

The alleged grammaticalization of quotative~complementizers in Atlantic creoles: a West African substrate perspective¹

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1 Introduction

- grammaticalization as a process in which linguistic signs undergo context extension
- gradual, steered by functional/pragmatic motivations
- often not reconstructable, lack of sources for sufficiently different older chronolects
- > analytical "shortcuts":
 - (a) diagnose polyfunctionality of one linguistic sign > gradual development from one to the other, because change is functionally motivated and/or has cross-linguistic precedents
 - (b) diagnose a synchronic function > predict/reconstruct the diachronic source, because the assumed change is apparently the cross-linguistic default scenario
- > locative schema as source of progressives vs. Güldemann (2003)
 - non-locative progressives are very rare (if they exist at all) (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 135)
- > justified critique at several claims and practices in grammaticalization research

2 The extended quotative complex of grammaticalization

2.1 A "default" origin of complementizers

- grammaticalization 'say' > complementizer (Waley and Armbruster 1934, Lord 1976, 1993 [1989], Heine et al. 1993, Heine & Kuteva 2002, + many language-specific studies)
- "extended quotative complex" (Saxena 1995 [1988], Ebert 1991):

Figure 1: The "extended quotative complex" of grammaticalization

{*direct quote* > *complement* > *purpose and/or reason* > *conditional* > *comparative*}
'say' > 'know' > 'believe' > 'want'

¹ Abbreviations: ABL ability, AD.OBJ addressee object, AGR agreement, ATC.PRO anticipatory pronoun, COM comitative, COMP complementizer, COP copula, DECL declarative, DET determiner, DRD direct reported discourse, HORT hortative, IMP imperative, INF infinitive, IPFV imperfective, IRD indirect reported discourse, IRR irrealis, LOC locative, NEG negative, OBL obligation, P plural, PERF perfect, PF predication focus, PFV perfective, PRES present, PROP proper name, PST past, Q quotative, QI quotative index, QV quotative verb, REL relative, S singular, SEQ sequential, SIM simultaneity, SS same subject, TF term focus

2.2 Evidence from Atlantic creoles

- in general, creoles often cited for grammaticalization

- prominent for extended quotative complex (Lord, Ebert, Frajzyngier 1984, Plag 1992)

- | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|--|
| (1) Dutch | <i>zeggen</i> 'say' | > Negerhollands | <i>sē</i> | |
| English | <i>say</i> | > Atlantic Anglo-creoles/pidgins | <i>se</i> | |
| English | <i>talk</i> | > Sranan | <i>taki</i> | |
| | | > Saramaccan | <i>taa</i> | |
| Portuguese | <i>falar</i> 'speak' | > Gulf of Guinea Luso-creoles | <i>fa</i> | |
- (2) St. Lucian
i di [mwē pa sa ekri] IRD
 3S say 1S NEG ABL write
 He said that I cannot write (Carrington 1984: 109)
- (3) Fa d'Ambu
 a. *a bi fa-no [xa tudu bi ska be gav]* IRD
 3S come X-1P ? everything come ? see good
 He gave us the news that everything was fine (Prost 1992: 162)
 b. *a da-no novu fa [xa tudu bi ska be gav]* IRD
 3S give-1P news X ? everything come ? see good
 He gave us the news that everything was fine (Prost 1992: 162)
 c. *m sé fa [e sxa dantsyi]* IRD
 1S know X 3S ? ill
 I knew he was ill (Prost 1992: 162)
- (4) Kriyol
 a. *minjer i (fala) kuma [nbon bu pudi panya utru]* DRD
 woman 3S speak X okay 2S can take another
 The woman (she) said, "OK, you can take another" (Kihm 1990: 56)
 b. *n kuda (kuma) [no na bin amanyan]* IRD
 1S think X 1P ?IPFV come tomorrow
 I think (that) we'll come tomorrow (Kihm 1990: 55)
- (5) Saramaccan
 a. *a (táki) táa [dí mujée bi-gó a dí kéiki]* IRD
 3S say X DET woman PFV-go LOC DET church
 He said the woman had gone to the church. (Byrne 1987: 147)
 b. *a sábi (táa) [dí wómi bi-hondi dí píngo]* IRD
 3S know X DET man PFV-hunt DET pig
 He knows/knew (that) the man had hunted the pig. (Byrne 1987: 147)
- (6) Jamaican
 a. *an so di man se [im mus kom in de nou]* IRD
 and so DET man X he OBL come in there now
 And so the man said that he should come in there now. (Winford 1993: 292 <Roberts 1980)
 b. *yu kyaan taak tu im se [ai laik telivishun]* DRD
 you cannot say to he X I like television
 You can't say to him 'I like television'. (Winford 1993: 291 <Roberts 1980)
 c. *an Bra Tukumah se tu ar se [shii mos tek aaf ar kluoz]* IRD
 and PROP X to her X she OBL take off her clothes
 And Brother Tukumah said to her that she was to take off her clothes. (Winford 1993: 292 <Roberts 1980)

