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

SPCL summer conference, Accra, 2-6 August 2011

Kofi Yakpo

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

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

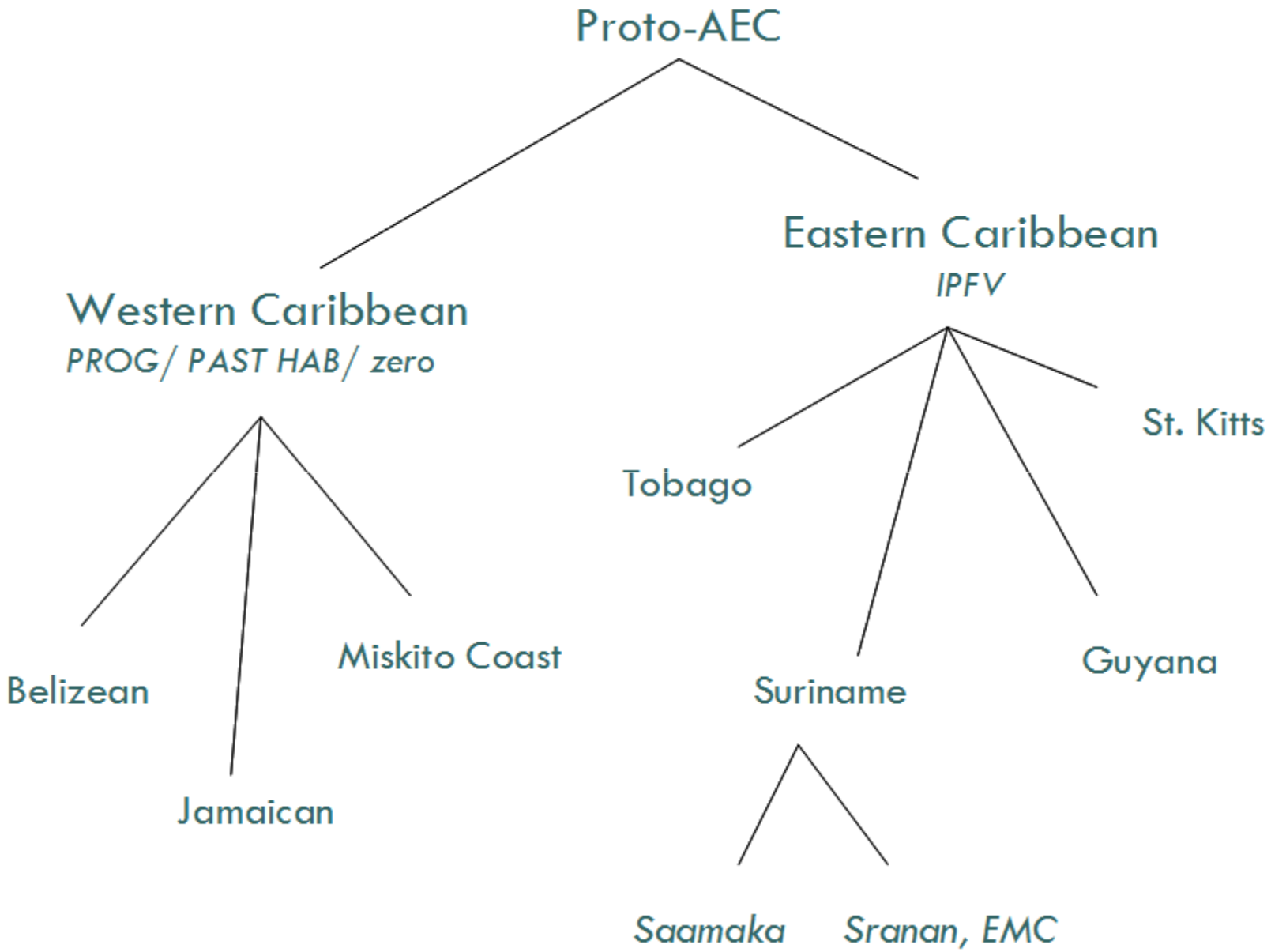
The data

- 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

- Devonish 1998, 2002
- Hancock 1969, 1987
- Winford 2001

⇨ 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


Proto-AEC
Western Caribbean
PROG/ PAST HAB/ zero
Eastern Caribbean
IPFV
Belizean
Jamaican
Miskito Coast
Tobago
St. Kitts
Suriname
Guyana
Saamaka
Sranan, EMC

