

Akan substrate influence on three Western Caribbean Creoles revisited

1. Introduction

2. Previous work

3. Scope of this paper

4. The features examined

4.1. Compound interrogatives (APiCS 19)

(1) SA *wepaat/ wapaat* (< *where/what* + *part*) ‘where’ and *wentaim* (< *when* + *time*) ‘when’, *we...fa* (< *where/what ... for*), *wa meik* (< *what* + *make*) ‘why’ (Bartens 2003: 70)

(2) NK *wen taim* ‘when’, *wich paat* (< *which part*) and *wat/wich said* (< *what/which side*) ‘where’, *fo wat* (< *for what*) ‘why’, and *húuda(t)* (< *who’s that*) ‘who’

(3) Akuapem Twi *ehẽ’na* ‘which person; who’, *dẽ’n* ‘what thing; what’, *ehẽ* ‘which place; where’, *dábe’n* ‘what day; when’ (Christaller 1875: 42-43)

(4) Fanti *ibèn adí* ‘what’, *ibèn abír* ‘what time; when’, *ibèn adí ’ntí* ‘what reason; why’ (Welmers 1946: 52)

(5) Akyem *onipa ben* ‘which person; who’, *asem ben* ‘what matter’, *dodoɔ ahe* ‘how much/many’ (Boadi 2006: 25).

(6) Akyem *hãe* ‘who’, *ẽdeen* ‘what’, *ehẽ* ‘where’, *ahe* ‘how many’

4.2. Nominal plural marking and associative plurals (APiCS 24)

(7) SA *bwai dem*
boy 3PL
‘the boys’ (Bartens 2003: 30)

(8) SA *Alma dem*
Alma 3PL
‘Alma and her family/folks/friends’ (Bartens fieldnotes)

(9) PR *Mis Aurora dem*
Miss Aurora 3PL
‘Miss Aurora and her folks/family/friends’ (Bartens 2003: 31)

(10) NK *Dama dem*

Dama 3PL

‘Dama and his family’

(FOREIBCA 2005b)

(11) Akuapem Twi *obi* ‘someone, another’, *ebinom* ‘some/other people’ (Christaller 1875: 42-43)

(12) Asante Twi *nua* ‘sibling’, *(a)nuanom* ‘siblings’ (Dolphyne 1996: 104)

(13) Akuapem Twi *Paulo nom*

Paul 3PL

‘Paul and his company’

(Christaller 1875: 44)

(14) Asante Twi *Kwasi nom.*

Kwasi 3PL

‘Kwasi and his company’ (Danso 1983: 87)

4.3 . Generic noun phrases in subject function (APiCS 30)

(15) NK *Aligieta gou ap tu footiin fiit.*

alligator go up to fourteen feet

‘Alligators measure up to fourteen feet.’

(FARP 2007)

(16) PR *Naansi tel Breda Monki fi luk hou fi him*

Anansi tell Brother Monkey comp look how for 3sg.poss

‘Anansi told Brother Monkey to look how his

ded dag hed kyan kech hag.

dead dog head can catch hog

dead dog’s head could catch hogs.’

(Bartens field recordings)

(17) Akuapem Twi *opété tè fúnu nkǎ à, nâ ɔ-re-bá*

vulture perceive carcass smell PTCL COMP 3SG-PROG-come

‘When the vulture smells a carcass, it comes forthwith.’ (Christaller 1875: 162)

(18) Akyem *ɔ-pramiré di n-kòsuá*

SG-cobra HAB.eat PL-egg

‘a cobra eats eggs.’

(Boadi 2006: 125)

(19) Akyem *a-pramiré di n-kòsuá*

PL-cobra HAB.eat PL-egg

‘cobras eat eggs.’

(Boadi 2006: 125)

(20) SA *Di dag dem baak.*

ART.DEF dog PL bark

‘Dogs bark.’

