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Substrate Transfer in Saramaccan Creole

by

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Professor Leanne L. Hinton
Professor Johanna B. Nichols

Fall 2002

Substrate transfer in Saramaccan Creole

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by

Marvin Gould Kramer

Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor John H. McWhorter, Chair

Creole genesis is generally considered to be a complex process, involving stages that are sequential in time and identifiable as to the communicative functions of the developing language at any stage. This study examines features in Saramaccan Creole that could be associated with a particular stage of development in terms of their communicative function in the creole language, and their similarity to the corresponding constructions in the putative source languages, primarily English and the West African Kwa language Fongbe. The study tests the hypothesis that the influence of English, the superstrate language, affected only the early stage of creole development, while the substrate language Fongbe was influential throughout the development. Historical records tend to support this hypothesis, showing that English was involved for only the first fifteen years of the history of the creole. Subsequently the creole became primarily the language of speakers of Fongbe and other substrate languages. Substrate features are of particular interest, then, since their transfer would span the entire period of creole genesis. The

intent of the examination of Saramaccan constructions is to determine the changes in the corresponding Fongbe constructions during transfer, and the motivations for these changes.

The constructions under consideration are attributive and predicate adjectives and passives, and variations of these involving reduplication, and shared object serial verb constructions. The constructions with transitive verbs are similar to the corresponding constructions in Fongbe regarding semantic constraints on the verbs and morphosyntax, but they do not resemble English. The verbs in these constructions have reduced transitivity, and have backgrounding or expressive functions characteristic of a later stage of creole development. The construction with intransitive verbs, the predicate adjective, also resembles the Fongbe construction, and also has a backgrounding function. But the attributive adjective resembles English, and functions to introduce new information, a characteristic of the early stage of creole development. Variations of these constructions involving reduplication, resembling Fongbe, depict subjectivity, which is a later stage characteristic.

Changes in the Fongbe constructions during transfer are due basically to simplification, analogy and iconicity. The study found that in constructions more associated with the early stage there was more superstrate effect in the change from Fongbe, while constructions more associated with the later stage had less superstrate effect. These findings correspond to the generally accepted view that for plantation creoles the early pidgin-like stage involves mutual linguistic accommodation of superstrate and substrate language speakers, while the later creole language becomes the native language of descendants of substrate language speakers.

Dedicated to my wife

Yvonne

my companion in life,
even in the jungles of Suriname

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Purpose and scope of the study

The aim of this study is to examine the nature of substrate transfer in creole genesis by tracing the development of three types of linguistic construction in Saramaccan Creole, an English-based creole language of Suriname. These constructions involve attributive and predicate adjectives, passives and shared object serial verb constructions. Similarities in these constructions suggest similarities in their development, similarities in verbal semantic constraints, morphosyntax and discourse function. This development is a part of creole genesis, the combining of features from different languages into a creole language. In Saramaccan the primary source languages are English and the West African Kwa language Fongbe. The study intends to determine the morphosyntactic mechanisms and functional motivations for the contributions and the changes in the contributed features of the source languages. As Saramaccan developed it became the language of the speakers of substrate languages, such as Fongbe speakers and their descendants. The influence of the substrate languages, mainly Fongbe, would then be the predominant influence on the development of the creole language. The study is therefore particularly concerned with the contribution of Fongbe, or *substrate transfer*.

In the introduction some current theories of creole genesis and the sociolinguistic history of the Surinamese plantation society will be discussed for the purpose of introducing a framework for later analysis of the Saramaccan data. The Saramaccan data for the study is from elicitation in English, fieldwork in Suriname in Saramaccan, and various studies in the literature including a lengthy narrative text. The Fongbe data is from sources in the literature, primarily works by Lefebvre and Brousseau. The

sociolinguistic history is mainly from an excellent summary and discussion by Migge (1998).

1.2 Creole genesis and the Surinamese English-based creoles

Creole languages at the time of their creation are languages without a diachronic history. Creole languages develop through language contact under such extreme and traumatic conditions that normal transmission of language from one generation to the next is interrupted, thereby causing an interruption of the normal diachronic development. In the case of the Surinamese English-based creole languages there is even the likelihood that there were no younger generation learners at the time the ancestor of these languages was created. The history of these languages, and of most other creole languages, dates from times of slavery. It begins with the creation of a language put together from pieces of the languages spoken or heard by speakers of a number of mutually unintelligible languages. These languages include the languages of the slaves, or *substrate* languages, and the languages of the slaveholders, or *superstrate* languages. It will be assumed that the creole language was created by speakers of the substrate languages for their own communication, rather than for communication with speakers of the superstrate language. The history of these creole languages beginning at their creation is then exclusively the history of the languages of these first enslaved people of Suriname and their descendants.

It is the creation of a creole language that disrupts the diachrony with the languages that make up the creole. The process of creating a creole language from pieces of other languages, as argued by Thomason & Kaufman (1988:147), results in a language that is in no way a logical continuation of the diachronic development of any of the component languages. Yet this process involves what would otherwise be considered normal diachronic changes. These changes, of course, occur far more rapidly than normal. And there is a preference for some changes, like simplification, while others do not occur, like agglutination. The process also involves incorporating elements of other languages, the

normal result of language contact. But these elements also undergo the rapid changes associated with creole genesis. In addition the incorporation and simplification is so extensive that it is difficult to determine which elements are borrowed and which elements are just simplified. Creole genesis could be seen as an extreme example of language shift with interference, where speakers of substrate languages target the superstrate language but fall short of total acquisition, leaving massive interference from the substrate grammar in their version of the superstrate language (Mufwene 1996). On the other hand, creole genesis could be seen as massive borrowing, where substrate speakers borrow superstrate lexical forms and actually replace substrate forms, yet the substrate grammar remains basically intact (Lefebvre 1998a). Or, creole genesis could be seen as the expansion of a pidgin, a language created for work or trade that is pieced together from source languages but is the native language of no one. In this case, creole genesis involves neither borrowing nor shift with interference, since there is no language to shift to or borrow into (Bickerton 1984; McWhorter 1998). Whatever the process of creole genesis involves, the end result of this process is a language with certain characteristics, which, by McWhorter (1998), can be used to identify a creole prototype. There is, then, more to creole genesis than normal language change with extensive borrowing or shift with interference, since the result is not a random typological sampling but instead is a specific prototype.

To examine the process of creole genesis the various pieces of the creole language must be identified in the source languages. These pieces, the phonology, lexical items and grammatical constructions, will have been incorporated into the creole language from one of the source languages, a process referred to as *transfer*. If there were pieces that could not be identified, they would need to be explained as innovation. Of the identified pieces, most will be found to have undergone a degree of modification. If these modifications can be explained in terms of normal changes that occur cross-linguistically, then these modified items may also be considered to have transferred. This term should apply as well for modifications that are more characteristic of creole genesis, and contribute to the resulting creole prototype. Items with modifications typical of creole

genesis will be considered transferred because they originated in a source language. The particular circumstances of creole genesis induce these modifications, and since *transfer* is a term specific to creole genesis, it is appropriate. Now there are also modifications that are not characteristic of creole genesis and cannot be attributed to any of the source languages. These are innovative modifications, independent changes during creolization (McW. 1996b:167). These modifications during creolization are also induced by the special circumstances of creole genesis. In this sense they should also be considered as examples of transfer. Every morphological item in a developing creole language originates in one of the source languages, and every modification relates to creole genesis. The process that a source item goes through to become a creole item will be considered to be a part of transfer.

Of particular interest regarding the Caribbean English and French-based creoles is the transfer of items from the substrate languages in the examination of the argument that these creole languages were created by the speakers of the substrate languages for their own communication (T. & K. 1988:152; Foley 1988:166)). The main substrate languages were closely related and grammatically similar, but mutually unintelligible. Speakers of these languages would be motivated to find common elements, but these would be mostly grammatical rather than lexical. The one common element shared by all these speakers, of course, is exposure to the superstrate language. The superstrate lexicon in particular would be available where no common substrate lexical item could be found to fill a grammatical slot. In filling a slot, the superstrate lexical item would essentially be providing a phonological form for a substrate lexical item. It would do this not necessarily because the semantics of the superstrate item were poorly understood, but because the semantics of the various but similar substrate lexical items being replaced were commonly understood. This is the process of *relexification*, as argued by Lefebvre (1998a); the phonological form of a substrate item is replaced by the superstrate form, while the semantics and syntax of that item retain their substrate characteristics. By the relexification hypothesis, then, the substrate semantic principles and parametric values will be those of the creole (ibid.:12). Relexification can explain the presence of such

obviously substrate grammatical features as serial verb constructions and their semantic constraints. And since there is so little compromise with the superstrate, relexification fits with the assumption that the creole languages were created by speakers of the substrate languages for their own communication rather than to communicate with speakers of the superstrate languages, and so the use of superstrate features was to only facilitate this.

But relexification does not account for all the constructions in creole languages. The substrate progressive construction, for example, has a patient-verb word order that did not transfer into the Surinamese creoles or into Haitian. These creole languages, with English and French superstrate languages respectively, have the substrate language Fongbe in common. The failure to relexify the substrate word order is probably not coincidental, then, in that the entire substrate progressive construction did not transfer. But these creoles do not have the superstrate progressive either, but rather the progressive is expressed with a marker from the tense-mood-aspect, *TMA*, system. Relexification would need to explain why the progressive construction did not transfer. Similarly, as pointed out by McW. (2001:4), the substrate analytic inalienable possessive marker did not transfer into the Surinamese creoles or into Haitian. It could have been relexified, for example, with 'own'. But there are no creoles with inalienable marking (*ibid.*). This is likely because such marking is not crucial to communication, so a language with it presumably would not fit the creole prototype described in McW. (1998:792). In this example relexification does not explain either why the marker is not relexified, or how this failure to relexify maintains the creole prototype.

There is a creole prototype, as argued in McW. (*ibid.*), because creole genesis filters out all but the most essential elements of language. Those features not found in creoles are features that develop over time, and as creole languages progress through time they will also develop some of these features. A list of features suggested as essential to language is presented in McW. (2001:2). The limit on essential features precludes the existence in creoles of ergative alignment, for example, or inalienable possession marking. This filtering effect is brought about by the traumatic conditions associated

with creole genesis. Implicit in the creole prototype argument is that the filtering is done mainly by speakers of substrate languages because it is they who are affected by the extreme conditions and need to communicate with each other. They would simplify their own language, of course, as it is the only language they control (T. & K. 1988:178). Speakers of superstrate languages could also simplify their languages as a social distancer (ibid.:175), considering the asymmetrical social structure. The creole prototype and relexification arguments are similar, then, in attributing creole genesis mainly to speakers of substrate languages, with minimum participation by superstrate speakers who are not traumatized and have a minimal need to communicate with substrate language speakers. But the Lf. and McW. arguments differ in that relexification does not account for the characteristic paring down of language by these speakers in rapidly creating a means of communication, while the creole prototype argument does not account for the systematic preference for superstrate phonological form and substrate semantics during the traumatic conditions.

A crucial difference in the two approaches is the existence and role of an unattested pidgin in creole genesis. Relexification does not depend on such a pidgin, whereas the creole prototype argument does: a pidgin, it is argued, has stripped away unnecessary features, leaving only features needed for rudimentary communication. This argument assumes, then, that universal principles will govern the formation of a pidgin. There are, however, pidgins that have features that do not conform to the creole prototype, such as inflectional affixation. Kituba, for example, a pidgin based on various closely related Bantu languages, has plural noun-class prefixes (T. & K. 1988:183). Fanagalo, another Bantu-based pidgin, has a plural prefix, and passive, causative and past suffixes (ibid.:184). The Austronesian language Motu-based Hiri Motu has transitive verb suffixes distinguishing number for objects, a causative prefix, and adjectival suffixes (ibid.:185). These features would not be predictable as simplifications alone, by T. & K. (ibid.:174, 187), but rather they are the result of mutual linguistic accommodation by speakers of the source languages. The pidgins that would be the catalysts for creoles, by McW. (1998), would then need to be a subset of pidgins that do eliminate inflectional

affixes. Perhaps the formation of such pidgins would be characterized by extreme social asymmetry and by the traumatic conditions of servitude for the substrate speakers, as well as characterized by typological dissimilarity.

By the conditions that delimit the features of the creole prototype it could be assumed that there would be a limit on grammatical complexity (T. & K. *ibid.*:192), including varieties of sentence types as well. In other words, by simplification and mutual accommodation there would be one possible sentence type for one meaning. Among the features associated with simplified registers is invariant word order (Ferguson 1982:60; Meisel 1983:125), so that the relationship between form and meaning is maximally transparent (Foley 1988:165). The argument for a creole prototype attributes the characteristic delimitation of features to simplification in a pidgin stage that precedes a creole. A pidgin stage entails a very basic information sharing referential function and an action oriented directive function (*ibid.*:164), communication that would involve a minimum of presupposition (*ibid.*:166). In the Surinamese creoles and Haitian, however, there are types of serial verb constructions that might seem to convey the same meaning as two separate non-serial clauses. In this case there would be more than one way to say basically the same thing. The variations, or *allosentences* (Lambrecht 1994:6), represent a departure from an implied isomorphic precept of the pidgin stage, namely that for any given meaning there is only one expression. What the *allosentences* are really signaling through morphosyntax, though, is that there is a difference in meaning between the serial verb construction and the corresponding non-serial clauses. The difference in *allosentences* is very likely related to a discourse function, which would involve the expression of presupposition (*ibid.*). The lack of definite articles in most attested early pidgins (McW. 1996b:162), which express presupposition, is an example of how such expression is non-essential in pidgins.

Serial verb constructions as *allosentences*, then, are not an essential element of a pidgin. Serial verbs, as pointed out in McW. (1996b:155), are not the type of item that can be considered essential, since they are syntactic devices for handling items that can be considered essential. Their transfer into creoles was not out of necessity, but rather

because serial verbs are common in the substrate languages (ibid.). In pidginization there is simplification of the substrate grammar, where only items that are salient and considered essential are retained (ibid.:156). Since serial verbs with non-serial alternatives are not an essential part of grammar, they could also be absent from the initial simplified pidgin grammar. Most certainly these allosentence serial verbs are marked in the substrate languages. The use of the unmarked non-serial alternative would suffice in a pidgin, then, perhaps even expand. In some Surinamese creoles, for example, a scarcity of serial verb allosentences with prepositional functions in an early pidgin stage may have enhanced the transfer of prepositions (ibid.:39-44). Semantic constraints on the 'finish' serial construction (Veenstra 1996:97; Byrnes 1987:224) preclude stative or instantaneous action verbs, perhaps accounting for the preference for the non-serial alternative.

With expansion of the language would come a greater necessity for the functions of the serial verb constructions. In this regard, perhaps the functions of allosentence serial verbs are essential in an expanded language, and these serial verb constructions can begin to share in these functions as the creole develops. If these functions are discourse related, then the allosentences share in the manipulation of topic and focus. A focus marking function is a characteristic development of expansion (Mühlhäusler 1980:22-6). Among the listed essentials of language are a topic marking strategy and a focus marking strategy (McW. 2001:2). A focus marking strategy might include predicate cleft, a syntactic focusing common to the Surinamese creoles, Haitian, and to the substrate Kwa languages. Predicate cleft is like the serial verbs, namely a syntactic device. It might follow from this that functions of allosentence serial verbs could be considered essential as well, namely essential in an expanded creole but not in a pidgin. As with definite articles, whose function is also listed as essential, it is seen that essential items for a creole may not transfer into the early stages of a pidgin, but will eventually transfer into a creole. The filtering process that prescribes the creole prototype, by McW. (1998), is seen as continuing throughout creole genesis, and not as restricted to a pidgin stage, but continuing with an expanded scope. A possible exception might be reduplication in SM

when used to denote plural or iterativity, which would be inflection, or to derive attributive adjectives, which would be semantically opaque derivation. It will be argued that these instances of reduplication were incorporated into the creole after the pidgin stage, when mutual accommodation was among the substrate languages and did not occur in the context of social asymmetry.

Although such allosentences are a feature in the modern languages, it is not known if they existed in a pidgin stage. One clue that they might not have been in the pidgin is that in such a pair of allosentences one form is generally more uniquely identified with the substrate than the other. This more uniquely substratal form is, of course, the serial verb construction. Now one would assume that the SVO non-serial structure common to both substrate and superstrate languages could accommodate discourse functions in a creole, as they do in the superstrate and presumably the substrate languages. The non-serial structures would certainly be sufficient, then, for the more restricted functions of a pidgin stage. The more interactional and expressive functions (F. *ibid.*) would develop as a pidgin becomes more creole-like, as would the capability of handling more sophisticated discourse functions. It can be assumed that the use of allosentences would not be needed until the developing language begins to handle more sophisticated discourse functions. It can also be assumed, then, that the serial verb constructions which are allosentences of non-serial constructions came into use after these non-serial constructions had become conventionalized. They would add a level of sophistication to an already established capability in allowing a contrast.

Another clue that serial verbs may have entered late comes from child language acquisition. As pointed out in McW. (1996b:78), acquisition of serial verbs in Mandarin occurs well after children have learned thematic roles and can produce well-formed non-serial verb sentences. Thus although Mandarin is a verb-serializing language, early Mandarin is no more a serializing language than early English (*ibid.*). If the study of Mandarin can be generalized to other serial verb languages, serial verbs are peripheral. Their communicative value is subtle and not available to children until their use of language expands, perhaps on analogy with the expansion of pidgins. The Mandarin data

has further significance regarding the pidgin and expanded stages of creoles, in that as serial verb constructions are acquired, the benefactive serial is acquired first, followed later by locational serials; other less 'central' serials are acquired even later (ibid.). The acquisition of serial verb constructions in Mandarin parallels the transfer of serial verb constructions in creole expansion proposed in this study; the more peripheral serials come into use at a later stage.

One of the requirements for an item to transfer, by T. & K. (1988:168), is that it be unmarked in the substrate languages. For an item to transfer it must also be of uniform and widespread distribution in the substrate languages (McW. 1996b:154), which implies that it be unmarked. There are, of course, different markedness values for different features, but intuitively there should be some clustering; a rarely used item could be expected to express markedness of some sort. Markedness is determined in a pair of allomorphs that share a function according to other functions, in that a member is marked if it has one function while the unmarked member has that function as well as another function (Lam. 1994:17). Further research is needed to determine the markedness of the various substrate serial verb constructions, but there is the opinion that the shared object serial verb construction, for example, is rare among the Kwa languages (Lf. p.c.). This serial verb construction did not transfer into all the languages considered in this study, as it does not occur in Haitian (Lf. p.c.). Its absence in Haitian shows that it is not essential in a verb serializing language, and so its presence in the Surinamese creoles would support an argument for relexification. The shared object serial may have transferred into the Surinamese creoles as an alternative to the corresponding non-serial constructions, which would suggest that it is marked in some way in these languages. Assuming that the shared object serial is marked in the substrate and marked in the creoles, its occurrence in the creoles runs counter to the expected limits on transfer. But coming into the languages at a later time is not unusual, as it would parallel the late transfer of the definite article (McW. 1996b:162), or reduplication. The shared object serial verb construction and the definite article could instead be looked at more like borrowings; they are added to an already functioning pidgin, and they are relatively

unchanged relexifications. These constructions and others that resemble borrowings in this way are still, however, to be considered to have transferred. They are part of transfer because they have been brought into the creole language from the substrate under the unique conditions of creole genesis. The transfer of items that resemble borrowing is at the one end of a continuum of transfer variations, where the other end is the transfer of items that resemble innovation, namely items that have changed somewhat since incorporation into the pidgin.

Transfer, then, will refer to the incorporation of items into a creole language during creole genesis from any of the source languages. Influence on a creole language subsequent to its formation from the source languages would not be transfer. Since the superstrate languages are generally the only influence, creole languages may undergo a process of decreolization where over time they begin to more closely resemble the superstrate. But substrate source languages may also continue to be an influence, in which case a creole may begin to more closely resemble the substrate. This appears to have happened in some of the Surinamese creoles. Neither influence subsequent to the development of a creole language will be considered transfer.

Substrate transfer is the concern of this study. It is interesting because the substrate languages are the languages of the people who would create a creole. Substrate languages are the languages that are shifted from. For this reason they are the languages from which subtle semantic and discourse distinctions may be drawn, since they are the languages controlled by the creators of the creole. They are the languages that can serve as a reference against which uncertainties of a newly created language can be measured. They are the languages that may be seen as subtracted from, through simplification, rather than shifted from, through targeting the superstrate. Features of substrate languages play a participatory role in the acquisition of a new language. The first stage in creolization, by T. & K. (1988:151), is to learn the vocabulary of the lexifier language. As pointed out by Lefebvre (1998a and elsewhere) in arguing for relexification, a superstrate lexical item is basically the phonological form of a semantically similar

substrate item. Subjectively, then, the lexifier language may provide a skeletal structure, but the substrate is the bone marrow of a creole language.

1.3 Saramaccan Creole and Fongbe

The language examined in this study is Saramaccan Creole. Saramaccan, *SM*, is an English-based creole with considerable relexification from Portuguese and Dutch, spoken in present-day Suriname. The primary substrate language is Fongbe, *FGB*, a Kwa language in the Gbe group spoken mainly in present-day Benin, part of the former Slave Coast.

Saramaccan and the other creole languages of Suriname developed as a result of slavery. People primarily from the Slave Coast and Dutch Loango in West Africa were brought to Suriname as slaves. The importation began in 1651 and ended with the abolition of slavery in the colony in 1863. During this time the slaves were exposed in varying degrees to the languages of the European planters, first to English, and then to Dutch, Portuguese and some German. From the very beginning of the colony slaves fled the plantations, and many managed to avoid capture and live in freedom in the jungle. The successful escapees, known as *maroons*, eventually formed societies based on their former plantations. The Saramaccans were one of many such maroon societies (Price 1983 for a detailed history). The speakers of Saramaccan escaped from plantations of Portuguese speaking Jewish planters, and fled first to the Saramacca River, and then to the Suriname River, their present location. Like all maroons, they were involved in a war for survival with colonial forces. For the Saramaccans this war ended in 1762. The treaty ending the war gave the Saramaccans their territory, but greatly curtailed the flow of new maroons into it. The history of the Saramaccans and the other maroons is a history of relative isolation from European influence, and after the peace treaty of a degree of isolation from other Africans living on plantations as well. This isolation from

Europeans is generally credited for the heavy influence of the substrate languages on the creoles of the maroon societies, and of course the presumed lack of decreolization.

Migge (1998) argues convincingly with historical and linguistic evidence that FGb is the primary substrate language of the Surinamese plantation creoles, which include Sranan, *SR*, Ndjuka, *NDj*, Matawai, *MT*, and of course SM. Lefebvre (1998a and elsewhere) argues as well that FGb is the primary substrate language of Haitian Creole, *HT*, a French-based creole. A study of substrate transfer into SM will have added depth in being able to compare the transfer of the same substrate language into other creoles with different lexifiers and histories.

The Migge study (*ibid.*) examines both the Gbe languages and the Surinamese creole languages. The first half of the study deals with the historical data relating to the slave trade between West Africa and Suriname in the period from 1651 to 1720, the time of the formation of the Surinamese creole languages. It is argued, based on population statistics for this period, that the Gbe languages are the primary substrate input for the Surinamese creoles, and that the creoles were formed between 1679 and 1695 (*ibid.*:121). The following brief discussion of the historical records will serve as a background for the chapters dealing with transfer.

Dealing with the formation of the creole, Migge argues that the period from 1679 to 1695 is characterized by a rapid increase in the population of Africans compared to the population of Europeans, and that this imbalance is typical of a contact setting where creole languages might develop (*ibid.*:130). The ratio of Europeans to Africans for this period increased sharply in 1695, from 1:2 in 1679 to 1:5 in 1684, to 1:12 in 1695 (*ibid.*: table 3.1). In the period from the founding of the colony in 1651 to 1675 the ratio increases slowly from 1:1 to 1:3. This ratio, it is argued, does not create a likely setting for creole formation because the Africans would have adequate access to speakers of the superstrate and would be able to acquire a second-language version of the superstrate language. The ratio of 1:12, on the other hand, is conducive to creole formation, in that Africans would have restricted access to speakers of the superstrate. The contact setting with the 1:12 ratio is also characterized by virtual exclusion of Europeans and to a lesser

extent the Africans of the earlier period from the newly imported African field workers of this later period (ibid.:142). These Africans themselves spoke a variety of languages, roughly half being Gbe languages from the Slave Coast, and half being varieties of Kikongo from Dutch Loango (ibid.: table 3.4). The lack of a common means of communication, it is argued, was a motivation for forming the creole. The Europeans in Suriname also spoke a variety of languages, including English, Dutch, German, and varieties of Portuguese or Spanish spoken by Jewish planters. The Dutch were never a majority of the Europeans in Suriname (ibid.:128). The lack of a predominant European language, Migge argues, left the English pidgin or second-language variety of English of the older slaves as the common superstrate input for the creole.

The Africans in the early period may already have learned an English pidgin before arriving in Suriname (ibid.:131), also argued by McWhorter (1995). But Migge assumes that Africans arriving in the following period did not speak an English pidgin or second-language variety of English (ibid.:142), arguing that this English pidgin or second-language variety was a secondary input rather than the foundation of the developing creole. This argument differs from that of McW. (1995), who argues that the English pidgin is the foundation of all the Atlantic English-based creoles. It also differs from Mufwene (1996), who argues that a second-language variety of English is in fact the creole language, which was drastically affected by interference through shift from the substrate languages during the increase in the African population. There is no reason, of course, to assume that there could not have been both an English pidgin and a second-language variety of English. Africans in the early period could use the second-language variety for communication with Europeans, and the pidgin would be for their own use. As for the input for creole development, however, an English pidgin brought into Suriname would explain the many similarities among the Atlantic English-based creoles (McW. ibid.), and a pidgin stage of creole development would explain the particular absence of a cluster of features in creole languages that defines a creole prototype (McW. 1998). If the pidgin were used for in-group communication, as opposed to the use of a

second-language variety, then the pidgin would be the logical input or foundation for the development of a creole that would also be used for in-group communication.

The formation of the Surinamese creole, by McW. (1995, 1998), would have to have been completed by the time the English left Suriname, after the Dutch acquired Suriname in 1667. This is because the Surinamese creoles are English-based. By M. (1998), however, the formation occurred after 1679 when the contact setting was conducive. The superstrate input was some form of English used by the Africans before 1667, since there was no dominant superstrate during the Dutch rule, and since in any case there was basically no contact between Europeans and the newly imported Africans. There was also little contact between old and new slaves, so that any second-language variety of English would not be accessible to the newly imported Africans. Any lack of contact would be noticeably increased after 1679, when the ratio of old to new slaves jumped from 1:1.8 for the period 1670-79 to 1:6.6 for the period 1680-89 (M. *ibid.*: table 3.2). By 1695 the ratio of Europeans to Africans jumped from 1:5 in 1684 to 1:12 (*ibid.*:table 3.1). This setting would tend to preclude all but the most basic English input, and favor input that was influenced by substrate features, such as an English pidgin. The records of the population of Africans, then, could address both the Migge and McWhorter arguments, in that the imbalance of Europeans to Africans and of old to new Africans is conducive to creole formation, and that the superstrate input was an English pidgin.

The population of Africans in the period from 1680 to 1700 consisted mainly of Gbe speakers from the Slave Coast and Kikongo speakers from Dutch Loango, in roughly equal proportions (M. *ibid.*: table 3.4). If this was the time of creole formation, the creole should have roughly equal substratal influence from both Gbe and Kikongo, yet the major influence is Gbe. McWhorter (1994) argues that the population statistics do not reflect the actual situation, and that the data reflecting Gbe influence suggests the records of the time are not complete. Migge (*ibid.*), however, points out that after 1700 the percent of Gbe speakers brought to Suriname increased to roughly 70%, compared to roughly 40% before that time. These Gbe speakers would target creole varieties with Gbe influence, perhaps increasing that influence in acquisition. This would favor the Gbe creoles and

disfavor any Kikongo creoles (M. *ibid.*:133). Eventual dialect leveling would then leave a Gbe substrate creole with peripheral Kikongo lexicon.

Speakers of the Saramaccan and Matawai varieties of the creole began their marronage by fleeing from plantations on the Suriname River in the decade of 1690-1700 (M. *ibid.*:48). These varieties are characterized by having been partially relexified with Portuguese, *PR*, presumably from the Portuguese spoken by Jewish planters or some of their slaves who may have spoken a *PR* based creole. The marronage of these speakers prevented any further dialect leveling regarding superstrate influence, so that the *PR* element remained. But the marronage would not have prevented further dialect leveling of the substrate influence, the leveling argued by Migge to have occurred after 1700 with the dominance of Gbe speakers among imported Africans. This is because there was a constant flow of new escapees entering the maroon communities (*ibid.*:54), and the maroons kept in contact with Africans still on plantations (*ibid.*:57). Such contact continued until the peace treaties of the 1760s, well past the formation period ending in 1720. Presumably the Saramaccan and Matawai maroons kept in contact with the plantations they had left, namely those of the *PR* speaking Jewish planters, so the *PR* element in those creole languages was not affected by dialect leveling.

The marronage of *SM*, then, began during the decade of 1690-1699 when the ratio of old to new slaves had lowered to 1:1.2, down from 1:6.6 in 1680-1689 (M. *ibid.*: table 3.2). The increase in the percentage of Gbe speakers from 42.8% to 70.6% is attributed to the following decade of 1700-1709 (M. *ibid.*: table 3.4). The varieties of *SM* maroon creole, by these population records, should have included those with Kikongo as well as those with a Gbe substrate. The maroon varieties might be expected to be more conservative than the plantation varieties, since escapees would arrive as individuals or in small groups and would be eager to assimilate, thus preserving any Kikongo influence. But the substrate influence in modern *SM* is primarily Gbe with peripheral Kikongo lexicon (McW. 1994), like the other Surinamese creoles.

By the argument in M. (1998), the speakers of maroon creoles were in contact with the plantations and were receiving new escapees, and so the maroon creoles would also

eventually favor the Gbe substrate varieties. The Gbe speakers would contribute a major part of the substrate, and the English pidgin or second language variety would provide the major part of the superstrate. By the argument in McW. (1997), on the other hand, the English pidgin spoken by the Africans in the early period was in fact the beginning of the plantation creole, later to be modified and expanded and then split into the modern Surinamese creoles. This pidgin was brought into Suriname, and into other English colonies as well, and so forms the common core of all the Atlantic English-based creoles. The argument for a common pidgin explains the presence of several substrate features in these English-based creoles, such as pronominal forms from Igbo (McW. *ibid.*:80). The Igbo were used as castle slaves in West Africa and perhaps Barbados, but were not brought into the colonies as field workers, so they could have had little effect on any creole development on the plantations. In this argument, the English pidgin provided substrate, but the English superstrate contribution was from English speakers, and ended with the withdrawal of the English after 1667.

The McW. *Afrogenesis* argument (McW. 1997:86) pinpoints the origin of the English pidgin in West Africa; the slave fort Cormantin on the Gold Coast. The Igbo castle slaves lived nearby and had contact with local people, who spoke Kwa languages such as Akan. Igbo and Akan are related to the Gbe languages, and are typologically similar. Their substrate contribution to an English pidgin would be similar to that of Gbe, but it would not be the same as the Gbe substrate in the Surinamese creoles. The *Afrogenesis* argument explains the substrate features common to the Atlantic English-based creoles, but does not explain the Gbe influence in a setting with equal numbers of Gbe and Kikongo speakers. It is argued in McW. (1994:85) that the records are not accurate, and that in fact there may have been more Gbe speakers imported at all times in Suriname.

Working with the population figures, however, an argument may be made predicting the predominance of Gbe influence based on typological grounds, discussed in Chapter 8. The typologically similar substrate of the English pidgin would be more recognizable and easier to learn for Gbe speakers, giving Gbe an advantage over Kikongo during the expansion of the pidgin. Another factor may have been the social hierarchy among

slaves, where older slaves looked down on newer slaves (McW. 1997:74). A facility for acquiring the English pidgin may have enhanced the standing and influence of Gbe speakers over Kikongo speakers.

An additional argument predicting the Gbe influence is based on the typology of pidgin and creole languages, also discussed in Chapter 8. The Kwa languages, and especially the Gbe languages, share a number of typological features attributed to pidgin and creole languages. FGb, for example, is isolating, has a basic SVO word order, and has a mostly CV syllabic structure with mostly monosyllabic monomorphemic words. FGb also has lexical but not grammatical tone. The Gbe languages contrast with Kikongo, which is agglutinating and has grammatical tone. For Gbe speakers the typological similarity between Gbe and pidgin and creole languages would facilitate learning a pidgin and expanding it into a creole. For Kikongo speakers the acquisition of the pidgin and its expansion into a creole would present a greater cognitive challenge. The typological difference would disfavor the transfer of Kikongo features, considering the availability of Gbe features.

A comparison of the Atlantic English-based creoles for common substrate features indicates that the proposed common pidgin would have been somewhat expanded, with features such as grammaticalized serial verb constructions (McW. 1997:87). The Kwa languages are verb-serializing languages, but Kikongo is not. Gbe speakers could adapt at once to serial verb constructions in the pidgin, where Kikongo speakers could not. Gbe speakers would have greater command of the pidgin and be in a better position for influencing its development. In SM, Gbe speakers expanded to use of grammaticalized serial verb constructions to include a non-grammaticalized serial verb construction, the shared object serial.

The arguments based on typology would indicate that there may not have been varieties of plantation creole with a predominantly Kikongo substrate. There would also be no maroon varieties with a major Kikongo substrate element. This would explain the Gbe substrate in Saramaccan and Matawai, which split off in the decade before the predominance of Gbe speakers in the colony.

The Gbe people brought to Suriname were from the coastal region of the Slave Coast, from what is now eastern Ghana, Togo, Benin and western Nigeria (M. 1998: maps 2.4, 2.5). They included people from many ethnolinguistic groups; Xwla, Xwela, Gen, Alada, Fon, and Vhe (ibid.:79). There is reason to believe that the Fon were particularly influential in the coastal areas of the Slave Coast during the time of creole formation in Suriname. Around 1640 the Fon arrived on the coast and established the kingdom of Daxome, becoming the major political power in the area (ibid.:74). Any influence of the Fon language, Fongbe, beyond the kingdom and the areas settled by FGb speakers may be reflected in the present day status of FGb as a lingua franca in the coastal areas and in the capital of Benin (ibid.:75). Many speakers of other Gbe languages may have been familiar with FGb because of the political prominence of the Fon, a familiarity borne of contact in Africa that could be summoned for expanding a contact language in Suriname.

1.4 Transferred Saramaccan constructions

An overview of the SM constructions under consideration and the arguments on their transfer is presented in the introduction to provide background for the detailed discussion in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the chapters on transfer.

The argument for an English pidgin in the early stage of Surinamese plantation creole implies two types of transfer from the Kwa substrate; the transfer of features from Igbo and Gold Coast languages like Akan, and the transfer of Gbe features. Transferred features in SM would then be expected to conform to the different stages of development. The transferred features in the pidgin would be expected to conform to the features of a creole prototype (McW. 1998), and would be expected to function in the basic work or trade related communication associated with early creole development (Foley 1988). The transferred Gbe features from the period of expansion would be expected to function in the full range of communication needs characteristic of an expanded creole (ibid.).

The study examines the transfer of three constructions into SM. These are adjectives, described in Chapter 2, and transfer discussed in Chapter 5; passives, in Chapter 3, transfer in Chapter 6; and shared object serial verb constructions, in Chapter 4, transfer in Chapter 7. Verbs that may occur in these three constructions share a common semantic constraint, transferred from the corresponding constructions in FGb; verbs as derived attributive adjectives, passives and in shared object serials are constrained to depict a visible or perceivable effect on their referent. In addition, verbs in these constructions may not be ditransitives. Thus the constraint defines the referent as having a patientive role. The constraint limits the verbs to those that are prototypically event-depicting. The three constructions, then, depict results of eventive actions, no doubt with particular pragmatic and discourse interpretations. There are other constructions in both FGb and SM, however, that can convey the same basic meaning. But these other constructions may convey other meanings too, and are not limited to patientive referents. By Lambrecht (1994:17), then, the three constructions that are limited to event depiction with patientive referents are to be considered marked. In terms of transfer, a marked and somewhat specialized function would not transfer until a developing language had expanded sufficiently to need such a function. Presumably such a time would be less traumatic. These three constructions would then fall more on the side of transfer resembling borrowing. There is some evidence from a text analysis that in SM these constructions have a specialized function in the introduction or reactivation of information, occurring far more frequently than for the alternative constructions. There is also some evidence, discussed in the chapters on transfer, that the marked use of these constructions increased in post-creolization, perhaps through language identity issues. In this case, where the substrate languages were no longer spoken and the creole had become a primary means of communication, the increase cannot be considered transfer. But the increase does indicate that the use of a construction to express markedness may be related to markedness of the construction. This is a useful notion when considering how marked substrate features may change in the way they express markedness after transfer.

1.4.1 Adjectives in SM

An example of such a change is to be found in the transfer of attributive adjectives into SM. In Chapter 2 the SM adjectival system is described. While most predicate adjectives in FGb are intransitive stative verbs, in SM predicate adjectives are the entire class of intransitive stative verbs. The verbal attributive adjectives in FGb are reduplicated, the others are not. In SM the reduplication of attributive adjectives expresses marked plurality and iterativity, but in these and other depictions it varies as to the subjective degree of markedness they express. This markedness is loosely defined by culture, pragmatics or discourse, and varies by item from subjective to idiomatic. But in each case the motivation for reduplication can be traced to markedness of some sort. Reduplication of non-derived attributive adjectives is not an expression of resultativity. Non-derived attributives in SM resemble those in FGb that reduplicate in that reduplication does not express resultativity. But the two systems contrast in that reduplication, perhaps considered universally marked, is strictly morphological in FGb adjectives and carries no meaning. In SM, on the other hand, this marked feature for adjectives is associated with markedness.

On the other hand, the derived attributive adjectives in both FGb and SM are reduplicated, and they do express resultativity. In both languages the verbs that occur as derived attributives, as mentioned above, are constrained to depict an effect on a patientive referent. As verbs they are highly transitive or affecting unaccusative and event depicting, but as derived attributives such verbs are basically stative in that they express resultative states. Thus as derived attributives these verbs are removed from their event-depicting aktionsart. In this sense, then, these verbs are marked as derived attributives relative to their verbal use. The markedness of derived attributives may have served as a model for the expression of markedness in SM non-derived attributive adjectives, reflected in reduplication.

There is a parallel with predicate adjectives regarding the expression of markedness and reduplication. Both derived and non-derived adjectives may occur reduplicated after the copula *dé*. This *dé* + RE construction comments on properties that deviate from the expected, or from the story line. In FGb the corresponding construction, *dò* + RE, occurs only with derived adjectives. Nearly all non-derived predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs, the few that aren't occurring predicatively with the locative copula *dò* without reduplication. In the FGb *dò* + RE construction, then, it is only derived adjectives that are reduplicated, parallel to their attributive occurrence. In FGb this reduplication is morphological, and carries no meaning. In SM, on the other hand, the *dé* + RE construction occurs with non-derived adjectives as well, and carries a markedness connotation. Thus for adjectives in SM reduplication is associated with markedness, where it is not in FGb.

Attributive adjectives, by Thompson (1988), help introduce new information, while predicate adjectives comment on known information. These prototypical functions of adjectives are iconically represented in the patterns of tone sandhi in SM. SM is a tone language, like FGb. The tones in FGb are lexical, not grammatical (Wiesemann 1991). The tones that transferred into SM are also lexical, not grammatical, and as in FGb (*ibid.*) appear to relate to intonation. It is the intonational function of SM tones that is reflected in an association of tone sandhi and discourse. And it is likely the circumstance of creole genesis that allowed this iconic association to be transferred. Iconicity is a feature of pidginization (Mühlhäusler 1986:135). In SM, the sandhi of predicate adjectives is transferred from FGb, while that of attributives is an innovation. Even this fact reflects iconicity, in that known information would be most likely associated with the familiar substrate, while new information would not.

Tone sandhi in SM is the raising of an unspecified low tone to high in a tonal domain, defined in Chapter 4 basically as the syllables unspecified for tone between two syllables specified for high tone. Sandhi could be looked at as the grammaticalization of tone assimilation, arguably the result of lax pronunciation. This laxity would obscure the lexical identity of an item somewhat, so it would most probably occur in the context of

known information. There would be motivation to present lexical items depicting new information unambiguously, without tone sandhi. The iconicity of tone sandhi in adjectival constructions relates to discourse constituents. For predicate adjectives, there is sandhi between the referent and the adjectives, namely the usual tone sandhi in SM and FGb between subject and verb (Rountree 1972). The left edge of the predicate adjective allows sandhi. For attributive adjectives, on the other hand, the left edge does not allow sandhi. This left edge does allow sandhi, however, after adjectives like *óto*, ‘other’, or *fósu*, ‘first’, namely adjectives that contrast. In these cases, the contrast is the new information and the property depicted by the following adjective is known.

The findings of T. (1988) are reflected in SM adjectives, as seen in a textual analysis. In a narrative text, SM predicate adjectives, which are intransitive stative verbs, rarely have non-pronominal subjects. Their referents, therefore, are established, identifiable and active, namely known information. The referents of attributive adjectives are spelled out, of course, and these referents overwhelmingly occur in clauses that depict, in Role & Reference Grammar terms, ACCOMPLISHMENTS (Van Valin 1990). In other words, the referents are specific, and in addition are introduced as objects in transitive clauses. Most of these referents do not occur with a definite article, conforming to the Thompson study. But there are a number that do occur with the definite article, indicating that they are already established and are being reactivated. The attributive adjective with these items is overwhelmingly *gaán*, ‘big’, ‘great’, or ‘old’. Items occurring with *gaán* occur in the text without this adjective as well. These occurrences are more scene setting than purely reactivating, in that they infer that the ‘greatness’ extends to the overall episode. The most common predicate adjective is also ‘big’ or ‘great’, the suppletive *bígi*, with the same inference. This property itself is not really new information, either as part of an introduction or as commentary. The property instead is scene setting in maintaining a background. This property description is the most common in the text, perhaps even in the language, and involves the only unequivocally suppletive pair in the language, suggesting a special history.

1.4.2 Passive in SM

The function of reactivation appears to typify the SM passive construction as well. In Chapter 3 an analysis of the same text shows that passives occur exclusively with full NPs with the definite article. Passives also occur mainly in ACCOMPLISHMENT clauses. From this text, passives in SM depict the state resulting from the action on a specific referent, and one that has been previously established or is known from cultural context. SM passives may be seen, then, as a non-stative parallel to predicate adjectives. Both constructions are simply an NP followed by a verb. But they differ in that it appears that predicate adjectives prefer pronominal subjects while passives prefer non-pronominal subjects. The SM passive is agentless, but agency is implied. Because there is no passive morphology, processing difficulty in identifying either of the two possible referents may explain the preference for full NP subjects, leaving the passive as a strategy for reactivating referents as background. Also, passives involve dynamic verbs and are resultative; unlike predicate adjectives they depict a state that is relative to time, which is appropriate for reactivating information in a discourse context.

The SM passive is constrained to depict an effect on a patientive argument. Thus stative verbs and verbs of perception, as well as ditransitives, do not occur in passives. The passive construction is also constrained to depict effects on an argument that exists, so that an item may be affected to disappear, such as with *lási*, ‘lose’, but not to appear, such as with *féni*, ‘find’. In addition, passives tend not to occur depicting the culturally unexpected, so that a field may be burned, with *tjumá*, ‘burn’, but not a house. This dispreference explains an animacy constraint in the scarcity of human subjects in SM passives, since humans are less likely to be affected than non-humans.

There are alternative constructions to the passive in SM. The *dé* + RE construction with has been argued by Bakker (1987) to be a passive. It resembles the passive in being constrained to patient-affecting verbs. It differs from the passive in that there is no implied agency. The *dé* + RE construction can have a resultative stative interpretation,

like a passive, but as with other adjectival constructions these depictions are basically stative and are outside of the action of a story line. Characteristic of constructions with reduplication, they depict marked plurality or iterativity, and also appear to depict pragmatic markedness. Another alternative is an active sentence with an impersonal subject *de*, ‘they’. Use of an impersonal construction to express passive is common in the substrate languages, but of course occurs in English as well. It in effect suppresses the agent, and implies a resultative state. It is interpreted as a passive, being the usual response for a passive in elicitation. The impersonal *de* active allosentence does not have the semantic constraints of the regular passive. Not having these constraints may explain why its depictions are also outside the story line, and similarly, why it is the preferred form in context-free elicitation. It is the constraints on the regular passive that associate it with the context of a story line, and so also with a discourse function in the story line.

There are other passive-like constructions in SM as well. There is a ‘get’ construction with *kó*, ‘come’, meaning ‘become’. There is also a passive-like meaning associated with some of the uses of *féni*, ‘find’. These constructions are somewhat specialized, and probably not good candidates for allosentences with the passive. The best alternative to the passive is the impersonal *de* active construction. Of this pair of allosentences, it is the constrained member that has the more specialized discourse function, and resembles the substrate more in having the transferred constraints.

1.4.3 Shared object serials in SM

The semantic constraints on verbs in derived adjectival and passive constructions are also on the verbs in shared object serial verb constructions, in Chapter 4. The shared object serial is the only serial verb construction in SM where the object is affected by prenominal and postnominal verbs. In particular, it is the only serial where the patient argument precedes a verb that affects it, other than serials with passives. In this way it is similar to the passive, where the patient argument precedes the verb that affects it. The

shared object serial is resultative (V. *ibid.*:141), as are passives. The shared object serial resembles passives as well in that in both constructions if the verb following the patient depicts a change of location, subsequent serial verbs will depict a change of location and have that patient as their subject, and if there is a depiction of change of state, subsequent verbs will also depict a change of state.

The shared object serial also resembles the passive and attributive adjectival constructions in the function of introducing or reactivating information. In the text analysis, shared object serials occur primarily with full NPs, which are mainly inanimate nouns. In addition, they occur predominately as ACCOMPLISHMENT depictions. This contrasts with a more equal distribution of pronominal reference and ACTIVITY clauses among sentences with non-serial active patient-affecting verbs. As for the referents in shared object serials, they are split as to their occurrence with definite articles. Most referents have the definite article, thus resembling the passive, but some are indefinite, resembling attributive adjectives. The shared object serial, then, functions more to reactivate information, similar to the passive.

In its structure the shared object serial lends itself to the introduction or reactivization of the shared object. The shared object serial in SM has one affecting verb before the object, and one or more following it. The second and subsequent verbs depict resultative action. This word order may be seen as characteristically iconic (Mü. *ibid.*) in that the action begins with the agent before the patient is affected, and the subsequent action results from this effect. A preferred argument for introduction is the object of a transitive verb, by Du Bois (1987). The object of a shared object serial is the patient argument of all the verbs in that serial clause, so that this item is in effect being introduced at least twice. For shared object serials depicting change of location of the object, that object is the subject of subsequent intransitive verbs. Another preferred argument for introduction is the subject of an intransitive verb (*ibid.*). In change of location depictions, then, the shared object is both the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb. In other words, in terms of ergativity it is an absolutive. The discourse role that this

absolute item plays, then, keys in to the discourse basis of ergativity as argued by Du Bois.

The tone sandhi of shared object serials, as well as all SM serial constructions with postnominal V2s, would iconically indicate the focus nature of the postverbal NP, while also indicating its topicality relative to the following verb. The NP2 of a serial construction has a sandhi break at its left edge just as in non-serial clauses, but sandhis with the following verb (Voorhoeve 1961), as it does as well in FGb (Brousseau p.c.). Iconically this reflects the newness of the object to V1, while at the same time reflecting the known or expected nature of this item preceding the V2. In other words, the object is new when affected by V1, and then it is known for subsequent verbs. The combination of focus and topic characteristics would lend itself to favor the depiction of a combination of topicalized and then topical reactivated information, which is a function at least of the shared object serial.

The iconicity of tone sandhi in SM is transferred from FGb; in both SVO languages there is sandhi between subject and verb, and a sandhi break between verb and object. This reflects the prototypical topicality of the subject and the focus on the object. For serial verbs, however, there are additional sandhi rules. Normal sandhi does not affect a tone bearing unit, *TBU*, with a tone that is specified as low, because this tone does not change. When these TBUs occur in sandhi domains, normal sandhi is disrupted. In serials, then, the discourse iconicity would not be reflected. There are special tone raising rules that apply to serial verb constructions to compensate for specified low tones and other conditions that disrupt normal sandhi; they cause the effect of sandhi where sandhi might otherwise be expected. For shared object serials and other serials with constituents separating serial verbs the special rules generally raise the tones on these verbs as if there were no intervening constituent, and cause sandhi effects on the constituents as well. Thus when the special tone raising rules apply there is the iconic reflection of discourse function. Since the special rules compensate for the normal rules in this regard, it can be assumed that the normal rules were established first. The special rules, associated primarily with serial verb constructions, no doubt entered the developing

creole language at a later expanded stage along with serial verbs to iconically reflect their discourse function.

Shared object serial verb constructions in SM, as mentioned above, function to introduce or reactivate information at a greater rate, or greater information pressure (Du Bois *ibid.*), than the corresponding non-serial clauses. In this function they may be considered to be allosentences with the non-serial clauses. The shared object serials may also be seen as depicting direct causation (Polinsky *p.c.*), and should be compared to causative clauses. In SM, causative constructions involve *mbéi*, 'make'. This item is both a verb and a complementizer (V. *ibid.*:161). The complementizer expresses direct causation only. In the text analysis, the verb *mbéi* occurs with a distribution of full NPs, pronouns and ACTIVITY clauses typical of other patient-affecting non-serial verbs, and unlike the shared object serials. But there are only two causative clauses with *mbéi* as a verb, each has a pronominal causee. The item *mbéi* as a complementizer does not occur at all. Shared object serial clauses as allosentences of *mbéi* causative clauses might be seen as somewhat mutually exclusive in a narrative, perhaps more specialized, then, in functioning more to focus.

1.5 Transfer from FGb into SM

The transfer of the three constructions, namely adjectives, passives and shared object serials, is the focus of the second half of the study. The primary substrate language, as mentioned above, is FGb. The corresponding constructions in FGb match SM in a way that suggests other possible substrate languages were minimally involved in the transfer. Lefebvre (*ibid.*:391) makes a similar assumption for transfer from FGb into HT. In reality, these constructions and their semantic constraints appear to be similar in the various related Kwa languages that were probably predominant among the substrate languages. It is undoubtedly for this reason that the structures of FGb could serve as a skeletal *koiné* for the substrate contribution in the genesis of the Surinamese and Haitian

creoles. Another advantage that FGb would have over other possible substrate sources, like the Bantu languages, is that FGb itself has the creole characteristics of analyticity, multifunctionality, lack of inflection, and lack of grammatical tone. FGb would have this 'advantage' if these creole features could be seen as motivating a creole prototype rather than resulting from its creation.

1.5.1 Transfer of adjectives

In Chapter 5 the SM predicate and attributive adjectives are compared to adjectival constructions in FGb. There are two types of adjectives in FGb, one being similar to nouns and the other being intransitive stative verbs. For predicate adjectives, the FGb verbal type predominated in transfer, so that basically all SM predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs. For attributive adjectives, on the other hand, the FGb nominal adjectives predominated. Unmarked attributives in SM resemble the FGb nominal attributives in that they are not reduplicated. There is an iconicity of sorts here, in that predicate adjectives, which share the function of commenting on known information with verbs (T. *ibid.*), pattern as verbs in SM both syntactically and in tone sandhi. At the same time attributive adjectives, which share the function of introducing information with nouns, pattern with the FGb nominal attributives in SM and with nouns in tone sandhi. The attributives in SM also resemble English attributives, of course, in not being reduplicated. They also resemble Eng attributives in the adj-noun word order, as opposed to the noun-adj word order of FGb. The attributives may be seen as resembling the superstrate, while the predicates resemble the substrate. There is a further iconicity then, if during transfer the superstrate is seen as the source of new lexical information while the substrate functions to process known information. This pattern of resemblance, with the two types of iconicity, occurs as well in HT (Lf. p.c.) and in the other Surinamese creoles. New information is not necessarily marked, however, and substrate subjective

standards for determining markedness would be expressed by the substrate feature of reduplication.

On the function of substrate input to process known information, such a function would follow from the assumption that the developing communication system is by and for speakers of substrate languages. Intuitively these speakers would maintain as much of their common grammar as possible, and rely on superstrate input where necessary. At the same time, certain features are lost in transfer because of the extreme nature of the rapid development in creole genesis. In the transfer of adjectives from FGb, retention and loss of features interact with the resulting iconicity in SM.

Loss of the copula is commonly regarded as a characteristic of pidginization, and is argued for in the genesis of the Surinamese creoles and HT (Arends 1987; McW. 1996). The loss of the copula in FGb would affect the nominal class of predicate adjectives, which are noun-like and resemble Eng predicate adjectives. A simplified predicative construction with a nominal adjective would resemble the predicative construction with a verbal adjective, namely a subject followed by a bare adjective. The distinction between these adjectival classes was lost in transfer, not surprisingly, with the verbal adjectives predominating.

The loss of the copula also had an effect on the transfer of attributive adjectives. The loss of the definite article (McW. *ibid.*), another characteristic of pidginization, also played a part. In FGb attributive adjectives are postnominal. The verbal adjectives are reduplicated as attributives, while the nominal adjectives are not. There is a rule in FGb that blocks reduplication of postnominal verbs (Fabb 1992a). There is no reason to assume this rule would not continue for some time during creole genesis, especially since its output represents a simplification. Overgeneralization of this rule during pidginization would create a verbal attributive adjective that is not reduplicated. Loss of the article and the copula in serial verb constructions would obscure the difference between attributive and predicative interpretations, especially with derived or anticausative attributive adjectives and shared object serials, two constructions that share semantic constraints and an activating function. The resulting ambiguity could be resolved by adopting the

prevalent Eng adj-noun word order, the word order associated with new lexical information. There are superstrate features in HT attributives as well (Lf. *ibid.*), but French did not provide an alternative word order to resolve the ambiguity. This may partly explain the absence of shared object serials in HT.

While predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs in SM, derived adjectives as predicates occur in the *dÉ* + RE construction. The FGb equivalent construction, *qò* + RE, also is part of the progressive construction. From the early Surinamese creole progressive marker *de*, it appears the FGb locative copula *qò*, or perhaps the earlier **de*, was not lost, possibly because in contexts including the *qò* + RE construction it was more locative than copular. In this case there would be a reduplicated item in the developing creole. This reduplication, as in FGb, would carry no meaning. But it would iconically signal a degree of markedness, in that a construction with a highly transitive verb nominalized and depicting an incomplete event or a state would be marked. It is argued that as the early creole expanded the need to express markedness in property depictions began to use reduplication on analogy with the *dÉ* + RE construction. In other words, non-derived predicate adjectives could then occur in the *dÉ* + RE construction, and occur reduplicated as attributives as well, thus creating a contrast. Derived attributives owe their word order to analogy with non-derived attributives, and their reduplication to analogy with derived predicate adjectives. But in this use in SM reduplication does have meaning, namely the expression of markedness. There is an indication that this development occurred in the early Surinamese creole. Ndjuka uses its *de* + RE construction with adjectives to depict temporary or visible properties (Migge 2000), pointing to an analogy with the non-stative object-affecting derived adjectives. Similarly for non-derived adjectives in Sranan, its *de* + RE adjectival construction is restricted to Dixon's (1977) Physical Property semantic type, and emphasizes the current state (Winford 1997), again indicating a limited spread of the use of reduplication on analogy with derived adjectives.

There is a contrast with HT, where it appears the FGb *qò* + RE construction did not transfer. In HT there is ambiguity between the derived predicate adjective and the

passive, as both are simply [noun-verb] (Brousseau p.c.). As for the HT progressive, the marker is *ap*, from French *après*, ‘after’. Neither FGb copula transferred into HT, nor did the *qò* + RE construction, so there was no adjective whose reduplication was protected by the copula from the blocking of reduplication rule (Fabb. *ibid.*). This may be one reason there is no reduplication in HT adjectives.

Early SM texts show that the reduplicated adjectives were part of the language in the 18th century. There is no reason not to assume that this reduplication had been in the language since the end of creole genesis, namely when it had become a primary means of communication. This would be the period when substrate features would be accessible. By the scenario above for adjectives, the reduplicated alternative for non-derived adjectives must have come into use after the conventionalization of the use of unreduplicated forms. This is so because the motivation for blocking reduplication is a FGb rule which is not sensitive to meaning. The meaning associated with reduplication is not from FGb, and must have come into play after the FGb rule no longer applied. The meaning of reduplication of adjectives is not a FGb feature, but reduplication itself is. The analogy proposed for this innovative use of reduplication would seem diachronically ordinary. But the source of the adjectival morphology, namely its unique occurrence with derived adjectives along with their inherent aksionsart markedness, is a product of simplification as part of creole genesis. It is therefore to be considered a transfer rather than an innovation. What is significant about the result in SM is that the more substratal form is used to depict the more specialized function.

There is, then, the question as to the nature of this pattern, namely whether it is the result of coincidence or motivation. One outward indication might be any difference in its use during the historic period, the time since the first written texts in the 18th century. The earliest texts were written around the end of the struggle for independence, which was won in 1762 (Price 1983). They show the existence of reduplicated non-derived adjectives, and being used in a way that could be seen as depicting markedness. But modern texts show a far greater rate of use. This greater use could in no way be due to transfer, as all access to the substrate would be long gone. And besides, the motivation

was not directly related to the substrate, but instead was a by-product of simplification. But after the development of the creole, the use had been conventionalized and any motivation is obscured. The increased use, however, suggests not uncontroversially that there was awareness that reduplication is a feature not found in the superstrate. The increased use spans the time of the newly gained independence, the type of event that could inspire language awareness (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). If language awareness could affect the use of this feature, it could also affect its development. It would only seem natural that the creators of a creole language would be aware that certain features are unique to the substrate, and further that these features could be assigned a specialized function. It would also seem natural that these functions would be the expression of subjective judgments, since subjectivity is best handled by familiar features rather than by the features of an unfamiliar language.

Thus there is motivation (Haiman 1985; Buchler 1940) for iconicity in the expression of markedness in SM. The iconic use of reduplication is also isomorphic, another feature of iconicity defined by Pierce (Buchler *ibid.*), as there is often a tone sandhi difference between items reduplicated for markedness and those expressing iterativity or durativity. The possible exception to this isomorphism is, of course, the source of the analogy, namely the derived predicate adjectives. There is no alternative construction, yet its tone sandhi matches the sandhi of markedness reduplication. However, as mentioned above, derived attributive and predicate adjectives could be considered marked in contrasting the dynamic aktionsart of highly transitive verbs with a stative depiction. In this sense the reduplication of derived adjectives may be seen as derivation.

1.5.2 Transfer of passives

In SM, unlike in HT, there is no syntactic ambiguity between the derived predicate adjective and the passive. The passive is simply [noun-verb], while the derived predicate adjective is [noun-*dε'* + RE-verb]. The distinction between these two constructions is

made in FGb, and is maintained in SM. The transfer of the passive construction and the maintenance of the distinction are discussed in Chapter 6. In FGb there are two copulas, *nyi* and the locative copula *dò*. Each of these may occur in a construction followed by a reduplicated verb. This verb is constrained to be patient affecting, among other constraints, constraints that transferred. The FGb derived predicate adjective uses the *dò* + RE construction, while the equivalent of a passive uses the *nyi* + RE construction. While the locative copula *dò* appears to have transferred in the *dò* + RE construction, the copula *nyi* was lost during simplification. Thus the passive is morphosyntactically distinct from the derived predicate adjective in SM. The two copulas differ, *dò* being a locative copula and sometimes a preposition. But the reduplications differ as well, the verbal passive being more verbal and the adjectival passive being more nominal (Br. 1993). Thus the more prototypical copula *nyi* would be the most likely to be lost in simplification, and the more verbal reduplication more likely to be blocked by the FGb rule affecting reduplicated postnominal verbs. The more nominal nature of the reduplication in the adjectival passive adds to its markedness as a stative derivation of highly transitive verbs. It is assumed the differences in copula and reduplication did not affect transfer into HT, perhaps because HT has neither. Thus both FGb copulas were lost in the transfer to HT, so that the passive and derived adjectival constructions merged with blocked reduplication and the resulting ambiguity.

Text analysis indicates that the SM passive functions to reactivate information. This discourse related function would be expected to enter the developing language after it had expanded its more basic directive and referential functions. Thus the use of passives would increase over time during creole genesis. A comparison of 18th century and comparable modern texts shows that the use of passives has increased after creole genesis, and as with reduplication of adjectives, has increased through a time of likely increased language awareness. The SM passive has a greater similarity to the FGb verbal passive than the Eng passive in semantic constraints. In syntax the SM passive actually resembles the passive of some varieties of FGb (Lf. 1994) and also of the related Akan

(Boadi 1971). It is intuitively likely that the creators of the creole would be aware of forms that resemble the substrate, and would assign them specialized functions.

Passives are not the type of feature considered to be essential to language and therefore also to creoles (McW. 2001), and there are languages without passives. Also, the SM passive is not necessary in that there is an allosentence construction in the *de* impersonal active. But it is the passive that functions more specifically to reactivate information. There is, then, a parallel to the iconicity of adjectival reduplication. The form that is more closely identified with the substrate has the specialized and subjectively motivated function. There is also the parallel claim that the specialized function entered the developing creole after some expansion.

Regarding expansion, Foley (1988) ascribes a directive and a referential function to an early stage of creole genesis, with other functions developing as the language becomes a more complete means of communication. The early functions would involve highly transitive clauses designed to bring about certain concrete and simple results. Slobin (1983:251) shows that highly transitive clauses are salient to children in language acquisition, and probably to adults as well in language development; children acquire accusative case marking for highly transitive verbs like *throw* before less transitive verbs like *see*. Constructions that depict a high degree of transitivity would be the first to be incorporated into an early stage of creole development. The parameters of transitivity are presented in Hopper & Thompson (1980), which include Kinesis; that actions, not states, can be transmitted from agent to object, and Agency; that high agency participants more effectively transmit this action. The very first constructions in a developing creole could be expected to accommodate these parameters, with other constructions incorporated during expansion.

There are two constructions in FGb that are low in clause transitivity by the parameters of Aspect and Punctuality; that inception-to-completion action is more effectively transmitted. These are the progressive and the verbal passive. The passive depicts the completion of action but not the inception, and the progressive depicts neither. This low transitivity is reflected iconically in their word order, in that the affected patient

argument of the verbal passive or of a transitive progressive precedes the verb that affects it. Clauses with low transitivity are less foregrounding (ibid.), therefore less useful in the immediate goals of early stage communication. It would be expected, then, that neither of the patient-verb, *PV*, constructions would occur in the early creole. It must be assumed, however, that a progressive construction is an essential part of an expanded grammar, where a passive might not be. The FGb progressive did not transfer into the Surinamese creoles, although the marker *qò* appears to have. The progressive in these languages does not use the *PV* word order. The *SVO* word order was used for the progressive, probably on analogy with the word order of more transitive clauses, and the progressive syntax based on other tense, mood and aspect, *TMA*, markers in FGb. The passive, on the other hand, does have the *PV* word order, no doubt because *P* is *S*. But the passive has the *SVO* allosentence with the impersonal *de*, also functioning to suppress the agent. The *PV* word order of the passive, however, could signal the low transitivity of backgrounding, a function which would come into the developing creole at a later time. In SM this backgrounding is the reactivization of information. The iconicity of the passive *PV* in an expanded creole was not appropriate in a less expanded creole for the progressive *PV*, so the progressive *PV* did not transfer. There is another *PV* phrase in SM and the other Surinamese creoles, one that also functions to reactivate as well as introduce information. This is the *PV* of the shared object and following verb in the shared object serial verb construction.

1.5.4 Transfer of shared object serials

The transfer of the shared object serial is discussed in Chapter 7. The shared object serial is unique among the serial constructions in SM in having a *PV* phrase. The corresponding construction in FGb also appears to be unique in this way, but the postnominal verb is somewhat grammaticalized (Migge 1998) and so is less affecting. This postnominal verb is a *serial item*, in that it is less than fully verbal, and is from a

large but closed class (*ibid.*). This contrasts with the SM shared object serial, where the postnominal verb is fully verbal and from an open class (V. 1996:142). The postnominal verb in both FGb and SM is constrained to be patient affecting. As with passive verbs and verbs as derived adjectives, the postnominal verbs of shared object serials do not include stative verbs, verbs of perception, or ditransitives. The postnominal verbs in SM, but not in FGb, resemble passive verbs as well in that subsequent serial verbs of change of location have the patient argument as their subject.

The transfer of the shared object serial involved a change in the postnominal verb, V2. This change came about as a result of analogy, under the assumption that during creole genesis analogy is a mechanism of simplification. In the case of shared object serials, the analogy of the PV constituent is with the PV of a similar serial verb construction; the ‘take’ shared object serial. In addition, there is an analogy with a number of PV constructions that depict partial effects, including the progressive. The postnominal verb in these PV constructions is analyzed as fully verbal (Fabb 1992b). These PV constituents do not occur with pronominal patients, the pronouns are postverbal clitics. An analogy with these PV constructions would leave the resulting SM shared object serial with its tendency not to occur with pronominal objects. A similar analogy with the passive PV would explain this tendency in SM passives as well. The FGb PV is also analogous to SM serial verbs in that it is the only FGb construction that allows predicate clefting of V2; all V2s may be clefted in SM. More importantly, the FGb PV phrase provides a model of reduced transitivity with an open class verb for the analogy that produced the SM shared object serial with an open class V2 with reduced transitivity. The ‘take’ serials have a far more transitive V2, because the V1 ‘take’ is a serial item and does not reduce the transitivity of V2 significantly. As for the ‘take’ shared object serial, the V1, the verb ‘take’, is the serial item, while V2 is from an open class of patient affecting verbs (M. *ibid.*). The V2 of this serial may be an anticausative verb, in which case the object of V1 is the subject of V2 (Da Cruz 1994). As the patient argument of the PV constituent may be either the object or the subject of the following verb, it is an absolutive. There is semantic overlap between anticausatives, depicting inchoative action

due to an inherent quality of the absolutive referent, and verbs of change of location, depicting action in this case caused by V1. An analogy with the PV of the ‘take’ shared object serial would result in the patient of the PV of SM change of location shared object serials being the subject of subsequent serial verbs. An analogy with the passive PV would also explain this for SM passives. It would appear that FGb does not allow serial verbs to follow a PV. The fact that SM does allow these subsequent serial verbs follows from an analogy with the patient subject of the SM passive.

Analogy is a factor in the innovation of special tone sandhi rules in SM for serial verb constructions. The transfer of tone sandhi in non-serial environments is straightforward, perhaps aided by its iconic resemblance to discourse functions. In FGb there is sandhi between contiguous serial verbs, as there is in SM. As serial verb constructions depict single events, this tone sandhi can be seen as iconically representing the depiction of a single event; the ease of tonal transition reflecting a semantic fusing of the two verbs. If more complex serial constructions entered the language after the conventionalization of this iconicity, additional rules would be needed to maintain the effect of tone sandhi if conditions for normal sandhi are not met, and thus maintain the iconicity. These special rules were innovative in that there are no such rules in FGb, yet they are based on rules of FGb tone spread.

