Archetypal areal features in the African English-lexifier Creoles

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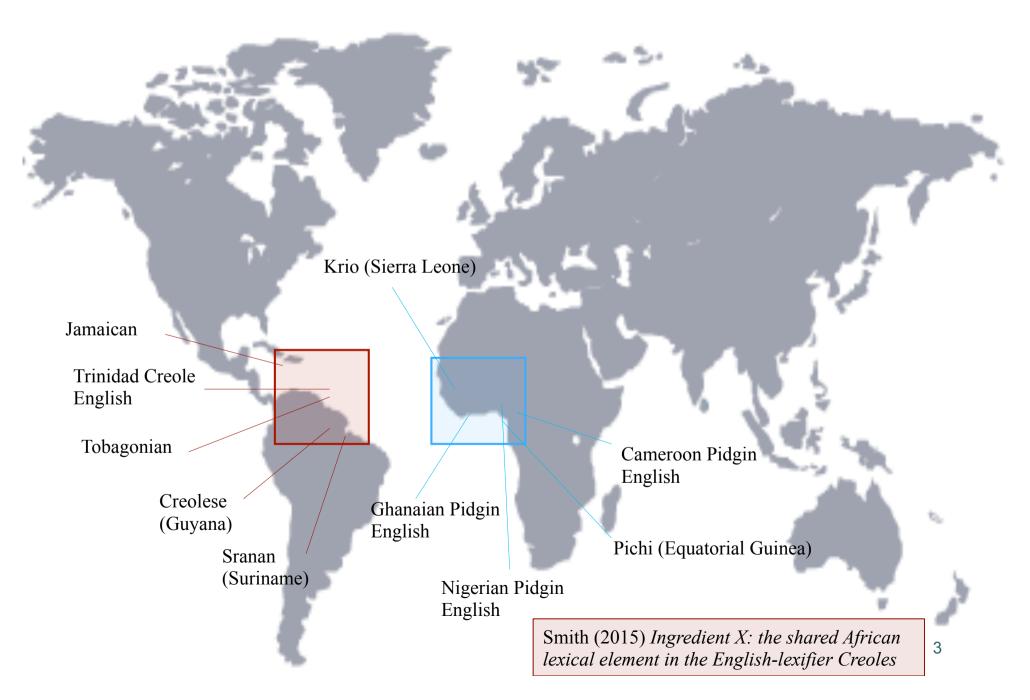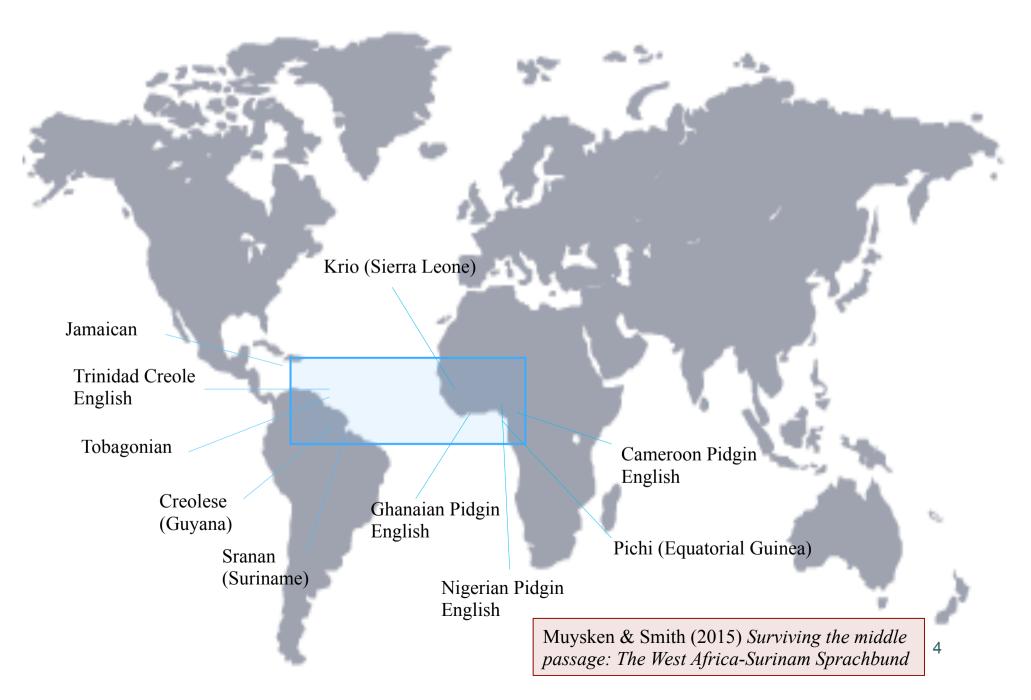
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Objectives

- To argue for strong areal affinities of the African-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles (henceforth AECs) with the *Macro-Sudan Belt* (Güldemann 2008), specifically the *West African littoral convergence zone* (e.g. Ameka 2005)

- To present linguistic evidence from the African grouping of the AECs, looking at three isoglosses at different structural levels.

- To introduce the concept of "archetypal areal feature" to characterize the emergence of areal features found in the AECs.
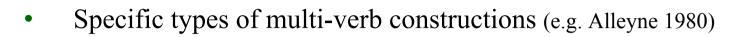
Major African-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles (AECs)

Krio (Sierra Leone)

Jamaican

Trinidad Creole English

Tobagonian

Creolese (Guyana)

Sranan (Suriname)

Ghanaian Pidgin English

Nigerian Pidgin English

Cameroon Pidgin English

Pichi (Equatorial Guinea)

Smith (2015) *Ingredient X: the shared African lexical element in the English-lexifier Creoles*

West-African/Trans-atlantic Sprachbund?

Krio (Sierra Leone)

Jamaican

Trinidad Creole English

Tobagonian

Cameroon Pidgin English

Creolese (Guyana)

Ghanaian Pidgin English

Pichi (Equatorial Guinea)

Sranan (Suriname)

Nigerian Pidgin English

Muysken & Smith (2015) *Surviving the middle passage: The West Africa-Surinam Sprachbund*

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The phenomenon: areal affinities of the African AECs

- Specific types of multi-verb constructions (e.g. Alleyne 1980)

- Two-tone systems (e.g. Berry 1971; Faraclas 1996; Rivera Castillo & Faraclas 2006; Yakpo 2009)

- Complex locative constructions (e.g. Essegbey & Bruyn 2002; Yakpo & Bruyn 2015; Yakpo, to appear a)

- Asymmetric negation systems (Yakpo, to appear b)

- Split copular systems (e.g. Mazzoli 2013)

- Causatives (Yakpo 2012a)

- Modal complementation, subjunctive mood

AEC tone systems

1. West African (litoral) "minimal" system: 2 level tones

2. Lexical tone, with tonal minimal pairs and maximal tonal contrasts over bisyllabic words (**cf. handout ex. 1-2**)

3. Use of grammatical tone (**ex. 3**) including a possibly areal pattern in which compounds and reduplications feature a nonprominence-prominence prosodic pattern (cf. Yakpo 2012b)

4. Tonal declination (downdrift, and downstep) (cf. Yakpo 2009)

Tone in words of Yoruba origin in Krio

Yoruba		Krio	
Yoruba		**Krio**	
àkẹtẹ̀	'cap'	àkɛ́tɛ́	'old, battered hat'
àpáta	'rock'	àkpátá	'flat stone'
ọmọ	'child'	ɔ́mɔ́-	'child' (in composite names)

Yoruba mid-tone: unmarked

(cf. handout, 4)

Asymmetric negation systems

AECs show areal-typological alignment with Macro-Sudan:

1. Asymmetric verbal paradigms, involving the use of suppletive portmanteau forms that incorporate TMA category and negative polarity in standard negation (**ex. 5-6**) (cf. Jungraithmayer 1988; Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009)

2. Asymmetric copular paradigms with suppletive forms conditioned by the use of specific TMA categories, finiteness and negative polarity **(ex. 7-9)**

AEC asymmetric copular negation: overview

Copula type/language	Krio/Pichi		Nigerian Pidgin		Ghanaian Pidgin	
Polarity	+	-	+	-	+	-
Locative/existential	*dé*	NEG *dé*	*dé*	NEG *dé*	*dé*	NEG *dé*
Identity/equative	**ná**	**nɔ̀tò**	**ná** / *bí*	NEG *bí*	*bí*	NEG *bí*
Identity/equative + TMA	**bí**	NEG TMA *bì*	*bí*	NEG TMA *bí*	*bí*	NEG TMA *bí*

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Asymmetry cline

(**cf. handout, ex. 10-11**)

AEC subjunctive mood: an areal phenomenon?

- Isogloss: unitary marking of deontic modality in specific main & subordinate clause types. Instantiation of deontic force, "manipulation" (e.g. Givón 1995)

Subjunctive ("jussive, optative") complementizers in the AECs and Macro-Sudan languages

Clause type	SBJV COMP?
1. Factive clause: *I know that she will come*	No
2. Directives: *come (sg)!, come (pl)!, let's go! let them come!*	Yes
3. In complements of strong deontic verbs:	Yes
3.1. Indirect imperatives: *I told her to come*	Yes
3.2. WANT: *I want him to come*	Yes
3.3. Causatives: *I made him leave, I allowed her to go home*	Yes/No
4. Preference/aversion: *It's good/better for him to leave now, I fear that he should leave me*	Yes
5. Purpose clauses: *She went to Accra in order to get treatment*	Yes
6. Temporal limit clause: *I waited until she came*	Yes/No
7. Epistemic possibility: *It is possible that she arrives tomorrow*	No

Deontic

(cf. handout, ex. 13)

"Manipulation" (Givón 1995: 125ff.)

Subjunctive complementizer

1. AECs: instantiated in use of modal complementizer + null TMA marking in the predicate AECs (**ex. 13**)

2. Macro-Sudan: most widespread pattern in sample is modal complementizer + null or overt mood marking in the predicate (**ex. 14-15**)

Micro-survey of SBJV in selected Macro-Sudan languages

Family	Languages	SBJV complementizer?	Mood in predicate?
Atlantic	Temne	X	
Kwa	Gun	X	
	Ewe	X	X
Kwa	Asante Twi, Fante, Baule	X	X
Gur	Kabye		X
Mande	Samɔgɔkan		X
Mande	Susu,	X	X
Yoruboid	Yoruba	X	
Igboid	Igbo	X	
Bantuoid	Bafut	X	
AECs	Krio, Pichi, NigP, GhaP, CamP	X	

The archetypal areal feature

- Ad-/substratal convergence effects lead to levelling and loss of less prototypical Macro-Sudan features in the AECs.

- "Archetypal areal feature" instantiates the intersecting set of (sub-)features of an isogloss in Macro-Sudan languages in contact with AECs, i.e. the most frequent, most widespread sub-features of an isogloss.

- Can be modelled: multidimensional scaling, structural phylogenetics

Conclusions

- The AECs share broad, leveled out areal features with Macro-Sudan reflecting the convergence and accommodation processes that characterize the emergence and use of these languages in contexts of extensive individual and societal multilingualism

- Studying the West African English-lexifier Creoles, the variation between them and the stratal forces that influence this variation contributes to understanding areal dynamics in the region