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<th>Language contact and the differentiation of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles</th>
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<td><strong>Citation</strong></td>
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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
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>
<th>S4</th>
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### 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-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 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.’
(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>
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<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>SBJV comp</th>
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Form/function correlation of ‘SBJV complex’ in ‘Africa’

- Directives
  - Subordinate clauses of 'strong' deontic verbs
  - Purpose clauses
  - Subordinate clauses of 'weak' deontic verbs

- Indicative/factual

- Epistemic possibility

- Evidentiality
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 **bɛtɛ mek yu kan tumara.**
3SG.SBJ be.very.good SBJV 2SG come tomorrow.’
Unitary subjunctive mood in *Pichi*

(5) *Dɛ̀n alquila mòtò 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 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 so that 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 sopl.
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 lok 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic of SBJV marker</th>
<th>Pichi</th>
<th>Naija</th>
<th>Sranan</th>
<th>Tobagonian</th>
<th>Jamaican</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cognate 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

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<th>‘European pole’</th>
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<td>African adstrate contact</td>
<td>Lexifier superstrate contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African substrate contact (shift)</td>
<td>Non-lexifier superstrate contact</td>
</tr>
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African' pole  ────────'European' pole

Non-African/ non-European pole  ──────── Internal development
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