



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



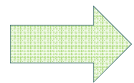
The data



- 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

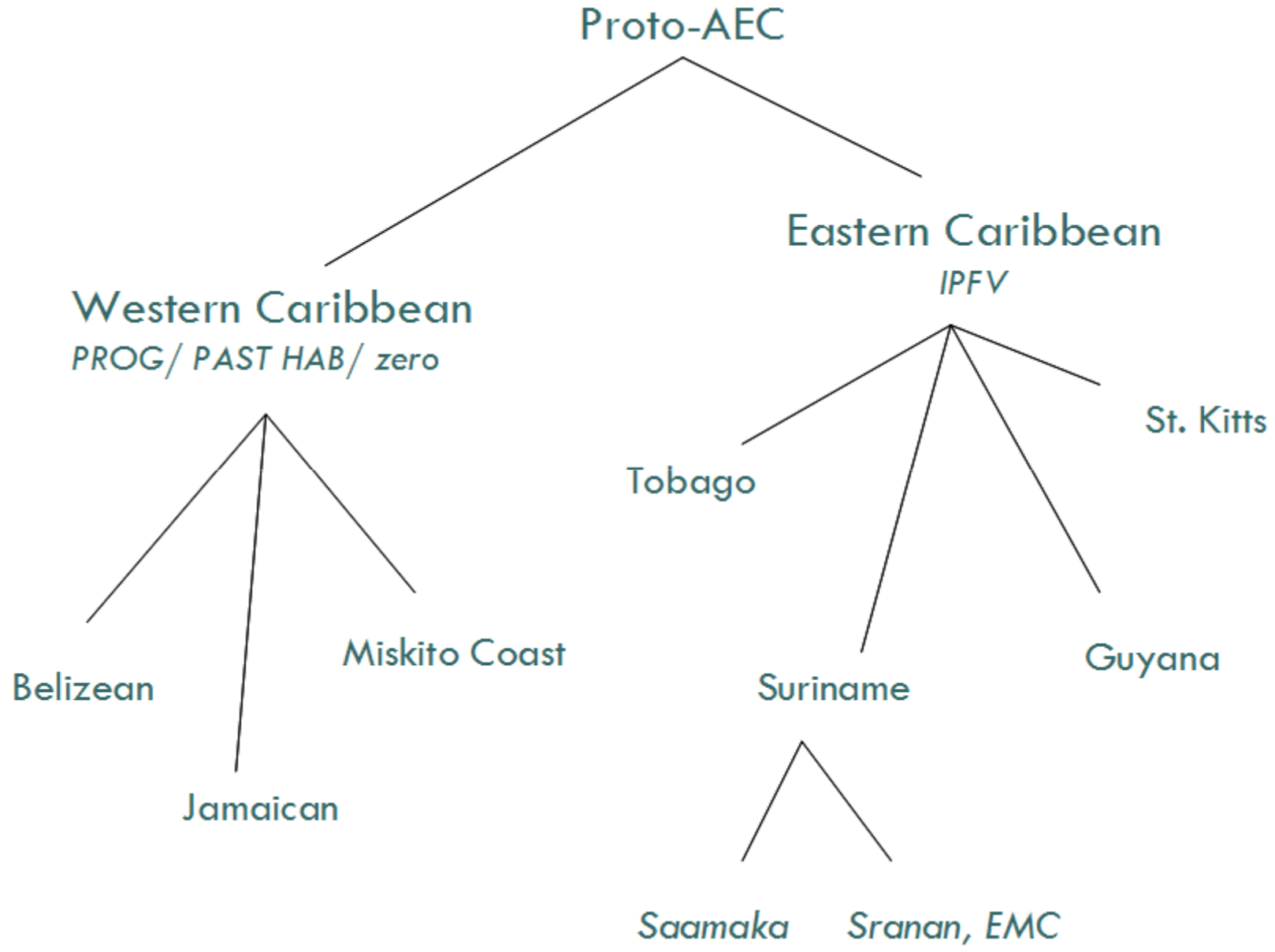


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- Devonish 1998, 2002
 - Hancock 1969, 1987
 - Winford 2001



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





A typology of contact situations (Africa & Caribbean)