- (7) Berbice Dutch
- | | |
|---|------------|
| a. <i>o bifi eke</i> [<i>Bertha ...</i>] | DRD |
| 3S X 1S | |
| He said to me: Bertha ... (Kouwenberg 1993: 332) | |
| b. <i>o bi</i> [<i>datani wete kena ...</i>] | IRD |
| 3S X COMP:some white person:P | |
| He said that some white people ... (Kouwenberg 1993: 332) | |
| c. <i>o bi</i> [<i>di blur pam bi</i> [<i>da iç drai ...</i>]] | DRD |
| 3S say DET brother tell X HORT 1P turn | |
| He said his brother told (him): let us turn back ... (Kouwenberg 1993: 333) | |
| d. <i>eni pama-teke bihi</i> [<i>dateke ma mu danga ka</i>] | IRD |
| 3P tell-PFV:1S X COMP:1S IRR go there NEG | |
| They told me that I should not go there. (Kouwenberg 1993: 333) | |

- default marker in reported discourse (with regular exception of Franco-creoles)

> can be:

(a) linker between quotative clause and quote ("complement") after another verb

(b) predicative nucleus of the quotative clause > controversy "verb vs. complementizer"

> can introduce:

(a) direct reported discourse

(b) non-direct reported discourse

- different types of explanations (cf. Holm 1988: 185-8)

- widely received opinion: at least some influence of West African substratum

3 Quotative indexes from a typological perspective

- Güldemann (2001): synchronic and diachronic survey of quotative indexes (QI) as parts of binary reported discourse expressions

- (8) *und dann hab' ich gesagt ich sag' das machen wir*
 and then have I said I say that make:3P.PRES we
 and then I said like, "Let's do it!"

- based on text corpora of a sample of 40 African languages as well as a wide survey of the available cross-linguistic literature

3.1 Language sample

Table 1: African language sample with genealogical classification

Language	Family (subbranch)	Stock	Other
Koyra Chiini	Songhay	-	NS
Kanuri	Saharan	-	NS
Ik	Kuliak	-	NS
Aiki	Maban	-	NS
Fur	Furan	-	NS
Ngiti	Moru-Mangbetu	Central Sudanic	NS
Ngambay	Bongo-Bagirmi	Central Sudanic	NS
Kunama	Isolate	-	NS
Dongola	Nubian	East Sudanic	NS
Murle	Surmic	East Sudanic	NS
Anywa	Nilotic	East Sudanic	NS
Krongo	Kadugli	-	NS
Hadza	Isolate	-	KS
Sandawe	Isolate	-	KS
Khoekhoe	Khoe alias Central	-	KS
Ju!'hoan	Ju alias Northern	-	KS
!Xõo	Tuu alias Southern	-	KS
Tigre	Semitic	Afroasiatic	
Tamajeq	Berber	Afroasiatic	
Bedauye	Cushitic (North)	Afroasiatic	
Burunge	Cushitic (South)	Afroasiatic	
Kera	Chadic (East)	Afroasiatic	
Lamang	Chadic (Central)	Afroasiatic	
Hausa	Chadic (West)	Afroasiatic	
Mandinka	Mande	-	NK
Izon	Ijoid	-	NK
Kisi	Atlantic	-	NK
Donno Sɔ	Dogon	-	NK
Kouya	Kru	Niger-Congo	NK
Supyire	Gur (Senufo)	Niger-Congo	NK
Koromfe	Gur (Central)	Niger-Congo	NK
Waja	Adamawa-Ubangi (Ad.)	Niger-Congo	NK
Ngbaka Ma'bo	Adamawa-Ubangi (Ub.)	Niger-Congo	NK
Ewe	Kwa	Niger-Congo	NK
Yoruba	Benue-Congo (Defoid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Igbo	Benue-Congo (Igboid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Birrom	Benue-Congo (Platoid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Tikar	Benue-Congo (Bantoid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Nguni	Benue-Congo (Bantoid)	Niger-Congo	NK

Note: Greenberg's doubtful supergroups are given as a reference in the column "Other". The abbreviations are: NS Nilo-Saharan, KS Khoisan, NK Niger-Kordofanian.