In FGb most words are monosyllabic, so most tone spread is between words. Voiced onsets, however, are analyzed as having a low tone (Brousseau 1991), but high tone may spread ‘through’ this low tone to the following vowel. Most words in SM are bisyllabic, but sandhi, or tone spread, is necessarily between words. In SM and FGb there is sandhi, or tone spread, between V2 and the preceding item; this item can be the NP2 in a shared object serial, for example. In SM if this item had a specified low tone at its right edge, however, there would be no sandhi with V2. If there were another item in the constituent, though, its high tone may spread ‘through’ the word with the specified low tone to V2. The spread between words in SM is analogized on the spread between TBUs in FGb. The special rule in SM allows the constituent to appear to sandhi with V2, thereby maintaining the iconicity.

In FGb the juncture before V2 allows tone spread, but there is no tone spread from V1, just as there is no spread from verb to the following object. But the special sandhi effect in SM includes more than the juncture before V2; it also includes V1. The sandhi effect in SM has expanded beyond the tonal pattern of the FGb serials in the application of tone raising on V1. The SM sandhi effect maintains the iconicity of contiguous serial verbs. The implication is that simple serials with contiguous verbs preceded serials like shared object serials with non-contiguous verbs. The simple serials would not have been a model for tonal iconicity if the complex serials had existed at the same time.

The domain of the SM sandhi effect includes all the tonal junctures between non-contiguous serial verbs. Although it is an innovation in SM, the sandhi effect is based on analogy of normal FGb tone spread. FGb high tone spreads to the right up to the right edge of the tonal domain. SM sandhi effect mimics this spread at every tonal juncture in the domain, allowing the final juncture to be spread ‘through’ for a specified low tone. The junctures within the intervening constituent must mimic high tone spread, since the intervening constituent is what prevents normal sandhi of the two serial verbs. Without a bridge of high tone spread between the verbs the sandhi effect fails. In order to mimic FGb high tone spread every juncture in the intervening constituent must apply the sandhi effect, as every TBU in a FGb tonal domain allows tone spread rules to apply. Failure to apply in SM, however, is due to conditions characteristic of SM; it does not apply where normal sandhi would not apply, such as at the left edge of attributive adjectives; it does not apply where it cannot, such as with specified low tones not immediately preceding V2; and it does not apply when there is no juncture to apply to, so that an intervening item consisting of one word does not induce the sandhi effect.

The SM shared object serial, in the text analysis, occurs primarily with full NP patient arguments. This may be due to the influence of the FGb postverbal pronominal object clitics, as mentioned, but the resulting tendency is the naming of the patient. The SM shared object serial, like the SM passive, functions to introduce or reactivate information. As with the passive, this function typifies an expanded later form of the developing creole, so that the iconicity of the PV representing reduced transitivity is acceptable. As

with passives as well, a comparison of 18th century and modern texts shows an increase in the use of shared object serials, indicating, not uncontroversially, an awareness of the identity of this construction as ‘African’. This indicates also, then, that there was such an awareness during the expansion period. This awareness implies the existence of alternative constructions, which for shared object serials would mean equivalent non-serial clauses or direct causation constructions with the complementizer *mbéi*, ‘make’. There is a functional characteristic of shared object serials that parallels that of passives and adjectives; of the allosentences, the construction uniquely identified with the substrate has a specialized function.

1.6 Motivation for transfer

The specialized function shared by the reduplicated adjectives, passives and shared object serial verb constructions relates to the introduction or reactivation of information, discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. These constructions are associated with this function more than the alternative constructions that convey the same basic meaning. These constructions are also more uniquely identified with the substrate than the alternatives. The use of these options in discourse depends on the subjective judgment of speakers. For this reason, it is argued, the creators of the creole would resort to a familiar strategy associated with the substrate languages. The three constructions lend themselves to the function of naming participants for reference in discourse because they involve highly transitive patient affecting verbs. Reduplication of adjectives is based on analogy with derived adjectives, which transferred as derived from patient affecting verbs, while this constraint on verbs in passives and shared object serial was transferred directly. Objects of transitive verbs are preferred for introduction or reactivation, and as patient affecting verbs more effectively transmit action to objects, patient-affecting verbs should be preferred transitive verbs. Highly transitive verbs approximate prototypical verbhood in being able to answer the question *what happened?* (H. & T. 1984). Such a question is

relevant to discourse, as opposed to context-free elicitation. In Chapters 5, 6, and 7 it is argued that the discourse function of these three constructions may be seen as a motivation for their transfer, and the reason for their transfer into an expanding creole.

1.7 Orthography of SM and FGb

The orthography adopted in this study for data elicited in SM resembles that of other researchers, mainly for convenience. The deviation from a phonetic alphabet is motivated by the convention of writing SM in the Dutch orthography, as Dutch is the official national language of Suriname. In the literature on SM there is virtual consensus on the writing of [č] as *tj*. There is no [j] in Dutch, but in the literature it is represented by as *dj* on analogy with *tj*. The Dutch *oe* for [u], however, has not been used in the literature even though it is used somewhat randomly by native speakers. This vowel is written *u* in the literature. As the Dutch [y] is *j*, as in IPA, the *j* is generally used in the literature and is used in this study.

There are various ways of representing sounds in SM that do not occur in Dutch. As for vowels, SM has a seven-vowel system, namely [i, e, ε, u, o, ɔ, a], with a contrast between lax [ε] and [ɔ] and tense [e] and [o]. Some researchers do not indicate this contrast, for example; de Groot (1981) and Veenstra (1996) use only *e* and *o*. The convention of Rountree and Glock is to use *ě* for [ε] and *ō* for [ɔ]. In this study [ε] is *ε* and [ɔ] is *ɔ* for elicited data. Generally in the literature nasalization is indicated by *n* after the vowel, as [ã] is written *an*. For elicited data in this study nasalization is indicated with the ~ sign, so that [ã] is written *ã*. Most researchers indicate lexical high tone on vowels with the acute accent, as *á*. De Groot (1981) also marks lexical low tone, using the grave accent, as *à*. High tone is marked with an acute accent in the Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock (2000) dictionary, but not in texts by these researchers, such as Aboikoni & Glock (1997). For elicited data in this study lexical high tone is indicated with an acute accent and lexical low tone is indicated with a grave accent.

As for consonants that do not occur in Dutch, there are coarticulated stops in SM, as well as in FGb, written *kp* and *gb* in the literature and in this study. There are also prenasalized stops in SM, as well as in FGb. In the literature and in this study [mb] is *mb*, [nd] is *nd*, and [ŋg] is *ng*.

Examples from other sources used in this study are copied exactly, so that some will not indicate tone, and some will not have the tense/lax distinction. There are also various spelling conventions regarding semivowels, so that the elicited *túwɛ*, ‘throw’, is *tuwē* in A. & G. (1997), *túwē* in R., A. & G. (2000), and *túe* in V. (1996) and deG. (1981).

Since all the examples of Fongbe used in this study are from other sources, they are copied exactly as they occur in those sources.

1.8 Fieldwork in the language of elicitation

A great deal of the data for this study, particularly data related to subjectivity, is from fieldwork in Saramaccan villages in the interior of Suriname. The fieldwork was conducted in the Saramaccan language, which I began learning while doing fieldwork in San Francisco. My wife and I were guests of Edgar Huur in Pokigron, and of members of his family in Abenasitonu, Botopasi and Djuumu. Being guests and relaying information about family members and friends in the U. S. allowed a degree of acceptance that in part helped overcome the observer’s paradox, the effect due to the presence of an outside inquirer. Another factor was our participation in work. Perhaps the most important aspect, though, was the sheer friendliness of all the Saramaccan people I had occasion to meet. My situation gave me access to spontaneous conversation, directed both at me and at others. The advantage of doing fieldwork in the language of elicitation was that the pragmatic motivations for various constructions were apparent, but the disadvantage was that I could get no translations. Fortunately, after returning to the U. S. the Saramaccan language consultants were available for translations and interpretations.

Chapter 2

Adjectives and derived attributive adjectives

2.1 Introduction

Property depictions in Saramaccan have both nominal and verbal characteristics, in that as attributives they are nominal, as attributive adjectives, and as predicates they are verbal, as intransitive stative verbs. SM property depictions, then, differ from English. But they differ from Fongbe as well, in particular in relation to the use of reduplication. In this chapter it will be argued that one of the functions of reduplication in property depictions in SM is to express pragmatic and discourse markedness. It will also be argued that property markedness is expressed primarily by attributive adjectives during the introduction of referents. The description of SM property depictions allows the comparison of their superstrate and substrate features, to be discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to transfer.

2.1.1 Property depictions

In Saramaccan there are items that are commonly referred to as adjectives in that they depict a property of a referent, and so resemble items in English that are categorized as adjectives. These items in Saramaccan, *SM*, however, function differently in different contexts. They display characteristics of stative verbs when occurring in constructions that translate into English as predicate adjectives. They display more nominal characteristics in constructions translated as attributive adjectives. In this way they resemble items commonly referred to as adjectives in other Caribbean English creoles (Winford 1988, 1993, 1997), and are considered to be single multifunctional items rather

than separate but phonologically identical and semantically similar items.

Adjectives in the Caribbean English creole, *CEC*, languages have been referred to as property items by Winford (1997), based on the introduction of the term in Thompson (1988), as a way to discuss various items which depict properties without reference to categoriality. The term may be applied to both predicate and attributive adjectives in SM and CEC, and incidentally, may also be applied to predicate and attributive adjectives in the major substrate language Fongbe, *FGb*. Following Hopper & Thompson (1984), the categoriality of an item is seen as a function of its discourse and pragmatic context. In SM, items functioning as predicate adjectives and items functioning as attributive adjectives have clusters of properties, following Schachter (1985:6), where no single property in itself suffices to determine a basic category. In this study, however, the focus is on the transfer of morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics from *FGb* into SM. In terms of transfer, certain characteristics in SM will be used to define the functional categories of items. These definitions are used for convenience in referring to items and constructions in both languages, and are not intended to imply that multifunctionality involves derivation. The terms to be used are *adjective*, which includes *predicate adjective* and *attributive adjective*, but does not include *derived attributive adjective*.

Adjectives as predicates in SM are a subclass of intransitive verbs, namely intransitive stative verbs. An example is *a bigi*, 'it is big'. The classification of SM verbs into stative and dynamic, following the classification of CEC verbs in Bickerton (1981), will be adopted here, again for convenience, since items vary in discourse context. As predicates, adjectives have characteristics of SM intransitive stative verbs, and differ from SM intransitive dynamic verbs, in that they may also occur unreduplicated as attributive adjectives, namely depicting a state rather than a process. An example with an unreduplicated adjective is *gãã páu*, 'big tree'. These two characteristics will be used as the defining criterion regarding the term adjective. In this regard, the suppletive adjective pair *gãã/bigi*, 'big', is the sole exception. A non-suppletive adjective is *bè*, 'red', as in *bè ápa*, 'red apple', and *dí ápa bè*, 'the apple is red'.

There are characteristics relative to the other SM verb classes that define derived

attributive adjectives. These characteristics will be summarized here for the purpose of definition.

Basically, derived attributive adjectives must occur reduplicated. Intransitive dynamic verbs may occur unreduplicated prenominaly, as such they are present participles. An example is *bái dágú*, 'barking dog'. In this regard they are like dynamic and stative transitive verbs that also may occur unreduplicated prenominaly as present participles. An example is *woóko néngé*, 'working bush-person'. Intransitive and transitive dynamic verbs may occur as derived attributive adjectives by reduplication. However, they are subject to a semantic constraint that they depict the result of a visible or perceivable effect on the referent. Examples are *kái-kái páu*, 'fallen tree', and *kóti-kóti físi*, 'cut fish'. Thus these derived attributives have a resultative meaning.

Adjectives in SM may occur as transitive as well as intransitive verbs. An example is *mbaái dí pási*, 'widen the road'. SM adjectives differ from transitive verbs in that transitive verbs occur as derived attributives only by reduplication, are subject to a constraint to depict a visible or perceptible effect on the referent, and necessarily have a resultative meaning. Adjectives, which are intransitive stative verbs as predicates, may also occur reduplicated as attributive adjectives. Adjectives, however, are not subject to this semantic constraint. Reduplicated adjectives may allow a resultative interpretation if they are interpreted as derived, but this is not the function of reduplication for non-derived attributive adjectives. SM adjectives as attributives are reduplicated to denote iterativity or plurality, but also to depict a property that is marked as unique, uncharacteristic or peripheral of its prototypical relation to the referent in its particular context; common interpretations of reduplication. An example is *deé físi*, 'dry fish', fish cut into pieces dried in the normal way over a fire, in contrast to *deé-deé físi*, 'dry fish', less desirable or small fish dried in the sun. Examples such as this will be discussed in detail in section 2.4.1. The reduplicated adjectives in a predicative construction with the copula *dé* parallel reduplicated attributives in that they express a marked property.

The varying categoriality of SM adjectives is an example of multifunctionality in SM, a characteristic of Caribbean creoles in general (Voorhoeve 1981). A casual examination

of FGb vocabulary indicates this multifunctionality could be a transferred feature. It will be argued in Chapter 5 that the predicate adjective construction and both the reduplicated and unreduplicated attributive adjective constructions were transferred from FGb.

SM dynamic verbs, like *kóti*, 'cut', depict events, which prototypically include a conclusion of the action. This aktionsart of dynamic verbs in SM generally gives them a past tense translation. SM stative verbs, like *lóbi*, 'love/like', depict states, without reference to a conclusion. The aktionsart of stative verbs in SM generally gives them a present tense translation. The actual tense interpretation can vary by context, as in other creoles (Holm 2000).

Predicate adjectives in SM are intransitive stative verbs in their most usual occurrence. Since they describe a state, whether as individual level or stage level predicates (Kratzer 1989), they are ready-made for use as attributive adjectives. Thus there is no need for derivation, which is through reduplication. Similarly, since they do not infer a conclusion, there is no need to specify that an action that represents a visible change created the state. Thus they are not necessarily resultative.

Transitive stative verbs in SM, like intransitive stative verbs, refer to a state that is relative to the subject of the verb. For transitive stative verbs, the state is more relevant to the experiencer subject than to the object. Attributive adjectives derived from transitive verbs are constrained to depict the effect on the object. What little effect is depicted by a transitive stative verb affects the subject more than the object. Thus transitive stative verbs do not occur as attributive adjectives in SM. To summarize, then, SM stative intransitive verbs occur as attributive adjectives, and stative transitive verbs do not.

Intransitive dynamic verbs in SM may be divided into those, like *wáka*, 'walk', having agentive subjects, or unergatives, and those, like *kai*, 'fall', having patientive subjects, or unaccusatives. It is verbs whose arguments are patientive, or affected, that may occur as attributives. Because dynamic verbs depict events, they need to be derived to depict states as attributives. The morphology of this derivation is reduplication. Thus intransitive dynamic verbs with patientive subjects may occur reduplicated as derived

resultative attributive adjectives.

Transitive dynamic verbs in SM may also be divided into two groups. Those that depict an effect on the patientive argument, like *náki*, 'hit', may occur reduplicated as derived resultative attributive adjectives. Those whose subject is more affected than the object, such as verbs of perception, do not occur as attributives. For SM dynamic verbs, then, intransitives whose subjects are affected, and transitives whose objects are affected may occur as resultative attributive adjectives. Parallel to transitive stative verbs, transitive dynamic verbs whose objects are less affected than their subject, such as verbs of perception, do not occur as derived attributive adjectives.

Attributive adjectives in SM have a predicative counterpart that is an intransitive stative verb. An example is *deé'deé-deé*, 'dry', and *deé*, 'to be dry'. The predicative counterpart of a derived intransitive attributive adjective is an unaccusative verb. An example is *kai-kai*, 'fallen', and *kai*, 'to fall'. The predicative counterpart of a derived transitive attributive adjective is a passive verb. An example is *kóti-kóti*, 'cut', and *kóti*, 'to cut/to be cut'. The passive verb in SM is an intransitive verb, like the predicate adjective, but it must also be the equivalent of an unaccusative verb, that is, with a subject that is depicted as affected. Passive and unaccusative verbs are similar also in that they are dynamic; the bare forms translate in the past tense. But the SM passive, unlike an unaccusative, implies agency.

There is another type of predication that shares with passives and unaccusatives the depicted affect on the subject, and the past tense interpretation. But in SM, these items may also be interpreted as states, in the present tense. An example is *boóko*, 'break'. They will be termed *anticausatives*, following Comrie (1985:325). They depict an effect on the referent due to an inherent quality of the referent. They alternate between an inchoactive and a causative meaning. But, as mentioned, in SM they also may depict a state. These items have an attributive counterpart. This counterpart is an attributive adjective. In SM, verbs termed anticausative may occur reduplicated or unreduplicated as attributive adjectives with no difference regarding resultativeness, and under the same markedness considerations as other attributive adjectives. But reduplicated attributive

anticausatives may also be interpreted as resultative, and therefore derived. For the purpose of this study anticausatives will be considered to be intransitive stative verbs, namely adjectives, based on their attributive characteristics, namely that they may occur as unreduplicated attributives and may have a stative interpretation as predicates. Thus the inchoative meaning will be considered basic and the causative derived. They may function as dynamic transitive verbs like other adjectives, with an additional anticausative function due to their particular semantics.

2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in SM, as mentioned above, are intransitive stative verbs as predicate adjectives, and have nominal characteristics as attributive adjectives. It will be argued in Chapter 5 that these properties are transferred from FGb, perhaps facilitated by the cross-linguistic association of attributive adjectives with nominal characteristics and predicate adjectives with verbal characteristics. Such a possibility for transfer in CEC is noted by Winford (1993:210).

In a study of adjectives, Thompson (1988) found that the discourse function of attributive adjectives is to help introduce new information, while the discourse function of predicate adjectives is to comment on known information. The study also argues that adjectives share discourse functions with verbs and nouns, namely a predicating function that is more typical of verbs, and an introducing function that is more typical of nouns. Adjectives in SM, then, conform to the findings of this study in that as predicates they are verbs and as attributives they are nominal.

2.2.1 Tone sandhi with adjectives

The tone sandhi of SM is described in Voorhoeve (1961), Rountree (1972) and Good (2001), and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Basically, syllables with unspecified

tone have a default low tone. In a domain of tone sandhi, these unspecified syllables have a high tone between two syllables with specified high tone. There are syntactic contexts in the strictly SVO SM where sandhi will occur, one of which is between a NP and the following verb. Sandhi does not occur, however, between a verb and the following nonpronominal NP, as it does occur with the following pronoun. This sandhi pattern exists in FGb as well, including sandhi with pronominal object clitics, and is likely a retention in the modern SVO language from an earlier SOV word order (Wiesemann 1991). In SM as well attributive adjectives, which are pronominal, sandhi with a following noun but do not sandhi with each other or the preceding determiner. This is not the case with the attributives in FGb, which are postnominal.

Predicate adjectives in the Surinamese creoles as well as in FGb appear to be intransitive stative verbs. There has been debate on this issue regarding SR, where it has been argued by Seuren (1986) that SR predicate adjectives are true adjectives that are preceded by a null copula. Such an argument might apply to SM as well, as SR and SM have a common origin (McW. 1996b). But the tone sandhi in SM would indicate that predicate adjectives in SM are indeed verbs, since there is sandhi with the preceding NP, in (1.a), phrase final lowering is not marked. A null copula, described in McW. (1996b:111), affects tone sandhi like other verbs in that sandhi does not occur with a following nonpronominal NP, in (1.b). The 'today is . . .' null copula construction occurs in the Gbe language Xwela (Migge 1998:293), an apparent transfer into SM as well as NDj (ibid.:292). As in NDj, an alternative to the null copula uses the identificational copula, in (1.c), with the expected sandhi break. Affected unspecified syllables are underlined, and to avoid final lowering (Rountree 1972:325) the examples are not sentence final:

- (1) a. dí foló donú . . . [dí fóló dónú . . .]
 the flower yellow
 the flower is yellow

- b tidé ∅ feéda . . . [tìdé fèédà . . .]
 today COP Friday
 today is Friday
- c. tidé dá feéda . . . [tìdé dá fèédà . . .]
 today COP Friday
 today is Friday

An adjective preceded by a null copula might not sandhi with the subject NP, which would be unacceptable, as **dí fóló donú*.

2.2.2 Predicate adjectives as intransitive stative verbs

Predicate adjectives in SM comprise the class of intransitive stative verbs, in (2.a), which includes anticausatives, in (2.b). The other classes of verbs in SM are transitive stative verbs, in (2.c), unaccusative intransitive dynamic verbs, in (2.d), and transitive dynamic verbs, in (2.e). Examples are from my fieldwork unless otherwise credited:

- (2) a. a donú *intransitive stative*
 it yellow
 it is yellow
- b. a dseé *anticausative*
 it dry
 it is dry / it dried / it has been dried

- c. mi lóbi sukuáti *transitive stative*
 I love chocolate
 I love chocolate
- d. dí páu kaí *unaccusative intransitive dynamic*
 the tree fall
 the tree fell
- e. a kóti dí físi *transitive dynamic*
 he cut the fish
 he cut the fish

Predicate adjectives, or intransitive stative verbs including anticausatives, have characteristics of the other verb classes in SM. These characteristics are also found in Sranan, (SR), a related English based creole of Suriname, summarized by Winford (1997:257), and are equally applicable to SM. To be discussed here is this first characteristic, that predicate adjectives may be preceded by TMA markers, including the progressive, in (3):

- (3) a tá bígi
 it PROG big
 it is getting big

The other characteristics include: predicate adjectives may be followed by adverbial modifiers; they may undergo predicate cleft copy leaving the original; and they appear in modifying serial verb constructions.

These tests indicate that predicate adjectives in SM are intransitive verbs. There is some controversy though as to whether they are stative verbs or process verbs. One distinction for SM may be that speakers are reluctant to accept predicate cleft

constructions with adjectives. Such clefts are more acceptable for stage level depictions, where the property is linked to a time reference:

- (4) siki a siki *(hě á sá waka mǔǔ)
 sick he sick *(and he-NEG can walk more)
 he's really sick and can't get around any more

The cleft construction in (4) is acceptable only with the qualifying clause. The discussion involving the progressive TMA marker, in (3), will be examined in some detail below.

2.2.2.1 Progressive marker *tá*

Regarding (3), the fact that predicate adjectives as intransitive stative verbs occur with TMA markers indicates a high degree of verbhood, following Hopper & Thompson (1984), in that the more morphosyntactic characteristics of a category an item displays the more that item approaches prototypical membership in that category.

The occurrence of the progressive marker with adjectives in creole languages has been a topic of controversy regarding their status as stative verbs, as summarized in Winford (1997). The progressive marker *tá* in SM occurs with intransitive stative, (5.a), and dynamic verbs, (5.b), null-object transitive stative, (5.c), and dynamic verbs, (5.d), and two-argument transitive stative, (5.e), and dynamic verbs, (5.f). The meaning of the progressive marker with stative verbs contrasts with its meaning with dynamic verbs:

- (5) a. dí ganía tá fátu
 the chicken PROG fat
 the chicken is getting fat

- b. a tá kulé
 he PROG run
 he's running
- c. mi tá sabi
 I PROG know
 I'm catching on
- d. de tá paandí tidé
 they PROG plant today
 they are planting today
- e. de tá lóbi dí méstɛ
 they PROG love the teacher
 they're beginning to like the teacher
- f. de tá paandí alísi
 they PROG plant rice
 they are planting rice

The progressive marker *tá* with stative verbs has an inchoative interpretation; it indicates that the state being described is beginning. The progressive marker *tá* with dynamic verbs, on the other hand, indicates that the action is ongoing. The meaning of *tá* in SM with predicate adjectives, namely intransitive stative verbs, is undoubtedly parallel to that of the progressive construction in CEC and the related Surinamese creoles SR, Alleyne (1987), Winford (1997), and Ndjuka, *NDj*, Migge (1998). The inchoative meaning of the progressive construction of property items in these languages is interpreted in these studies as indicating that intransitive stative verbs with the progressive marker are basically process verbs rather than stative verbs, and that the stative interpretation is

forced upon them in context since as depicting states they convey a completed process (Wn. 1997:263-264). Further evidence of their processual nature is their occurrence with the completive serial item *kaba*, 'finish', in SR (ibid.:264). SR apparently differs from SM in this regard, however, in that the serial construction of completion does not occur with the intransitive stative function of adjectives:

- (6) a. *a fátu kabá (Veenstra 1996:97)
 3SG fat finish
- b. *a síki kabá
 he sick finish
 (he's finished being sick)
- c. *dí físi jasá kabá
 the fish bake finish
 (the fish finished being baked)

Byrne (1987:224) and Veenstra (1996:97) find that the serial item *kabá* does not occur with verbs depicting states or instantaneous actions. The SM adjective *fátu* might be considered a prototypical adjective, central between resultative and stative. As an active transitive verb, or as a passive verb, it denotes a process that is not instantaneous. As an adjective it depicts a state. The SM adjective *síki* depicts a state that might be considered more processual; one could become sick faster than one could become fat. The anticausative *jasá* clearly involves a process, but the depiction is a resultative state, with an unbounded conclusion, so it cannot finish. The implication here is that adjectives in SM are basically stative rather than process verbs.

Looking at stative verbs in terms of the depiction of a property would indicate that they are indeed basically stative verbs with or without the progressive marker *tá*. A stative verb describes a current state. The unmarked SM stative verb describes a state

with an unbounded conclusion, and is therefore interpreted as having a present tense meaning. Unmarked SM dynamic verbs depict a completed action, and so have a past tense meaning. The contrast between dynamic and stative verbs represents a maximum contrast in degree of transitivity by the transitivity parameter of Punctuality (Hopper & Thompson 1980).

The implication of a past tense reading is that the action depicted has a conclusion. The progressive marker *tá* with a dynamic verb gives a present tense reading, effectively by eliminating the implication of a conclusion. The composite aspectual meaning is 'not yet complete', since the present tense reading means that the action is ongoing, it is in an ongoing condition or state. It is in effect somewhat like a stative verb in that the incomplete action, represented by *tá*, implies an ongoing state.

This same composite aspectual meaning, 'not yet complete', is obtained as well with the progressive marker *tá* applied to the unmarked stative verb. A state that is as yet incomplete implies an eventual complete state. Hence the progressive marker *tá* adds a process to the description of the state, the process of becoming complete. The progressive marker *tá*, then, represents the incomplete and, as with dynamic verbs, ongoing state. The difference is that with stative verbs a state is implied at completion, whereas with dynamic verbs no state follows the completed action. Thus a stative verb with the progressive marker *tá* indicates the action before a completed state begins, hence the inchoative reading.

2.2.2.2 Progressive marker and multifunctionality

Part of the difficulty in determining prototypical categoriality for SM property items, the appropriate term in this case, is their multifunctionality. In CEC and SM, property items of all the adjectival semantic types, following Dixon (1977), but in particular items of the Physical Property, Color and Dimension semantic types occur as transitive dynamic verbs, in Winford (1988, 1997). The predicative item in (7.a.i) may also occur depicting

an event, in (7.b), which explains why it may also have a passive interpretation in (7.a.ii):

- (7) a. dí pási mbaái
the road wide
i. the road is wide
ii. the road was widened
- b. déé wookoma mbaái dí pási
the(pl) workman wide the road
the workmen widened the road

As transitive dynamic verbs, adjectives in SM may occur with or without the progressive marker, having the meanings associated with transitive dynamic verbs:

- (8) a. dí njǎnjǎ akí tá fátu déé káu
the food here PROG fat the(pl) cow
this food will fatten (i.e. fattens) the cows
- b. de tá sumáa dí lío
they PROG small the river
they are making the river small

Functioning as unmarked transitive dynamic verbs, the translation is in the past tense in (7.b), and with the progressive marker *tá*, it is in the present tense, in (8). An intransitive stative verb followed by an NP is interpreted as a verb affecting an object, perhaps analogized through the SVO basic word order of SM. The effect in this case is the transfer of the depicted state to the object. When the verb is not marked otherwise, the default reading is one of complete transfer, since the default reading of a transitive verb implies a completed action. In this case the completed action is a resultative state; hence

the past tense interpretation. With the progressive marker *tá*, the sense of 'not yet complete' gives a present tense reading, since the transfer is not yet complete and so the state is not yet complete.

The progressive marker *tá* is either from English *stand* or the Portuguese copula *estar*, ultimately from *stand*, and retains the residual semantics with the cultural implicature that 'standing' implies a process. In contemporary SM, *hópo*, 'stand', 'raise', depicts not only 'standing', but 'beginning' a statement or activity, or 'opening' a meeting, as well as 'opening' a clinic or school.

Adjectives can be seen then to retain a measure of stativeness while functioning as transitive dynamic verbs. Adjectives in SM are considered by Bickerton & Byrne (in Kahrel 1987) to function primarily as property items. The stative aktionsart is in keeping with the dominant usage of adjectives in SM as property items.

2.2.3 Predicate adjectives and resultativeness

There are anticausative adjectives that tend to imply a resultative state. These include *boóko*, 'break', *jabí*, 'open', and *déé*, 'dry'. Because they can imply resultativeness as well as stativeness, they have several interpretations. They differ from other adjectives in the degree of resultativeness they imply, since many adjectives functioning as transitive dynamic verbs might also have a passive with a resultative interpretation in the right context. All adjectives as unmarked predicates may be read as predicate adjectives, but items such as *boóko*, 'break', *jabí*, 'open', and *déé*, 'dry', which imply resultativeness more, may also be interpreted as anticausative, the intransitive counterpart to a causative (Comrie 1985:322). An anticausative construction depicts an effect on a patient that is caused by an inherent quality of the patient, an analysis applied to anticausatives FGb in Brousseau (1993). Following Winford (1993:133) the adjectives in SM that may be interpreted as anticausatives have been referred to as anticausatives, but unless otherwise indicated are included in the term adjective.

Adjectives in SM, as defined in 1 above, range from those that are likely to invoke a resultative interpretation, like the anticausatives, to those that are most likely interpreted as depicting states. The more stative adjectives, like *bɛ̀*, 'red', are less likely to be interpreted as anticausatives. The more resultative items, like *boóko*, 'break', are more likely than the more stative items to be interpreted as passives. The anticausatives, like all adjectives, also have a predicate adjective interpretation:

- (9) a. *dí báta boóko*
 the bottle break
- i. the bottle is broken *predicate adjective*
 ii. the bottle was broken *passive*
 iii. the bottle broke *anticausative*
- b. *dí fénsɛ jabí*
 the window open
- i. the window is open *predicate adjective*
 ii. the window was opened *passive*
 iii. the window opened *anticausative*
- c. *dí físi deé*
 the fish dry
- i. the fish is dry *predicate adjective*
 ii. the fish was dried *passive*
 iii. the fish dried *anticausative*

The anticausatives contrast with the more stative adjectives, like *bɛ̀*, 'red', which do not tend to have multiple interpretations, in (10.a). An adjective like *línzo*, 'smooth', depicts a property more likely to be caused by an agent. Because passives imply an agent, discussed in Chapter 3, *línzo* allows a passive reading, in (10.b):

- (10) a. dí dǒo bè
 the door red
- i. the door is red *predicate adjective*
- ii. *the door was reddened *passive*
- iii. *the door reddened *anticausative*
- b. dí táfa línzo
 the table smooth
- i. the table is smooth *predicate adjective*
- ii. the table was smoothed *passive*
- iii. *the table smoothed *anticausative*

The acceptability of a passive or anticausative interpretation for any particular adjective depends at least in part on the likelihood that the depicted quality can be caused. Passive interpretations are acceptable for Physical Property adjectives. Human Propensity and Speed adjectives, for example do not lend themselves to a passive interpretation. But neither do Color adjectives. Apparently it is a cultural expectation that color is inherent. Color adjectives occur as transitive verbs with an agent, and depict a visible change. The depiction of a visible change and an implied agent are requirements for the passive construction, to be discussed in Chapter 3.

Those passive interpretations that are accepted are accepted with reluctance. The passive construction of dynamic transitive object affecting verbs is also dispreferred in elicitation, in favor of an alternative active construction, in Chapter 3. The passive construction requires that the affected subject be low in animacy, which would explain the rejection of Human Propensity passives. Also discussed in Chapter 3 are considerations of cultural expectedness which block passives that would otherwise meet the requirements. This could explain the rejection of Color passives. Thus some of the same factors that block acceptance of passives also appear to be the factors that block

2.2.3.1 TMA marker *kó* and resultativity

Adjectives may occur with the TMA marker *kó*, 'become', with a 'get' passive or anticausative meaning:

- (12) a. *dí báta kó boóko*
 the bottle become break
 the bottle got broken
- b. *dí wómi kó fátu*
 the man become fat
 the man got fat
- c. *dí ápa kó bẹ̀*
 the apple become red
 the apple got red
- d. *mi kó wéi fěě*
 I become tired for-it
 I've gotten tired of it

The item *kó* is a TMA marker because it may not occur in a predicate cleft construction, (13.a, b), contrasting with the verb *kó*, in (13.c, d). Kahrel (1987:68) points out that *kó* is a TMA marker only in stative constructions, otherwise it is a verb in a serial construction, with a natural inchoative tendency, in (13.d), tones are not marked:

- (13) a. *ko mi ko wei < mi ko wei (Ka. 1987:68)
 come I come tired
 (I've become tired)
- b. *kó dí báta kó boóko < dí báta kó boóko
 become the bottle become break
 (the bottle GOT broken)
- c. kó a kó boóko dí báta
 come he come break the bottle
 he CAME and broke the bottle
- d. ko i ta ko lei di soni (de Groot 1977:370 *in* *ibid.*)
 come you ASP come learn the thing
 you're beginning to learn!

The TMA marker *kó* with an adjective allows a passive or anticausative interpretation, in (12.b, c, d) for example, which otherwise would not be possible. In Chapter 3 it will be argued that the TMA marker *kó*, which also occurs with passives, has a similar effect in neutralizing some of the constraints on passives. The TMA marker *kó* with an adjective removes considerations of cause or likelihood somewhat, it can be assumed, and implies the depicted state has come into existence already so that these considerations are less important. The *kó* construction thereby emphasizes the resultativeness more than the stativeness of the depicted property. It allows the processual expression of properties, like Color or Human Propensity, which would be dispreferred with a bare predicate adjective.

The *kó* adjectival construction as the V2 in a serial verb construction is the preferred alternative to an adjective in the adjectival small clause compliment, perhaps when the property is seen as created in an event rather than simply the background result. Small

clause compliments, as in (14.a), may be distinguished from serial verb constructions, (14.b), in the sandhi break after the object, discussed in Chapter 4:

- (14) a. a kóti dí beéé pikí... [à kótí dí bɛ́ɛ́ɛ píkí...]
 he cut the bread small
 he cut the bread small
- b. a kóti dí beéé kó pikí... [à kótí dí bɛ́ɛ́ɛ kó píkí...]
 he cut the bread come small
 i. he cut the bread small
 ii. *he cut the bread and got small

2.2.3.2 Adjectives and the copula *dé*

In questions, SM adjectives in *wh*- constructions occur fronted with the copula *dé* in place of the predicative form:

- (15) a. ǔ mbaái dí lío dé < dí lío mbaái
 how wide the river is
 how wide is the river?
- b. ǔ bígi dí wósu dé < dí wósu bígi
 how big the house is
 how big is the house?
- c. ǔ bè dí ápa dé < dí ápa bè
 how red the apple is
 how red is the apple?

This construction is possible with all property items, subject to pragmatic constraints. This is because adjectives may be evaluated as to degree, suggested for SR in Sebba (1986:112). This construction is not possible, not unexpectedly, with the dynamic counterpart of intransitive stative verbs, namely the passive, because passives depict completed action and may not be evaluated as to degree. This is another indication that in SM predicate adjectives differ from passives:

- (16) a. **ũ wási dí paabí dé* < *dí paabí wási*
 how wash the dish is
 (how washed is the dish?)
- b. **ũ sã dí paánga dé* < *dí paánga sã*
 how saw the plank is
 (how sawed is the plank?)

There is a similar construction to those in (15) in SR. It is part of the evidence used by Seuren (1986) to argue that the copula is a basic part of the predicate adjective construction in SR (see Sebba 1986 and Winford 1997 for a critique).

An argument against the copula *dé* as a basic part of the predicate adjective construction in SM appeals to the historical development of *dé* from the topicalizing use of the deictic *dé*, 'there', following Arends (1986) and McWhorter (1996b).

The topicalizing *dé* is often used with adjectives whose description involves subjectivity. In (17), 'fatness' would be a subjective judgment:

- (17) *dí wómi dé fátu*
 the man there fat
 the man there is fat

By McW. (1996b), in early SM the topicalizing *dé* in a copular context, such as between two NPs, was reinterpreted as a copula. It would not be reinterpreted in (17) as a copula because *fátu* is assumed to have been a verb in early SM, as it is in the contemporary language. Also discouraging reinterpretation would be the majority of contexts for adjectives that do not involve subjectivity. However, the construction in (15) questions the degree of the quality or characteristic described, necessarily involving subjectivity. In this construction, then, a referent would be topicalized for any adjective, and so would be followed by *dé*. In addition, *ũ*, 'how', only questions nominal items, such as *ũ búku*, 'which book'. To question a process, it combines with *fá*, 'way', in *ũfá*, 'what way', thus still questioning a nominal. Questioned by *ũ*, the non-processual stative nature of an adjective is emphasized. This is an explanation as to why passives, which are more processual than adjectives, cannot be questioned by *ũ*. Emphasizing the stative, or more nominal aspect, of the adjective would leave a verbal vacuum, a logical context for reinterpreting the deictic *dé* as the copula *dé*.

- (18) a. *ũ déé déé físi dé ø* *hypothesized early SM*
 b. *ũ déé déé físi dé* *contemporary SM*
 how dry the(pl) fish there>are
 how dry are the fish?

The diachrony in (18) points to an adjective that is in fact verbal rather than nominal, in (18.a). A compensating verbal element, *dé*, replaces the verbal property item when it is removed from verbhood due to *ũ*, in (18.b). The diachrony also shows that a predicate adjective has a nominal aspect, moreso than a passive.

2.2.4 Attributive adjectives

Property items in SM function as attributive adjectives as well as functioning as

predicative adjectives. As predicative adjectives, in 2.2.2 above, they are intransitive stative verbs. As attributive adjectives they are adjectives rather than verbs. When they occur as attributive adjectives, they precede the referent and follow the determiner, as in English. By the definition given in 2.1, all adjectives, regardless of the degree of resultativeness they imply, may occur unreduplicated as attributives:

- (19) a. dí bè pa
 the red apple
 the red apple
- b. dí fátu pátu-pátu
 the fat duck
 the fat duck
- c. dí booko báta
 the break bottle
 the broken bottle

The contrast between predicative adjectives and passives extends to attributive adjectives and derived attributive adjectives. Attributive adjectives may occur with or without reduplication, typically with a stative reading, but in any case not necessarily resultative. Derived attributive adjectives, like passives, are derived from highly transitive object-affecting dynamic verbs. Derived attributives, like passives, give a resultative stative reading, and they are always reduplicated. Thus, like the contrast between predicate adjectives and passives, attributive adjectives are stative and derived attributives are resultative.

2.2.4.1 Reduplication of attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives may occur unreduplicated, but often occur reduplicated. The fact that an item may occur without reduplication as an attributive adjective, and be translated as an adjective, not as a present participle, in itself is an indicator that that item is in a class termed attributive adjective. The other indicator is that an item occurring reduplicated as an attributive adjective may be translated as an adjective, and not necessarily as a past participle. By the definition in 1, all such adjectival items occur both with and without reduplication, and occur as predicate adjectives as well.

Items that occur preminally without reduplication and are translated as present participles are derived from dynamic verbs. Items occurring preminally with reduplication and translated as past participles are derived attributive adjectives. Nearly all such verbal items occur both with and without reduplication, and occur as passives as well.

For attributive adjectives it will be argued here that one motivation for reduplication is markedness, or variation from the naturalness of the depicted state regarding the referent and the context in terms of cultural expectations. Unmarked or backgrounded natural depictions are not reduplicated, while marked or foregrounded unnatural depictions are reduplicated.

Some adjectives may have an anticausative interpretation, and many lend themselves to a resultative interpretation as well when they are interpreted as transitive verbs. But attributive adjectives do not show resultativeness through reduplication, as do the derived resultative attributives, since attributive adjectives, as property items, prototypically depict already existing states. A resultative interpretation should be considered secondary for attributive adjectives just as passive and transitive interpretations are secondary for predicate adjectives.

Attributive adjectives are unmarked when unreduplicated, and marked when reduplicated. Derived attributives are present participles when unreduplicated and past resultatives when reduplicated. It is possible to unify the description of both types of

marked attributives. Cross-linguistically a reduplicated form is marked with respect to its unreduplicated form, iconically representing an extension of its basic meaning. A dynamic verb depicts action, and in its more nominal function as an unreduplicated attributive it depicts an ongoing action. As a reduplicated attributive, it depicts the result of an action, which is beyond its basic meaning. Therefore the reduplicated form of a dynamic verb is also a marked form.

2.2.4.2 Motivation for reduplication of attributive adjectives

Reduplication is a feature of the Surinamese creoles. There are various motivations for reduplication in these languages, as seen in NDj, for example, in Huttar & Huttar (1997). In SM, for example, there is a strong correlation of reduplication with implications of a plural, distributional, iterative, continual or emphatic meaning. These meanings are peripheral to a more prototypically central meaning, an expansion of the central meaning iconically reflected in phonological expansion by reduplication. In some cases there may be more than one motivating meaning, where either one alone might not trigger reduplication. In particular, there could be an additional interpretation that the reduplicated item is also peripheral to cultural expectations. Such an item would be considered marked against a background of expectedness.

It will be argued here that the general motivation for reduplication in SM attributive adjectives, as mentioned above, is markedness. But markedness is a very general concept. Because it is claimed that this markedness in part is relative to cultural expectations, its various manifestations are best illustrated with specific examples. The examples below are anecdotal; they are interpretations of the motivation for markedness ranging from cultural to pragmatic and discourse, based on observations made while living in the Saramaccan village of Pokigron. It is the preponderance of data from these examples and many more which leaves the impression that the reduplication of attributive adjectives in SM is based on markedness. This may, of course, be stating the obvious,

since cross-linguistically and in other parts of SM grammar reduplication itself is marked, often depicting an item that is peripheral to prototypicality.

The basic aspectual meaning of any particular attributive adjective may be seen as part of a continuum ranging from stative to possibly anticausative and resultative. The attributive adjective *dɛɛ́*, 'dry', for example, usually falls closer to the anticausative end in the continuum. This means *dɛɛ́* will usually, but not always, modify referents with the implication that the condition of 'dryness' was caused in some unspecified manner. There are, of course, occurrences of *dɛɛ́* with a more stative or less 'caused' reading, as in (20). At the stative end of the continuum in (20.a) the adjective has become a part of the noun, so much so in fact that it has undergone vowel assimilation with the following noun. The adjective in the expression in (20.b) is also relatively stative:

- (20) a. *dɛɛ́ wéí* < *dɛɛ́ wéí*
 dry weather
 dry season
- b. *dɛɛ́ wáta kísi mi*
 dry water catch me
 I'm thirsty

In (20.a) the referent *wéí*, 'weather', is dry with no cause implied. Similarly, in (20.b) for the referent *wáta*, 'water', dryness exists without cause. The unreduplicated forms in (20) do not represent stativity as contrasted with resultativeness. The stative reading derives from a cultural pragmatic understanding. The unreduplicated attributive form represents the understanding that the dryness is natural for the referents. The unreduplicated *dɛɛ́* in (21) represents an unmarked yet purposefully caused state, but is interpreted as stative. Any resultative implication is not expressed by the lack of reduplication, as it may be in the reduplicated form in (22), which depicts a state that is also the result of purposeful action:

- (21) *dɛ́ɛ́ físi*
 dry fish
 dry / dried fish

The dryness in (21) refers to the normal and most preferred type of dried fish. It is a way of preserving extra fish, which is sometimes sold in small home-front stores or along the river. Fresh fish are cut into pieces and put on a shelf above a fire in a special shed for drying. These fish are caught by men, usually with a net. This type of dried fish contrasts with:

- (22) *dɛ́ɛ́-dɛ́ɛ́ físi*
 dry-dry fish
- i. dry
 - ii. died fish

The fish referred to in (22) are small fish caught by poisoning water with the pounded root of the *ndekú* tree. Larger fish caught this way are dried in the usual way, by fire. Extra smaller fish, especially those caught in the creeks by women or children, are set out in the sun to dry on corrugated metal. These dried fish are not preferred, and are not that common. Small fish are usually not dried, but fried in palm oil and eaten the day they are caught, since they constitute such a small amount of food.

Of course anticausative verbs such as *dɛ́ɛ́* may also function as transitive verbs, and so an attributive adjective derived by reduplication from such a transitive verb would have a resultative meaning. The depiction in (22), then, could be both stative, (i), or resultative, (ii).

At the stative end of the stative to resultative continuum for attributive adjectives are adjectives that have been incorporated as part of the name of the referent. These adjectives may be distinguished by the tone sandhi system in SM (Voorhoeve 1961:158),

discussed in 2.1. Tone sandhi is blocked in certain environments, one of which is the left edge of attributive adjectives. However the left edge of nouns do allow sandhi. In (23.a, b) there is sandhi as seen in the raising of the tone of the first syllable of *deé/deé*, indicating that the adjective is part of the noun. In (23.c) the sandhi is blocked and there is no raising of the first syllable of *déé*, indicating that *déé* here is an adjective:

- (23) a. *dí deé wéi* [*dí déé wéi*]
 the dry weather
 the dry season
- b. *dí déé wáta* [*dí déé wáta*]
 the dry water
 dry (lack of) water
- c. *dí déé físi* [*dí déé físi*]
 the dry fish
 the dry fish
- d. *dí déé-déé físi* [*dí déé-déé físi*]
 the dry-dry fish
 the dry fish

The reduplicated items sandhi with each other, as described in Rountree (1972:316-7), seen in (23.d). This distinguishes them from emphasized reduplicated iterative or distributive attributives, which tend not to sandhi and are then simply two attributives. There is a similar pattern in Ndj (H. & H. 1997).

When asked about the fish in (21) and (22), responses were *de ó déé*, ‘they will dry’, or *de kó déé*, ‘they’re getting dry’, indicating an anticausative or stative interpretation for *déé*. Looked at in terms of derived attributive reduplication, which expresses

resultativeness, the examples in (21) and (22.i) seem backwards. If only one were to be reduplicated based on resultativeness, it should be (21). The drying in (21), involving a drying building and making a fire, would seem far more 'caused' than the drying in (22.i), where the actual drying occurs without effort. But in both (21) and (22.i) the depicted state can be interpreted as stative or anticausative, although the dryness in both cases is a result. If *dɛɛ́* were to be interpreted as a transitive dynamic verb, its attributive in both (21) and (22) would be reduplicated. In examples (21) and (22.i), however, any implication of resultativeness is not expressed by reduplication.

The reduplication of (22) must also have a distributional meaning, since there are many small fish involved. The fish in (21) are larger, but cut into small pieces, so that the distribution may refer to the numbers of fish before cutting. The tone sandhi in (22) would suggest, though, that distribution is not being emphasized. There was an emphasis, however, in the gestures and overall demeanor of the woman preparing the small fish, which would suggest the depiction of a culturally peripheral referent, unlike her reference in (21). It would seem that both distribution and cultural peripherality were expressed by reduplication in (22.i).

The distinction made for dry fish in (21) and (22) also applies to various sorts of dried meat. It does not, however, apply to dried fruit. (The # indicates an item is not entirely ungrammatical, it could occur in the right pragmatic contexts):

- (24) *dɛɛ́-dɛɛ́ fuíta* *#dɛɛ́ fuíta*
 dry-dry fruit
 dry / dried fruit

Perhaps the reason *dɛɛ́* is preferred reduplicated in (24) is that Saramaccans do not usually dry fruit. Dry fruit would therefore be a marked item. When reduplicated, it could also have a resultative meaning. The fact that dried fruit is unusual would imply that it had been dried, perhaps for sale. Both meanings would give the preference for the reduplicated form. These examples show, of course, that it is the composite meaning of

the referent and the attributive adjective that is evaluated for markedness.

In evaluating the attributive *finu*, 'thin', a more stative adjective, it may occur unreduplicated with *kásika*, 'shell', (*kákisa* in other varieties), but is usually reduplicated with the somewhat thicker *síngi*, 'shingle':

- (25) a. *fīnu kásika*
 thin shell
 thin shells
- b. *fīnu-fīnu síngi* *#fīnu síngi*
 thin-thin shingle
 thin shingles

Shells are a natural item in Saramaccan culture, but shingles are not. Banana and palm fronds serve as roofing, in addition to corrugated sheet metal. Shingles typify older colonial style buildings. The distributional nature of shingles would enhance a thuis motivation for reduplication, as shingles would be far more difficult to use than the larger fronds or sheet metal. Shingles are definitely peripheral in the interior. In (25.b), the unfamiliar item is modified by a reduplicated attributive. The question arises; if the item is unfamiliar, how can markedness be determined? One answer is that an unfamiliar item itself would be marked, and so the composite meaning would also be marked.

This answer may be expanded by the Thompson (1988) study of adjectives. The study found that attributive adjectives are more likely to help introduce new information, while predicate adjectives are more likely to comment on known information. Intuitively it would seem that indicating markedness pertains more to new information than to known information. Intuitively also it would seem that the default discourse function for attributive property items would be focus, since their very mention would most likely be to distinguish or identify the new information. An unmarked attributive reading would be less likely for new information, since in a broad discourse and cultural context to be able

to ascribe an unmarked composite meaning would indicate that the information is in fact not all that new. The lack of a discourse context is an explanation for the fact that most elicited attributives are reduplicated.

Another common adjective that falls on the anticausative side of the continuum is *boóko*, 'break'. That *boóko* is an adjective can be seen in its occurrence as an unreduplicated attributive:

- (26) *nó* *i* *ó* *teĩ* *boóko* *báta* *pendé* *dí* *kuja*
 now you will take break bottle design the calabash
 now, you'll take a piece of broken bottle and design the calabash

In (26) the piece of broken bottle has definitely been created for the task of carving designs in calabash shells. Although *boóko* depicts a state which could be seen as resultative, it is not reduplicated. If this item were a dynamic transitive verb it would be reduplicated as an attributive adjective to indicate its resultativeness.

The use of the unreduplicated *boóko* in (26) shows that the composite meaning is considered to represent an unmarked item. The broken bottle pieces used for carving calabashes are a household item, compared to a broken bottle that might be on a path:

- (27) a. *kóni* *dí* *boóko-boóko* *báta* *dé*
 careful the break-break bottle there
 be careful of the broken bottle there
- b. *mi* *bi* *djombo* *subi* *go* *a* *wan* *booko* *bata* *liba* Muysken (1987:98)
 I TNS jump go-up go LOC one broken bottle top
 I stepped on a broken bottle

In (27.a) broken bottles are considered a marked item, perhaps in part because such an item is rare, and in addition would reflect poorly on the nearby residents. It could also

have a distributional meaning, compared to (26), although the referent in (27.a) was a single item. Village paths and areas around houses are raked daily. Not knowing the context in (27.b), it would seem that the three serial verbs would tend to background the broken bottle, leaving it unmarked. In any case example (27.b) illustrates the necessity for a context in order to evaluate markedness.

Again, as with *dɛ́ɛ́*, 'dry', in (21) and (22), the reduplication pattern for *boóko* in (26) and (27.a) would go against the logic of resultative reduplication of transitive dynamic verbs. In these cases, *dɛ́ɛ́* and *boóko* are not reduplicated in the more volitional, transitive and potentially resultative depictions. This apparent pattern falls out from the fact that items that are purposefully prepared are very likely to be common cultural items. Naturally there are counterexamples:

- (28) a. *dí* *límbò* *ápa*
 the clean apple
 the shiny apple
- b. *a* *dé* *wǎ* *límbò-límbò* *wági*
 it is a clean-clean car
 it's a shiny car
- c. *línzo* *sitónu*
 smooth stone
 smooth stone
- d. *línzo-línzo* *táfa*
 smooth-smooth table
 smooth table

There is a variety of apple that grows in the interior of Suriname, and is quite common.

And, it is shiny, in (28.a). Shiny vehicles on the other hand, in (28.b), are rare, since the road into the interior does not go past Pokigron, and it is unpaved. The vehicle referred to carried some UNESCO officials, and arrived shiny. The reduplication in (28.b) could be resultative, but judging from the reaction of the children using the expression it seems that both motivations applied. The stones referred to in (28.c) are stones in the river, which are inherently smooth, the unmarked case. Tables and other woodwork items, in (28.d), are smoothed when ornately carved, but ornate items are not common. Again, (28.d) could be a marked case for both reasons. Another similar example involves split firewood:

- (29) a. latjá údu split by the Basia
 split wood
 split firewood
- b. latjá-latjá údu split by myself
 split-split wood
 split firewood

The firewood in (29.a) was split by a Basia (sub-captain) for use in her drying shed. The firewood in (29.b) was split by myself for her drying shed, and in my opinion the splitting was more difficult for me than for her. Perhaps the greater effort for (29.b) would induce a resultative meaning, but from the laughter associated with the depiction it could also be depicting cultural peripherality. The splitting of the firewood in (29.b) in any case is considered marked. There is a parallel for the SM examples in (29) in the word *piiti*, 'split' or 'tear', in NDj (Huttar & Huttar 1997:406, 408). This item in NDj is in a class defined as depicting situations not requiring purposeful (human) intervention, unlike items such as *lai*, 'load', where such intervention is assumed. The class that includes *piiti* allows reduplication in more syntactic contexts than the class that includes *lai*, and the reduplication in the *piiti* class functions to contrast purposefulness, which it does not do

- b. kúwa-kúwa koósu *kúwa koósu
 raw-raw cloth
 unsewn skirt
- c. kúáúwíí guúun (R., A. & G. 1999:dictionary entry)
 raw leaf green
 spring green color
- d. kua uwii guun (A. & G. 1997:68)
 raw leaf green
 aqua
- e. kua wan kai (Glock & Mantell 1974:1)
 green one fall
 a green one (tree) falls

It may be possible to view 'raw' as counter to the notion of 'fruit'; that fruit must be ripe to really be fruit. Similarly, a *koósu* must be sewn on the edges to be a real *koósu* and be worn by a woman. Unsewn cloth is used for infants or dead people. Thus there is a way to see markedness in the very use of this item. It would be difficult to see the lack of a hem as resultative, or distributional. As part of a descriptive item, in (31.c, d), *kúwa* would not depict markedness. The notion of 'rawness' may be marked relative to a leaf, but a raw leaf is unmarked relative to a shade of green. In the proverb in (31.e) a 'green' tree is contrasted with a dead one, where this description would not be at all unusual.

The adjective, *siki*, 'sick', like *pendé*, may imply resultativeness, but its expression is not necessarily the function of reduplication, in that example (32.a) might also be seen as having been caused:

- (32) a. *sīki sèmbè*
 sick person
 crazy person
- b. *sīki-sīki miú*
 sick-sick child
 sick child

The difference between the two interpretations has resulted in a difference in meaning. It would seem that 'craziness', in (32.a), is a more enduring condition than 'sickness', more of a character trait and not taken too seriously, and so would be less marked. At the time of reference in (32.b), 'sickness' would seem to be a more temporary condition than 'craziness' against a background of non-sickness; peripheral to a more prototypical wellness condition. 'Sickness' would therefore be more marked. Traditionally both examples in (32) could be interpreted as having been similarly caused, thereby resultative. An additional evaluation of 'sickness' as marked motivates its depiction with reduplication. The contrast in (32) is seen in NDj *siki* : *sikisiki* as well (Huttar & Huttar 1997:17).

Similar to *siki*, 'sick', in (32), the difference between the two interpretations for the more stative Human Propensity semantic type adjective *hógi*, 'terrible', have resulted in a difference in meaning, in (33.a, b), where the more inherent condition is unmarked. For *dóṅgɔ*, 'drunk', in (33.c, d), however, the more inherent condition is marked:

- (33) a. *hógi tígi*
 terrible tiger
 terrible jaguar

- b. hógi-hógi miĩ
terrible-terrible child
mischievous child
- c. doóngo sèmbè *similar to* (Bakker 1987:30)
drunk person
drunk person
- d. doóngo-doóngo sèmbè *similar to* (ibid.)
drunk-drunk person
drunkard

Again, the characteristic depicted in (33.a) is inherent, a character trait, and therefore normal for the referent and so unmarked. In (33.b), it is a more temporary trait, reflected in the changed meaning 'mischievous', implying terrible at times but having an underlying goodness, peripheral to 'terrible'. It is therefore marked. In (33.c, d) there is an apparent contradiction to (33.a, b). A person who is drunk at the moment is more normal in Saramaccan society, in (33.c), than a habitual drunk, (33.d). Like (33.b), (33.d) could have an iterative meaning. Again, the manner of reference in (33.d) to a person fitting that description would suggest a culturally peripheral evaluation.

An adjective of the Dimension semantic type, *lángá*, 'long', may vary according to its composite meaning by referent, as may the Physical Property type *kendé*, 'hot':

- (34) a. lángá paánga
long plank
(overly) long plank

- b. lánɡa-lánɡa baáku
 long-long hole
 long garden bed
- c. u á kéndé wáta
 we have hot water
 we have hot water
- d. i ké kéndé-kéndé té ó
 you(sg) want hot-hot tea QUESTION
 do you want hot tea?

Planks are made in the forest at the site of the cut tree and then carried to the village. They are always cut overly long, so they can be trimmed to fit on the building. Thus (34.a) depicts an unmarked condition. In (34.b), garden cultivations are not usually ‘long’; they are areas. Some younger women, influenced by Peace Corps volunteers, dig long raised beds. These are not traditional, and are therefore marked. They would not be resultative, namely ‘lengthened’ traditional beds. In (34.c), hot water is normally needed to make tea, but in (34.d) tea is usually served cool, no doubt due to the climate. The question may have been asked on the assumption that outsiders like hot tea. There could be no resultative interpretation, since tea could not be made ‘hotter’.

Other Dimension items are *píkí*, ‘small’, and *gǎǎ*, ‘large’:

- (35) a. píkí / gǎǎ wósu
 small / large house
 small / large house

- b. píkí-píkí / gǎǎ-gǎǎ móni [píkí-píkí/gǎǎ-gǎǎ ...]
 small-small / big-big money
 small amount of / large amount of money
- c. píkí-píkí / gǎǎ-gǎǎ móni [píkí-píkí/gǎǎ-gǎǎ ...]
 small-small / big-big money
 small amounts of / large amounts of money

In (35.a), small or large houses can be unmarked. In (35.b), unusually small or large amounts of money would be marked, of course, and depicted with an augmentative use of reduplication. It is distinguished by tone sandhi from what would appear to be an emphatically distributive use in (35.c).

An example of a Speed semantic type property item is *kóló*, 'short (time)':

- (36) a. a dé wǎ kóló pási
 it is a short road
 it's a short distance (in time)
- b. mi sá wǎ kóló-kóló pási
 I know a short-short road
 I know a quick way

In (36.a), the road to a location is not a long walk. But in (36.b), a shortcut is even quicker. The road is the normal route, and is unmarked, but the shortcut is marked by being shorter than normal. The reduplication could be resultative in that the 'time' is shortened, but *kóló* is not accepted as a transitive verb.

Reduplication may occur in the highly stative Color semantic type adjectives:

- (37) a. *bè foló*
 red flower
 red flower
- b. *bè-bè mií*
 red-red child
 light-skinned child
- c. *wéti njǎnjǎ*
 white food
 rice
- d. *a ó tóú ku wéti-wéti mujée ó*
 he will marry with white-white woman QUESTION
 will he marry a white woman?

In (37.a), red flowers are unmarked. A light-skinned person, in (37.b), is unusual in the interior. The term *bè-bè* applies even to people who are only slightly lighter than normal, not even approximating 'redness'. The color of these people is considered marked. There is no resultative connotation. Reduplication expresses the peripheral extension of 'redness' and the peripheral nature of such coloring. In (37.c), 'white food', or rice, is a major staple food of the interior. The question in (37.d) was asked about my African American nephew, for whom, in the Saramaccan outlook, a white woman would be marked. Similarly, such a white woman would be on the periphery of white society. The colors 'red' and 'white' are among the colors that may be reduplicated in NDj (H. & H. 1997:403), where they indicate an approximative quality.

Reduplication of attributive adjectives in the previous examples appears to show pragmatic markedness relevant to Saramaccan culture. Reduplication may also be used to indicate discourse markedness. Hopper & Thompson (1984:722) note that in the

introduction of a highly manipulable entity into discourse a form needs to be highly marked with nominal features. Thompson (1988) finds that attributive adjectives help introduce an item, whereas predicate adjectives comment on known information, and that adjectives share the introduction function with nouns and the commentary function with verbs. In SM a characteristic marking of nominalization is reduplication. In SM, then, an attributive adjective would be expected more to be reduplicated when modifying a referent being introduced than a known referent. An example of this reduplication is in an account of a conversation, in Aboikoni & Glock (1997):

- (38) a. a dē tjubiṭjubi soni u businēngē (A. & G.1977:18)
 it is hide-hide thing of bush-negro
 it is a secret of the people who live in jungle villages
- b. de abi wan tjubi soni . . . u businēngē (A. & G.1977:19)
 they have one hide thing of bush-negro
 there is a secret . . . of the people who live in jungle villages

In the reported conversation, the fact that there are secrets surrounding burial practices is introduced, in (38.a). The fact is mentioned again by another person after three turns in the conversation, in (38.b). The adjective in (38.a) has the nominal characteristics of reduplication and the introduction of new information. The adjective in (38.b) with the same referent is reactivated information. The referent *soní*, 'thing', is a semantically empty head noun that allows the adjective *tjubi*, 'hidden', to carry most of the meaning of 'secret'.

Intuitively, an item of new information is unique, and thereby marked against a subsequent background of various types of reference to that item as known information. In that case, the adjective in (38.a) with the referent should be considered marked, and the subsequent mention of it in (38.b) would be background and thereby unmarked.

2.3 Derived attributive adjectives

The derived attributive adjectives to be discussed here are attributive adjectives derived from verbs other than adjectives. It will be assumed here that these items are in fact derived, and that the direction of derivation is towards the attributive adjective. Nouns as attributive adjectives are included in this discussion.

There are two types of derived attributive adjectives. Present participles, which describe ongoing action, are not reduplicated, while past passive participles, or resultatives, are reduplicated. Present participles may be derived from any verb, except, of course, intransitive stative verbs which function as attributive adjectives without derivation. Resultatives may be derived only from verbs that depict a visible or perceivable effect on the referent. There are therefore types of verbs that do not form resultative attributives, such as transitive statives and verbs of perception. The distribution of verbs occurring as derived resultatives is basically the same as the types of verbs that occur as passives. Passives are relevant here, in that they are effectively the predicative counterparts to derived resultative attributives.

2.3.1 Present participles as derived attributive adjectives

Present participles as derived attributive adjectives are not reduplicated. If reduplication can be seen as iconic of the derived function of a verb, then reduplication would not be necessary for present participles. A present participle maintains the basic verbal notion of action or ongoing state. For stative verbs, whose aktionsart is present tense, the basic nature remains intact in the nominal function of an attributive adjective, in (39.a). The present participle is, after all, in the present tense. For dynamic verbs, whose aktionsart is the past tense, nominalization as a participial attributive changes the interpretation to present tense by eliminating the conclusion of the action, in (39.b). The more verbal

2.3.2 Past passive participles as derived resultative attributive adjectives

Derived resultative attributives are reduplicated. The original form and its copy in reduplication might be seen iconically as representing an action and the result. The derived resultative attributive adjective functions to indicate resultativeness. It contrasts with the derived present participial attributive adjective, discussed above, which does not indicate resultativeness. This contrast is expressed morphologically by reduplication. The derived attributive adjectives thus differ from the attributive adjectives, whose reduplication represents no contrast regarding resultativeness.

For a result in SM, there must be an effect from the action on a patientive argument. If the action or event does not produce an effect, then in SM there is no result. The derived resultative attributive modifies an argument that in a transitive context would have a patientive semantic role. Similarly for intransitive dynamic verbs, those whose subjects are affected, such as unaccusatives like *kaí* that depict a result, derived resultatives are possible, in (40.a). For those intransitive dynamic verbs whose subjects undertake the action and are not affected, such as unergatives like *wáka*, derived resultatives are not possible, as in (40.b):

- (40) a. *kaí-kaí páu*
 fall-fall tree
 fallen tree
- b. **wáka-wáka hási*
 walk-walk horse
 (having walked horse)

For transitive verbs, only those dynamic verbs that affect a patientive object may occur as derived resultative attributives. Transitive stative verbs have no effect on their objects, and so do not occur as derived resultative attributives, in (41.a). Transitive dynamic

verbs of perception also do not affect their objects, in (41.b). Transitive dynamic object-affecting verbs may occur as derived resultative attributives, in (41.c):

- (41) a. *sábi-sábi kóntu
know-know tale
(known tale)
- b. *sí-sí fufúuma
see-see thief
(seen thief)
- c. lápu-lápu koósu
mend-mend clothes
mended clothes

Derived resultative attributive adjectives change the basic nature of the dynamic affecting verb from event depiction to resultative state. They may be seen as marked, relative to the basic non-resultative nature of the underived verb. They thus parallel reduplication in attributive adjectives based on markedness.

2.4 Reduplicated predicates with the copula *dé*

Both adjectives and derived adjectives may occur predicatively with the copula *dé* and reduplication. It will be argued in Chapters 5 and 6 that the origin of these constructions in SM is a similar construction in FGb, termed *adjectival passive* by Brousseau (1993). The FGb adjectival passive construction depicts an effect without the implication of an agent. The SM *dé* adjectival construction depicts states and effects, and similarly does not imply agency:

- (42) a. dí báta dé boóko-boóko (*ku sábi)
the bottle is break-break with knowledge
the bottle is broken (*on purpose)
- b. dí báta dé boóko-boóko (*fu hógi háti)
the bottle is break-break for terrible heart
the bottle is broken (*in anger)
- c. dí báta dé boóko-boóko (*u mi)
the bottle is break-break of me
the bottle is broken (*by me)
- d. dí báta dé boóko-boóko (*u dí sitónu)
the bottle is break-break of the stone
the bottle is broken (*by the stone)

Contrary to Bakker (1987, 1991), example (50.a) below, no speakers consulted accepted an agent phrase, in (42). The phrase *u mi*, 'of me', in (42.c) is considered to be part of a marginally acceptable possessive construction, better expressed as *dí báta u mi dé boóko-boóko*, 'my bottle is broken'. The SM *dé* adjectival construction, then, corresponds to the FGb *q̂* adjectival passive, in (64.a) below, in depicting states without the implication of agency. It differs though in allowing stative as well as dynamic affecting verbs.

