



Temporal relations in bilingual discourse in West Africa, Suriname and the Netherlands: Implications for creole formation

Margot van den Berg
Radboud Univ. Nijmegen

Komlan Essizewa
Université de Lomé

Kamailoudini Tagba
Université de Lomé

(with Evershed Amuzu and Elvis Yevudey, University of Ghana, Legon)





Introduction

A comparison of multilingual language practices in West Africa, Suriname, The Netherlands:

different regions, different settings, different times

BUT

same languages in contact: English, Dutch, Gbe, Akan

Ultimate locus of language contact is **the bilingual speaker**, as in the bilingual individual we observe codeswitching, transfer etc. (Romaine 1996),

and bilingual speakers play an important role in the creole formation process, even though in P/C studies monolingual children are most often seen as primary agents in the creole formation process (stabilization).



Introduction

Three generation scenario of language shift for creole formation (Roberts, Siegel)

G1	untutored L2A	by adults (slaves/indentured servants)
G2	bilingual L1A	by the 1st gen. of locally-born children
G3	L1A	by the 1st gen. of monolingual creole speakers

Innovations restricted to G1 and G2, G3 regulates:

G1 introduces new morphosyntactic features (substrate calquing)

G2 assigns new functions to these features (mostly based on models found in their ancestral language)

G3 systematizes the use of these features, stable grammars



Children vs. Adults

**Proportion of children - Arends, Singler, but also
Carla Hudson Kam (2005):**

“One child among thousands of adults, however, is very unlikely to pass on a stabilized variety to a substantial number of people, but many children have the potential to. Thus the language will emerge in a more stable form throughout the speech community only upon the presence of a large number of children. **It is not a question whether children will stabilize the language, it is a question of when, and what kinds of forms the adults’ speech contains at that time.**” (JPCL20:2, 2005).



Acquisition vs. Use

Debate on creole formation dominated by the role of acquisition, be it processes of L1A or L2A (L1 transfer), imperfect or strategic/naturalistic, etc.,

resulting in several studies comparing findings of L1 and/or L2 acquisition studies with creole structures.