<i>Contact/Scenario</i>	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		
<i>Languages</i>	<i>Naija</i> <i>Krio</i>	<i>GhaP</i>	<i>Pichi</i>	<i>Jamaican</i> <i>Tobagonian</i>	<i>TrinC</i> <i>Guyanese</i>	<i>Sranan</i>	<i>Limonese</i>



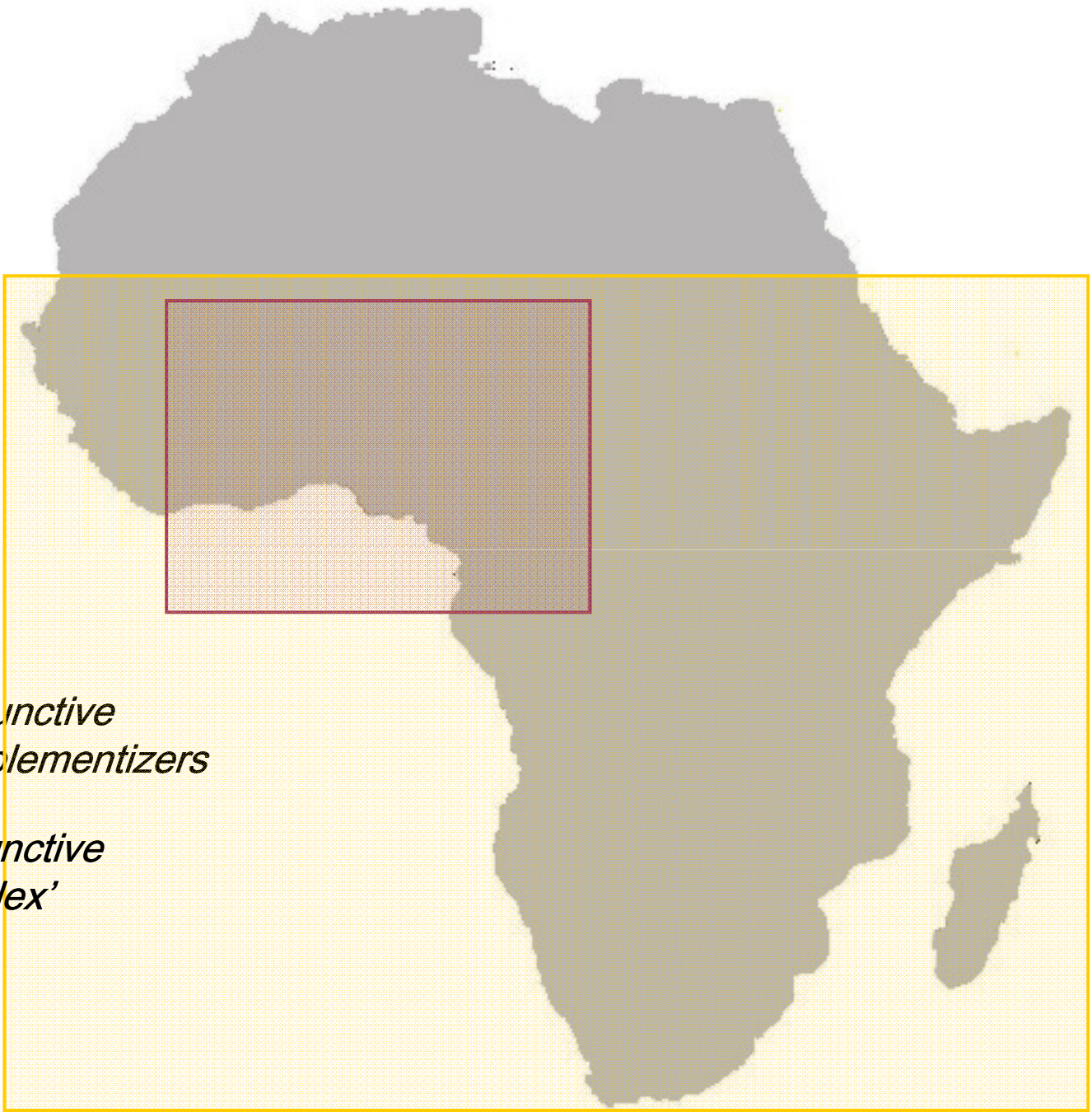
The “subjunctive complex” in “Africa”