(Bartens field notes)

4.4. Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives (APiCS 32)

- (21) SA *So dis die Beda Taiga gaan sii hou*
so DEM.SG day Brother Tiger go.ANT see how
'So on this day Brother Tiger went to see how

ihn muma de.
3SG.POSS mother COP.LOC
his mother was doing.' (Bartens field recordings)

- (22) NK *Diiz yong piipl du-in dis.*
DEM.PL young people do-GER DEM.SG
'These young people are doing it.' (FARP 2007)

- (23) Akuapem Twi *e-héna tám ne yi*
which-person cloth COP DEM
'Whose cloth is this?' (Christaller 1875: 43)

- (24) Akuapem Twi *ɔtám yi wɔ́ me*
cloth DEM COP.LOC 1SG.POSS
'This cloth belongs to me.' (Christaller 1875: 43)

- (25) Akyem *ɔ-práko yi tiá-à o-kíosie no so*
SG-pig DEM step-PST SG-rat DEM top
'This pig stepped on that rat.' (Boadi 2006: 128)

- (26) SA *Dis-ya leta da fi mi.*
DEM-ENF letter FOC for 1SG
'This (very) letter is for me/mine.' (Bartens 2003: 48)

- (27) Akuapem Twi *Abofrá no-ara ni!*
child DEM-ENF COP!
'This is just that boy!' (Christaller 1875: 49)

- (28) Akuapem Twi *Oh, ɛ-yɛ ara.*
oh 3SG-be.good a bit
'Oh, it is a bit fine.' (Dolphyne 1996: 114)

4.5. Distributive numerals through reduplication (APiCS 34)

- (29) SA *Dehn kom iin wan wan.*
3PL.SUBJ come in one one
'They came in one by one.' (Bartens 2003: 65)

- (30) SA *Mary an Peter keeri trii trii grip.*
Mary and Peter take three three suitcase
'Mary and Peter took three suitcases each.' (Bartens field notes)

- (31) Akuapem Twi *ɔmã'ã mmofrá dú no nhĩ`ná mmán dú dú*
3SG-PRET.give PL.boy ten DEM all string ten ten

‘He gave those ten boys each of them ten strings.’
(Christaller 1875: 53)

4.6. Existential clauses (APiCS 64, 78)

(32) SA *Tu moch hous iina Nort End.*
too much house in North End
‘There are too many houses in North End.’ (Bartens 2003: 46)

(33) SA *San Andrés gat plenty biich.*
San Andrés get plenty beach
‘There are many beaches on San Andrés.’ (Bartens 2003: 46)

(34) SA *Jack memba se ihn get seven okro*
Jack remember comp 3SG.SUBJ get seven okra
‘Jack remembered he had seven pods of okra

iina ihn pakit.
in 3SG.POSS pocket
in his pocket.’ (Bartens field recordings)

(35) Asante Twi *Wo nuaabaa wɔ he?*
2SG.POSS sister COP.LOC INT
‘Where is your sister?’ (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1998: 47)

(36) Asante Twi *Wowɔ nkosua bi tɔn?*
3PL.COP.LOC PL.egg some sell
‘Are there any eggs for sale?’ (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1998: 39)

(37) Akuapem Twi *siká bi wɔ` mé fòtó mù*
gold some cop.LOC 1SG.POSS moneybag within
‘There is some gold in my bag.’ (Christaller 1875: 119)

(38) Asante Twi *Me papa wɔ nuammaa pii.*
1SG.POSS father COP.LOC sister.PL a lot
‘My father has many sisters.’ (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1998: 29)

4.7. ‘Headache’ (APiCS 66)

(39) SA *Mi hed de hot mi.*
1SG.POSS head PROG hurt 1SG.OBJ
‘I have a headache.’ (Bartens field notes)

(40) Akuapem Twi *me tí beɲ me*
1SG.POSS head hurt 1SG.OBJ

‘My head aches.’ (Christaller 1875: 116;
Bureau of Ghana Languages 2000: 31)

- (41) Asante Twi *Me tiri pae me.*
1SG.POSS head hurt 1SG.OBJ
‘I have a headache.’ (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1998: 29)

- (42) Fante *Me tsir paa me.*
1SG.POSS head hurt 1SG.OBJ
‘I have a headache.’ (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1986: 30)

- (43) Spanish *Me duele la cabeza.*
1SG.OBJ hurt.3SG.PRS ART.DEF head
‘I have a headache.’