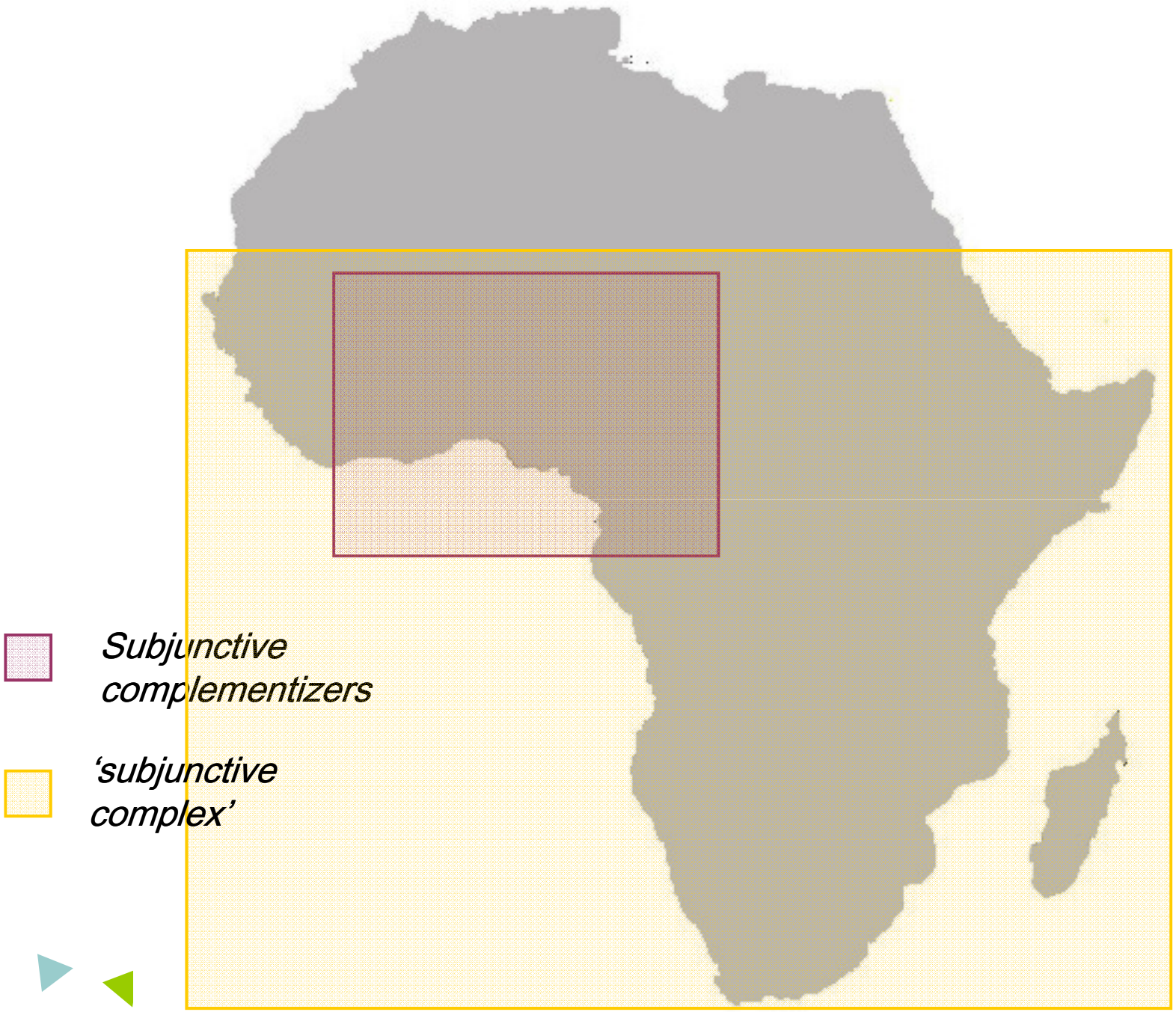
A typology of contact situations (Africa & Caribbean)