3.2 Quotative indexes as grammaticalized structures

- quotative indexes often grammaticalized structures orienting the hearer towards the presence of an alienated text in the discourse

- (a) homogeneity of predication operators and participant type (3rd-person singular perfective indicative) and possible generalization of unmarked categories
 - (b) relative sparsity of semantically explicit and/or specific predicative lexemes
 - (c) reduction of morphological and phonetic substance > non-predicative QIs
 - (d) use of construction-specific function elements and their development to grams
 - (e) existence of regular subpatterns alias QI types
 - (f) further grammaticalization into other domains
- > double function: expression of propositional meaning as well as quote orientation

3.3 Basic morphosyntactic types of quotative indexes

- (a) **Simple** predicative clause
with event-referring verb
with quotative verb
- (b) **Bisected** predicative clause with quote orienter
with non-clausal quote orienter
with clausal quote orienter
- (c) **Reduced** non-predicative structure
with primary quotative marker
with primary participant reference

- (9) Burunge (South Cushitic, Afroasiatic) **Simple with event-referring verb**
hi-gi /oo/-od^h konkiya ...
3S-SEQ call-3F.S:PFV:DECL fowl
Sie rief das Huhn: "... [she called the hen] (Kießling 1994: 247)

- (10) Aiki (Maban) **Simple with quotative verb**
àbólí káá t-r-è ...
hyena thus 3S-QV:IPFV-DECL
l'hyène dit ainsi: "... (Nougayrol 1989: 89)

- (11) Ngambay (Bongo-Bagirmi, Central Sudanic) **Bisected with non-clausal quote orienter**
jàm pà nà ...
PROP say Q
Jam lui répondit: "... (Vandame 1963: 152)

- (12) Supyire (Senufo, Niger-Congo) **Bisected with clausal quote orienter**
mii a li cyéè ù nà mà jwu ...
1S PERF ATC.PRO show 3S LOC SS say
I explained it to him and said, "... (Carlson 1994: 667)

- (13) Lamang (Central Chadic, Afroasiatic) **Reduced with quotative**
ká yághè m mbèlò búwó ...
Q squirrel in bag PF
Squirrel said in the bag, "... (Wolff 1994: 336)

- (14) Donno Sɔ (Dogon) **Reduced with participant reference**
gine wo sugɔ baŋa-gɔ wo wa ...
 house 3S stay.at:REL owner-DET 3S AD.OBJ
 Le maître de maison où il est descendu lui dit: ... (Kervran & Prost 1986: 171)
- (15) Koromfe (Gur, Niger-Congo)
- a. *kɔ jemdi mɔ bole ...* **Simple**
 then hippo also say:PST
 Alors hippopotame dit aussi: "... (Rennison 1986: 44)
- b. *kɔ a jemdi bole ke ...* **Bisected with non-clausal quote orienter**
 then DET hippo say:PST Q
 Puis l'hippopotame dit: "... (Rennison 1986: 48)
- c. *m̄ba jemdi mɔ ...* **Reduced**
 brother hippo also
 Maître hippopotame dit aussi: "... (Rennison 1986: 46)

3.4 The syntax of reported discourse expressions

- straightforward distinction between direct and non-direct reported discourse ("sentential complementation") by means of QI type relatively rare (see Table 2 below)
- reported discourse neither embedding nor parataxis
- > rather "picture-frame" (McGregor 1994) or "object-tag" relation (Güldemann 2001)

3.5 History of elements in quotative indexes

- QI structure [Subject Predicator] viewed as propositional structure [Speaker say]
- > predicator analyzed as canonical speech verb
- > if predicator in simple QI occurs as a quote orienter in a bisected QI: 'say' > COMP

- (16) Mandinka (Mande)
- a. *a ko i ye ...*
 3S QV 3P to
 He said to them: "... (Pfeiffer (ed.) 1997: 33)
- b. *a ko a ye ko ...*
 3S QV 3S to Q
 He said to him: "... (Pfeiffer (ed.) 1997: 32)