2.4.1 Adjectives with the copula *dé*

Predicative adjectives are intransitive stative verbs, including anticausatives as in (43.a.i). There is an alternate predicative construction for adjectives involving the copula *dé* and

reduplication, in (43.b):

- (43) a. *dí dóó jabí*
 the door open
 i. the door is open
 ii. the door has been opened / was opened
 iii. the door opened
- b. *dí dóó dé jabí-jabí* [. . . *jabí-jábí* . . .]
 the door is open-open
 i. the door is open
 ii. the door is opened

The translations in (43) are nearly the same, the verbal (43.a) not unexpectedly allowing a somewhat more verbal option than the nominalization in (43.b), indicated by the tone sandhi between the reduplicated items as with attributive adjectives. In the *dé* construction, reduplications of both adjectives and dynamic object affecting verbs are nominalizations in that they may occur in a predicate cleft construction without leaving a copy, and do not occur with TMA markers (Bakker 1991).

The pragmatic meanings of the two constructions in (43) differ. In these anecdotal examples, this difference involves markedness, and parallels the difference between attributive adjectives regarding reduplication. The *dé* construction with reduplication in (43.b) indicates markedness, while the intransitive stative verb construction in (43.a), without reduplication, indicates an unmarked composite meaning. In (43.b), the door is open, perhaps unintentionally, as seen by a passer-by. It could also mean by extension that the door has been left unlocked. It is a marked case, since open or shut doors have significance. An open door means a person may come to visit in the front part of the house. The door of the house of the Granman in Asindoopo, for example, is always open. Ordinarily a door would not be left open unintentionally. The reduplication of the

anticausative in (43.b) does not necessarily indicate resultativeness, since the unreduplicated form in (43.a.ii) could also be interpreted as resultative.

An example of the adjective *boóko*, 'break', also may seem to be counter to a resultative motivation:

- (44) a. *dí* *móte u mi boóko*
 the (outboard) motor of me break
 my motor is broken / has been broken / was broken / broke
- b. *dí* *móte u mi dé boóko-boóko* [. . .*bòókó-bóókò*]
 the (outboard) motor of me is break-break
 my motor is broken

The motor in (44.a) is inoperative due to a mechanical problem, not an unusual situation. The motor in (44.b) actually still runs, but is generally in bad condition. One would not use such a motor, since there are no repair facilities on the river. In general it seems that something still functioning but in bad condition would be marked against a background assumption that something that runs should be running well. The tones of the reduplication show that it does not indicate iterativity or durativity, as do the reduplicated forms in (52), below. The use of reduplication in (44.b) would seem counter to indicating resultativeness, since an inoperative motor would seem to be more the result of *boóko* than one that still runs. But the reduplication indicates a motor with a peripheral 'broken' property. The contrast in (44) also applies to motor vehicles.

The *dé* construction may function to indicate the markedness of an item relative to the recentness of the depicted state, in that there is an implication that the state exists 'already':

- (45) a. d_i gōō dé tjumá-tjumá
the ground is burn-burn
the garden site is burned (already)
- b. dí fátu dé jó-jó
the fat is melt-melt
the fat is melted (already)
- c. dí údu dé latjá-latjá
the wood is split-split
the wood is split (already)

The states depicted in (45) are said to be something that could have been recently noticed. The state is depicted as existing against a background where it did not exist until recently and is somewhat unexpected and might therefore be considered marked. The sense that the state is recent implies resultativeness, so that the more resultative Physical Property adjectives such as in (45) seem to occur in the *dé* construction more than the more stative items such as *kóóko*, 'yellow'. Perhaps color is not considered a property that would be unusual or temporary, an explanation for the preference of *kó*, 'become', when depicting change of color, discussed in Chapter 3. A similar contrast in predicate adjectives is described for Guyanese creole, *GC*, in Winford (1993:174), and for *SR* (Wn. 1997:285). The copula *de* is used in *GC* and *SR* to denote a temporary state, contrasting with the adjective as a stative verb that denotes a more permanent state.

The reduplicated form of the SM adjective after *dé* is, of course, the same form for marked attributive adjectives. Both forms have tone sandhi except for emphatic distributional meanings. The *dé* with reduplicated predicate adjective construction appears to reflect markedness similar to the reduplicated attributive adjective, contrasting with the unreduplicated stative verbal predicate adjective and the unreduplicated attributive adjective, which do not reflect markedness. Thus markedness is a motivation

for reduplication in both attributive and predicative adjectival constructions.

An example from the literature, Rountree & Glock (1977:92), Bakker (1987:29), McWhorter (1996b:85), accepted by some speakers while considered to be SR influenced by others, involves *dé* without reduplication:

- (46) mi *dé* taánga
 I am strong
 I AM strong!

This is used to reaffirm the depicted state, in other words to emphasize that the state is normal, backgrounded and unmarked. It would seem, however, that this example could be an upward register shift, appropriate for emphasizing a subjective state. The target language influencing the upper register would be the dialect of SR, in Winford (1997), whose speakers are not of African descent, or Church Sranan, used in Moravian churches in the interior. Winford (1993:173) mentions the opinion of Arends (1985) of superstrate influence in a similar construction in SR.

2.4.2 Derived adjectives with the copula *dé*

In addition to adjectives and anticausatives functioning as adjectives, dynamic object-affecting verbs may also occur predicatively in the *dé* construction, in (47.a), contrasting with passive, in (47.b). Dynamic intransitive unaccusative verbs also occur in the *dé* construction, in (47.c):

- (47) a. dí dóo *dé* fúgu-fúgu
 the door is shim-shim
 the door is shimmed

- b. dí dǎo fúgu
 the door shim
 the door has been shimmed
- c. dí páu dé kǎi-kǎi
 the tree is fall-fall
 the tree is fallen

In this SM construction the reduplicated forms of dynamic verbs appear to match derived attributive adjectives in form and semantic constraints. For example, items for some speakers which are not acceptable as derived attributives, such as *náki-náki*, 'hit', discussed in Chapter 3 example (17), are also not acceptable to those speakers as adjectival passives, in (48.a). Other speakers apparently accept this item, in (48.b):

- (48) a. (*)dí dágu dé náki-náki
 the dog is hit-hit
 (the dog is hit)

- b. a de nakinaki a goon (Bakker 1987:29)
 he COP knockknock LOC ground
 he is lying beaten down to the ground

The difference may be that for those who accept (48.b) there is a visible effect implied by the PP *a goon*.

This construction with the copula *dé* and the reduplicated verbal item will be analyzed as adjectival, rather than as a passive. For one thing, as pointed out by Bakker (1991:4), the reduplicated form occurs in a predicate cleft construction without leaving a copy, indicating it is nominal, and not a verb. His example uses *lǒntu*, 'round', confirmed in (49.a), an adjective, but clefting occurs with derived attributive forms as well, accepted

in elicitation in (49.b):

- (49) a. lóntu-lóntu dí gōólíba dé́ (similar to Bakker 1991:4)
round-round the world is
the world is ROUND
- b. kóti-kóti dí físi dé́
cut-cut the fish is
the fish is CUT

The nominal nature of the reduplicated item does not in itself show that these are not passives. The more nominal reduplicated form may be possessed, for some speakers, in (50.a), giving the equivalent of an agentive passive (Bakker 1987, 1991). This is not possible with a passive, in (50.b), presumably because it is not nominal enough to be possessed:

- (50) a. di wosu de mbeimbei u mi (Bakker 1987:29, 1991:5)
the house COP makemake PREP me
the house has been made by me
- b. dí wósu féfí (*u mi)
the house paint (*of me)
the house was painted (*by me)

As mentioned for (42), above, speakers consulted for this study do not accept a possessive phrase, such as *u mi* in (50.a), as indicating agency. In addition, these speakers are not comfortable with *mbéi-mbéi* as an adjective, presumably because *mbéi*, 'make', is a factitive verb. The difference between the passive in (50.b) and the predicate *dé́* construction in (50.a) parallels the difference between passives and reduplicated

derived attributives, in that the reduplicated forms are more nominal, while the unreduplicated forms are more verbal.

It will be argued in Chapter 6 that this construction in SM is transferred from the FGb adjectival passive, which similarly does not imply agency and is a more nominal construction than the FGb verbal passive, argued to be the source of the SM passive.

Dynamic object-affecting verbs occur predicatively in the *dé* construction, in (51.a, c, e), contrasting with passive, in (51.b, d, f):

- (51) a. *déé físi dé kóti-kóti*
the(pl) fish are cut-cut
the fish are cut
- b. *déé físi kóti*
the(pl) fish cut
the fish were cut / have been cut
- c. *déé paabí dé wási-wási kàà*
the(pl) plate are wash-wash already
the plates are washed
- d. *déé paabí wási kàà*
the(pl) plate wash already
the plates were washed / have been washed already
- e. *dí góni dé, a dé lái-lái*
the gun there it is load-load
the gun there, it's loaded!

- f. *dí góni ná láí*
 the gun not load
 the gun wasn't loaded

The differences in the uses of *dé* with reduplicated dynamic verbs and passives may be seen in these anecdotal examples to involve markedness. In (51.b), for example, the passive gives the sense that the fish has been cut so that no one else needs to cut it. In other words, the cutting task is background. In (51.a), the implication is that the cutting occurred recently, perhaps unexpectedly. The same distinction is made for *wási* in (51.c, d). The distinction is reflected by the present tense interpretation in elicitation for the *dé* construction, which could be a response to someone who happened by and asked about the dishes. The spontaneous speech in (51.e), was by a person who saw children playing with his shotgun. It was a single-shot gun, so that *láí-láí* could not be distributive, but of course is resultative. The spontaneous response of another child in (51.f), who saw them check the gun, differs from the normal negation, *dí góni á láí*, in the use of *ná*. This use may represent a register shift, as *ná* occurs in proverbs (McW. 1996b:283). In (51.e) there is a sense of immediate urgency, which could be seen as being expressed by a marked construction. In (51.f), the response is an attempt to reduce the urgency. The register shift may have been due to a power differential; a possibly guilty child trying to convince an adult.

The uses of *dé* with reduplicated dynamic verbs depict a more marked and possibly more recent or temporary situation than the corresponding passive. This may in part be due to the semantics of *dé*, a present tense stative verb. The *dé* construction with dynamic verbs resembles the *dé* construction with adjectives regarding markedness as well as predicating nominal characteristics. In Chapter 6 it will be argued that the *dé* construction with dynamic verbs transferred from the FGb adjectival passive, and then its use expanded to include adjectives. The SM *dé* + RE construction with dynamic verbs resembles the SM passive, though, in its tendency to occur with definite full NP referents, as seen in the A. & G. text.

In SM, verbs, including predicate adjectives, may be reduplicated to indicate iterativity or duration. This reduplication does not seem to indicate markedness. In (52.a), the iterative reading, or the durative reading in (52.b) are not necessarily marked:

- (52) a. déé báta boóko-boóko [déé báta bṵókò-bòókò]
the(pl) bottle break-break
i. the bottles are broken up
ii. the bottles are breaking up
iii. the bottles have been broken up
- b. mí wági boóko-boóko [mí wági bṵókò-bòókò]
my car break-break
i. my car is falling apart
ii. my car has fallen apart
iii. my car has been allowed to fall apart

Similar constructions appear to exist in NDj (H. & H. 1997:402). Unlike NDj, however, the constructions in (52) should not be considered variations of the *dé* construction. The lack of tone sandhi between the reduplicated items, in contrast to the *dé* construction, indicates this. A similar pattern is observed in NDj (H. & H. 1997), regarding iterative reduplication. Further research may determine if the anticausative and passive translations in (52.b) indicate that this construction may imply reduced purposefulness, like the corresponding construction in NDj (ibid.: 406). Any construction depicting iterativity or duration would be lower in transitivity than one depicting an uninterrupted completed action, by H. & T. (1980), and so might be accompanied by lower purposefulness. Verbs and nouns as well as adverbs occur reduplicated in SM. The reduplicated anticausative in (53) is marginally acceptable in a predicate cleft construction:

- (53) (?)booko-booko déé báta booko-booko
 break-break the(pl) bottle break-break
 the bottles have really been broken up

The clefting with a copy of the property item in (53) shows that it is a verb, and this construction involves a durative or iterative variation of the anticausative *booko*, although there is hesitation on this form in elicitation.

2.4.3 Diachrony of predicate adjectives with the copula *dé*

The development of the copula *dé* in early SM, discussed in section 2.2.3.2, is useful in explaining the characteristics of predicate adjectives with the copula *dé*. Following Arends (1986) and McW. (1996b), the copula developed in early SM as a reinterpretation of the deictic adverb *dé*, 'there', in a topic-comment construction. In 2.2.3.2 it was proposed that the deictic *dé* was used in early SM to topicalize a referent when the depicted state involved subjectivity, as is the case in the contemporary language. The model, (18) above, is copied below as (54) for convenience:

- (54) a. ũ dɛɛ́ déé físi dé ø *hypothesized early SM*
 b. ũ dɛɛ́ déé físi dé *contemporary SM*
 how dry the(pl) fish there>are
 how dry are the fish?

It is argued in Chapter 5 as well that reduplicated forms of adjectives retained from FGb in early SM represented markedness, as it has been proposed that they do in modern SM. The markedness that motivates reduplication in SM, as seen in sections 2.2.4 and 2.3 above, is also the result of subjective judgment.

In early SM, marked states may have been predicated to a topicalized referent with

the deictic *dé*, similar to (54.a), shown in (55.a). It is argued in Chapters 5 and 6 that derived adjectives retained their reduplication from FGb and expanded its use to include adjectives as a marking strategy. The development of the *dé* adjectival construction from a marked adjective construction due to reinterpretation is shown in (55.b):

- (55) a. *dí ganíá dé ø fátu-fátu* *hypothesized early SM*
 b. *dí ganíá dé fátu-fátu* *modern SM*
 the chicken there>is fat-fat
 the chicken is fat

A reinterpretation of the deictic *dé* in (55.a) as the copula *dé* in (55.b) would allow the markedness of the NP + *dé* to be retained in the markedness of the reduplication. The reinterpretation would most likely be possible if the reduplicated form were interpreted as nominal, so that the verbal *dé* could fill the null verbal slot. There are, after all, verbal reduplicated forms, as in (52), which would have no null verbal slot. The constructions in (55) contrast with unmarked depictions involving subjective judgment, as in (56):

- (56) *dí wómi dé fátu* *hypothesized early SM*
 dí wómi dé fátu *modern SM*
 the man there fat
 the man there is fat

The development of the *dé* adjective construction presented in (55) was undoubtedly enhanced by the transfer of the *dé* derived adjective construction, since in FGb basically only transitive or anticausative verbs occur in the adjectival passive, in (57). The transfer of the SM *dé* derived adjective construction is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The proposed source of the SM construction is the FGb anticausative adjectival passive:

- (57) a. lámpu ó d̀ò cícǐ Fongbe (Br. 1993:34)
 lamp DET COP RE-turn off
 the lamp is turned off
- b. dí fájá dé ø tapá-tapá *hypothesized early SM*
 dí fájá dé tapá-tapá *modern SM*
 the fire there>is stop-stop
 the light is turned off

The FGb copula *d̀ò* is phonologically and distributionally somewhat similar to SM *dé*, especially considering the copula *de* in the Gbe language Xwela, and the early Kwa **dɛ* (Migge 1998:301). In modern SM the copula *dé* is often pronounced with an implosive onset; *d̩é*. As discussed in Chapter 6, a direct transfer of the FGb adjectival passive into SM would run counter to McW. (1996b) who argues the substrate copula was not transferred. It would concur with Migge (ibid.), however, who argues that the FGb copula system did transfer into Surinamese plantation creoles.

There is a scenario that includes elements of both of these arguments. It will be argued in Chapters 5 and 6 that of the two FGb copulas, *nyí* and *d̀ò*, *d̀ò* was either retained or reinstated in certain contexts during simplification because it is the less verbal and more prepositional of the two. It will be argued in Chapter 5 that in creole genesis speakers may retain substrate features such as reduplication to contrast for marking strategies. This would explain the retention of reduplication for marked attributive adjectives, mentioned above. A predicate derived adjective would seem to be marked compared to a passive, since commentary on a caused property of a known item would more likely be concerned with the process rather than the state; in narrative a processual description would relate to the story line, where a stative depiction would not. The development of the modern SM *dé* reduplicated adjectival construction from a topic-comment construction, as in *dí ganía dé fátufátu* (55.b), would allow a marked predicate derived adjective. This construction would also allow a markedness contrast for

predicate non-derived adjectives, an innovation in SM. A direct transfer of the FGb adjectival passive construction into SM might be facilitated by a degree of retention of FGb *dó*, and could influence or be influenced by the development of the SM copula *dé*.

Considering the Kwa **de*, a simple explanation for the origin of SM *dé* is transfer in the adjectival passive, followed by a generalization to other contexts in SM, to be supplemented later and partially replaced by the development of the SM copula *dá* in specific contexts (McW. 1996b:93). This model of transfer allows a marked construction in FGb to be realized as a marked construction in SM. In a model deriving the SM copula *dé* from the SM deictic *dé*, as argued by Arends (1986) and McWhorter (ibid.), the derivation from a marked construction results in an unmarked construction; marked constructions become less effective over time as they are grammaticalized, or reinterpreted (ibid.:97), but the deictic *dé* in SM is still in use, it has not lost its effectiveness.

2.5 Tone sandhi of attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives, with exceptions such as adjectives of nationality, do not sandhi with each other, a numeral, or a determiner, but they do sandhi with the following noun (Voorhoeve 1961; Rountree 1972). Attributive adjectives block sandhi with preceding items but not following items, in other words sandhi does not occur at the left edge of attributive adjectives, as in (58.a) for stative and (58.b) for derived attributives:

- (58) a. *dí donú foló . . .* [*dí dónú fóló . . .*]
 the yellow flower
 the yellow flower

- b. dí latjá-latjá pampú . . . [dí làtjá-látjá pámpú . . .]
 the split-split pumpkin
 the split pumpkin

The tone sandhi system in SM has almost no grammatical function. What contrasts exist, such as *a* : *á*, 'he : he + NEG', are later developments rather than transfer (McW. 1998:796). SM, then, fits the creole prototype in having no transferred grammatical tone (ibid.:798). This may be coincidental for SM, however, in that FGb also does not have grammatical tone (Wiesemann 1991:87). There is the question then as to whether this tone system would need to have a function in order to transfer. An answer could be that there does need to be some function in order to transfer, as only 'necessary' features transfer in creole genesis (McW. 2001:2). The FGb tone sandhi resembles an intonation system (ibid.), as does tone sandhi in SM, suggesting this discourse motivation for the transfer of tone.

Looking at the SM tone sandhi pattern from a discourse perspective only, it is possible to see SM tone sandhi as encoding the prototypical discourse function of grammatical categories. Sandhi no doubt develops as a shortcut between items that are known, so that alterations in tone with possible ambiguities are tolerated. A sandhi break on the other hand emphasizes the lexical tone of an item for maximum clarity, appropriate to when the item is being introduced. This describes the tone sandhi in SM, the occurrence of tone sandhi is associated with known information while a sandhi break is associated with new information. Constituents that participate in tone sandhi determine its occurrence at their left edge. Thus for each such constituent this determination is made in real time. By coincidence the sandhi pattern corresponds to the expected prototypical discourse function of each constituent. Tone sandhi in SM serves as a sort of grammaticalization of prototypical discourse function. As expected with grammaticalization, there would be variation with corresponding features that are not grammaticalized. This is seen in the variation in tone sandhi breaks in conversation, where expected tone sandhi may not occur due to pragmatic emphasis.

The tone sandhi of adjectives in SM corresponds to the prototypical discourse function of adjectives in Thompson (1988). Predicate adjectives, which prototypically comment on known information, do not block sandhi at their left edge. Attributive adjectives, which are prototypically associated with the introduction of new information, do not sandhi at their left edge. This pattern parallels the pattern for full NPs and VPs in general, in that VPs sandhi at their left edge while full NPs do not. This parallel would not be unexpected since predicate adjectives share a predicating function with verbs and attributives share an introductory function with nouns (*ibid.*).

There are apparent exceptions to the sandhi block at the left edge of attributives. The adjective *óto*, 'other', sandhis with a following attributive adjective (Voorhoeve 1961:158; Rountree 1972:319), in (59.a). This is also the case for other attributives which contrast items with the same property, such as ordinals, *fósu*, 'first', *u tú*, 'second', *u díi*, 'third', etc., and *lásíti*, 'last', *báka*, 'back, next, last (yet to come)', in (59.b):

- (59) a. *dí óto donú foló . . .* [*dí ótó dónú fóló . . .*]
 the other yellow flower
 the other yellow flower
- b. *dí báka donú foló . . .* [*dí báká dónú fóló . . .*]
 the last yellow flower
 the last yellow flower

Intuitively these adjectives, such as *óto* and *báka*, would imply that the property of the following item in fact is not new information in that it is expected. The items following these adjectives are contrasted, their properties are identificational rather than new information. Thus in some way the appearance of sandhi occurs at the left edge of an attributive following adjectives like *óto*, conforming to this intuition. It is as if the expectation created by adjectives like *óto* would be able to override the sandhi block. There is justification for considering the effect of expectation on tone in SM. In

conjoined clauses with *hě*, 'and', *nɔ́ɔ*, 'then', or *mà*, 'but', or with the relative pronoun *dí*, (Rountree 1972:321), there is the expectation at the end of the first clause that more will follow. An unspecified tone preceding a clause conjunction has a high tone, for nouns in (60.a) or verbs in (60.b) with *hě*, 'and', even though the conjunction may be specified with a low tone, as in (60.c) with *mà*, 'but'. This high tone does not occur with subordination, with *bifó*, 'before', for example in (60.d):

- (60) a. a náki dí dágu hě a kulé a dɔ́ɔ [... dágu_ú hě à kulé...]
 he hit the dog and he run at door
 he hit the dog and went outside
- b. a hópo hě a ñimbò dí kamíã [... hòpó_ó hě à ñimbò...]
 he get up and he clean the place
 he got up and cleaned the place
- c. a heépi dí témbema mà de ã sá hópo ẽ [... témbemá_á mà...]
 he help the carpenter but they NEG can lift it
 he helped the carpenter but they couldn't lift it
- d. mi heépi dí témbema bifó mi gó [... témbemà_à bifó...]
 I help the carpenter before I go
 I helped the carpenter before I left

It can be seen in (60.c) that the high tone before the conjunction is not the result of tone sandhi or of high tone spread. Viewed from a discourse perspective it would appear that high tone on unspecified syllables is associated with expectation, since when sandhi occurs these unspecified syllables have high tones. It would seem that expectation would be a motivation for affecting the results of tone sandhi even without the necessary phonological environment. This would mean a designation that the default tone on these

unspecified syllables be reversed so that they surface with high tones instead of low tones. The designated domain in (60) would be the unspecified tones following a high tone before a clause conjunction.

The expectedness motivation in (60) applies to both nouns and verbs, apparently because it applies to the clause. This discourse motivation also has access to categories in terms of their prototypical functions, as it applies to verbs and not to nouns in predicate cleft constructions. The interruption of the normal sandhi relationship between subject and verb, in (61.a, c), may be a transferred feature; in FGb the occurrence of sandhi between subject and verb varies depending on pragmatic judgments, which is one way the FGb sandhi system resembles an intonational stress system (W. 1991:81). There is variation in SM as well, with subject sandhi [jàsá dè jàsá . . .] as an alternative to (61.a):

- (61) a. jásá de jásá déé físi u dí déde u gaamá [jàsá dè jàsá . . .]
 bake they bake the(pl) fish for the death of headman
 they BAKED the fish for the funeral of the headman
- b. (?) jásá julénda jásá déé físi . . . [jàsá jùléndá jàsá . . .]
 bake Julenda bake the(pl) fish . . .
 Julenda BAKED the fish . . .
- c. woóko mi woóko u báí déé súsu dé [wòókó mì wóókò . . .]
 work I work for buy the(pl) shoe there
 I WORKED to buy those shoes
- d. dí dágú mi náki . . . [dí dágù mì nákì . . .]
 the dog I hit
 I hit the DOG

In the predicate cleft construction verbs are copied, (61.a, b, c), whereas nouns are simply

topicalized, in (61.d). For nouns, then, there would be no expectation that the noun would be repeated. Also, since SM is strictly SVO, only object NPs occur in predicate cleft constructions, and these items are prototypically new information and would therefore not be associated with expectedness. But verbs are repeated, so there is an expectation after the dislocated verb that a copy will follow. Similar to topicalized NPs in SM, left-clefted items do not sandhi in FGb (W. *ibid.*:76), but it is not known if this applies to verbs. Clefted verbs, though, do not sandhi with the following subject NP.

The unspecified high tone on verbs in predicate cleft, underlined in (61.a, b, c), is similar to the unspecified high tone before clause conjunctions in (60), in that the conditions for tone sandhi are not met. Thus it would appear that the unspecified high tones on the verbs in predicate cleft constructions are not the result of tone sandhi but rather they are a reversed default surface tone on the edges of a domain defined by expectedness. The anticipation of the copied verb is motivation for the high tones, an approximation of tone sandhi, in a tone system that might be interpreted as a grammaticalization of intonation. In the case of clefted verbs the condition for sandhi is not met because there is an item between the verbs that does not participate in the apparent sandhi, seen in (61.a, c), since subject pronouns do not sandhi.

Clefted verbs are similar then to serial verbs that are not contiguous, described in Rountree (1972:325), and discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. The basic insight regarding these serial verb constructions is that the verbs ‘sandhi’ even though they are not contiguous. This insight could be modified somewhat with the consideration that tone sandhi may be interpreted as indicating anticipation. Serial verbs depict single events (Foley & Olsen 1985), so that successive verbs are anticipated as the expected continuing depiction of the event. The verbs depicting a single event could define a domain of expectation characterized by reversing the default tone on those verbs from low to high. In this domain verbs would sandhi with contiguous verbs, but not with other constituents, thus retaining the default high tone and giving the appearance of tone sandhi with noncontiguous verbs.

For the clefted verbs in (61.a, c) there is an intervening subject pronoun. Non-

emphatic subject pronouns have specified low tones. The domain for default high tone, as with serial verbs, is the domain of tone sandhi had there been no intervening constituents. It is the underlined *jasá dè jasá* for (61.a) and *wòókó mì wóókò* for (61.c). Since the left edge of these subject pronouns blocks sandhi, the default tone on the clefted verb is high. The left edge of the copy does not sandhi with the preceding subject pronoun, and so the unspecified syllable surfaces with a default high tone, thereby approximating sandhi. In (61.b), however, the subject is a non-pronominal NP. In this case the left edge of the noun blocks sandhi as expected, but the right edge does sandhi with the following high tone, as *jasá jùléndá jasá*. Clefts with non-pronominal subjects, it should be noted, are difficult to elicit and are subject to considerable variation.

The expectation associated with the contrasting adjectives like *óto*, 'other', also coincides with a designation of default tone reversal. In this case the domain includes the unspecified tones between the high tones of the contrasting adjective and of the following attributive, such as *óto donú* in (60.a), namely the environment of tone sandhi were it to occur. Since sandhi is blocked at the left edge of attributives, the default high tones surface to approximate sandhi, as *ó^ó dónú*.

There is another left edge block of tone sandhi in SM seen in the subject pronouns in (61), namely the left edge of lexical items with specified low tones, which are described in Voorhoeve (ibid.) and Rountree (ibid.) and discussed in detail in Good (2001). Considering the default high tones of unspecified syllables in the domains in (60.a, b, c), the default high tones in domains conditioned by *óto* and *báka* surface in (62.a, b) since sandhi is blocked by the following specified low tones:

- (62) a. dí óto sèmbè . . . [dí ó^ó sèmbè . . .]
 the other person
 the other person

- b dí báka bè foló... [dí báká bè fòlò...]
 the last red flower
 the last red flower

Sandhi is blocked at the left edge of words with initial syllables specified for low tones. If sandhi in (62) is considered blocked rather than occurring vacuously, as in R. (ibid.), then the default high tone surfaces to approximate sandhi. If it applied vacuously, the second syllable of *óto* or *báka* would normally not sandhi with the following syllable specified for low tone, and would surface with a low tone. The approximation of sandhi occurs where normal sandhi is blocked. The blocking of normal sandhi is the motivation for approximating sandhi in the specified domains. The approximation of sandhi gives the appearance of reversing the default tone to high instead of low. In normal sandhi, when sandhi is blocked the default low tone on unspecified syllables surfaces. In a reversed default domain the default tone surfaces under the same conditions of blocked sandhi, in which case the unspecified syllables have a high tone.

The contrasting attributives are listed in the Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock (1999) and de Groot (1981) wordlists without final high tones, namely as *óto*, *fósu*, *báka*, etc. When they occur other than attributively, as small clause compliments for example as in (63), there is no final high tone:

- (63) de háí dí bóto báka... [dè háí dí bóto bakà...]
 they haul the boat back
 they hauled the boat back

As these adjectives are not indicated in R., A. & G. (ibid.) as being class (i) words, with all tones specified as high, it will be assumed that the high tones on their final syllables are postlexical.

Tone sandhi in SM changes the default low tone on unspecified syllables to a high tone. From a discourse perspective the conditions for this change, which are

phonological, also coincide with expectation, namely prototypical discourse roles of new and known information. Optimally the phonological and discourse conditions might be ranked. Simply considering how readily the sandhi rules are avoided for pragmatic reasons in conversation might be a clue to a higher ranking for discourse. It would not be unreasonable then to bypass the phonological condition with a rule changing the default low tones to high tones in particular instances of expectation. This too would indicate that discourse considerations would optimally rank higher than purely phonological conditions. Such a ranking in turn would validate the claim, above, that the encoding of discourse function in the tone sandhi of SM was crucial to its transfer. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 7.

2.6 Discourse role of adjectives

The Thompson (1988) study of adjectives in conversational English and Mandarin found that predicate and attributive adjectives have different discourse functions. Predicate adjectives provide commentary on known referents, while attributive adjectives depict properties of new referents. An examination of the adjectives in a SM narrative text shows that this finding applies to SM as well. But there are some differences, due in part to the fact that there is a register difference, and also perhaps due in part to SM conversational style. Anecdotally, predicate adjectives in casual speech do not seem to convey new information about a referent, but instead tend to express an expected property, like *a bígi*, ‘it’s big/important’, or *a hógi*, ‘it’s terrible’, thus confirming an already expressed opinion. The *dé* + RE construction tends to have a more informative commentary, like *a dé lái-lái*, ‘it’s loaded’, in (51.c), although in this example the information was also known already. In the text study, predicate adjectives tend to activate accessible referents by naming them as definite NPs. Attributive adjectives, as in the Thompson study, tend to occur with new referents. But the most common attributive, *gǎǎ*, ‘big/important’, tends to occur with definite NPs, functioning to activate accessible

referents. Thus it appears from this text that SM adjectives conform to the findings in T. (ibid.), but have another function as well, namely the activation of accessible referents.

The text examined is Aboikoni & Glock (1997) *Di Duumi u Gaama Aboikoni*, a 74-page narrative of the funeral of Paramount Chief Josef Aboikoni, dictated by his son Laurens Aboikoni. Considered in this study were adjectives, anticausatives functioning as adjectives, and adjectives derived from dynamic verbs. Not included were numbers and the contrasting adjectives *oto* (using the orthography of the text), 'other', *fosu*, 'first' and *lasiti*, 'last', nouns functioning as adjectives as well as the SM adjectives *lō* and *pei(pei)*, 'type', and adjectives as parts of names or lexical items, such as *hogi pau*, (terrible stick) 'staff' (p. 9). Also not included were adjectives of nationality, as in *Saamaka nēngē*, 'Saramaccan African Americans' (ibid.:19), although they are included in the T. (1988:177) study. These adjectives in SM have no predicative stative verb counterpart and as attributives have a different sandhi pattern from other adjectives (Rountree 1972:319). Adjectives considered to be predicative were adjectives as intransitive stative verbs, and adjectives and derived adjectives reduplicated after the copula *dē*. Also considered predicative were adjectives and derived adjectives as attributives modifying head nouns with relatively empty semantics, such as *soni*, 'thing', or anaphoric head nouns such as *sēmbē* or *womi*, 'guy', and *gudu*, 'goods', when they occur in predicate nominal position. Excluded from the count are the non-referential occurrences of the expression *a tjali*, 'it's sad', which often also occurs as *tjali*, suggesting a pro-drop construction as proposed for SM by DeGraff (1993:84). These, then, are the criteria used in T. (1988) to identify adjectives, with the special additional criteria for SM.

In determining known information, pronouns will be considered prototypically known information. It is assumed, from Lambrecht (1986:137), that pronominal reference tends to depict relations in a clause while lexical NPs tend to have greater salience in naming an item. It is relations that advance a story line, where the naming of participants tends to be background. Pronominal reference is argued to be cognitively preferred as an unmarked topic, in Lambrecht (ibid.:125), so that languages have strategies for activating

information from lexical to pronominal coding in the interest of event depiction. Pronouns predicated by adjectives, of course, are not used to advance a story line. These pronouns, then, might not function in the same way as pronouns used to depict events. In the SM narrative text these pronouns, argued in relation to (64) and (65) below, tend to function with the adjectives to activate information.

In A. & G. (1997) there are two functions of pronouns predicated by adjectives. One is activation, where little new or relevant information is conveyed, and the other is to provide this information. Most these pronouns, 26 of 31, or 87.1%, have the first function, and are anaphoric of an activated noun in the previous clause. For example:

- (64) a. *nōō di lō kuutu dē, hii lanti feni taa a bunu* (A. & G. 1997:12)
 now the type council there, all member find that it good
 everyone was in favor of this decision
- b. *dī pēē u dī kijoo mii nōō a bi bigi* (A. & G. 1977:36)
 the play of the youth child now it PAST big
 the dancing of the young man, it was great
- c. *de pēē sēkēti te a bigi* (A. & G. 1977:36)
 they play seketi till it big
 there was a big seketi dance

In (64.a) *kuutu*, 'council', is known, it was mentioned several clauses earlier. It is mentioned again, in (64.a), after the discussion and decision of the council. The two mentions bracket the action of the council. The renaming of *kuutu* uses a common SM activation strategy, emphasis with *dē*, 'there' outside the clause, followed by pronominal reference. Mention by naming outside the clause is discussed in Lambrecht (1986:137) in terms of presentation, but presentation introduces new information. The information named in *dé* constructions is known, it is definite and referential, and is topicalized by *dé*.

This topicalization strategy is considered common enough, in McWhorter (1996b), to have been an influence in the development of the copula *dé*. In the text the use of the emphatic *dē* highlights an item beyond what would be necessary for disambiguation. The SM adjectives *lö*, 'type', in (64.a), and *pei(pei)*, 'type', which are not in the count of adjectives, also highlight and thereby activate information. These adjectives together, 39 occurrences of *lö* and 48 of *pei(pei)*, comprise the greatest number of attributive adjectives in the text, indicating a tendency towards activation as a narrative style.

The predication in (64.a), *a bunu*, 'it is good', is part of the topic-comment construction. It is commentary on the activated item, but more importantly it is part of a strategy for activation. Regarding commentary, in the entire text the only such predicate adjectives are *bigi*, 'big/great/old', with 15 occurrences, *bunu*, 'good', with 7, *fiti*, 'fit', with 3, and in (65.a) below *suti*, 'sweet', with 1 occurrence, included because it activates an event. It would appear from this that the commentary does not provide substantive information, but rather an affirmation that the activated item meets expectations. At the same time the *dé* focus and predicate adjective construction provides a mechanism for the activation.

In (64.b), *di pēē*, 'the playing (dancing)', is accessible information in that the young man has been introduced earlier as a *pēēma*, 'dancer'. Also known is the fact that he is a dancer of renown, so that *a bi bigi*, 'it was great' is not surprising new information. The activated item in (64.b) is topicalized both as the focus of *dé* and by being outside the comment clause as left-dislocation.

In (64.c), *sēkēti*, 'seketi', is accessible, as this dance has been mentioned many times already. It refers to *gaan pēē*, 'big/great dance', in the previous clause. It is being reintroduced by name for the particular episode. The fact that the dance is great is also not unexpected, in that the commentary for earlier mentions also used *bigi*, 'great'. The noun *sēkēti* is the object of a transitive verb, a strategy for the introduction of new information (Du Bois 1987). As an indefinite NP it is new, perhaps in the sense that each performance must be new. The following clause with the predicate adjective does not supply particularly new information, but rather serves to stretch out the introduction,

iconically reflecting ‘greatness’. This is done with the superfluous commentary, and also quite literally with *tee/te*, ‘until’. The use of *te* is common, it occurs in the text 44 times, with different pronouns, basically as *te a kaba*, and 3 times as *te a koti*, both meaning ‘until he finished’. For example, *sō a bai te a kaba*, ‘so he called out until he finished’ (A. & G. 1997:1). The expression of ‘finishing’ is superfluous, since *bai* is a dynamic verb which unmarked already has a past tense meaning. The pragmatic purpose of the *te a kaba* clause appears to be emphasis for the preceding clause, it is used in the description of significant events. The purpose of the *te a bigi* clause also appears to be emphasis for the preceding clause, which in this text invariably presents or activates the wake, the party, a dance or a performance to reaffirm the background for new events.

The second function of pronouns predicated by adjectives is in the depiction of a property describing known rather than topicalized information:

- (65) a. di a ko si . . . fa de ko aki nōō a suti dēēn. A wai. (A. & G. 1997:62)
 when he come see . . . how they come here now it sweet give him he clear
 when he came and saw . . . they had come, it was sweet for him. He was glad.
- b. Gaama Aboikoni hēn kijēēn te a ko bigi (A. & G. 1997:30)
 Granman Aboikoni, he (emph) raise-him until he come big
 Granman Aboikoni, he raised him until he got big

The pronoun in *a suti* in (65.a) is a part of a common expression that doesn’t convey unexpected information, and refers to the topicalized event. The pronouns in *a wai* in (65.a) and *a ko bigi* in (65.b), however, do not refer to a topicalized referent in the previous clause. The information in *wai* is the added emphasis to *suti*, which is relevant to the story. The information in *bigi* is also relevant to the story line. The use of *te* in (65.b) is not the same as in (64.c) in that it is not emphatic. Of the pronouns in the text, 5 of 31, or 18.2% are predicated by adjectives that function in this way. It appears, then, that pronouns predicated by adjectives in this text function primarily to activate

information in topic-comment constructions, and only secondarily to actually add relevant commentary.

The other type of predicate adjective, by Thompson (1988:174), is an attributive adjective modifying an anaphoric head noun in predicate nominal position. In the text there are 23 such occurrences predicating a pronoun. Of these, 9 involve an anaphoric head noun referring to a NP outside the clause, as in (66.a). For the majority of 14 occurrences, however, the anaphoric head noun is the same word as its referent, as in (66.b). As a variation of (66.b), there are 3 occurrences of a noun predicated by an attributive NP modifying the same word as the referent, as in (66.c):

- (66) a. *di kabiteni aki a bi dē wan gaan womi* (A. & G. 1997:16)
 the captain here he PAST COP one great man
 this captain was an important man
- b. *di lō daka didia dē, a bi dē wan tjali daka* (A. & G. 1997:38)
 the type day daylight there it PAST COP one sad day
 it was a very moving occasion
- c. *dee daka dē bi dē gaan piizii daka* (A. & G. 1997:8)
 the(pl) day there PAST COP great party day
 those were enjoyable days

Although the constructions exemplified in (66) involve commentary on accessible information, the commentary itself is not particularly new or unexpected. Of the 23 occurrences of predicating attributive phrases, the majority, 13, use *gaan*, 'great', followed by 6 uses of *tjali*, 'sad'. The referents are usually well known information, such as *daka*, 'day' or *piizii*, 'party', whose properties of greatness or sadness have also been mentioned. These occurrences may be seen as a strategy for reintroducing information.

There are occurrences of a NP predicated by an adjective, an alternative to

predicating a pronoun as in (64). There are 18 such occurrences:

- (67) a. di lō daka didia dē o bigi tjika (A. & G. 1997:38)
the type day daylight there FUT big enough
that day so many activities would be going on
- b. di wooko bi hebi (A. & G. 1997:48)
the work PAST heavy
the work was heavy

The referents exemplified in (67) also tend to be well known, and the properties ascribed have been mentioned. Of the 18 occurrences, 8 use *bigi*, 'big/great', 4 and use *hebi*, 'heavy', referring to the day or the work. Thus 12 of the 18 occurrences, or 66.6%, present items anew with little added information. These constructions, then, parallel those in (64) as tending to function in reintroducing information.

The *dé* + RE construction, as mentioned above, is also considered predicative in this study. There are 12 such occurrences in the text, 8 with NP subjects, as in (68.a), and 4 with a pronominal subject, as in (68.b, c). The 8 with NP subjects all have resultative meanings, while the 4 with pronominal subjects are stative. The corpus is perhaps too small to be significant, but there is a similarity here between the resultative *dé* + RE constructions and passives in the tendency for these constructions with affecting verbs to activate information.

- (68) a. hii sēmbē bi dē kabakaba kēēē ta luku (A. & G. 1997:66)
all people PAST COP finish-finish completely CONT look
everyone was waiting

b. u bi dē sindosindo (A. & G. 1997:67)
 we PAST COP sit-sit
 we were sitting

c. u dē waiwai (A. & G. 1997:54)
 we COP clear-clear
 we were happy

In (68.a) the referent has been mentioned several clauses earlier with the various tasks performed, and also mentioned is the completion of those tasks. The predication adds to this the readiness of the people. The markedness of the depicted state is highlighted by the ideophone *kēēē*, 'completely'. The occasion was described as special and different from others, an explanation for not using the more common *te kaba* construction. This construction is also longer, and allows a serial construction with the continuative TMA marker, iconically representing the length of 'waiting'. The example in (68.a) presents the people waiting as the background for further events, a marked occasion.

In (68.b), the comment depicts a state, contrasting with *u ku de bi sindo e*, 'we went and sat down with them' (ibid.:20), which is part of an event. The *dé* + RE example is marked in that it presents a background for an unusual break from the narrative story line. The participants sit and discuss life, society and the future. A stative depiction signals a break in the events, and as in (68.a) the longer form may iconically represent the lengthy digression. The situation is also marked in that in a way it steps outside tradition, as a conversation with an outsider would imply looking in on the events of the narrative.

The stative *dé* + RE construction in (68.c) is the reply of young men who did not have much to offer, but wanted to help in any way they could. Thus their being happy about doing some specified things is extended to unspecified things as well, which is the new information. From the context their happiness and willingness is not unexpected, and so is not particularly new. What is new is that the depiction could be seen as a marked condition, different from *u wai*, 'we're happy', being happy about a certain thing, as in *a*

wai in (65.a). The phrase *u dē waiwai* implies a degree of volition, not necessarily in the semantics of the unmarked *wai*, an eagerness parallel to (68.a). The more lengthy *dé* + RE form in (68.c) may also be seen as iconically representing an extended period of happiness.

The discourse function of the majority of predicate adjectives in this text is argued to be part of an information activation strategy. It is the reintroduction that is interesting regarding the development of the copula *dé*, as in (55) and (56) above, and in McW. (1996). Reintroduction in the text is far more common than introduction, as items are often redundantly rementioned. Activated items are frequently followed by *dē*, 'there', as in (66.b, c). When predicated by an adjective, namely an intransitive stative verb, the commentary is generally subjective, most commonly as *bigi*, 'big/great'. When predicated by an attributive NP, as in *gaan womi* in (66.a), the commentary is also generally subjective, most commonly the attributive *gaan*, 'big/great'. The emphatic *dē*, 'there', topicalizes the item being reactivated for subjective comment.

The distribution of the deictic *dē* in the text indicates that when following an NP, as in (66.b, c), the NP + *dē* is topicalized accessible information. With the 266 such occurrences of *dē* and the variant *naandē*, there are NPs that are outside the clause, as subjects of intransitive verbs, as objects of transitive verbs and as objects of prepositions. This is the distribution of activated information, by Du Bois (1987). Of the 266 occurrences, there is only one which is an agent; *sēmbē dē ta mbei kinō*, 'people there are making videos' (p. 58). But even in this example the NP + *dē* may be less than prototypically agentive. There is an unspecified object, reducing the clause transitivity by the parameter of Individuation (H. & T. 1980). In Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1990) the predicate *mbei kino* with the unspecified object would be considered an ACTIVITY, rather than an ACCOMPLISHMENT, such as *mbei di kinō*, 'make the video'. By RRG, the subject of *sēmbē dē ta mbei kinō* would be classified with the unergative subjects of intransitive verbs like 'run' and 'dance'. In any case, the overwhelming evidence points to NP + *dē* as denoting activated information. This distribution contrasts with that of other mentioned NPs in the text. Other nonpronominal NPs, in particular known

items, readily occur as agents. But what the NP + *dě* construction is doing is slowing down the narrative by reintroducing information.

As mentioned above, a main function of predicate adjectives in the text is to help activate information. Their occurrence is somewhat formulaic in that little real information is conveyed. The information is largely subjective, such as 'great' or 'sad'. The *dě* + RE construction provides more information in its comment than the predicate adjectives, but it also denotes markedness by setting a scene somewhat removed from the story line and beyond expectations.

As argued in (57), the proposed source of the *dě* + RE construction is the FGb adjectival passive, which has the locative copula *q̇*. If in fact the SM copula *dě* developed by reinterpretation of the adverbial deictic *dě*, as argued in McW. (1996b:106), it did so because there was a model in the substrate language as well as the availability of the deictic *dě* for reinterpretation (ibid.:107). In Chapter 5 it will be argued that the SM *dě* + RE construction transferred from the FGb adjectival passive starting with affecting verbs, for example, *lámpu ó q̇ cíci*, 'the lamp is turned off', in (57), and spreading to include adjectives. The motivation, perhaps markedness, for preserving the substrate feature of reduplication may also have motivated the reinterpretation of the copula; the SM NP + *dě* construction provided the adverbial *dě*, perhaps with the same markedness motivation. The NPs topicalized by *dě* in SM are in a sense marked in that they have been topicalized. And they are distributionally positioned for stative predication because they do not occur as agents. Thus *dí lámpu dě tápa-tápa*, 'the lamp [there > is] stop-stop', would not lose its markedness.

The attributive adjectives also tend to activate information, as predicted in T. (1988). There are 110 attributive adjectives in the text. The ratio of attributive to predicative adjectives in the text differs from the Thompson study of English adjectives. In the SM text, there are 190 adjectives, with 110 attributives, or 58%, and 80 predicate adjectives, or 42%. In T. (ibid.:174) there are 79% predicate and 21% attributive adjectives. As mentioned above, one reason for the difference may be that the SM text is a narrative, not a conversation as in the Thompson study. Another may be that this particular narrative

introduces a large number of participants in depicting a lengthy and complicated event, with a considerable number of attributives used to introduce or reintroduce information with little new comment. In this way the attributives parallel the activating tendency of the predicates.

What is noteworthy about the attributive adjectives is the predominance of the adjective *gaan*, 'big/great'. There are 63 occurrences of *gaan*, and 47 occurrences of all other attributives. There are also occurrences of *gaan* that are part of a lexical item, such as *gaan lanti*, 'government people' (p.11), which are not in the count. The adjective *gaan* is common in lexical items, there are 28 such lexical items in the Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock (2000) wordlist. In the text of A. & G. (1997) there are a total of 79 occurrences of the attributive *gaan*, far more than any other adjective.

Of the 63 adjectival occurrences of *gaan*, the majority, or 36, occur with the definite article, while 25 do not. Those with the definite article either reintroduce items or introduce items that are accessible from the cultural context. Yet these items are like new information in that they do not occur as agents. An example is *di gaan fuka*, 'this great crisis' (p.7). This is the first mention of the word *fuka*, although it refers back to *wan tjali soni*, 'a sad thing' (p.1). It is in effect being reintroduced. The attributive *gaan* is part of the introduction of the item *fuka*. The attributive is not part of the name, as it occurs elsewhere without *gaan*, for example the subsequent mention *di fuka* (p.10). It is reintroduced again, however, with the attributive, *di gaan fuka* (p.10). There is only one crisis; there is no contrasting smaller crisis. The attributive *gaan* offers no new information about the crisis. Its function appears to be reintroduction, to present the crisis as background again by restating its importance.

The occurrence of definite marking on the other attributives is far lower than for *gaan*. There are 4 with and 43 without a definite article. Those with the definite article, namely *dee heihei sēmbē*, 'the high-high (important) people' (p.31), and 3 occurrences of *di njunjun gaama*, 'the new-new (new) granman' (p.42), are accessible in the cultural context. The attributives present new information. The second and third occurrence of *njunjun* closely following the first and are used to distinguish the new granman from the

old one mentioned two clauses earlier. These repeated uses of the adjective could be seen as activating, since a semantically empty head noun could have replaced *gaama*. It would appear, however, that attributives other than *gaan* are not used as much as *gaan* in the activation of accessible background information. The main function of attributives other than *gaan* is aiding in the introduction of new information, as with English and Mandarin attributives in the Thompson study.

Looking at occurrences of attributives with definite articles allows a distinction between activating new and accessible information. Those occurrences that introduce new information include 25 with *gaan*, and 43 with all other adjectives, a total of 68. This compares with 80 predicative adjectives. This distinction brings the predicative use into the majority, or 54%, conforming somewhat more closely to the 79% for English conversational use in the T. (1988) study.

In the SM narrative style represented by A. & G. (1997) there is a distinguishing feature in the discourse use of adjectives. This is the function of adjectives, particularly the attributive *gaan* and predicate *bigi*, 'big/great/old', in activating accessible information. For predicate adjectives, this function is at odds with the tendency of predicate adjectives in conversational English and Mandarin in the Thompson study. In the text, predicate adjectives as stative verbs convey almost no new information in the comment. The predicative function of attributive adjectives modifying nouns in predicate nominal position tend more to convey new information, although they tend to function to activate as well

Attributive adjectives, on the other hand, tend more to introduce new information, although for *gaan* the tendency is more towards activating accessible information. In their function of introduction, however, attributives in the text differ from those in T. (1988) in that they nearly equal the number of predicative adjectives. Since predicate adjectives tend to convey little real information, it would seem that the properties of new items tend to be conveyed with attributives in their introduction in the A. & G. text somewhat more than in conversational English or Mandarin. What depiction there is of new properties in predicative position is also generally by attributive adjectives, as the

stative verbs tend to be formulaic expressions, mainly with *bigi*.

If it is assumed that this tendency existed in the early stages of SM, then property depiction would be primarily the function of attributives at a time when reduplication of attributives would be entering the language. The depiction of relevant properties is where any markedness should be expressed, and would be related to pragmatics. The use of property depiction in the flow of events characterizes predicate adjectives, so markedness would be discourse related. There is an explanation, then, for the reduplication in attributives being associated with markedness of the depicted property, where reduplication of predicate adjectives in the *dé* + RE construction reflects markedness in relation to events.

The tendency for adjectives to participate in the activation of information implies that this information would tend to be specific. Intuitively, a property depiction of an item would be specific to that item. A survey of the adjectives in the text bears this out, as the vast majority of these adjectives have a specific referent. The issue of specificity is addressed in Role and Reference Grammar, or *RRG* (Van Valin 1990). In *RRG*, a transitive verb with an unspecified object is categorized as depicting an *ACTIVITY*, where a transitive verb with a specific object depicts an *ACCOMPLISHMENT*. Thus he ate pizza is an *ACTIVITY*, as are unergative intransitive depictions such as he ran. The depiction of an effect on a specific object, such as he ate the pizza, would be an *ACCOMPLISHMENT*. Of the 190 adjectives in the text, only 32 have referents that could appear in *ACTIVITY* clauses. The *ACTIVITY* referents, then, comprise 16.8% of the total number of adjectival referents.

Adjectives in SM will be compared to passives, in Chapter 3, and shared object serial verb constructions, in Chapter 4. One of the ways in which these three are similar is in the specificity of their patient arguments. The majority of adjectival, passive and shared object serial verb constructions in SM have specific patient arguments, arguments used in the depiction of *ACCOMPLISHMENTS*. In the text the rate of nonspecific arguments used in *ACTIVITY* depictions for passives is 11.4%, and for shared object serials is 16.1%, compared to the 16.8% rate of these arguments for adjectives. These rates may be

contrasted with the rate of ACTIVITY depictions for transitive verbs in the text that would otherwise qualify as passive or shared object serial verbs, which is 34.1%. Adjectives, then, as well as passives and shared object serials depict ACTIVITIES arguments at roughly half the rate of the corresponding single verbs.

An explanation for the tendency to avoid nonspecific ACTIVITY type arguments may lie in the RRG concept of transitivity. In RRG, by V.V. (ibid.), an ACTIVITY clause with a patient argument is considered to be intransitive, in which case the patient argument resembles an incorporated noun. As an intransitive, an ACTIVITY clause depicts verbal action without stative or resultative stative semantics. Adjectives depict states, while derived adjectives, passives, and shared object serials depict resultative states. Thus there is a motivation for these constructions to avoid ACTIVITY depictions.

Chapter 3

Passive Constructions

3.1 Introduction

The passive in Saramaccan differs from both the English passive and the corresponding passive construction in Fongbe. The description of the SM passive and related constructions will allow a comparison with the FGb passive constructions, to be discussed in Chapter 6. In this chapter it will be argued that the passive construction in SM functions primarily to activate referents into discourse. Passive verbs have the same semantic constraints as verbs derived as attributive adjectives, but passive constructions differ from derived attributive adjectives in that their depictions are necessarily pragmatically unmarked. There are alternative constructions that are translated as passives and express pragmatic or discourse markedness.

3.1.1 Passives and alternative constructions

The passive construction in Saramaccan consists of a patientive subject followed by a verb with no passive morphology. Although agency is implied, no agent is expressed. The passive, then, resembles the predicate adjective construction syntactically. The passive in SM relates to adjectives semantically as well, in that the verbs that occur in the passive construction are subject to the same constraints as verbs occurring as derived adjectives, primarily they are affecting verbs. These affecting verbs have a resultative interpretation as passives or derived adjectives. The SM passive, then, may be seen as the dynamic counterpart to the stative predicate adjective construction. The resemblance

between passives and predicate adjectives extends to a common discourse function. Passives are backgrounding; they are commentary on accessible referents that accommodates the flow of events. The information provided by the passive verb does not stand out in an unexpected way, and the referent is accessible. As part of backgrounding, a primary discourse function of the SM passive is the reactivation of accessible referents. This is also a primary discourse function of predicate adjectives in SM. The SM passive construction can be compared to predicate adjective constructions in terms of syntax, semantics and discourse.

There is an alternative construction for passive verbs using the copula *dé* and reduplication. This *dé* + RE construction with dynamic verbs is an adjectival construction, and so does not imply agency. Like the passive, though, the interpretation is resultative. The *dé* + RE ‘passive’ construction with dynamic affecting verbs shares a function with *dé* + RE adjectival constructions with stative adjectives, namely expressing pragmatic markedness. These constructions depict a background that stands out from the expected. There is, then, another parallel between passives and stative predicate adjectives in terms of expressing pragmatic markedness with the *dé* + RE construction. And there is a parallel with the reduplication of attributives in expressing markedness.

In decontextual elicitation another alternative to the passive is preferred. This is an active transitive construction with an impersonal subject *de*, ‘they’. The impersonal *de* subject allows an implied but unspecified agent. The *de* alternative is spontaneously given in elicitation of the passive; no doubt because it doesn’t have the discourse function of the passive and so is appropriate in isolation. Also, the passive has constraints of effect and expectedness, which limit its use. The *de* alternative, being an active construction, is not constrained in this way, perhaps another reason for its preference in elicitation.

3.2 Passive morphosyntax

There is relatively little morphology in Saramaccan (Kouwenberg 1987). This is not unexpected in a creole language, although this is also characteristic of the primary substrate language Fongbe as well, in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Another characteristic of creoles is multifunctionality, which also appears in FGb. Further research may determine that for SM and other FGb derived creoles these two characteristics are the result of transfer.

There is, then, no passive morphology. A clause with a transitive verb without a following object argument may have a passive interpretation, subject to constraints to be discussed below. A clause with a highly transitive verb like *njã*, 'eat', 'bite', is interpreted as active transitive when followed by an argument in the object position, in (1.a), but may be interpreted as passive when there is no argument in the object position, as in (1.b):

- (1) a. *dí dágu njã dí físi*
 the dog eat the fish
 the dog ate the fish
- b. *dí dágu njã*
 the dog bite
 the dog was bit (by a wasp)

There is tone sandhi between the subject argument and the following passive verb just as there is tone sandhi between the subject and the following active verb, as described for active clauses in Rountree (1972) and discussed in Chapter 2. The sandhi break between a transitive verb and a following patientive object does not occur between the patientive subject and the following passive verb. Thus sandhi is sensitive to syntactic rather than semantic functions; basically sandhi is blocked at the left edge of NPs but not of verbs:

(2) dí dágu njǎ [dí dágu njǎ]

Semantic and pragmatic factors, not reflected in the morphosyntax, are also determiners of the passive interpretation. Basically constructions such as (1.b) and (2) are interpreted as passive only if such an interpretation is in conformity with cultural expectations relative to the particular subject argument and transitive verb, or is a metaphor based on these expectations. In other words, the passive construction is not used in foregrounding against the background of cultural expectations. This will be discussed in detail below.

3.3 Agentless Passive

The Saramaccan passive is agentless. If an agent were to be expressed, the expected morphosyntax would most likely express the agent as a non-core argument in a prepositional phrase, (3.a), as in the expression of other case roles such as instrument, (3.b), or in a serial verb construction as in the expression of benefactive or indirect causation, (3.c), or with a purposive (*f*)u in (3.d):

- (3) a. dí páu fáa *ku/ *fu/ *a/ *dá témbema
 the tree fell *with/*of/ *to/*give timberman
 the tree was felled (*by a woodsman)
- b. dí páu fáa ku matjáu
 the tree fell with ax
 the tree was felled with an ax
- c. dí páu fáa dá dí témbema
 the tree fell give the timberman
 the tree was felled for/because of the woodsman

- d. ndéti mbéi u duumi, didíá dé u woóko
 night make for sleep daytime is for work
 night was made for sleep, daytime is for work

There is no expressed agent in the SM passive, although one is implied. This is a very common type of passive cross-linguistically. The SM passive, with the unexpressed agent and the passive verb that would be an event depicting transitive verb with agent and patient arguments, conforms to the Keenan (1985:247) definition of a basic passive.

That the agent would not be expressed following the second verb in a SM serial verb construction, such as (3.c), might be explained synchronically by the iconicity of word order in serial verb constructions. Verbs denoting preposition-like or non-core argument meanings are the second or subsequent verbs in SM serial verb constructions, as in (3.c). The verbs in serial verb constructions cross-linguistically depict action through word order in the order of real-world events (Foley & Olson 1985). This real-world order may be seen even in grammaticalized serial verb constructions such as those with *dá*, 'give', as in (3.c), in that the 'action' is 'given' to the causer or beneficiary. This real-world word order is seen particularly in some SM expressions that differ from English in that the first mentioned argument is seen to occur first in reality. In (4.a) the road, *pási*, may be seen as existing before one arrives to get lost on it. In (4.b) the egg may be seen as preceding the turtle. In (4.c) hunger always exists, eventually affecting the tiger:

- (4) a. dí pási lási mi
 the road loose me
 the road lost me: I got lost on the road
- b. dí óbo booka dí lògòsò
 the egg hatch the turtle
 the egg hatched the turtle: the turtle hatched out of the egg

- c. hángi kǐsi dí tígǐ
hunger catch the tiger
hunger caught the tiger: the tiger is hungry

The initiator of an action may be seen as existing prior to the action and to its effect on a patient, a possible contributing motivation for the predominance of S before O cross-linguistically in basic word order (DeLancey 1981). Perhaps by this reasoning SM serial verb constructions iconically reflect the order of real-world actions in the order of verbs. Thus an agent would not occur after the action depicted by the first verb in a serial verb construction in SM.

Another iconic reflection in word order may be that agents in SM occur only as subjects, and therefore must be followed by a verb. Agents, then, are preferred as topical, or known information, which is consistent with the preferred argument structure of agents (Du Bois 1987) and is consistent with the topic-comment or agent topicalization strategy in the language during its earlier and contemporary stages (Arends 1987; McWhorter 1996a, 1996b). Agents therefore would not occur in a focus position, such as in a prepositional phrase. Agents need to be followed by the verb to iconically reflect their topicality and specify their agency. When a patient precedes the verb, as in passives, the agent does not occur since it appears to be licensed in no other position.

These restrictions on the position of agent and subject arguments will be discussed further in Chapter 4 on shared object serial verb constructions, since they bear on the question of control of the second and subsequent verbs in those constructions.

3.4 Semantic Constraints

The semantic constraints on passives in SM fall out from the more general constraint against depicting pragmatic markedness. This general constraint highlights the similarity

between passives and predicate adjectives, namely that passives are the dynamic equivalent of predicate adjectives. As predicate adjectives comment on known information, which in SM apparently includes pragmatic markedness. In SM, then, predicate adjectives would not depict markedness. As discussed in Chapter 2, derived attributive adjectives may be considered marked in that they depict a state, which is a marked depiction for non-stative verbs.

3.4.1 Animacy Constraint

Alleyne (1987), Rahman (2002), and others have observed that certain lexical arguments may be interpreted as subjects in passive constructions, while others may not. Alleyne has determined that a feature [+animate] on the single argument generally blocks a passive reading. My own data concurs with Al. (1987: 77-79), except for the translation of (5.a.ii) which he gives in the past tense; 'the man killed':

- (5) a. dǐ wómi kǐi *not accepted as passive*
 the man kill
 i. * the man has been killed
 ii. the man kills
- b. dǐ kaábita kii *accepted as passive*
 the goat kill
 the goat has been killed
- c. dǐ kaábita (mbéti) njǎ kàà *readily accepted as passive*
 the goat (meat) eat already
 the goat (meat) has been eaten already

The most highly animate argument, *wómi*, 'man', in (5.a), does not allow a passive reading. The verb *kíi*, 'kill', in (5.a) therefore has no patientive argument, including no zero object anaphora. Zero object anaphora occurs in particular contexts, and would allow the past tense interpretation 'the man killed it'. The context for zero anaphora doesn't occur in isolated elicited sentences. The lack of a patientive argument indicates that the verb *kíi* in (5.a) does not depict an effect, an essential characteristic of dynamic transitive verbs. It has therefore apparently been designated a stative verb. As such, its default interpretation does not include a bounded conclusion, so that it depicts an ongoing state rather than an event. The translation is then in the present tense, somewhat like adjectives which are intransitive stative verbs.

The animacy feature does not always block passive, however. Alleyne (ibid.) shows that the same verb with somewhat different translations allows an animate argument:

- (6) a. *mi bí kóti* *conkurs with* (Al. 1987: 77-79)
 I ANT cut
 * I was cut
- b. *mi bí kóti* *conkurs with* (Al. 1987: 77-79)
 I ANT cut
 I was operated on

Other examples may be found as well:

- c. *mi bí sooto a dúnguwósu*
 I ANT shut in dark-house
 I was locked up in jail

- d. dí wénkε soóto kàà
 the store shut already
 the store has been locked up already

The animate arguments in (6.b, c) accompany verbs whose meanings depict an action which is less punctual, according to the transitivity parameter of Punctuality (Hopper & Thompson 1980), than the action those verbs depict with less animate arguments in (6.a, d). The verbs *kóti* as 'operate on' and *soóto* as 'lock up (in jail)' depict actions which take longer, are more likely to be interrupted, and are more likely to involve different types of activity in their completion than those same verbs as 'cut' and 'shut'. These actions are also less telic, and thereby lower in transitivity by the transitivity parameter of Aspect (ibid.). The readings in (6.b, c) with animate arguments obtain from clauses that are less transitive than their counterparts in (6.a, d). Because animate arguments are less likely to be affected than inanimates, a clause depicting less effective transfer of action will be more likely to allow an animate patient.

Likelihood or expectedness blocks animate subjects for most passive verbs, but a verb like *dópu*, 'baptize', may apply only to humans, and does occur as a passive, as in (7) from Aboikoni & Glock (1997:6):

- (7) di Gaama bi dopu (A. & G. 1997:6)
 the Granman PAST baptize
 the Granman had been baptized

This animate subject of a passive verb because baptism of humans is likely, or at least not unexpected. Also, the person being baptized may be considered to be below the person baptizing in a religion-based hierarchy where, as in the animacy hierarchy, higher members are less likely to be depicted as affected.

There are alternative ways to express an effect on highly animate patients while suppressing agency. One is an adverbial small clause complement, such as:

- (8) i abi sēmbē paali ta sindo ku dee gaan womi (A. & G. 1997:5)
 you(sg) have person separate CONT sit with the(pl) old man
 you have people assigned to assist the older men

The locative adverb *paali*, 'apart', functions attributively similar to *déndu*, 'inside', as in *dee sēmbē dendu*, 'the people inside' (ibid.:63).

Animacy is a complex concept (Comrie 1989:185), involving proximity to the speaker, for example, as well as proximity to humans. The animacy constraint might be considered part of a cultural expectation in SM; more so than in English, in that highly animate patients are not usually affected in a highly transitive manner. As such then the animacy constraint is a manifestation of the broader markedness constraint, where an affected animate patient is marked against a background expectation that animate arguments should be agents.

3.4.2 Markedness Constraint

There are examples of passives where the meaning of the verb in various clauses in translation is fairly consistent, but some arguments are not allowed. Animacy of the affected argument is, as mentioned, one of the reasons for this. Another factor that comes into play is the degree to which the action depicted in a passive construction is culturally or pragmatically unmarked, that is, normal or expected activity for the verb and the referent. It is not surprising that this type of markedness should have an influence on a backgrounding construction like the passive, considering its influence on reduplication of attributive adjectives, in Chapter 2. Further research is necessary to determine how influential markedness is in passives, since passives are rarely used in everyday speech and are difficult to elicit.

The anticausative verb *tjumá*, 'burn', has a passive reading when accompanied by the

instrument, in (9.a). It also has a passive reading when followed by *kàà*, 'already', in (9.b). But it is less acceptable, noted with #, as a passive in (9.c), even with *kàà*:

- (9) a. mi tjumá ku fája *conkurs with (Al. 1987: 77-79)*
 I burn with fire
 I got burned with fire
- b. dí gōō tjumá kàà
 the ground burn already
 the garden has been burned already (for slash and burn)
- c. #dí wósu tjumá kàà > de tjumá dí wósu kàà
 the house burn already
 (the house has been burned already)

In (9.a) the meaning 'burn' might depict an injury, rather than a thorough burning as implied in (9.b, c). In this case, there would be less effect, allowing an animate argument. But *gōō*, 'garden', and *wósu*, 'house', are equally as inanimate.

Speaker intuition on (9.c) explains it is rejected "because you don't know who did it." A garden site may be burned because this is something that is normally done, and the person doing it is very likely known. A house burning is "a terrible thing", speakers say, since it is done only rarely in retribution. The identity of the agent would otherwise seem to be an odd criterion in a construction that suppresses the agent. Another interpretation of the speaker's intuition is that such an action as burning a house is highly foregrounded relative to expectations; that you don't know "why" rather than "who". The active sentence with an impersonal *de*, 'they' as an agent must be used instead. The impersonal *de*, 'they', form was consistently used, with or without *kàà*, 'already', to describe the burning of the village of Pokigron by guerrilla soldiers during the recent civil war, even though many actions were carried out by single individuals.