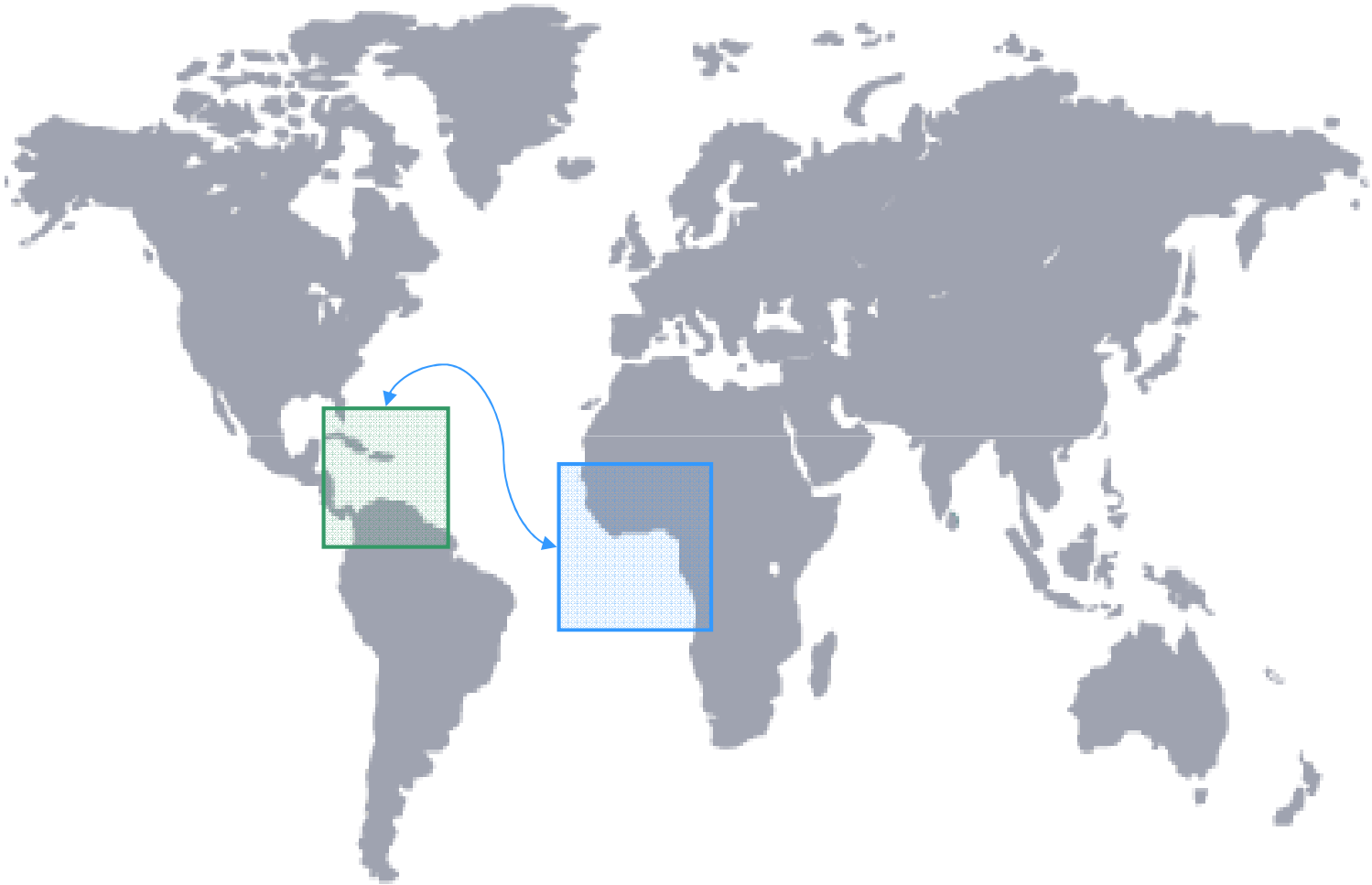
Contact/Scenario	**S1**	**S2**	**S3**	**S4**	**S5**	**S6**	**S7**
Lex Sup	X	X		X	X		
Non-Lex Sup			X			X	X
African Ads	X	X	X				
Non-African Ads						X	
African Sub	X		X				
Non-African Sub					X		
Languages	*Naija*	*GhaP*	*Pichi*	*Jamaican*	*TrinC*	*Sranan*	*Limonese*
	Krio			*Tobagonian*	*Guyanese*		

