Language contact & the differentiation of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles

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Hypotheses

1. Varying degrees of language contact lead to varying degrees of transfer of linguistic material into AECs from: (1) Lexifier superstrates; (2) Non-lexifier superstrates; (3) African adstrates & substrates; (4) Non-African adstrates & substrates

2. As a consequence of differing contact profiles, individual AECs appear typologically more ‘African’ or more ‘European’ in specific subsystems but also in general

3. Language contact is a major cause of the differentiation of the AEC family after its creation
The data

- Based on data elicited for 5 Caribbean AECs, and 4 African AECs

- As well as 12 African languages from high-branching groups of the Niger-Congo phylum as well as Afro-Asiatic
Detailed studies of micro-variation of individual isoglosses (a feature, or a cluster of features) can reveal the contact profile of an AEC and explain some of the differentiation within the family.
# A typology of contact situations (Africa & Caribbean)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact/Scenario</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
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<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Naija</th>
<th>GhaP</th>
<th>Pichi</th>
<th>Jamaican</th>
<th>TrinC</th>
<th>Sranan</th>
<th>Limonese</th>
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The “subjunctive complex” in “Africa”
African languages with ‘SBJV complex’

1. Directives: 1SG – 3PL or part of the paradigm

2. In complements of strong deontic verbs:
   2.1. Indirect imperatives (*tell, force, ask to*)
   2.2. WANT
   2.3. Causatives (*make sb. do sth.*)

3. In complements of weak deontic verbs:
   3.1. Preference/aversion (*be good, fear, agree, remember to*)

4. Purpose clauses: *in order to/so that*
**SBJV complementizer in Asante Twi (Kwa)**

(1) *Ama de sika má-a Kofi*

Ama take money give-PST Kofi

‘Ama gave money to Kofi’ (Andenes et al. 2004)

(2) *mà yɛ-n-ko!*

SBJV 1PL-CON-go

‘Let’s go!’ (Osam 1998)

(3) *me-hyɛ-ɛ Kofi mà ɔ-noa-a nam*

1SG-force-PST Kofi sbjv 3SG.SBJ-cook-PST fish

'I forced Kofi to cook fish.' (Osam 1998)

(4) *Kofi pene-e so mà ɔ-noa-a nam nō*

Kofi agree-PST top SBJV 3SG.SBJ-cook-PST fish DEF

'Kofi agreed to cook the fish.' (Osam 1998)
SBJV mood marking in Susu (Mande, field data)

(1)  Mu  kha siga!
    1PL.EXCL SBJV go
    ‘Let’s go!’

(2)  N  wama (kha) a  kha siga.
    1SG make COMP 3SG SBJV go
    ‘I want him to leave.’

(3)  M  bara a  sa  tuli (kha) a  kha fa  be.
    1SG PRF 3SG put ear COMP 3SG SBJV come here
    ‘I convinced him to come here.’

(4)  N  na  tanka  tongo-fe (kha)  n  kha siga yamani  bökhi-ra.
    1SG BE.AT train take-INF COMP 1SG SBJV go German country-LOC
    ‘I am taking the train to go to Germany.’
Microvariation

(1) **ta**  **thomo**
    
    COH  dance
    
    ‘Let’s dance.’ [Temne, Atlantic]

(2) **mè-ná**  **wò-vá**  **àfí-i**.
    
    1SG.SBJ-give  3SG.SBJ-come  here-
    
    ‘I made him come here.’ [Ewe, Kwa]

(3) **mà**  **bóʔó**  **mé**  **tá**  **à**  **tsúú**  **kwó**.
    
    1SG.SBJ fear  COMP  SBJV  3SG.SBJ NEG  die
    
    ‘I fear that he should *not* die.’ [Bafut, Bantuoid]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>SBJV comp</th>
<th>SBJV in predicate</th>
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Form/function correlation of ‘SBJV complex’ in ‘Africa’
Form/function correlation ‘SBJV complex’ in Standard Average European
The “subjunctive complex” in the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles
Unitary subjunctive mood in *Pichi*

(1) **Mek** wi go!
   SBJV 1PL go
   ‘Let’s go!’

(2) À **mek** **mek** di gyal go.
   1SG.SBJ make SBJV DEF girl go
   ‘I made the girl go.’

