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Creole Languages in a World-Wide Perspective

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1. Experiencer constructions

- three classes of experiencer verbs:
 - (i) COGNITION (e.g. ‘see’, ‘know’, ‘forget’, ‘remember’)
 - (ii) PHYSICAL SENSATION (e.g. ‘be hungry’, ‘be thirsty’, ‘be cold’, ‘have a headache’)
 - (iii) EMOTION (e.g. ‘be glad’, ‘be sorry’, ‘like’)

1.1 Feature 66: Experiencer constructions: 'Headache'

- asks about the expressions of situations corresponding to English *She has a headache*.
- **Pain-constructions** involve three participants, an
 - (i) **experiencer** who experiences the sensation ('she')
 - (ii) **sensation** itself ('ache')
 - (iii) potentially a **body-part** ('head') to which this sensation is related.
- there is a lot of interesting variation in such constructions
- in this feature, we only ask which of these three participants is coded in **subject position** (*Subject* is defined here as the typical agent or the single argument in a monotransitive clause).
- very little typological literature on experiencer constructions, mainly with

regard to European languages (see Bossong 1998, Haspelmath 2001)

- 4 types of feature values

value 1: Experiencer in subject position

Ambon Malay (Paauw 2012)

(1) *De saki kapala.*

3SG sick head

'She has a headache.'

Juba Arabic (Manfredi & Petrollino 2012)

(2) *ána índu wója ras*

1SG have pain head

'I have a headache'

value 2 (very rare): sensation in subject position

Sranan (Plag & Winford 2012)

(3) *Ede-hati e kiri mi.*

head-hurt IPFV kill me

'A headache is killing me.'

value 3: body-part in subject position

- most prominent construction in the *APiCS* sample

Angolar (Maurer 2012)

(4) *N'tê thêka rue m.*

head PROG hurt me 'I have a headache.'

Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente (Swolkien 2012)

(5) *Kabésa ta doe-m senpr.*

head PRS hurt-1SG always

'I always have a headache.'

- experiencer expressed as a possessive marker on the body part noun

Angolar (Maurer 2012)

(6) *N'tê m tha ruê.*

head my PROG ache

'I have a headache.'

Chinese Pidgin English (Matthews & Li & Baker 2012)

(7) *My* *foot* *hap* *got* *pain*.
 1SG.POSS foot has got pain
 'I have a pain in my foot.'

- both markers referring to the experiencer, the possessive pronoun (*ma*) and the object pronoun (*mi*) can be used simultaneously:

Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber 2012)

(8) *ma* *hɛd* *dè* *pen/nak* *mi*
 1SG.POSS head PROG pain/knock 1SG.OBJ
 'My head hurts.' OR: 'I have a headache.'

- experiencer is not expressed at all

Diu Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2012)

(9) *kabes* *tə* *dw-e*.
 head IPFV.NPST hurt-INF
 '(My) head is hurting.'

- this feature is not represented in *WALS*, therefore no good data on world-

wide pattern

- potentially body-part construction prominent in Subsaharian Africa (e.g. Ameka 1990)

Feature 66: Experiencer constructions: 'Headache'

1.2 Feature 68: Experiencer constructions: 'Fear'

- question whether experiencer, emotion or body-part is coded in **subject position**
- verbal/non-verbal or transitive/intransitive construction
- in some languages the expression of the stimulus may entail different constructions (e.g. Principense lit. 'I am with fear' vs. 'I fear the storm'). However, in this feature we disregard Fear-constructions in which the stimulus is expressed, i.e. we are looking at e.g. English *The child is afraid*, but not at *The child is afraid of the dog*.

- 7 types of feature values

value 1: Experiencer in subject position, verbal construction

Saramaccan (E, Atlantic; Veenstra & Smith & Aboh 2012)

(10) *Me ta fεεε.*

1SG ASP fear

'I am not afraid.'

value 2: Experiencer in subject position, non-verbal construction

Afrikaans (D, Africa; den Besten & Biberauer 2012)

(11) *Ek is bang.*

1SG.NOM am afraid

'I am afraid.'

value 3: Emotion in subject position, transitive construction

Sango (Ngbandi, Adamawa-Ubangian, Africa; Samarin 2012)

(12) *mbito a-sara ala*
fear PM-do 3PL
'They're afraid.'

value 4: Emotion in subject position, intransitive construction

Chinuk Wawa (Amerindian, North America; Grant 2012)

(13) *kwas kápa náyka*
fear at 1SG
'I'm scared.' lit. 'Fear is at me.'