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*


Subjunctive complementizers
'subjunctive complex'



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-kɔ!*

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 nõ*

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*** *thɔmɔ*

COH dance

‘Let’s dance.’ [Temne, Atlantic]

(2) *mè-ná* *wò-vá* *àfí-ì.*

1SG.SBJ-give 3SG.SBJ-come here-

‘I made him come here.’ [Ewe, Kwa]

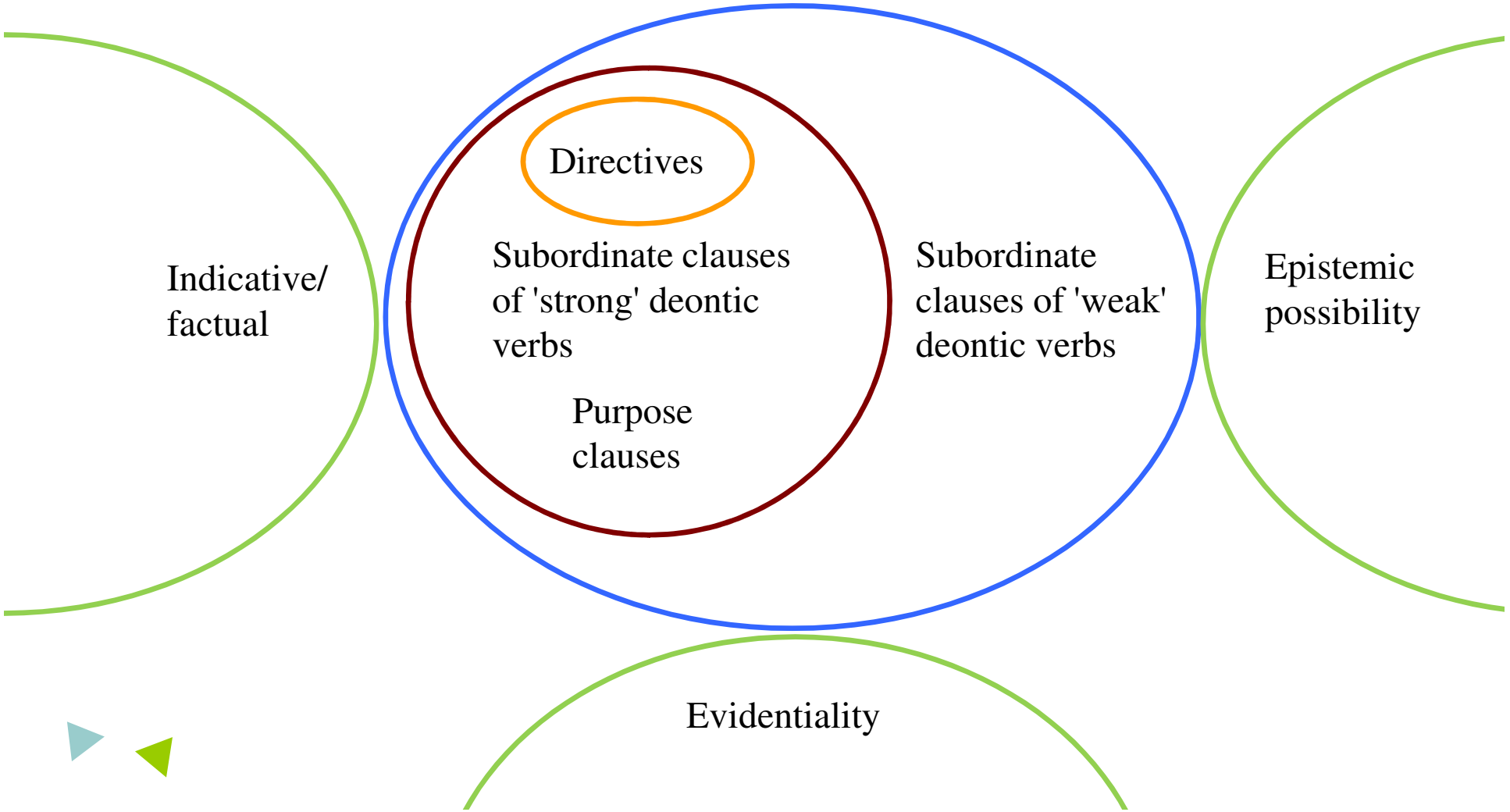
(3) *mà* *bɔ́ʔɔ́* *mə́* ***tá*** *à* ***tsúú*** *kwó.*