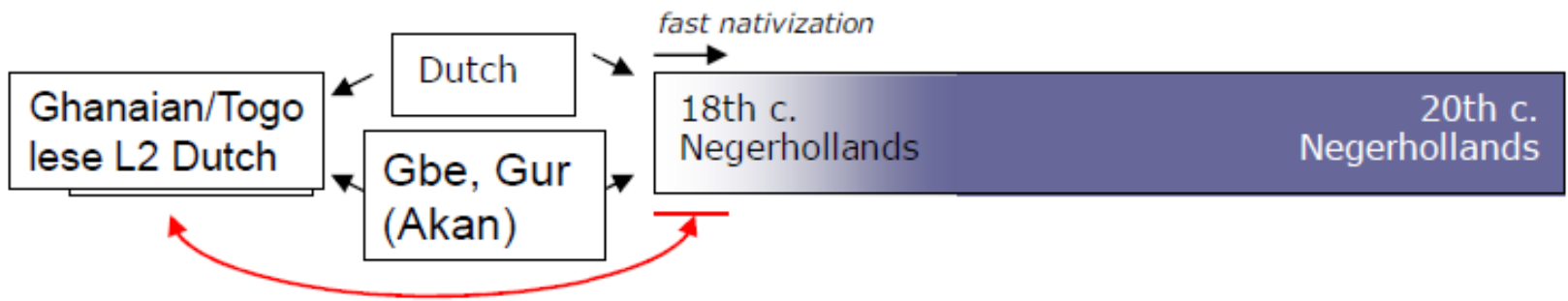
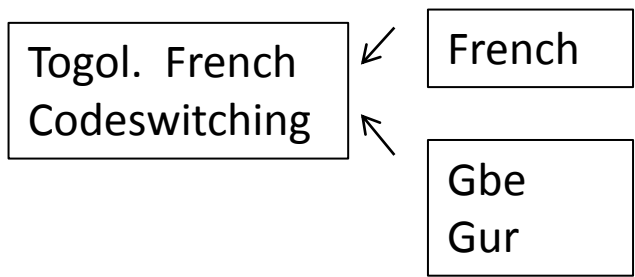
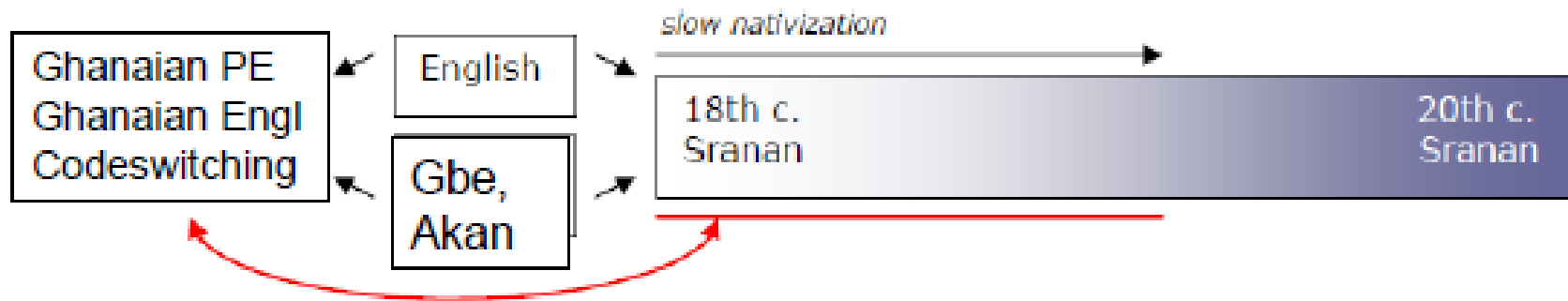
But acquisition differs from L2 use, as Siegel (2008) points out:

- What strategies and types of knowledge do L2 speakers use when they (try to) communicate in the L2?
- In **L2 USE** the goal is not grammatical acquisition but successful communication, the target language is not really important.
- In **L2 USE** more functional transfer than in L2A.

=> In order to gain a deeper understanding of creole formation we need to look at L2 **USE** rather than L2A, in particular the kind of multilingual language use found in West Africa



NWO VENI project 'Creoles at birth? The role of nativization in creole formation' (2009 – 2012)





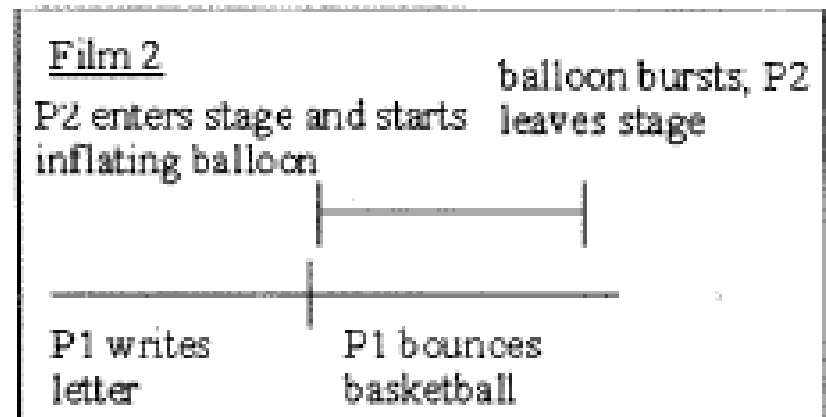
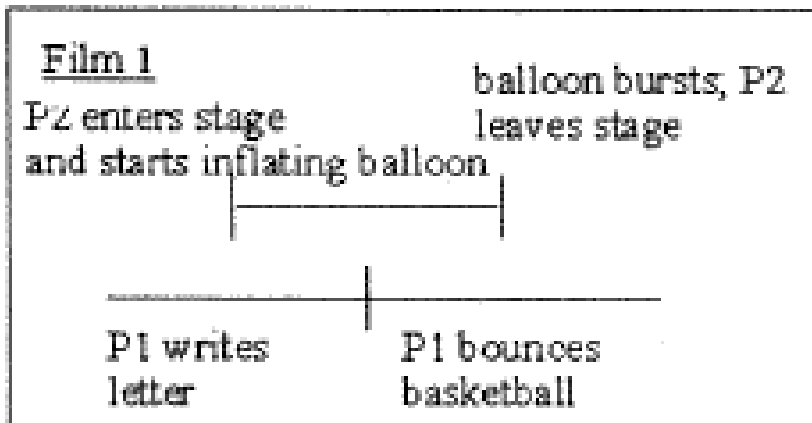
Data collection in collaboration with Evershed Amuzu and Komlan Essizewa