- (44) NK *Ih get a hediek.*
3SG.SUBJ get ART.INDF headache
‘He got a headache.’ (FOREIBCA 2005b)

4.8. Comitative = NP conjunction (APiCS 71)

- (45) NK *Di kaptin wi evibadi waz der.*
ART.DEF captain COM everybody COP.PST there
‘The captain and everybody was there.’ (Holm 1978: 291)

- (46) Akuapem Twi *Wo ne me beko asɔre?*
2SG COM 1SG come.go church
‘Will you come to church with me?’ (Bureau of Ghana Languages 2000: 24)

- (47) Asante Twi *Kofi ne Amma*
Kofi and Amma
‘Kofi and Amma’ (Dolphyne 1996: 115)

- (48) Fante *ɔhen na ne man-fo bo -ɔ hu.*
chief CONJ POSS country-PL.human.suffix hit-COMPL fear
‘Chief and his townsfolk became afraid.’

- (49) Fante *Ama nye Kofi ko -ɔ guam.*
Ama COM Kofi go-COMPL market
‘Ama went to the market with Kofi.’ (Amfo 2010: 34)

4.9. Coming from and going to named places (APiCS 81, 82)

- (50) Fante *Mo-ro-ko Akyemfo.*
1SG-PROG-go Saltpond.

'I am going to Saltpond.' (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1986: 46)

(51) Fante *Mi-fi Akatakyi.*

1SG-come Komenda

'I come from Komenda.' (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1986: 46)

(52) Akuapem Twi *O-fi né mmòfráase yare.*

3SG.PRS-to.come.forth COP childhood sick

'He is sick from his infancy.' (Christaller 1875: 134)

(53) NK *Ai neva went bak dier agen fram fuo yier-z.*

1SG.SUBJ NEG.PST go.PST back there again from four year-PL

'I have not gone back there since I was four years old.' (FARP 2007)

4.10. Serial verbs *come, go* (APiCS 84)

(54) SA *An wan die ihn kom sie ihn nou gat notn fi kuk.*

and one day 3SG.SUBJ come say 3SG.SUBJ NEG get nothing comp cook

'And one day she came and said she didn't have anything to cook.'

(Bartens field recordings)

(55) SA *Beda Naansi an Beda Taiga, dem gaan gaan fishin*

Brother Anansi and Brother Tiger 3PL.SUBJ go.PST go.PST fish

'[Once upon a time,] Brother Anansi and Brother Tiger went fishing.'

(Bartens field recordings)

(56) SA *Di uman tek ihn piknini dem an ron gaan.*

ART.DEF woman take 3SG.POSS child PL and run go.ANT

'The woman took her children and ran away.'

(Bartens field recordings)

(57) Akuapem Twi *o-fi Osú guan' kɔɔ' Adá*

3SG-come.forth.PST Osú flee go.PST Adá

'He fled from Osú to Adá.' (Christaller 1875: 132)

4.11. Vocative marker (APiCS 107)

(58) SA *Ma-yo!*

mother-voc

'Hey, old lady!'

(Bartens field recordings)

(59) SA *Alma-oi!*

Alma-voc

'Hey, Alma!'

(Bartens field recordings)

(60) Akuapem Twi *Kwasi-e !*

Kwasi-voc

'Hey, Kwasi!' (Christaller 1875: 37)

4.12. 'Eye water' (APiCS 111)

- (72) Akuapem Twi *n-ani* *taata* *nsu*
 3SG.POSS-eye to.be.filled.with water
 ‘His eyes filled with tears.’ (Christaller 1933: 336)

4.13. 'Hand, arm' (APiCS 112)

- (73) Akuapem Twi *nsá* 'hand, finger(s), arm', *ɔbasá* 'arm' (Christaller 1933: 8, 416)
- (74) Akuapem and Asante Twi *nsa* 'hand', *basa* 'arm' (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1998: 29, 30; 2000: 29, 30)
- (75) Fante *nsa* 'hand', *abasa* 'arm' (Bureau of Ghana Languages 1986: 28, 29).

5. Conclusions

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