Resuscitating the *Domestic Origin Hypothesis*

*A Componential Approach* to the Study of Locative Constructions in Nigerian Pidgin

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Component Traces of Contact

Substrate Languages
Atlantic, Mande, Benue-Kwa

Adstrate Languages
Portuguese-lexifier Creoles

Superstrate Languages
Early Modern English

Universals in Languages
“Human Semantic Potential” (Regier, 1996)
Contact inside the Early Modern Period (1600–1800)

Inside of the Early Modern Period, two prototypical locative constructions emerged from prolonged linguistic contact with

- Upper and Lower Guinea Coast languages,
- the Portuguese Creoles, and
- the regional varieties of English that were spoken on board both the official naval vessels of the British Empire and privateering ships
Prototypical Locative Constructions

The constructions include:

stative copula (SC) constructions [+ location]

live, stop, stay, dé

focusing particle (FP) constructions [+ location]

na, for
Data for *de for*: 150 instances
- 89 instances of spoken data (Deuber, 2005)
- 61 instances of written data (29 from Online Forum *Nairaland*; 16 from *Katakata* for *sofahead* and *Soja boy*; 10 from the *Declaration of Human Rights*; 6 from the *Gospel of John*)
The Role of Universals

Universal in terms of embodied cognition, not in terms of uniformitarian-Cartesian Linguistics.

Image Schematic Concepts: schematized patterns of activity abstracted from everyday bodily experience, especially pertaining to vision, space, motion, and force (Langacker, 2008, p. 32).
Trajector and Landmark

In this picture,
- the cup is the Figure
- the table is the Landmark

- Structural elements: A WHOLE, PARTS, and a CONFIGURATION
- Basic Logic: The schema is asymmetric: if A is a part of B, then B is not a part of A. It is irreflexive: A is not a part of A. Moreover, it cannot be the case that WHOLE exists, while no PARTS of it exists. However, all the PARTS can exist, but still not constitute the WHOLE. If the PARTS exist in the CONFIGURATION, then and only then does the WHOLE exist. It follows that, if the PARTS are destroyed, then the WHOLE is destroyed. If the whole is located at a place P, then the PARTS are located at P. A typical, but not necessary property: The PARTS are contiguous to one another.
# Image Schematic Concepts and the de for Construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schema</th>
<th># of occurrences out of 150 <em>de for</em> constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Link             | 59  
  dem talk say some disease dey for our country |
| Boundary         | 33  
  This time, not me alone dey for the room         |
| Part/Whole       | 28  
  ...big man fọ Judia pipul an im dee fọ Farisii grup |
| Metaphorical     | 15  
  E be like say one person dey for trouble            |
| Existential      | 13  
  bot small problem go dey for we for your hotel o    |
| Containment      | 2   
  how many bottle of blood dey for inside blood capsul |
DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES ALONG THE UPPER GUINEA COAST.
17TH & 18TH CENTURY SETTLEMENTS INDICATED WITH □
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>General Locative Particle</th>
<th>Locative Copula</th>
<th>Locative Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>chi: at, in, to, etc. (p. 154). Chi is often omitted in sentences like “he is at the dispensary” and “he is at home” (p. 155).</td>
<td>-ŋge (pp. 144-145).</td>
<td>fi (here) and fa (there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sérère</td>
<td>na, nɔ (p. 291)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malinke</td>
<td>to. to occurs in postnominal position and can mean “en, dans, sur, pendant….Syn. la, ma, na” (p. 169)</td>
<td>be. Abiven lists the definition as “Etre dans un lieu, exister et auxilaire (p. 108).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyola (Diola): Papel (Pp), Manjaco (Mj), Mancanha (Mc) (Storch, 2007)</td>
<td>r ʂ (Pp), t ʂ ~ d (Mj and Mc).</td>
<td>ϱ (Pp); ci (Mj); wɔ (Mc)</td>
<td>t ʂəә, dəә (MC). MC contrasts the prepositions t ʂəә “at (here)” and dəә “at (there)” (p. 72).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanta</td>
<td>a- “at” (p. 83)</td>
<td>ka or ke. Both can occur as an identifying copula, but usually such identifying constructions are non-verbal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temne</td>
<td>ro: “to, at, from, etc.” (p. 135).</td>
<td>yi. Locative copula</td>
<td>nɔ, ro, ri, re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nɔ (here, - specific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ro (there, - specific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>re (here, + specific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ri (there, + specific)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>When these particles occur in the same sentence, ri precedes ro, re precedes nɔ (pp. 88-89).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullom</td>
<td>ko–ku: to, at, in (pp. 91-92).</td>
<td>cheh. The locative copula is the same as ‘dwell’. Nyälander defines cheh as ‘to live, to be, to dwell, to abide’ (p. 79). Verb of possession is not the same, hallë bë: to have, to possess (p. 77).</td>
<td>ka, cheh (here); kull (there); loa (where, place in general) (p. 40).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vai</td>
<td>bà’à, ti-nà, mái, á (relational nouns that are strictly adverbal complements) bà’à (refers to ‘inherent location’); ti-nà bë. This copula is listed as “to live or exist” in Koelle’s grammar (p. 6). bë is also used for “expressions referring to</td>
<td></td>
<td>niè (here), niúú (there) (p. 134).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mid 18th century Gold Coast

- Barbot (1755) says about the Gold Coast languages: "The Fetu [Afutu] language being most generally understood at the Gold Coast amongst the Blacks, as I have said before; I have made a collection of some familiar words and phrases, which shall be found in the supplement....besides the other languages, in which we can talk to them: for many of the coast Blacks speak a little English, or Dutch; and for the most part speak to us in a sort of Lingua Franca, or broken Portuguese and French (p. 249)."
As early as 1816, the locative copula construction was used. Bowdich gives the example, “Your keys live in your pocket” (1819, p. 354, cited in Huber, 1999, p. 53).