(3) À gri **mek** à go de.
   1SG.SBJ agree SBJV 1SG.SBJ boy there
   ‘I agreed to go there.’

(4) È **bété** **mek** yu kan tumara.
   3SG.SBJ be.very.good SBJV 2SG come tomorrow.’
Unitary subjunctive mood in *Pichi*

(5) *Dɛ̀n alquila mòtó mek dɛ̀n viaja de.*

3PL hire car SBJV 3PL travel there

‘They hired a car in order to travel there.’

(6) *Tɔn=àn soté mek è tik.*

turn=3SG.OBJ until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick

‘Turn it [the porridge] until it is thick.’

(7) *È fit bi se è gò kan tumara.*

3SG.SBJ can BE QUOT 3SG.SBJ POT come tomorrow

‘It is possible that he comes tomorrow.’
Mildly ‘scattered’ subjunctive mood in Tobagonian

(1) a) *mek i komout fran ya!*
   SBJV 3SG.SBJ come.out from here
   ‘let him come out from there.’

   b) *le i komout fran ya!*
   SBJV 3SG.SBJ come.out from here

(2) a) *mi want am fo kam hoom orli.*
   1SG.SBJ want 3SG.OBJ PREP come home early
   ‘I want him to come home early.’

   b) *mi want (fo) le/mek i/am kam hoom.*
   1SG.SBJ want (PREP) SBJV 3SG.SBJ/3SG.OBJ come home
   ‘I want him to come home.’
Mildly ‘scattered’ subjunctive mood in Tobagonian

(3) *i gud *mek i faal dong.
   3SG.SBJ be.good SBJV 3SG.SBJ fall down
   ‘Serves him right that (if) he falls.’

(4) a) mi *mek am go bay chiken bring kom.
   1SG.SBJ make 3SG.OBJ go buy chicken bring come
   ‘I made him go buy a chicken (and) bring it back (to where I am).

b) *mi *mek i go bay chiken bring kom.
   1SG.SBJ make 3SG.SBJ go buy chicken bring come
   ‘I made him go buy a chicken (and) bring it back (to where I am).
Mildly ‘scattered’ coding of SBJV mood in Sranan (Suriname)

(1) Meki mi no dede esi.

SBJV 1SG NEG DIE quick
‘Let me not die early.’

(2)(a) Mi wani meki yu kari en gi mi.

1SG want SBJV 2SG carry 3SG.EMP give 1SG
‘I want you to carry it for me.’

(b) Mi wani dati yu musu kari en gi mi.

1SG want that 2SG must carry 3SG.EMP give 1SG
‘I want you to carry it for me.’
Mildly ‘scattered’ coding of SBJV mood in Sranan (Suriname)

1) (a) *Dringi a dresi meki yu no kan siki.*

‘Drink the medicine in order not to fall sick.’

(b) *Kafti yu buku fu a no flaka.*

‘Cover your book so that it does not get dirty.’

(c) *Kafti yu buku so dati a no flaka.*

‘Cover your book so that it does not get dirty.’
‘Scattered’ SBJV marking in Jamaican Creole

(1) **Mek** mi/a tel yu sopm.

SBJV 1SG.EMP/1SG.SBJ tell 2SG something
‘Let me ask you something.’

(2) **Mek** wi go.

SBJV 1PL go
‘Let’s go.’

(3) **Dem** no fi luk fi i.

3PL NEG MOOD look PREP it
‘They shouldn’t look for it.’

(4) **Mi** fi/shuda go de?

1SG MOOD/MOOD go there
‘Should I go there?’
Summary of findings
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<th>Characteristic of SBJV marker</th>
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<th>Naija</th>
<th>Sranan</th>
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<th>Jamaican</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognate of causative verb</td>
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<td>In complement clauses of strong deontic main verbs</td>
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<td>In complement clauses of weak deontic main verbs</td>
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<td>In complement (effect) clause of causative verb</td>
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Predictions of language contact outcomes

- pole: no unitary SBJV mood category, + pole: unitary SBJV category
### Forces of convergence and divergence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'African pole'</th>
<th>'European pole'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African substrate contact</td>
<td>Lexifier superstrate contact</td>
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<td>(shift)</td>
<td>Non-lexifier superstrate contact</td>
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‘African’ pole  ←  ‘European’ pole

Non-African/ non-European pole

Internal development
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