It could be argued that because anticausatives are adjectives, seen in (10), the markedness constraint of adjectives applies to their passives. As discussed in Chapter 2, adjectives may occur unreduplicated as attributives, in (10.a), but markedness is expressed by reduplication, in (10.b):

- (10) a. tjumá gõõ
 burn ground
 burned garden site
- b. tjumá-tjumá wósu
 burn-burn house
 burned house

A constraint of cultural or simply logical markedness does appear to determine the occurrence of some dynamic transitive object affecting verbs, like *náki*, 'hit', or *kíi*, 'kill', as passives:

- (11) a. (*)dí bófo kíi *preferred: dí bófo déde; de kíi dí bófo*
 the tapir kill
 (the tapir was killed)
- b. (*)dí dágu náki *preferred: de náki dí dágu*
 the dog hit
 (the dog was hit)

Some speakers accept the passives in elicitation, other do not. All speakers consulted gave the preferred alternative first, often repeatedly. When constructing scenarios around actual occurrences at the time of the event for (11.a), all speakers gave the preferred alternatives. The derived attributive adjective forms of these verbs are not generally

acceptable:

- (12) a. (*)kíi-kíi bófo
 kill-kill tapir
 (killed tapir)
- b. (*)náki-náki dágu
 hit-hit dog
 (hit dog)

The passives are acceptable to some degree; the corresponding derived attributive adjectives seem less so. Winford (1993:139) observes a similar distribution with similar derived attributive adjectives in Caribbean English creoles. These derived adjectives are not acceptable in SM even if the result of the action is visible. The events referred to by these verbs may be so prominent for the referent, and are so marked, so foregrounded, or so unexpected that they need to be expressed with a more transitive and thereby more event depicting construction. Also, the resultative states depicted by derived adjectives and passives run counter to the dynamic and instantaneous aktionsart of these verbs. Such verbs also do not occur in ‘finish’ serial verb constructions with *kabá*, ‘finish’, discussed in Chapter 4, and probably for the same reason; verbs depicting instantaneous action do not lend themselves to depicting the end of a process.

A markedness constraint appears to affect the acceptability of passive constructions with transitive verbs depicting change of location, as in (13). Unaccusative intransitive occurrences of these verbs are unmarked, in (13.a.i), when the constructions do not imply an agent. But in (13.a.ii) passive interpretations of *púu* with implied animate agents are generally not accepted, and with implied inanimate agent are not accepted, in (13.b.ii). In FGb there is a constraint against the passivization of transitive verbs of change of location (Br. 1993:120). This constraint could be pragmatic, in that changing location is not considered an effect that visibly changes the moved item, and appears to apply in SM

as well. In (13.c.i) the change of location verb *túwε* is unergative intransitive:

- (13) a. *dí búku púu kaí a dí máõ*
 the book push fall at the hand
 i. the book slipped out of my hand
 ii. (*the book was pushed out of my hand
- b. *dí kəkənótə púu kaí a gõõ*
 the coconut push fall on ground
 i. the coconut fell to the ground
 ii. *the coconut was pushed and fell to the ground
- c. *a fã túwε*
 he speak throw
 i. he spoke out
 ii. *he spoke and was thrown

Verbs like *púu*, 'push', and *túwε*, 'throw', in (13) interpreted as intransitives do not depict a lasting visible effect, unlike intransitives like *kaí*, 'fall'. They also do not depict a visible effect as transitives, even though change of location is an effect (Hale & Keyser 1987). Because they depict effect they may occur in shared object serials, discussed in Chapter 4, but because this effect is not lasting or visible they may not occur as resultative attributive adjectives, as discussed in Chapter 2:

- (14) a. **túwε(-túwε) buúu*
 throw(-throw) blood
 (spilled blood)

- b. *púu(-púu) kəkənótə
 push(-push) coconut
 (fallen coconut)

As with passives, for resultative attributives there must be a lasting effect, and for change of location there is no lasting effect on the referent in that by the time of the depicted resulting state the effect of movement is over. Many occurrences of *túwɛ*, for example, indicate an intransitive function. Compare (15.a, d) with (22.a), *de ta booko*, ‘they came running’, below, where a transitive verb is used metaphorically as an unergative. Similarly there is an unergative interpretation for *butá* in (15.c). But with *túe* in (15.b) there is a change of state for *buúu*, indicating an anticausative interpretation. Depending on the context, there could also be an implied agent, so that *túe* would be passive:

- (15) a. de tuwɛ te a kiiki (Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock 2000:112)
 they walked all the way to the creek
- b. di buúu ó tá túe a goón nángó (de Groot 1981:118)
 the blood will be spilling on the ground
- c. buta a mindi (R., A. & G. ibid.:25)
 to set sail, to begin going
- d. A djombo vaa tuwɛ baka go ala (Amoida 1982:8)
 he jump ideo throw back go there
 he jumped back there

But *púu* as well as *butá*, unlike their FGb counterparts, may also occur as passives when the pragmatics determine a visible effect and an implied agent. In these somewhat special cases there is a lasting effect of the patient, in (16.b, c), unlike in (a):

- (16) a. *dí paabí butá a táfa
 the plate put on table
 (the plate was put on the table)
- b. a fája líba a ó butá téé a deé
 on fire top it will put till it dry
 on top of the fire it will be put till it dries
- c. mamá gogó tánda, de púu kàà
 mother back tooth they pull already
 the molars, they've been pulled already

There is no visible effect on the patient in (16.a) in elicitation. A spontaneous passive in (b) refers to a cake of cassava bread, which will be changed by being put over a fire. In another spontaneous passive in (c) there is a visible change in the back teeth, pulled by a visiting dentist. Conditions that depict a visible effect through change of location are not typical of change of location verbs; a change in location is, after all, prototypically dynamic, while adjectival and passive depictions are stative. The depictions of change of location in (16) that also depict a change of state are pragmatically unmarked. A marked change of location and state would be expressed with an active construction, perhaps by the impersonal *de*, 'they', construction that is often translated as a passive. In (16.c) the pause, marked by a comma, would indicate a topic-comment passive rather than an object extraction *de* construction. Subjectively, of course, pulling teeth could be marked, and the *de* construction would be appropriate.

The verbs *púu*, *túwε*, and *butá* are very common as V2 in directional shared object serial verb constructions, where the V2 slot is filled by affecting verbs. But in this slot they appear to be intransitive, as discussed in Chapter 4, because the shared object is the subject of subsequent verbs. The variation in (16) demonstrates the multifunctional

nature of the SM lexicon. Items that are basically transitive, like *kóti*, ‘cut’, may occur as anticausatives; in *dí kiiki kóti*, ‘the creek dried up’, or as intransitives; *kóti akí*, ‘turn here!’. The verbs *púu*, *túwε*, and *butá* occur as intransitives or as active transitives, then, but rarely as passives. There is a similar constraint in SR, where *poti*, ‘put’, does not occur as a passive (Sebba 1987:107).

3.4.2.1 Markedness constraint in narrative

The occurrence of passives in narrative, by the markedness constraint, would be expected to be limited to depictions that do not distract from the story line. The animacy constraint would generally limit the passive subject to inanimates. These constraints would limit the passive subject to minor inanimate participants or props, and limit the verb to the depiction of action that is consistent with and not an unexpected part of the story.

The action involving minor participants would be expected to be brief, perhaps no more than that depicted by the passive construction itself. In this case, the passive would serve as a type of activating strategy, a way of introducing background information into the flow of events without mentioning an agent, which by Du Bois (1987) is not a likely argument to be introduced. Because the action involving minor inanimate participants would be brief, subsequent anaphoric reference would not be expected. In this case a passive activation in SM would not be followed by pronominal reference. Yet a prototypical passive subject is topical, namely it is known either in discourse context or pragmatically. The subject would then be expected to be definite, and non-pronominal.

An examination of a text in SM bears out these expectations. The text, also discussed in Chapter 2, is Aboikoni & Glock (1997) *Di Duumi u Gaama Aboikoni*, a 74-page narrative of the funeral of Granman Aboikoni told by his son Laurens Aboikoni. There are 32 passive constructions in the text. The subjects of all but one, *di Gaama bi dopu*, in (7) above, of the 32 passive clauses are minor inanimate participants. In addition, all of the subjects are non-pronominal NPs. An example is in (17):

- (17) di opolani goon an bi ta koti möön (A. & G. 1997:49)
the airplane ground NEG PAST CONT cut more
the airstrip had not been used for a long time

The action of *koti*, 'cut', is relevant to the story line, as it is used in the preceding and clause and in the following two clauses. The item *opolani goon* had also been mentioned in the preceding clause, in fact in clause final position, *de koti opolani goon. Di opolani goon an bi ta koti möön*. The expected subsequent reference would be anaphoric, especially as the two NPs are contiguous. But this subsequent clause, namely (17), is passive. Since there appears to be a tendency for passives in SM to avoid pronominal subjects, it is not unexpected to find the non-pronominal subject in (17).

There is no need here to reintroduce the item *opolani goon* for short-term memory or disambiguation. The reintroduction is a stylistic device and might be seen as motivated to give the background more prominence relative to foregrounded events. The same motivation might apply to predicate adjective constructions in that they also tend to occur predominantly with named items, as discussed in Chapter 2, and also have subjects that are known information. For the passives in this text, the consensus of non-pronominal subject NPs would indicate that named items like *opolani goon* in (17) are being mentioned beyond what would be necessary for reintroduction. As a stylistic device, the activation by passives and predicate adjectives may be seen as a means of slowing down the stream of events and the rate of introduction of new information, determined by Du Bois (1987) to be a function of intransitive clauses. This strategy in discourse would reduce any markedness of the activated item by blending it into the narrative.

Five of the passive verbs are either the first verb of a resultative serial construction whose subject is shared with the following intransitive verb, (18.a), or the second verb following *te*, (18.b). These examples are then examples of a type of activation where the participant is introduced both as a patient and as the subject of an intransitive verb:

- (18) a. di busikopu paaja dou a Semoisi (A. & G. 1997:33)
 the message disperse arrive at Semoisi
 the message was sent (downriver) as far as Semoisi
- b. di buka musu paaja te dou a dee köndë (A. & G. 1997:34)
 the message must disperse till arrive at the(pl) village
 a message should be sent . . . to the other villages

This type of activated argument fits the preferred argument structure of Du Bois (1987) in being an absolutive in two ways, as a patient and as the subject of an intransitive. The subjects in (18) then are activated twice.

Among the 32 presented arguments, all but 4 in fact are reintroduced, that is, they are accessible information. They may be known from a previous introduction, as *opolani goon* in (15) occurs in the preceding clause. As mentioned above, the discourse function of the passive clause here appears to be to reintroduce the item as background information. Reintroduction rather than introduction would seem to be a natural function of a passive, since passivization topicalizes the patient argument. A reintroduced item would be topical.

In the other example, (18.a), *busikopu* is known inasmuch as it occurs after its contents and even its date had been discussed. In (18.b) *buka* is known for the same reason. It is followed in the text by further discussion of the contents, a segment that is bracketed by another passive, *sö di busikopu musu paaja a hii köndë*, 'so, the message should be sent to all villages'. These two passives create a background to frame the details of the message. Both of the passive subjects are known information, as discussion of the message also occurs before the first passive construction.

That the passives in the text tend to activate accessible information as background is appropriate to the SM passive. The markedness constraint on passives determines that passives do not depict the unexpected. A known item would not be unexpected, and the passive predication would not be marked, so a background can be established by a

passive without a deviation from the story line.

Although the tendency is for passives to have accessible subjects, there are 4 passive constructions in the text with subjects that are not known. In (19.a) an accessible subject is contrasted with a less accessible subject in (19.b):

- (19) a. soni fēēn musu seeka möön bunu (A. & G. 1997:20)
 thing of-him must prepare more good
 his things should be done with great care
- b. soni an sa du a dī wan fa (A. & G. 1997:20)
 thing not can do in the one way
 things can not be done in the same way

The introduction of an unknown item would seem to be uncharacteristic of SM passives. But these unknown items have another feature in common in that they are also not specific. A non-specific patient argument along with the verb describes a process rather than depicting an effect on a specific object. A distinction between specific and non-specific arguments is made in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1990), where a verb with a non-specific object is designated an **ACTIVITY**. Such a verb would be classified with unergative intransitive verbs like run or dance which in RRG are also considered **ACTIVITIES**. Verbs depicting an effect on a specific object, on the other hand, would be designated in RRG as **ACCOMPLISHMENTS**. The 4 passives with non-specific subjects in the text may be designated as **ACTIVITIES**. As such, these passives do not introduce an item, but rather they describe a verbal activity that involves the item.

The majority of passives in SM depict an effect on a specific object. Of the 32 passives in the text, 4 may be considered **ACTIVITIES**, while 28 are **ACCOMPLISHMENTS**. The **ACTIVITY** passives comprise 11.4% of the total. This percentage may be compared to the percentage of **ACTIVITY** occurrences of shared object serials, since passives and shared object serials share a number of features. In the text, there are 37 shared object

serials that parallel passives with non-pronominal shared objects, with 5 designated as an ACTIVITY. The ACTIVITY shared object serials comprise 13.5% of the total. The closeness of these two percentages may not be accurate due to the small size of the corpus, but the two figures are close in any case when compared to the percentage of ACTIVITY verbs among active single verbs which would otherwise qualify as verbs in passive or shared object serial constructions. Of the 473 such verbs with non-pronominal objects, 207 depict ACTIVITIES. They comprise 43.8% of the total. Thus passives and shared object serials stand out against their single active verb counterparts as predominantly affecting specific named objects. This comparison holds up for these constructions as well when anaphoric reference is included, passives 11.4% and shared object serials 16.1%, and adjectives 16.8%.

Passives and shared object serials tend to affect specific named objects rather than pronouns. This tendency also contrasts with their single verb counterparts in the text. There are 3 ACCOMPLISHMENT shared pronominal object serials that are left-dislocation, and are not counted as normal anaphora. Of the 47 ACCOMPLISHMENT shared object serials these 3 comprise 6.4%. There are 6 pronominal shared objects, comprising 12.8% of the total, and 6 zero anaphora specific references, also comprising 12.8% of the total. The 28 ACCOMPLISHMENT passives have 0% pronouns. Of the 473 ACCOMPLISHMENT single verb counterparts there are 30 left-dislocation pronouns, comprising 6.3%, not counted as normal anaphora. There are 164 pronouns, comprising 38.1% of the total, and 13 zero anaphora, comprising 2.7%. It will be argued in Chapter 4 that specific zero anaphora is also part of a left-dislocation strategy of activation. Thus passives and shared object serials stand out against their active and single verb counterparts as predominantly activating specific items. A survey of these verbs and shared object serial verbs in the text will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

All the passives in this text then are associated with introduced or in particular reintroduced information. In general, information associated with passives is topical and background information. In this way passives are parallel to predicative adjectives in that the predication is basically commentary on known information that does not disrupt the

story line. The subjects of the passives in the text resemble introduced information in that they are not pronouns, and they are not agents. In addition, the subjects of passives in serial verb constructions, like (18.a), are absolutive in being the patient argument of one verb and the subject of an intransitive verb. Absolutive arguments, by Du Bois (1987), are preferred arguments for introduction. It would appear then that SM passives vary from the prototypical role for passives in being less involved with coding topicality and more with topicalization. There is an indication of such a tendency in Tomlin (1995), discussed in 6 below, where in the typologically similar and possible substrate language Akan the passives do not code topicality.

The *dé* + RE ‘passive’, described by Bakker (1991:3) as the ‘true’ SM passive, occurs 5 times in this text; that is, of the 12 occurrences of the *dé* + RE construction, 5 involve verbs that could be passive and have a resultative meaning. Like the passives in this text, these 5 examples have non-pronominal inanimate subjects and occur with TMA markers. Unlike passives, however, the verb forms are nominalizations, as shown in Bk. (ibid.), in that they do not leave a copy in predicate cleft constructions. Two examples are in (20):

- (20) a. *dii boto bi dē lailai ku dee lō soni dē* (A. & G. 1997:10)
 three boat PAST COP load-load with the(pl) type thing there
 there were three (large) boats full of supplies
- b. *te de go te de ko, hii soni u de ta dē seekaseeka* (A. & G. 1997:29)
 till they go till they come all thing of them CONT COP prepare-prepare
 when they return, everything has already been prepared for them

The *dé* + RE ‘passives’ resemble the verbal passives in that they are used to depict the results of actions which are independent of the main story line. The *dé* + RE ‘passive’ is also resultative, but tends more to depict established facts created by action apart from the story. This interpretation is more stative than resultative, appropriate for the nominal nature of the *dé* + RE ‘passive’. In (20.a), for example, the boats arrived already loaded.

But there is more expressed than this resulting state, as three fully loaded boats arriving at once would be unusual. The reduplication here expresses distribution, but also that such an occurrence is very special. The reduplication in the *dé* + RE ‘passive’, like reduplication in attributives, expresses pragmatic markedness. Like reduplication in attributives, the *dé* + RE constructions occurs mostly with adjectives or anticausative verbs, so that there is a markedness contrast with the unmarked predicate adjective. There is one occurrence of a strictly transitive verb, namely *lai*, ‘load’, in *dé* + RE ‘passive’ constructions in the text, so there is a contrast with the passive. This contrast does not involve implied agency, since the *dé* + RE construction is adjectival.

In (20.b), things have already been prepared, *dē seekaseeka*, for the gravediggers when they returned; again, a highly marked situation. Similarly, *ee . . . di koosu fii an bi dē seekaseeka*, ‘if your uniform has been carelessly thrown aside’ (p.40), the condition already exists, the listener is instructed to pay someone to wash the uniform because the government no longer gives out uniforms. Unwashed clothes are not common, thereby marked. Also for, *dee köndē musu dē limbolimbo*, ‘the villages should be cleaned up’ (p.48), the speaker asserts that this condition should exist before the events of the funeral occur. This example contrasts with the passive example in (19), *soni fëen musu seeka*, ‘his things should be done with great care’, where the actions referred to by the passive are a part of ritual funeral activities, a contrast appropriate for the difference between a nominalized and a verbal item. For *dē limbolimbo*, the cleaning up refers to cutting paths back and fixing broken houses, activities that sometimes are neglected due to the shortage of men, not the clearing of weeds and raking around houses that women do. The final occurrence, *tu boto dē namanama*, ‘two canoes are touching each other’ (p.67), depicts the condition of the boats before the mourners arrive and see the coffin between them. The use of two boats is unusual, but the coffin was unduly large (p.69). Boats were needed for the Granman, whose burial site was to remain a secret; ordinary graveyards are adjacent to villages.

The *dé* + RE ‘passives’ are *dé* + RE adjectives, as verbs such as *lai*, ‘load’, or *nama*, ‘touch/join’ can be derived adjectives, and *limbo*, ‘clean’, can also be an adjective. Their

function in expressing pragmatic markedness through reduplication parallels the reduplication in attributives. Contrasted with the passive, the *dé* + RE 'passives' depict pragmatically marked properties, while passives are constrained by expectedness. They might also be considered marked by their relative infrequency of occurrence compared to the passive. The markedness is reflected in the nominal nature of the reduplicated verb, since new or marked properties in SM are depicted mainly by attributives, which are nominal. It is also reflected in the reduplication, a feature of attributives used to express markedness. The contrast of passives and *dé* + RE 'passives' regarding markedness exactly parallels the contrast of predicate adjectives and *dé* + RE adjectives.

Interestingly, an alternative to the passive, the active construction with the impersonal subject *de*, 'they', appears to occur in this text only in the formulaic expression *de kai*, 'they call', that is 'named', as in *di oto mujëë de kai Naomi*, 'the other woman they call Naomi' (p.67). All other occurrences of *de* are referential, with one possible exception:

- (21) *peipei gaan koosu dee de maaka nai u tai na amaka liba* (A. & G. 1997:52)
 type-type large cloth which(pl) they mark sew for tie on hammock top
 various large (pieces of) cloth which they embroidered to cover the hammocks

It is possible that the embroidery was done by different people than those tying it to hammocks, although in the story it could also be the same people. The absence or near absence of this construction is interesting because the impersonal *de* construction is the preferred translation of passives in elicitation of isolated sentences. It would appear then that the passive construction is constrained to a different context than the *de* construction, one that includes story line expectations as well as cultural expectations. These are absent in elicitation, hence the preference for the impersonal *de* construction in elicitation. These features are also generally absent regarding one's name, an explanation for the 11 occurrences of the formulaic expression *de kai* in the text.

In the text there are also 23 occurrences of verbs that may function as anticausatives.

These anticausatives at first do not appear to pattern like the passives; there are 6 with human subjects, and there are 10 with pronominal subjects. Of these 10 pronominal subjects, however, 5 refer to humans. Of these, 3 are used with anticausatives that metaphorically denote change of location, and so are unergative intransitives, where the 'coming', as in (22.a), could be considered a visible effect:

- (22) a. de ta booko gililii (A. & G. 1997:50)
 they CONT break ideophone
 they came running from all directions
- b. a puu kai lasi a u mindi (A. & G. 1997:14)
 he push fall lose from our center
 he has left us

The other 2 occur in (22.b), considering that all three verbs depict a change of state, used as a metaphor for dying. The verb *púu*, then, would be an anticausative, followed by an unaccusative intransitive *kai* and another functioning anticausative *lási* depicting change of state. The reference, *kondě masa*, (country master), 'Granman' (p.9), is the one human NP and is used with these verbs in reference to his dying. Anticausatives in this text then appear not to function to introduce humans, since 5 of the 6 human subjects are pronouns. An explanation could be that highly animate subjects would be more agentive than inanimate subjects, so that they would be less likely to be as affected. By the transitivity parameter of Individuation (H. & T. 1980) an object is more affected the more distinct it is from the agent. Thus human or highly animate subjects would not be as patientive as inanimate anticausative subjects, and not fit as well into the affecting semantics of anticausatives. By the preferred argument structure for new information (DuB. 1987), animate items tend to be introduced with intransitive verbs. In the text their occurrences with typically anticausative verbs in fact tend to depict a change in position or group configuration rather than an effect on the person, and the meaning is a metaphor for

change of location. But these occurrences do not function to activate.

The remaining 5 pronominal anticausative subjects are inanimate. An example is (23.a). Two of the occurrences are in topic-comment constructions, which are left-dislocations, as in (23.b), and are not included. This reduces the inanimate pronominal subjects to 3. There are then 14 occurrences of non-pronominal inanimate anticausative subjects, for example (23.c):

- (23) a. an musu sa booko möön (A. & G. 1997:17)
it-NEG must can break more
it (the organization) must not dissolve
- b. di feleniki Asaheepi a nasi (A. & G. 1997:16)
the organization 'It can help' it emerge
the organization 'It can help' sprouted (like a flower)
- c. di feleniki aki musu hoi go dou (A. & G. 1997:19)
the organization here must hold go arrive
this organization should continue

Example (23.c) has an anticausative followed by two intransitive verbs. Counting the clauses with inanimate anticausative subjects, 3 out of 17, or 17.6%, have pronominal subjects. It would appear then from the 82.4% occurrence of named items that for inanimates the anticausatives are similar to passives in functioning to introduce or reintroduce information. This is appropriate by the transitivity parameter of Individuation; inanimate anticausative subjects are in some way responsible for the anticausative action due to their inherent qualities, but they are not agents, and so the effect depicted is greater than for animate anticausative subjects.

The distinction between animate and inanimate anticausative subjects would appear to be based on the likelihood of effect, namely that inanimates are more probable affected

arguments. The cause of the effect depicted by anticausatives is an inherent quality in the inanimate subject, which corresponds to the implied but unexpressed agent for passives. It would not be volition, as with animates. For both anticausatives and passives, then, it is the more affected argument, namely a less animate argument, which is activated. More agentive arguments occur with anticausatives that are metaphors for change of location. Because activation appears to be a function of the SM passive, it is understandable that highly animate arguments would not occur as passive subjects, since these arguments would likely be agentive and therefore less affected. An effect on animate arguments would be marked, and in SM would thereby be dispreferred as subjects of passives.

The occurrence of pronouns with anticausatives is complicated by animacy, in contrast to passives that disprefer animate subjects and pronouns. In the text the anticausatives with animate subjects metaphorically depict change of location as well as effect, in that change of location is an effect. In RRG these clauses might therefore be considered ACHIEVEMENTS, where anticausatives like *break*(intr.) are categorized with verbs depicting change of location like *arrive* (V.V. 1990). Of the highly animate subjects of anticausatives, 5 of the 6, or 83.3%, are pronouns, nearly the inverse of the inanimates with 82.4% non-pronominal subjects. These animate subject clauses then do not function to activate, perhaps because of the agentivity or volitionality of the subjects.

A comparison of anticausatives to passives should consider only inanimate anticausative subjects, thereby matching the passive subjects. Anticausative inanimate pronouns comprise 17.6% of the total of inanimates, where for passives the percentage is 0%. Both may then be seen as functioning to activate, although passives appear to be more inclined. Perhaps these anticausatives tend less towards activation since their subjects, although inanimate, are seen as somewhat responsible for their effect due to inherent qualities. There is a hint of this in the RRG term ACHIEVEMENT, which applies to anticausatives with inanimate subjects as well.

A comparison that is the proportional inverse of the pronominal comparison is that of the proportion of ACTIVITY clauses. While passives in the text have 11.4% ACTIVITY clauses, anticausatives have 0%. In other words, regardless of animacy the subjects of

the anticausatives in the text are specific. An explanation for this may lie in the adherence of SM anticausatives to the concept of macroroles for ACTIVITIES and ACHIEVEMENTS in RRG. In RRG, ACHIEVEMENTS have a single macrorole, namely UNDERGOER, which allows the depiction of a state or condition. ACTIVITIES also have a single macrorole, namely ACTOR. Both intransitive and transitive ACTIVITY depicting verbs have the single ACTOR macrorole. ACTIVITY depicting verbs code unbounded dynamic activity, not states or conditions. The patient argument of a transitive ACTIVITY clause, then, would not be assigned an UNDERGOER role, since the clause does not depict a state or condition. The affected single argument of an anticausative is an UNDERGOER, which in SM appears to block the affected argument from being assigned no macrorole. Unlike the affected argument of an ACTIVITY clause, the affected argument of an ACHIEVEMENT clause in SM must be an UNDERGOER. Sensitivity in SM to the macroroles of RRG would thus prevent a non-specific anticausative subject.

Passives in SM, in contrast to anticausatives, appear to allow an ACTIVITY assignment of no macrorole for the affected argument. By Van Valin (1990) there are languages, like Italian and Georgian, which do not allow passivization of ACTIVITY clauses because with a single macrorole, in RRG terms, they are intransitive. For languages that do allow passivization of ACTIVITY clauses, ACTIVITY passives would have no macrorole. They would be atransitive, like adjectival constructions. Thus from this small corpus it would appear that SM passives, in RRG terms, allow atransitives where anticausatives do not. In this sense, then, SM passives resemble predicate adjectives where anticausatives do not. Regarding ACTIVITY clauses, it would also appear that SM passives resemble shared object serials where anticausatives do not. SM shared object serials, in Chapter 4, have 16.1% ACTIVITY clauses, similar to the 16.8% for adjectives, in Chapter 2, and 11.4% for passives. This contrasts with 0% for anticausatives, and 34.1% for the corresponding single verb clauses.

3.4.3 Affectedness Constraint

There is a semantic constraint on passive verbs that is shared by derived attributive adjectives, in Chapter 2, and will be argued is shared by the second verb in shared object serial verb constructions as well, in Chapter 4. These verbs must depict a visible or otherwise perceivable effect on the patient referent. Thus the passive in SM conforms to the general definition of basic passives in Keenan (1985) that they should depict effect. Verbs depicting an effect in SM are prototypically dynamic transitive verbs, as in (24.a). Stative transitive verbs do not depict an effect on the referent, as in (24.b), and so do not occur in passive constructions:

- (24) a. *dí awalí taápu kàà*
 the opossum trap already
 the opossum has been trapped already
- b. **dí búka sábi kàà*
 the message know already
 (the message is known already)

Verbs of perception are generally dynamic verbs, and when unmarked translate in the past tense, in (25.a). As in English, verbs like *sí*, 'see', or *jéi*, 'hear', may be used metaphorically as stative verbs to mean 'understand' or 'expect', and unmarked translate in the present tense, (25.b). In each case, these verbs do not depict an effect on the referent. The locus of the consequence of these verbs is with the perceiver, if anywhere (Croft 1997). These verbs do not occur as passives, (25.c):

- (25) a. *mi sí dí awalí*
 I see the opossum
 I saw the opossum

- b. mi sí dǐ wéi
 I see the weather
 I expect the weather
- c. *dǐ awalí sí (kàà)
 the opossum see already
- i. (the opossum has been seen (already))
- ii. (the opossum is expected (already))

A possible exception to the general constraint in (25.c) is (26.a), compared to (26.b):

- (26) a. déé píngō, de bǐ sí dé
 the(pl) pig they ANT see there
 the pigs, they've been seen there
- b. *déé píngō, de bǐ jéi dé
 the(pl) pig they ANT hear there
 (the pigs, they've been heard there)

In (26.a), there is a metamessage. This intuition of the speaker is that (26.a) refers to an area on the ground that has been turned up by pigs. It seems that by using the agent of the action as a metaphor of the effect, and the verb of perceiving as a metaphor of the action whose result is perceivable, the sentence expresses the metamessage that the soil has been overturned, which falls within the constraints on SM passives. The fact that it can be seen indicates that an affecting action has taken place. No such evidence may be heard, so that (26.b) is not acceptable.

The significance of the exception in (26.a) is that there are occasional exceptions to all the constraints. Examination of the exceptions reveals their metaphorical or pragmatic

basis. The usual pattern of exceptions is that a verb of perception, for example, will indirectly cause a visible effect. A similar exception in a shared object serial verb construction is discussed in Chapter 4.

Verbs of voluntary perception, such as *haika*, 'listen to', or *luku*, 'look for', do not occur as passives. These verbs may also mean 'attend to', and as such may depict an effect. But in this interpretation passives are also not acceptable:

- (27) a. **dée tóli haika éside*
the(pl) story listen to yesterday
(the stories were listened to yesterday)
- b. **dée miĩ haika éside*
the(pl) child listen to yesterday
(the children were attended to yesterday)

A problem with (27.b) may also be the animacy of the referent. However, to 'attend to' inanimate items such as flowers uses a different expression, *booko hédi*, 'break head', so that *miĩ*, 'child' is the expected recipient of the action of *haika*.

3.4.3.1 Affectedness constraint on adjectives

There are anticausative verbs such as *booko*, 'break', and *jabi*, 'open', discussed in Chapter 2, which also have an intransitive stative, namely adjectival, interpretation. Like other verbs of this class, they may also occur as transitive verbs. Because of the lack of verbal morphology, the same construction may have multiple interpretations. They may be interpreted statively as adjectives, (28.a.i, b.i), or anticausatives, (28.a.ii, b.ii), as well as passives, (28.a.iii, b.iii):

- (28) a. dí báta boóko
 the bottle break
- i. the bottle is broken
- ii. the bottle broke
- iii. the bottle has been broken
- b. dí dǒǒ jabí
 the door open
- i. the door is open
- ii. the door opened
- iii. the door has been opened

As argued in Chapter 2, these verbs may be classed with intransitive stative verbs as adjectives. But unlike other adjectives, they may also have an anticausative reading, depicting an effect on the referent due to an inherent quality of the referent. Unlike the passive reading, no external agent is implied. But like the passive, an event is depicted, and so it translates in the past tense. Because these items are considered intransitive stative verbs, their occurrence as transitives is derived. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the derivation for adjectives in SM is argued to be in the direction of transitive from intransitive, whereas the derivation of these items in Caribbean English creoles is directionless (Winford 1993:133). The anticausative verbs are introduced here because as transitives they occur as passives. As passives, an agent is implied, and a resultative event is depicted giving a translation in the past tense.

Other intransitive stative verbs in SM may occur as transitive verbs as well, and thereby have a passive reading (Alleyne 1987). They differ from the anticausatives in that they have no anticausative reading. It may be possible to elicit a passive reading from each of the adjectival semantic types of Dixon (1977), although it is easiest with Physical Property, Dimension and Color types, see Winford (1988). The passive interpretation, however, is definitely dispreferred:

- (29) a. dí miíi hánso
the child pretty
i. the child is pretty
ii. the child has been made pretty
- b. dí pási mbaái
the road wide
i. the road is wide
ii. the road has been widened
- c. dí fěě fési wéti
the for-her face white
i. her face is white (with kaolin)
ii. her face has been whitened (with kaolin)

As passives the constructions in (29) depict a visible effect on the referent. Other semantic types do not lend themselves to such an interpretation:

- (30) a. a wái dí a míti i
he clear REL he meet you(sg)
i. he's glad to meet you
ii. *he was made happy when he met you
- b. dí wági gáo
the car fast
i. the car is fast
ii. *the car was made fast

The Human Propensity adjective in (30.a.ii) as a passive is not acceptable, perhaps because of the high animacy of the referent, but also because emotions may be seen in SM as coming from within rather than as an effect. The Speed adjective in (30.b.ii) is not acceptable, presumably because the appearance of a car does not change as a function of speed.

The Alleyne (1987) proposal that adjectives are passive verbs does not hold, then, for all semantic types. Only those adjectives depicting a visible property that could conceivably be caused lend themselves to a passive interpretation.

3.4.4 Existing object constraint

There are verbs and patientive subjects which do not occur as passives, yet do not appear to fall under the constraints of markedness or object affectedness. The patient subjects are low in animacy, the verbs are dynamic and transitive as actives. In terms of object affectedness, the verbs that do not occur in passives have parallels that do occur as passives with the same degree of depicted effect. as in (31.a, c). One thing they have in common is that they are verbs depicting a change in the present existence of the object. However, those verbs depicting the departure of the referent, in (31.a, b) occur as passives, while those depicting the arrival, (31.c, d), do not. A change of location resulting in the removal of an item is considered a visible effect. The difference in acceptability, then, must involve the existence of an argument so that it may be affected.

An existing argument constraint in SM would mean that if the passive verb is to affect an item, the item must be there first. Presumably such a constraint does not apply to active sentences because the expression of an agent presupposes the existence of the object. The subject position iconically precedes the verb, as action begins with the agent. An agent is implied for the passive reading of *lási*, in (31.a), and for a passive reading of *féni*, in (31.c), and similarly for *séi* and *bái* in (31.b, d), but the unexpressed agent is not iconically positioned to begin the action. In the passive clause the patient is in the iconic

initial position where action begins. When an agent is expressed in an active clause, prototypically it is the subject and topical. In the SM passive, the patient subject is accessible, and therefore known to exist. As for backgrounding in a story line, removing an item is easier and more natural than creating one. In (31.a, b) the argument exists before the effect. In (31.c, d) the argument could exist only after the effect:

- (31) a. *dí móni lási (ma ná ku sábi)*
 the money loose but not with know
 the money has been lost (but not on purpose)
- b. *dí alísi séi (dá dí móni)*
 the rice sell give the money
 the rice has been sold (for the money)
- c. **dí móni féni*
 the money find
 (the money has been found)
- d. **dí alísi báí*
 the rice buy
 (the rice has been bought)

Iconically, the items to be affected are mentioned first in (31.a, b), and then affected. In these examples the effect is to remove them. In (31.c, d) the items are mentioned, but in reality they are not present to be affected. The passive verbs in (31.a, b) have affected the items by removing them, but the passive verbs in (31.c, d) can not affect a missing item. The verb *báí*, 'buy', however, occurs as a passive in (32):

- (32) dǐ bēéé báí kàà
 the bread buy already
 the bread has been bought already

This passive use of *báí* refers to bread in a bakery that has been sold, so, according to the speaker, there is none left to buy for the next person. In this sense, the bread exists and is then affected by being sold and removed. The particular verb *báí* could also have been *séi*. It is not the verbal item as such, but rather its implicature that determines the prior existence of the affected argument.

Serial verbs occur as passives in SM as well as single verbs, to be discussed further below. The serial constructions in (33) involve bringing or removing an item. Both serial constructions occur in the passive:

- (33) a. dǐ búku tǎá gó dá dǐ méste
 the book hold go give the teacher
 the book has been taken away to the teacher
- b. dǐ búku tǎá kó dá dǐ méste
 the book hold come give the teacher
 the book has been brought to the teacher
- c. diiteni jaa tja go liba (A. & G. 1997:21)
 three-ten year hold go (take) above
 thirty years old

In the first two examples, the book is first held, and then taken. Serial verbs occur in the order of the real-world events they depict. Thus in both examples the book exists and is held before the motion of coming or going. The action of 'holding' establishes the existence of the argument regarding the verb of motion. Metaphorically, thirty years are

'held' by a person and then removed.

To some extent the existing object constraint applies to a passive of factitive verbs as well. As noted by Kahrel (1987:53), *mbéi*, 'make', 'build', and *sikífi*, 'write' are difficult to elicit as passives:

- (34) a. ?dí biífi sikífi
the letter write
the letter was written
- b. ?dí wósu mbéi
the house build
the house was built

Verbs that depict the creation of their affected argument appear to be sensitive to the existing object constraint regarding the passive construction. As pointed out by Kahrel (1987:60), passives of the verbs in (34), namely factitives, are easier to elicit with *kàà*, 'already', or some other adjunct. In terms of the existence of the argument to be affected, the additional item helps determine that the existence of the argument is an established fact. Also, *kàà* indicates that the action was not unexpected.

A passive with *mbéi* occurs in A. & G. (1997:66-7) in a situation where the existence of the subject argument is an established fact:

- (35) a Gaamakōndē aki Saamaka tōngō buku ta mbei (A. & G. 1997:66-7)
at Granman village here Saramaccan tongue book CONT make
books in the Saramaccan language are prepared here at the Granman's village

The existence is indicated by the previous clause depicting the selling of the books, and is also indicated by the use of the continuative present. Both the selling and the continuative present suggest that books already exist.

The semantic constraint on verbs in passive clauses may be seen as a compliment to the semantic constraint on nouns as passive subjects. For a noun to occur as a subject in a passive clause it must be expected that that noun could be affected by the action of the passive verb. For a verb to occur as a passive it must be expected that the noun will be there to affect.

Finally, changing the location of an item assumes its existence, but transitive verbs that depict the change of location of an item, like *tíwε*, 'throw', or *píu*, 'push/pull', tend to occur with patientive subjects as intransitives rather than passives. The origin of this tendency may be transfer, as in FGB there is a general constraint against the passivization of transitive verbs of change of location (Brousseau 1993:120). As mentioned above, this change of location does not imply a visible effect, such as disappearance. Thus transitive verbs of change of location do not occur as derived adjectives, for example; **tíwε(-tíwε) buúu*, 'spilled blood', or **píu(-píu) kakónáɔ*, 'pushed coconut'. These items most likely do not occur as attributives because they do not depict a lasting visible effect; or more precisely, the effect is over by the time of the result, so that the visibly affected item essentially does not exist. Their occurrence as attributives as well as passives then is blocked by the existing object constraint, since there would be no item that would undergo a visible effect. In other words, implicit in existing in order to be affected is the effect.

Verbs like *mandá*, 'send', or *paajá*, 'disperse', do indicate a visible change by removal, and do appear to occur as passives, for example:

- (36) a. di busikopu paaja dou a Semoisi (A. & G. 1997:33)
the message disperse arrive at Semoisi
the message was sent (downriver) as far as Semoisi
- b. di busikopu . . . bi manda go a foto (A. & G. 1997:12)
the message PAST send go to fort
the message . . . was sent to town

One use of transitive verbs of change of location, like *paajá*, is as anticausative metaphors for intransitive motion of animate referents, as *de paaja*, 'they went (back to their homes)' (ibid.:35); it would be anticausative if the 'going back' caused their disappearance, a visible effect. This specialized use might apply to (36.a) repeated from (18.a), translating as 'the message went downriver . . .'. But the Glock passive translation in (36.a) is probably accurate since the previous sentences elaborate on the decisions regarding the message, indicating that the sending was highly volitional. The verb *mandá* in (36.b) could not be anticausative, and so here it is passive.

The existing object constraint for passives, then, requires that the subject of the passive verb exist before the effect of the verb, as the iconic preverbal position of the subject would suggest. And the existing object constraint also requires that there be an effect. This second requirement is important, it will be argued in Chapter 4, in the comparison of the V2 in shared object serials to passive verbs.

3.4.5 Clause Transitivity

The important criterion for the passive construction is the transitivity parameter of Affectedness (H. & T. 1980). Affectedness of Object, as defined in H. & T. and discussed in Chapter 1, is one of the measures of overall clause transitivity. The greater the effect, the greater the transitivity. For transitive verbs, the degree of transitivity determines the approximation to prototypical verbhood. A prototypical verb answers the question 'what happened?' (H. & T. 1985), and when the argument structure is included in the answer, an event is defined. The greater the transitivity of a clause, the more eventive. Thus the greater the affectedness of an object, the action of the verb being effectively transmitted to the object, the more the verb shows characteristics of prototypical verbhood. The transitive verb in a passive construction, however, shows fewer of these characteristics than in an equivalent active construction, particularly in the

absence of an agent in its argument structure.

One feature of the passive verb in SM that is characteristic of prototypical transitive verbhood is the requirement for affectedness of the patient argument. The SM passive conforms to basic passives in this way (K. 1985). This may be due to the event depicting nature of prototypical transitive verbs that involves affecting an object. The most affected argument in a clause may be seen as bearing the locus of the effect (Croft 1997). For verbs of perception or stative verbs, the locus of effect is on the subject. A passive, in particular an agentless passive as in SM, with such a verb would not depict an event in that the most affected argument is not expressed. The Affectedness of Object requirement may be seen as motivated by event depiction.

Passives are reduced in transitivity (H. & T. 1980). By requiring affectedness, SM passives maintain a threshold of transitivity. The SM passive, then, is prototypically more transitive than, for example, the English passive. It has been argued in Chapter 1 that a high degree of transitivity in a construction facilitates transfer. In this case, the more transitive FGb passive could prevail over the English passive in creole genesis.

The adherence to a threshold of transitivity by SM passives might be seen as an adherence to the general division of verbs into dynamic and stative. The lack of non-affecting verbs in passive constructions reflects the transitivity distinction between passives and predicate adjectives that parallels the general dynamic/stative distinction in verbs. The transitivity constraint on SM passives is likely the result of transfer of the passive construction from FGb, since the dynamic/stative distinction exists in FGb, and FGb passives are similarly constrained (Br. 1993:119).

3.4.6 Constraint against a ditransitive passive

Verbs that occur as ditransitives in active constructions do not occur as passives. These verbs do not take a patient argument, but rather have a theme and a beneficiary or goal argument. Because passive verbs in SM need to depict an effect on the referent, the

referent must be patientive. Apparently a theme or goal argument does not depict enough of an effect:

- (37) a. a léi mi dí fóótóo
he show me the photo
he showed me the photo
- b. *dí fóótóo léi mi
the photo show me
(the photo was shown to me)
- c. a dá mi dí móni
he give me the money
he gave me the money
- d. *dí móni dá mi
the money give me
(the money was given to me)

The verb *mandá*, 'send', may occur as a passive, in (38.a), but as seen in (38.b, c) it is not a ditransitive. Also, as a verb of motion, it depicts the departure of the referent, as in (31.a, b), and so is acceptable:

- (38) a. dí bíífi mandá dá mi
the letter send give me
the letter was sent to me

- b. *de* *mandá* *dí* *biífi* *dá* *mi*
 they send the letter give me
 they sent the letter to me
- c. **de* *mandá* *mi* *dí* *biífi*
 they send me the letter
 (they sent me the letter)

The constraint against ditransitive passives in SM is likely the result of the transfer of passives from FGb, since ditransitives do not occur as passives in FGb (Lf. 1994:75).

3.5 Dispreferred passive

Passives are rare in conversation and difficult to elicit in SM. In elicitation, examples like (39.a) are considered correct, but speakers say that an active construction with the impersonal subject *de*, 'they', is better, and may be translated as a passive, as in (39.b):

- (39) a. *dí* *awalí* *taápu*
 the opossum trap
 the opossum has been trapped
- b. *de* *taápu* *dí* *awalí*
 they trap the opossum
- i. they trapped the opossum
- ii. the opossum has been trapped

Speakers say there is no difference in meaning. In elicitation, however, the active construction with the impersonal *de* is almost always given as the translation of an

English passive.

One surface difference between the two constructions is the syntactic expression of an agent in the *de* active construction. A cross-linguistic characteristic of passives is the suppression of the actual agent (K. 1985). If, as speakers say, there is no difference in meaning, then in SM the suppression of a syntactic subject need not accompany the suppression of the semantic agent. The subject in the *de* construction in fact, unlike the English passive agent, remains within the core argument structure of the verb. The actual agent, however, is suppressed in both the SM passive and the impersonal *de* construction. The suppression of the actual agent is obvious in (40):

- (40) *de* *palí* *ẽ* *a* *fóto*
 they bear him at fort
 he was born in Paramaribo

This is the way to express ‘being born’, irrespective of the presence of doctors or midwives during childbirth.

Speakers prefer the impersonal *de* construction to the agentless passive in elicitation, just as they prefer the reduplicated attributive adjective construction in elicitation, in Chapter 2, and for the same reason. Like the unreduplicated attributive adjective, the agentless passive is used for backgrounding. There is usually no context for an elicited sentence, so it is interpreted as more foregrounded. Thus, as discussed in Chapter 2, the reduplicated attributive adjective that connotes foregrounding is preferred for elicitation. Similarly for passives, as seen in section 3.4.3 on the discourse use of passives, the agentless passive functions to introduce background information into the context of the narrative. Without this context the impersonal *de* construction is preferred.

Example (41) shows an example of a contrast in grounding with the two passives. In (41.a) the metamessage conveyed is that the action has taken place already, so that it is no longer necessary or possible to do it. The pragmatic emphasis is on the result of the action. The passive verb signifying resultativeness in (41.a) is perhaps appropriately in a

focus position. The reading is a description of the result of an event rather than just an event, and so is background. The metamessage in (41.b) is that the action has been completed so that further action may follow. The affected object is in the focus position. It would seem that the pragmatic emphasis is on this affected object. In (41.b) an event is depicted, which is more foregrounded than a resultative description:

- (41) a. *dí físi kóti*
 the fish cut
 the fish has been cut (so it won't need to be cut)
- b. *de kóti dí físi*
 they cut the fish
 they cut the fish
 the fish has been cut (so it can be cooked)

The parenthetical comments are speaker's evaluations relative to the context of example (43), below, where a number of women are preparing fish. The *de* construction such as (41.b), which syntactically resembles an active construction, is an alternative to the passive construction, and connotes foregrounding analogous somewhat to a prototypical active construction. In contrast, the backgrounding function of the SM passive such as (41.a) which syntactically resembles a predicate adjective construction can be seen to connote backgrounding analogous to a prototypical predicate adjective construction.

3.5.1 Suppression of the Agent in Passives

An unexpressed agent does in fact play a pragmatic role in the SM passive, as seen in (41.a). The unexpressed agent blocks any assumption that the listener or some other potential agent may perform the action depicted in the passive clause. The passive

construction in not expressing an agent carries a pragmatic message that agency, although implied, is no longer salient to the resultative description.

Speaker intuition on (38.a) indicates a metamessage, namely that it is no longer possible for someone else to trap the opossum. Similarly in (41.a) the passive clause indicated that no help was needed in cutting the fish. There is a similar metamessage:

- (42) a. *dí pakíá kísi kàà*
 the peccary catch already
 the peccary has already been caught
- b. *déé físi kísi kàà*
 the(pl) fish catch already
 the fish have been caught already
- c. *wǎ físi kísi kàà*
 one fish catch already
 a fish has been caught already

The peccary has been caught, in (42.a), so by speaker intuition "it's not here for you". The fish in (42.b) are also no longer possible to catch. The indefinite referential subject elicited in (42.c) sends the same metamessage. These clauses are not interpreted as meaning that game has been caught and food preparation may follow. Such an interpretation would imply that before the action there were no fish, as in (42.b) for example, and that the result of the action depicted is the presence of fish. Recall from (1.b, c) that *féni*, 'find', and *bái*, 'buy', do not allow an interpretation that a non-existing item may be affected into existence. The metamessage of *bái*, 'buy', in (32) is like the interpretation of *kísi*, 'catch', in (42), namely that the item did exist and was affected by being removed.

The metamessages associated with these passive clauses give a clue to the rarity of

passives in SM. To the degree that this type of metamessage is prevalent, other uses associated cross-linguistically with a prototypical passive will not be. This type of metamessage is a specialized sort of backgrounding. The action depicted is not to be unexpected, a characteristic of the SM passive. In this sense, as speaker intuition for (9), *dí gōō tjumá kàà*, expressed it, "you know who did it." As for the metamessages in (41), you also know who won't do it. The emphasis is on the fact that the action is completed, rather than any further consequences of the action. This may explain why, as noted by Kahrel (1987), passives are easier to elicit if followed by *kàà*, 'already'. Because the metamessage emphasizes the end of any logical further action, it functions to break a story line. This type of backgrounding would be rare compared to backgrounding that furthers the story line.

The metamessage in a serial verb chain of passives, in (43), parallels those of single verb passive clauses in (42):

- (43) *dí físi wási kóti mboi dá* Mandá
 the fish wash cut cook give Manda
 the fish was washed, cut (and) cooked for Manda

Speaker comment on example (43) states the fish was processed "so she doesn't have to do it". The fish was prepared so that Manda didn't have to do it, it was not necessarily prepared just to be given to Manda.

The pragmatics of the SM passive described in (39-43), above, is undoubtedly only a sample of the possible uses for this construction. But these examples indicate that the passive is somewhat more specialized than the impersonal *de* active construction. The impersonal *de* construction has the passive characteristic of agent suppression, yet it adjusts this suppression by conforming to an active voice and an agent-expressing template. Thus the impersonal *de* active construction satisfies the semantics of the passives in (42) and (43) by suppressing the agent, yet still indicating that there is still the possibility for an agent, giving a more foregrounded eventive interpretation.

The impersonal *de* active construction has another advantage over passives as well. This construction, unlike passives, is not constrained by the semantics of nouns and verbs. Thus highly animate and thereby illogical patients are allowed, in (44.a), as are non-affecting verbs, (44.b):

- (44) a. *de* *súti dí óto fétima tidé* **dí óto fétima súti tidé*
 they shoot the other soldier today
 i. they shot the other soldier today
 ii. the other soldier was shot today
- b. *de* *lóbi dí búku akí a sikóu* **dí búku akí lóbi a sikóu*
 they love the book here at school
 i. they like this book at school
 ii. this book is liked at school

The use of the *de* alternative to passive allows more freedom in the choice of nouns and verbs. The lack of such freedom in passives may partially explain the rarity of passives in SM. The prototypical impersonal *de* alternative construction varies from the SM canonical agentless passive in that it does not have the semantic and pragmatic constraints of the passive, yet the impersonal *de* construction is semantically close enough to a passive to be translated by SM speakers with the English passive.

The passive and the *de* alternative to passive are likely transferred from FGb. The passive construction is argued in Chapter 6 to be transferred from FGb. No reference to a *de* alternative construction in FGb has been found, but such a construction exists and is preferred in the related language Ewe (Westermann 1907).

3.5.2 'Get' passives with *kó*, 'come'

The 'get' passives are another alternative to the SM passive construction, and as such may also serve to decrease the usage of the passive. The 'get' passives in SM are formed with the verb *kó*, 'become', used as a TMA marker, in (45.a). Notice that the verb *sikífi*, 'write', is more acceptable as a passive with than without, in (34.a), observed in Kahrel (1987). The TMA marker *kó* also occurs with predicate adjectives, namely intransitive stative verbs, in (44.b), underscoring the similarity between adjectives and passives. In fact the TMA marker *kó* occurs only with stative verbs and passives (ibid.:63), with other verbs it functions as the first verb in a serial verb construction (ibid.:56), as in (45.c). In (45.d, e) it occurs with a transitive stative verb:

- (45) a. *dí biífi kó sikífi*
 the letter become write
 the letter got written
- b. *dí wómi kó fátu*
 the man become fat
 the man got fat
- c. *a kó sikífi dí biífi*
 he come write the letter
 he came (and) wrote the letter
- d. *mi tá kó sábi ẽ*
 I CONT become know it
 I'm beginning to understand it

- e. mi tá kó lóbi ẽ
 I CONT become love her
 I'm getting to like her

TMA markers do not occur in predicate cleft constructions clause initially for emphasis as copies, whereas verbs and verbs in serial constructions do. Examples (46.a, b, c) show *kó* to be a TMA marker, while (46.d) shows *kó* to be a verb, although with the same meaning:

- (46) a. *kó dí biífi kó sikífi
 become the letter become write
 (the letter GOT written)
- b. *kó dí wómi kó fátu
 become the man become fat
 (the man GOT fat)
- c. *kó mi tá kó sábi ẽ
 become I CONT become know him
 (I'm BEGINNING to understand it)
- d. ko i ta ko lei di soni (de Groot 1977:370 in Ka. 1987:68)
 come you ASP come learn the thing
 you're beginning to learn!

Example (47.a) shows *kó* to be a verb in a 'get' construction involving a noun as well. An indication that *kó* is a verb before nouns is tone sandhi. There is no sandhi between *kó* and the noun *dáǎ*, 'rum', in (47.b). The meaning 'become' derives from discourse function preceding any non-eventive item:

- (47) a. *dí gōō fěě kó mátu*
 the ground of-her become forest
 her garden has become overgrown
- b. *de mbéi dí súki wáta kó dǎǎ kàà [. . . wátá kó dǎǎ kàà]*
 they make the sugar water become rum already
 they made the sugar water into rum already

The semantics of *kó* meaning 'become' is the obvious result of its association with a non-eventive item. When paired with a stative verb, then, the inchoative meaning is forced. Thus with predicate adjectives, the reading with *kó* is an anticausative of their transitive function. This is because *kó* is a TMA marker with predicate adjectives, as in (45.b). If the item following *kó* were a noun, *kó* would have to be a verb, as in (47.a, b), but, as nouns are also non-dynamic, an inchoative reading is forced here as well.

Dynamic intransitive verbal items like *kai*, 'fall', naturally have no passive, and so they have no anticausative meaning. They do not occur with the TMA marker *kó*, in (48):

- (48) **dí páu kó kǎi*
 the tree become fall
 (the tree became fallen)

Neither the verb *kó* nor the TMA marker *kó* occur with reduplicated forms:

- (49) a. **dí físi kó mbóí-mbóí*
 the fish become cook-cook
 (the fish got cooked)

- b. *dí físi kó fátu-fátu
 the fish become fat-fat
 (the fish got fat)

This shows that the TMA marker *kó* only accompanies verbs, of course, and that the verb *kó* meaning ‘become’ also accompanies verbs as a serial verb, as in (46.d), or nouns, as in (47). Reduplicated predicate adjectives, although nominal, imply a resulting state. Since this is also the meaning of *kó*, the reduplicated adjective would be redundant.

The occurrence of the TMA marker *kó* with passives, from dynamic transitive verbs, gives an anticausative reading. In fact, use of the TMA marker *kó* is the only strategy in SM for an anticausative derivation of passives. Verbal items without *kó* which lend themselves to an anticausative interpretation, such as *boóko*, ‘break’, or *jabí*, ‘open’, are categorically adjectives, as shown in Chapter 2, and so naturally occur with *kó* as well.

The function of the TMA marker *kó* with adjectives is to indicate that the resulting state depicted came about indirectly, and is somewhat removed from cultural expectations, as discussed for adjectives in Chapter 2. This same function applies to passives of object affecting dynamic transitive verbs as well. The bare passive indicates that the resulting depicted state conforms to cultural expectations. The use of the TMA marker *kó* with the passive naturally conveys an action somewhat removed from expectations. This neutralizes some of the semantic constraints, making it easier, for example, to elicit passives with animate subjects. In (50.a.i), the verb *wási*, ‘wash’, may be interpreted as a reflexive, or in (50.a.ii) as a passive. The more transitive and effect-depicting verb *tjókó*, ‘poke’, however, is not accepted as a passive with an animate patient, even with *kó*, in (50.b):

- (50) a. dí miíi kó wási
 the child (be)come wash
 i. the child came (and) washed
 ii. the child got washed

- b. *dí miíi kò tʃokó
 the child become poke
 (the child got poked)

Winford (1993:141) observes a similar effect with animacy in 'get' passive constructions in Caribbean English creoles.

Regarding transfer of the *kó* constructions in SM, there is an item in FGb which may resemble SM *kó* phonologically, semantically and perhaps functionally. It is presented here as an interesting case of synchronicity or 'conflation' (Kihm 1989), which may have been a possible influence in reinforcing the *kó* constructions.

Avolonto (1992:110) describes FGb *kò* as a 'morpheme of completion'. There are no examples found in the literature of the FGb *kò* in a passive or adjectival construction, but in active constructions it translates as 'already':

- (51) a. Siká kò ɖà wɔ̃ Fongbe (Avolonto 1992:141)
 Sika has already prepared the dough
- b. Siká ɖà wɔ̃ Fongbe (Avolonto 1992:141)
 Sika prepared the dough

As mentioned above in reference to Kahrel (1987), the addition of *kàà*, 'already' to a passive in SM tends to neutralize some of the semantic constraints, making it easier to elicit. As discussed above, the *kó* construction also neutralizes constraints, and indicates the completion of a process. As a possible example of conflation, the coincidence of the resemblance of the FGb *kò* and SM *kó* could only reinforce the SM constructions. This is assuming that the SM *kó* constructions developed at a time when there were speakers familiar with the FGb *kò*.

3.5.3 Passive with *féni*, ‘find’

Constructions with *féni*, ‘find’, may be translated as ‘get’ passives:

- (52) a. a feni wipi u mi (Bakker 1991:2)
he find whip of me
he got whipped by me
- b. a feni fonfon (u mi) (ibid.:3)
he find beat-beat of me
he got beaten (by me)

Bakker (ibid.:1) notes that these constructions occur with a limited number of verbs, which in fact turn out to be the effect-depicting verbs that occur as passives. It is also observed (ibid.:2) that the constituent following *féni* is nominal, as nouns may also occur in that position:

- (53) a. a feni pakamenti u mi (ibid.:2)
he find offering of me
he got a sound drubbing from me
- b. a féni pakaméntu u mi
he find offering of me
he received a payment from me
- c. u féni avó
we find grandparent
we’ve become grandparents

- d. de féni wíni
 they find win
 they won

The items *avó*, ‘grandparent’, and *pakaméntu*, ‘offering’, are nouns, but they are nouns whose implicature in these constructions involves experiencing over a period of time. The ‘winning’ is also an experience, and *wíni* may be nominal in a *féni* construction. The same may be said of *wípi*, ‘whip’, and *fófõ*, ‘beating’, especially considering the lasting effect. The verb *féni* with such nominal items as objects may take on a connotation of ‘experiencing’, as in (54.a):

- (54) a. de féni dí bíífi
 they find the letter
 they received the letter (which had good news about an upcoming visit)
- b. a kísi dí bosikópu *a féni dí bosikópu
 he catch the message
 he got the message (which was not important)

The letter in (54.a) had news that would affect the next few months, so that receiving the letter could be seen as experiencing the good news. In contrast, the message in (54.b) was not very important, and the version with *féni* was not accepted. Similarly, for something like *fófõ*, ‘beating’, the actual ‘beating’ could be seen as telic compared to the expectation of a beating, so that *kísi*, ‘receive’, is preferred for the past tense:

- (55) a. a kísi fófõ *a féni fófõ
 he receive beat-beat
 he got a beating

- b. i ó féni fǒfǒ
 you(sg) will find beat-beat
 you'll get a beating

In (55.a) the scenario is a misbehaving student who received a beating, while in (55.b) the teacher is warning the student.

Another characteristic of the *féni* ‘passive’ constructions is that the objects of *féni* tend not to be specific. In other words, the clause depicts an ACTIVITY. The VP of such a clause is intransitive, in RRG terms, since the verb has only one macrorole. The single macrorole for an ACTIVITY clause is ACTOR, but for a passive interpretation this macrorole is an UNDERGOER. The semantics of *féni* might explain the conflict. Even when something is ‘found’ accidentally there is the implication that some agentive activity had occurred. At the same time the ‘finder’ has the experience of ‘finding’ as a recipient, whether the search is volitional or not. For ACTIVITY clauses, ‘finding’ is most likely the result of volition, as *féni heepi*, ‘be helped’ (Glock: Acts 3:25), or the result of some activity, as *féni wipi*, ‘get whipped’ (Bk. 1991:2). The subject of *féni*, then, could be an ACTOR for an ACTIVITY clause, but more likely an UNDERGOER, which would coincide with passive constructions and thus allow a passive interpretation. As with the *dé* + RE ‘passive’ constructions, speakers consulted in this study are reluctant to accept the *u* phrase with the *féni* ‘passives’, thereby removing mention of the agent and conforming to that characteristic of the SM verbal passive.

It would seem that the *féni* passive, with its somewhat special semantics involving an experiencer role and durative aspect, would be marked. In terms of rarity, it is marked. The *féni* passive does not occur in the A. & G. narrative. There is a *féni* construction with *duumi*, ‘sleep’:

- (56) kamian an dē fii sa feni duumi (A. & G. 1997:4)
 place not there for-you(sg) can find sleep
 places to sleep were no longer available

This use of a noun that can also function as a verb parallels the use of *wípi* in (52.a). In (56), however, *duumí* does not take a patientive argument, so it is not interpreted as a passive. There are two occurrences of a *féni* construction translated as passive in the Glock biblical text. Interestingly, these same passages also involve *findi*, ‘find’ in the Wietz biblical text. The occurrence in Glock that most resembles the *féni* passive, in (57.b), is also the only occurrence in Wietz to resemble it as well:

- (57) a.i. fu de feni di heepi fēēn Acts 2:47 (Glock)
 for they find the help of-him
- ii. dissi findi bunu libi Acts 2:47 (Wietz)
 this find good life
 . . . those who were being saved Acts 2:47 (R.S.E.)
- b.i. hii pei sēmbē u goonliba o feni heepi Acts 3:25 (Glock)
 all type people of ground-top will find help
- ii. tulu Piple na Mundu sa findi blessi Acts 3:25 (Wietz)
 all people in world can find bless
 shall all the families of the earth be blessed Acts 3:25 (R.S.E.)

The objects of both *féni* and *findi* in (57.a) are more nominal than in (57.b), perhaps allowing the possessive phrase in (a.i). These examples may not be passives, but both occurrences in (57.b) are *féni* passives. In both the Glock and Wietz texts, perhaps coincidentally, (57.b) is the only occurrence of the *féni* passive. This coincidence, however, might underscore the markedness of this passage. In both examples in (57) the action depicted could be considered marked, since they are actions only God could take.

All the other passives in these texts have human agents.

3.5.4 Passive verbs with the copula *dé*

Bakker (1991:3) examined the construction in SM involving a reduplicated passive verb and the copula *dé*, and concluded that this construction conforms to the Chomskyan definition of passive. Recall from Chapter 2 that this construction, referred to as the derived adjective with the copula *dé*, is formed with the copula *dé* and the reduplicated verbal item. As with the TMA marker *kó* constructions above, this *dé* construction may involve either adjectives, (58.a), or dynamic verbs which occur as passives, (58.b), but may also include intransitive effect-depicting dynamic verbs, (58.c):

- (58) a. *dí pátu-pátu dé fátu-fátu*
 the duck-duck is fat-fat
 the duck is fat
- b. *dí dóó dé fúgu-fúgu*
 the door is shim-shim
 the door is shimmed
- c. *dí páu dé kaí-kaí*
 the tree is fall-fall
 the tree is fallen

As discussed in Chapter 2, the *dé* construction with reduplicated object-affecting verbs is analyzed as a derived adjectival construction, parallel to the *dé* construction with reduplicated adjectives. It varies from a passive in that it allows intransitive dynamic verbs that would otherwise not occur as passives but do occur as attributive adjectives, as

in (58.c). Also unlike the passive, in (59.c), for some speakers it allows the expression of an agent through a possessive construction, in (59.a), although not for speakers consulted in this study, in (59.b). In allowing possession it contrasts with the passive in being more nominal, thereby more prototypically adjectival. Further indicating the nominal character of the *dé* construction with reduplicated object-affecting verbs is its failure to leave a copy in a predicate cleft construction, in (59.d), and its failure to take an object in its corresponding active construction, in (59.e):

- (59) a. *di wosu de mbeimbei u mi* (Bakker 1987:29,1991:5)
 the house COP makemake PREP me
 the house has been made by me
- b. *dí wósu dé mbéímbéí (*u mí)* *interpreted as dí wósu u mí dé...*
 the house is make-make of me
 the house was built (*by me)
- c. *dí wósu féfi (*u mi)*
 the house paint of me
 the house was painted (*by me)
- d. *wipiwipi dí womi de* (Bakker 1991:4)
 the man has been whipped
- e. **di womi de nakinaki di miii* (Bakker 1991:4)
 the man has beaten the child

The *dé* + RE construction resembles the passive, except for speakers accepting (59.a), in that no agent is expressed. It varies from the passive, however, in that no agent is implied. In (60.a), no agent is expressed, and in (60.b) no agent is implied by the phrase

fu hógí háti, ‘on purpose’. Other expressions of purpose, in (60.c, d), are similarly not accepted, indicating a stative depiction without an implied agent:

- (60) a. *dí bóto dé sǐngisǐngi (*u dí kabiténi)*
 the boat is sink-sink of the captain
 the boat is sunk (*by the captain)
- b. *dí bóto dé sǐngisǐngi (*fu hógí háti)*
 the boat is sink-sink for terrible heart
 the boat is sunk (*on purpose)
- c. *dí bóto dé sǐngisǐngi (*dá dí kabiténi / móni)*
 the boat is sink-sink give the captain / money
 the boat is sunk (*for the captain / money)
- d. *dí bóto dé sǐngisǐngi (*fu de á ó sá féni ẽ)*
 the boat is sink-sink for they not will can find it
 the boat is sunk (*so that they won’t be able to find it)

The *dé*+ RE construction with object-affecting verbs is like the *dé*+ RE with adjectives in being a predicate adjective construction. As such, there is no implied agent. Its use in depicting markedness outside the story line is an appropriate alternative to the passive construction, since such a property depiction would not need to be the result of action taken in the story. Thus even though the *dé*+ RE construction is adjectival rather than passive, it is a functional alternative just as the non-passive *de* active construction is a functional alternative.

The motivation for a derived predicate adjective in SM would seem to be to express markedness, compared to the non-derived verb that would be a passive. The passive in SM comments on known information, emphasizing resultativeness. The *de* active

alternative to the passive in SM also emphasizes a process. It would seem that most commentary involving a resultative state would emphasize how the state came to exist. Attribution would seem to be more presentational, the depicted property more of a given. Thus attributive adjectives accompany new information and in SM are more nominal than predicates. A derived predicate adjective is also nominal, then, and depicts a state implying resultativeness. This use of the *dé* construction is seen in narrative, section 4.2.1, where it depicts states that have come about through action that is irrelevant to the story line and thereby marked compared to the action depicted by the passive. A state resulting from irrelevant action can be depicted by an adjectival construction such as the *dé* construction where inception and agency are not implied.