Feature 68: Experiencer constructions: 'Fear'

1.3 Emotion experiencer constructions ('to be afraid', 'to be jealous'): A case study – Seychelles Creole vs. French

- French prepositional constructions, e.g. *avoir peur de* 'to be afraid of', *être jaloux de* 'to be jealous of' (see ex. 14)
- corresponding Seychelles Creole constructions grammatically *transitive*

French: intransitive construction, STIMULUS is marked

(14) *J'ai peur de cet homme.*

1SG.have fear PREP DEM man

'I am afraid of this man.'

Seychelles Creole: transitive construction, STIMULUS is not marked

(15) *Mon per sa zonn.*

1SG.SBJ fear DEM man

'I am afraid of this man.'

- important substrate languages for Seychelles Creole are east African Bantu languages: e.g. Swahili

- in Swahili *STIMULUS* in an experiencer construction is also not marked, a grammatically *transitive* construction.

Swahili (Bantu, elicited, Alice Wangui): transitive construction, *STIMULUS* is not marked

(16) *A-na-mw-ogopa nyoka.*
 3SG-PRES-3OBJ-fear snake
 ‘He is afraid of the snake.’

- This pattern seems to extend to quite a few other experiencer verbs, see Table 1 (transitive/intransitive matches between Swahili and Seychelles Creole versus French. The variable *x* represents the *STIMULUS*.)

Table 1. Transitive/intransitive matches

transitive			intransitive
Swahili	Seychelles	French	English gloss

	Creole		
<i>ogopa x</i>	<i>pe x</i>	<i>avoir peur de x</i>	'be afraid of x'
<i>penda x</i>	<i>kontan x</i>	<i>être content de x/aimer x</i>	'like x/love x'
<i>tamani x</i>	<i>anvi x</i>	<i>avoir envie de x/ désirer x</i>	'to long for x, desire x'
<i>hitaji x</i>	<i>bezwen x</i>	<i>avoir besoin de x</i>	'need x'

- in Swahili the stimulus is treated as direct object, cf. ditransitive constructions where Swahili shows Double-Object Constructions, i.e. recipients in Swahili are *also* treated as direct objects, at least for the most frequent ditransitive verb 'give'.
- hypothesis: Seychelles Creole speakers' predilection for transitive patterns is due to Eastern Bantu substrate.
- Besides transitive experiencer constructions in Seychelles Creole, there are also intransitive constructions marked by prepositions, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Prepositional experiencer constructions in Seychelles Creole with their French source constructions and the English equivalents

Seychelles Creole	(non-standard) French	English
<i>mon trakase pour Peter</i>	<i>je me tracasse pour Pierre</i>	‘I worry about Peter’
<i>mon ankoler avek Peter</i>	<i>je suis en colère avec lui</i>	‘I am angry about Peter’
<i>mon pran pitye avek zot</i>	<i>j'ai pitié de/ avec eux</i>	‘I have mercy for them’
<i>mon onte pour zot</i>	<i>j'ai honte de/ pour eux</i>	‘I am ashamed of them’
<i>mon enterese dan kalkil</i>	<i>je m'intéresse à l'algèbre</i>	‘I am interested in algebra’

The last construction *enterese dan kalkil* could have been copied from English ‘I am interested **in** algebra’

- Here, the French pattern seems to be continued: experiencer is marked by an overt preposition: *pour, avek, dan*.
- Experiencer constructions are a good diagnostic for measuring the degree of grammatical transitivity of a language, because they do *not* easily lend themselves to a prototypical transitive causation pattern.
- Experiencers are not good agents, nor good patients, nor good recipients;

they are something in between (Croft 1991, 1993).