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*

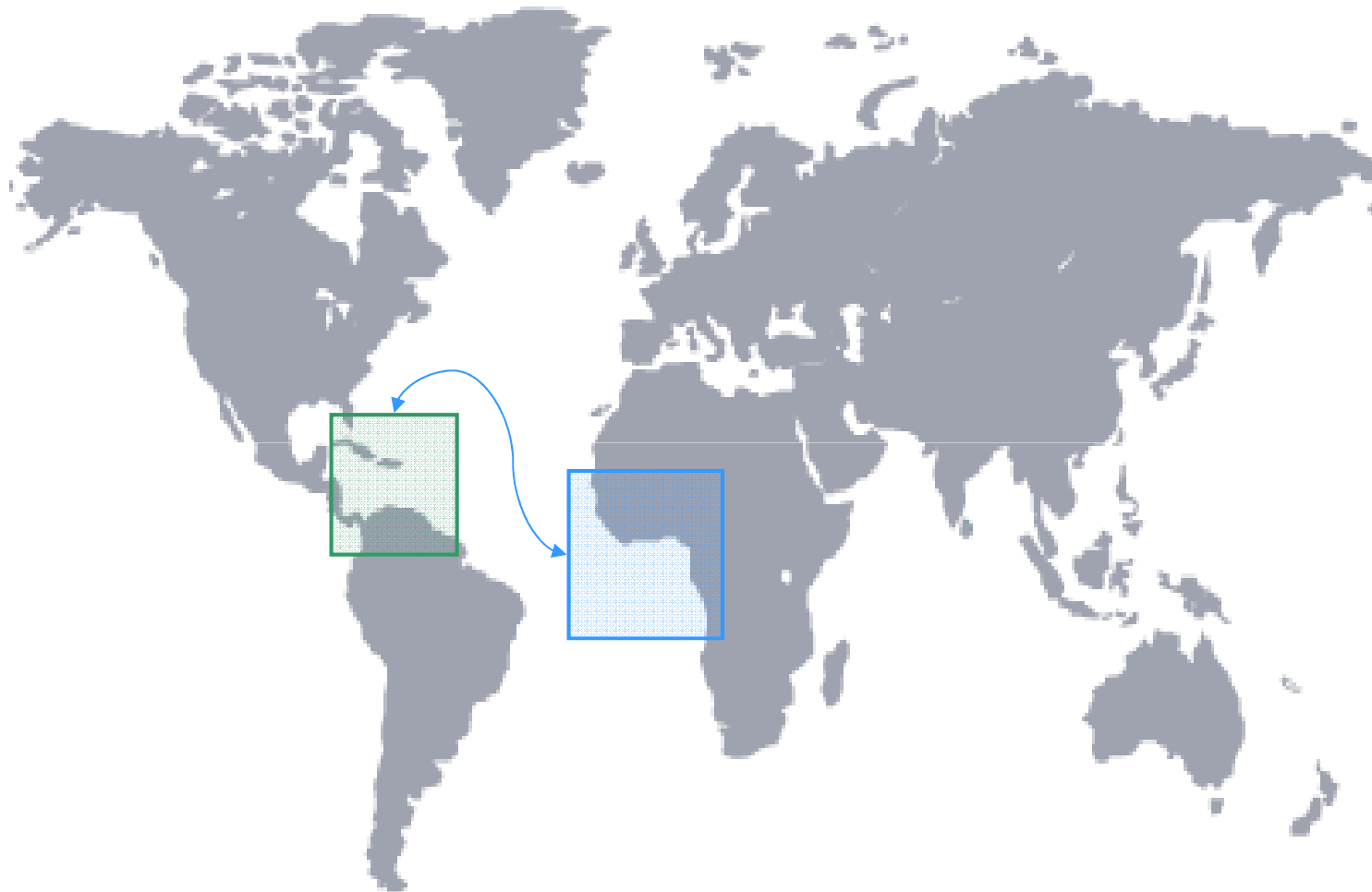




 *Subjunctive complementizers*

 *'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 ye-n-ko!*
SBJV 1PL-CON-go
'Let's go!' (Osam 1998)

