause-external element is referred to within the clause by a clause-final manner demonstrative particle. We believe that a likely source for the development of this construction was the discourse-cataphoric use of manner demonstratives illustrated in (3b), where the demonstrative appears at the end of the clause, referring to an element

that follows (as in examples with reported speech).

	Meaning	Path of development
Introducing ideophones	Desemantitized	The discourse cataphoric use, as in (3)
Introducing displaced numerals		
Introducing displaced adjectives		
Introducing complex adverbial expressions such as comparison expressions		

Table 4: Extended uses of the manner demonstrative in Wan

## 4. Conclusion

Mechanisms of diachronic change and grammaticalization paths have been recently gaining importance in different approaches to cross-linguistic variation. Yet theories of grammaticalization and studies in semantic typology rarely pay close attention to syntax. As we tried to show using the example of manner demonstratives, syntactic aspects of an expression’s use can restrict new functions the expressions will develop over time. When it comes to explaining differences in the extent of uses of a semantically identical element in two or more different languages, syntactic category and collocational potential sometimes provide crucial pieces to the puzzle. The difference in the syntactic status of the manner demonstrative in Kambaata (adverbial) and in Wan (clause-final particle) explain why the expressions have strikingly similar core uses but at the same time differ no less strikingly in the range of their extended functions.

Figure 1 summarizes our account by means of an *amphichronic* semantic map model that aims at predicting the paths along which manner demonstratives can develop (Jurafsky 1996; Nikitina 2019b). Our fragment of the map only takes into account data from two languages; adding more data will undoubtedly result in a larger and more detailed network of senses. Our contribution to the semantic map approach is the addition of constructional information to the otherwise meaning-based network. While canonical semantic maps focus on meaning and describe relations between senses in terms of semantic operations (Lakoff 1987, Janda 1990; Jurafsky 1996;

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007; Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018), we believe that information regarding the expression's collocational potential is crucial to describing many types of semantic change. We hope that our perhaps naïve and straightforward way of integrating that information into the semantic map model is but a first step in that direction.

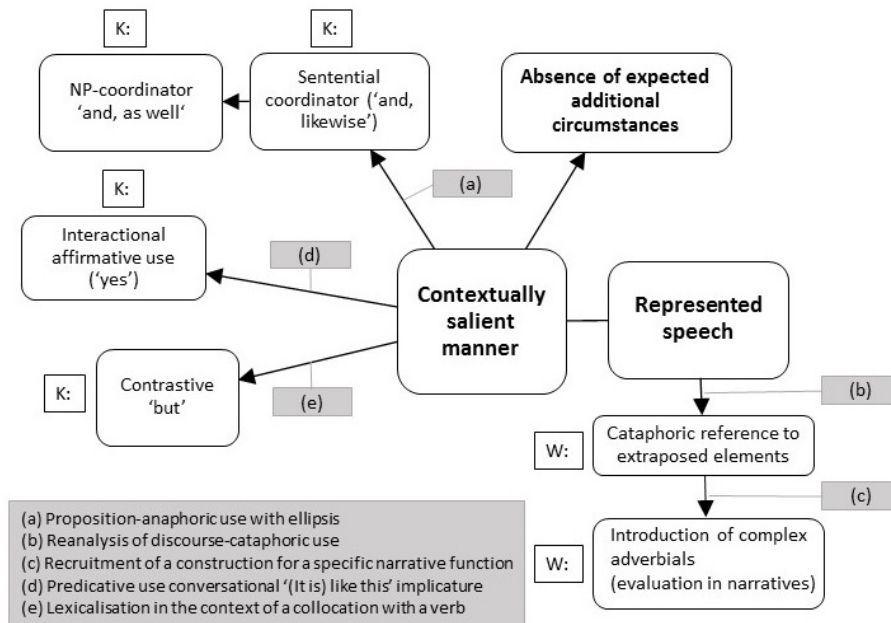


Figure 1: A semantic map enriched by constructional information

As syntactic differences determine differences in collocational potential, they are ultimately responsible for the diverse functions the same expression can become associated with, both at the lexical, morphosyntactic, and at the discourse-structure level. Our study discussed examples of all these types of change. The adverbial status of the manner demonstrative in Kambaata is responsible for its frequent use as an argument of the verb 'become', causing its combination with the verb to develop into a new lexical expression, the contrastive discourse marker 'but'. The clause-final position of the manner demonstrative in Wan has enabled it to develop into a syntactic device for introducing extraposed constituents of categories that have no other pronominal equivalents (numerals, adjectives, complex adverbials). At the discourse level, the predicative use of the manner demonstrative in Kambaata has given rise to an interactional affirmative use. In Wan, the extraposition-introducing function of the manner demonstrative has enabled it to introduce complex evaluation-



related expressions within traditional narrative discourse. All these uses ultimately depend on the demonstrative's distributional potential.

Hence, our study has both methodological and theoretical implications. On the methodological side, it shows that comparison of expressions across languages has a lot to gain from paying close attention to the expression's syntax. When it comes to theory, it serves as a reminder of the need to incorporate fine-grained syntactic information into our models of semantic change. While we tried to make a step in that direction by integrating some constructional information into our semantic map model, further advances should rely on a comprehensive theory of the relationship between syntax and meaning that still needs to be built.

## Abbreviations

### Wan glosses

ADJ.FOC	adjunct focus
ALN	alienable possessor
COP	copula
DEF	definite marker
DIMIN	diminutive
HAB	habitual
IDPH	ideophone
INCL	inclusive
INTJ	interjection
LOG	logophoric
NMLZ	nominalizer
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PPS	complement-introducing postposition
PROG	progressive
PROSP	prospective
PRT	particle
QUOT	quotative particle
REFL	reflexive
RSLT	resultative
SG	singular

## Kambaata glosses

A_	adjectival
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
APPR	apprehensive
ASC	associative
CAUS1	simple causative
CF	contrastive focus
COND	conditional
COP1	existential <i>yoo</i> -copula
COP2	ascriptive/identificational <i>-ha/-ta</i> -copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DS	different subject
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
ICO	imperfective converb
ICP	instrumental, comitative, perlocative
INTJ	interjection
IPV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
M	masculine
MID	middle
N	focus-related morpheme
NEG1	standard negator
NEG4	converb negator
NEG5	relative negator
NMZ1	nominalizer –V
NMZ2	nominalizer = <i>bii</i>
NMZ4	nominalizer = <i>r</i>
NOM	nominative
O	object
OBL	oblique
ORD	ordinal
P_	pronominal
PASS	passive
PCO	perfective converb
PFV	perfective
POSS	possessive

PRAG1	mitigator <i>-la</i>
PRAG5	pragmatically determined suffix <i>-be</i> (function as yet undetermined)
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
Q	question
REL	relative
S	singular
SEQ	sequential
SG	singulative
VV	vowel lengthening

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