It will be argued in Chapter 6 that SM derived adjectives transferred from the FGb adjectival passive, described in Brousseau (1993), which is also the source for the transfer of the SM *dé* construction with reduplicated derived adjectives, as discussed in Chapter 2, repeated as (60):

- (60) a. lámpu ó ðò cícǐ Fongbe (Br. 1993:34)
lamp DET COP RE-turn off
the lamp is turned off
- b. dí fáǰa dé tapá-tapá SM
the fire is stop-stop
the light is extinguished

As with attributive and derived attributive adjectives in SM, the SM *dé* construction with adjectives and derived adjectives uses reduplication to express markedness. This reduplication is the result of transfer, in the case of the SM *dé* construction the source will be argued to be the FGb adjectival passive in (60.a).

3.6 Topicality of the passive subject

Passive constructions are characterized as having subjects that are topical. The patient argument in a transitive clause is prototypically new information, but in a passive clause this patient is old information, or topical. Thus the passive subject conforms to subjects in general (of non-ergative languages) in being topical. The SM passive subject, then, is prototypically topical, where the same patient argument as a direct object in the *de* active alternative construction would be new information.

If, as speakers say, there is no difference in meaning between passives and the alternative *de* actives, then the difference in topicality of the patients is not important out of context. The topicality of the patient may not be important in Akan, one of the possible substrate languages of SM that is related and typologically similar to FGb. Akan has a series of affecting verbs that form a construction that superficially resembles the SM passive (Boadi 1971). A study by Tomlin (1995) on the topicality of patients in passives cross-linguistically indicates that speakers of Akan do not make use of the passive-like construction to code topicality. By assuming this tendency could be transferred in creole genesis, SM speakers similarly may not regard topicality when using the passive or the *de* active alternative.

The adjectives, serial verb constructions and passive-like constructions in the SM substrate West African Kwa languages Ewe and Akan have close parallels in FGb, and also in SM. Regarding Akan, Tomlin (1995:540) devised an experiment to test the psychological preconditioning of topicality in a number of languages including Akan. The test showed one fish swallowing another on a computer screen. An arrow primed one fish to establish it as a topic just before the action of swallowing. In all the languages tested except Akan (and Finnish), when the eaten fish was primed the sentence describing it was in the passive. In Akan, all sentences were active regardless of which fish was primed. The conclusion was that Akan has no grammatical coding of topicality of the focally attended referent.

The preference for *de* active constructions to passives in isolated elicitations in SM

implies that, as in Akan, the passive is also not used for coding patient topicality in SM. One reason these two constructions might be considered equivalent is because the affected object of the equivalent *de* active construction would not be topical. From the analysis of the A. & G. text it appears that one discourse function of passives in SM is the reintroduction of referents. In this case the referents are topicalized rather than topical. They are topicalized to be background relative to the events of the narrative. Speakers of SM in the Tomlin experiment would consider *the fish being eaten* as the foreground event, and so would use an active sentence. The Tomlin study allows the possibility this tendency could be due to substrate transfer. In any case, the tendency of the SM passive away from coding patient topicality is a reduction in the function that passives serve cross-linguistically. This may be part of the reason for the alternatives to passives in Saramaccan, namely that reduction in one function leaves a relatively larger burden on the remaining functions. The verbal passive and the *dé* + RE ‘passive’ contrast in pragmatic markedness, while the verbal passive and the *de* active alternative contrast the relevance of the action to a context. The ‘passiveness’ of the *de* active construction is due to the suppression of the agent, and is apparently unaffected by the absence of patient topicality.

Chapter 4

Shared Object Serial Verb Constructions

4.1 Introduction

The shared object serial verb construction in Saramaccan resembles the shared object serial verb construction in Fongbe, but there is no equivalent construction in English. The description of the SM shared object serial presented here allows a comparison with the FGb shared object serial, to be discussed in Chapter 7. In this chapter it will be argued that the shared object serial verb construction in SM depicts the patientive shared object as equally affected by each verb in the serial. Text analysis indicates that the shared object serial generally functions to activate information in discourse, in that pronominal shared objects are rare. A non-pronominal shared object, then, may be considered activated relative to more than one verb. It will also be argued that in shared object serials the shared object is the subject of the following verbs. In depicting a change of location of the shared object, the verbs following the shared object are intransitive unaccusative verbs whose subject is the preceding patient argument. In depicting a change of state, the patient argument resembles the subject in passive and passive serials. The verbs in the shared object serial are subject to the same semantic constraints as the verbs in passives and in derived attributive adjectives, which also function to activate referents. These semantic constraints affect the corresponding three constructions in FGb as well.

4.1.1 Characteristics unique to the shared object serial

Among the many types of serial verb constructions in Saramaccan the shared object serial verb construction has unique features. It is the only serial verb construction in SM where a patient object precedes a verb that affects it. It is the only serial verb construction in the language where two or more verbs affect the same patient object. It is also the only serial in SM limited to depicting a visible or perceivable effect on a patient object. Because the postnominal verb or verbs affect the shared object, the construction is resultative and is composed of an event followed by a state, an EVENT STATE composition, by Déchaine (1997:54). The postnominal verbs have a predication relationship with the shared object rather than subsequent anaphoric reference, so they do not define paratactic events, or EVENT EVENT (ibid.). It is the only non-paratactic serial verb construction in the language in which no verb subcategorizes for another. Neither verbal slot in the shared object serial is restricted to a closed class of verbs (Veenstra 1996:102), sometimes referred to as closed slot verbs, or *serial items* (Winford 1993; Migge 1998:149). Following from this, each verb in the shared object serial performs a verbal function, unlike many serial items which may be removed somewhat from prototypical verbhood (Hopper & Thompson 1985) in performing a non-verbal function, or by the loss of some semantic or morphosyntactic verbal characteristic. An exception to this, although there are exceptions to this exception, is a constraint against tense marking of the second verb, a general constraint for SM serial verb constructions (V. 1996:76), and for serial verb constructions cross-linguistically (Foley & Olson 1985). Thus the V2 of a shared object serial is not marked for tense, which is otherwise a verbal characteristic, but the V2 of 'take' instrumental serial, with V1 as the serial item, is also not marked for tense. Because no verb in the SM shared object serial is a serial item, these verbs affect the shared object more or less equally, a characteristic of prototypical serial verb constructions (Hopper & Thompson 1984). In this way they are also unique among the serial verb constructions in SM. Because the verbs share in affecting the object, they are considered to share the overall transitivity of the clause as well (ibid.), thus each verb is

necessarily not as fully transitive as it would otherwise be in a single verb clause. The transitivity of the verbs in other SM serial verb constructions, as will be argued in section 1.2 below, is not necessarily reduced for this reason.

Another unique feature of SM shared object serials is a constraint on the verbs, in particular the verbs that follow the affected object, that they must depict a visible or perceivable effect on the object. These verbs have this constraint in common with verbs in SM passive constructions, as discussed in Chapter 3. Also, in Chapter 2, these constraints apply to derived attributive adjectives, the attributive equivalent of passives. Verbs in these three constructions also have in common a lowered degree of transitivity compared to the transitivity in their more prototypical active, transitive, and non-serial function. The verbs in passive and in the V2 slot in shared object serial constructions also share a unique syntactic characteristic in that they follow the argument they affect, and share a semantic feature in being resultative.

This chapter will examine the similarities between shared object serial verb, passive in Saramaccan, and some of the factors that may have affected their transfer from the primary substrate language Fongbe.

4.2 Shared transitivity in shared object serials

There are several types of serial verb constructions in SM, most of which are characterized by two or more verbs that depict the action of a single event (V. 1993, 1996). This is a characteristic of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically (F. & O. 1985). Shared object serial verb constructions in SM consist of two or more transitive verbs which share an object, that is, each verb depicts an effect on the object. These verbs may be followed by intransitive verbs of motion if the serial depicts a change of location. The shared object follows the first verb and precedes the second and any subsequent verbs. The affecting verbs of shared object serials are highly transitive in that their objects have a patient role, rather than a less affected role such as theme. They have

been analyzed as resultative (V. 1996:141), in that the action of the first verb results in the action of the second. This may be seen in (1.a), where the two actions may be nearly instantaneous. In (1.b), the verbs depict separate actions. Serial verb constructions like (1.b) are considered paratactic in Caribbean English creoles, *CEC*, (Wn. 1993:216) and have been analyzed as such in closely related NDj, in Migge (1998:153). The distinction between serial and paratactic constructions in SM, unlike NDj, is purely semantic. Another type of shared object serial in SM depicts a change of location or position of the affected object, in (1.c). As in (1.a), the two actions in (1.c) may be nearly instantaneous:

- (1) a. a kóti dí sindéki kǐi
 he cut the snake kill
 he cut (and) killed the snake
- b. a kóti dí físi mboí njǎ
 he cut the fish cook eat
 he cut the fish (and) cooked (it) (and) ate (it)
- c. a fáa dí páu túwe
 he fell the tree throw
 he chopped down the tree

The subject precedes the first verb, in that SM is an SVO language. The shared object follows the first verb, but breaks with the basic SVO order in preceding the second and subsequent verbs. Thus the shared object is in what would otherwise be the subject position for the following verbs. The shared object serial verb construction is the only serial verb construction in SM where an affected object immediately precedes the verb that depicts the effect.

Although more than one transitive verb affects the shared object in a shared object serial, the interpretation of shared object serials is the depiction of a single event. This

interpretation applies generally to the other types of serial verb constructions in SM, with the exception of serial verb constructions involving adjectives.

The single event interpretation of shared object serials is in keeping with the shared transitivity of the verbs (Hopper & Thompson 1984:735), discussed in Chapter 1. In discussing serial verb constructions with two verbs, H. & T. find that the two verbs in a shared object serial are each 'doing half the job' of affecting the object, and so have half the degree of transitivity they would have in a single verb clause.

For SM the realization of the single event interpretation and the shared transitivity analysis is that a shared object serial may only have a single affected patient argument. This single affected object is significant in change of location shared object serials, like (1.c), because the subject of the construction switches to the object for verbs following the object, to be discussed in detail below. Rare occurrences of additional affected objects occur; an example in Veenstra (1996:103 ex. 73.b), and a similar example in SR, in Sebba (1987:52 ex. 35), which are examples (19.c, d) below. In these examples the NP2 is an instrument argument of V2, and these constructions will be considered to be instrumental serials with a different V1 than 'take', in 1.2.4 below.

The first verb of SM shared object serials does not necessarily subcategorize for the second or subsequent verb, (V. 1996:102), although there are naturally idiomatic preferences. The selection of the verbs is constrained mainly by pragmatics, and that they must occur in the real-world order of the parts of the event being described, a cross-linguistic feature of serial verbs (F. & O. 1985), as well as a developmental strategy in creole genesis (Mühlhäusler 1986:135). In an iconic sense the second verb in a shared object serial finishes the action begun by the first, as shared object serial verb constructions in SM have been defined as resultative by Veenstra (1996:141).

Although there are some idiomatic preferences and pragmatic restrictions, basically any two or more transitive object-affecting verbs may occur in a shared object serial:

- (2) a. a náki dí físi kí
 he hit the fish kill
 he hit (and) killed the fish
- b. a kóti dí físi mboí
 he cut the fish cook
 he cut (and) cooked the fish
- c. a wási dí físi kóti
 he wash the fish cut
 he washed (and) cut the fish
- d. a mboí dí físi njǎ
 he cook the fish eat
 he cooked (and) ate the fish

There are varying degrees of transitivity in shared object serials, such that constructions like (2.a) have a higher degree of transitivity than constructions like (2.b, c, d). The V2 in (2.b) is an anticausative functioning as a transitive verb. The difference in transitivity relates to the Aspect and Punctuality parameters of transitivity, in H. & T. (1980), in that the action depicted in (2.a) is less interrupted. The nearly instantaneous actions of (1.a) and (2.a) are less interrupted than the simultaneous actions of (1.b) and (2.b, c, d). Another highly transitive type of shared object serial depicts nearly instantaneous caused motion in the object, in (1.c) and (3):

- (3) a náki dí bali túwe
 he hit the ball throw
 he struck the ball

In shared object serials depicting change of location of the object, transferred action results in further action. It will be argued below that this results also in a switch of subject to the affected object for the verbs depicting the change of location. Recall from Chapters 2 and 3 that verbs like *túwε*, 'throw', and *púu*, 'push/pull', may occur as intransitive change of location verbs.

A more transitive shared object serial makes the single event interpretation easier, reflected in (3) with the single verb English translation. The verbs in a non-paratactic shared object serial construction in SM tend to be semantically fused, defined by Foley & Olson (1985:47) as core level juncture. A more transitive shared object serial would tend to reduce the salience of the separate verbs, particularly the second verb. Cross-linguistically the second verb is already somewhat removed from verbhood in being dispreferred for tense marking (H. & T. 1985), as is the case in SM (V. 1996:76).

In SM there is some idiomatity of the V2 in highly transitive shared object serials, which not surprisingly does not occur in the more paratactic serials. This is particularly the case with certain verbs of change of location, like *túwε*, 'throw', and *púu*, 'push/pull', which depict telicity as well as manner of change of location. Because of their common V2 occurrence these verbs could eventually begin a path of grammaticalization that could lead to being removed from verbhood altogether, as in Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1974) or the Kwa languages (Lord 1973, 1976, 1992). These V2 items in SM show no morphosyntactic loss of verbal characteristics, however, and they function as verbs, not prepositions. In shared object serial verb constructions in SM, then, the verbs are lexical verbs that are not removed from verbhood. There is no closed class, or serial item, in the SM shared object serial (V. 1996:102). The shared object serial is unique among the serial verb constructions in SM in this regard. Recall that because no verb in a shared object serial is a serial item, the verbs may be considered to share the overall transitivity somewhat equally, in (H. & T. 1984). Of importance here is that there are various degrees of transitivity and idiomatity among types of shared object serial verb constructions in SM, yet the prototypical shared object serial depicts the greatest degree of shared transitivity of all the types of serial verb constructions in the language.

4.2.1 Shared transitivity in other types of serial verb constructions

Paratactic shared object serials are usually best translated as two or more conjoined phrases, although SM serial constructions do not contain conjoining or subordinating markers. The lack of such markers may be seen as iconic of the general interpretation of serial verb constructions as depicting single events, and thus also of the sharing of transitivity. The single event interpretation for serial verb constructions in SM appears to be somewhat less stringent than for other serializing languages, as may be seen in some of the examples in Rountree (1972). There are many different types of serial verb constructions in SM, all of course are characterized by the lack of conjoining or subordinating markers. Some resemble shared object serials in depicting an effect on an object, and having that object precede a verb, but no other postnominal verb is object-affecting. They vary in their depiction of single events and in their shared and overall transitivity.

4.2.1.1 Comparison serial verbs

Serial verb constructions of adjectival comparison involve an adjective, which functions as an intransitive stative verb, and so may not depict an event at all, as in (4). Also, because of the intransitive stative first verb, by the parameter of Kinesis, there is no transitivity. The comparison construction is grammaticalized, rendering the verb *pasá* almost completely of its unergative 'pass' meaning. Reflecting the reduced verbhood for the comparison use of *pasá*, for some speakers the verb in this use tends not to sandhi with the first verb in the serial, in (4.a.i). This is uncharacteristic of serial verbs in SM, as described in (Rountree 1972), but is characteristic of reduced verbhood in serial verbs cross-linguistically due to grammaticalization (Lord 1973). This construction retains

enough of the semantics of 'pass' to be restricted to comparisons denoting a direction outwards or upwards, or an increase. As with predicate clefting of adjectives, the *pasá* construction may be limited to stage-level predications (Kratzer 1989). Thus (4.a) expresses upwards comparison, and (4.b) an increase, whereas (4.c) must be expressed by *mǔǔ*, 'more', rather than *pasá*:

- (4) a. a lánɡa pasá mi i. [à lánɡà pàsá mí . . .] ii. [à lánɡá pásá mí . . .]
 he long pass me
 he is taller than me
- b. a ábi jáa pasá mi
 he have year pass me
 he is older than me
- c. a sumáa mǔǔ mi *a sumáa pasá mi
 he small more me
 he is smaller than me

For some speakers the comparison serial construction may also involve an event where V1 functions as a transitive verb affecting an object, as in (5.a). It is more likely to be expressed with the adverb *mǔǔ*, in (5.b):

- (5) a. a latjá údu pasá mi
 he split wood past me
 he split more wood than me
- b. a latjá údu mǔǔ mi
 he split wood more me
 he split more wood than me

The first verb, V1 in the comparison serial in (5), functions as a dynamic transitive verb. This construction depicts an event. It is V1 alone, however, that affects the object. The verb *pasá* does not share the transitivity of this construction, in that it depicts no effect on the object. The verbs in this construction do not share in its overall transitivity, and so do not meet the definition of a prototypical event depicting serial verb construction, in H. & T. (1984). The comparison serial verb construction involving an affected object is unlike the shared object serial construction in this regard.

4.2.1.2 Completion serial verbs

Another type of serial verb construction in SM that may depict an effect on an object indicates completion. The serial item is *kabá*, 'finish':

- (6) a lepaléi dí pási kabá
 he repair the road finish
 he finished repairing the road

As with the comparison serials in (4) and (5), V1 affects the object, but V2 does not. The 'repairing' is being 'finished', not the 'road'. The V2 does not share the transitivity evenly with V1, unlike the shared object serial construction. Veenstra (1996:122) considers this construction to be semantically closer to a subordinate structure, rather than the coordinate structure he generally ascribes to serial verb constructions.

The *kabá* serial construction differs from shared object serials as well in that it can never have as high a degree of transitivity. As seen in (7), it does not occur with the prototypically most transitive verbs by the transitivity parameter of Punctuality, namely verbs that depict instantaneous action (Byrne 1987:224; V. 1996:97):

- (7) *Mi fón hen kabá (V. 1996:97)
 1SG beat 3SG finish

Shared object serials, on the other hand, commonly occur with such verbs.

4.2.1.3 Directional serial verbs

Directional serial verb constructions involving a transitive V1 and *kó* or *gó* as V2 resemble shared object serials in that V2 refers to the object of V1. The V1s in (8.a, c, d) have inanimate objects, and in (8.b) an animate object, but the subject of the directional verb *kó* or *gó* in (8.b, c, d), and arguably as a comitative in (8.a) as well, is the object of V1:

- (8) a. mi tjá dí búku kó
 I carry the book come
 I brought the book
- b. a kái dí dáta kó (V. 1996:79)
 he call the doctor come
 he called the doctor to come
- c. mi mandá dí bíífi gó
 I send the letter go
 I sent the letter
- d. mi naki dí báli púu gó a dí lío
 I hit the ball push go in the river
 I hit the ball into the river

The directional verbs *kó/gó*, 'come/go', in this serial construction do not carry an effect to the object of V2, which appears in fact to be their subject. The effect on the object is depicted by V1, so that the overall transitivity is not evenly shared.

Winford (1993) uses the term *object control* for serial verb constructions where the affected object is the subject of the verbs that follow it. This contrasts with *subject control*, where the subject is the same for all verbs. Object control for serial verbs differs from subject control, however, in that it is local, as is the object relationship. The relation of NP2 to V2, either as subject or object, is a predication relationship (V. 1996:142; Déchaine 1997:54), and unlike a control relationship it must be local.

Veenstra (ibid.) has shown that in subject control shared object serials several transitive verbs may follow the object, as long as the chain of transitive verbs is not broken by an unergative intransitive, such as *wáka*, 'walk', in (9.a). The verbs *kó/gó* do not break the chain of transitive verbs, as in (9.b, c):

- (9) a. *a sáka hen wáka gó butá alá (V. 1996:142)
 3SG lower 3SG walk go put over there
- b. a sákeě gó butá alá
 he lower-it go put there
 he took it down (and) went (and) put (it) there
- c. mi tjá dí búku kó butá a táfa líba
 I carry the book come put on table top
 I brought the book (and) put (it) on the table

Veenstra assumes that (9.a) is ungrammatical because *butá* needs a local expressed object. Looked at in terms of object control, however, the *kó/gó* of (9.b, c) as well as in (8) might have the comitative objects as their subjects, in other words they are

- c. de dá dí fáka dá mi a Kofi
 they give the knife give me to Kofi
 they gave me the knife for Kofi
- d. a kái dí sikóutu dá dí fufúuma
 he call the police give the thief
 he called the police on the thief

This type of construction is not a shared object serial because the V2 *dá* does not affect the object as a patient, but rather as a theme. The verb *dá* as the serial item has been grammaticalized to the extent that it does not depict 'giving', as in (11.i), but instead functions as a goal or benefactive preposition, as in (10.a):

- (11) de maá dí fáka dá mi
 they sharpen the knife give me
- i. they sharpened the knife for me
- ii. *they sharpened the knife (and) gave (it) to me

The verb *dá* in this construction lacks various verbal characteristics, discussed in Veenstra (1996:163-172) in terms of grammaticalization. There is then an uneven sharing of transitivity in the *dá* serials.

4.2.1.5 Voluntary perception serial verbs

Serials with *lúku*, 'look', as the V2 denote 'trying', as in (12.a), 'evaluating', as in (12.b), or 'looking for', as in (12.c):

- (12) a. mi ó gó náki ě lúku
 I FUT go hit it look
 I'll go try to hit it
- b. tési dí pampú beée lúku
 taste the pumpkin bread look
 taste the pumpkin bread!
- c. de súku dí búku lúku
 they seek the book look
- i. they looked for the book
- ii. *they sought the book (and) looked at (it)

The V2 *lúku* in (12.a, b) predicates the action of the first verb on the object with a meaning like 'try', but does not affect the object itself. These constructions are therefore not shared object serials. In (12.c.ii) the translation as a shared object serial construction is not accepted, while the translation in (12.c.i) indicates that *lúku* predicates the preceding verb phrase. The two verbs in these constructions therefore do not share transitivity in affecting the object.

The constructions exemplified in (12), like the constructions in (4-11), are serial verb constructions. One of the verbs in each of these semantically specialized serial verb constructions is a serial item. The serial item does not contribute to the overall clause transitivity by directly affecting the object, so that there is uneven sharing of transitivity between the verbs. These constructions then are not like the shared object serials in the sense referred to in H & T (1984:735) where each verb affects the object equally and shares the overall clause transitivity equally.

The *lúku* serials are most likely direct transfers from FGb, which has a number of idiomatic serials with 'look' as V2, such as *dǒ - kpón*, 'taste - look', 'to test (the taste)' (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002:431); SM *tési - lúku*, 'to test (the taste)'.

4.2.1.6 Instrument or theme serial verbs with *téi*

Serial verb constructions such as (13) with the verb *téi* as a serial item are referred to as instrumental (a) or theme (b) serial constructions in Veenstra (1996:128), where it is argued that these serial constructions may be used to introduce an instrument or theme into the argument structure of V2:

- (13) a. a *téi* dí *fáka* *kóti* dí *físi* *instrument*
he take the knife cut the fish
he took the knife (and) cut the fish
- b. a *téi* dí *fáka* *butá* a *paabí* *bóto* *theme*
he take the knife put on plate boat
he took the knife (and) put it on the shelf

The construction in (a) is not a shared object serial because the second verb does not primarily affect the preceding argument, and the first verb does not affect the second argument. Also, V1 and NP2 are optional (*ibid.*), unlike a shared object serial. In (13) *kóti*, 'cut', primarily affects *físi*, 'fish'. The relation of *fáka*, 'knife', to *kóti* is as an instrument, which would be less affected than a patient. The construction increases the valence of the second verb with an instrument, manner, or comitative argument.

The V1 serial item *téi* also has NP2 in its argument structure. The relation of *fáka* to *téi* is not one of effect, even though the action depicted involves 'taking'. It would not be expected to be a patient of a serial item, having reduced verbal function. No other serial items in SM have patient arguments. More importantly, since *téi* only functions to introduce an argument, NP2 is a theme. Thus both V1 and V2 have this item in their argument structure. In this sense, then, the instrumental serial does involve a shared

object, as with *fáka*, 'knife', in (13.a). There is uneven sharing of transitivity however between the first and second verbs of this construction relative to the first object argument, if for no other reason than a theme would receive a different effect than an instrument. The *téi* instrumental serial is similar to the other serial verb constructions discussed so far in this regard. And as the NP2 is not a patient of both verbs, it is not part of a shared object serial.

The serial item *téi*, 'take', is unique among serial items in SM in that it occurs as V1. The serial item *téi* retains some of its semantics of 'taking' in the sense of 'holding' with volition. A sense of deliberate action is depicted in the instrumental serial, (14.a), which is not necessarily so for the alternative instrumental prepositional phrase construction, (14.b):

- (14) a. a *téi dí fáka kóti dí gwàmbà*, (**ma ná ku sábi*)
 he take the knife cut the meat but not with know
 he took the knife (and) cut the meat, (*but not on purpose)
- b. a *kóti dí gwàmbà ku dí fáka*, *ma ná ku sábi*
 he cut the meat with the knife but not with know
 he cut the meat with the knife, but not on purpose

The retained semantics of the serial item *téi* does not alter the fact that its object is more of a theme than a patient. The patient argument is the object of V2. Thus for the entire serial verb construction, the highest degree of transitivity is depicted by V2. For the verbs in the *téi* instrumental serial verb construction regarding the effect on both arguments, then, there is also uneven sharing of transitivity.

The *téi* instrumental serial may occur with a transitive verb depicting an activity without a specific object. The construction in (15) is not a shared object serial when the object NP2 has an instrument role for V2, but would be with a patient NP2:

- (15) a *téi dí góni #(gò) sùti*
 he take the gun go shoot
 he took the gun (and) shot (it)

This construction without *gò*, 'go', is dispreferred, indicating that the retained semantics of the serial item *téi* prefers a depiction of change of location. This extra semantics of *téi* would indicate that *góni* may in fact be more affected than as a theme, and that (15) may in fact be more likely to be interpreted as a shared object serial.

The term with the serial item *téi* with NP2 may not be optional in (16), depending on a ditransitive interpretation of *léi*, 'show':

- (16) a. A-tei di foto lei-en (V. 1993:157)
 3SG-take the picture show-3SG
 He showed the picture to him
- b. A-tei-en lei di foto (V. 1993:157)
 3SG-take-3SG show the picture
 He showed him the picture

The events depicted in (16) are less transitive than the *téi* instrumental serials, since *léi*, 'show', does not take a patient object. As a ditransitive, *léi* would have NP2 as a theme, as would *téi*. In this case, NP2 would be equally affected by both the preceding and the following verbs; a shared object. But it would not be a patient argument. And in a ditransitive use as well as the instrumental, V2 alone takes the second NP as an object, so that there is an uneven sharing of overall transitivity.

The verb *léi* as a V2 is not a ditransitive, however, but rather has a locative object. In non-serial use it may be a ditransitive, with a fixed word order V-goal-theme; *léi dí wómi dí búku*, 'show the man the book'. But as V2, either order of goal and theme occurs, in (16). A similar argument is used in Lf. & Br. (2002:448) to show that ditransitives do not

occur as V2s in FGb, but rather that these verbs occur with locative objects. In (16.b) the theme *foto* is the object of *léi*, which makes the goal *en* the equivalent of the PP in dative shift, argued to be a locative construction cross-linguistically and especially in FGb (ibid.:446). As the two variants in (16) are semantically equivalent, (16.a) must also be a locative construction. The V2 *léi*, then, is not ditransitive. In SM, an immovable object cannot be the theme of *léi*, as in (17.a), whereas a moveable object can, as in (17.b):

- (17) a. *de téi San Francisco léi dí president
 they take San Francisco show the president
 (they took San Francisco and showed it to the President)
- b. de téi dí president léi San Francisco
 they take the president show San Francisco
 they took the President and showed him San Francisco

Locative constructions with the V2 *léi* are sesquitransitive, as are constructions with V2 *butá*, ‘put’ (Bickel & Nichols 2000), rather than ditransitive. The location is expressed, and not the moved item. The change of location is depicted by the verb *butá*, but not by *léi*, and *léi* takes a locative object instead of a PP like *butá*. In this way the verb *léi* resembles the FGb *xlé*, ‘show’ (Lf. & Br. 2002:445). There is also a phonological resemblance, suggesting conflation with the Dutch *leren*, ‘learn’, (Kihm 1989), for the SM *léi* meaning ‘learn/teach’. The SM *léi* ‘show’ could also be directly from FGb *xlé*, since FGb has a different word *kplóm* for ‘teach’. In either case the locative object of *léi* could be accounted for as transfer from FGb. The constructions in (16) and (17), then, are not instrumental serials, but are shared object serials, like serials with *butá*.

The avoidance of immovable NP1 objects with V2 *léi*, as in (17), is part of a broader constraint involving change of location and change of state depictions. Only a change of location depiction may occur with the V2 *léi*. A change of state depiction does not occur as the first term, perhaps because a change of state also changes the identity of the item

so that it can no longer be shown as it was originally depicted. Also, of course, *léi*, unlike *butá*, does not indicate change of location, which must be depicted by the first term of the serial. Moving an immovable item would be a change of state. But *jabí*, ‘open’, in (18.a), indicates change of location because what is being shown is moved into position to be seen, as does *háí*, ‘haul, draw out’. In (18.b), though, painting a room or breaking a bottle is a change of state, so *léi* meaning ‘show’, (i), is not acceptable. What is acceptable is *léi* with the meaning ‘teach’, (ii):

- (18) a. a jabí dí búku / háí dí góni léi mi
 he open the book haul the gun show me
 he opened the book / drew the gun and showed it to me
- b. a féífi dí kámba / boóko dí báta léi mi
 he paint the room break the bottle show me
- i. *he painted the room / broke the bottle and showed it to me
- ii. he painted the room / broke the bottle, showing me how to do it

Without change of location there is no sesquitransitive shared object interpretation in (i). The interpretation of *léi* meaning ‘teach’ in (ii) is not a shared object serial, but rather is an instrumental serial; ‘break the bottle and teach me with it’, parallel to ‘take the knife and cut the bread with it’. These are instrumental serials rather than purpose clauses, because *(f)u*, ‘for’, is not accepted as equivalent; **a féífi dí kámba u léi mi*. Instrumental serials, then, are not limited to the V1 *téi*, as seen in (19), where in both (a) and (b) the object of V1 is an instrument for V2. In (19.c) the unexpressed instrument is the subject of verbs preceding the affecting head verb, as in (23) below. There may be instrumental serials in SR with verbs other than ‘take’ as well, in (19.d):

- (19) a. a hái dí góni súti dí fufúuma
 he haul the gun shoot the thief
 he drew the gun and shot the thief
- b. a jabí dí búku léi mi dí fóótóo
 he open the book show me the photo
 he opened the book and showed me the photo
- c. A súti hen fulá pása gó náki dí sitónu (V. 1996:103)
 3SG shoot 3SG pierce pass go hit DET wall
 He shot him and the bullet went through him and into the wall
- d. Dati now fringi a wakatiki naki a man SR (Sebba 1987:52)
 that now throw the walk-stick hit the man
 The latter now threw the walking stick at the man (and hit)

The occurrence of verbs other than *téi* as V1 in the instrumental serial brings into question the serial item status of this V1. If this V1 may be a verb from an open class of transitive verbs it is not a serial item, and the instrumental serials would then be parallel to shared object serials in having no serial item. They are not parallel, however, in that the instrumental serial allows a ditransitive in (b). A locative analysis of V2 *léi* shared object serials means there are no ditransitive V2s in SM shared object serials, parallel to FGb (Lf. & Br. *ibid.*:450). This study of FGb ditransitives examined only ‘take’ shared object serials; *só àsón ná*, ‘take crab give it to’ (*ibid.*:446). The parallel with SM, then, does not include instrumental serials, as FGb instrumental serials are not considered in the study (*ibid.*).

4.2.1.7 Shared object serial verbs with *téi*

The verb *téi* may occur as V1 in a shared object serial verb construction. As with other shared object serials, transitive verbs of change of location, like *túwε*, ‘throw’, *púu*, ‘push/pull’, and *butá*, ‘put’, are considered affecting verbs, as in the ‘theme’ serial in (13.b), *a téi dí fáka butá a paabí bóto*. The *téi* shared object serial verb construction is generally not interpreted as a purposive construction:

- (20) *mi téi dí báta boóko (*ma mé boóko ẽ jéti)*
I take the bottle break but I-NEG break it yet
I took the bottle (and) broke (it) (*but I haven't broken it yet)

The construction in (20) conforms to shared object serial verb constructions in that the V2 is constrained to depict a visible or perceivable effect on the shared object, so that the examples in (21.a, b) are not acceptable:

- (21) a. **a téi dí fóótóo léi*
 he take the photo show
 (he took the photo (and) showed it)
- b. **a téi dí búku lési*
 he take the book read
 (he took the book (and) read it)

Unlike *boóko*, ‘break’, which functions as a transitive object affecting verb in (20), *léi*, ‘show’, and *lési*, ‘read’, do not depict a visible change in the object. Without a locative object, *léi* does not depict a change of location, even though the semantics of the V1 *téi* requiring the object be capable of being physically ‘taken’ also imply change of location.

There is an equal sharing of transitivity, in (22.a), considering that ‘taking’ and

'carrying' in SM equally affect the object. Both examples in (22.a, b) depict change of location:

- (22) a. de téi déé miíi #(tjá) gó a sikóu
they take the(pl) child carry go to school
they took the children to school
- b. de téi déé paabí #(gó) wási a lampeési dé
they take the(pl) dish go wash at landing there
they took the dishes (and) washed (them) at the landing there

The preferred versions in (22) indicate that the verb *téi* tends to imply change of location. In (22.a), the verb *tjá*, 'carry', with *kó* or *gó* means 'bring' or 'take away'. Without *tjá* and the locative object *a sikóu*, (22.a) could be interpreted as two separate actions (V. 1996:79), and as a paratactic type construction would remove the sense of change of location from the action depicted by *téi*. In (22.b), *gó* is preferred for an interpretation of change of location, otherwise *wási*, 'wash', here might be considered a reflexive and *téi* would lose the sense of change of location. The semantics of *téi*, then, affect the V2 to depict change of location as part of the visible effect, and are a verbal characteristic of *téi* that distinguishes this V1 from a serial item.

In (23.a) a *téi* theme serial differs from shared object serials, (23.b), in allowing an unergative verb between two affecting verbs (V. 1996:136). The V2 of this theme serial, however, is analyzed as having an empty category, *ec*, object. This would indicate that the construction is not a shared object serial, as each verb would have its own object. In this case the construction resembles an instrumental serial and the V1 *téi* would be a serial item. The retained semantics of changing location in the serial item *téi* would allow the intervening unergative in an instrumental type construction, as in (23.a). The unergative *wáka*, 'walk', separates the affected object from the following affecting verb *butá*, 'put', in a way that *gó* does not, in (23.c). It appears that 'taking' allows an

independent action like 'walking' to occur between affecting actions as part of a single event. The action of 'taking' is a precondition, as 'the book' could be held while walking, but not lowered while walking. Déchaine (1997:54) argues that in resultative serials, like shared object serials, the shared object must be contiguous with the following affecting verb, unlike preconditional serials, like the *téi* instrumentals. In shared object serials, the verbs must be contiguous with the argument they affect, allowing only intervening directional comitative verbs *kó* or *gó*, as in (23.c):

- (23) a. Mi téi dí búku wáka gó butá ec alá (V. 1996:136)
 1SG take DET book walk go put over there
 I have taken the book, walked away and put it there
- b. *A sáka hen wáka gó butá alá (V. 1996:142)
 3SG lower 3SG walk go put over there
- c. a sáka dí búku gó butá alá
 he lower the book go put over there
 he took the book down (and) went (and) put it over there

The *téi* shared object serial, then, allows only transitive 'intervening' verbs, like other shared object serials:

- (24) a. (de) ko tei di sēmbē . . . toona tja ko a ganda (A. & G. 1997:70)
 (they) come take the person return carry come to opening
 (they) came (and) took the person . . . back to the village
- b. dee soni . . . de musu ta pindja toona manda da . . . (A. & G. 1997:15)
 the(pl) thing . . . they must CONT pinch return send give . . .
 they need to send some of the things to (people who can't come)

In these examples, *tooná*, 'return', may be transitive, as *de tooná di búka*, 'they returned the message (they agreed)' (de Groot 1981:117). The directional verbs are comitative and may also occur as transitives, *gó í tóli*, 'go (on with) your story' (Price 1991:382). But *wáka*, 'walk', in (23.a, b) is unlikely to occur as a transitive verb.

In (23.a) the 'walking' may be seen as occurring while 'taking' is still in effect. In this way this *téi* serial resembles a *téi* instrumental serial in that the action of the second verb occurs 'with' the object of *téi*, so that the *téi* phrase is a precondition to the subsequent action.

The *téi* serial in (23.a) resembles *téi* instrumental serials by the Veenstra (ibid.) analysis in that V2 has an object, the resumptive empty category, *ec*. The presence of this object means that this *téi* serial has been interpreted as preconditional, in that the subsequent action is independent of the *téi* phrase. A *téi* shared object serial with two affecting verbs is interpreted as resultative, like other shared object serials, in 9 below. It is argued by Déchaine (1997:54) that if the action of V1 is a precondition to the action of V2 then the two verbs must share the matrix subject, and there is no local predication relationship, either subject or object, of V2 with NP2. This leaves V2 the option of a different object, or a resumptive *ec*. But if V2 is the result of V1 there is a local predication relationship, so that V2 cannot have an additional object or *ec*, and the subject of V2 may be the object of V1. The *téi* shared object serial may be interpreted as either subject control, in (25.a.i), or local object control, in (25.a.ii):

- (25) a. A téi dí taánga wómi féti ku hen (V. 1996:137)
 3SG take DET strong man fight with 3SG
 i. He_i chose the strong man_j [PRO_i to fight with him_j]
 ii. He_i chose the strong man_j [PRO_j to fight with him_i]

- b. a téi dí sitónu dé vínde gó a wáta
 he take the stone there throw go in water
 he took the stone, threw it into the water

Both interpretations in (25.a) are compatible with a predication relationship, in other words a resultative meaning, but (25.a.i) could also be preconditional. The object control of *gó* in (25.b) would imply only a predication relationship with *vínde*, with a resultative meaning. It is likely the analogy of the *téi* of shared object serials with the *téi* of instrumental serials allows both interpretations in (25.a) and requires the preconditional interpretation in (23.a). But (25.b) by the object control of *gó* is resultative, which argues against the serial item status of *téi*. Since the first component of a resultative serial, EVENT STATE by Déchaine (ibid.), is an EVENT; no other serial in SM has a serial item as the verb in an EVENT. It will be assumed, then, that the instrumental serial is preconditional, STATE EVENT (ibid.), with *téi* as a serial item, and the shared object serial is resultative with *téi* as a verb. But the *téi* shared object serial differs from other shared object serials in its similarity to the *téi* instrumental serial, a similarity that allows the *téi* serial a preconditional reinterpretation not available to the others. The ultimate proof that *téi* shared object serials do not have a resumptive *ec* is that they do not have a realized resumptive, in (26.a), and so are like other shared object serials, in (26.b):

- (26) a. a téi dí báta boóko (*É)
 he take the bottle break it
 he (took and) broke the bottle
- b. a náki dí báta boóko (*É)
 he hit the bottle break it
 he hit and broke the bottle

4.3 Shared object serial verb constructions

Shared object serial verb constructions in SM are the most prototypically transitive of all the serial verb constructions in the language. This is so because the shared object serial is the only serial verb construction that is constrained to include only highly transitive object-affecting verbs. And it is the only serial verb construction to have all the verbs so constrained. It is the only non-paratactic type serial verb construction with no serial item. Each verb in the shared object serial is a lexical verb. The first verb depicts the inception of the action, while the second and any subsequent verbs depict the result. The verbs occur in the real-world order of the parts of the action, and each verb depicts an affecting part of the action, not just that the action ended or resulted in action by the object. Thus depicting the entire action from inception to conclusion is built into the construction; the Aspect and Punctuality parameters of transitivity defined in Hopper & Thompson (1980).

In the basic shared object serial with two verbs, the two verbs affect a single patientive argument. As mentioned above, H. & T. (1984) find that verbs in serial verb constructions share the overall transitivity, that is, each verb does half of the transmission of effect onto the object. The realization of this finding in SM is that only a single argument may be affected. The shared object serial is the only serial verb construction in SM to fit the prototypical effect-sharing criterion.

4.3.1 Syntactic constraints on shared object serials

The syntactic constraints on the shared object serial and on subsequent verbs give the shared object and its following affecting verb a resemblance to the passive construction. The patient of the shared object serial further resembles the patient of the passive construction in the tendency to be specific, namely definite or referential.

4.3.1.1 Subject position

Verbs in SM matrix clauses and conjoined clauses must be preceded by a subject, and non-initial intransitive verbs in serial clauses must be contiguous with verbs ultimately preceded by the subject. Thus there is no zero anaphora for conjoined clauses, as in (27.b), the subject and the conjunction must be expressed for each conjoined clause, as in (27.a):

- (27) a. mi kóti dí físi hě mi mbóí dí alísi
I cut the fish and I cooked the rice
I cut the fish and cooked the rice
- b. *mi kóti dí físi hě mbóí dí alísi

This subject requirement applies to the second and subsequent intransitive verbs in serial verb constructions in that the verbs are contiguous and the first verb is preceded by the subject, as in (28.a). There are intransitive serials following affected objects, and these verbs also are contiguous with the subject, which is the affected object, as in (28.b). Second or subsequent transitive verbs following their affected object, as in (28.c), may form chains in a serial construction. These verbs are contiguous with the affected object, and all have the same subject. It would appear that this subject is the matrix subject, in which case these verbs would not be contiguous with their subject. It will be argued below, however, that these verbs are intransitive, namely passive, with the affected object as their subject:

- (28) a. mi kulé kaí waka gó a téla
I run fall walk go to shore
I ran (and) fell (and) walked (and) went to the shore

- b. a sikópu dí báli gó kaí a wáta
 he kick the ball go fall in water
 he kicked the ball and it went and fell into the water
- c. a kísi dí fou náki kíi limbó boí njan (V. 1996:103)
 he catch the bird hit kill clean cook eat
 he caught the bird, struck it dead, cleaned, cooked and ate it

Second and subsequent transitive verbs in shared object serials must have the affected object in their argument structure, whether argued to be as subject or object. Transitive second or subsequent verbs in a shared object serial therefore may not be followed by a subsequent specific object, in (29.a), or by a resumptive pronoun, (29.b):

- (29) a. *mi kóti dí físi mbóí dí alísi
 I cut the fish cook the rice
 I cut the fish (and also) cooked the rice
- b. *mi kóti dí físi mbóí ě
 I cut the fish cook it
 I cut the fish (and) cooked it

Example (29.a) cannot be interpreted as an instrumental or theme serial. The second object *alísi* is in the object position of the second verb *mbóí*. The first object *físi* then is not affected by or in any way in the argument structure of *mbóí*. Thus the first object has no relationship whatsoever with the second verb. It cannot be interpreted as a shared object serial, since neither object is shared. Example (29.b) is a paratactic type construction, and with a resumptive pronoun would be correct in NDj (M. 1998:155). In SM, the object pronoun in (29.b) would signal that the object of the first verb is not in the argument structure of the second verb. There are examples of transitive verbs in serial

chains with objects, as in (30), but unlike (29.a) these objects are non-specific:

- (30) di u ko dou puu lai bebe soni tuwē daan kaba kaa (A.&G. 1997:44)
REL we come arrive put load drink thing throw rum finish already
after everything was unloaded, we poured out an oblation and drank

The non-specific objects, in Role & Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1990), would have no macrorole, so that the verb would in effect be intransitive, and the event depicted would be considered an ACTIVITY. In this sense the chains of ACTIVITY depicting transitive verbs are effectively chains of intransitive verbs, as in (28.a). An examination of the A. & G. (1997) narrative text, discussed below, shows that shared object serials almost never occur in ACTIVITY depictions, in other words the shared object tends to be specific and the verbs tend to be transitive in terms of RRG.

The *téi* instrumental serials have the object of V1 preceding V2, yet the matrix subject is the subject of both verbs. The same holds for the other serials, discussed above, with the object of V1 preceding V2. In these serials, the NP preceding V2 is not affected by V2. For the instrumental serials the NP2 is the object of a serial item, and is not affected as a patient. There is only one affected object in the *téi* instrumental serial, namely NP3.

Verbs in SM, then, must be preceded by a subject or by other verbs that are ultimately contiguous with the subject. This chain of verbs may be interrupted by items as long as there is only one specific affected object in the serial construction. This specific affected object would prototypically be the focus of the serial clause, and only one such focus is allowed; the grammaticalization of a variation on a general constraint against multiple focus clauses (Lambrecht 1994:329). In SM serial verb constructions, then, a subject must precede a chain of verbs leftward until a specific affected object.

4.3.1.2 Object position

The object in a shared object serial occurs after the first verb and before the second, and only one patientive NP may occur in a shared object serial. This is so even though many transitive verbs may follow it in a paratactic-type chain and depict an effect on it. Thus in shared object serials no object may follow more than one affecting verb, which must ultimately be preceded by a subject. In other words, the most agentive argument is leftmost, perhaps because of topicality. Only a single verb may depict the EVENT of the resultative EVENT STATE composition, by Déchaine (1997); the second and subsequent verbs depict the resulting state. Thus a clause like (31) does not occur:

- (31) *mi kóti mboí dí alísi
 I cut cook the rice
 (I cut (and) cooked the rice)

As mentioned above, there are similarities between anticausatives, passive verbs and verbs following their affected objects in shared object serials. In anticausatives and passives, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the affected patient also precedes the verb. Similarly of course, as with anticausatives, no object follows a passive verb, as transitive verbs are intransitive as passives. The patientive argument in these cases is topical and leftmost. In shared object serials it is a patientive object that is shared. It would follow that ditransitives, which have no patientive argument, would not occur as passives or as the second or subsequent verbs in a shared object serial, which is the case:

- (32) a. *dí móni dá mi
 the money give me
 (the money was given to me)

- b. a mbeí dí koósu dá dí mujéé miú
 she make the cloth give the woman child
- i. she made the dress for the girl
- ii. *she made the dress (and) gave (it) to the girl

The reason ditransitive verbs do not occur as passives, as argued in Chapter 3, is that they take theme and goal or benefactive arguments, and so there is no affected argument, as well as the fact that neither argument could be considered more topical. So neither could be leftmost, although the theme is typically less animate than the benefactive. This constraint on the V2 in shared object serials would also explain why ditransitives do not occur in the shared object construction.

4.3.1.3 Patientive subject position

A patientive subject precedes its affecting verb in the passive, and so like all subjects, conforms to the basic SV/SVO word order of SM. Subsequent passive verbs are naturally interpreted as having the same subject as the passive verb, in (33.a). A patientive subject also precedes an unaccusative verb and is the subject of subsequent intransitive verbs, in (33.b). In SM serial verb constructions where an intransitive V2 depicts a change of location, it is possible to interpret the subject of that V2 as either the subject or the object of the V1, in (33.d). In (33.c), however, the change in location refers to a lizard's tail, which is the only logical subject of V2. But irrespective of pragmatics, in a shared object serial depicting a change of location of the object subsequent intransitive verbs may only be interpreted as having the affected object as their subject, in (33.e):

- (33) a. dí físi kóti wási mboí kàà
the fish cut wash cook already
the fish has already been cut, washed (and) cooked
- b. dí kəkənótɔ púu kaí a gǔǔ
the coconut pull fall on ground
the coconut fell to the ground
- c. a kóti lábu fiká a mǎǎ
he cut tail remain in hand
- i. he breaks off his tail, which remains in your hand
- ii. (*he breaks off his tail and remains in your hand
- d. A sikópu dí bálu gó a dí wósu (V. 1996:79)
3SG kick DET ball go LOC DET house
- i. He kicked the ball into the house
- ii. He kicked the ball and went into the house
- e. a naki dí báli túwe gó kaí a wáta
he hit the ball throw go fall in water
- i. he hit the ball (and) (it) went (and) fell into the water
- ii. * he hit the ball (and) went (and) fell into the water

In (33.a, b) the subject of each verb in the chain is obvious. In (33.c) the object control interpretation, (33.c.i), is given by speakers, while (33.c.ii) is considered humorous and not acceptable. In (33.d), some speakers allow both subject control and object control interpretations, while others only accept the object control interpretation, (33.d.i). All speakers give the object control interpretation spontaneously. Veenstra (1996:79) considers the subject control interpretation, (33.d.ii), to be some sort of covert

coordination rather than a serial verb construction. The subject control interpretation is an exception to the SV word order of other serial constructions. In (33.e) there is no ambiguity; object control is the only interpretation.

The patient argument in (33.d) is in a subject position relative to the following intransitive verb chain, which appears to be its preferred interpretation. The patient argument in (33.e) would be in a similar subject position if the V2 of the serial were an intransitive verb, as in (33.b), or a passive verb, as suggested for SR in Sebba (1987:92). In this regard, change of location is an important element in FGb ‘take’ serial verb constructions, by Lefebvre (1998). On the other hand, passives in FGb do not occur with verbs of change of location, by Brousseau (1993). As discussed in Chapter 3, this is generally the case in SM passives and attributive adjectives as well, probably because changing location alone is usually not an effect that endures and so cannot be resultative. With non-agentive subjects change of location verbs occur mostly as unaccusatives. In FGb there are no subsequent chains of change of location intransitives, as in (33.e), with serial constructions (Migge p.c.); these subsequent verbs in FGb appear to have grammaticalized in the direction of prepositions. Also in FGb, there are no paratactic subject control serial verb constructions depicting change of location while affecting an object, as in (33.d.ii) (Migge p.c.).

The interpretation of *túwε* in (33.e) is that it depicts a change of location effect on the object, so that the construction is a shared object serial. The two subsequent unaccusative verbs reinforce this interpretation by showing that the subsequent action is resultative. But *túwε*, like *púu* in *púu kaí*, (33.b), may also be intransitive, as it is contiguous with an intransitive verb whose subject is the shared object. This verb occurs as an intransitive in non-serial clauses; it is unergative in *de tuwē te a kiki*, ‘they walked all the way to the creek’ (Rountree, Asodanoe & Glock 2000:112). As a V2 it may also be interpreted as unergative, in (34.a). Another common shared object V2 is *butá*, ‘put’, which also may occur as an unergative; *buta a mindi*, ‘to set sail; to begin going’ (ibid.:25). But *butá* is less likely to be interpreted as such as a V2, in (34.b). An additional PP, in (34.c, d), forces a transitive interpretation of the V2. When the verb *sáka* means ‘drop’ rather than

‘lower’ the V2 is less likely to be interpreted as affecting, as in (34.e):

- (34) a. a sáka hĩ soní túwε (hě a) kulé a dóo
he lower all thing throw (and he) run at door
he dropped everything and ran outdoors
- b. a sáka hĩ soní butá (*) (hě a) kulé a dóo
he lower all thing put (*) (and he) run at door
he dropped everything and ran outdoors
- c. a saka hii soni tuwē a goon hēn a ko haika (A. & G. 1997:36)
he lower all thing throw on ground then he come visit
he dropped everything and came . . . to pay his respects
- d. a sáka hĩ soní butá a táfa líba *(hě a) kulé a dóo
he lower all thing put on table top *(and he) run at door
he dropped everything on top of the table and ran outdoors
- e. *a sáka hĩ soní púu
he lower all thing push
(he dropped everything and pushed it)

In (34.a) the interpretation of *túwε* may be unergative. The ‘things’ are lowered, but not thrown, according to the speaker, and the person is in a hurry to leave. The subsequent unergative *kulé* may follow in the serial clause. This construction would then be like (33.d.ii), interpreted as subject control and perhaps not a true serial (V. 1996:79). If in (34.b) *butá* affects the object, as the ‘things’ are lowered and placed, and then the person runs outdoors, this subsequent action must be expressed in a separate clause, because of the object control interpretation. The PP *a goon* in (34.c) forces *túwε* into an affecting

interpretation, and as in (34.d) subsequent action by the matrix subject must be expressed in a separate clause.

Contiguous serial verbs share a subject, as in (33.a, b). An intervening object does not necessarily become the subject of subsequent verbs, as in (33.d.ii). But verbs following the V2 of shared object serials have the affected object as their subject, as in (33.e). As these verbs are contiguous with V2, it may be assumed that V2 also has the affected object as its subject. As these subsequent actions are resultative, the subsequent verbs should not be unergative, as seen in (35.a), or transitives, in (35.b):

- (35) a. a jaká déé ganíá púú *(hě de) buá gó a dóó
 he chase the(pl) chicken push *(and they) fly go at door
 he chased the chickens and they flew out the door
- b. a náki dí sitónu túwe *(hě a) booko dí fěnsé
 he hit the stone throw *(and it) break the window
 he threw the stone and it broke the window

The word order in SM, then, appears to be SVO even in serial verb constructions. Unlike FGb, there are no occurrences of OV in SM. For non-agentive subjects, or subjects that are UNDERGOERS, a chain of serial verbs does not contain unergatives or transitives.

4.3.2 Iconic significance of word order in discourse

Regarding the second and subsequent transitive verbs of a shared object serial, the direction of transitivity is from right to left, namely the opposite direction of the natural direction of transitivity flow (DeLancey 1981). These verbs share the property with anticausatives and passives that transitivity does not flow in the natural and iconic direction of transitivity. This violation of the iconicity of transitivity could be seen as an

iconic reflection of reduced transitivity, which characterizes the verbs in these constructions. The coincidence of the SM word order in these constructions allows this iconicity, although it could be argued that the coincidence helped stabilize the word order during creole genesis. There are many more constructions in FGb, also basically SVO, with reduced transitivity and an OV reversed iconicity of transitivity. The relevance of these constructions to the transfer of shared object serials in SM will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The transitivity patterns of SM shared object serial verbs parallel the distinctions in transitivity in ergative/absolutive systems. In ergative systems, the absolutive pattern includes *intransitive subjects and objects of transitives*. In SM the shared object is affected and may also be a non-affecting subject, the UNDERGOER of split intransitive systems. The ergative pattern includes subjects of transitives, which are affecting. Second and subsequent transitive shared object verbs, like passive verbs, may be seen as iconically conforming to an absolutive pattern in being preceded by a non-affecting argument, as opposed to an ergative pattern of transitive verbs immediately preceded by an agentive argument. The shared object in a shared object serial depicting change of location conforms to the absolutive pattern in being the subject of the following intransitive verbs as well as the affected object of the preceding transitive verb. The shared object in a shared object serial depicting change of state may also be absolutive, if the following verbs are considered to be passive.

There is also a parallel between second and subsequent transitive serial verbs and absolutivity in the highly agentive nature of the expressed subject, a characteristic of an ergative argument that is implied by the SM passive. Shared object serials and ergative clauses are similar as well in that they both prototypically depict highly transitive actions.

The significance of the ergative/absolutive resemblances to SM shared object serials relates to the activation of information. Du Bois (1987) argues that information is activated in an absolutive pattern, namely that agents do not tend to be introduced. In addition, the rate of activation of information may be controlled by the use of intransitive verbs. Thus there are two discourse functions of absolutive items.

Shared object serials can introduce an item as part of a complex event. In this way they are similar to the *téi* instrumental or theme introducing serials in activating information in a complex event. The shared object serial could be considered to be twice as effective in activating the object, however, since the object is the focus of two verbs. Although the verbs share the transitivity, they are able individually to specify how the item is in focus through their individual depicted actions.

The shared object serial may have subsequent transitive verbs, V3, V4, etc., in a more paratactic-type construction. As resultative verbs, they could be seen as increasing the efficiency of introduction. No analysis of these constructions has determined that the post-object verbs have zero anaphora (F. & O. 1985:26; V. 1996:142), and they do not occur with resumptives, as in (29.b). This indicates that each verb in the serial construction refers directly to the item being activated.

Shared object serials depicting change of location of the object with subsequent intransitive verbs whose subject is the activated item function to affect the rate of introduction of new information. The same would hold for change of state shared object serials with passive second and subsequent verbs. These constructions, then, are able to function according to the finding of Du Bois regarding the discourse function of absolutivity. The object-control shared object serials depict the object in both the affected object and intransitive UNDERGOER subject roles. This single construction would satisfy both the discourse functions of activating and of regulating the rate of activation. To the degree that this discourse characteristic is a motivation in natural language, it may have enhanced the transfer of the shared object serial verb construction. The survey of a narrative text in SM bears out this prediction. In the Aboikoni & Glock (1997) text, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, nearly all occurrences of shared object serials have non-pronominal shared objects. These are not used for contrastive focus. These shared objects, then, are either new or reactivated information.

4.4 Semantic constraints on shared object serials

Shared object serials resemble passives in semantic constraints. Both constructions require object-affecting verbs, which with the patientive argument form a pragmatically acceptable composite meaning.

4.4.1 Event interpretation

Serial verbs cross-linguistically have been generally defined as depicting a single event, (F. & O. 1985). This definition applies to SM as well, (V. 1993, 1996). There are variations in the event interpretation of the different types of serials, as seen in section 4.2 above. The eventiveness of a given type of serial verb construction varies according to its overall transitivity. The more transitive the serial verb construction, the more prototypically eventive. The prototypical event depicts the transfer of action in a maximally transitive manner (H. & T. 1980, 1984, 1985), as described in Chapter 1.

Serials with *pasá*, 'pass', in (4), depicting comparison of states are arguably non-eventive. One reflection of this, pointed out in 4.2.1.1, is the present tense translation of these serials. Dynamic verbs have a past tense aktionsart, as discussed in Chapter 2. Verbs with a past tense reading are more transitive than those in the present, by the transitivity features of Aspect and Punctuality (H. & T. 1980).

The serial verb constructions described in (4-12) are semantically specialized, and one of the verbs is a serial item. These serial verb constructions have been shown to have less sharing of transitivity than shared object serials. Shared object serial verbs share the transitivity more equally than the other SM serial verb types, thus fit best the definition that the verbs in two verb serials have half their non-serial transitivity, by H. & T. (1984:735). Shared object serials are the least specialized and idiomatic of the types of serial verb constructions, and have the most even sharing of transitivity among transitive verbs, and as mentioned above, they specify the inception and the conclusion of the

transmission of effect onto an object. They are therefore the most event-depictive of the SM serial verb constructions.

The eventive nature of shared object serials falls out from the fact that neither verb in the construction has necessarily undergone grammaticalization. For this reason shared object serials are the best type to examine for characteristics of verb serialization independent of semantic specialization and grammaticalization.

4.4.2 Transitivity of verbs

The verbs in a shared object serial verb construction must be highly transitive, particularly regarding the transitivity parameter Affectedness of Object (H. & T. 1980). The verbs must depict a visible or perceivable effect on the referent patientive argument. The verbs in a shared object serial have the same transitivity constraint that applies to verbs in derived attributive adjectives and anticausatives, discussed in Chapter 2, and to verbs in passive constructions, discussed in Chapter 3. These constructions involve verbs whose transitivity is reduced from their prototypical active transitive non-serial use. Derived attributive adjectives are nominal, passives are less transitive than actives, and anticausatives are low in transitivity by the parameter of Individuation in having no clear distinction between the initiator and the recipient of effect. Shared object serial verbs are each low in transitivity because they share the clause transitivity. In Chapter 7 it will be argued that the similarities in the verbs in these SM constructions are transferred from corresponding constructions in FGb whose verbs have the same morphosyntactic and semantic constraints.

4.4.2.1 Affecting verbs

Verbs affecting the patientive argument in a visible or perceivable way are required for

shared object serials:

- (36) a. a fáa dí páu túwɛ
he chop the tree throw
he chopped down the tree
- b. a náki dí ganíá kǐi
he hit the chicken kill
he knocked the chicken dead

There is no question but that in constructions like (36.b) the verbs depict an effect on the patients. There are verbs that occur in shared object serials, however, whose effect is less obvious, as in (36.a). These are verbs depicting change of location, also considered an effect, in Hale & Keyser (1987). Some common verbs in shared object serials are *háí*, 'haul', *butá*, 'put', in (37.a), *mandá*, 'send', in (37.b), and *púu*, 'pull/push', in (37.c):

- (37) a. de háí dí bóto butá a téla
they haul the boat put on shore
they hauled the boat (and) put (it) on shore
- b. mi fiígi dí físi mandá . dá Mandá
I fry the fish send give Manda
I fried the fish (and) sent it to Manda
- c. nóó i ó kǐi dí kəkənótɔ kásika púu
now you FUT cut around the coconut shell push
now you cut away the coconut shell

These verbs imply handling as well as change of location, which in part accounts for their

perceived effect. In other words, they imply that the affected object has been caused to change location. Recall from Chapters 2 and 3, however, that verbs like *púu*, 'push/pull', and *túwε*, 'throw', as intransitives resemble anticausatives, the intransitive counterparts to causatives (Comrie 1985:325), due to real or metaphorical change beyond just change of location. But unlike anticausatives, they do not depict a result; the salient part of their depiction is the action rather than a result. It was argued in Chapters 2 and 3 that the transitive change of location verbs do not usually depict enough resulting effect on the referent to occur as passives, or especially as adjectives. But as with a change of state, a change of location does affect an argument (H. & K. *ibid.*). The depiction of effect licenses the occurrence of transitive change of location verbs in shared object serials. However as V2s in shared object serials they are assumed to be intransitive because of their contiguity with following object controlled verbs.

If *púu* and *túwε* as V2s are considered to be passive, the construction is a shared object serial. Both passives and shared object serials are resultative. Passives and the V2s of shared object serials are similar in that they depict the resulting action of an agent not in their argument structure. In a shared object serial a transitive change of location verb as V2 can be passive because the composite meaning of V1 and V2 depicts a resulting state. If *púu* and *túwε* as V2s are considered to be unaccusative intransitives, the construction is an object control serial like (33.d.i), and they would depict resulting action. Because these verbs occur more commonly as transitives than intransitives, they will be considered to be basically transitive, and so they will be considered to basically be passives as V2s in shared object serials. In other words, they would appear to be passives in most cases, although there are examples, especially with *púu*, which suggest an unaccusative interpretation; *a náki dí báli púu gó a gōō*, 'he hit the ball (off of something) onto the ground'.

As V2s in shared object serials, then, affecting change of location verbs are considered to be passives, with the affected object as their subject. As passives these verbs transmit the NP2 as the subject of subsequent change of location verbs. In addition, the change of state V2s of shared object serials are also passive, in that

subsequent affecting verbs do not allow a resumptive pronoun as an object. In both cases, as well as for change of location verbs subsequent to the effect and for additional affecting verbs, the shared object has an UNDERGOER macrorole. The V2s of shared object serials parallel passive serial constructions in that they may be followed by unaccusative verbs.

But these V2s themselves should not be considered unaccusative intransitives, as unaccusative intransitives do not depict effect, and so do not occur in shared object resultative serials. Certain actions require a shared object construction, which depicts delimitation (V. 1996:142), and so do not allow a paratactic-like construction with an object controlled unaccusative:

- (38) a. **De fáa dí páu kaí* (V. 1998)
 3PL chop DET tree fall

Chopping down a tree is a more telic action, *fáa dí páu túwε*, than cutting back the growth in a garden, *fáa dí gōō*. The V2 *túwε* indicates this feature of the transitivity parameter Aspect (H. & T. 1980) in being passive, thereby linking the change of location with the change of state by the implication of the agency of the matrix subject. A change of location caused by the same agent as the change of state would depict a more telic and less interrupted action than a resulting change of location more independent of this agency. The serial construction in (38), **De fáa dí páu kaí*, would not be a shared object serial because the V2 *kaí* does not function as a transitive affecting verb. It would also not be an object control serial, as *fáa dí páu* does not cause the more independent type of ‘falling’ depicted by *kaí*, so (38) would not depict a single event. The context of (38) apparently does not allow a paratactic-type object control interpretation, perhaps because there is no locative PP.

Following Déchaine (1997), it is the composite meaning of *fáa* and *páu* that determines the nature of the ‘falling’. The falling action of *páu* subsequent to *fáa* is determined to be depicted by *túwε*, a more manipulative action. This is the case even

when *fáa* is intransitive, as it may be, for example *di foou faa*, ‘the tide is falling’ (R., A. & G. 2000:33); in (39) *fáa* is intransitive, yet with *páu*, *túwε* is still V2:

- (39) dí déde páu fáa túwε ába dí lío
 the dead tree fall throw cross the river
 the dead tree fell across the river

Because *fáa* is unaccusative intransitive, there is no implied agent. There could be no implied agent for *túwε* either, so *túwε* would also be an unaccusative intransitive depicting resultative action.

Veenstra (1998) argues with the data in (40) that the transitivity of both verbs in a resultative serial should be the same, so that a passive < transitive V1 determines that V2 cannot be intransitive.

As *fáa* is passive in (40.a), the composite meaning of both verbs then appears to allow a passive of the transitive change of location verb *túwε*, which would most likely not occur as a passive in a single verb clause. But it does not allow the unaccusative intransitive *kaí* in (40.b). The reason for this, by Veenstra (1998), is that the transitivity must be the same in the verbs of resultative serials. In (40.a), *fáa* is not interpreted as an anticausative in this context, it is termed a *non-alternating* verb. Since it is only interpreted as transitive, V2 must also be transitive, blocking *kaí* as V2 in (40.b). In (40.c) *boóko* is termed an *alternating* verb, in that in these contexts it may be interpreted as transitive or anticausative. As an anticausative and thereby intransitive, it may be followed by an unaccusative intransitive, as in (40.d). A shared object serial must have a transitive > passive V2, in (40.e), thus blocking the intransitive. But if *boóko kaí* is a resultative, then *mandá gó*, in (40.f), must also be a resultative. In each case the unaccusative intransitive action of V2 is the result of the action of V1, although *mandá* is non-alternating. The resulting action of *gó* is not an essential part of the meaning ‘send’, as seen in (43) below, and would not be a passive. And *fáa*, at least in other contexts such as (39), is intransitive:

- (40) a. Dí páu fáa túé : de fáa dí páu túé (V. 1998)
 DET tree chop throw
 The tree was felled
- b. *Dí páu fáa kaí : *de fáa dí páu kaí (ibid.)
 DET tree chop fall
- c. A boóko púú : a boóko hen púú (ibid.)
 3SG break pull
 i. It was broken off
 ii. It broke off
- d. A boóko kaí (ibid.)
 3SG break fall
 It is fallen apart
- e. a náki dí báta boóko *kaí
 he hit the bottle break *fall
 he hit and broke the bottle *apart
- f. di busikopu ... bi manda go a foto (A. & G. 1997:12)
 the message PAST send go to fort
 the message ... was sent to town

The examples in (40) show that in resultative serials an intransitive verb may follow either a passive/transitive verb or an anticausative verb. What blocks intransitive verbs following transitive/passive verbs is a change of state of the affected argument. When the item has been changed, it no longer is the same item relative to subsequent change of

location. When the location of the item has been changed, it is still the same item relative to subsequent change of location. When an item changes itself, in (40.c.ii) and (40.d), it is also still the same item for subsequent intransitive action. This may be explained by the transitivity parameter Individuation, where an anticausative does not distinguish the agent from the patient and is therefore low in transitivity. An anticausative verb would then affect the patient argument less than a transitive verb. Although anticausatives are considered intransitive by Comrie (1985:325), as are passives, in SM shared object serial verb constructions they have transitive qualities as well. Anticausatives are, after all, transitive and intransitive at the same time.