- QIs are in the majority of cases grammaticalized constructions (cf. §3.2)
- QI predicators are often not verbs and/or do not refer to utterance meaning
- > lexical meaning of an element cannot be inferred from the QI context
- quotative~complementizers originate relatively rarely in speech verbs
- recurrent sources of QI elements other than speech verbs:
 - (a) semantically generic verbs of equation, inchoativity, action, motion
 - (b) markers of similarity and manner (particularly frequent)
 - (c) quote-referring pronominals
 - (d) markers of focus and presentation
 - (e) Speaker-referring pronominals
- > overall ratio of speech verb vs. other sources 1:5

4 Quotative indexes in West Africa

4.1 Types of quotative indexes and types of reported discourse

- rare QI type differentiation within reported discourse and "sentential complementation"

Table 2: Distribution of morphosyntactic QI types over reported-discourse types

	DRD only			DRD or non-DRD			non-DRD only			Total
	S	B	R	S	B	R	S	B	R	
Mandinka		+		<+				(+)		3
Izon		+		<+	++	+				5
Kisi	+	+						(+)		3
Donno So	(+)		++	+>				(+)		5
Kouya				<+				+		2
Supyire		+		+	+					3
Koromfe				<+	+					2
Waja					+	<+	+			3
Ngbaka M.				+	+	<+				3
Ewe				+	+					2
Yoruba		(+)		+>	+>			+(+)		5
Igbo				+	+			++(+)		5
Biom				<+	+					2
Tikar					+		+		+	3
Total	2	5	2	11	11	3	2	9	1	46

Note: DRD direct reported discourse, B bisected, R reduced, S simple,
+ QI type, < tendency to DRD, > tendency to non-DRD, () marginal in text corpus

> QIs are often open to both DRD and non-DRD (25 against 21)

> bisected QIs without straightforward bias to non-DRD (16 against 9)

> often one bisected QI for non-factive non-DRD

4.2 Syntactic ambiguity of default quotatives

- nucleus of simple QI = quote orienter in bisected QI: Wolof *ne/ni*, Mandinka *ko*, Akan *sɛ*, Ewe *bé*, Yoruba *pé*, Bantu zone A *ná/nâ*

(17) Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo)

- a. *ya wo-be ...*
then 3P-QV
then they say: '... (Dawuda f.n.)
- b. *dékpala ɔ̀p ɲì na-e be ...*
palmtapper put outside to-3S QV
the palmtapper answered him: "... (Dawuda f.n.)

(18) Izon (Ijoid)

- a. *wó yeɲi m̀ɛe ... ɛbeni*
1P master Q Q
God said: '... (Williamson f.n.)
- b. *ɔ̀mɪnɪ gbà yeɲi ḍiá-am̀ɛɛ ...*
they say mother show-Q
they told their mother: '... (Williamson 1965: 83)

- frequent verb omission in reduced QI, non-verbal item = predicator of clause

(19)	German	Dutch	Swedish
	<i>und er so</i>	<i>ik toen van</i>	<i>han ba</i>
	and he thus	I then of	he just
	and he like this, "...	then I was like, "...	he just, "...

> question of categorical distinctness between such items as predicator and quote orienter

4.3 Morphological parts-of-speech differentiation

- lack of morphology on verbs > verbal QI predicates, non-verbal QI predicates, and quotative~complementizers generally hard to distinguish morphologically

(20) Shona (Bantu, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo)

- a. *nda-ti* [uya neni]
 1S:PERF-QV come:IMP COM:1S
 I said: "Come with me!" (Hannan 1984: 646)
- b. *va-chi-da ku-ti* [va-go-shaya nzira]
 2-SIM-want INF-QV 2-possibly-loose way
 intending that they possibly would go astray. (Chifamba 1982: 5-19)

4.4 Etymological sources of quotatives

- grammaticalized quotatives often derived from elements other than speech verbs

Table 3: Probable sources of selected West African quotative~complementizers

Language	Family	Element	Source	Morphosyntactic function
Wolof	Atlantic (North)	<i>ne/ni</i>	'like (this)'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Kisi	Atlantic (South)	<i>màà</i>	'like'	quote orienter (IRD only)
Mandinka	Mande	<i>kó</i>	'like'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Izon	Ijoid	<i>(á)mẹ̀ẹ̀</i> <i>mọ̀</i>	? <i>mịẹ</i> 'make, act' 'like this'	QI nucleus + quote orienter quote orienter
Waja	Adamawa	<i>kən/mən</i>	pronouns	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Akan	Kwa	<i>se</i>	'like'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Ewe	Kwa	<i>bé</i>	'like'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Igbo	Benue-Congo	<i>kà</i>	? 'like'	quote orienter (IRD only)
Biom	Benue-Congo	<i>ye</i>	'do'	QI nucleus
Tikar	Benue-Congo	<i>le</i>	'like this'	quote orienter
Bantu A	Benue-Congo	<i>ná/nâ</i>	'like this'	QI nucleus + quote orienter

5 Grammatical polyfunctionality and language contact

- polyfunctionality does not necessarily reflect grammaticalization

- copula and tense-aspect in Banka (Kastenholz 2000, p.c.)