- (3) *me-hye-e 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-i.*

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

'I made him come here.' [Ewe, Kwa]

(3) *mà bɔʔɔ má tá à tsúú kwó.*

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

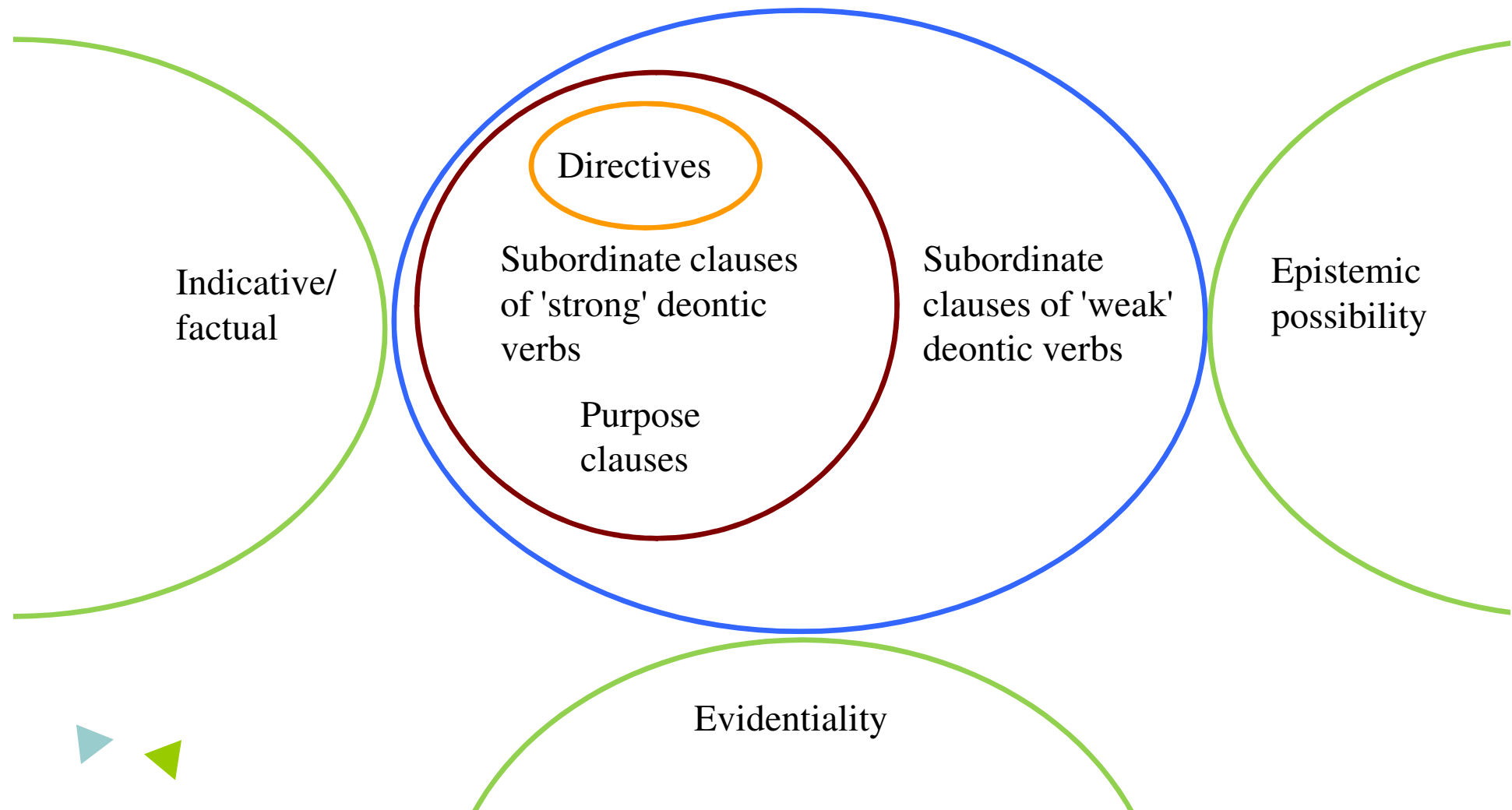
'I fear that he should *not* die.' [Bafut, Bantuoid]