1SG.SBJ fear COMP SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG die

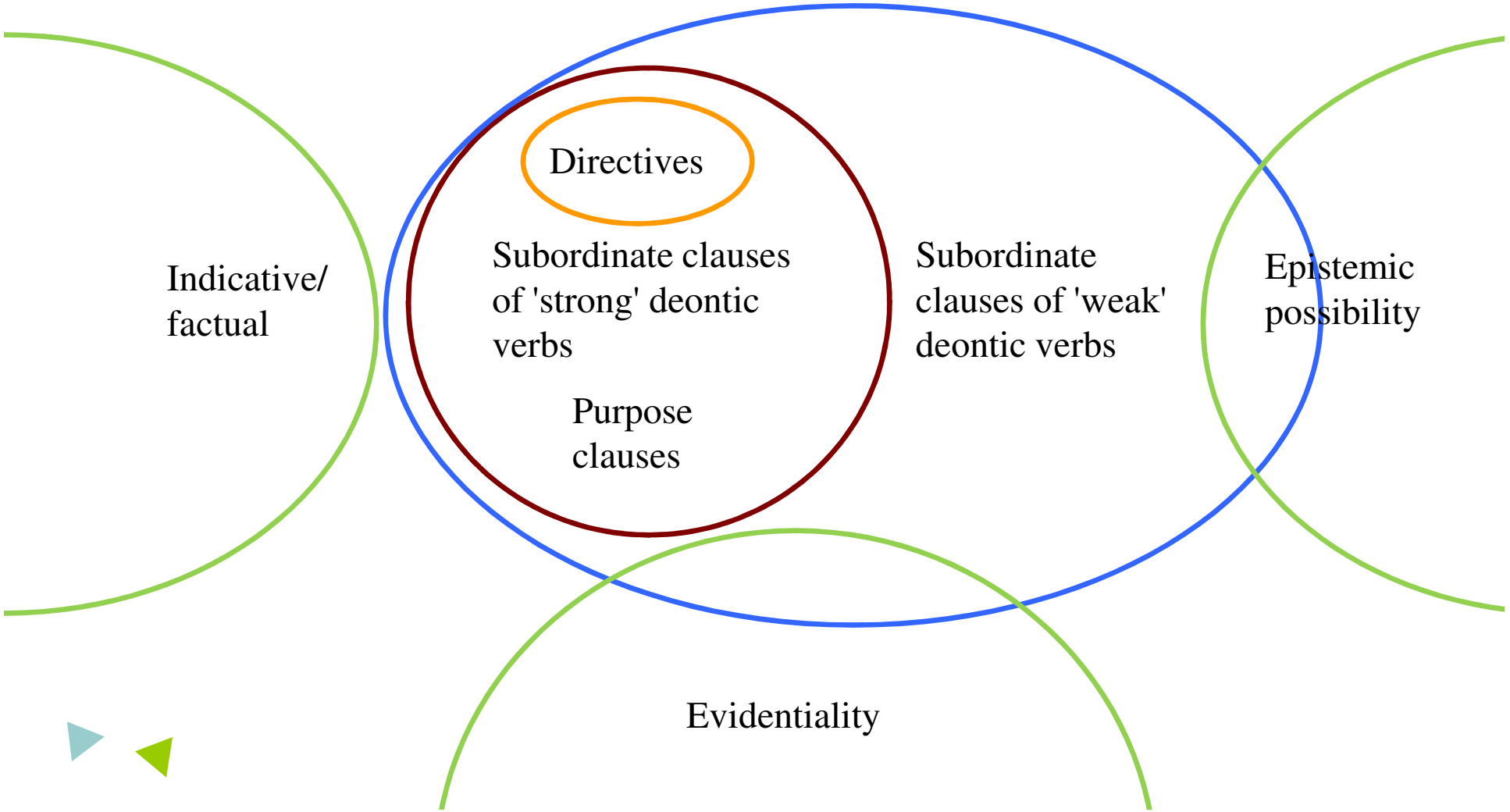
‘I fear that he should *not* die.’ [Bafut, Bantuoid]