Transitive verbs occur in shared object serials because they depict an effect. Ditransitives, however, do not depict a sufficient effect, and so do not occur in shared object serials. As discussed in (16), (17) and (18) above, the ditransitive *léi*, ‘show’, occurs as V2 in serials depicting a change of location with the V1 *téi*, and as such is not a ditransitive. The change of location needs to be depicted by V1; in (41) no change of location is implied with V1 *wási*, ‘wash’:

- (41) a *wási dí fótóó * (hě a) léi mi *(ě)*
 he wash the photo: and he show me it
 he developed the photo and showed me it

As with the *téi* shared object serials, only moveable objects can be brought and ‘shown’, in (42.a), immoveable ones can not, in (42.b). More generally, change of location depictions are acceptable while change of state depictions are not. The ‘opening’ of a book brings the page into view, but the ‘painting’ of a room only changes its state:

- (42) a. a *jabí dí buku léi mi*
 he open the book show me
 he opened the book and showed me

- b. *a féífi dí kám̄ba léi mi
 he paint the room show me
 (he painted the room and showed me)

The verb *léi* in (42.b) may be interpreted as ‘learn’ in an instrumental serial; *a féífi dí kám̄ba léi mi*, ‘he painted the room to show me (how to do it)’. The verb *mandá*, ‘send’, is a transitive change of location verb, and occurs in shared object serials. But it may not occur as a ditransitive non-serially, in (43.a), and also may not occur as a ditransitive in a serial construction, in (43.b):

- (43) a. *mi mandá Mandá dí físi OK (mi mandá dí físi dá Mandá)
 I send Manda the fish
 (I sent Manda the fish)
- b. *mi sikífi dí bífi mandá Mandá OK (. . . mandá dá Mandá)
 I write the letter send Manda
 (I wrote (and) sent Manda a letter)

Ditransitives do not occur in shared object serial constructions and similarly do not occur in derived attributive adjective or passive constructions, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The reason proposed is that ditransitives have a theme and a goal/ben argument, but not a patient. The goal is the most salient argument, as it precedes the theme; *a dá mi dí móni*, ‘he gave me the money’, and the goal argument is not affected. When the ditransitive verb *dá*, ‘give’, is used as V2 in a serial construction, it is not ditransitive. It is a sesquitransitive; its internal argument is what would otherwise be the goal, and the item changing location is not expressed. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, this constraint on ditransitives also exists in FGb, and with the same explanation. In FGb ditransitives the goal argument is similarly the more salient (Lefebvre 1993:406). But ditransitive verbs in serials depict change of location, where the theme is the affected argument and the

here, as with the other possible counterexamples, involves a visible effect. It is produced by the act of 'seeing and wanting her'. 'Hearing her' would not produce an effect, so it is not possible to say:

- (46) *i wǎ wǎ jéi mi ké
 you one-one hear me want
 (you alone heard me (and) wanted me)

Croft (1994: 109) in discussing mismatches between pragmatic use and the idealized cognitive models of events observes that 'there is nothing to prevent some real world experience to be construed into the event idealized cognitive model . . . as long as it is plausible to conceptualize the event with the meaning appropriate to the construction.'

Transitive stative verbs are like verbs of perception in that they do not depict an effect on an object, and thus also do not occur in shared object serials:

- (47) *mi sábi dí búku lóbi
 I know the book like
 (I know (and) like the book)

There is a type of serial verb construction that is an apparent contradiction to the constraint against statives. Serials with *sábi*, 'know', occur as V2 with a dynamic verb like *léi*, 'learn', as V1:

- (48) a. ũfá i ó léi dí pási sábi
 what-way you(sg) FUT learn the road know
 how will you learn the way?

- b. i ó léi dí tóngò sábi
 you(sg) FUT learn the tongue know
 you will learn the language

Unlike the *lúku*, 'look', serials, in the serials with *sábi* as V2 the object is in the argument structure of both verbs. Thus the *sábi* serials would seem to be counterexamples to the affected object constraint on SM shared object serials. It is likely that the *sábi* serials originated in a FGb 'take' serial construction with a special verb of 'taking', *zé*, that allows a theme argument, particularly in contexts of learning (Lf. 1991:55; Lf. & Br. 2002:411).

4.5 Iconicity of word order

Shared object serials and passives have a patient argument preceding its affecting verb, which is the reverse of a word order iconically reflecting the transfer of effect through the verb onto the object. In both constructions this reverse order represents a reduced effect on a topical patient.

4.5.1 Iconicity in the order of verbs

Serial verb constructions cross-linguistically are said to present the verbs in an order representing the natural order of the described actions, as mentioned above. In SM, the natural order of the actions in the event must be represented in the order of the verbs:

- (49) a. a fáa dí páu túwε
 he fell the tree throw
 he chopped down the tree

b. *a túwε dí páu fáa

The 'felling' of the tree in (49.a) occurs before the 'throwing', the real-world order of these actions reflected iconically in the order of the verbs. The other order in (49.b) does not occur.

4.5.2 Iconicity in the position of the object

The shared object in a shared object serial occurs after the first verb and before the second and subsequent verbs. The position following the first verb is iconically natural, in that action can be seen as beginning with the agent and being transmitted to the patient. The position of the patient object before the second verb, then, is not iconically natural. The early occurrence of the object could also be seen as a reflection of its topicality. Early placement iconically represents known information, a kind of 'staging area' for further predication. The subject in (50), *a*, 'he', is known information, characteristic of agents (Du Bois 1987), and occurs early in most basic word orders cross-linguistically (Comrie 1988):

(50) a booko déé ápa túwε
 he pick the(pl) apple throw
 he picked the apples (and) tossed (them)

Relative to the first verb in (50), *booko*, the object *ápa* is new information, but relative to the second verb, *túwε*, it is old information, by the iconicity of word order.

4.6 Discourse roles and iconicity of tone sandhi

Saramaccan is a tone language. As such, it exhibits a characteristic of tone languages, namely tone sandhi. The tone of one tone-bearing unit, *TBU*, may spread to another. The origin of the tones in SM and of the particularities of its tone sandhi are very likely from FGb, as seen in some of the tone sandhi rules in that language, in Wieseemann (1991), Brousseau (1991) and Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:23), and in similar rules in Ewe, a related Kwa language, in Ham (1999). One significant characteristic of both FGb and SM tone sandhi is that it is blocked after verbs. Wieseemann (1991:75) attributes this to a diachronic shift in the FGb basic word order from SOV to SVO. The word order shift would not change the tone spread, analyzed for SM as head-leftward in Ham (*ibid.*) and Good (2001), so that the leftward spread from the verb would not affect the following NP.

The tone sandhi patterns in SM, as described in Rountree (1972) and Good (2001) and discussed in Chapter 2, may be seen as conforming to the discourse functions of the items they apply to. This, of course, is coincidental, since this phonology largely the transferred result of FGb diachrony. Yet it also could not be coincidental, of course, in that the iconicity may have increased the likeliness of transfer. SM is the only Atlantic English creole found in the literature to exhibit these tone characteristics. SM, in addition, has been influenced by more European languages than the other Atlantic creoles. These lexifier languages conflict in some syntactic features. Portuguese, for example, conflicts with the primary lexifier language English in its basic noun-adjective word order, and Dutch conflicts with English regarding clause final verbs in certain constructions. Tone sandhi in SM for adjectives and verbs is precisely the area that the tone sandhi phenomena and discourse functions coincide. There is the likelihood that the iconicity of tone sandhi inherited from FGb helped convey discourse functions during creole genesis before the input from the lexifier languages was stabilized. Such usage would enhance the mutual likelihood that the tone sandhi phenomena would be retained in the modern SM language.

4.6.1 Tone sandhi

That SM is a tone language may be seen in a few minimal pairs:

- (51)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|----|---|
| a. | mi woóko
I work
I worked | b. | mí woóko
my work
my work |
| c. | a ábi ě
he have it
he has it | d. | á ábi ě
he-NEG have it
he doesn't have it |
| e. | mà
but | f. | má
I-NEG (Libase dialect) |
| g. | bòsò
loose | h. | bóso
brush |
| i. | jàà
to splash | j. | jáá
year |
| k. | àkàtà
cotton head pad | l. | akáta
crossed (legs) |
| m. | bààkà
menstruation | n. | baáka
black |

o.	bàndjà side	p.	bandjá type of dance
q.	làlà row, string (of beads)	r.	l alá to grate
s.	lò slippery	t.	l ɔ́ clan, type
u.	mùsù should	v.	músu must
w.	tù also	x.	tú two

Another characteristic of tone languages are words with no high tones, in that in languages with stress all non-function words must have a stressed syllable. The SM lexicon is perhaps unique in having both tone and stress characteristics (Good 2001), including items where some or all syllables are specified with low tones:

- (52) a. l ɔ̀g ɔ̀s ɔ̀ *Gungbe* l ɔ̀g ɔ̀s ɔ̀ (Aboh p.c.)
turtle
- b. l ɛ̀g ɛ̀d ɛ̀ *Dutch* leugen
to tell a lie

Another characteristic of tone languages is tone sandhi. Voorhoeve (1961) and Rountree (1972) describe the patterns of tone sandhi in SM. Tone sandhi applies within words and across word boundaries within specified domains. Within these domains tone sandhi is the leftward spread of

high tone onto syllables with unspecified tone (Ham 1999; Good 2001), syllables that would surface with low tone in isolation, when those syllables are between two syllables with specified high tones. Changed tones are underlined, and the domain is indicated with {} brackets:

- (53) a. dí pampú lépi kàà [dǐ pǎmpú} lépì kàà]
 the pumpkin ripe already
 the pumpkin is ripe already
- b. déé wómi kabá u woóko [déé {wómí kábá}ù wòókò]
 the(pl) man finish for work
 the men finished working

The lack of sandhi for *u*, 'for', in (53.b) demonstrates that sandhi does not apply across the board. By Rountree (1972), certain lexical categories, prepositions and adverbs for example, do not participate in tone sandhi and block it at their left edge. Verbs, not as a category but more specifically as a function (R. 1972:314 fnt 9; Ham 1999), undergo tone sandhi with their subject NPs. Adjectives, however, with the exception of adjectives that do not occur as predicates, only display tone sandhi effects as predicates, where they function as intransitive stative verbs, (54.a). As attributives they block tone sandhi at their left edge, (54.b). In the head-leftward analysis (Good 2001:27), verbs and nouns are heads from which high tone spreads only as far as the preceding syllable specified with high tone. A final high syllable is lowered (Rountree 1972:325), so many elicitations have been designed with a final element to avoid affecting the examined tone, represented as [. . .], as in (54) below.

Ham (1999) observes that lexical categories are not sensitive to tone sandhi in natural language, and that the tone sandhi constraints in SM are determined by grammatical function. The Ham analysis accounts for the sandhi differences in (54) for the single property item *domí*:

- (54) a. dí foló donú . . . [dí fóló dónú . . .]
the flower yellow
the flower is yellow
- b. dí donú foló . . . [dí dónú fóló . . .]
the yellow flower
the yellow flower

It appears then that tone sandhi is sensitive to the function of an item. For adjectives, as defined in Chapter 2, there is a functional difference between attributive and predicative occurrences. There is also a functional difference between subjects and objects, and there is a sandhi difference. As predicted by the head-left rule, a subject sandhis with the following verb, (55.a, b), but there is a sandhi break between the verb and the following object, (55.b):

- (55) a. dí tígi kulé gó a lío [dí tígi kulé gó à líò]
the tiger run go to river
the tiger ran to the river
- b. mi peé tutú a dí tóú [mì pèé tùtù à dí tóú]
I play horn at the wedding
I played horn at the wedding

Items functioning as verbs exhibit sandhi in expected local contexts, and also sandhi with contiguous verbs in serial constructions. They also appear to sandhi non-locally with other verbs, as discussed in Chapter 2; with intervening non-emphatic pronoun in predicate cleft, (56.a, b), and intervening specified low tones, as in Rountree (1972:325), namely tones which do not participate in sandhi, in (56.c). The second verb in (56.d) would not sandhi with the subject, but rather with the intervening V1, but sandhi does not

occur because this V1 is a specified low tone verb. The shared object sandhis with the following verb (Voorhoeve 1961:159) in (56.d) and (56.e):

- (56) a. fiká a fiká a saána [fíká à fíká à saána]
- remain he remain in Suriname
- now he can STAY in Suriname (the war is over)
- b. kulé de kulé mbeí dí wósu [kùlé dè kùlé mbeí dí wósù]
- run they run make the house
- they built the house in too much of a hurry
- c. a hópo dí lògòsò butá a téla [à hópó dí lògòsò búta à télà]
- he lift the turtle put on shore
- he lifted the turtle (and) put (it) on shore
- d. Kofí lègèdè butá dí tákí dá mi [Kòfí lègèdè bùta dí tákí dá mì]
- Kofi lie put the talk give me
- Kofi lied, put the talk to me
- e. Kofí bà dí wáta butá a táfa [Kòfí bà dí wátá búta à táfa]
- Kofi bring the water put on table
- He brought the water (and) put (it) on the table

Verbs may occur reduplicated with an iterative meaning. These verbs are not serial verbs; they depict repeated events rather than a single event. Like reduplicated attributive adjectives depicting iterativity, such verbs generally do not sandhi with each other:

- (57) de paandí-paandí alísi á [dè pààndí-pààndí àlísì á]
 they plant-plant rice there
 they plant rice there (each season)

The blocking of tone sandhi for the reduplicated verbs in (57) is iconic of the fact that they do not depict a single event. The first depicted action is an event, as is the repeated depiction, which is new information relative to the first depicted action. The iconicity of tone sandhi does not allow sandhi of new information.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are syllables that are not in sandhi environments where unspecified tones surface as high rather than low. These environments do not allow a leftward spread of high tone, as in (56.a, b) for example, where a syllable with a specified low tone intervenes between the verb and its copy. The serial verb construction in (56.c) is similar. The basic insight of Rountree (1972:325) regarding serial verb constructions where the verbs are not contiguous is that there is sandhi among the verbs. This is a valid insight from the perspective of tone sandhi in SM as iconic of discourse.

Tone sandhi in SM may be seen as iconic of known or expected information, as it occurs for example between subjects, which are known, and verbs, but not between verbs and the following objects, which are new information. The iconicity of the high surface tones on unspecified syllables in the domain of sandhi is that they prototypically represent expectation. The lack of high tone with specified low tones in sandhi environments is overlooked, since specified low tones are rare. The occurrence of items with specified low tones, then, provides an opportunity for testing what appears to be non-local sandhi, or sandhi effect. As discussed in Chapter 2, tone sandhi no doubt originates as an articulatory shortcut in domains where such alterations and possible ambiguities are expected and tolerated. In SM, coincidentally, these domains define the juxtaposition of prototypically known or expected items.

Regarding serial verbs, then, contiguous verbs in a serial verb construction sandhi with each other, also a characteristic of FGb (Ws. 1991). This sandhi iconically represents the fact that the verbs in a serial construction depict a single event. Thus there is

anticipation up to the final verb. The anticipation is met in the vast majority of cases with a high tone on the unspecified syllables. It would be safe to speculate on a motivation; that where a decision had not been made for a following verb the default tone on unspecified syllables of the preceding verb would be high. The high tones on unspecified syllables before clause conjunctions have been argued in Chapter 2 to be motivated by the anticipation of the following clause, these high tones becoming the default.

It was argued in Chapter 2 that there are occurrences of high tone on unspecified syllables which do not meet the conditions for sandhi, and that these surface high tones are default tones, a reverse default as it were, a grammaticalization of the expectedness motivation. In predicate cleft constructions, as in (56.a), the domain of the reverse default resembles a sandhi domain, an attempt to mimic actual sandhi. The motivation for predicate cleft constructions is the same as for serial verb constructions, namely that the verb and its copy depict a single event.

The reverse default domain for the non-contiguous verbs of predicate cleft constructions may be applied to serial verb constructions where verbs are not contiguous. These domains are precisely what the domains for sandhi would be if the verbs were contiguous, that is those syllables of the verbs that would otherwise be affected by sandhi. But since the sandhi is blocked, the reversal of the default tone accommodates by signaling expectation with an approximation of tone sandhi. Considering the surface high tones on unspecified TBUs to be default reversal rather than spread accounts for the fact that if conditions are not met in the domain there is no tone raising in the domain.

It appears that reversing the default tone can occur when sandhi is blocked even though the items are contiguous, as seen in the default reversal in domains defined by the contrast depicting adjectives, as discussed in Chapter 2:

- (58) a. dí báka donú foló... [dí báká dónú fóló...]
 the last yellow flower
 the last yellow flower

- b. dí báka sèmbè [dí báká sèmbè]
 the last person
 the last person

Sandhi does not occur at the left edge of adjectives and at the left edge of items with the initial syllable specified for low tone. The contrast depicting adjectives approximate sandhi with other adjectives, in (58.a), and where sandhi would be blocked by an initial specified low tone, in (58.b). There is a parallel link of sandhi with contrast in FGb, where the contrastive focus marker *kà* is preceded by a sandhi border (Ws. 1991:78).

The iconicity of the domain of unspecified default tone reversal, then, is that it represents the expectation that would otherwise be in the domain of tone sandhi. The default high tone iconically signals expectation, but expectation that is beyond the discourse iconicity expressed by normal tone sandhi. In normal sandhi, for example, tone sandhi is blocked at the left edge of words with initial low tone so that the preceding default low tone surfaces in (59.a). This contrasts with (58.b), where the preceding default tone is reversed and surfaces as high. For serial verbs there is also tone raising that is beyond the normal sandhi. As observed in Good (2001:41), there is a sandhi domain preceding a verb in a serial with an initial TBU with specified low tone, in (59.b):

- (59) a. dí wómi lègèdè [dí wómì lègèdè]
 the man tell a lie
 the man told a lie
- b. a hópo bà wáta [à hópó bà wátà]
 he rise carry water
 he got up and carried water

Sandhi would occur in (59), but is blocked because of the initial low tone of the verb *lègèdè*. This is a normal blocking of tone sandhi, the unspecified tone of the noun *wómi*

surfaces with the default low tone. Such blocks are tolerated, perhaps as a transferred characteristic; in FGb there is a *neutral border* between subject and verb, by Ws. (1991:81), which means tone spread is variable. In (58.b), however, such a block is not tolerated, as the unspecified tone of the contrast depicting adjective *báka* surfaces as high before the low tone of *sèmbè*. In (59.b) there is also tone raising on V1 to override the normal block in sandhi seen in (59.a). This could also be a transferred characteristic, as in FGb there is a *conjunctive border* between serial verbs, in Ws. (ibid.:78), which means tone spread is obligatory. In these cases when sandhi is blocked, then, the default tone on unspecified syllables is reversed to approximate sandhi.

The difference between the normal and the reverse default surface tones in (59) and (58.b) coincides with a semantic difference. The contrast depicting adjectives, like *fósu*, *lásíti*, and *báka*, may be seen as the first part in the domain of a conditioning item and the expected consequence. Having depicted the contrast, there is the expectation that the contrasted referent will be mentioned, an expectation that does not exist following other adjectives. But the domain of the expected relationship, which iconically would be reflected in tone sandhi, would in effect be split, because the normal blocking of sandhi at the left edge of adjectives and nouns with initial specified low tones would block this expected sandhi. The contrasting adjectives then define the domain for the reverse default tone, namely the contrasting adjective and the following item. In terms of iconicity it is the split that conditions the reverse default surface tone. The other occurrences of reverse default tone could also be seen as an accommodation for a split. In the predicate cleft and copy in (56.a), *fíká à fíká*, the emphasized cleft verb creates an expectation of the copy, which is split off by the intervening subject. Similarly, the surface high tone on the noun before the relative pronoun *dí*, (R. 1972:320) in Chapter 2, could be seen as conditioned by a split from the end of the sentence by a backgrounding clause. The surface high tones before clause conjunctions, also discussed in Chapter 2, could be seen as conditioned by a split from the end of the sentence by the expectation of the following clause.

The tone sandhi between a subject and the following verb (R. 1972:322) is iconic of

the expected topicality of the subject. No item may come between the subject and the verb (Veenstra 1996:26); the adverb *naa*, ‘usually’ (ibid.), being an exception, although this item does not occur for consultants in this study. In terms of tone sandhi, however, a prepositional phrase is not considered part of the subject and verb constituent. This may be due in part to a tendency to avoid such a split, as speakers prefer alternative expressions. In elicitation, the PP *u só wǎ sèmbè* in (60.b) does not sandhi with the following verb, contrasting with the sandhi in the PP *u dí kónu* in (60.a), because of its specified final low tone. The PP *u só wǎ sèmbè* splits the constituent of subject and verb. As with the examples in (56), there is sandhi effect in that the items on either side of the PP appear to sandhi with each other. The iconicity of this split appears to be that verbs are sensitive to the topicality of the subject, and special morphology is used to express this topicality with sandhi effect:

- (60) a. *dí táfa u dí kónu líba* [dí táfa ù dí kónú líba] (R. 1972:320)
 the table of the king above
 the top of the king’s table
- b. *dí mujée u só wǎ sèmbè fika a wósu*
 [dí mujéé ù só wǎ sèmbè fíká à wósù]
 the woman of so a person remain in house
 the wife of such a person remained inside

The domain for reversing the default sandhi in (60.b) involves the syllables of the items that would sandhi without the intervening PP. In this case the constituent that is split is the head of the subject NP and the head of the VP. The normal sandhi is blocked by the intervening PP, but this sandhi is approximated by default high tone. The sandhi in (60.b) is of interest because it parallels the sandhi effects where serial verbs are split, as with *à hópó dí lògòsò búta à téla* in (56.c), and yet there is apparent sandhi between the verbs.

As mentioned above, the reverse default surface tones in serial verb constructions may also be seen as conditioned by a split, namely a split in the verbal action, as in (56.c), *hópó dí lògòsò butá*. As with the contrastive adjective *dí báká dónú fóló* in (58.a), the two parts of a ‘split’ verb approximate sandhi when sandhi would otherwise be blocked. When sandhi is not blocked but simply lapses, as with the left edge of *butá* in (56.c), *lègèdè butá*, the normal default low tone surfaces. Default high tone and normal sandhi conspire to iconically represent the constituent of the parts of the split.

Data presented in Good (2001:41) on serial verbs parallels the data on the contrast depicting adjectives, namely that in ‘split’ tonal constituents unspecified tones surface as high if sandhi is blocked, *wáká bà* . . . , ‘walk carry’. The high tone on *hópó*, preferred by speakers over *wáka*, precedes the initial specified low tone of *bà* which blocks sandhi, in (61.a), similar to *dí báká sèmbè* in (58.b). The data in (61.b) (ibid.:42) parallels the data on intervening PPs, *dí mǐjéé ù só wǎ sèmbè fíká à wósù*, in (60.b), namely that in split constituents an intervening item also blocks sandhi. However, in (61.b) there is no raising on V1; it would appear that the intervening item actually prevents the sandhi effect. The high tones on *butá* and the preceding item result from normal tone sandhi, which is independent of the sandhi effect:

- (61) a. a hópó bà wáta butá a wósu [à hópó bà wátá butá à wósù]
 he rise carry water
 he got up (and) carried water *similar to* (Good 2001:41)
- b. Kofí fénì wáta bà à bukéti butá à wósu [fénì wátà bà à bùkétí butá . . .]
 Kofi find water carry in bucket put at house
 Kofi found water, carried it home in a bucket

For *báká sèmbè* and *hópó bà* there is a split, a blocking of the expected sandhi in domains defined by the contrasting adjective and serial verb constructions respectively. A TBU with specified low tone at the left edge of these items blocks normal sandhi, and so the

default high tones surface on the preceding words. In (56.c) the split is created by a NP, *hópó dí lògòsò butá*, with sandhi effect on the verbs. For *mújéé ù s'ó wá sèmbè fíká* the split is defined by the intervening PP, which also then blocks normal sandhi. The sandhi effect applies to a split in the noun-verb constituent, but without the intervening item there is no split and there is normal sandhi, as in *wómì lègèdè*.

In example (56.c) the sandhi effect in serial verbs applies to verbs on either side of the split. There are, however, examples where intervening items do not induce the sandhi effect:

- (62) a. a bà pòtòpòtò butá a wá sè [à bà pòtòpòtò butá . . .]
 he gather mud put on one side
 he scooped up mud (and) put (it) aside
- b. a féni pòtòpòtò bà butá a wá sè [à féni pòtòpòtò bà butá . . .]
 he find mud gather put on one side
 he found mud (and) scooped (it) up (and) put (it) aside
- c. a féni wáta bà butá a wá sè [à féni wáta bà butá . . .]
 he find water gather put on one side
 he found water (and) drew (it) (and) put (it) aside
- d. de féni gàdjà sèmbè butá a fési [dè féni gàdjà sèmbè butá . . .]
 they find husky person put at face
 they found husky people (and) put (them) in front

In (a), (b) and (c) there is a verb with a specified low tone adjacent to one edge of the intervening constituent. From these examples it would seem that the separated verbs have the sandhi they would without the intervening item, suggested by the phrase *sandhi between non-adjacent units* in R. (1972:324). But in (d) both verbs are unspecified for

tone on the adjacent syllables, yet there is no sandhi effect.

The sandhi of the non-adjacent verbs does not depend on the juncture before V2, but rather on the preceding juncture. In (63.a) there is the sandhi effect on both verbs, but on the attributive adjective as well; it is the across-the-board sandhi effect in a tonal domain that motivates the term *default tone reversal over tone spread*. In (63.b) there is no sandhi effect, only the normal sandhi between NP2 and V2; there is then no sandhi effect on V1:

- (63) a. de féni lánɡa sèmbè butá a fési [dè féni lánɡá sèmbè bùtá . .]
they find tall person put at face
they found tall people (and) put (them) in front
- b. de féni gàdjà wómi butá a fési [dè féni gàdjà wómí bùtá . .]
they find husky man put at face
they found husky men (and) put (them) in front

The lack of sandhi in the intervening constituent in (63.b) creates a break in the sandhi of the junctures between the verbs, and contrasts with (63.a) where every juncture has sandhi or sandhi effect. The sandhi or sandhi effect within the intervening constituent in effect is a bridge connecting the non-adjacent verbs. Where this bridge is broken, there is no sandhi effect. If there is no preceding juncture in the constituent separating the verbs, there is no sandhi, even if the intervening item has no specified low tones. A single intervening item provides no such bridge, as pointed out by Jeff Good (p.c.):

- (64) a. de féni sèmbè butá a fési [dè féni sèmbè bùtá . . .]
they find person put at face
they found people (and) put (them) in front

b. de féni kaímà butá a téla [dè féni kaímà bùtá...]
 they find cayman put at shore
 they found alligators (and) put (them) on the shore

c. de wási koósu gǐfi [dè wási kòósù gǐfi]
 they wash clothes scrub
 they washed (and) scrubbed clothes

d. de wási koósu butá a wòsu [dè wási kòósú bùtá...]
 they wash clothes put in house
 they washed (and) put clothes in the house

There is a juncture with a determiner, of course, just as there is with an adjective:

(65) a. de féni dí sèmbè butá a fési [dè féni dí sèmbè bùtá...]
 they find the person put at face
 they found the person (and) put (him) in front

b. a wási dí koósu butá a wósu [à wási dí kòósú bùtá...]
 s/he wash the cloth put at house
 s/he washed the cloth (and) put (it) in the house

c. a wási wǎ koósu butá a wósu [à wási wǎ kòósú bùtá...]
 s/he wash one cloth put at house
 s/he washed a cloth (and) put (it) in the house

d. a gǐfi dí àkàtá jabí a sitónu [à gǐfi dí àkàtá jǎbí...]
 s/he scrub the head pad open on stone
 s/he scrubbed the head pad and opened it out on a stone

- e. a féni dí wáta bà butá a wósu [à féní dí wáta bà bùtá . . .]
 s/he find the water carry put at house
 s/he found the water and carried it to the house

The intervening constituent itself does not induce the sandhi effect, rather it is necessary for the constituent to have a sandhi juncture. If the TBU to the left of the sandhi juncture is not specified for low tone, there is sandhi effect. The right edge of V1 is in effect like specified for low tone in that sandhi is blocked. Therefore this juncture after V1 is not visible for creating a high tone bridge between the verbs, this juncture shows sandhi effect only if the bridge exists.

The sandhi effect in SM, then, takes the single intervening word as a marked item. This may be a transferred characteristic; in FGb there is a *disjunctive border* after verbs, in Ws. (1991:75), which means there is no tone spread. But for objects that are monosyllabic with a low tone there is tone spread (Lf. & Br. 2002:23). This would include a sizeable portion of the lexicon, since most FGb words are monosyllabic (ibid.:21). In FGb, then, bare nouns receive a different tonal effect from nouns with determiners. These bare nouns would most likely occur as non-specific objects in ACTIVITY depictions.

Because a constituent without a sandhi juncture will not induce the sandhi effect, there is no sandhi effect on the verbs with objects that are a single word. By coincidence, then, bare nouns do not induce this effect, meaning that mass nouns and non-specific count nouns do not induce the sandhi effect. Serials with objects that are bare nouns depict ACTIVITIES. Such ACTIVITY serials do not occur with the sandhi effect. Serials depicting ACTIVITIES differ from those depicting affected specific objects, or ACCOMPLISHMENTS, in that many affected non-specific objects may occur in a serial construction, while only one affected specific object may occur.

An attributive adjective involves a sandhi juncture with the following noun, specific or not. But by a text count for SM, in A. & G. (1997) below, and also in English and

Mandarin by Thompson (1988), attributive adjectives tend not to occur with non-specific referents. In SM serials, then, objects with attributives will most likely be specific. The likelihood of a non-specific object with an attributive in a shared object serial is even less than for non-serial clauses, as seen by the text count, in that shared object serials tend not to occur with non-specific objects.

Considering that nearly all non-specific ACTIVITY objects are bare nouns, there is iconicity in the pattern of sandhi effect. The sandhi effect occurs only with specific objects, including objects with attributive modifiers. Sandhi between contiguous serial verbs iconically reflects the single event interpretation. Affecting a specific object is an event, but affecting a non-specific object is less eventive. A clause depicting an effect on a non-specific object is lower in transitivity by the parameter of Aspect, in H. & T. (1980), in that the action of the effect is less bounded. In RRG terms such an action is intransitive, as a non-specific object has no macrorole. In serial constructions, the V2 depicts the end of a complex action begun by V1. V2 depicts the conclusion, indicating telicity. Telicity would be more appropriate for action affecting a specific object, and so would be more expected than for an ACTIVITY depiction. The sandhi effect for serials with specific objects iconically reflects the appropriateness and expectedness of the telic V2 in ACCOMPLISHMENT depictions.

The data in (63), (64) and (65) show that for the sandhi effect between non-adjacent serial verbs the intervening item needs to include a tonal juncture. In other words, it must consist of two words that would sandhi by R. (1972), such as [determiner + noun] and [adjective + noun]. In addition, the word to the left of the juncture must sandhi, it cannot have a final specified low tone, as in *gàdjà wómi* (63.b). Failure of sandhi to apply in other junctures also causes failure of the sandhi effect, such as the juncture at the left edge of attributive adjectives:

- (66) a. a wási dí donú àkàtà jabí a sitónu [à wási dí dónú àkàtà jàbí . . .]
 s/he wash the yellow head pad open on stone
 s/he washed the yellow head pad and opened it out on a stone

- b. a gĩlĩ dí donú àkàtà jabí a sitónu [à gĩlĩ dí dònú àkàtà jàbí . . .]
 s/he scrub the yellow head pad open on stone
 s/he scrubbed the yellow head pad and opened it out on a stone
- c. a fénì dí donú àkàtà gĩlĩ [à fénì dí dònú àkàtà gĩlĩ]
 s/he find the yellow head pad scrub
 s/he found the yellow head pad and scrubbed it

The sandhi effect on non-adjacent verbs depends on the application of sandhi effect within the intervening constituent. If it can apply at every juncture, there is sandhi effect on the bracketing verbs. But if there is a juncture within the intervening constituent where sandhi effect cannot apply, then it fails to apply anywhere in the domain between the two verbs. There are exceptions to the blocking of sandhi at the left edge of attributives, such as between numbers and determiners of nationality (R. 1972:319). With these attributives, then, there is sandhi effect:

- (67) de fénì síkísi olánsi sèmbè butá a fési [fénì síkísi olánsi sèmbè butá . . .]
 they find six Dutch person put at face
 they found six Dutch people and put them in front

The sandhi effect within the constituent establishes contiguous junctures with sandhi effect in the domain between the two verbs. The junctures in the intervening constituent serve as a bridge connecting the two verbs, when they have sandhi effect they allow sandhi effect between the verbs to be local; local in that there is no break in the contiguity of sandhi effect junctures. There is a resemblance here to high tone spread in FGb; since most FGb words are monosyllabic, tone spread is mostly across word boundaries.

As the junctures in the intervening constituent transmit the sandhi effect locally to the two verbs, it follows that there in fact must be such a juncture for sandhi effect to occur.

In (64) the two verbs are separated by a single word, and there is no sandhi effect. Within a constituent of a single word there are no junctures. A juncture at either edge of the single word would be the juncture of one of the non-adjacent verbs. These junctures are the targeted junctures for sandhi effect, they are not the junctures that determine it. Intervening single words, then, do not induce sandhi effect on non-adjacent verbs.

The view of sandhi effect as default tone reversal on verbs in a serial verb construction accounts for the data; within the intervening constituent the TBU to the left of every juncture must surface with a high tone. If the TBU to the left has a high tone, then the TBU to the right may also surface with a high tone, unless it is specified for low tone. In other words, for any juncture the TBU to the left must either be specified for high tone or have high tone default, and then the TBU to the right may reverse the default tone. If the TBU to the left is specified for low tone, then the TBU to the right is not affected. This hierarchy iconically reflects anticipation, as the first TBU in real time is affected in anticipation of the possibility that the following TBU will be affected. If all the junctures in the intervening constituent have sandhi effect, there is the anticipation that the verbs on either edge will also be affected; the junctures within the constituent must be affected so that the junctures at the edges may be affected.

The junctures of the non-adjacent verbs are the junctures referred to in Rountree (1972). Because these junctures juxtapose the intervening constituent, and because the sandhi effect is a strategy for bypassing the sandhi blocking interruption, the intervening constituent is not visible to the default tone reversal rules for these junctures. For V1, then, sandhi effect does not apply to the right, and for V2 sandhi effect does not apply to the left.

For a formal representation of the reverse default of sandhi effect, a floating high tone morpheme is proposed, based on the analysis in Good (2001) that posits two floating high tone morphemes, a prefix and a suffix, affecting verbs in serials. The two morphemes account for the two directions of effect. A single morpheme is proposed, however, because the same tone raising process takes place in every application, as default reversal implies a single process. The single process involves default tone raising in both

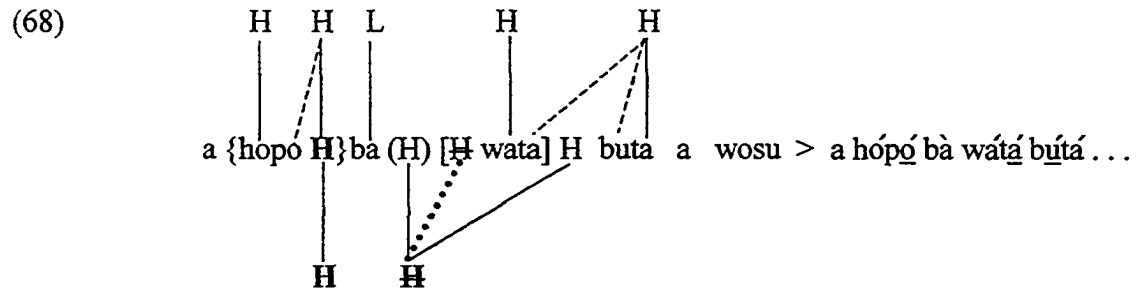
directions by the rules above, affecting TBUs on both sides of a juncture, as would be expected in sandhi effect across a juncture. A single process would account for the sandhi effect on the verbs in *hópó dí lògòsò búta*, in (56.c), and *hópó bà*, in (61.a), and *bà búta*, in (62.c), as well as the attributive in an intervening constituent in *lángá sèmbè*, in (63.a), and the contrasting attributive in *báká dónú fóló*, in (58.a). More importantly, a single process accounts for the fact that sandhi effect either applies to junctures throughout the domain defined by non-adjacent serial verbs, or it fails to apply at any juncture in that domain; it cannot apply independently to any one juncture.

The floating high tones in the Good analysis are treated as suffixes on non-final verbs in serials, and prefixes on non-initial verbs in serials that are not adjacent to a preceding verb. The analysis here will consider the high tone morpheme to be a single morpheme beyond the word boundary, since tone sandhi is induced across word boundaries. It creates a sandhi environment with the preceding word, allowing the normal or vacuous leftward spread of high tone, which if successful then creates a sandhi environment with the following word, allowing normal leftward high tone spread. In terms of ranked constraints, a sandhi environment to the left outranks one to the right.

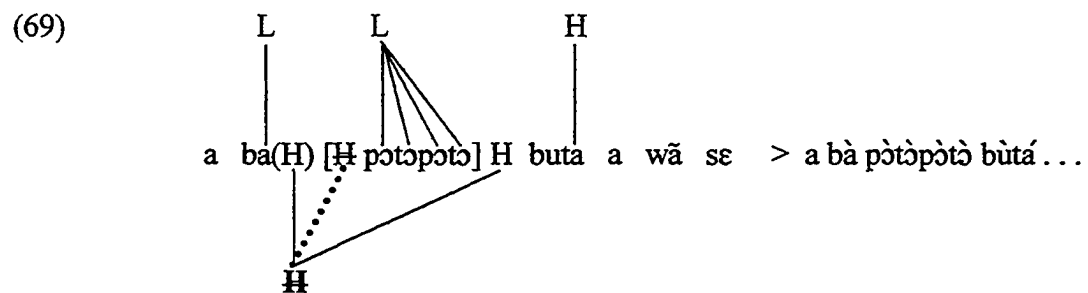
To establish an environment for sandhi effect in serials, the high tone morpheme must be able to allow high tone spread to a syllable unspecified for tone, or to allow this spread to occur vacuously to a specified high tone. As with normal tone sandhi, a specified low tone does not allow this high tone spread. If any juncture in the intervening constituent of a serial verb construction does not allow the application of the high tone morpheme, the conditions for sandhi effect are not met. Failure results when the TBU to the left of the juncture is a specified low tone, or if sandhi normally does not occur at that type of juncture. Failure of sandhi effect does not, of course, preclude normal sandhi such as the sandhi between an intervening word and the following verb.

The high tone morpheme is inserted between two verbs in a serial, so that in serial constructions with many verbs it is inserted more than once. An intervening item is bracketed by [], and the raising environment created by the high tone morpheme is bracketed by {}. The high tone morpheme is H, when it cannot apply to the left it is (H),

and when it fails to apply in the intervening constituent it is \underline{H} . When it does apply and allows normal high tone spread it is in bold type, \mathbf{H} . The high tone morpheme is represented as spreading to the right, based on the ranking of left over right in its application. But the direction makes no difference, as the morpheme insertion is not considered to be spread:

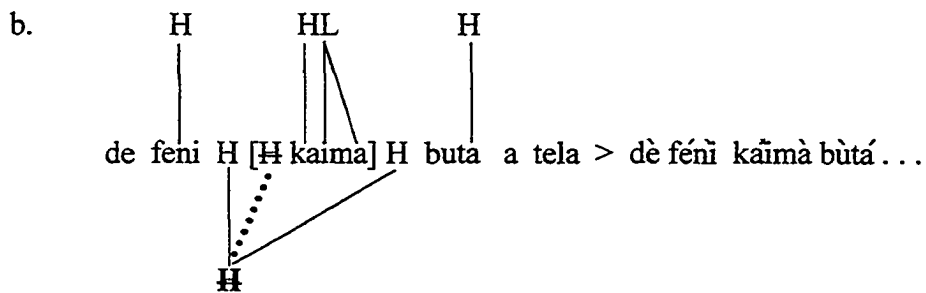
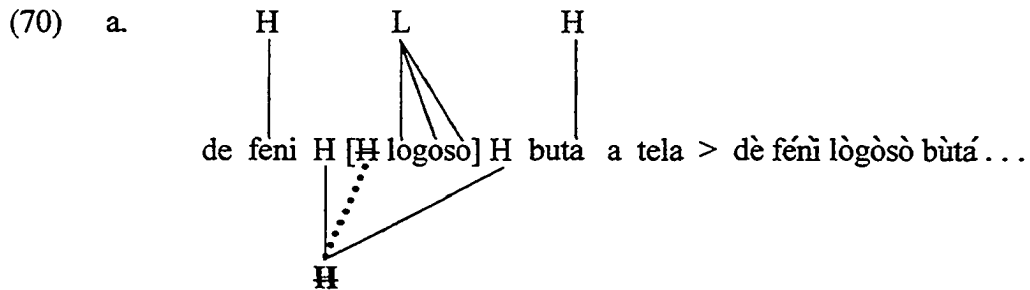


The first floating high tone, \mathbf{H} , applies, and there is sandhi effect. The second floating high tone cannot create a sandhi environment at the edge of the intervening item, \underline{H} , and so does not apply, \underline{H} , between the serial verbs *bà* and *butá*. Normal sandhi rules account for the high tone spread from *butá* to *wátá*. There would be no normal high tone spread on *butá* with a preceding specified low tone:

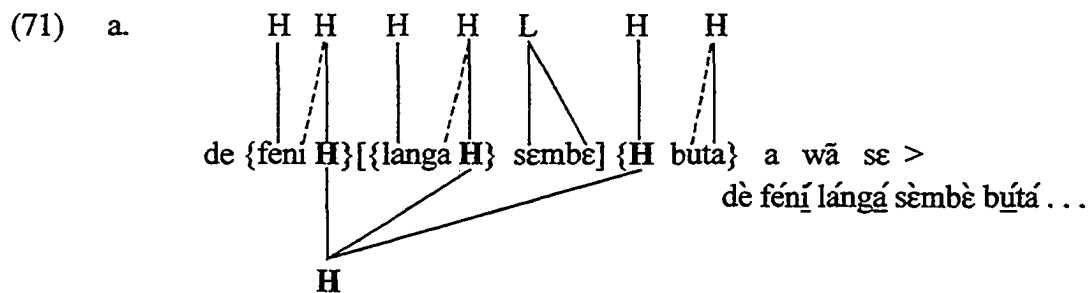


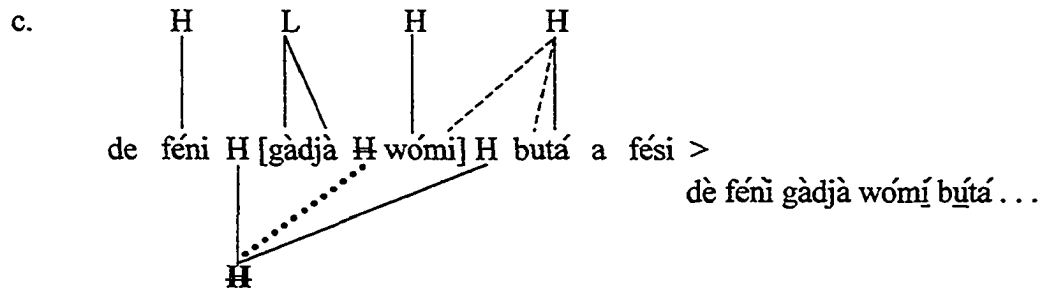
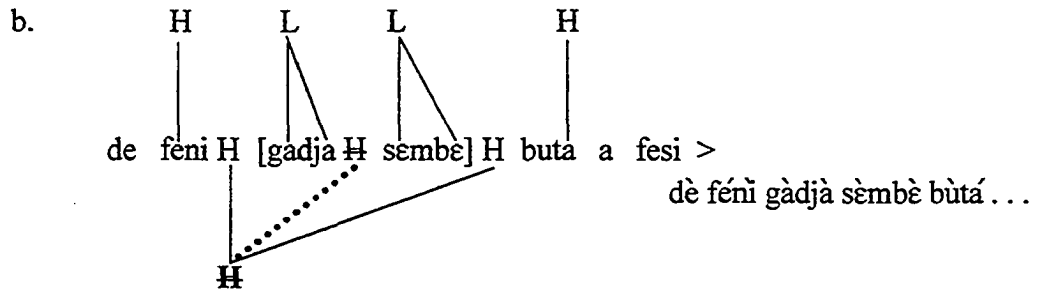
A verb following a low tone intervening word may undergo the tone raising of the sandhi effect if the domain is established, namely if all high tone morphemes apply in the intervening constituent, as in *hópó dí lògòsò búta*, in (56.c). However, a bare noun does not allow a domain, in (68) and (69), implying that the constituent needs a juncture to allow the domain. Sandhi effect fails with a single word constituent even when neither

verb is specified low, and irrespective of any specified high or low tones in the single word:

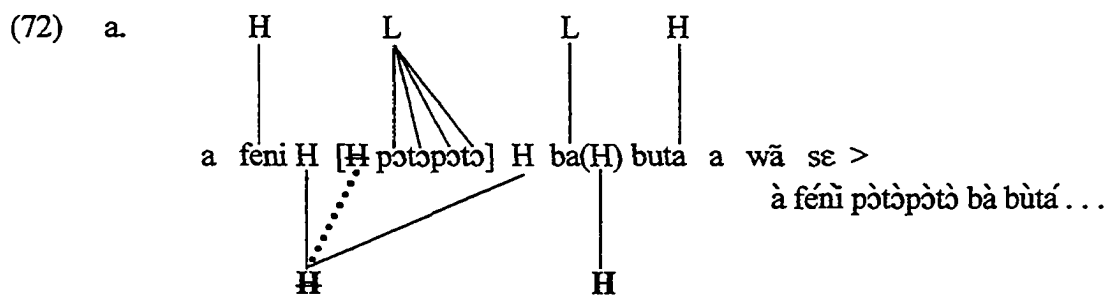


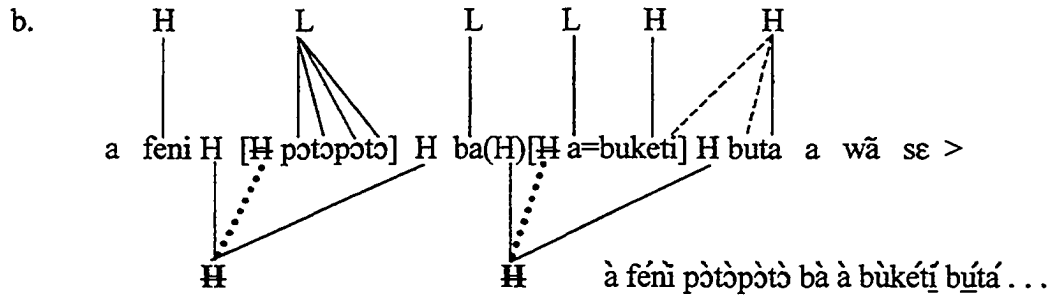
In (71.a) the high tone morpheme applies for *lángá*, so all junctures surface with high tones on the appropriate TBUs. In (71.b) the high tone morpheme would not be able to apply to the low tone in *gàdjà*, so the conditions for its application are not met:



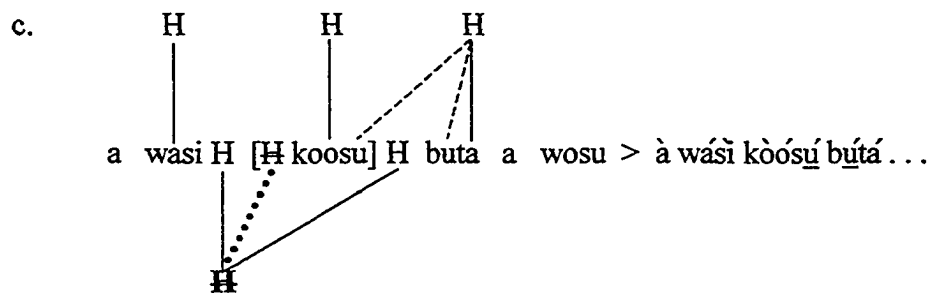
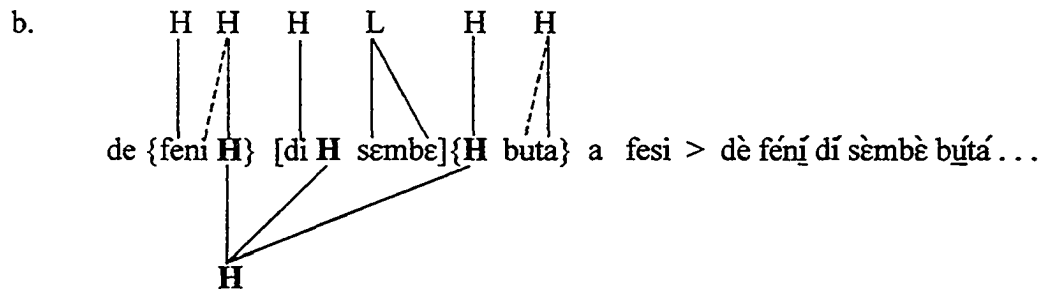
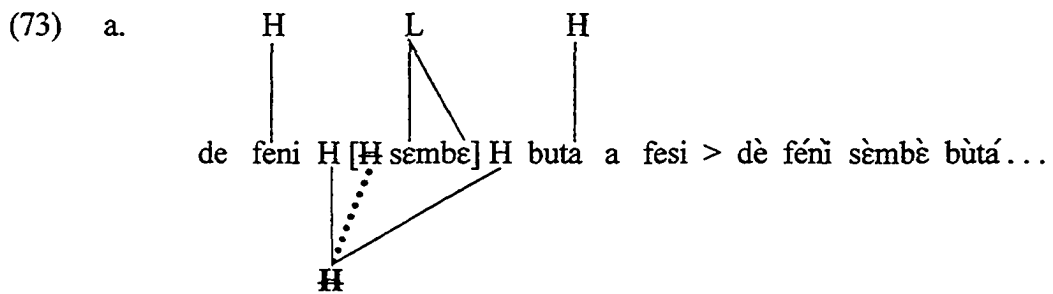


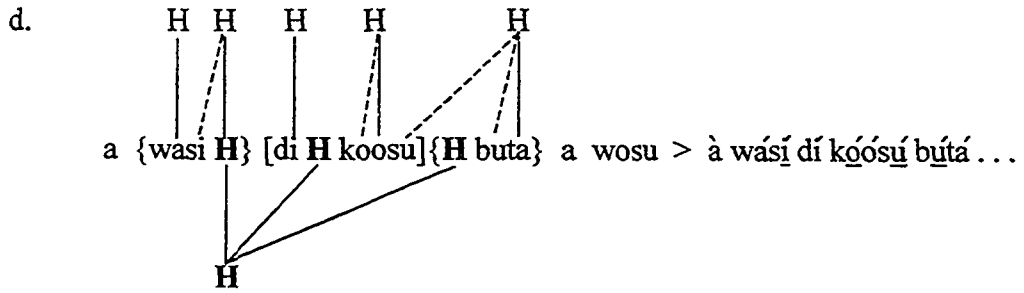
The failure of the high tone morpheme to apply in the intervening item also prevents the sandhi effect, in (72.a), but between *bà* and *butá* this failure simply prevents sandhi effect from applying to the right. Failure to apply to the intervening item does not block normal sandhi, as between *bukéti* and *butá* in (72.b). Prepositions do not take part in sandhi (R. 1972: 320), and they also do not appear to have a juncture with the following noun, in (76.a) below, and so will be considered to be proclitics:



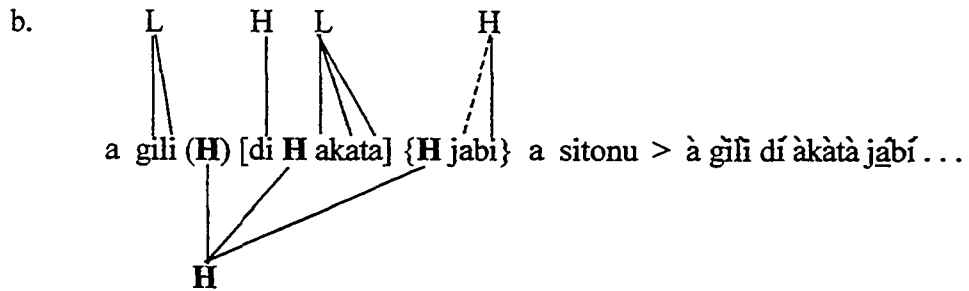
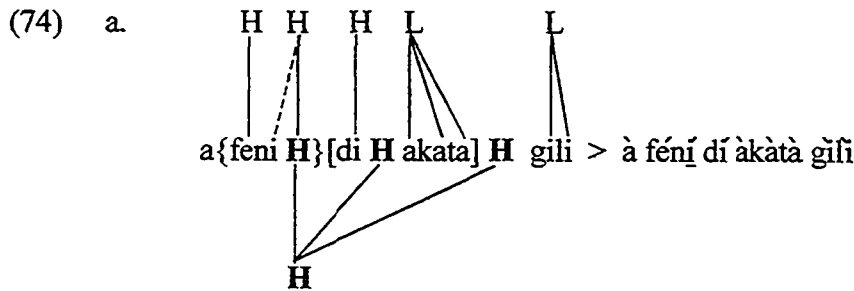


The need for a constituent internal sandhi juncture for high tone morphemes to apply is seen in the difference between bare objects and objects with determiners:

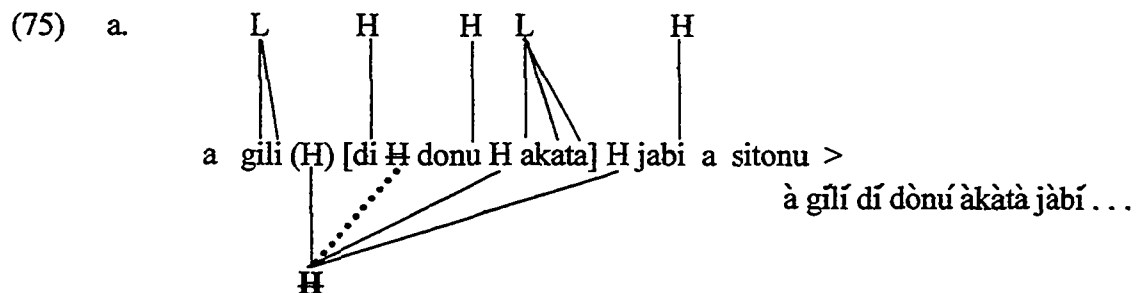


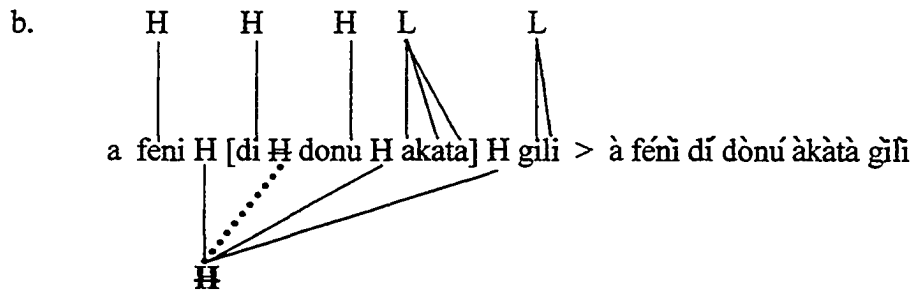


Sandhi must occur in the junctures within the interverbal constituency in order to apply to the non-adjacent verbs, but raising on the verbs depends on their specified tones:

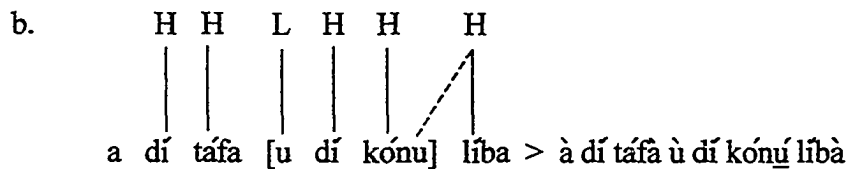
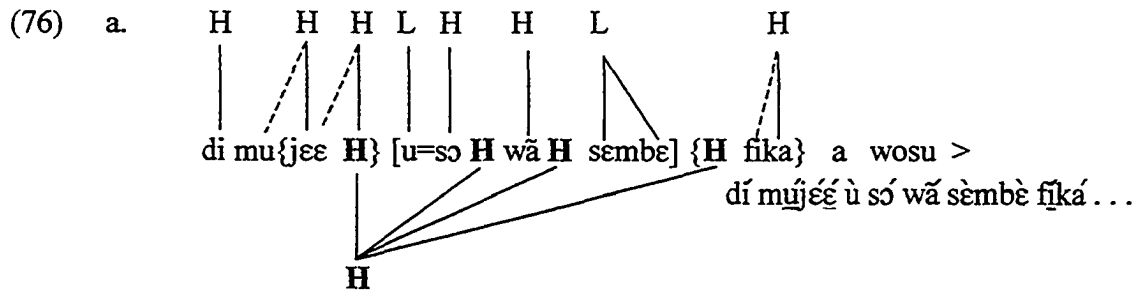


The juncture before an adjective does not allow sandhi, and so conditions are not met for the sandhi effect:





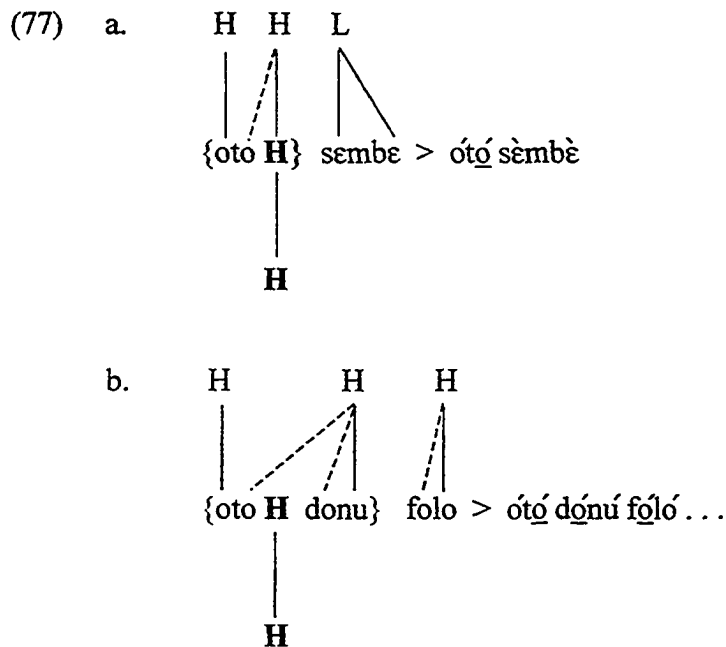
The floating high tone morpheme applies to the interruption between a subject and the following verb; again most likely motivated by the expectation that sandhi would express the otherwise contiguity of subject and verb, in (76.a). An interruption between a noun and a postposition does not induce the high tone morpheme, in (76.b). There is no juncture after a preposition, in that prepositions do not participate in tone sandhi (R. 1972:320) and will be considered proclitics, as in (74.b):



H

The noun-postposition phrase may also be seen as a nominal adjective-noun phrase, so interruptions with subsequent adjectives would not be unexpected. Thus in (76.b) the high tone morpheme is not appropriate. The floating high tone does apply to the

contrasting attributive adjectives, however, since there is the expectation that they will sandhi with a following item, in (77.a). The sandhi with *óto* and the following adjective in (77.b) shows the rule applying in both directions:



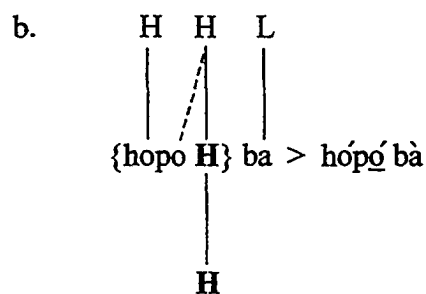
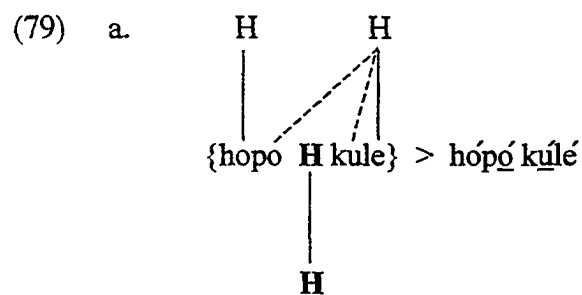
The rule for the spread of the domain from H may be stated more generally:

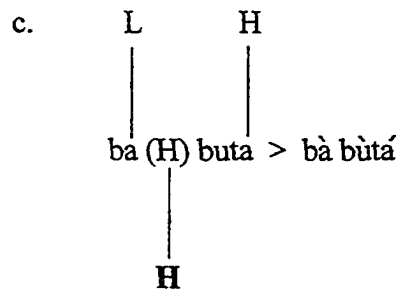
- (78)
- | |
|---|
| <p>H applies where sandhi would otherwise occur;</p> <p>H applies first to the left;</p> <p>if the left TBU has a specified low tone, the H fails to apply;</p> <p>if H applies to the left, then H applies to the right;</p> <p>if this right TBU has a specified low tone, this H fails to apply.</p> |
|---|

The ordering of the application of H so that left precedes right may be a transferred feature, in that FGb high tone spreads to the right (Lf. & Br. 2002:23). The H morpheme has been represented as spreading to the right in SM, like FGb high tone spread, but the spread of high tone in SM is to the left. The H does not apply to a specified low tone on the left, so the H fails to apply to the right as well, as in *bà bùtá*. The H does not apply to

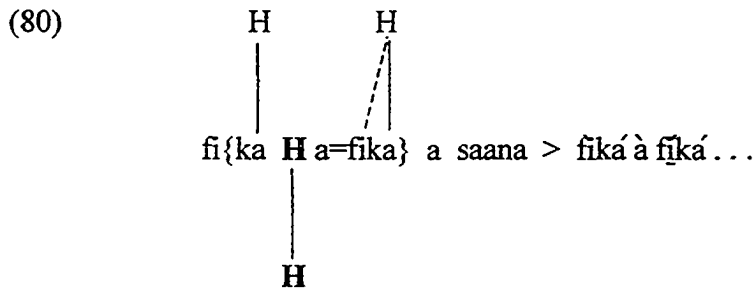
a specified low tone on the right, but it has already been established for the TBU to the left, as in *hópó bà*. The H does not affect, of course, the interrupting item adjacent to a] or [bracket. The tonal domain established by H allows a high tone if normal sandhi does not allow a high tone spread.

The H, then, may be seen as the cause of sandhi between verbs in serial constructions. Verbs are considered heads, and high tone spreads left from heads, by Good (2001). For two adjacent verbs, however, the head verb may occur to the left, as with resultative EVENT STATE serials (Déchaine 1997). In any case a verb prototypically depicts a state or an event, so that two verbs depicting a single state or event would be marked. Tone sandhi between the two verbs would iconically represent their sharing in the depiction, since it would be expected to be the case. A domain can be established for this expectation, with H:





The sandhi effect in verbal predicate cleft constructions is also the application of H. The sandhi spans a subject pronoun; *fíká ì fíká*. Subject pronouns are considered clitics in Veenstra (1994:105), and like prepositions may not be visible to H. The sandhi effect in this case would be similar to the sandhi between adjacent serial verbs, in (79.a):



Considering the sandhi effect to be the result of the application of a single high tone morpheme accounts for the fact that the application at any juncture in a serial of non-adjacent verbs is not independent of the application at the other junctures. In addition, it allows a single motivation, namely expectation, which also allows the possibility that all the sandhi effect phenomena entered the language at the same time. Because the sandhi effect approximates normal sandhi, it may be assumed that it entered the language after normal sandhi. The contrasting adjectives, like *óto* for example, may have been influenced by Portuguese, perhaps a PR based creole adstratum, since these adjectives precede the noun in PR and so in a PR creole would sandhi with it. They could also have been influenced by a later adstratum language like Kikongo, where numerals and non-universal quantifiers like 'other' have different tone effects than other adjectives (Odden 1993:192). Similarly, serial verbs may have entered the language at a later expanded

stage as the need for greater descriptive capability developed. These topics will be discussed in the chapters on transfer.

Unlike serial verbs, verbs in subordinate constructions do not approximate sandhi:

- (81) a. mi mbéi a kulé gó a dóó [mì mbèi à kùlé gó à dóó]
 I make him run go to door
 I made him run outside
- b. mi jéi a kulé gó a dóó [mì jèi à kùlé gó à dóó]
 I hear him run go to door
 I heard him run outside
- c. mi disá dí sèmbè kulé gó a dóó [mì ðisá dí sèmbè kùlé . . .]
 I leave the person run go to door
 I let the person run outside
- d. mi heépi dí sèmbè pèé tutú [mì hèépì dí sèmbè pèé tûtú . . .]
 I help the person play horn
 I helped the person play the horn (by playing it)

The complements of the matrix verbs of perception, *sí*, ‘see’, or *jéi*, ‘hear’, and the causative *mbéi*, ‘make’, involve subject pronouns, as in *mi jéi a kulé*. Veenstra (1996:57, 158) argues that these are not serial verb constructions. Other matrix verbs are followed by object pronouns, as in *mi heépi é pèé*, giving them a superficial resemblance to serial verb constructions. The lack of sandhi approximation over the low tone of *dí sèmbè* strengthens an argument that these are not serial either, as this constituent would allow sandhi effect on non-adjacent serial verbs. But unlike serial verbs, neither type of matrix verb defines the domain for approximating sandhi, as seen in (81). The lack of sandhi approximation between matrix and subordinate verbs is additional evidence for the

argument in Veenstra (ibid.:118) that serial verbs are not a type of subordination.

4.6.2 Topicality and tone sandhi

The motivation for tone sandhi seems intuitively to have been a kind of slurring, beginning as the type of phonetic accommodation expected to accompany information that is already known and familiar. Because the information is known, its lexical tones are familiar and may be compromised according to rules. The motivation for this compromise as ease of pronunciation could find a discourse function as an iconic representation of known information. In contrast, the treatment of new information would seem intuitively to involve maintaining the lexical tones for minimum ambiguity as well as isolating and therefore marking the item as the focal point of a clause.

4.6.2.1 NP tone sandhi

There is a pattern of tone sandhi and breaks in tone sandhi in adjective use, in (54), which suggests a reflection of old and new information. Thompson (1988) argues that attributive adjectives prototypically accompany new information, and that predicate adjectives prototypically predicate old information.

In (54.a), *dí fóló dónú*, the predicate adjective sandhis with the preceding referent. The sandhi at the left edge of the predicate adjective could be taken as an indication that it refers to known information. An iconic indication of this in SM is the position of the referent preceding the adjective. Known information tends to occur early in a phrase cross-linguistically, establishing a reference for further predication. Also, by the time the adjective is mentioned, the referent has been mentioned and is therefore known and topical.

In contrast, in (54.b), *dí dónú fóló*, the attributive adjective does not sandhi at its left

edge. This could be taken as an indication that this adjective refers to new information. By the head-leftward analysis for high tone spread (Gd. *ibid.*), the domain for spread includes only one juncture, so that tone does not spread beyond one word; this is because every word has either a specified high tone, allowing spread, or a specified low tone, blocking it. This accounts for the lack of sandhi between attributive adjectives, iconically reflecting that each attributive depicts new information. The tone sandhi patterns here, whatever their substrate diachronic development or change during transfer, would then appear to be a grammaticalization of topicality.

Attributive adjectives depicting a contrast, such as the ordinals *fósu*, ‘first’, *u tú*, ‘second’, *u díi*, ‘third’, or *lásítí*, ‘last’, or *óto*, ‘other’, have the sandhi effect with a following adjective or noun with a specified low tone left edge. These adjectives may be seen as modifying known information that is being contrasted, iconically reflected in the approximation of sandhi, as in (58.a), *dí báká dónú fóló*, and (58.b), *dí báká sèmbè*. In terms of head-leftward spread, the contrasted attributive is the head of a phrase with a contrasting attributive.

The tone sandhi pattern for subjects and objects similarly indicates topicality, again notwithstanding the actual diachronic or transfer origin. As verbs are considered heads, the head-leftward rule accounts for the sandhi difference between subjects and objects. In (55.a), *dí tígí kúlé*, the subject sandhis with the following verb, an iconic indication of known or topical information. In (55.b), *mì pèé tùtú*, the verb does not sandhi with the following object. The object is presented with its lexical tones. This is an indication that the NP functioning as the object is prototypically new information. The iconicity of its position following the subject also indicates this.

In SM most attributes precede the noun, but attributive PPs, such as *dí táfa u dí kónu* ‘the table of the king’ (R. 1972:320), or *dí dósu ku móni* ‘the box of money’, are postnominal. Such a postnominal PP appears to block normal sandhi between subject and verb. This iconically indicates the relation of attributives to nouns as new information. Sandhi is approximated on the subject and verb, as in (60.b), *dí mújéé ù só wǎ sèmbè fíká*, reflecting the relation of subjects to verbs as prototypically known

information. A possessive PP may occur prenominally, as in *dí fíí móni*, ‘the of-you(sg) money’, perhaps to conform to other attributives; this construction appears to be used to depict contrast, and thereby a new perspective on the referent.

4.6.2.2 VP tone sandhi

The verb sandhis with the preceding subject, as seen in (54.a), *dí fóló dónú*, and (55.a), *dí tígí kúlé*. The implication of this pattern as mentioned above is that the subject is known information relative to the verb. The lack of sandhi in (57), *dè pààndí-pààndí àlísí á*, is an indication that iterativity expressed by reduplication is considered representative of successive items that are new information.

Serial verb constructions depict single events, iconically reflected in the sandhi between contiguous verbs, as in *hópó kúmútù*, ‘get up (and) go out’ (R. 1972:324). This pattern occurs in FGb (Ws. 1991:78). When these verbs are not contiguous, sandhi is approximated, as in (56.b), *hópó dí lògòsò búta*, maintaining the iconicity. Sandhi is approximated with high tone as well for contiguous serial verbs when blocked by a following specified low tone (Gd. 2001:41), as in (61.a), *hópó bà wátà*.

There are also intervening items that do not induce the sandhi effect, as in *wásí kòósú búta*, in (73.c). The sandhi effect does not occur if the intervening item consists of one word. This constraint can be related to the head-leftward rule. Normal sandhi would spread high tone to the word preceding V2, as it does for *kòósú búta*. The intervening item is known information to V2. But this topicality would not be reflected by normal sandhi if the intervening item consisted of more than one word. The sandhi effect, then, is motivated to reflect the topicality of complex intervening items only, as *féní lángá sèmbè búta*, in (71.a), since single word items are already accounted for by normal sandhi.

The tone sandhi and approximated tone sandhi effect between verbs in serial verb constructions is an iconic reflection of single event depiction. Each verb depicts a part of

an event, the verbs occurring in the real-world order of the parts of the event. The depiction of an affected object or any other item between the verbs does not indicate that the parts of the event are any less contiguous.

4.6.2.3 Variation in tone sandhi

Tone in SM gives the appearance of being a grammaticalization of intonation, as tone is argued to be in FGb by Wieseemann (1991:87). Tone in FGb is lexical, but not grammatical (*ibid.*), which is largely the case for SM as well. In SM there are lexical contrasts for monosyllabic words such as *jàà*, ‘splash’, and *jáa*, ‘year’, in (43). There are some grammatical contrasts in SM, however. There is a grammatical paradigm involving the portmanteau pronoun and negation 3sg, in *à*, 3sg, and *á*, 3sgNEG, in (43.c, d) above. The negative paradigm is the result of diachronic developments subsequent to transfer (McWhorter 1996b, 1998), indicating that the original function of tone was not to convey paradigmatic grammatical information. The contrast between *mi woóko*, ‘I worked’, and *mí woóko*, ‘my work’, in (43.a, b), also represents a grammatical paradigm. This contrast may have its origins in FGb, but there are only two ‘possessive adjectives’ in FGb, 1sg and 2sg (Lf. 1998:144). These pronominal possessive adjectives sandhi with the referent, allowing high tone spread, and could have served as a model for analogic expansion to all persons in SM. It is unclear from Wieseemann (1991) and Brousseau (1991) about sandhi of attributives in FGb. In Ewe, however, attributives do not block sandhi (Ham 1999:74), and in any case postnominal pronouns may be clitics and so would not block sandhi (*ibid.*:72). The contrast in tone in (43.a, b) cannot be considered a direct transfer, however, since the FGb 1sg and 2sg possessive adjectives bear no resemblance to other FGb 1sg or 2sg pronouns. On the other hand, it could be considered transfer in that SM, unlike FGb, has no alternate segmental forms of the 1sg and 2sg pronouns and so applied the high tone derivational strategy to the existing pronouns.

Tone in SM does reflect functional grammatical distinctions though. As discussed in

ibid.:313), since speakers consider *wáka gó* more appropriate.

The tone system in SM appears to be grammatically marginal. The only paradigms involve possessive pronouns and negation of the 3sg pronoun. The grammatical information reflected by tone sandhi is peripheral. The pragmatically motivated variation in tone sandhi is common. It would appear that the primary function of tone sandhi in SM is as a background for intonation. Sandhi reflects prototypical discourse relationships, and variations in sandhi reflect pragmatic variations in these relationships.

4.7 Overlap of passive verbs with postnominal SOS verbs

There are semantic, syntactic and discourse similarities between passive verbs and the second and subsequent verbs of a shared object serial verb construction. The semantic, syntactic and discourse constraints apply to derived attributive adjectives as well. The details as they apply to adjectives and passives have been discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

4.7.1 Semantic similarities

The derived attributive adjectives under consideration are those involving reduplication. They have a past perfective or resultative meaning, as discussed in Chapter 2. It was argued that this is due in part to the past tense aktionsart of the verbs which occur as derived attributives, which itself is a function of the transitivity feature Aspect.

In Chapter 2 it was argued that the verbs occurring as derived resultative attributive adjectives must depict a visible or perceivable effect on the referent. Thus dynamic affecting transitive verbs occur, (83.a), but dynamic non-affecting verbs do not, (83.b). Stative verbs do not affect an object, (83.c), nor do unergative intransitives, (83.d). Unaccusative intransitives involve an affected object, and do occur, (83.e). Ditransitives do not occur, (83.f), since there are only theme and goal arguments, and perhaps also

because there is ambiguity as to which object is to be considered affected:

- (83) a. *affecting transitive verbs* kóti-kóti gwámba
cut-cut meat
cut meat
- b. *non-affecting transitives* *sí-sí fufúuma
see-see stealperson
(seen thief)
- c. *stative transitives* *sábi-sábi kóntu
know-know story
(known story)
- d. *unergative intransitives* *wáka-wáka hási
walk-walk horse
(walked horse)
- e. *unaccusative intransitives* kaí-kaí páu
fall-fall tree
fallen tree
- f. *ditransitives* *dá-dá gúdu
give-give goods
(given goods)

Passives demonstrate the same semantic constraint on verbs, in (84.a.i), as do anticausatives, naturally, shown in (84.a.ii) with a passive interpretation. Thus only object affecting transitive verbs may occur as passives, unaccusative intransitives being

naturally excluded:

- (84) a. *affecting transitive verbs* i. dí paánga sǎ
the plank saw
the plank was sawed
- ii. dí dóó jabí
the door open
the door was opened
- b. *non-affecting transitives* *dí papakái jéi
the parrot hear
(the parrot was heard)
- c. *stative transitives* *dí kandá sábi
the song know
(the song was known)
- d. *ditransitives* *déé gúdu dá mi
the(pl) goods give me
(the goods were given to me)

The same semantic constraint applies to the second and subsequent verbs in a shared object serial verb construction as well. As discussed concerning passives, the transitivity parameter Affectedness of Object limits the selection of verbs, thus maintaining a threshold of transitivity in clauses that as serials are otherwise reduced in transitivity. A transitive verb is V2 in (85.a.i), and an anticausative functioning as a transitive verb is V2 in (85.a.ii):

- (85) a. *affecting transitives* i. de súti dí bófo kíí
they shoot the tapir kill
they shot (and) killed the tapir
- ii. de náki déé báta boóko
they hit the(pl) bottle break
they smashed the bottles
- b. *non-affecting transitives* *de sí dí tígi jéí
they see the tiger hear
(they saw (and) heard the tiger)
- c. *stative transitives* *de sábi dí kandá lóbi
they know the song love
(they know (and) love the song)
- d. *ditransitives* de mboí dí alísi dá mi
they cook the rice give me
- i. *(they cooked the rice (and) gave it to me)
- ii. they cooked the rice for me

As a ditransitive the verb *dá*, 'give', does not occur in a shared object serial, as in (85.d.i). Recall that it does occur in specialized serial constructions denoting goal or benefactive, in (85.d.ii), where it is grammaticalized and no longer functions as the ditransitive verb 'give', and has some reduction in verbal characteristics (Veenstra 1996:163).

4.7.2 Similarity in discourse function

There are two areas where shared object serials and passives are similar in discourse. One is the tendency for their patient arguments to be specific, and the other is the tendency to name these specific arguments rather than refer to them pronominally. Both these tendencies relate to activating information. Shared object serials and passives are also both resultative, and so are similar in activating information to serve as background. An effect on a specific object is more easily identifiable as a background resultative state than an effect on a non-specific object. Similarly, a pronominal reference is more effectively used to depict an event where a named item is more effective in the activation of information. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is also a similar tendency for predicate adjectives to have specific referents and to avoid pronominal reference, appropriate in that property depictions are backgrounding and not eventive.

Regarding pronominal reference, recall from Chapter 3 that passives tend to occur with non-pronominal subject arguments. This was determined by an examination of the passives in Aboikoni & Glock (1997), a 74-page narrative text dictated by a speaker of SM. It was observed in Chapter 3 that the absence of anaphoric reference was not for disambiguation or contrastive focus, but rather it indicated that the passives in the text functioned to activate information. It would appear from this text that shared object serials have much the same function.

There are 56 occurrences of shared object serials in the text, including 4 'take' shared object serials. Of these, 12 have pronominal shared objects and 7 have zero anaphora. Thus the shared object serials differ from passives in having pronouns and zero anaphora as patient arguments, namely 21.4% in this text. This percentage may be contrasted with the corresponding percentage for verbs in the text that would qualify as verbs in passive or shared object serial constructions. There are 718 occurrences of such verbs, with 241 object pronouns or zero anaphora that comprise 33.5% of the total. There is a difference here with shared object serials using less anaphoric reference, but there is a greater difference when specificity is taken into consideration.

Looking at the specificity of the pronominal occurrences for shared object serials, 3 involve an impersonal *i*, 'you(sg)', as in (86.a). These 3 are considered to be non-specific. There are 3 occurrences of a topic-comment left-dislocation construction where the referent is mentioned outside the clause, as in (86.b). These 3 are considered to be specific, but as part of a left-dislocation construction are not the usual type of pronominal reference, which for these verbs would involve eventive depiction somewhat after the identification of the referent. There are 6 shared object serial constructions with pronominal objects that are not part of an activating construction, as in (86.c). These 6 are considered to be specific:

- (86) a. te dee baakuma naki i butu (A. & G. 1997:23)
 until the(pl) gravedigger knock you(sg) fine
 if the gravediggers charge you with a fine
- b. nōō di Kōndē Masa, ka de o tǰēēn go tǰubi ala (A. & G. 1997:20)
 now the Country Master where they will take-him go hide there
 now the Granman, where they'll take him and bury him
- c. woo seekēēn buta kumafa a musu dē (A. & G. 1997:27)
 we-will prepare-it put how it must be
 we will make the corrections (to the book)

For the pronoun in (86.a) there is no reference to any participant in the depicted event. This type of nonspecific object could be considered part of a depiction of an unbounded dynamic activity. In Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1990) such a depiction would be termed an ACTIVITY, and the verb would be classified with unergative intransitive verbs like run or dance. The pronoun in (86.a) differs from the specifically referential pronoun in (86.c), which in RRG would be part of the depiction of an ACCOMPLISHMENT.

The occurrence of (87) comprises 5.3% of the anaphora in shared object serials, roughly equivalent to the 7.5% for the corresponding verbs, although this comparison may be less significant than others due to the small corpus.

The other group is occurrences that have zero anaphora shared objects with a specific reference. There are 6 such occurrences, for example:

- (88) de hopo \emptyset buta a hedi (A. & G. 1997:69)
 they lift OBJ put on head
 they put it on their heads

The verbs in (88) affect a specific anaphor whose referent is the coffin of the Granman. In RRG this example would be considered to be depicting an ACCOMPLISHMENT rather than an ACTIVITY. Example (88) occurs in the text as part of an episode characterized by extensive use of zero anaphora. It occurs in a section of the episode between two mentions of the referent *di kesi*, 'the coffin'. Of the 16 transitive verbs in this section, 14 have anaphoric reference to this item as an object. Of these 14, 11 refer by zero anaphora, while 3 use the pronoun *hēn*, 'him/her/it'. Of the 11, 2 are serial verbs, which then results in a total of 10 occurrences of zero anaphora. The beginning of this section is copied below with a gloss; the referent and anaphora are underlined:

- (89) Nōō de puu di kesi a dōō. Nōō di de puu \emptyset a dōō, nōō hēn de hopo \emptyset buta
 a hedi. Hēn de tja \emptyset lontu tee toona ko dou nōō hēn de saka \emptyset .
 Hēn de toona buta \emptyset a wosu. Hēn de ko a dōō. . . (A. & G. 1997:68-9)

Now they brought the coffin outdoors. Now when they brought it outdoors, now then they lifted it put on head. Then they carried it around till returned came arrived now then they lowered it. Then they returned put it in house. Then they came outdoors. . .

The zero anaphora here could be seen as part of a left-dislocation strategy. Unlike (86.b) where the item is mentioned and then referred to pronominally, a zero anaphora is also possible, as both are preferred topic expressions (Lam. 1994:172). But considering a language with shared object serials, these occurrences of zero anaphora might also be seen as part of the mentioning process. In that case the transitive verbs in clauses with zero anaphora function like the postnominal verbs in shared object serial constructions in that they depict additional effects on the referent without a separate reference to it, while the repeated subject *de*, 'they', is somewhat impersonal. The close sequence of clauses with zero anaphora could be seen as reinforcing the activation of the item by reinforcing its status as the object of a transitive verb, a status for new information (Du Bois 1987). The strategy of using zero anaphora to reinforce an introduction or reintroduction is like extending a shared object serial construction through narrative. The activation of *kesi* by *puu* is in fact the activation in the narrative, in that taking the coffin outside is the beginning of the ritual. The subsequent actions can be seen as results, reflected by the subsequent event-depicting verbs. These verbs are not resultative syntactically, although they resemble the resultative V2s of shared object serials. The pragmatic use of zero anaphora in this context could give these subsequent verbs a resultative interpretation.

The episode partially copied in (89) is unique in the text in having so much use of zero anaphora, including 2 of the 6 occurrences of it with shared object serials. It also includes 9 of the 13 such occurrences with the corresponding single verbs. The complete description of the final events of the burial uses 5 of the 6 such shared object serials and 11 of the 13 corresponding single verbs with zero anaphora. That this type of zero anaphora is resultative is underscored by the events depicted in the description. After months of preparation and ceremony the coffin is taken from the house and carried around the village. This process is carried out three times, with drumming and dancing. All the participants have gathered to see the coffin for the last time, as this is the day of the burial. Thus in the story the coffin and the Granman, which are accessible, are in effect being reactivated for the people. This section of the narrative depicts the most

important presentation of the coffin to the people, and uses the zero anaphora strategy far more than any other part of the text.

The resultative use of zero anaphora is different from the normal use of anaphora, represented in (86.c), and is not counted with them. It is also different from the non-specific reference of zero anaphora, as in (87), since it is specific and therefore part of an ACCOMPLISHMENT depiction. As mentioned above, the 6 occurrences of resultative zero anaphora in shared object serials comprise 31.6% of the total of 19 anaphoric references in the shared object serials. This percentage contrasts with that of the corresponding single verbs, which is 13 out of 241, or 5.4%. Thus from this text it appears that shared object serials use zero anaphora as part of an activation strategy far more than the corresponding single verb constructions. There are no occurrences in the text of specific zero anaphora being used other than for activation of the referent.

An explanation for the greater use of specific zero anaphora for activation in shared object serials may be found in the uniqueness of the postnominal verb. Recall that in the shared object serial verb construction the postnominal verb or verbs are the only active transitive verbs in SM not followed by their patient object. The postnominal verb or verbs are resultative, as discussed above, as they depict the result of the action of the prenominal verb. Non-serial verbs with specific zero anaphora, as in the portion of text in (89), may also be seen as resultative. This would be based on analogy with postnominal verbs in shared object serials, namely that transitive verbs not followed by expressed objects must then be interpreted as affecting an object already affected by a previous verb in a contextually obvious way, apparently influenced by the pragmatics of depicting an activational situation. This analogy, then, would also be effective on the prenominal verbs within the shared object serial, since the entire zero anaphora construction is already resultative. Thus in specific zero anaphora in shared object serials both prenominal and postnominal verbs would be considered resultative, and would help activate the previously mentioned item. Having two or more verbs in a single clause with zero anaphora makes such a shared object serial a more likely construction for this type of activation.

In the text there are 37 occurrences of shared object serials with a mentioned item as the shared object. Of these, 5 have non-specific objects, as in (90), and so may be considered in RRG terms to be an ACTIVITY:

- (90) a. de naki telefōn tuwē ko na Asindo Opo (A. & G. 1997:9)
 they knock telephone throw come to Asindo Opo
 they sent a radio message to Asindo Opo
- b. de bi go hōndi kii gwamba tja ko (A. & G. 1997:28)
 they PAST go hunt kill meat carry come
 they had gone hunting to kill and bring back meat

These ACTIVITY depicting clauses do not activate a non-specific named item, but rather depict the effect on a non-specific named item as part of the verbal action.

There are then 32 occurrences of shared object serials that in RRG terms would depict an ACCOMPLISHMENT, in that the named shared object is depicted as specifically affected by the verbal action. These 32 occurrences, then, are the shared object constructions that activate information. For example, the shared object in (91.a) is known, where in (91.b) it is new:

- (91) a. sō wan biifi dee tiima mbei manda da dee hedima (A. & G. 1997:16)
 so one letter the(pl) leader make send give the(pl) headman
 such was the letter the advisors sent to the authorities
- b. a o mbei wan gaan footoo buku manda da di lio (A. & G. 1997:57)
 she will make one big photo book send give the river
 she would make a large photo album and send it to the people of the river

The 6 occurrences of non-activating anaphoric shared object pronouns, as mentioned

above, involve pronouns which have a specific referent and are not part of a topic-comment activating construction. These 6 occurrences represent 16.2% of the total 37 ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting shared object serials.

The shared object serial constructions contrast with corresponding single verb constructions regarding the percentage of pronouns. These single verbs are verbs that could also occur as shared object serial verbs or as passive verbs, namely transitive dynamic object affecting verbs. As with the shared object serials, they are divided according to their occurrence in ACTIVITY or ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses. In the text there are 473 such ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses. Of these there are 164 pronouns. These are non-activating, so that (92.a) is not included, where (92.b) is:

- (92) a. nōō di biifi aki nōō u ta mbei ěn a dí nē fu dee . . . (A. & G. 1997:15)
 now the letter here now we CONT make it in the name of the(pl)
 we are also writing this letter in the name of those . . .
- b. u ta mbei ěn a dí nē fu Kabiten Kostan (A. & G. 1997:15)
 we CONT make it in the name of Captain Kostan
 we are writing it in the name of Captain Kostan

The 164 pronouns in this count represent 33.3% of the total of 473. This percentage contrasts with the 16.2% of pronouns in the count of the corresponding ACCOMPLISHMENT shared object serials. Thus in this text the shared object serials use pronominal objects far less than the corresponding single verb constructions. The implication of this contrast is that the function of introducing information as an affected object, by Du Bois (1987), is greater for shared object serial verb constructions than for the corresponding single verb constructions. An explanation for this could be that two or more affecting actions activate the same item more than once in the same clause.

There are two contrasting percentages, then, which illustrate the difference between ACCOMPLISHMENT shared object serials and the corresponding ACCOMPLISHMENT single

verbs regarding the use of non-activating pronouns. The shared object serials use 16.2% pronouns compared to 33.3% for the single verbs. Of the total use of anaphoric reference, as mentioned above, these pronouns comprise 31.6% for shared object serials compared to 68.1% for the corresponding single verbs. It would appear from both of these percentages that the use of non-activating pronouns in shared object serials is roughly half that of the single verbs.

Not necessarily a corollary to the contrast in use of object pronouns is the similar proportion of non-anaphoric object ACTIVITY to ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses. For shared object serials with named items as objects, there are 5 ACTIVITY to 32 ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses, or 13.5% of the total. For the corresponding single verbs there are 211 ACTIVITY to 266 ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses, or 44.3% of the total. These percentages indicate that these shared object serials depict ACTIVITIES at less than half the rate of the corresponding single verbs. Thus it appears that shared object serial verbs function to depict specific effects on named items far more than the corresponding single verbs. An explanation for this could be that two or more serial actions are generally too complex or specific for an ACTIVITY clause affecting a non-specific object. A depiction could more readily be resultative if a specific and identifiable object were affected, since ACTIVITY depictions contain no stative semantic component. In any case the tendency for shared object serials to depict specific effects on named items may be seen as independently associated both with the tendency to avoid the depiction of ACTIVITY clauses and with the tendency to avoid pronominal reference.

In the text there are far fewer pronouns in ACTIVITY clauses than in ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses. For the single verbs there are 16 such pronouns, representing 6.5% of the total of 245 ACTIVITY clauses. For example:

- (93) ee i kē sa' u pēēn (A. & G. 1997:46)
 if you(sg) want know to play it
 if you want to know how to play it (apintii drum)

It would be expected that there would be relatively few such pronouns, as their referents would be non-specific. For the shared object serials in the text there are 3 nonspecific pronouns, in (86.a), representing 33.3% of the total of the 9 ACTIVITY depicting shared object serials. This figure may be insignificant, however, due to the small corpus, and the fact that the 3 are the same clause due to repetition in the same segment of text. What may be significant is the absence in shared object serials of pronouns referring to non-specific items in the story, as the 3 pronouns exemplified in (86.a) are a non-specific 2sg. The absence of non-specific anaphoric pronouns in a larger corpus would indicate that ACTIVITY depicting shared object serials do not function to activate information, and in this way are similar to their single verb counterparts.

The survey of shared object serials in the text indicates that shared object serial constructions primarily introduce or reintroduce information. They are not strictly presentational, as discussed in Lambrecht (1986:126), because in introducing affected objects they also depict relations. They are presentational though in that they are an introducing mechanism while any further relations of the introduced item tend to be depicted anaphorically in other constructions, including zero anaphora shared object serials. In this way they are similar to passives, as discussed in Chapter 3, in that passives also are an activating mechanism, while anaphoric reference is then handled by other constructions.

As mentioned above, the two areas of similarity in discourse between shared object serials and passives are the tendency to avoid ACTIVITY depictions and the tendency to avoid pronominal reference. As for ACTIVITY depictions in the A. & G. (1997) text, ACTIVITY depicting shared object serials comprise 16.1% of the total, while ACTIVITY depicting passives comprise 11.4% of the total. These percentages contrast with the corresponding ACTIVITY depicting verbs that comprise 34.1% of their total. Thus shared object serials and passives depict ACTIVITIES at roughly half the rate of the corresponding transitive verbs. Regarding the similar percentage for adjectives, recall also that non-specific referents comprise 16.8% of their total.

As for the avoidance of pronominal reference, ACTIVITY depictions tend to avoid

pronominal reference, so that the contrast is with ACCOMPLISHMENT depictions. Regarding ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting shared object serials, the non-activating pronouns comprise 12.8% of the total, while this rate is 34.7% of the total for the corresponding ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting single verbs. The passives in the text do not occur with pronominal subjects, so their rate of patient pronominal reference is 0%. The rate for shared object serials appears to fall between that of passives and that of the corresponding single verbs. There is no ready explanation for this, although it could relate to a compromise of the difference between pronominal and postnominal verbs in shared object serials; pronominal verbs resemble the corresponding single verbs of this survey, while postnominal verbs resemble passives.

Recall from Chapter 2 that this rate of pronominal reference in adjectives is 12.3%, compared to 12.8% for shared object serials. Regarding the percentage of pronouns, then, shared object serials resemble adjectives more than passives. Recall also from Chapter 2 that the percentage of non-specific ACTIVITY type referents is 16.8%, compared to 16.1% for shared object serials, with 11.4% for passives. Although the contrast is less, here too shared object serials resemble adjectives more than passives. The most significant fact about non-specific ACTIVITY type arguments in shared object serials as well as passive and adjectival constructions, as mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, is that ACTIVITY depictions have no stative semantics. Since shared object serials and passives depict resultative states, and adjectives depict states, there is a tendency to avoid ACTIVITY depictions.

4.7.3 Similarity in markedness

Shared object serial verb constructions are far less common than non-serial clauses with the same verbs. By this criterion, shared object serials may be considered marked. The *dé* + RE 'passive' and predicate adjective constructions and the reduplicated attributive adjective are marked for this reason as well, but they are also marked in that they are used

to depict pragmatic markedness. There are anecdotal examples of the use of shared object serials in conversation that would indicate that they may also be used to depict pragmatic markedness.

In (94.a) the statement that the baggage in a truck would not be taken conveyed that it would be safe while we waited in the shade for the truck to leave for town. It might be seen as marked in that it contrasted the end of the road at the river with the other end in town, namely that the baggage at the river would be safe, whereas it would not be safe in town. Just before, the statement in (94.b), seen as unmarked, referred to the boys who would put the load in the truck:

- (94) a. de ǎ ó téi dí lái pājǎ
 they NEG FUT take the load hold
 they won't keep the baggage
- b. de ó téi dí lái dá i
 they FUT take the load give you(sg)
 they'll take the load for you

The V2 in the shared object serial in (94.a) adds little new information, as *pājǎ*, 'hold' is similar to *téi*, 'take'. Subjectively, there may be the metamessage that stealing the baggage would not be expected. In (94.b), there is no contrasting serial benefactive construction, so the serial verb construction with *dá*, 'give', is unmarked. In (95.a), the shared object serial expresses the intent to recover a tourist camp that was completely overgrown. The project was unusual because of existing buildings, in that it couldn't be cut and burned like a garden, using *fáa*, 'fell', as in (95.b), or simply cleaned up like a soccer field or already cut garden, using *fijá*, 'display' (not the ideophone *fijáá*), in (95.c). It was also unusual in that it was a new scheme to make money, namely tourism, and was being shown with some enthusiasm. The serial construction may be seen as iconically increasing the significance of the action by increasing the length of the depiction, as well

as by indicating telicity with the resultative V2:

- (95) a. de ó fáa dí gǔǔ fijá
they FUT fell the ground display
they'll cut and clean up the place
- b. de fáa dí gǔǔ
they fell the ground
they cut (and burned) the garden site
- c. de fijá dí gǔǔ
they display the ground
they cleaned up the garden site

In the short story in (96.a) an episode begins with a shared object serial, activating the poison *ndekú* root, which is accessible in the cultural context. The statement may be seen as pragmatically marked in that a tapir would not eat a poison *ndekú*, nor would it eat fish. Conveying markedness may have been a major motivation for the shared object serial, since the V2 phrase *butá nēē bée*, 'put in his stomach' adds almost no information to V1 *njá*, 'eat'. The rest of the episode is (96.b):

- (96) a. a tá njá dí ndekú butá nēē bée
he CONT eat the ndeku put in-his stomach
he is eating the *ndeku*, putting it in his stomach
- b. Nóó, a ó gó a kiiki, a ó gó káka a dí kiiki. Nóó déé físi, de ó doóngo.
Téé de doóngo, dí gǎǎmbéti ó kísi.
Now, he'll go to the creek, he'll go shit in the creek. Now the fish,
they'll get drunk. When they're drunk, the tapir will catch them.

In addition to activating *ndekú*, the shared object serial establishes the unusualness of the situation, from which the other events may follow. Notice the left-dislocation activation of *fisi*, with the zero anaphora after the resulting *kísi*. The shared object serial in (96.a) has the discourse function of activation as well as reflecting pragmatic markedness.

The story was prompted by the news that a tapir had been killed. When this happens, the meat is ritually cut up and divided for everyone, in (97.a). There is no such ritual for the killing of other animals such as pigs, for example, which when asked about were mentioned next, in (97.b):

- (97) a. *nóó, de kó kóti dí gwàmbà paatí dá sèmbè*
 now they come cut the meat divide give person
 now, they come cut the meat and divide it for everyone
- b. *de ó kóti dí fátu fuu butá a wǎ kamiã*
 they FUT cut the fat for-us put in one place
 they'll cut the fat for us to put away

There are exmples from the Aboikoni & Glock (1997) narrative as well. In (98.a) the coffin with the deceased Granman is ritually lifted up and carried about. As with many other examples in the text involving the Granman, the activation of the referent and marked tone of the episode is expressed with a shared object serial, and followed then by non-serial clauses, in (98.b). Notice the zero anaphora with *saka*, as the referent has been activated by the shared object serial:

- (98) a. *de hopo di Gaama tja lontu di kōndē kumafa a dē fanōudu te de kaba*
 they lift the Granman carry around the village how it is necessary until they finish
 the oracle is lifted up and taken around the village according to custom
- (A. & G. 1997:24)

- b. de ko saka, de tuwē daan te de kaba ufō de o go wasi (ibid.)
 they come lower they throw rum until they finish before they will go wash
 they come lower it, an oblation is poured out . . . before they go off to wash

There are a number of examples where people drop everything upon hearing the news of the Granman's death. This reaction is expressed in shared object serials, where the V2 adds little information to the event depiction. In (99), for example, *saka*, 'lower', has a connotation of lowering and letting go, as in (98.b), the V2 *tuwē*, 'throw', adds a manner and telicity to the depiction:

- (99) a saka hii soni tuwē a goon hën a ko haika (ibid.:36)
 he lower all thing throw on ground then he come visit
 he dropped everything and came . . . to pay his respects

There are no more shared object serial clauses in the description of this person's activities, as this clause depicts a marked event and sets the tone for the rest of the episode. The stopping of activity would not be a prolonged event; rather, the length of the shared object serial and locative PP iconically reflects the markedness of the depicted situation. Another shared object serial that depicts a marked event and sets the tone for the following events describes the arrival of guerilla soldiers at the funeral:

- (100) nōō naandē de tja lai go buta (ibid.:60)
 now in-there they carry load go put
 they carried their belongings right in

The guerrilla soldiers came ashore and moved right into a building already occupied by government officials; an unusual and unexpected event. This shared object serial clause near the beginning of the episode is its only shared object serial. The marked event

makes the following activities of the guerillas less marked.

The determination of pragmatic markedness of these and other shared object serials is of course subjective. It makes intuitive sense, though, that a construction that is marked by being less frequent would also have a function of depicting markedness. Unlike the expression of pragmatic markedness in adjectives, there is no reduplication in the shared object serials, although the use of more than one verb could be seen as distinguishing it from unmarked non-serial clauses by length. But like the reduplicated adjectives, the shared object serial has the expected semantic constraints even though it may express the pragmatically unexpected.

A narrative in Glock (1972:60-61) shows the use of shared object serials to bracket an episode depicting a special activity. Although it is introduced in the previous clause, a shared object serial topicalizes the item that is then referred to by zero anaphora throughout the episode. The special nature of the activity is not obvious until the final sentence, but the shared object serial at the beginning is perhaps used as a hint. The episode is symmetrically bracketed by a non-serial clause, (1) below, and a shared object serial, (2), at the beginning, and a shared object serial, (8), and a non-serial clause, (9), at the end:

- (101) 1. Nóó fá tidé dé akí, de tá-jasá kasába
now how today be here they prog.-bake cassava
Now that today is here, they are baking cassava bread
2. De bi gó díki kasába tjá-kó
they past go dig cassava carry-come
They went and dug cassava and brought it
3. Hen de lalá té de kabá
and they grate until they finish
Then they grated it until they were finished

4. De matapí té de kabá
they press until they finish
They put it through the cassava press until they were finished
5. De butá a fája líba
they put on fire above
They put it on the fire
6. De dǎé
they dry
They dried it
7. Dí mǎmáten akí de hópo
the morning here they get-up
This morning they got up
8. De fón kasába té de kabá gbégédé, butá a tjubéngé a fája
they pound cassava until they finish ideophone put on griddle on fire
They pounded cassava until they were completely finished, and they put it
on the griddle on the fire
9. De jasá kasába fu baákuma féni tjá-gó
they bake cassava for graveman find carry-go
They baked cassava bread for the gravemen to find and take (with them)

As in the A. & G. (1997) narrative, gravemen have a special status, so the preparation of cassava bread in (101) is a special event in itself. The topic, *kasába*, is introduced in (1) and reactivated at the end in (9), so the mention in the shared object serials (2) and (8) is

- b. a kóti dí paánga lánɡa
 he cut the plank long
 he cut the plank long (longer than necessary, a normal practice)
- c. a kóti dí paánga lánɡa-lánɡa
 he cut the plank long-long
 he cut the plank long (unusually long)

Example (102.b) is particularly appropriate for showing that the adjective does not have its transitive verb interpretation. Like the English translation, it depicts cutting a plank longer than necessary, in the context of cutting planks in the forest to be fitted later on a building. There is no way a plank can be cut and then lengthened. As with attributive adjectives, discussed in Chapter 2, reduplication of adjectives in small clause constructions is pragmatically determined by markedness. The normal, or unmarked method of cutting planks is to leave them long, in (102.b), but if they are extra long, there is reduplication, as in (102.c). Implicature, as discussed in Chapter 2, is the reason most occurrences of adjectives in small clause complements are reduplicated, as are attributives in most elicitations; the motivation for mentioning a property is most likely because it is marked.

Object depictive small clause complements occur with dynamic verbs as well. These verbs are precisely the verbs that occur as derived attributive adjectives:

- (103) a. a njǎ dí físi kóti-kóti *a njǎ dí físi kóti
 he eat the fish cut-cut
 he ate the fish cut
- b. a hó dí páu kaí-kaí *a hó dí páu kaí
 he hew the tree fall-fall
 he hewed the tree fallen

- c. *a súti dí píngo sí-sí
 he shoot the pig see-see
 (he shot the pig seen)

Like derived attributive adjectives, the derived adjectival element must be reduplicated. As with object depictive adjectival small clause complements, it is not surprising that the semantic and morphosyntactic constraints on derived attributive adjectives also apply to derived adjectival small clause complements.

4.8.2 Adjectival resultative clauses

When the intention is to depict a resultative, a serial verb construction is used. As noted by Veenstra (199:56), nouns and adjectives cannot head resultative secondary predications. This makes sense intuitively, since resultatives imply a process and states do not. The serial verb construction used involves the TMA marker *kó*, 'come', which gives a resultative meaning, (104.a). The subjective construction in (104.b) apparently does not indicate a result, but (104.a) is preferred. Failure of *kó* to predicate cleft in (104.c) would indicate it is a TMA marker and not a verb, although predicate clefts are difficult to elicit and the failure may have another explanation. In (104.d) the TMA continuative marker *tá*, indicating a continuative process, is not used:

- (104) a. mi féfi dí dóo kó donú
 I paint the door become yellow
 I painted the door yellow

- b. mi féfí dí dǒǒ dé donú
 I paint the door there yellow
 I painted the door there yellow
- c. *kó mi féfí dí dǒǒ kó donú
 come I paint the door become yellow
 (I painted the door TO BECOME yellow)
- d. *mi féfí dí dǒǒ tá donú
 I paint the door CONT yellow
 (I painted the door to start getting yellow)

The TMA markers *kó* and *tá* both give a processual reading to adjectives, which are categorically intransitive stative verbs. Recall from Chapter 2 that *tá* depicts the beginning of a process, and *kó* depicts the result of a process. It is not surprising then that *tá* would not occur in a resultative construction.

The significance of the *kó* construction in (104.a) is that it occurs in a resultative serial verb construction. This means the adjective is a predicate, and therefore a verb. The adjectives in the small clause compliments in (102) resemble attributives, as seen by the reduplication constraints, and also seen in their tone sandhi break:

- (105) a. mi kóti dí údu pikí... [mǐ kóti dí údù píkí...]
 I cut the wood small
 I cut the wood (too) small
- b. mi kóti dí údu kó pikí... [mǐ kóti dí údú kó píkí...]
 I cut the wood become small
 I cut the wood (and made it/it got) small

The sandhi break before *pikí* may be seen as the sandhi break before attributive adjectives, described in Rountree (1972) and Chapter 2. In any case, the sandhi break in (105.a) indicates that *pikí* is not a verb, which would ‘sandhi’ with the first verb *kóti*, as seen in (105.b).

As seen in (102), (104) and (105), adjectives may occur in object affecting small clause complements without *kó* and without as direct a resultative meaning. The acceptability of adjectives in object affecting small clause complements without *kó* depends on the naturalness of the event, as discussed in Chapter 2. Adjectives with an anticausative meaning, like *jabí*, ‘open’, are much more acceptable without *kó* than the more stative items like *donú*, ‘yellow’, in (106.a, b). Transitive verbs, however, do not occur as the second verb in a resultative shared object construction with the TMA *kó*:

- (106) a. *dí véntu bɔ́ dí dɔ́ jabí*
 the wind blow the door open
 the wind blew the door open
- b. *dí véntu bɔ́ dí dɔ́ kó jabí*
 the wind blow the door become open
 the wind blew the door (and) it got open
- c. *a náki dí dágu kó kǐ*
 he hit the dog come kill
- i. (?) he hit the dog (and) came (and) killed (it)
- ii. *he hit the dog (and) (it) got killed

Thus there is a split between predicate adjectives and passives regarding *kó* in resultative serial constructions. This difference is a further indication that predicate adjectives are not passives, as was proposed in Alleyne (1987). Parallel to the syntactic difference is a functional-semantic difference. Recall from Chapters 2 and 3 that passives are sensitive

to agency, and predicate adjectives are not. As independent verbs, neither passives nor adjectives have an expressed agent. Any notions of naturalness must be expressed without reference to an agent, such as with *kó*. In a serial construction, which has an agent and a verb that initiates the event, the inherently stative adjective must express any process resulting from the first verb to account for agency, as opposed to simply depicting a state. A transitive verb in this position, however, is naturally a process verb, and so does not need *kó*. The preference for *kó* in adjectival serials argues against adjectives as process verbs, in Winford (1997), at least in SM.

One similarity between shared object serials depicting change of location and the resultative adjectival serials with *kó* in (104) is object control. There is an object control interpretation in shared object serials when the identity of the object has not been changed by the effect. In *kó* constructions the change in identity of the object does not occur until after *kó*, so there is object control.

4.9 Change of state and change of location

Passive verbs in SM may occur as V1s in serial constructions. If the passive V1 depicts a change of state, the serial construction may have subsequent affecting passives verbs. If the composite meaning of the passive affecting verbs depicts a change of state that changes a basic identity of the referent, no change of location verbs may follow. If the meaning depicts a cause for change of location without changing the identity of the referent, there may be subsequent verbs of change of location. The verbs in passive serials share the same UNDERGOER subject, and all imply the same unexpressed ACTOR agent as the cause of the action. In SM shared object serials the composite meaning of the affecting verbs also determines any change in the identity of the patient argument, and if subsequent change of location is possible. The verbs depicting subsequent change of location have the shared object as their UNDERGOER subject. Since this subsequent action is resultative, all the verbs in a shared object serial could be said to share the same

cause, the ACTOR matrix subject.

Serial verb constructions depicting the change of location of the object depict contiguous and almost instantaneous actions, the semantics of the verbs readily fusing as core level junctures (F. & O. 1985). It has been argued, in Chapter 1, that a high degree of transitivity influences transfer. It has been argued by Lefebvre (1998) that change of location and object control are semantic components of FGb 'take' serials, discussed in Chapter 7. It is also argued in Chapter 7 that these 'take' serials influenced the transfer of shared object serials.

Object control of verbs in serial verb constructions depicting change of location of the object may be reflected in the iconicity of word order. Basically, verbs are preceded by a subject in the SVO word order. This requirement can be seen in the restriction against *equi*-NP deletion in conjoined clauses. If the composite depiction of effect on the object by V1 and V2 implies a change of location of that object, the object has in effect been set in motion. Verbs of change of location following this depiction reflect the real-world order of parts of the event. The first part of the event is the effect on the object. Since the object has been caused to move, the most immediate subsequent action is that of the object, namely object control. Subsequent intransitive action of the subject, as subject control, would not be as immediate. The next part of the event is expressed by change of location verbs. The more immediate the parts of the event are to each other, the more transitive and thereby eventive the depiction will be, by the transitivity parameters of Aspect and Punctuality, defined in H. & T. (1980). The subject control interpretation is either dispreferred or not accepted, as discussed in (19.b) and (40), perhaps in part because it is less transitive, less eventive in terms of being seen as a single event, and so less prototypical of serial verb constructions. The object control interpretation, in addition to depicting a more prototypical event, also satisfies the subject requirement for V2 by placing the subject of the change of location verbs in what would be the subject position of those verbs. Shared object serials depicting a change of state also have object control of the postnominal verbs, as these verbs are argued to be passive. Object control allows a more simultaneous interpretation, as the subsequent actions are resultative rather

than independent.

Subject control and object control involve argument structure. Déchaine (1997:51) considers that argument structure may be epiphenomenal, in that the interpretations of argument structure are compositional. The composition of verb and complement determine the semantic role of the subject, so that 'hit the table' has an agent, while 'hit the books' has an experiencer. It follows that the composition of serial verbs and the complement determine the semantic role of the subject of each verb, including the role of an NP2 subject in serial constructions where an affected object is the subject of subsequent verbs.

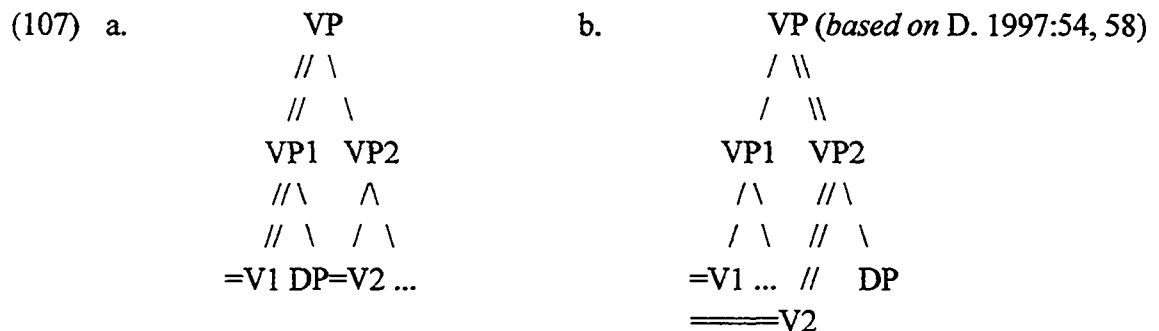
In SM change of location serials where the second verb is basically intransitive, its subject may be either the subject or the object of V1. If the subject of V2 is the same as V1, the second part of the serial verb construction is interpreted as consisting of an event that may occur independently of the first part. If the subject of V2 is the object of V1, the second part is interpreted as resultative; the action of the object is the result of the effect of V1 and is not independent. This is the preferred interpretation.

For shared object serials there is only the resultative interpretation; the transitive V2 depicts the resulting effect on the object. When the composite meaning depicts a change of location, there is object control of subsequent unaccusative verbs. These verbs, of course, depict resultative action. When the composite meaning depicts a change of state, the interpretation is also resultative. The V2 of the shared object serial resembles the passive verb regarding subsequent verbs; a change of location interpretation allows subsequent unaccusative change of location verbs, while a change of state interpretation allows only subsequent transitive change of state verbs. These verbs depict resulting effects. The affected NP in both interpretations is an UNDERGOER, as is the NP in both interpretations of the passive construction.

For both shared object serials and passives the effect on the UNDERGOER NP is caused by an ACTOR; the expressed or implied agent. Thus semantically the ACTOR is external to the effect on the UNDERGOER. For serial verb constructions the effect may include a predication relationship with the UNDERGOER and V2, as well as subsequent

resultative verbs. Such a relationship would exist if the action of these verbs were resultative, because that action would be part of the effect and the UNDERGOER would be part of the core argument structure. The second part of the serial action, then, would be dependent on the first. In this way resultative serials differ from the instrumental serials, for example, where the action of the second part of the serial event is independent of the first and the UNDERGOER is not a core argument of V2. The second part of the serial event has no predication relationship with NP2 when it is independent of the first part. Dependent resultative action, it would seem, necessarily follows independent action.

Déchainé (ibid.:54) formalizes the syntax of event composition as either right or left adjunction. For serial verb constructions, resultatives following events are adjuncts to eventive action, so resultatives are right adjuncts, in (107.a). States that precede action, such as the ‘take’ serials, are preconditions and so are left adjuncts, in (107.b). The = sign represents a predication relationship:



The right adjunction for resultatives means there is a predication relationship between V2 and the affected object of V1. The left adjunction for ‘take’ serials means that the predication relationship is the same for V2 and V1, usually the subject (ibid.:58). This is because the predication relationship is with an item preceding the adjunct within the projection that contains the adjunct, in (107.a), or else outside the VP (ibid.:54), in (107.b).

In (107) the main VP is predicated of the external subject; a left-adjoined VP is also predicated of this subject, which is a shared subject; a right adjoined VP is predicated of

the object of V1, which is a shared object (ibid.). The semantic role of a subject is determined compositionally. The semantic constraint on the verbs in a shared object serial in SM to depict an effect means that the subject will be agentive, so that the role of the shared object will be patientive. In change of location shared object serials, however, the affected object is also the subject of subsequent verbs. These subsequent verbs are contiguous with V2. From this it might be assumed that V2 also has the affected object as its subject, so that all subsequent verbs are contiguous with their subject.

The predication relationship of a verb in (107) is either with a preceding subject or a preceding object. In SM shared object serials the matrix subject is always agentive and the object is always patientive. Thus in the word order SVOV, OV = PV. Because every item in the O slot is a patient, and because for change of location serials this item is not strictly an O, compositionality evaluates the nature of P. Patients can be subjects, of course, as with anticausatives or passives. As the patient role is set, compositionality is left to determine the nature of the effect; change of location or change of state. If the composite meaning indicates that the patient NP has been caused to change location, then it is the subject of the following verbs. If the composite meaning indicates a change of state, the patient NP could also be the subject of following verbs if these verbs were passive. The V2 in both cases, then, would transmit the contiguity with its subject to subsequent verbs. The V2 resembles a passive verb in allowing subsequent change of location verbs where the identity of the patient NP has not changed, and subsequent change of state verbs where the identity has changed. Sybesma (1997) argues for such an analysis in Mandarin and Fongbe. In this analysis, then, only intransitive verbs follow the patient NP, appropriate for the depiction of a resultative state.

The semantics of event composition, by Déchaine (ibid.:55), is based on Awóyalé (1988). Events consist of EVENTS and STATES in various combinations:

- (108) a. EVENT b. EVENT c. STATE2 d. EVENT2 (D. 1997:55)
 //\ /\ /\ /\
 EVENT STATE STATE EVENT STATE1 STATE2 EVENT1 EVENT2

The second term is the head, except for EVENT STATE. In other words, the focus position is the head, except that EVENTS outrank STATES regarding focus since they are more foregrounded. The order of the terms is iconic of their real-world order. Applied to serial verb constructions, an EVENT followed by a STATE is a resultative. A STATE or precondition followed by an EVENT is exemplified by the ‘take’ instrumental serials. A STATE followed by a STATE is exemplified by comparatives, and an EVENT followed by an EVENT is a complex or paratactic event.

Shared object serials depicting a change of location or state in SM are interpreted as EVENT STATE, with NP2 as the subject of a passive V2. That V2 is resultative, by (107.a), is seen in the lack of a resumptive pronoun, **a fáa dí páu tíwε ě*, **a súti dí pingo kii ě*. A resumptive pronoun would preclude a predication relationship between V2 and NP2. This constraint against a resumptive pronoun fits the constraint against two specific objects, in (110), since such a pronoun is specific.

Shared object serials in SM resemble the FGb ‘take’ shared object serials where the object is the subject of an anticausative V2 (Da Cruz 1994:64). In SM shared object serials that depict a change of location the subsequent action could not be seen as anticausative, since it is caused by the action of V1 rather than by an inherent quality of the patient NP, and there is no lasting effect. SM shared object serials that do not depict a change of location or otherwise do not lend themselves to an anticausative interpretation of V2 are also interpreted as EVENT STATE, as *a súti dí pingo kii*, where ‘killing’ depicts the resulting state from ‘shooting’. The verb *kii* could not be an anticausative, indicating that the V2 in the shared object serial is a not an anticausative. The verb *mbói*, ‘cook’, could be an anticausative, but in *a kóti dí fisi mbói*, the action of *kóti*, ‘cut’, would not cause an anticausative action. The causing agent is the matrix subject; a passive V2 maintains the implied agency of the matrix subject in the resultative actions. A passive V2 resembles the FGb anticausative V2 as far as object control, an important comparison in that most shared object V2s are verbs that may also occur as anticausatives.

4.10 Control and contiguity of verbs

In SM serial verb constructions, contiguous verbs may follow a subject, and each verb in the series has the same subject. There is, then, a local relationship between a verb and its subject through other verbs with the same subject:

- (109) a. a wáka gó náki wǎ sitónu
he walk go hit a stone
he went over (and) hit a stone

- b. S Vi Vi Vt O
|_|
|_|_|
|_|_|_|

Schematized in (109.b), the series of verbs is not interrupted. Such an interruption, by an additional UNDERGOER patient object for example, is ungrammatical:

- (110) a. *a náki wǎ páu híti wǎ sitónu
he hit a tree throw a stone
(he hit a tree (and) threw a stone)

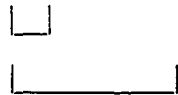
As mentioned above, a SM object affecting serial verb construction defines an event that may affect only one patient. This patient must have the RRG macrorole UNDERGOER, in that non-specific objects have no macrorole and the affecting verbs depict ACTIVITIES, and in RRG terms are intransitive:

- (111) di u ko dou puu lai bebe soni tuwě daan kaba kaa (A. & G. 1997:44)
 when we come arrive push load drink thing throw rum finish already
 after we arrived and finished unloading, drinking, and pouring oblation . . .

An instrument argument may interrupt the series, in that it is not a core argument of the main effecting verb. In this way it resembles a non-specific argument, as in (111). It is a precondition to an event, represented formally by Déchaine in (107.b) as a left-adjunct:

- (112) a. a téi wǎ páu náki wǎ sitónu
 he take a stick hit a stone
 he took a stick (and) hit a stone

b. S V_t O_{ins} V_t O



The instrumental argument in (112) is not a core argument of V2. In *téi* serials like (112), the patient argument outranks instrumental arguments in that the effects on patient arguments determine object control. The instrumental phrase is in effect like an adverb such as *naa*, 'usually', and does not interrupt the contiguity of the subject and V2. The *téi* clause is considered a precondition by Déchaine, and as such is left-adjoined in a STATE EVENT event. As seen in (108.b), it is headed by EVENT. The subject of the head is the matrix subject, which is the subject of the left-adjoined VP as well. The left-adjoined VP is not the result of any action internal to the event; it is a precondition, represented iconically to the left, and so its subject is external. In EVENT STATE events, on the other hand, the right-adjoined STATE is the result of the preceding EVENT, and its subject may be internal.

In SM serial constructions, conforming to the event syntax formalized in (107) and (108), the matrix subject is the subject of the verb of the head term, and is the subject of

all preceding verbs. For resultative verbs subsequent to the head term, only UNDERGOER subjects occur. In addition, the occurrence of an UNDERGOER argument in a serial construction is a point where an EVENT term is determined, and is the only point where the subject of the subsequent verbs may change. It is the prototypical focus, and it is the motivation for sandhi effect on shared object affecting verbs.

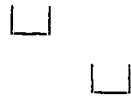
For change of location depictions, the subject of the first verb in a series holds for all subsequent verbs in that series up to the affected UNDERGOER patient. For verbs after the UNDERGOER patient argument, however, this relationship does not necessarily hold. The series of verbs in that case has been interrupted by a core argument, namely the affected object. If the nature of the effect is causative, subsequent action is resultative and the subject for the adjoined VPs is that object.

It is assumed that in depicting a single event a serial construction will have one focus, and prototypically that focus is in the head term. If the focus is the UNDERGOER affected object, subsequent action must be relevant to that focus; it must be resultative. Resultative action is non-volitional and low in transitivity, most likely not foregrounded and so not a focus. It is to the right of the head term and would be in a focus position, but resultative events are EVENT STATE. Non-resultative subsequent action would be a focus, and so the subsequent term would then be the head term, as with the STATE EVENT preconditional ‘take’ instrumental serials, or EVENT EVENT serials such as (113.a.ii). The causative effect as in (113.a.i), then, is topicalization; the UNDERGOER is topicalized by being in the focus position of V1, and may then be the topical subject of subsequent verbs.

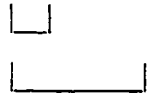
There is ambiguity as to the subject of an intransitive verb that follows an affected patient, as in (113). It may be either the agentive subject (ii), or the patientive object (i):

- (113) a. a nāki dí sitónu gó a dí djái
 he hit the stone go to the garden
 i. he hit the stone into the garden
 ii. he hit the stone (and) went into the garden

b.i. S V_t O V_i



b.ii. S V_t O V_i



The rightward contiguity of the verbs with the subject is broken by the affected UNDERGOER object. It may be re-established, as in (113.b.ii), interpreted as an EVENT EVENT event. Or the subject of the following intransitive verb may shift to the affected patient of the first verb, as in (113.b.i), interpreted as an EVENT STATE event. The affecting of the object may be the most salient point of an event, and is often its conclusion.

What is significant about the two interpretations in (113) is that (113.a.i) with object control depicts a change of location of the object. It is the interpretation of this type of serial verb construction, as mentioned above, that is iconically represented by contiguity. The composite meaning of the two verbs indicates motion and resulting direction of the object, an EVENT STATE event. While the EVENT depicts the action of the subject, the STATE refers to the object. The object is contiguous to the STATE verb and in its subject position, and so NP2 is interpreted as the subject of V2. Because the depiction of the cause of the motion of the object is internal to the serial clause, the subject of the verb depicting that resulting action is internal. Thus only STATES following EVENTS have an internal subject.

The EVENT EVENT interpretation in (113.a.ii) does not necessarily indicate change of location of the object, and the event depicted involves two actions of the subject. The composite meaning of the two verbs does not indicate motion and direction of the object. This dispreferred interpretation in (113.a.ii) could be considered a paratactic type of

construction (V. 1996:79). As far as contiguity, the two EVENTS are contiguous. The first EVENT implies no resulting effect. EVENTS are autonomous in that they are not caused. Thus a second EVENT may only follow a STATE or an EVENT that implies no resulting effect. This second EVENT contains the focus of the serial construction, and is the head term. Because they are autonomous, EVENTS must always have the matrix external subject as a subject. Such EVENTS, then, are like intransitive serial verbs in their contiguity with the subject.

The two interpretations in SM are likely the result of transfer from FGb. Both interpretations occur in FGb; subject control is interpreted only if there is an intonation break, so that it is definitely paratactic (Migge p.c.). A shared object serial version of such a paratactic construction without change of location is not acceptable with either subject or object control, in (40'.a). In the text of A. & G. (1997) there is an example of a paratactic type construction without change of location V2 and with subject control, as in (114.b), and there is an example of such a construction with change of location V2 without subject control, as in (114.c), but there are no examples the other way around:

- (114) a. a fiigi dí fisi jasá *kaí a gõõ
 he fry the fish bake fall on ground
 he fried the fish (and) baked (it), *he/*it fell . . .
- b. i musu saka njanjan kujëë fii disa kule go a lio . . . (A.&G.1997:50)
 you(sg) must lower food spoon of-you leave run go to river
 you must drop your spoon and run to the river . . .
- c. de saka hii soni tuwë a goon hën de kule ko . . . (A.&G.1997:67)
 they lower all thing throw on ground and they run come . . .
 they dropped everything and ran . . .

In (114.a) no change of location is indicated for the object, while there is a depiction of

change of state. For semantic reasons, then, the object would not control the subsequent verb of change of location. The matrix subject could not control it either, because the verb following the affected object is controlled by the object, and contiguous verbs share a subject. Thus the subsequent verb *kai* in (114.a) is not acceptable.

There is an apparent counterexample in (114.b). The verb *disa*, ‘let go’, occurs as a transitive verb; *a disá dí dágu*, ‘he let the dog go’. But it may also occur with a null unspecified object; *a disá*, ‘he quit’, and with a PP; *a disá u woóko*, ‘he quit working’. In these contexts *disá* might be considered to be intransitive, with subject control. It would appear to be the V2 of a shared object serial; *Túe di dágu disá*, ‘let the dog loose’ (deG. 1981:25). The verb *túwε*, ‘throw’, depicts a change of location of the object, and *disá* does not depict a change of state; this construction may not be followed by an object-controlled change of location verb; **a túwε dí dágu disá kulé gó a dǒǒ*, ‘he let the dog loose and it ran outdoors’. The verb *disá* here does not affect *dágu*, but rather is an intransitive verb, controlled by the matrix subject. In (114.b), *i musu saka njanjan kujëë fii disa kule go a lio*, then, *disa* is not the V2 of a shared object serial, but is a paratactic subject-controlled verb, as are the contiguous verbs *kule* and *go*. These verbs are subsequent EVENTS, which are in fact followed by more subject-controlled verbs; *i musu saka njanjan kujëë fii disa kule go a lio ku piizii go luku dee baakuma sösö seei ku i wojo*, ‘. . . go look at the gravediggers with your own eyes’. The first object is non-specific, referring to the non-specific subject, and the affected specific object is in the final EVENT. Thus there is one specific object in the serial construction; the prototypical focus.

The construction in (114.c), *de saka hii soni tuwë a goon hën de kule ko*, is a shared object serial depicting a change of location of the object, with a conjoined clause depicting subsequent action of the matrix subject. The shared object serial allows only object control verbs following the object, so subsequent action of the matrix subject must be expressed in a separate clause.

No change of location is indicated for the object in (114.a), but there is a change of state. Change of state implies a change of identity, so that the original item no longer exists, and cannot change location. Subject control is acceptable in (114.b), perhaps

because the subject controlled verb is unergative, rather than unaccusative as in (114.a), thus maintaining an agentive role for the subject throughout the event. Another difference is that the shared object verb in (114.a) depict an EVENT EVENT, while in (114.b) they depict a STATE EVENT, as ‘lowering the spoon’ is a precondition to ‘leaving’ it and ‘running’. Thus the ‘running’ in (114.b) may be seen as part of a single event, where the ‘falling’ in (114.a) does not relate to the affecting of ‘fish’, and would not be considered part of that event. Also, of course, ‘lowering’ and ‘leaving’ in (114.b) does not depict the same degree of change of location as ‘lowering’ and ‘throwing’ in (114.c). In (114.c) there is change of location of the shared object, and the subsequent action of the subject is expressed in a separate clause.

As in the serial verb construction depicting change of location in (113), in (115) the point where the object is affected is also significant in the change of subject for following verbs, in this case for a shared object serial depicting change of location of the object. If the composite meaning of V1 and V2 depicts a change of location, a resultative EVENT STATE event, then the second verb in the shared object serial could be considered to be passive, V_p in (115.b). The subject of that second verb and the following contiguous V_i verbs changes at the point of the effect on the object:

- (115) a. a fáa dí páu túwε kaí a lío
 he fell the tree throw fall in river
 i. he chopped down the tree (and it) fell in the river
 ii. *he chopped down the tree (and) fell in the river
- b. S V_t O V_p V_i
 └┘
 └┘
 └┘

In (115), the sense of change of location is depicted by V₂, and V₂ is a necessary part of

the interpretation in general because the meaning is composite. Following V2, as in (115), the most immediate consequence of the effect on the object is the change of location of that object. As discussed for (113), subsequent change of location by the subject ‘falling’ would not be as immediate, and would be unrelated to the event of ‘chopping down the tree’. Thus the entire serial construction would not depict a single event. If the ‘falling’ referred to ‘the tree’, this consequential action would be immediate, and related to the preceding ‘chopping down’. It would be a single event. Thus the reason for object control in (113) is an explanation as well for the intransitive verbs of change of location following the shared object serial in (115.a.i). But change of location shared object serials require further explanation, because the V2 blocks a paratactic interpretation, such as in (115.a.ii), and allows subsequent intransitive verbs to in effect be contiguous with the affected object. This explanation is in (107.a), the right-adjoined structure of an EVENT STATE resultative.

In (113.a), *a náki dí sitónu gó a dí djái*, the event composition is for the interpretation ‘he hit the stone into the garden’ is EVENT STATE, determined by the composite meaning of *náki* and *gó*. It is *náki* that depicts caused motion, *gó* indicates the direction. Because *gó* does not denote the cause of the motion, an EVENT EVENT composite meaning ‘he hit the stone and went into the garden’ is also possible. The nature of the patient NP is determined by *náki*, whether or not it is the subject of subsequent verbs. Even if there were an interpretation of motion, the depiction of an effect on the patient NP concludes the EVENT, so that either an EVENT or a STATE may follow. If the motion concludes with no result, this depiction is a left-adjoined EVENT. But if it has a result, then a STATE is adjoined. Only the right-adjoined STATE defines a predication relation that allows a subject interpretation for the patient NP. An object interpretation is not possible, as *gó* is intransitive.

In (115.a), *a fáa dí páu túwε kai a lío*, the event composition is [[EVENT STATE] STATE]. Both *fáa* and *túwε* determine whether there is caused motion, as both depict an effect on the patient NP. An interpretation of motion with a result would mean that the patient NP is the subject of the verbs following V2. Even though the EVENT is concluded

with the effect of V1 on the patient NP, the determination of resultative motion must also include V2. As an interpretation of resultative motion then necessarily involves V2, the V2 phrase is a STATE. For example, the ‘lowering’ motion of *saka* in (40’.b) does not have a result, the motion stops with *disa*, ‘leave’. But motion continues after *saka* with *tuwě*, ‘throw’ in (114.c).

In SM there is an indication that a caused action is depicted with a subject NP. In causative clauses with *mbéi*, ‘make’, there is a subject NP; *de mbéi a/*é woóko*, ‘they made him work’. This may be part of a broader rule to the effect that actions that are independent of the matrix subject have their own subject, as with verbs of perception; *mi sí a/*é woóko*, ‘I saw him work’. Of course verbs of perception do not occur in shared object serials, so they cannot be tested in that context.

The interpretation of the patient NP as subject or object of the following V2 is made compositionally, but appears to depend mostly on V2. As seen in (114.b, c), the same V1, *saka*, occurs in subject control with *disa*, and in object control with *tuwě*. Common V2s in shared object serials are *túwε*, ‘throw’, and *púu*, ‘push/pull’, which contribute to an object control interpretation:

- (116) a. dí kəkənótə púu kaí a gǝǝ SM
the coconut push fall on ground
the coconut fell to the ground
- b. dí déde páu fáa túwe ába dí lío SM
the dead tree fell throw cross the river
the dead tree fell across the river

Because *túwε* and *púu* are so common, and their meaning denotes manner and direction away as well as motion, they are more idiomatic and semantically fused with V1. Their occurrence as V2 gives the sense of immediate caused motion. They are interpreted as depicting the caused motion rather than the cause of the motion, which is object control,

as in (117.a). Other V2 verbs, such as *lolá*, ‘roll’, in (117.b), depict less immediate action, and lend themselves to a change of state interpretation:

- (117) a. mi kóti dí páu mǎõ púu lolá a dí pási SM
I cut the tree hand push roll at the road
I cut the branch and it rolled off the road
- b. mi kóti dí páu mǎõ lolá púu a dí pási SM
I cut the tree hand roll push at the road
I cut the branch and rolled it off the road

The difference in the order of *púu* and *lolá* in (117) illustrates the role of V2 in establishing the subject of the subsequent contiguous verbs. In (117.a) *púu* indicates the immediate caused motion from cutting the branch, namely that it fell from the tree. The subsequent contiguous verb *lolá* then has the same subject as *púu*, even though its motion is not as immediate. In (117.b), *lolá* is not interpreted as depicting an immediate caused motion, so it depicts a change of state. The subsequent contiguous *púu* then also has the same subject, namely the affected object.

The shared object serial is resultative, (V. 1996:141). When depicting change of location, the result of the action of V1 is the causation of change of location of the object. Thus the object is both affected and in motion. When depicting a change of state, the result is a further change in state, it cannot change location after a change of state.

If SM were an ergative serial verb language there would be no ambiguity in the marking in change of location shared object serials, the object or the verbs would be marked as absolutive. The marking would, of course, need to be split-intransitive as well to account for the unaccusative NP2. Recall from Du Bois (1987) that the discourse function of the absolutive pattern is the introduction of new information, with objects, and the regulation of its rate of introduction, with subjects of intransitives. The shared object serial verb construction depicting resultative change of location would seem to

accommodate both these discourse functions. Du Bois argues that this discourse function of ergativity is a motivation in language. A shared object serial with NP2 as the subject of the following intransitive or passive verb would dovetail with both the introducing and regulating motivation argued by Du Bois.