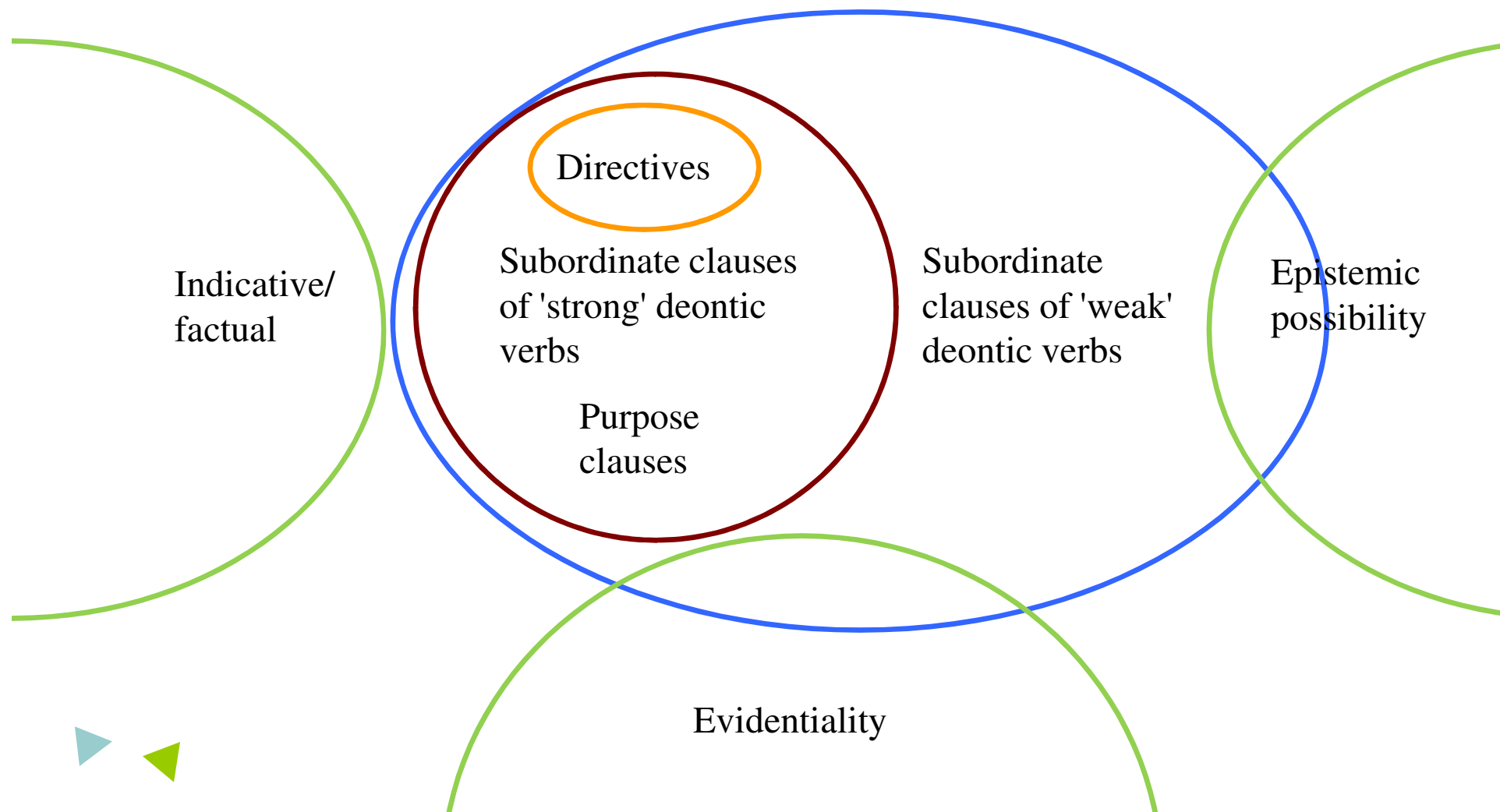
<i>Family</i>	<i>Languages</i>	<i>SBJV comp</i>	<i>SBJV in predicate</i>
Atlantic	Temne	X	
Kwa	Gun	X	
	Ewe	X	X
Kwa	Asante Twi, Fante, Baule	X	
Gur	Kabye		X
Mande	Susu		X
	Samogokan		X
Yoruboid	Yoruba	X	
Igboid	Igbo	X	
Bantuoid	Bafut	X	
Afro-Asiatic	Amharic		X



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** *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 bεε mek yu kan tumara.*

3SG.SBJ be.very.good SBJV 2SG come tomorrow.'