In Table 3, one can see that experiencers share specific properties with other prominent semantic roles, e.g. they are [+animate] like agents, and [+involved] like recipients, but also [+affected] like patients:

Table 3. Properties of different semantic roles

AGENT	[+animate]	[+ volitional]	[+aware]	
PATIENT				[+affected]
RECIPIENT	[+animate]		[+aware]	[+involved]
EXPERIENCER	[+animate]		[+aware]	[+affected] [+involved]

- Experiencer constructions differ widely within and across languages (cf. Bossong 1998, Haspelmath 2001).
- It seems to be cross-linguistically rare to find the STIMULUS of an experiencer construction coded as a direct object. Normally the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument by special cases or prepositions (like *about*, *for*, *in* in English).

- a good case for substrate influence in this part of Seychelles Creole syntax: Seychelles Creole has retained the transitive pattern from its Eastern Bantu substrate languages.
- But there are also Seychelles Creole experiencer constructions which follow the French model or a more universal strategy of coding the stimulus not transitively, but with a preposition.
- Thus, in Seychelles Creole we see a mixture of patterns retained by speakers of Eastern Bantu substrate languages and patterns inherited from French.
- This kind of **mixture** seems to be very widespread in a language contact situation like creolization. We often do not observe an exact copy of the substrate patterns (cf. Essegbey 2005 for locative constructions in the Surinamese Creoles and their substrates).
- **token and type frequency** might play a significant role:

- more frequently used and heard (more entrenched) constructions in the L1 of East African slaves ('be afraid of', 'like, love', 'need') may constitute a construction type which the East African speakers might have unconsciously relied on when communicating under the special circumstances of the stressful day-to-day survival in the colonial societies.

- less frequent and less entrenched construction types in the L1 of East Africans, e.g. 'have mercy for', 'worry about' might have lent themselves to be modeled on a more L2 French-like pattern.

- But much more empirical evidence from diachronic text corpora of well-documented language contact situations is needed to get a clearer sense of why certain construction types tend to mirror substrate patterns, whereas others mirror superstrate patterns, and still others stem from universal patterns of language change under the specific conditions of second language use during creolization scenarios (cf. Siegel (2008) for the notion of "second language use").

2. PATH constructions ('to go to', 'to come from')

English

- (17) a. *I am in the forest*
b. *I go into the forest*
c. *I come from/out of the forest*

Seychelles Creole

- (18) a. *mon dan bwa*
1SG in forest
- b. *mon al dan bwa*
1SG go in forest
- c. *mon sorti dan bwa*
1SG come.from in forest

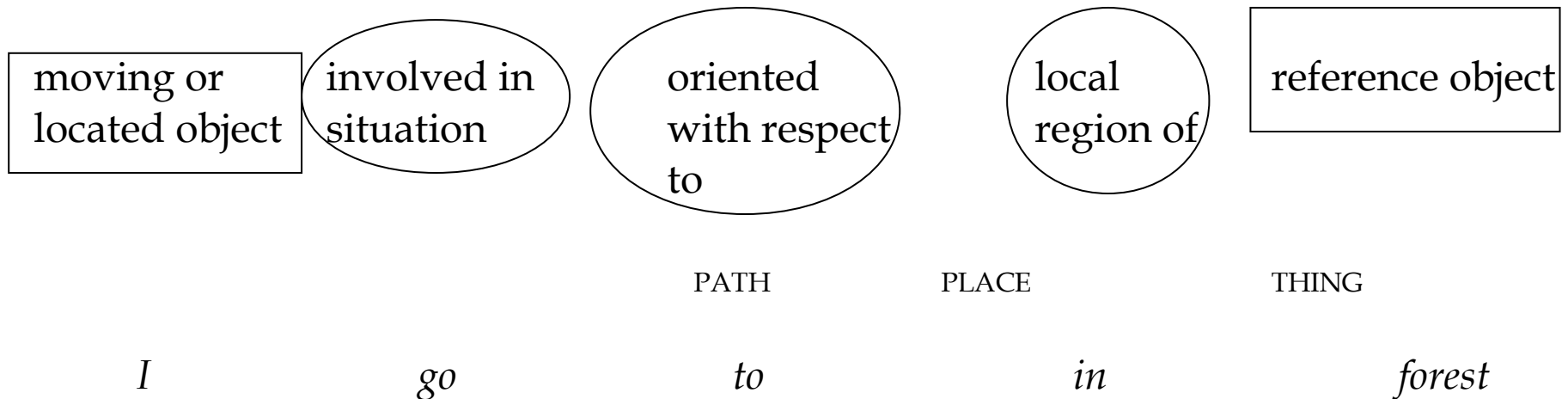
Questions:

1. How is PATH or orientation of movement encoded in creole languages?
2. Where do these constructions come from?

Answers:

1. Many creoles behave like Seychelles Creole in that they do not express *PATH* overtly; the appropriate interpretation has to be inferred from the semantics of the verb.
2. From the substrate languages.