	GHANA		TOGO		NL
	Monol. (Gbe, Akan, Engl.)	CS	Monol. Gbe, Gur, French	CS	CS
Toy Task	3 Ewe 2 Akan 4 English	2 Ewe-Akan-Eng	1 Waci 2 Ewe 2 Kabiye 1 Mina 9 French	2 Ewe-French 2 Kabiye - Ewe	1 Twi-Du 1 Ntcham - Du
Elicikit	5 Akan 5 Ewe 10 English		6 Ntcam 6 Kabiye 12 French 2 Mina 1 Losso		
Tempest videoclips	2 Ewe 2 Akan (English)	2 Ewe-Akan-Eng	1 Waci 2 Ewe 4 Kabiye (French)	2 Ewe-French 2 Kabiye - Ewe	



The TEMPEST VIDEOCLIPS (BOHNEMEYER)

- referential communication task with a video-stimulus, Bohnemeyer's TEMPorality Elicitation Stimulus (TEMPEST)
- two speakers discuss the order of the events in 4 + 24 pairs of videoclips.
- In communicating the same event orders, do speakers of Yukatek and German equally code event order? Are speakers of Yukatek and German equally successful in identifying, categorizing and communicating the same event orders?





The TEMPEST VIDEOCLIPS – West African Style



How do multilingual speakers code event order in their languages? Transfer, other traces of contact?



The TEMPEST VIDEOCLIPS – West African Style

- Data collection august 2010, 2011 in Accra (Ghana) and Lomé and Kara, Togo
- 2 informants, 2 roles (identifier, describer), 2 laptops, 1+25 pairs of clips.
- Some speaker pairs are instructed to switch, others are instructed to only speak Ewe, Akan, Kabiye, N'cam.
- after the first seven clips, we make the informants switch roles, then informant (1) after seven sessions in the role of the describer, becomes the identifier and vice-versa
- after 14 clips, they are asked to switch languages. Thus, we collected similar data on two of the speaker's languages, generating comparable data on how one and the same speaker performs on the task while speaking different languages, in which the coding of event order relations like anteriority, posteriority and simultaneity can be very dissimilar.



Expressing event order in Kabiye, monolingual and bilingual speech

- According Bohnemeyer (2000:1), “event order relations are two-place semantic relations that locate an event on the time axis with respect to another event or to the moment of utterance.”
- Kabiye monolingual and bilingual speakers use different strategies to express event order in their daily speech. We observed that the speakers use adverbs, conjunctions, and verbal expressions to express event order.

- In the data below, I use normal script for Kabiye, Ewe is underlined, and French italicized in bilingual descriptions of events. Words expressing event order are in bold.

Kabiye monolingual speech in Kara and Lome

In (1a&b) the linking adverb **lɛ** ‘then’ is used to express anterior event order. The two events S1 and S2 are joined by **lɛ** ‘then’, where S1 is anterior to S2. In (1b), the verb **tɛm** ‘to finish/end/terminate’ express the terminative event in the second clause (S2).