Unitary subjunctive mood in *Pichi*



- (5) *Dèn alquila mòtó mek dèn 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 BEQUOT 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 chicken 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 chicken 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?'



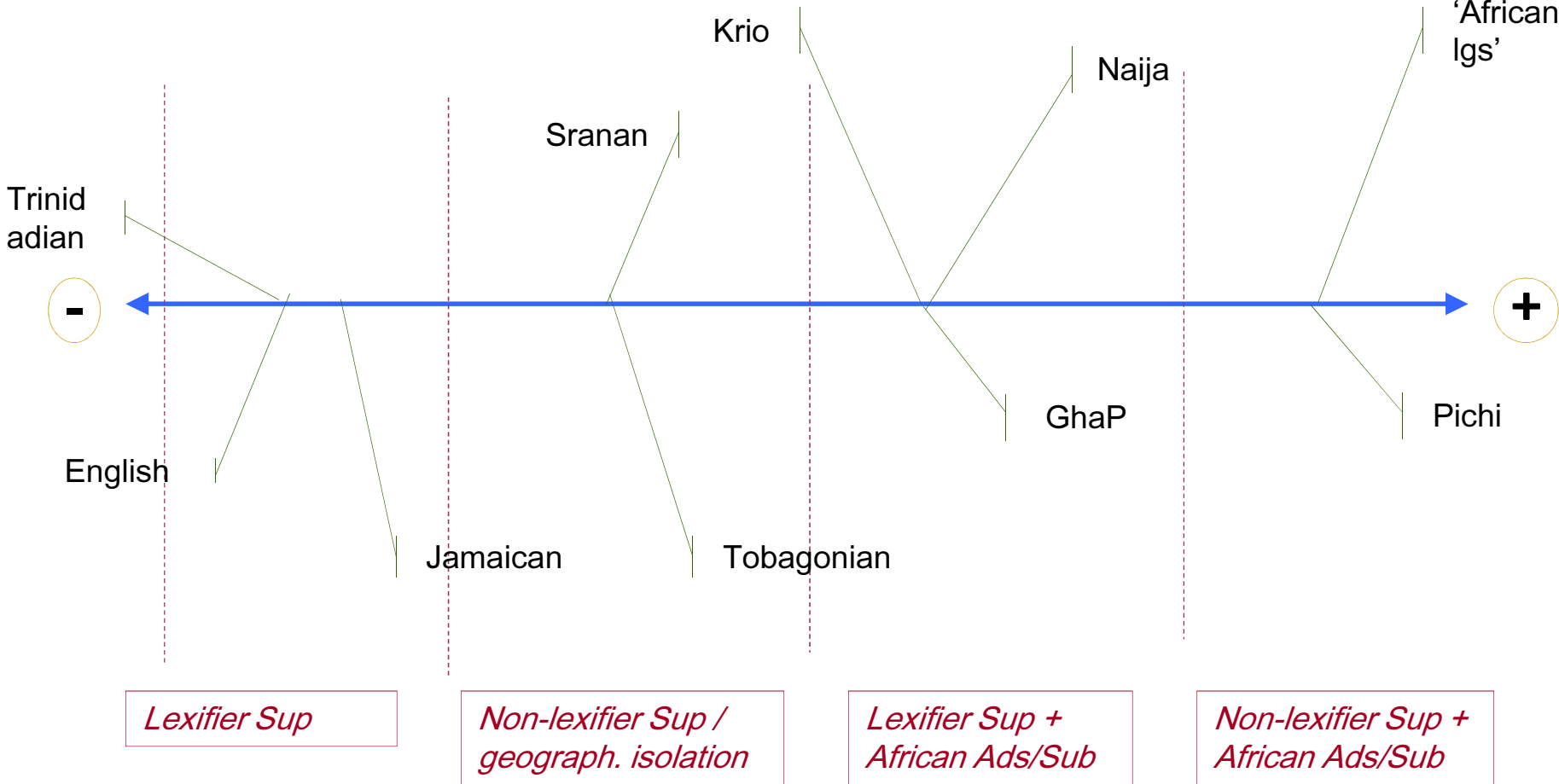
Summary of findings



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'

