Archetypal areal features in the African English-lexifier Creoles
Kofi Yakpo • The University of Hong Kong • kofi@hku.hk • WOCAL 8 • 20-24 August 2015 • Kyoto Workshop: Areal phenomena in northern sub-Saharan Africa

(1) **L tone** | **H tone**
---|---
dé  | ‘IPFV’  
dí  | ‘DEF’  
lék  | ‘like’  
wét  | ‘with’

(2) **Word class** | **lexeme** | **Pattern** | **Gloss**
---|---|---|---
Nouns  | fibà  | [HL]  | ‘fever’
        | wátá  | [LH]  | ‘water’
        | nyànì  | [HH]  | ‘ant’
        | bátà  | [LL]  | ‘buttocks’
Linkers | áftà  | [HL]  | ‘after, then’
        | bìfó  | [LH]  | ‘before, in front of’
        | sóté  | [HH]  | ‘until’
        | bikɔs  | [LL]  | ‘because, due to’

(3) **L tone** | **H tone**
---|---
mì | 1SG.POSS  
yù | 2SG.SBJ; 2SG.POSS  
in | 3SG.POSS  
wì | 1PL.SBJ; 1PL.POSS  
dèn | 3PL.SBJ; 3PL.POSS

(4) **Yoruba** | **Krio**
a. àkẹtẹ  | ‘cap’
àpáta  | ‘rock’
oño  | ‘child’

Midtone in Yoruba: unmarked

(5) (a) à dòn bòn pikin.
1SG.SBJ PRF give.birth child
‘I have given birth to a child/ I have a child.’ (Nigerian Pidgin)

(b) à nèvù bòn pikin. *nò dòn
3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF give.birth child
‘I haven’t given birth to a child (yet).’ (Nigerian Pidgin)

(6) (a) pás nà mákit mò!
pass LOC market again
‘Pass by the market again!’ (Pichi)

(b) mèk yù nò pás nà mákit mò!
SBJV 2SG NEG pass LOC market more
‘Don’t pass by the market again!’ (Pichi)
(7) a. é dé insày mòtò.  
3SG.SBJ COP inside car  
‘She’s in(side) a/the car’ (Pichi)

b. é nó dé insày mòtò.  
3SG.SBJ NEG COP inside car  
‘She’s not inside a/the car.’

(8) a. *é / in nà guineana.  
3SG.SBJ /3SG.INDP FOC/COP guinean.F  
‘She is Equatoguinean.’ (Pichi)

b. ín nóto guineana.  
3SG.INDP NEG.FOC/NEG.COP guinean.F  
‘She is not Equatoguinean.’

(9) a. é / *ín gò bí dì jefe.  
3SG.SBJ /3SG.INDP POT COP DEF boss  
‘He’ll be the boss.’ (Pichi)

b. é nó gò bí dì jefe.  
3SG.SBJ NEG POT COP DEF boss  
‘He won’t be the boss.’

(10) Asymmetric copula negation in the AECs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula type/language</th>
<th>Krio/Pichi</th>
<th>Nigerian Pidgin</th>
<th>Ghanaian Pidgin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polarity</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/existential</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>nó dé</td>
<td>dé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nó dé</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>nó dé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>nó dé</td>
<td>dé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nó dé</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>nó dé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity/equative</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>nóto</td>
<td>ná, bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nóto</td>
<td>ná, bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>nóto</td>
<td>ná, bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>nó TMA bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>nó TMA bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>nó TMA bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity/equative + TMA</td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>nó TMA bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>nó TMA bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>nó TMA bí</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) Copular systems with formal two-way distinctions (mostly identity-equation vs. location-existence), in West Africa, e.g. Kwa (e.g. Ewe, see Westermann 1954: 91–92), Berber (Mettouchi 2009: 288–290), Mande (Vydrine 2009: 252, 256), Chadic (see Frajzyngier, Krech & Mirzayan 2002). Distinct negation patterns for copular and standard verbal negation, defective TMA-conditioned copular paradigms and polarity-conditioned suppletion (see e.g. Winkelmann & Miehe 2009: 169 for Gur), including the use of independent person forms in combination with certain types of copular negation (see e.g. Vydrine 2009: 224–225 for Mande).

(12) Subjunctive (‘jussive/optative’) complementizers in the AECs and Macro-Sudan languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SBJV comp?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Factive clause: I know that she will come
2. Directives: come (sg)!; come (pl)!; let’s go! let them come!
3. In complements of strong deontic verbs:
   3.1. Indirect imperatives: I told her to come
   3.2. WANT: I want him to come
   3.3. Causatives: I made him leave, I allowed her to go home
4. Preference/aversion: It’s good/better for him to leave now, I fear that he should leave me
5. Purpose clauses: She went to Accra in order to get treatment
6. Temporal limit clause: I waited until she came
7. Epistemic possibility: It is possible that she arrives tomorrow

(13) Subjunctive complementizer in Nigerian Pidgin (Krio, Pichi)

1. à nó sé im gó kôm
   1SG.SBJ know QUOT 3SG.SBJ IRR come
   ‘I know that she will come.’

2. mék wiá gó!
   SBJV 1PL.SBJ/1SG.SBJ go
   ‘Let us/me go!’

3.1 à téîwám se mek im kôm.
   1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come
   ‘I told her to come.’
3.2 à wọ́nt sè mek è kóm.
1SG.SBJ want QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come
‘I want him to come.’

3.3. (a) à mek/du mek im léf (b) à mék i léf
1SG.SBJ make/do SBJV 3SG.SBJ leave 1SG.SBJ make 3SG.SBJ leave
‘I made her leave.’ (NigP) ‘I made her leave’ (GhaP)

4. à dè fyá sè mék im nó kóm.
1SG.SBJ IPFV fear QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG come
‘I fear that he should/might come.’

5. im gó ìbàdàn mék im gèt trìmènt.
3SG.SBJ go Ibadan SBJV 3SG.SBJ get treatment
‘She went to Ibadan in order to get treatment’

6. yù fit tòm=àm sótè mék im tik.
2SG can turn=3SG.OBJ until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick
‘You can turn it until it [the soup] is thick.’

(14) Subjunctive complementizer + zero mood marking in predicate in Yoruba (field data)

a. sè kí èmí ó wá?
Q SBJV 1SG.INDP ASP come
‘Should I come?’

b. mo so fún un pé kí ó wá.
1SG.SBJ say GIVE 3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come
‘I told her to come.’

c. mo fè kí ó wá
1SG.SBJ want SBJV 3SG.SBJ come
‘I want him to come.’

d. mo mú kí ó lò oogùn náà.
1SG.SBJ cause SBJV 3SG.SBJ use medicine DEF
‘I made her drink the medicine.’

e. ó lò sì ìbàdàn kí ó lè gbà itójú
3SG.SBJ go LOC Ibadan SBJV 3SG.SBJ can get care
‘She went to Ibadan in order to (be able to) get a treatment.’ (Yoruba)

(15) Mood marking in predicate + optional complementizer, Susu (Mande) (field data)

a. mu kha siga!
1PL.EXCL SBJV go
‘Let’s go!’

b. n bara a satulì (kha) a kha fa be.
1SG PRF 3SG convince COMP 3SG SBJV come here
‘I convinced him to come here.’

c. n wama (kha) a kha siga.
1SG make COMP 3SG SBJV go
‘I want him to leave.’

d. n bara a lu a kha siga.
1SG PRF 3SG let 3SG SBJV leave
‘I let/allowed him to leave.’

e. 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 in order to go to Germany.’
References