1a. S1 + **lɛ** + S2] ε-dá ηdatu **lɛ** ε-suli tɛkɛyaɣ
3sg-spit saliva then 3sg-close letter
“She spit (on the envelop) then closed the letter.”

b. **tɛm** ε-dɛm-á tɔv **lɛ** ε-kpɔ solum nɛ ε-ñɔ
3sg-finish-PAST 3sg-take local.wine 3sg-drink
“After eating, she took wine and drank.”

Event order is also expressed sequentially, showing progressiveness of the events with no overlapping at all. This is expressed in Kabiye by . **wε ...lε** ‘be ..then’ or **dìɣnaυ +V... lε** ‘be + verb’ (= *V-ing*) form in English or ‘*en train de + verb*’ in French. This can be seen in (2a&b).

2a. **wε ...lε + S** ε-wε ε-ñɔυ sɔlɔm lε + S
 3sg be 3sg-drink local.wine then
 “While she was drinking wine, ...”

b. **dìɣnaυ ... lε+S** ε-dɔŋ/dìɣna máυ lε, halυ nɔyυ liina ...
 3sg-PROGRES jump then woman certain come.out.from...
 “While she was jumping, a (certain) woman came out from ...”

As can be seen in (3a) through (3h), the adverbials **pikeda** **ɛ**/**tásu** **ɛ** /**labu pazi** **ɛ** ‘afterwards/after some time’, **pazu** ... **ɛ** ‘to start’, **yele ne** ‘and then’, . **picɔ** (**ni**) .. ‘before’, **calu** **ɛ**/. **kajalay** (**taa**) **ɛ**... ‘firstly’, **nabilɛ** **ɛ**/ **tózó** **ɛ** ‘secondly/thirdly’, all express sequence order of events in Kabiye.

3a. **pikeda** **ɛ**

pikeda **ɛ**, **ɛ**-kpiyi **tɛkɛyaɣ** **ne**. **ɛ**-ɖu...

afterwards 3sg fold letter and 3sg-put.into ...

“Afterwards, she folded the letter and put it into ...”

b. **tásu** **ɛ** + S

pi-tási **ɛ** **ɛ**-kɔn-á **tɛkɛyaɣ** **ɛ**-si **ɛ**kplɔ **yɔɔ**

3sg-add then 3sg bring.PAST letter 3sg put table on

“Afterwards, he brought the letter and put it on the table.”

3a. pikɛda lɛ

pikɛda lɛ, ɛ-kpiyi tɛkɛyaɔ nɛ. ɛ-ɔv...

afterwards 3sg fold letter and 3sg-put.into ...

“Afterwards, she folded the letter and put it into ...”

b. tásv lɛ + S

pi-tási lɛ ɛ-kɔn-á tɛkɛyaɔ ɛ-si ɛkplɔ yɔɔ

3sg-add then 3sg bring.PAST letter 3sg put table on

“Afterwards, he brought the letter and put it on the table.”

c. pazv ... lɛ

ɛ-pazá kpíyɔ se ɛ-ɔv huyiɔ daa lɛ...

3sg-start fold so.as 3sg put.in bag in then

“When she began to fold and put it into the bag...”

d. labv pazi lɛ+S

pi-lab-á pazi lɛ halu lɛlv hɔ ɛ-kpaɔ kpélaɔ ni. .

3sg-do-PAST small then woman certain go.out 3sg-take chair and

“After some moments, a (certain) woman came out and took a chair and.”

e. **yele nɛ+S** pi-yéle nɛ ɛ-kpaɣ ɛ-pám nɛ ɛ-nɔɔ
 3sg-leave and 3sg-take 3sg-cover with 3sg-mouth
 “And then she took it to cover her mouth.”

f. **picɔ (ni) ... lɛ+S** picɔ (ni) ɛ-bázi sulum ñɔv lɛ ...
 before 3sg-start local.beer drink then ...
 “Before starting to drink”

g. **calv lɛ + S** pi-cal-á lɛ, halibiya caaɣ *table* yɔɔ
 3sg-start.PAST then girl sit -- on
 “Firstly, girl was seating on a table.”

h. **kajalaɣ (taa) lɛ,** kajalaɣ (taa) lɛ, halú nɔɔyo caaɣ...
 first (in) then woman certain sit ...
 “Firstly, a (certain) woman sat ...”