Huber (1999, p. 44) cites an additional example from Owen (1813):

“‘lib’ or ‘live’ for remain, or to express locality; as ‘Ship lib here two moons;’ ‘Rock lib here:’” (2:327)
Locative Copulas and Particles and Their Constructional Meanings in Benue-Kwa

- Yoruba:
  
  Rev. T. J. Bowen (1858, p.8):
  
  *gbe* and *wà* = to be or to live
  
  *lorun-* to have or possess heaven

  
  *ó ní owó*
  
  he have money.

  ‘He has money.’
Locative Particles and Their Constructional Meanings in Benue-Kwa

• Ewe

The locative marker in Ewe in le. However, pé is a relational noun for place or area that has grammaticalized into a possessive marker (Heine, 1997, p. 93):

\[ Kofi \quad pé \quad xo \]

Kofi of house

‘Kofi’s house’

(Historically: ‘The house at Kofi[’s place]’

)
Efik

The particles *ke* and *ye* appear in Efik. Rev. F. X (1900).

Una states that “‘ke’ seems to be infinite in its capacity for producing prepositional meanings. It is sometimes combined with nouns or verbs to form prepositions” (p. 29).
I hav see the poeples about 200 hand com for mee the want me to give 2 my father son for pawn Roonsom the men Eyo Duk was stop for what the owe him and the say one the men Dead for Arshbong Duk hand sam time I see the first the head men com & call me out to go up in the King Plaver house to hear what they say soon after I see one my men was Liv him to canow com up and tell me he say Enyong poeples tak my canow way for Landing so I Run & go Down for Landing I find no canow and the stop two my Boy out in canow and putt for Iron so the com Back and stop awaw son for my face and carry way to putt for Iron so the com Down one time about 30 guns for the hand the Look for shoot me and after 2 clock the Bring canow for Landing no be Little time the tak canow Back and the keep me all Day without eat any thing
Dualla has a general locative particle $o$ and a dative case marker $na$. Saker lists 28 nominally derived prepositions in Dualla (Koeller, 1855, p. 37).

The general locative particle is glossed as *about*, *around*, *in*, *into*, *to*, & *unto*. 
Lord suggests that a Proto-Niger-Congo *na* ‘be at’ is the source for the conjunction, comitative preposition, locative verbs/prepositions, incompletive aspect particles, and items for possession that are found in many of the Benue-Kwa languages today (1993, pp. 30,50).
Early Modern English

Examples of Early Modern English are taken from the Gospel of John in the King James Bible, which was standardized in 1760 by Francis Sawyer Parris. Each excerpt appears as it does in the King James Version along with the translation from the English Standard Version (2001)
Early Modern English

John 1:7  This man came for a witness
This man came as a witness

John 1:16  grace for grace
grace upon grace

John 4:39  the Samaritans of that city believed on him
for the saying of the woman
...believed in him because of ...
Early Modern English

- John 10.10 The thief cometh not, but **for** to steal, and to kill, and to destroy.
- John 11.53 Then from that day **forth** they took counsel together **for** to put him to death.
- John 19.34 But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and **forthwith** came there out blood and water.
- John 21.6 they were not able to draw it **for** the multitude of fishes.
Portuguese-lexifier Creoles and Locative Constructions

*Na*, from Portuguese *na* 'in the (feminine)', appears as the locative preposition *par excellence*, encoding as it does the spatial relations BE-INSIDE
(i *sta na* kwartu 'S/he's in the room'),
BE-ON-THE-SURFACE
(i *sta na* mesa 'It's on the table'),
BE-AT-A-LOCATION
(i *sta na* fera 'S/he's at the market').
Typology of Locative Predication
(Ameka & Levinson, 2007, pp. 863-865)

**Type 0**: No Verb in the basic locative construction
(e.g., Saliba, Austronesian)

**Type I**: Single locative verb (or suppletion under grammatical conditioning)

Ia: Copula (i.e., dummy verbs used in many other constructions;
(e.g., English, Tamil, Chukchi, Tiriyó)

Ib: Locative (+Existential) verb
(e.g., Japanese, Ewe, Yukatek, Lavukaleve)

**Type II**: A small set of locative verbs (3-7 verbs)

IIa: Postural verbs (e.g., Arrernte, Dutch, Goemai)

IIb: Ground space indicating verbs (e.g., Tidore)

IIc: ‘be.on’, ‘be.in’, ‘be.at’, ‘hang’ (e.g., Nyagbo)

**Type III**: Multiverb positional verbs (a large set of dispositional verbs, 9-10)
(e.g., Tzeltal, Zapotec, German, Laz, Likpe)
Predictions about Type Ib Languages

Ameka and Levinson provide some predictions concerning Type I locatives with a single locative verb (2007, p. 856):

1. This is perhaps a minority strategy in the languages of the world;

2. Single locative verbs often extend their function to become support verbs for nominal and adjectival predications, i.e., become copulas;
3. Single locative verbs and copulas often derive diachronically from postural or positional verbs (e.g., \textit{estar} from \(*sta\)- ‘stand’), drawing their suppletive stems from the older set of verbs;

4. Such single locative predicates may often be under pressure from extended uses of human posturals, with postural positionals invading the following hierarchy of \textit{Figure} objects in locative constructions, from the animate end – thus offering an effective division of labor...:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Figural hierarchy}
\item \textit{animates} \textit{> free objects on surfaces} \textit{> contained objects} \textit{> attached objects}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item Postural verbs \textit{-------------------------> <-------------------------- Copula}
\end{itemize}