Family	*Languages*	*SBJV comp*	*SBJV in predicate*
Atlantic	Temne	X	
Kwa	Gun	X	
	Ewe	X	X
Kwa	Asante Twi, Fante, Baule	X	
Gur	Kabye		X
Mande	Susu		X
	Samɔgɔkan		X
Yoruboid	Yoruba	X	
Igboid	Igbo	X	
Bantuoid	Bafut	X	
Afro-Asiatic	Amharic		X

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*** *wì* *go!*
SBJV 1PL go
'Let's go!'

(2) *À* *mek* ***mek*** *dì* *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* *bɛtɛ* ***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.'

(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 DEF.SG medicine SBJV 2SG NEG can be.sick
'Drink the medicine in order not to fall sick.'

(b) *Kafti yu buku **fu** a no flaka.*
cover 2SG book PREP 3SG NEG be.dirty
'Cover your book so that it does not get dirty.'

(c) *Kafti yu buku **so dati** a no flaka.*
cover 2SG book sothat 3SG NEG be.dirty
'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.'

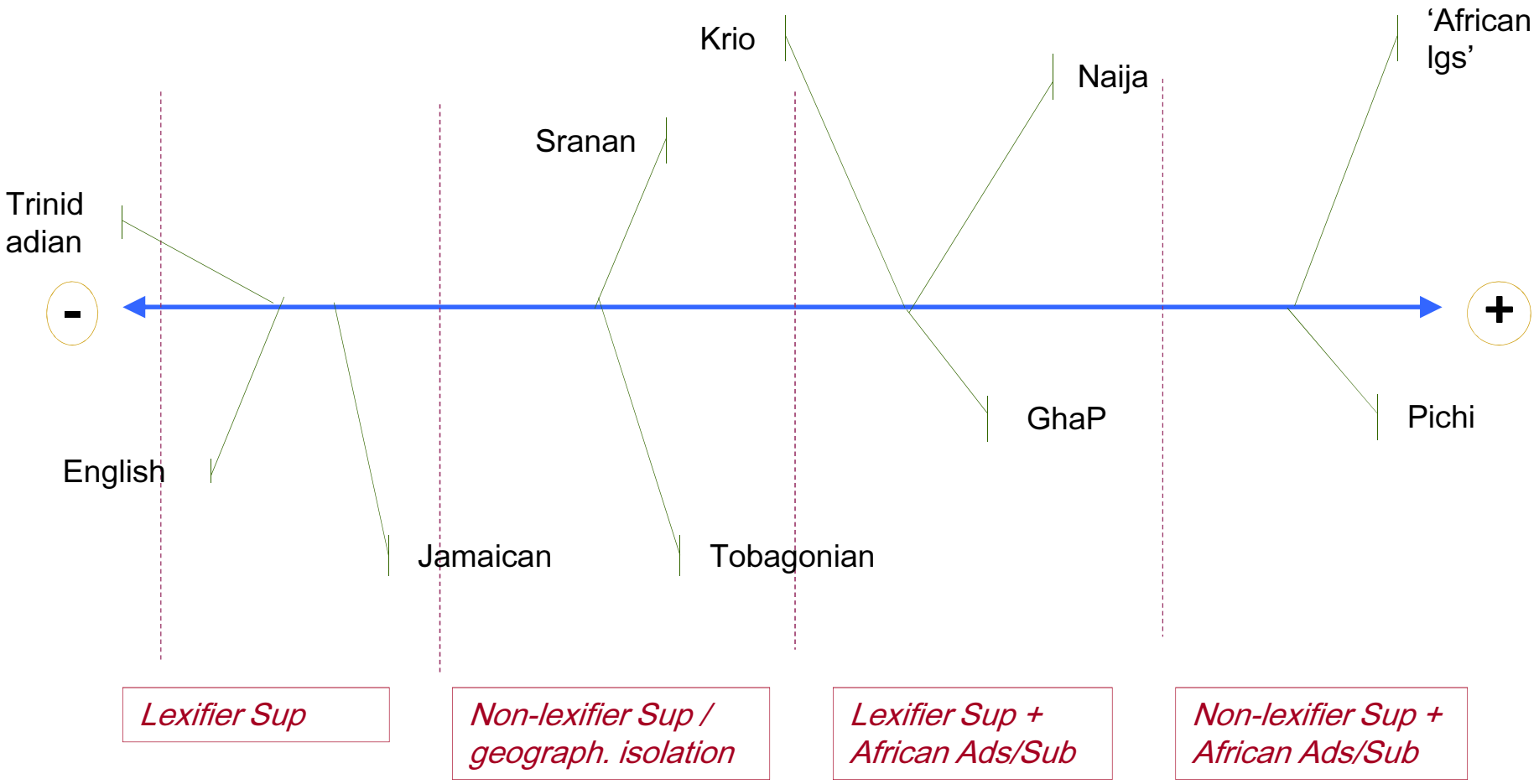
(3) *Dem* *no* ***fi*** *luk* *fi* *i.*
3PL NEG MOOD look PREP it
'They shouldn't look for it.'

(4) *Mi* ***fi / shuda*** *go* *de?*
1SG MOOD/MOOD go there
'Should I go there?'

Summary of findings

Characteristic of SBJV marker	Pichi	Naija	Sranan	Tobagonian	Jamaican
Cognate of causative verb	X	X	X	X	X
Complementiser	X	X	X	X	
In directive main clauses	X	X	X	X	(X)
In purpose clauses	X	X	(X)	(X)	
In complement clauses of strong deontic main verbs	X	X	(X)	(X)	
In complement clauses of weak deontic main verbs	X	X			
In complement (effect) clause of causative verb	X				