(21) Banka, Foroma dialect (Mande)

- a. *a mɛ gba-an do* b. *ā-à gba-an do*
3S COP house-DET in 3S-COP house-DET in
Sie ist im Haus [she is in the house]

- (22) a. *ā mɛ dín fiki kereen* b. *ā-à dín fiki kereen*
3S COP child two give.birth 3S-COP child two give.birth
Sie hat Zwillinge zur Welt gebracht [she gave birth to twins]

- (23) a. *Abu mɛ ʃofɛ̃-nan ba-na* b. *Abu-ù ʃofɛ̃-nan ba-na*
PROP COP donkey-DET beat-IPFV PROP-COP donkey-DET beat-IPFV
Abu schlägt gerade/für gewöhnlich den Esel [Abu is beating/habitually beats the donkey]

- (24) a. *ā mɛ ā suku-ra* b. **ā-à ā suku-ra*
3S COP 3S pound-IPFV 3S-COP 3S pound-IPFV
Sie stampft es gerade. [she is pounding it]

> borrowed *mɛ* pressed into an polyfunctionality pattern modeled on older *-ɔ̃*

> "grammaticalization" can be extremely accelerated by language contact

- perfect and term focus in Solomons Pijin

(25) Solomons Pijin (Neo-Melanesian)

hem-i ranawe nao
3S-AGR run.away PERF
She has run away. (Keesing 1991: 330)

(26) Kwaio (Malaita, Oceanic, Austronesian)

e 'akwa no'o
3S run.away PERF
She has run away. (ibid.)

(27) Solomons Pijin

hem nao i save
3S TF AGR know
He's the one who knows. (Keesing 1991: 331)

(28) Kwaio (Malaita, Oceanic, Austronesian)

gila no'o la age-a
3P TF 3P do-it
They're the ones who did it. (ibid.)

> grammatical calquing of polyfunctionality pattern

> semantically unexplained change if assuming grammaticalization (cf. Heath 1998)

6 Conclusions and questions

6.1 Quotative history in creoles

- no clear historical data of a gradual, functionally motivated language-internal change
- > no canonical grammaticalization, unless there are reliable historical data
- > instead direct substratum interference of a widespread polyfunctionality pattern holding for prominent/default markers of reported discourse

Table 4: Quotative and related elements in Kriyol and (potential) contact languages

Language	Generic speech verb	Similative/ manner	Quotative (verb)	Complementizer
Portuguese	<i>falar</i>	<i>como/coma</i>	-	<i>que</i>
Kriyol	<i>fala</i>	<i>kuma</i>	<i>kuma</i>	<i>kuma</i>
Mandinka	<i>kuma</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>
Wolof	<i>wax</i>	<i>nV</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ne/ni</i>

- interference facilitated by a complex of factors, areally widespread in West Africa
 - specific structural differentiation within reported discourse types
 - reduced quotative indexes
 - little morphology on verbs
- parallel phenomenon: grammaticalization of IRD complementizers to markers of deontic modality, also in West Africa: Supyire, Kisi, Mandinka, Koromfe, Yoruba, Igbo

(29) Koromfe (Gur, Niger-Congo)
ke ba be jere
COMP 3P come here
Let them come here! (Rennison 1997: 39)

(30) Igbo (Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo)
kà ϕ chọga yā
COMP 3S look.for 3S
He had better gone to look for it. (Emenanjo 1978: 197)

(31) Vehicular West African French
Moussa que de sortir
PROP COMP ? leave
Moussa should leave (Manessy 1989: 35)

6.2 Creoles and grammaticalization research

- creole data do not support speech-verb bias in traditional quotative complex
- > relevant cross-linguistic evidence reduced considerably

Of greatest interest to us here is the development of pidgins and creoles because they illustrate in rather extreme form a number of theoretical issues, and provide a large number of insights into processes of grammaticalization ... (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 209)

- creoles unsuitable for grammaticalization studies, unless there is good diachronic evidence for a change (cf. Bruyn 1996)

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