Figure 1. Structure of a local situation (Jackendoff 1983: 161ff.; Lehmann 1992: 629)



Jackendoff (1983:163)

(19a) The mouse ran into the room.
[_{PATH} TO ([_{PLACE} IN ([_{THING} ROOM])))]

(19b) The mouse ran from under the table.
[_{PATH} FROM ([_{PLACE} UNDER([_{THING} TABLE])))]

(20) English

ALLATIVE *I go **into** the forest.*

ABLATIVE *I come **from/out of** the forest.*

- In English, the two semantic components 'oriented with respect to' (_{PATH}) and 'local region of' (_{PLACE}) are fused into one lexeme *into* (which shows a somewhat unexpected linearization, first _{PLACE} *in-* and then _{PATH} *-to*).
- Within the _{PATH} segment, the ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE concepts are marked

differently, *into* vs. *out of*.

(21) French

LOCATION *Je suis **dans** la forêt.*

ALLATIVE *Je vais **dans** la forêt.*

ABLATIVE *Je sors **de** la forêt.*

- French has a different construction type with a split between ALLATIVE marking and ABLATIVE marking: Only the ABLATIVE is marked overtly (by *de*), whereas the notion of PLACE is expressed through the semantics of the verb *sortir* ('go/come out of').
- In contrast to the ABLATIVE, the ALLATIVE is not marked overtly because LOCATION (BE-AT) is marked by the same preposition *à, dans, chez* (cf. examples in (21)). These prepositions therefore only refer to PLACE.
- --> In French the ABLATIVE is marked overtly against the non-marked ALLATIVE.

2.1 Creoles without overt PATH-encoding (like Seychelles Creole)

- **Haitian Creole** (F, Caribbean; bible translation)

ALLATIVE

(24) *Jézu tounin lakay li.*

Jesus go.back house POSS

'Jesus returned home.' (Mark 3, 20)

(25) *Yo alé nan you vil.*

3PL go LOC.in one town

'They went to a town.' (Mark 1, 21)

ABLATIVE

(26) (...) *kèk mèsajè sòti kay chèf sinagòg la.*

(...) some messenger come.from house ruler synagoge_{DEF}

'Some messengers came from the house of the ruler of the synagoge.'

(Mark 5, 35)

(27) *Li tandé you voua ki sòti nan sièl la ki di: (...)*

3SG hear a voice REL come.from LOC.in heaven DEF REL say

‘He heard a voice that came from heaven saying: (...).’ (Mark 1, 11)

• **Louisiana Creole** (F, North America; Neumann 1985:299)

ALLATIVE

(28) *Epi to va la mes.*
then 2SG go DEF service
‘Then you go to the service.’

ABLATIVE

(29) *Li devje la Frõs.*
3SG come.from DEF France
‘He comes from France.’

• **Angolar** (P, Africa; Maurer 1995:100)

ALLATIVE

(30) *ene ba Txindadji (...)*
3PL go Trinidad

‘They went to Trinidad.’

ABLATIVE

(31) *am fô* *mionga*
1sg come.back sea
‘I came back from the sea’

- **Príncipe** (P, Africa, Günther 1973:112)

ALLATIVE

(31) *tetúga wé pá*
turtle go beach
‘Turtle went to the beach’

ABLATIVE

(32) *desé* *pá*
go.down/away beach ‘(he) left the beach’

- **Ndyuka** (E, Surinam, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 420ff.)

“Distinctions of at rest, motion to, motion from and motion past are expressed by the verb.” – general preposition *(n)a* ‘to, at, on’

ESSIVE

- (33) *A de a osu*
 3SG be LOC house
 '(s)he is at home/(s)he is in the house'

ALLATIVE

- (34) (...) *yu á mu go na a weko bon*
 (...) 2SG NEG must go LOC DEF weko tree
 '(...) You mustn't go to the weko tree'

ABLATIVE

- (35) *da u komoto a Diitabiki*
 then 1/2PL come.out LOC Drietabbetje
 'then we left Drietabbetje'

- **Sranan** (E, Surinam; cited after Boretzky 1983:198)

ALLATIVE

- (36) *Anansi go na hontiman*
 Anansi go LOC hunter

'Anansi went to the hunter'

ABLATIVE

(37) *a komopo na hontiman*
3SG come.from LOC hunter
'he came from the hunter'

2.2 Creoles with special ABLATIVE-marking

- **Tayo** (F, Pacific; Ehrhart 1993:110, 235, 238, 241)

ALLATIVE

(38) *e pi la ra:tre da meso-la*
then 3SG go.back in house-DEF
'then she returned to the house'

(39) (...) *pu ale Lil Wa*
to go Ile Ouen '(...) to go to Ouen Island'

ABLATIVE

(40) *tule per sola arive vja de Pueblo*

PLUR priest PRED arrive come ABL Puebo
'the priests came leaving from Pouébo'

(41) *nu vja de partu-la*
1PL come ABL all.over-there
'we come from all over the place'

• **Kriol** (E, Australia; Bible translation)

ALLATIVE

(42) *deibin go langa det kemp blanga Saiman en Endru*
they. PAST GO ALL DEF house POSS Simon and Andrew
'they went to the house of Simon and Andrew' (Mark 1, 29)

ABLATIVE

(43) *en wen Jisas bin gidap brom det woda*
and when Jesus PAST come.out ABL DEF water
'and when Jesus came out of the water' (Mark 1, 10)

- **Broken** (E, Australia, Torres Strait; Shnukal 1988:135, 141f.)

ALLATIVE

(44) *go* *baink/skul/wok/aus*
 go.to *bank/school/work/house*
 ‘to go to the bank/to the school/to work/home’

ABLATIVE

(45) *kam* *prom* *wok*
 come *ABL* *work*
 ‘to come from work’

- **Nigerian Pidgin English** (Faraclas 1996:74, 153)

ALLATIVE

(46) *im* *go* *tawn*
 3SG *go* *town*
 ‘(s)he went to town’

ABLATIVE

(47) *a* *kom* *fròm* *fam*

1SG come_{ABL} farm
'I came from the farm'

3. Feature 79: Motion-to and Motion-from

- Partial mismatch between my "older" data collected from grammars and the "newer" *APiCS* data because contributors interpreted the feature as also including examples with manner-of-movement verbs plus a serial verb, thus checking the feature value 2 "different marking" whereas the use of the movement verb 'come' on its own would yield feature value 1 "identical marking".

Angolar (P, Africa; Maurer 2012)

(48) [...] *lêmu tô vomoka fô mo r'ê.*
paddle REP slip **come.from** hand his
'[...] the paddle also slipped out of his hands.'

4. Potential substrates

4.1 for Atlantic and Indian Ocean Creoles which do not grammatically differentiate between ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE

- **Swahili** (Bantu; bible translation)

ESSIVE

(49) *wa-li-kuwa chombo-ni*

3PL-PAST-be boat-LOC

'They were in/on a boat.' (Mark 1,19)

ALLATIVE

(50) *a-ka-enda bahari-ni*

3SG-SEQ-go sea-LOC

'He went to the sea' (Mark 1, 19)

ABLATIVE

(51) *sauti i-ka-toka mbingu-ni*
 voice 3SG-SEQ-come.from heaven-LOC
 ‘a voice came from heaven’ (Mark 1, 11)

kutoka (< *ku-toka*, *ku-* infinitive-marker, *toka* ‘come’) has already quite far grammaticalized into a preposition marking ABLATIVE ‘from, away’:

(52) *a-li-po-panda kutoka maji-ni*
 3SG-PAST-LOC-climb INF+come water-LOC
 ‘he came out of the water’ (Mark 1, 10)

- **Nkore-Kiga** (Bantu; Taylor 1985:109ff.)

“The basic preposition *aha* does duty for general location. It can be rendered into English as ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘to’, ‘away from’, according to the verb used with it.”

ESSIVE

(53) *a-byamire aha nsi*
 3SG-liePFV LOC.on ground
 ‘He is lying on the ground.’

ALLATIVE

- (54) *ky-a-gwa aha nsi*
it-PAST-fall LOC.on ground
'It fell to the ground.'

ABLATIVE

- (55) *y-aa-ki-iha aha nsi*
he- PAST-it-take LOC.on ground
'He took it off the ground' (transitive motion verb)

• **Maninka** (West Mande; Tröbs 1999:369)

ESSIVE

- (56) *Musa ye ji ro*
Musa PRED water LOC.in
'Musa stays in the water.'

ALLATIVE

(57) *Musa dòn-na ji ro*
 Musa go.into-PRED water LOC.in
 'Musa went into the water.'

ABLATIVE

(58) *Musa bo-ra ji ro*
 Musa go.out-PRED water LOC.in
 'Musa came out of the water.'

- **Ewe** (Kwa; Pasch 1995:39, 54f.)

ESSIVE

(59) *é-lè àve&-á mè*
 3SG-be forest-DEF LOC.in
 '(s)he is in the forest'

ALLATIVE

(60) *é-yì kòβé-á mè*
 3SG-go village-DEF LOC.in
 '(s)he goes/went to the village'

ABLATIVE

(61) *tsó* *àvé* *mè*
 come.out forest LOC.in
 'to come out from the forest'

- African languages which do not differentiate between ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE (p.c. Bernhard Wälchli):

Tamachek, Songhay, Murle, Pökoot (Suk), Dinka, Acholi, Ngambay,
Bambara, Ewe, Twi, Ijo, Efik, Bamoun, Swahili, Zulu

4.2 Substrates for Tayo

- Tayo has a special ABLATIVE marker *de*. Interestingly, at least one of its direct substrates (Cèmuhî) also has a special ABLATIVE-marker:
- **Nêlêmwa** (Oceanic language; Bril 2002:296, 309)
very complex system of locational reference (deixis and other spatial axes)

ALLATIVE

- (62) *na u tu Frâs*
 1SG PFV go.down France
 'I will go to France'

ABLATIVE

- (63) *na oda me na Frâs*
 1SG go.up DIR ABL France
 'I come back here from France' *me=directional 'towards the speaker'*

- (64) *i ulep na ni mwa*
 3SG pass ABL in house
 'he comes out of the house'

• **Tinrin** (Oceanic; Osumi 1995: 80f.)

ALLATIVE

- (65) *simô nrâ fi pwere gi sinema*
 Simon 3SG go ALL LOC cinema
 'Simon goes to the cinema.'

ABLATIVE

(66) *nrâ ta nrî nrâ treanrü ghe âroa giwe*
3SG hit 3SG SM person ABL over.there mountain
'The person (who came) from the mountain hit him.'

- **Cèmuhi** (Oceanic language; Rivierre 1980: 220, 351)

ABLATIVE

(67) *lè céla mu wé*
3PL flee ABL where
'From where do they flee?'

5. Substrate–superstrate comparison

5.1 Creole = substrate ≠ superstrate

- many Atlantic (mostly French based and some English based) and Indian Ocean creoles pattern with their substrates and **against their superstrates**
---> no grammatical differentiation ALLATIVE VS. ABLATIVE
- new *APiCS*-data seem to make the picture even more complex (integration of serial verb constructions with 'come.out', 'from')

5.2 Creole = substrate = superstrate ('convergence')

- Tayo
- Nigerian Pidgin: two apparently important substrates for Nigerian Pidgin, Yoruba and Hausa, do grammatically differentiate between ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE.

- African languages that do differentiate between ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE (p.c. Bernhard Wälchli):

Hausa, Yoruba, Kunama, Nubian (Kunuzi), Nama

5.3 Creole ≠ substrate

- Haitian Creole: one major exception within all Atlantic and Indian Ocean creoles is Haitian Creole, because its major substrate Fongbe marks ABLATIVE with a special preposition *sín*:

Fongbe (Kwa; Lefebvre & Brousseau 2001: 302, 304)

ALLATIVE

(68) *Kòkú yì àxì mè*
 Kòkú go market in
 'Koku went to the market.'

ABLATIVE

(69) *Kòkú wá sín axì (mè)*
Kòkú come from market in
'Kòkú came from (within) the market.'

6. Conclusion

- strong evidence for substrate influence in PATH-constructions in creole languages

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