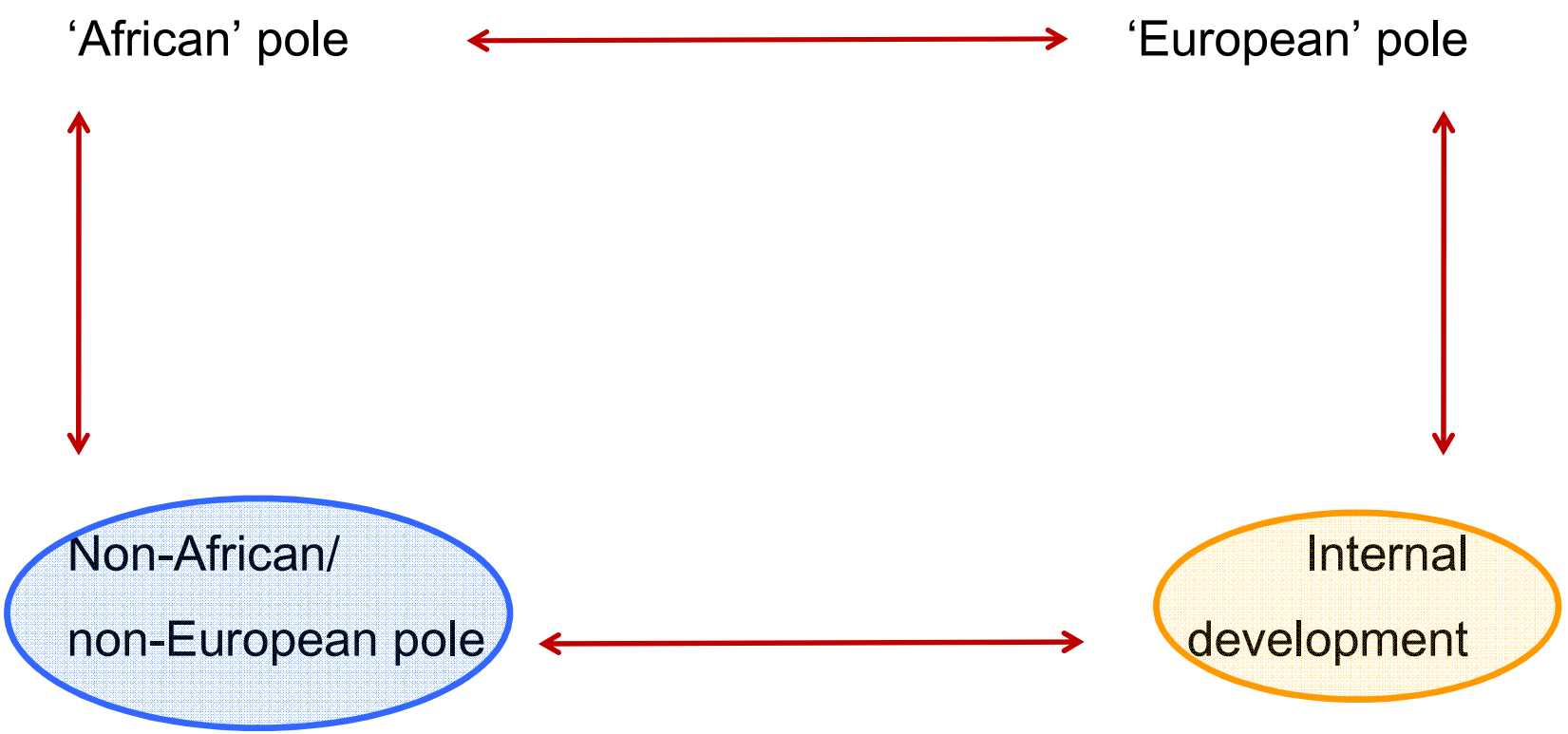
Predictions of language contact outcomes



- pole : no unitary SBJV mood category, + pole : unitary SBJV category

Forces of convergence and divergence

‘African pole’	‘European pole’
African adstrate contact	Lexifier superstrate contact
African substrate contact (shift)	Non-lexifier superstrate contact


‘African’ pole
‘European’ pole
Non-African/
non-European pole
Internal
development

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

SPCL summer conference, Accra, 2-6 August 2011

Kofi Yakpo

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen