The alleged grammaticalization of quotative~complementizers in Atlantic creoles: a West African substrate perspective[1]

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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 form 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'

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   *zeggen* 'say'   > Negerhollands   *sē*
     English   *say*   > Atlantic Anglo-creoles/pidgins   *se*
     English   *talk*   > Sranan   *taki*
                                > Saramaccan   *taa*
     Portuguese   *falar* 'speak'   > Gulf of Guinea Luso-creoles   *fa*

(2) St. Lucian
     i   di [mwẽ 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 (tákí) **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. *o* **bifi** *εkε*   [*Bertha ...*]   **DRD**
     3S X   1S
     He said to me: Bertha ... (Kouwenberg 1993: 332)
  b. *o* **bi** [*datani*   *wεtε kεna*   *...*]   **IRD**
     3S X   COMP:some   white person:P
     He said that some white people ... (Kouwenberg 1993: 332)
  c. *o* *bi* [*di*   *blur*   *pam* **bi** [*da*   *iç* *drai* *...*]]   **DRD**
     3S say DET brother tell   X   HORT 1P turn
     He said his brother told (him): let us turn back ... (Kouwenberg 1993: 333)
  d. *eni pama-tεkε* **bihi** [*datεkε*   *ma*   *mu danga ka*]   **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
Birom	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/-oðⁱ*   *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-ὲ*   ...
     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**
     mìi a   *lì*   *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*   *ḿ*   *mbǝlò* *búwó*   ...
     Q   squirrel   in   bag   PF
     Squirrel said in the bag, "... (Wolff 1994: 336)

(14)   Donno Sɔ (Dogon)   **Reduced with participant reference**

   ginɛ   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 mɔ̃   **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. *m̩ba   jemdi **mɔ̃** ...*   **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 Sɔ	(+)		++	+>				(+)		5
Kouya				<+				+		2
Supyire		+		+	+					3
Koromfe				<+	+					2
Waja					+	<+	+			3
Ngbaka M.				+	+	<+				3
Ewe				+	+					2
Yoruba		(+)		+>	+>			+(+)		5
Igbo				+	+			++(+)		5
Birom				<+	+					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.   *dêkpala   ɖo   ŋù   na-e   **be**   ...*
       palmtapper   put outside to-3S   QV
       the palmtapper answered him: "... (Dawuda f.n.)

(18)   Izon (Ijoid)
  a.   *wó yeŋi   **mὲe**   ...   ebeni*
       1P   master Q   Q
       God said: '... (Williamson f.n.)
  b.   *ọmịnị gbà yeŋi   dịá-**amὲɛ̣**   ...*
       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
      und er   so   *ik   toen   van*   *han   ba*
      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 predicators, 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)	*ne*/*ni*	'like (this)'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Kisi	Atlantic (South)	*màà*	'like'	quote orienter (IRD only)
Mandinka	Mande	*kó*	'like'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Izon	Ijoid	*(á)mèè*	? *mịẹ* 'make, act'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
		mọ́	'like this'	quote orienter
Waja	Adamawa	*kən*/*mən*	pronouns	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Akan	Kwa	*sɛ*	'like'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Ewe	Kwa	*bé*	'like'	QI nucleus + quote orienter
Igbo	Benue-Congo	*kà*	? 'like'	quote orienter (IRD only)
Birom	Benue-Congo	*ye*	'do'	QI nucleus
Tikar	Benue-Congo	*lɛ*	'like this'	quote orienter
Bantu A	Benue-Congo	*ná*/*nâ*	'like this'	QI nucleus + quote orienter

5 Grammatical polyfunctionality and language contact

- polyfunctionality does not neccessarily 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 *-V̀*
> "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	*falar*	***como*/*coma***	-	*que*
Kriyol	*fala*	***kuma***	***kuma***	***kuma***
Mandinka	***kuma***	*ko*	*ko*	*ko*
Wolof	*wax*	*nV*	*ni*	*ne*/*ni*

- 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 bɛ*   *jere*
       COMP 3P come here
       Let them come here! (Rennison 1997: 39)

(30)   Igbo (Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo)
       kà   *ọ* *chọga* *yā*
       COMP 3S look.for 3S
       He had better gone to look for it. (Emenanjọ 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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