Kabiye-Ewe/Mina CS in Lome

In Kabiye-Ewe bilingual speech in Lome, the speakers use Ewe adverbials, conjunctions, and verbal expressions to express event order. The expressions can be followed either by a Kabiye (Ks) or Ewe (Es) event. These are illustrated in (4) through (7).

4. **tutu gbã lɛ + Ks** tutugbã lɛ ɛ-zɪ ekplɔ yɔɔ
Firstly then 3sg put table on
“Firstly, she put it on the table.”

5. **eve goã + Es + Ks** eve goã, nyɔnu nɔ anyi le wɔ dɔ + Ks
secondly woman sit down be do work + Ks
“Secondly, a woman sat down working.”

6. **ke bé le + Es + Ks** ke bé le ɲɔ enu kpoa, nyɔnu ɔe tó + Ks
while 3sg be write thing then woman certain went.out
“Then while she was writing a (certain) woman came out.”

7. **kpoa + Es + Ks** kpoa e-sɔ aha le nu + Ks
then-Def 3sg-take local.wine be drink + Ks
“Then she took wine and started drinking it.”

Kabiye-French CS Kara

Contrast to Lome, we observed that in Kara, all switches are in Kabiye-French. However, the speakers systematically used only Kabiye items to express event order as shown in (8) through (14).

8. ϵ -kɔm-á $\text{I}\epsilon$ ϵ -caaɣ *lit pico* taa
3sg-come-PAST then 3sg-sit camp.bed on
“When she arrived, she sat on a camp bed.”

9. ϵ -kɔyi ϵ -hɔ ϵ dì caŋŋ $\text{n}\epsilon$, ϵ -kpaɣ *ballon* kpelaɣ ϵ sɪŋdaa. $\text{n}\epsilon$ ϵ -pazi
3sg-wake.up 3sg-stretch self lengthly and 3sg-take ball chair front and 3sg-start
labɔ tiper tɛtaa
do bounce floor.on

“After stretching him/herself lengthly, she took a ball and started bouncing it.”

10. ε-**dεm**-ά **λε** ε-κρῶγ ε-δυγ *poubelle* taa

3sg finish-PAST 3sg-take dustbin in

“When she finished, she put it into the dustbin.”

11. ε-δυ *enveloppe* taa **λε**, ε-sυλ

3sg-put – in then 3sg-close

“When she put it into the envelop, she closed it.”

12. **π**-calά **λε**/**κα**jalῶγ **λε** halibiya caa *tabli* γῶ ni ε-κρῶγ *envelope*

3sg-start/in.the.beginning then girl sit – on and 3sg-take ---

“Firstly, a girls sat on a table and took an envelop.”

13. halibay **λε**εka hina *lit pico* γῶ, piyéle **νε** **λε**εka **νε** *tabli* γῶ

Girl another sleep camp.bed on and.then then another.girl be table on

“One girl was sleeping on a camp bed and another on the table.”

Conclusion



Overall, we found that (i) in both monolingual and bilingual speeches, Kabiye speakers code pervasively event order using Kabiye adverbials, conjunctions, and verbal expressions; (ii) There is no specific marking of the verb for event order in Kabiye; and (iii) Kabiye expressions are overwhelmingly preferred to their Ewe or French counterparts; not a single event order expression was found in French in the data. Possible explanations for this may lie in the difference in the way the speaker's second language is acquired, i.e., between formal and naturalistic. Another possibility may involve the overall syntactic similarity between Kabiye and Ewe.



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