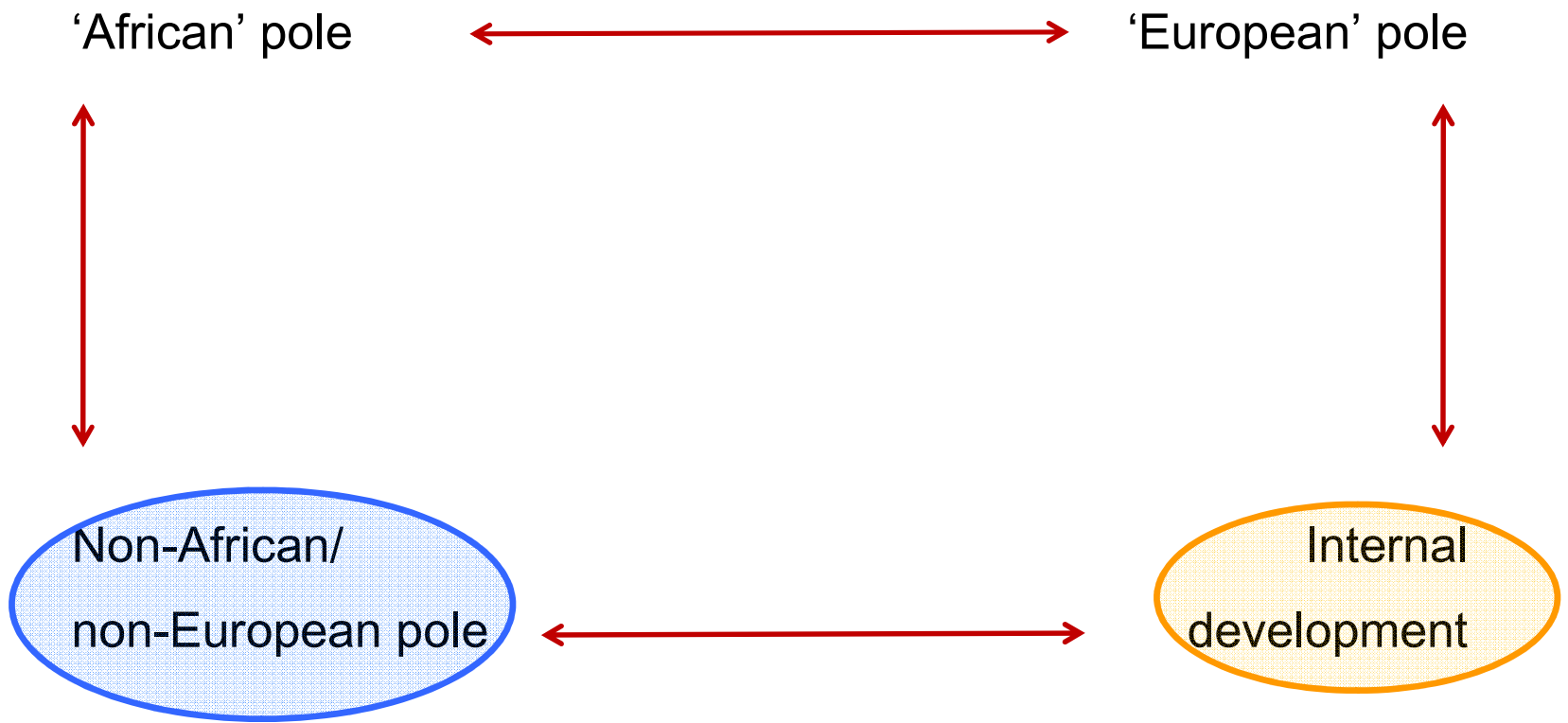
African adstrate contact

Lexifier superstrate contact

African substrate contact
(shift)

Non-lexifier superstrate
contact







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