Sebba (1987:92) suggests that in SR verbs in object control constructions might be intransitive, but finds it a problem that these verbs in other contexts would not be object control verbs. This would be the case as well in SM, of course. But following Hopper & Thompson (1984), the categoriality of items should be seen as a function of their discourse and pragmatic context. And by Déchaine (1997), argument structure is determined by event composition. By iconicity as well, an intransitive interpretation of V2 would place the affected object iconically in subject position. In this case there would be no constructions in SM where an object precedes the affecting verb.

Ergativity relates to semantic roles, where accusativity relates to syntactic roles. Intuitively agent and patient semantic roles would be more salient than subject and object syntactic roles in highly transitive constructions, such as directional and shared object directional serials. Like these constructions in SM, ergative constructions are prototypically highly transitive, as seen in the distribution of ergative clauses in languages with split ergativity. When there is a split by tense, ergative clauses occur in the past tense and accusative clauses occur elsewhere, never the other way around (Comrie 1988). This is parallel to the past tense aktionsart of the verbs in SM that occur in shared object and directional serials. Similarly, when there is a split by animacy, clauses with less animate agents are ergative while clauses with more animate agents are accusative, never the other way around (*ibid.*). This is parallel to the animacy constraint in SM passives. In SM shared object serials there is an ergative-like distinction in that only the agent NP1 is ergative, while the affected NP2 is either a patient object or an unaccusative subject as well. The NP2 of course is not absolute since it is always affected, so it cannot be the subject in an unergative clause.

The agent in the shared object serial affects the first object, and is obviously the causal element in the subsequent actions. It might be that the verbs following the patient

object have an external causative agent in their argument structure. In this case a new definition of the serials could be proposed, changed from the traditional 'all verbs in a serial verb construction are same-subject or switch-subject' to 'all verbs in a serial verb construction have the same agent'.

The verbs subsequent to V2 in SM change of location shared object serial verb constructions do not occur in the corresponding constructions in FGb, (Migge p.c.). Rather, in FGb they have undergone grammaticalization (James Essegby p.c.):

- (118) Kòkú s'ò m'è s'ò zín d(ó) àyí (da Cruz 1992:72)
 Koku take person the place on(<put?) ground
 Koku grounded the person

The FGb item *dó*, 'on', is phonologically identical to the verb *dó*, 'put' (daC. 1992:72), and may be diachronically related to AjaGbe *do*, 'reach' (Migge 1998:180, tones are not indicated), c.f. SM *dóu*, 'arrive'.

There is a difference, then, between SM and FGb regarding subsequent verbs to change of location shared object serials. The grammaticalization of this verb in FGb could have taken place after the creation of SM, in which case the SM construction would offer a glimpse of earlier FGb. The construction corresponding to (44) in NDj, however, resembles FGb (M. p. c.). The main substrate language for NDj, by Migge (1998), is also FGb. The similarity of the NDj to the FGb construction suggests that the use of subsequent verbs in the corresponding SM construction is an innovation.

Chapter 5

Transfer of Fongbe adjectives

5.1 Introduction

Saramaccan predicate adjectives resemble Fongbe predicate adjectives in that in both languages they are intransitive stative verbs. But SM attributive adjectives resemble English attributives in that they precede the referent, whereas Fongbe attributives follow. They also resemble English attributives in their unmarked occurrence in that they are not reduplicated, unlike most attributives in FGb. In their marked occurrence in SM, however, both attributive and predicate adjectives resemble FGb derived adjectives in being reduplicated and in the use of the copula for predicates. But they differ from FGb, where reduplication of property items does not denote markedness.

The transfer of FGb adjectives into SM appears to have affected the substrate input in different ways. FGb adjectives have been affected differently in transfer according to the stage of development of the creole their functions were needed (Foley 1988); adjectival constructions involved in the type of basic work or trade related communication characteristic of the pidgin or early stages of creole development have undergone simplification and modification and appear to be a compromise with the superstrate, the mutual linguistic accommodation described in Thomason & Kaufman (1988:174), while the adjectival constructions used in the discourse and pragmatic functions characteristic of an expanded creole appear to have transferred with very little change from the substrate.

Attributive adjectives function in discourse to introduce information (Thompson 1988), a function that would seem appropriate to work or trade related communication. At this stage of pidgin or creole development the mutual accommodation by both superstrate and substrate language speakers would take place in the asymmetrical social

structure characteristic of the development of the Atlantic creoles. Substrate language speakers would adopt superstrate lexicon, in part perhaps because the more powerful superstrate speakers would be inclined to compromise least (Hudson 1980), and because the superstrate lexicon was a common denominator accessible to speakers of mutually unintelligible substrate languages. Part of the introduction of a lexical item would at times include an attributive adjective, no doubt contributing to the resulting creole pronominal unreduplicated attributive.

Predicate adjectives function to comment on known information (T. *ibid.*), a backgrounding strategy appropriate to an expanded stage of creole development (F. *ibid.*). As a creole expands its functions it eventually becomes the first language of a significant number of its speakers (T. & K. *ibid.*). Since for the Surinamese plantation creoles these speakers were children of substrate language speakers, the substrate input for the expansion would increase as the developing creole became more exclusively their primary means of communication. Any mutual accommodation would only be among the substrate varieties. Predicate adjectives in the Surinamese creoles, except for non-African speakers of Sranan (Winford 1997), are intransitive stative verbs, having undergone simplification in the loss of the copula in a class of FGb adjectives with subsequent loss of class distinction. The class that predominated was the class of intransitive stative verbs; the class that resembled English with the use of the copula was lost. Predicate adjectives, then, are essentially relexified FGb predicate adjectives.

The expression of markedness in SM adjectives is through reduplication. The pattern in SM, reduplication of attributives and the copula with reduplication, *dé* + RE, construction for predicates is a generalization of the derived adjective constructions in FGb. The motivation for this generalization may be the inherent markedness in deriving a stative depiction from a non-stative verb. For attributives, not surprisingly, the English pronominal word order remains for the reduplicated forms, having been conventionalized in the early stage. But for predicates, the *dé* + RE construction is a relexification of the FGb derived predicate adjective construction, including the copula. The expression of markedness is subjective, and therefore likely to be a function of an expanded creole, and

also likely to be influenced primarily by substrate input.

This differential pattern of transfer occurs with passives and shared object serial verb constructions as well, discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Passives in SM are the non-stative equivalent of the stative predicate adjectives. Passives are backgrounding, and are the type of construction characteristic of an expanded stage of creole development. Yet the passive in SM has undergone simplification, the same simplification as predicate adjectives, namely the loss of the copula, and an additional simplification in the loss of reduplication. An analogy with predicate adjectives is a likely motivation for the resulting identical structure of predicate adjectives and passives in SM. The same analogy allowed the generalization of the reduplication of derived adjectives to denote markedness in SM, since the verbs in passives and in derived adjectives are identical in being constrained to depict effect.

5.1.1 Characteristics of adjectives in Saramaccan and in Fongbe

Adjectives as attributives in Saramaccan display reduplication characteristics that are not attributable to the lexifier languages, namely Portuguese, Dutch or English. Neither the reduplication, of course, nor the motivation that underlies the reduplication may be attributed to the lexifier languages. Under consideration in particular are the reduplication of derived attributive adjectives, the reduplication of predicate adjectives following the copula, and the reduplication of certain attributive adjectives and adjectives in small clause constructions due to pragmatic and culturally related subjective evaluation. These constructions are discussed in Chapter 2.

Reduplication in general in SM is without question a feature of the substrate Kwa languages. It has been assumed in Chapter 1, based on the arguments in Migge (1998), that the primary substrate language for SM is the Kwa language Fongbe. Reduplication in FGb can be argued to be the source of the particular reduplication characteristics in SM.

Adjectives as attributives in SM display word order characteristics that are not attributable to the substrate Kwa languages, including FGb. The word order for attributive adjectives in SM is Adj-N. This can be seen as a feature of the primary lexifier language, English, and also of Dutch, but not of Portuguese. The order for attributives in FGb is N-Adj. The model of transfer discussed in Chapter 6 on passive transfer, namely involving the loss of copula due to simplification and subsequent loss of reduplication, can be shown to have created ambiguities in simplified FGb that were resolved in the creation of SM by adopting the superstrate English word order.

Adjectives as predicates in SM are intransitive stative verbs, discussed in Chapter 2. This is not characteristic of the lexifier languages, but is the case for most of the predicate adjectives in FGb. It will be argued, then, that this feature transferred into SM from FGb.

The characteristics of adjectives in SM are split and aligned along the lines of nominal and verbal, lexifier and substrate, and attributive and predicative. Attributive adjectives have nominal characteristics, including the blocking of tone sandhi at their left edge like non-pronominal NPs, which is not a FGb feature. This corresponds to the finding in Thompson (1988) that attributives share an information introducing function with nouns. Predicate adjectives have verbal characteristics, including tone sandhi at their left edge, which is a FGb feature. This corresponds to the finding in T. (ibid.) that predicate adjectives share a predicating function with verbs. In addition, attributive adjectives have the word order characteristics of the lexifier language, while predicate adjectives have the intransitive stative verb characteristics of the substrate language. This is true of all the creole languages of Suriname and of Haitian, languages with Fongbe as a substrate. An explanation for this is that the lexifier language is associated with new information, namely the lexicon, while the substrate language provides a familiar context for predicating this information.

5.2 Fongbe adjectives

Adjectives in Fongbe may be divided into three classes, based on the data in Ndayiragije (1992:69-70). There are adjectives with noun-like characteristics, referred to here as nominal adjectives. They require the copula *dò*, 'be at', as predicates, but are not reduplicated in this context. In this sense they are like nouns. Unlike other FGb adjectives, the nominal adjectives are not reduplicated as attributives. There is a class of adjectives with stative verb-like characteristics, referred to here as stative adjectives. They have stative meanings and occur predicatively without the copula. In this sense they are like stative verbs. They are reduplicated as attributives. The third class of adjectives has dynamic verb-like characteristics, referred to here as derived adjectives. They are derived from transitive or anticausative verbs and have resultative meanings. They are reduplicated following the copula *dò*, 'be at', predicatively, a construction described in Brousseau (1993:115) as the adjectival passive. Like the FGb stative adjectives, FGb derived adjectives are reduplicated as attributives.

5.2.1 Nominal adjectives

There is a small class of what will be termed *nominal adjectives*, such as *lóbwé*, 'round', referred to as 'true' or 'non-derived' adjectives by Brousseau (1993:97). These nominal adjectives are not reduplicated either as predicates following the copular *dò*, 'be at' (1.a), or as attributives, (1.b):

- (1) a. àyíkùngbàn dò lóbwé Fongbe (Nd. 1992:70)
 world COP round
 the world is round

- b. távò lóbwé dé Fongbe (Nd. 1992:70)
 table round a
 a round table
- c. dí físi á búnu sáti, a dé búnu SM (some speakers)
 the fish have good salt it is good
 the fish tastes good, it's good

These adjectives are noun-like in their lack of reduplication after the copula, in (1.a). There is almost no parallel for this type of adjective in SM. As discussed in Chapter 2, the SM adjective *búnu*, 'good', is acceptable unreduplicated after the copula *dé*, for some speakers, in (1.c), although many of these speakers consider *dé búnu* an expression borrowed from SR.

The nominal adjectives are also noun-like in following the copula *dò*, 'be at', which parallels a locative construction with nouns (Br. 1993:97; Kinyalolo 1995):

- (2) a. m̀̀tó ́ d̀̀ kpéví FGb (Kn. 1995:86)
 car DET be small
 the car is small
- b. Kòkú d̀̀ távò jí FGb (Lf. 1990:57)
 Koku at table on
 Koku is on the table
- c. kpéví wè m̀̀tó é́l ́ d̀̀ < (d̀̀ + è) FGb (Kn. 1995:86)
 small FM car DET be
 it is small that this car is

- d. távò jí wè Kòkú dọ̀ è FGb (Lf. 1990:58)
 table on FO Koku at it
 it is on the table that Koku is

The noun-like characteristic of these adjectives conforms to arguments by Brousseau and Fabb, discussed in 5.3.2.1 below, that complements of the copula *dọ̀* are more nominal than those of the copula *nyí*.

5.2.2 Stative adjectives

There is a class of FGb adjectives that are stative verbs. These will be termed *stative adjectives*. These items occur predicatively without the copula *dọ̀*, like other stative verbs, in (3.a). Unlike other stative verbs, however, they may occur attributively (Brousseau 1993:119). As such they are reduplicated as attributives, in (3.b):

- (3) a. àwù tòn myà FGb (Nd. 1992:70)
 pants GEN red
 his pants are red
- b. àwù myàmyà lé FGb (Nd. 1992:70)
 pants RE-red PL
 red pants

These adjectives correspond closely, in reduplication, to those few SM non-derived adjectives which occur as stative verbs predicatively and almost always occur reduplicated as attributives without a resultative meaning, such as in (4.a, b):

- (4) a. dí fuíta kúwa SM
the fruit unripe
the fruit is unripe
- b. dí kúwa-kúwa fuíta SM
the RE-unripe fruit
the unripe fruit

These adjectives are in fact intransitive stative verbs, as seen in their verbal syntactic characteristics. They occur without copular support, in (3.a). They may be preceded by TMA markers, in (5.a), predicate clefted with a copy, in (5.b), and may function as transitive verbs taking a direct object, in (5.c):

- (5) a. lan mɛ á kɔn Gbe, Xwela (M. 1998:314)
body in FUT fine
The body will be fine
- b. cú ɔ e cúa na tɔ loo Gbe, Xwela 2 (ibid.:316)
afraid FOC he afraid give water EMPH
He is AFRAID of water
- c. è gĩgɛ ɔka lɔ Gbe, Xwela (ibid.:318)
she short string DET
She shortened the string

These verbal characteristics occur with SM intransitive stative verbs as well, as discussed in Chapter 2.

There is a formal distinction between two types of predicate stative adjectives. One type, termed *causative/stative* in Br. (1993:46), may occur with either dynamic or stative

characteristics. Examples are *wé*, ‘white’, *wì*, ‘black’, *fà*, ‘cold’, and *gbló*, ‘large’. The classification does not appear to conform to the semantic types in Dixon (1977), as the contrasting *stative* adjectives (ibid.:48) are the same semantic types. Causative/stative adjectives are stative verbs and translate in the present tense, in (6.a). The causative/stative adjectives may also occur in the progressive, (6.b), imperative, and other constructions characteristic of dynamic verbs:

- (6) a. *sìn ó fà* FGb (Br. 1993:47)
water the cold
the water is cold
- b. *sìn ó dọ fífà wè* FGb (ibid.)
water the PROG RE-cold FOC
the water is in the process of getting cold

The other type, termed *stative* (ibid.:48), includes *hwè*, ‘small’, *hùnzó*, ‘hot’, and *kpén*, ‘thick’. They are translated in the present tense, (7.a), and do not occur reduplicated (ibid.:119), so they do not occur in the progressive, (7.b), and similar constructions involving reduplication, nor in the imperative:

- (7) a. *nùsúnù ó kpén* FGb (ibid.:48)
sauce the thick
the sauce is thick
- b. **nùsúnù ó dọ kpíkpén wè* FGb (ibid.)
sauce the PROG RE-thick FOC
(the sauce is in the process of thickening / being thickened)

The distinction between FGb causative/stative and stative adjectives has been lost in

transfer, not unsurprisingly since it appears to have no semantic basis. Adjectives in SM may be interpreted as either dynamic or stative depending on context.

5.2.3 Derived adjectives

The third class is comprised of *derived adjectives*. These adjectives are derived from verbs that depict a visible or perceptible change in the referent. They have a resultative meaning, but do not imply agency. They occur reduplicated predicatively after the copula *dò* as an adjectival passive (Br. 1993:115), as in (8.a). They occur reduplicated attributively following the referent, in (8.b):

(8) a. lámpu ó d̀ò cícì FGb (Br. 1993:34)
lamp DET COP RE-turn off
the lamp is turned off

b. távò g̀ingínlín ó FGb (Br. 1993:119)
table RE-scratch DET
the scratched table

The verbs that occur as derived adjectives are of two types, transitive, in (8.b), and anticausative, in (8.a), (Br. 1993:46). Both types depict transitive effect, and, of course, the anticausative may also occur intransitively:

(9) lámpu ó cí FGb (Br. 1993:47)
lamp DET extinguish
the lamp went out

Brousseau (ibid.:47) points out that the anticausative construction in (9) involves a

dynamic verb, and so translates in the past tense. Thus it differs from the present tense translation of stative verbs, such as the stative adjective construction in (3.a).

This class of derived adjectives in FGb corresponds, in reduplication, to derived adjectives in SM, such as (10.a, b), and to marked anticausative adjectives, in (10.c, d):

- | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------|----|
| (10) | a. | dí wósu dé wási-wási | SM |
| | | the house COP RE-wash | |
| | | the house is washed | |
| | b. | dí wási-wási wósu | SM |
| | | the RE-wash house | |
| | | the washed house | |
| | c. | dí gwàmbà dé mboí-mboí | SM |
| | | the meat is cook-cook | |
| | | the meat is cooked | |
| | d. | dí mboí-mboí gwàmbà | SM |
| | | the cook-cook meat | |
| | | the cooked meat | |

The SM anticausative parallels FGb, in (11.a.i), and FGb stative adjectives in (11.a.ii), but resembles FGb nominal adjectives and SM adjectives in occurring as an unreduplicated attributive, in (11.b):

- | | | | |
|------|-----|--------------------|----|
| (11) | a. | dí gwàmbà mboí | SM |
| | | the meat cook | |
| | i. | the meat cooked | |
| | ii. | the meat is cooked | |

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|----|
| b. | dí mboí gwàmbà | SM |
| | the cook meat | |
| | the cooked meat | |

5.2.4 Variations in the reduplication of adjectives

It should be noted that there are two types of reduplication involving the FGb adjectives, whereas there is only one in SM. In FGb there is reduplication of the entire word, which occurs with some adjectives that are stative verbs, as in (12.a). This is the only type of reduplication in SM. Reduplication of derived adjectives in FGb is described in Brousseau (1993:102), and involves only the first syllable with *i* as the default vowel. This reduplication applies to some adjectives that are listed as stative verbs in Nd. (1992:69), as in (12.b), and to adjectives derived from non-stative transitive change depicting verbs, as in (12.c):

- | | | | |
|---------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (12) a. | RE - myǎ => myǎ-myǎ | 'red' | (Nd. 1992:70) |
| b. | RE - blí => bí-blí | 'stained' | (Nd. 1992:70) |
| c. | RE - gbǎ => gbǐ-gbá | 'destroyed' | (Br. 1993:102) |

Further research is needed to determine if the difference in reduplication among adjectives that are stative verbs is determined by semantic type (Dixon 1977). In the example above, *bíblí*, 'stained', is the Physical Property type, whereas *myǎmyǎ*, 'red', is the Color type. Winford (1988) finds that among Caribbean English creoles the Physical Property adjectives are more likely to be transitive verbs than the Color type. If this were the case in FGb, then *bíblí*, 'stained', would more likely be resultative from the action of

'staining', where *myǎmyǎ*, 'red', would more likely be an inherent state. If this were the case in FGb then, there would be a possible source for the transfer of the entire word reduplication characteristic into SM.

5.3 Transfer of adjectives from Fongbe into Saramaccan

The model of transfer presented for adjectives is the same model presented for the transfer of passives in Chapter 6, to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7. It assumes that the substrate language FGb undergoes the type of simplification characteristic of creole genesis (Ferguson 1971, 1983; Le Page 1977; Meisel 1977; Mühlhäusler 1986; Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Because FGb is not an inflectional language there is no loss of inflection, but simplification may be seen to involve the loss of the copula. In the model presented in Chapter 6, simplification results in the loss of the copula verbs, starting with *nyí*, 'to be', the most purely verbal copula, and then possibly *dò*, 'to be in', the copula with locative meaning. This simplification takes place in the substrate language, the only language the speakers can simplify since they do not control the superstrate language (T. & K. 1988; Foley 1988:166). The claim of loss of the copula is made by Arends (1989) who found that the earliest Sranan records variably lacked a copula where one would be necessary in the modern language. McWhorter (1996b) shows that SM is related historically to early Sranan, and split from it at a time prior to the documents used by Arends.

It is argued in Chapter 1 that throughout the simplification process some of the morphosyntactic rules of FGb will be retained in different degrees, including those rules that result in simplification. It is also argued that modification of certain features of phonology, syntax or semantics based on the superstrate language occurs when there is a conflict among the substrate features, or when simplification creates ambiguity. Simplification is not instantaneous, rather it is a process where at any point modification may occur. Thus loss through simplification would not necessarily affect a feature in all

contexts. The effect of simplification is the loss of features that are not readily identifiable with a particular meaning, such as inflectional morphology. But there is more to simplification in creole genesis, since the end result of this simplification is a creole prototype (McW. 1998). Simplification and modification conspire to assure, among other things, a strategy for the identification and distinction of new and known information.

The basilectal nature of SM is due to the high percentage of retained features from FGb in particular. This is due partly to the high percentage of FGb speakers in the African population, but it is also due to the fact that at the time of the importation of Africans to Suriname the FGb language may have been influential beyond its borders (Migge 1998:81). It is likely therefore that most of the Africans brought to Suriname were familiar with FGb, and were accustomed to the use of FGb with speakers of other languages.

The final argument is that the genesis of this creole was motivated by a need to communicate laterally, with speakers of other substrate languages, rather than with speakers of the superstrate languages. The genesis of the Surinamese creole dates from a time when the populations of Africans and Europeans were much more equal, compared to the disproportionately high population of Africans later (McW. 1998). Yet the basilectal nature of the creole suggests that there was less compromise with lexifier features than would be expected to communicate with Europeans. More lexifier features would make the creole easier for Europeans to learn, since Europeans would be the speakers who least benefit from learning the creole, as Hudson (1980:62) argues for pidgins. Basilectal features such as reduplication and serial verb constructions seem unnecessarily uncompromising towards potential European learners, but are common to the Kwa languages. For a language created by and for speakers of the substrate languages it follows that innovations are created and spread only among these speakers. This does not necessarily mean that the language would continue to develop substrate characteristics, although this could be a possibility. But this possibility should in no way imply that the creole at any time did not conform to the creole prototype. There may

have been an 'approximation' of English used by Africans to communicate with Europeans, but this was not the ancestor of the Surinamese creoles (McW. 1998).

The creole is seen, then, as being created from common retained features, supplemented by commonly understood superstrate features (Winford 1998) rather than as a targeted shift with limited input (T. & K. 1988). The other possible substrate languages, such as Ewe and Twi, are related Kwa languages but are unintelligible to FGb speakers. However they do share a number of features in phonology, syntax and semantics. These features may have been modified to form a koiné-like common base, which is then augmented by superstrate features. Migge (1998), however, argues from historical and linguistic data that the primary substrate language of the Surinamese creoles is FGb, discussed in Chapter 1. Any substrate-influenced modification would therefore be slight. In any case, relexification from the superstrate languages allows a vocabulary all speakers understand, since they all share that knowledge.

5.3.1 Transfer of nominal adjectives

As mentioned above, the nominal adjectives in FGb provided the model for attributive adjectives in SM, in that SM attributives resemble FGb nominal attributives rather than FGb stative attributives, while predicate adjectives in SM resemble FGb stative predicate adjectives. The distinction between the two types of adjectives in FGb was lost in transfer, not a surprising simplification. But in this merger the nominal adjectives predominated for attributives, coinciding with the findings of Thompson (1988) that attributives have the nominal characteristic of introducing information. The merger of predicate adjectives, on the other hand, favored the verbal stative adjectives, coinciding with the verbal characteristic of predicate adjectives of commenting on known information (*ibid.*). In addition, the transferred attributive adjectives have the superstrate syntax, namely prenominal word order, while the predicate adjectives have the substrate FGb syntax, namely as intransitive stative verbs, iconically reflecting the role of the

superstrate lexicon as introducing information and the role of substrate predication in commenting on known information. The primary superstrate language for SM is English, with additional influence from Dutch and Portuguese. But the PR influence, it will be argued below, appears to have affected the creole at different times, with some influence occurring in the ancestor of the Surinamese creoles, and other influence in SM alone. Among the early influences is the PR prenominal attributive *grande*, ‘big’, used in PR to express subjectivity. This item in modern SM is the attributive *gãã*, with the suppletive predicate *bígi*, although *bígi* could occur attributively in early SM. It would appear that the syntax of an early PR superstrate would include this prenominal attributive, which because it is prenominal would be retained in the creole after the conventionalization of the general prenominal attributive of English. Other PR adjectives entered the language at a later time and are not suppletive, they conformed to the English syntax. The retention of the attributive *gãã*, it will be argued, was due to the use of its subjective depiction to introduce referents, a function which has been lost in modern SM with the loss of word order variation. Perhaps an additional motivation for the retention is the conflationary influence of the item *gan*, ‘big’, which occurs only as an attributive in at least one FGb variety, where it is a nominal adjective possibly derived from *gan*, ‘chief’.

5.3.1.1 Transfer of predicative nominal adjectives

FGb nominal adjectives, such as *lóbwé*, ‘round’, differ from adjectives as stative verbs in that they do not occur predicatively as verbs, in (1.a). They differ from derived adjectives in that they do not occur reduplicated either following the copula *qò*, ‘be at’, in (1.a), or as attributives, in (1.b).

In this model of the process of simplification, the predicative nominal adjective construction, (13.a) copied from (1.a), undergoes loss of the copula *qò*, ‘be at’, in (13.b). The result of this simplification leaves the surface predicative nominal adjective construction identical with the predicative stative adjective construction, in (13.c), copied

from (3.a):

- (13) a. àyìkùngbàn dọ lóbwé *Fòn predicate nominal adjective*
- b. áyìkùngbàn ø lóbwé *simplified predicate nominal adjective*
world COP round
the world is round
- c. àwù tòn myă *Fòn predicate stative adjective*
pants GEN red
his pants are red

The identical syntax of the two predicative constructions with the same function could only have a corrosive effect on the distinction between the two classes of adjective under normal conditions, and more so perhaps during simplification leading to creole genesis. Since there is almost no trace of the FGb predicative nominal adjective construction in SM, it may be assumed that it did not transfer as such but merged with the predicative stative adjective construction. This merging of two classes in itself is simplification, the collateral result of a simplification.

Possible traces of the nominal adjective as a predicate in SM may be (14.a), glossed as emphatic by McWhorter (1996b:85) in (14.b), which usually occurs without the copula with no detectable difference in meaning:

- (14) a. mi dé taंगा SM (Rountree & Glock 1977:92)
I COP strong
I am strong

- b.. mi dé taánga SM (McW. 1996:85)
I COP strong
I AM strong
- c. a dé búnu SM
he COP good
he is fine
- d. a búnu SM
he good
he is good

It is likely that (14.b) is interference from Dutch, the national language of Suriname, by way of the non-African dialect of Sranan that uses the copula with predicate adjectives (Winford 1997). A misunderstanding, requiring an emphatic reply such as (14.b), could result in a partial 'upward' register shift towards Dutch or the non-African dialect of Sranan to include the copula.

The property item *búnu*, 'good', however, mentioned in 2.1 above, is unique, at least for some speakers, in allowing the copula with the unreduplicated predicate. The difference in meaning between (14.c) and (14.d) could be seen as a register shift, where (14.c) is the higher register. It is considered a term to be used with outsiders, and somewhat 'disrespectful' for local people. The more usual expression is *mi dē bumbuu*, 'I'm fine' (SIL 1995:9), or *a dé wánsewánse*, 'he's fine'. There appears to be some variation in this item, as *búnu* may occur attributively *wan búnu woóko*, 'an easy job' (de Groot 1981:21), and *búmbúu* may occur as a predicate *a bumbuu*, 'he's kindhearted', paraphrased using the attributive *búnu* as *a' bunu fasi*, 'he has a good way' in Glock (1996:98). Speakers asked about *dé búnu* generally consider it to be a 'town' expression.

There is also the possibility that (14.c) is a transferred phrase from FGb. The FGb property item *dàgbè* has the meaning 'good' (Br. & Lu. 1992:7) as well as 'beautiful' (Nd.

1992:70), and is a nominal adjective (ibid.), thereby requiring the copula *dɔ̀* as in (11.a), as does, *nyɔ̀*, 'good' (ibid.:69). An examination of 18th century SR texts in Arends & Perl (1995) reveals a pattern similar to that for SM in (14), namely that emphatic or otherwise marked usage occurs with the copula *de*. Thus *mi de boen* (ibid.:77) or *mi de bon* (ibid.:109) as 'I'm fine', and *ke a de bon*, 'What? It's fine', in reference to sour beer (ibid.:154). But *a Bon mi za doe*, 'Very well, I will' (ibid.:157), and *Da bon*, 'that is good' (ibid.:152). The pattern may be seen in the 18th century SM texts in Ar. & P. (ibid.) as well. Expressing anxiety, *dide sa boene toemoeschi*, 'This would be very good' (ibid.:385) uses *de*, in *di de*, 'this is'. A less marked statement does not use *de*, *a boen va oene sabbi hoefa Helpiman ben kom*, 'it is good that you know how (our) Savior came' (ibid.:386). It will be argued in this chapter that the substrate feature of reduplication is retained for marked usage of attributive adjectives, in that the substrate feature is more marked than the simplified feature. A similar argument might apply to the occurrences of *búnu* as in (14.c, d). The transfer of (14.c) would allow a marked expression, where (14.d) with the loss of the copula in simplification would allow a more usual or less marked expression. Such a transfer would be feasible with the phonetic similarity of the FGb locative copula *dɔ̀*, *dé* in the Gbe language Xwela (Migge 1998:301), to the developed locative copula *dé* in SM, a possible example of conflation (Kihm 1989).

The possibility that the *dé* of SM is a transfer of the FGb *dɔ̀* under marked conditions would conform to the gradualist hypothesis argued in Arends (1993:374), where creolization is not only gradual, taking many generations, but is also differential, applying to different areas of the grammar at different speeds. It is argued that the creolization process is the result of adult second language learning (ibid.:375), citing demographic studies in Price (1976) that the majority of the slave population on the plantations up to the middle of the 18th century were adults, and that 90% of this population were African-born. Arends (ibid.:378) puts the date for the beginning of nativization of SR at 1771, based on the demographics in P. (ibid.) indicating a sudden rise to 30% of Suriname-born slaves. One item of evidence for the gradualist hypothesis may be found in the development of the copula in the expression in (14.c). In the 1718

Herlein text (A. & P. 1995:32) it has no copula, *My bon*, 'I'm alright', where in the 1770 Nepveu text (ibid.:33) it does, *mi de boen*, 'I am well'. The copula occurs when expressing a physical or mental state in the present tense, otherwise it does not, as in modern SR (ibid.:33). The gradualist hypothesis would allow influence from FGb speakers in the mid 18th century, with the expected variation. In the 1765 Van Dyk text, for example, this expression occurs both with and without the copula, *mi de bon* (ibid.:217, 223) and *mi bon* (ibid.:219, 223). It appears then that by 1765 this item of SR grammar had not stabilized. For SM, the 1765 date of the Van Dyk text roughly coincides with the 1762 treaty that severely curtailed the immigration of runaway slaves into SM territory. Thus for about a century after the establishment of the colony there was a constant source of input for SM from West African languages, including FGb (Migge 1998). In this case there would be a source of input from FGb for use in marked expressions designed to contrast with their unmarked counterparts. It would appear that speakers of SM were cut off from new FGb speakers at the time proposed by Arends for the development of the copula for depicting physical and mental states. This may be an explanation as to why the copula is basically limited to example (14.c) in modern SM. In Van Dyk, on the other hand, the occurrences of *de* with predicate adjectives includes 4 items other than *bon*, for example *a de dotti*, contrasting with *den dotti*, 'they're dirty' 2 turns earlier (ibid.:225-226).

The unmarked predicate adjective construction in modern SM, as discussed in Chapter 2, is verbal, that is it does not involve the copula. The transfer of the SM unmarked verbal predicate adjective from the FGb predicative nominal adjective may be schematized as in (15):

- (15) a. távò d̩ lóbwé *Fòn pred. nom. adj.*
távò ø lóbwé *simplified pred. nom. adj.*
table COP round
table is round
- b. távò myǎ *Fòn pred. stat. adj.*
távò myǎ *'simplified' pred. stat. adj.*
table red
table is red
- c. távò ø lóbwé távò myǎ *Fòn simplified pred. adj.*
// //
// //
- d. távò lóbwé / myǎ *loss of class distinction*
- e. táfa lògò / bé *Saramaccan pred. adj.*
table round / red
table is round / red

The merger of these two classes resulted in the dominance of the verbal reading of the predicate statives, and the loss of the null copula reading of the predicate nominals in (15.d). This will be discussed in detail in 5.3.2.1 on the transfer of the predicative stative adjectives.

Further research is needed to determine if the distinction in the FGb adjectives in (15.a, b) relates to Dixon's Semantic Types, or to anything else. The three nominal adjectives given in Ndayiragije (1992:70) are *dàgbè*, 'beautiful' (Physical Property), *kpévi*, 'small' (Dimension), and *lóbwé*, 'round' (Physical Property). The six stative adjectives given (Nd. 1992:69) are *fá*, 'calm' (Human Propensity), *nyó*, 'good' (Value), *kló*, 'big' (Dimension), *myǎ*, 'red' (Color), *wí*, 'black' (Color), and *bli*, 'stained' (Physical

Property). This small corpus suggests that Semantic Type does not function as a determiner of adjectival class. Recall from Chapter 2 that Semantic Type determines the transitivity of SM adjectives, in that Physical Property, Dimension and Color adjectives in SM are more likely to occur as transitive verbs than the other types (Winford 1988). This quality does not appear to have originated in the FGb adjective classes.

The small corpus also suggests that proximity towards prototypical verbhood or nounhood (H. & T. 1985) does not affect the class of any particular FGb adjective. Recall from Chapter 2 that SM adjectives may be reduplicated as attributives, and derived attributives that depict the result of an event must be reduplicated. The SM attributive adjectives are reduplicated if they depict the property to an unexpected degree. These adjectives are the attributives of adjectives that may also function as stative verbs or anticausatives. In Chapter 2 it was argued that their reduplication depicts the property removed from the norm, and so is metaphorically parallel to the resultative reduplication that depicts a stative result removed from the dynamic norm of an affecting verb. These qualities in SM may be the result of transfer, but apparently they did not originate in the FGb adjective classes.

The lack of a functional or semantic motivation for the distinction of FGb adjective classes would make the merger of the two classes during simplification easier.

5.3.1.2. Transfer of attributive nominal adjectives

The FGb attributive nominal adjective follows the referent and does not involve reduplication, as in (16):

- (16) távò d̀àgbè dé Fongbe (Nd. 1992:70)
 table beautiful a
 a beautiful table

Simplification of the bare attributive construction, without modifiers, would result in a construction identical to the simplified and reinterpreted predicative construction, including tone sandhi in FGb (Brousseau 1991:105):

- (17) a. távò d̀àgbè *attrib. nom. adj.*
 table beautiful
 beautiful table
- b. távò d̀ò d̀àgbè *pred. nom. adj.*
 table COP beautiful
 table is beautiful
- c. távò d̀àgbè = távò ø d̀àgbè *simplified adj.*

There is a potential ambiguity between the simplified forms of the attributive and the predicative nominal adjective in (17.c). Ambiguity exists in natural language, but in creole genesis it would seem likely to be avoided in that it deviates from isomorphism. One syntactic feature that could resolve the ambiguity is the determiner, which in FGb is postnominal, in (18.a), if the determiner exists in the simplified forms. The SM determiner, in contrast, is prenominal, in (18.b):

- (18) a. távò d̀àgbè ó távò ó d̀ò d̀àgbè
- b. dí hánso táfa dí táfa hánso SM

The contrasting determiner word order in the SM data suggests, however, that the postnominal determiner may not exist after simplification. That the determiner would not exist is a different scenario than a determiner with a null phonological representation, as presented in Lefebvre (1998:37). This difference, in terms of Lf. (*ibid.*), is seen in the

difference in determiner word order, in (18), since a null determiner would retain the substrate word order.

Lefebvre (1998:39) cites research that word order is determined by heads which are marked for directionality properties of specifiers, modifiers or complements, and argues that this feature of heads persists in transfer. It is also argued that the word order associated with a lexical item in a radical creole may be retained from the substrate or changed to the superstrate depending on the category of the item. Major category items, such as nouns and adjectives, are readily identified in creole genesis by the semantic overlap with superstrate items. The directionality associated with these major category items derives from the superstrate items, although the semantics of the substrate item is retained. This is an explanation for the superstrate order of major category items, like nouns and adjectives, in creoles. Minor category items on the other hand, such as determiners, are not easily identifiable in the superstrate language. Thus they may be relexified, or they may be phonologically null and assigned a phonological representation later. But in either case they maintain the substrate directionality, due to limited access to the superstrate.

The SM determiner, however, is prenominal. The determiners in SR and NDj, two other radical Surinamese creoles, are also prenominal. The Surinamese creoles differ from Haitian in this regard. In HT, which also has FGb as the primary substrate language, the determiner is postnominal. In HT, then, the Lf. (ibid.) prediction holds, in that the determiner retains its FGb postnominal directionality. There is another type of determiner in FGb that creates another difference between HT and the Surinamese creoles. This is the event determiner, described in Lf. (1998:219-247). This clause event determiner in FGb, which denotes an eventive action involving known information, is phonologically identical with the definite article, and both are designated [+definite] in that they accompany known information. The identity between the two [+def] items is underscored by Lf. (ibid.:234), who argues that events are identifiable objects. The event determiner is constrained to occur with event depicting dynamic verbs, so that it in effect accompanies an object. The [+def] event determiner and the phonologically identical

definite article may be seen then as accompanying a definite or known object. This is also the case in HT, where one of the definite articles is phonologically identical with the event determiner:

- (19) a. Mounn nan kraze yon manchinn nan HT (Lf. 1998a:230)
- b. Súnù ó gbá mótò dò ó FGb (ibid.)
 man DET destroy a car a Det
 the man destroyed a car, as we knew

In both FGb and HT the event determiner and definite article undergo the same phonological variations, and have the same dialectal variations of a repeated morph constraint regarding adjacent determiners (Lf. 1998b:138). These semantic and phonological similarities between the definite article and event determiner are cited as the reason they are considered to be a single lexical entry in both FGb and HT (ibid.).

The use of the determiner, glossed *DET* in (19), as an event determiner, glossed *Det*, did not transfer into the Surinamese creoles. Nor, as mentioned above, did the directionality of the definite article. An explanation for this could involve an identification of the two determiners with their shared function. Such an identity is recognized in some varieties of FGb, mentioned above, which have a constraint against adjacent occurrences (ibid.:243). The phonological and functional identity could cause the two determiners to share the same fate in transfer, suggested by the fact that both FGb postposed determiners transferred into HT, while neither transferred postposed into the Surinamese creoles. It is probably significant that the indefinite article in FGb, which does not resemble an event determiner, is not represented in HT postnominally, in (19.a). By the scenario presented by Lefebvre, the FGb definite article is represented during transfer, and the indefinite article is not.

Lefebvre (ibid.:34), referring to Meisel (1983), considers creole genesis to be a particular case of language acquisition where relexification plays a greater role. Meisel

(ibid.:125) determines that acquisition involves an intermediate language, termed interlanguage, characterized by simplification. This simplification may entail a loss of function words, an opinion shared by others (Ferguson 1982:60; Corder 1977:12). It might seem reasonable that both definite and indefinite articles could be 'lost' for relexification, to be replaced by articles with the superstrate directionality. This could be learned with relexification of nouns, which would seem a natural consequence of sheer usage since articles are common in English and more so in French. But in HT, for example, FR vowel initial nouns include the definite article; HT *lo* < FR *l'eau*, 'water' (Lf. 1998a:339). The HT form is accounted for in McW. (1996b:164) as the result of the lack of saliency in the FR prevocalic article. There are consonant initial FR words on this pattern in HT as well, though, such as *larivyè*, 'river' < FR *la rivière*, 'the river' (ibid.:81). In addition, the FR partitive determiner *de* also occurs in HT onsets, as in *diri*, 'rice' < FR *du riz*, 'rice', as well as for vowel initial nouns from FR such as *dlo*, 'water' < FR *de l'eau*, 'water' (ibid.:81).

Article agglutination is characteristic of French creoles in general, affecting both vowel and consonant initial nouns (Grant 1995). Interestingly, the number of feminine articles, *la*, agglutinated to consonant initial nouns is vastly greater than the number of masculine, *le*, or plural, *les*. For the selected vocabulary items in HT, for example, there are 18 *le/les* compared to 143 *la* (ibid.:156). If salience were a factor one would need to argue that *la* is less salient than *le/les*.

Thus determiners with consonant initial nouns in FR are not particularly low in phonological salience. It would seem, however, that the commonly occurring determiners in FR would lack salience partly because they are common, especially since their syntax and semantics differ from the FGb determiners (McW. ibid.:80). The FR prenominal definite article in any case was not the model for the HT postnominal definite article.

The retention of the FGb determiner directionality, due to the generally reduced salience of the FR item, and due perhaps as well to the identity with the retained event determiner, could have precluded the interpretation of the FR *l'* as a definite article. As

mentioned above, it could have been reinterpreted as part of the noun because the FR article usually occurs with the noun, and these occurrences do not match those of FGb. For vowel initial nouns the interpretation of FR *l'* as a syllable onset in HT could be a strategy to conform to a CV syllable structure, a characteristic of simplification (Ferguson 1982:60). This strategy may be seen in SM *wójo* < PR *olho*, 'eye', SM *júu* < DT *uur*, 'hour', SM *hánsi* < Eng *ant*, or SM *híniwa* < Eng *anyone*, 'everyone'. The *l'* in FR does in fact function to supply a syllable onset for vowel initial nouns.

Regarding the HT postnominal definite article, HT *lekol la* < FR *l'école*, 'the school', McW. (1996b:164), as mentioned above, argues that the French definite article is less salient than the English due to agglutination to vowel initial nouns, and therefore in contrast to the directionality in English creoles the FR directionality did not transfer into HT. The more salient English definite article, it is argued in McW. (ibid.), resulted in the English based creoles having the preposed superstrate directionality. It might be pointed out, as a possible extension of this argument, that there are likely more consonant initial than vowel initial nouns in French, so that most nouns would have a more salient definite article. Some of these more salient definite articles also may be incorporated into the noun, as mentioned above, in that there are words in HT like *larivyè*, 'river', < FR *la rivière* 'the river', and HT *latè*, 'world' < FR *la terre*, 'the earth' (Lf. 1998a:81). The HT article incorporation resembles Spanish article incorporation of Arabic words in that both assimilating and non-assimilating AR definite articles are incorporated as meaningless initial syllables in SP. It would appear that there is more than phonetic salience involved in the HT incorporation of the FR definite article. The research summarized in Lf. (1998:80) might support an additional explanation that the FR use of the definite article is greater or in any case different enough from the use in FGb that for speakers of FGb the FR definite article would often be inappropriate and thereby its meaning ignored.

A similar situation might have occurred in Portuguese based creoles, since PR has a similar definite article (McW. ibid.). But the West African PR based creoles have no definite article (Ferraz 1987:341). They may use a demonstrative as a definite article, but there is variation in word order. For the Gulf of Guinea creoles this demonstrative is

postnominal, while for the Upper Guinea creoles it is prenominal (Fz. *ibid.*:344). An examination of the Cape Verde wordlist in Silva (1957), and examples in São Tomé (Fz. 1979) and Kriyol (Kihm 1994), reveals no examples of the incorporation of definite articles, although there are some in the Gulf of Guinea PR creoles, Principense in particular (Baker 1984:123). French creole languages, however, are uniquely characterized as having article agglutination (Grant 1995:149). The scarcity in the PR creoles is perhaps because the article is vowel initial and would violate a common creole CV syllable constraint. The few PR words with an added initial vowel in the UG creoles are reflecting Bantu noun class prefixes (Fz. 1987:346). It would appear that irrespective of its low salience the PR definite article was identified and parsed, and then ignored altogether. There would be no null representation to be filled by items such as demonstratives (Lf. 1998a:37), since the word order of demonstratives varies. In São Tomé for example, both the lexifier and substrate languages have definite articles, as the primary substrate language Kikongo and the less influential Kwa language Bini (Fz. 1979:12) have prenominal and postnominal definite articles respectively. The postnominal demonstrative in ST would not be filling a prenominal null determiner slot of the primary substrate language, but would conform to the postnominal Bantu demonstrative (*ibid.*:73).

The West African PR creoles provide examples, then, of creole genesis that has eliminated definite articles. These creoles use the numeral one, which is prenominal in PR and postnominal in the Kikongo (*ibid.*:72) and Kwa languages, as an indefinite article to indicate new or asserted information, and is prenominal in Kriyol (Kihm 1994:136), São Tomé (Fz. *ibid.*:78), as well as HT and SM. However, the referent of the indefinite article in Kriyol is nonspecific (Km. *ibid.*:137), while in SM and HT it is specific (McW. *ibid.*:163). Indefinite articles obviously have a somewhat different history than definite articles in all these creoles, as pointed out for HT in Lf. (1998a:89). The PR creole loss of the definite article is relevant to SM in that it implies that, contrary to Lf. (*ibid.*:37), the use of the definite article may be suspended in creole genesis without the transfer of the substrate directionality.

Another factor in the directionality of definite articles is presented in Dryer (1989), where the word order for nouns and attributive adjectives is related to that of definite articles. This typological study finds that Africa is the one geographical area where adjectives and definite articles tend to occur on the same side of the noun, as contrasted with all other geographical areas. This tendency could likely have transferred, as it is consistent with the French and English based creoles under consideration. An implication of this tendency in SM and HT is that definite articles were not influential in the determination of the word order of nouns and adjectives, as they obviously were not in the West African PR based creoles.

Definite and indefinite articles in SM indicate a specific referent (McW. 1996b:63). In SM narrative style, recall from in Chapter 2, the referents of both attributive and predicative adjectives are predominantly specific. The count of adjectives in a narrative text showed that only 16.8% of the referents were nonspecific. It would be logical to assume that FGb had this characteristic as well. If in creole genesis the use of articles were suspended, as in the West African PR based creoles, the effect on adjectival constructions in general would be slight, since adjectival referents are prototypically specific. In an adjectival construction the definite article would provide little new information about the prototypical referent.

The directionality of definite articles is argued to be a function of salience in McW. (ibid.). In SM, the English definite article is salient, where in HT the French definite article is not. This then accounts for the English directionality in SM and the FGb directionality in HT. Extending this argument somewhat regarding the West African PR creoles, in São Tomé it could be that the prenominal Kikongo and postnominal Bini definite articles are equally as salient compared to that of Portuguese, and thus cancel each other. The FGb definite article, implied by McW. (ibid.), would be more salient than the French but less salient than the English. Yet there seems to be no phonological reason why FGb should have the less salient item. The definite article in FGb, *ó*, bears tone and does not assimilate. As mentioned above, however, it is phonologically identical to the event determiner *ó*, which did not transfer into SM but did transfer into

HT. It has been argued above that the identity resulted in the retention of both in HT and the loss of both in SM. Before this loss in SM there could have been conflicting saliency with a resulting suspension of the definite article.

There is an indication from the earliest texts in SM that both definite and indefinite articles were not used as they are in modern SM:

- (20) a. miweh minini va Bethuel (Randt 1781, *in* McW. 1996:111)
 I-well child for Bethuel
 I am the child of Bethuel
- b. mi, we, dá dí miĩ fu Bethuel modern SM
 I INTENS COP the child for Bethuel
 I am the child of Bethuel
- c. va loesse wi sombreh na Mouw Dubri (1790, *in* Ar. & P. 1995:386)
 for lose we person at hand devil
 to release us people from the hand of the devil
- d. va a musse kom retti limbo Hosse (ibid.:387)
 for it must come right clean house
 and it will become a truly clean house

By the schema in McW. (ibid.:163) for modern SM, a specific item is marked with an article, as in (20.b). Similarly, in (20.c) the modern SM would use definite articles in that hand and devil are specific. Note also that the possessive construction in (20.c) reflects the word order for inalienable possession in FGb (Brousseau & Lumsden 1992:9), but not the *didibi mǎõ*, 'devil's hand', of modern SM. Early SM, like the West African PR creoles, must have developed alternative ways to indicate specificity.

There is a parallel to the early SM use of definite articles in early SR texts (Arends &

Perl 1995:23). The parallel is significant in that SR and SM share a common history (McW. 1995). Arends & Perl (*ibid.*:26) discuss the environments for zero-articles in 18th century SR, which would apply as well to the 18th century SM in (20). The zero-articles in early SR are much more numerous than overt articles (Ar. & P. *ibid.*:23). Both definite and indefinite zero-articles occur in the 18th century texts (Kramp 1983:40). The significance of the zero-articles in early SM is that their use not only contrasts with modern SM, but contrasts as well with the use of articles in West African languages, considering that the West African use is basically the same as modern SM (McW. 1996b:163). In other words, it would appear that the West African use of articles, namely to indicate specificity, was suspended and then reinstated. In this way the development of articles in SM resembles the development of the copula in SM as argued in McW. (1996b).

The environments for zero-articles apply to attributive adjectives as well, as there are examples in early SR like *Da bikki ley*, 'that's a big lie' (Van Dyk 1765, in Ar. & P. 1995:201), and *da ry tem*, 'it's the rainy season' (*ibid.*:202). And, in (18.d) above, in early SM there is *va a musse kom retti limbo Hosse*, 'and it will become a truly clean house' (1790, in Ar. & P. 1995:387). The environments for zero-articles in the 1765 Van Dyk text (*ibid.*:45) include preceding an inanimate NP or an NP in predicate position denoting a defect or characteristic of a person. It would seem that these environments would include the majority of attributive adjectives, in that animate arguments are more likely to be agents and so would tend not to be introduced, by Du Bois (1987), and so would not tend to occur with attributive adjectives, whose function, by Thompson (1988:174), is introduction.

Interestingly, regarding a reduced use of the FGb definite article and the change in directionality in early SM, the modern SM definite article reflects number, *dí*, 'the (sg)', and *dée*, 'the (pl)'. In FGb, the determiner *ó* and plural marker *lè* are adjacent in the word order N^o-DET-NBR (Br. & Lu. 1992:6), for example *dí dè dǎgbé ó lè*, 'the good sketches' (*ibid.*:7). No constituent may occur between the determiner and plural marker (*ibid.*:20). This adjacency would motivate the plural marker to conform to the directionality of the

determiner. The plural determiner in modern SM, *dée*, would appear to be from *de*, 'they', and denotes plurality without a separate marker. In early SM the plural definite article and the 3rd pl. pronoun are homophonous, *dem* (Ar. & P. 1995:385). The use of the 3pl. pronoun as a prenominal plural marker is a transfer feature of creoles with a Bantu component, such as São Tomé, according to Ferraz (1979:61). The Bantu Kikongo languages are also a component of SM (Migge 1998), although Kikongo was not influential until after SM had stabilized. Perhaps more importantly, several West African languages have homophonous plural markers and 3rd pl. pronouns, such as Ewe *wɔ̃*, (Lf. 1998a:86). The plural slot in HT was filled by the FGb plural marker, in Lf. (ibid.:78), by relexification of the FR postnominal emphatic 3rd pl. *eux*, FGb *ó lê* > HT *a yo*, based on dialect levelling with these other substratum languages (ibid.:86).

That the FGb plural marker did not transfer into SM may be because the FGb determiner *ó* did not. The FGb motivation for expressing plurality adjacent to the definite article when realized in SM could reinforce the adaption of the homophonous 3rd pl./pl. marker pluralization strategy of other substratum languages, perhaps even Kikongo, through dialect levelling. There was no conveniently placed *eux* for a relexification of the plural marker in SM, as there was in HT. The development of the plural definite article in SM was not as straightforward as plural marking appears to have been in HT. As argued for HT, in SM it very likely involved dialect levelling, which would take time. This period of time could be accounted for by a *gradualist* model of creolization (Arends 1993, Ar. & P. 1995:40), where creolization involves a number of generations. Arends & Perl (ibid.) see evidence in the 1765 Van Dyk texts that the language in the early 18th century was more pidginoid than the more fully creolized language in the late 18th century.

The common history of SM and SR, by McW. (1995, 1996b:14), and a similarity in the use of articles in early SM and early SR, allow an assumption that determiners in these languages functioned similarly. During a time period between FGb and modern SM and SR, perhaps the time period involving stabilization due to dialect leveling, the function of determiners went from signaling specificity (McW. 1996b:136) to signaling

definiteness (Ar. & P. 1995:24) and back to signalling specificity (McW. *ibid.*). The use of determiners also appears to have changed from obligatory in FGb to minimal for disambiguation in early SR (Ar. & P. *ibid.*:31) and back to obligatory in the modern languages.

The determiners in early SR, by Arends & Perl (*ibid.*:24), are derived from items which are not determiners. The indefinite article *wan* is from the numeral one, the definite article *da* is from the demonstrative *datti*, 'that'. Thus early SR, like the West African PT based creoles, used a demonstrative where necessary to function as a definite article. This would explain the restricted use and changed semantics compared to the FGb definite article. In other words, the original FGb definite article is not represented in early SR. It may be assumed by the gradualist model, then, that the point in time the demonstrative finally attained the status of a definite article was the time it could begin to incorporate the semantics of the FGb definite article.

The early SM texts in Arends & Perl (*ibid.*:383-387) are dated 1790 and 1791. They use both *da* and *di* as definite articles, listed in the Riemer dictionary (*ibid.*:271, 273). The entry for *di*, interestingly, lists a demonstrative use as well, which occurs as such in *di dé*, 'it/this is' (*ibid.*:387). This would suggest that the SM definite article *di* is derived from the demonstrative *dishi* (*ibid.*:273), similar to the SR *da* from *datti* (*ibid.*:24). The implication is that the FGb definite article did not transfer into SM, nor did its directionality, and that demonstratives began to fill its function. Thus early SM would have resembled the West African PR creoles.

The definite article is used occasionally where it would not be used in early SR, such as after the preposition *na*, 'at' (*ibid.*:45), as in *Helpiman ben kom na di Grond*, '(our) Savior came to the world' (*ibid.*:386). It would appear that these SM texts represent a later period in the development of the definite article where its use is more common but it is still not differentiated from the demonstrative.

Regarding the determiner in early SM, then, there is the likelihood that the determiner in the simplified adjectival constructions in (17.c), *távò dǎgbè = tǎvò ø dǎgbè*, was not postnominal. In that case, a prenominal determiner would not be able to resolve the

ambiguity of (17.c). It is argued in this chapter that the ambiguity for SM and the Surinamese creoles was resolved by adopting the superstrate word order. There is the question, however, as to whether an ambiguity such as in (17.c) would need to be resolved, as such ambiguities exist in natural language.

There appears to be an example of head-modifier word order in the 1790 SM text (Ar. & P. 1995:386) that reflects the FGb word order and contrasts with the word order in modern SM. The phrase *na baassoe manda*, 'at the bottom of the basket', would be *a dí mánda básu* in modern SM. This example suggests that even in the late 18th century there were still variations in head-modifier word order. It may be significant that this variation occurs without a definite article. There is also an example from early SR in the 1765 Van Dyk text, *gado gi joe libi lange*, 'may God give you a long life' (Ar. & P. 1995:231).

In Chapter 1 it was argued that iconicity is a greater motivation in creole genesis than in normal language change because of the greater speed of change and the lack of continuity between source and target. Iconicity provides a default connection with discourse and pragmatic motivations, enhancing the salience and transferability of forms that reflect these motivations. Iconicity, by Givón (1985), facilitates processing in real time. Iconicity entails isomorphism, the representation of a single concept with a single form. Therefore iconicity would disfavor ambiguity. But one characteristic of creoles in fact is ambiguity in lexical items, or multifunctionality. This characteristic is due to limited access to the superstrate lexicon, which is out of the control of the creators of a creole. Morphosyntactic ambiguity, on the other hand, is in the control of these speakers since the morphosyntax is derived from the substrate. The greater the lexical multifunctionality, it would seem, the greater would be the inclination to balance this ambiguity with the elimination of another. In any case a preference for structural isomorphism in creole genesis would motivate a resolution of the ambiguity in (17.c).

The structural ambiguity in (17.c) has a high probability of occurrence in that SM has serial verb constructions with adjectives, as in (21.a, b), and adjectival small clause complements, as in (21.c), and with anticausatives, as in (21.d):

- (21) a. dí wómi taánga kulé a dí pási SM (Rountree 1972:325)
the man strong run on the path
the man is strong, runs on the path
- b. dí wómi taánga pasá mi SM
the man strong pass me
i. the man is stronger than me
ii. the man is strong, passes me
- c. a kóti déé paánga lánga SM
he cut the(pl) plank long
he cut the planks long
- d. a téi dí báta booko SM
he take the bottle break
he took (and) broke the bottle

The construction in (21.a) with a postposed attributive adjective could also mean 'the strong man ran on the path'. The comparative construction in (21.b) with a postposed attributive could also mean 'the strong man passed me'. In (21.c) a postposed attributive would also mean 'he cut the long planks'. With an anticausative, as in (21.d), the meaning could be 'he took the broken bottle', since anticausatives are adjectives, as argued in Chapter 2. The meaning contrast is most noticeable with anticausatives, where the transitive function would be ambiguous with the stative property description.

It may be that the substrate tone sandhi pattern for attributives continued to apply during the attributive word order modification, which would mean that nouns sandhi with the postnominal attributive as well as with verbs (Ham 1999 for Ewe; Wiesemann 1991 for Fon), and predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs in the substrate languages

and in the Surinamese creoles. Thus the tone sandhi for postnominal attributives would not be able to distinguish the introductory function of attributives from the predicating function of predicate adjectives. It is argued in Chapters 2, 4 and 7 that tone sandhi in SM reflects the prototypical distinctions between old and new information, and that this characteristic facilitated the transfer of tone and tone sandhi into SM. Modern SM has a sandhi break, characteristic of new information, at the left edge of attributive adjectives, which are prenominal.

There is a motivation, however, for resolving the ambiguity of (17.c). It is the increased tendency in creole genesis, more than in ordinary language change, to create isomorphism, argued in Chapter 1. Isomorphism would include a distinction between old and new information. Since there is an increased probability of the occurrence of the ambiguity in verb serializing languages due to the constructions with adjectives, particularly anticausatives, there is an increased motivation to resolve the ambiguity.

It is of interest that the prenominal attributive word order of English provides a resolution to this FGb ambiguity for SM and the other Surinamese creoles, and not surprisingly in the other Caribbean English creoles as well (Winford 1993:136), while the French postnominal attributive provides no such resolution for HT. In addition, HT has all the types of serial verb constructions found in the Surinamese creoles except the shared object serial (Lf. p.c.). It would appear, then, that the ambiguity with the most noticeable meaning contrast is resolved in HT by the fact that constructions with preverbal objects did not transfer.

Also of interest is the ambiguity in (17.c) in the PR lexified creole Kriyol (Kihm 1994:36). Kriyol predicate adjectives are verbs while attributives are adjectives (ibid.:37), as in SM and FGb. The substrate languages of Kriyol are not Kwa, however, but the West Atlantic languages (Ferraz 1987:337), although monogenesis of the PR creoles is argued in McW. (2001). As the West Atlantic languages do not have verb serialization, the ambiguity of (21) does not occur in Kriyol. There is also no superstrate prenominal alternative as a model, since PR is like FR in having basically postnominal attributives. Thus, as in HT, the ambiguity in (17.c) is tolerated in Kriyol. It cannot be

assumed that a creole will adopt the superstrate noun+modifier word order, as attributives in the Asian PR lexified creoles are typically prenominal (ibid.:349).

The PR creole of São Tomé does have a Kwa substrate (Fz. 1987:337), and São Tomé does have serial verb constructions (Fz. 1979:79). The ambiguity in (15.c) does not exist here, as São Tomé has a copular predicate adjective construction (ibid.:76) and postnominal attributives, demonstratives and possessives (ibid.:80; Fz. 1987:344). In São Tomé the superstrate predicate adjective served as a model. This may be due to an official policy by the Portuguese encouraging mixed marriages to populate the Gulf and Upper Guinea islands, with a resulting increased superstrate influence (Fz. 1979:16). The introduction of a copula for predicate adjectives then would be similar to the dialect variation in SR where non-African speakers use a copular predicate adjective construction (Wn. 1997:280).

The resolution of the ambiguity in (17.c) is provided by the superstrate attributive word order. This is due in part, to be argued below, to the specific targeting of the English attributive adjective construction. To extend the argument in McW. (1996b) that a more salient item is more likely to be incorporated in creole genesis, an argument might be made that English provided a more salient model for attributive word order than did FGb. The assumption is that an item is more salient if it is targeted. In other words salience works in two directions, an item must be salient enough in the target language to be noticed, but motivations in the substrate language would make certain target items all the more likely to be noticed and thereby more salient. The adjectival constructions in SM may be explained in this way. SM attributive adjectives follow the English model in being prenominal, while SM predicate adjectives follow the FGb model in being intransitive stative verbs. The basis of this argument relies on the pattern of occurrence of SM attributive and predicate adjectives in discourse.

Recall from Chapter 2 that attributives account for the vast majority of the occurrences of adjectives in the 74-page Aboikoni & Glock (1997) narrative text. As in English, SM attributive adjectives occur in predicative position with semantically empty head nouns, but nevertheless the majority of SM adjectives in A. & G. (ibid.) are not

predicative. This contrasts with conversational English, where the majority of adjectives are predicative (Thompson 1988:174). Recall also from Chapter 2 that the SM predicate adjectives which do not occur in attributive constructions, namely adjectives as intransitive stative verbs, are in the A. & G. text almost entirely the items *bígi*, 'big', *búnu*, 'good', or *tjalí*, 'sad'. Similarly, attributive adjectives in predicate position in this text are predominantly *gãã*, 'big', *búmbúu*, 'good', or *tjalí*, 'sad'. These items are repeated frequently in the text, reaffirming an expected property but giving no new information. Adjectives that provide new property descriptions are almost always in attributive position. It may be assumed that this pattern, which differs from conversational English, existed during creolization and in early SM. It may also be assumed that in a conversational context property items would be accessible only in relation to their referents. Thus during creole genesis speakers wishing to express properties as new information would most likely target the English attributive position adjective construction, that is not including attributive adjectives in predicate position (T. *ibid.*:175). By being targeted, the English attributive construction would take on a greater salience than its FGb counterpart. Facilitating the adoption of the English attributive word order is the fact that attributive position adjective constructions in conversational English do not have definite articles (T. *ibid.*:177). English attributives would contrast with the English predicate adjective construction which would not be targeted, since early SM speakers wishing to express known or generic properties would not use predicate adjectives as much, and would not need to learn nearly as many new predicate property items.

The pattern in SM of favoring the attributive position adjective construction for depicting new or renewed properties relates to the finding in T. (*ibid.*:178) that adjectives in attributive position themselves function to introduce referents. The SM attributive position adjective construction introduces properties as well as referents, whereas SM predicate adjectives tend not to introduce as many property concepts. SM adjectives in attributive position, then, tend to function similar to nouns, where SM predicate adjectives tend to function more like verbs, conforming to a more general tendency for

nouns to function to introduce while verbs function to predicate (H. & T. 1984:710, 726; T. 1988:180).

Facilitating the attributive function associated with nouns is the fact that in SM morphosyntax attributives are nominal and predicate adjectives are verbal. In this way property introduction in SM conforms more to this attributive function than English conversation where new properties are depicted more for known information in predicates than for new items as attributive adjectives (T. *ibid.*:174). English adjectives in attributive position also differ in that they do not function to re-identify (T. *ibid.*:178). This is unlike SM, as discussed in Chapter 2, where a large number of adjectives in attributive position re-identify already established referents. Without these re-identifying occurrences, the proportion of SM adjectives in attributive position would be reduced, bringing SM closer to the general tendency implied in the results of T. (*ibid.*). It is perhaps this tendency to renew or re-identify information that helps determine the close association of property introduction with adjective constructions in attributive position. Renewed information in attributive adjective constructions in the A. & G. (1997) text occur with a definite article, unlike new information in the A. & G. text and in English. Items that are renewed in A. & G. also tend to occur with the deictic *dé*, 'there', serving as a demonstrative. Attributive adjective constructions depicting renewed information in early SM would seem to be likely to occur with demonstratives. The single example in English in the Thompson study, *this Jewish guy* (*ibid.*:177), occurs with a demonstrative. In early SM, then, attributive adjectives depicting renewed information would be one likely context for the development of the definite article from the demonstrative.

An examination of 18th century SR adjectives might give an indication that the adjectives in early SM pattern similar to adjectives in modern SM. The 1765 Van Dyk text includes a 74-page play in 18th century SR with a Dutch translation and a later English translation (Ar. & P. 1995:165-239). The author, Van Dyk, may have been a white overseer (*ibid.*:19). The internal consistency of the language used in the play suggest he was a competent speaker, although probably of *bakra tongo*, or the white variety, and an urban variety as well (*ibid.*:21). It would seem that he was aware of

differences between the *bakra* and *nengre*, or black varieties, as in the play a slave uses *lypi* for 'ripe', resembling the SM *r*-less *lépi*, while in the following sentence a white person uses *rypi*, perhaps from Dutch *ryp* (ibid.:178). The target register in the play was most likely conversational, different from the narrative style of A. & G. There are, however, significant similarities between the two texts regarding adjectives.

In the play there are 84 adjectives in attributive position and 84 adjectives in predicate position. Of the predicates, there are 6 attributive constructions and 78 occurrences of adjectives as intransitive stative verbs. This is a far higher proportion of verbal predicates than in A. & G., but the difference might be accounted for by the difference between conversation and narrative. There are 32 occurrences involving *bon*, 'good', which are expressions of greeting or acknowledgement. Similarly there are 8 expressions of acknowledgement involving *troe*, 'true'. These expressions are nonreferential in terms of introduced items. There are an additional 8 occurrences with speech act participants, namely *mi*, 'I', and *joe*, 'you(sg)'. It would seem unlikely that these would involve an attributive construction. Subtracting these from the total of 78 gives 30 verbal predicates, compared to 84 in attributive position. There is a far greater variety of verbal predicates in Van Dyk than in A. & G., although they tend to occur in clusters so that their depictions are not necessarily unexpected. The predicate adjective *krien*, 'clean', for example, occurs 5 times in 10 conversational turns, followed by its occurrence as a transitive verb (ibid.:208-211). Similarly, *ziki*, 'sick', occurs 3 times in 2 turns (ibid.:218). As other examples, the predicate *lessi*, 'lazy', follows a turn where *lessi* is used attributively (ibid.:187), and *dotti*, 'dirty', occurs 2 times in 3 turns (ibid.:225-226). In being relatively expected, or unmarked, verbal predicate adjectives in early SR resemble those in SM, as discussed in Chapter 2.

As with SM attributives, there are numerous re-identifications with attributives in Van Dyk. To distinguish the white from the black overseer the adjective is used repeatedly, *bakkera bassia*, 'white boss', characteristically without a definite article (ibid.:170). The adjectival construction may not be a term, however, as the white overseer is addressed as *bassia* (ibid.:176), the same as the black overseer (ibid.:179).

But the white overseer is also addressed as *bakkeria bassia* to be distinguished from the black overseer (ibid.:174).

The use of attributives to renew, re-identify or distinguish in early SR in Van Dyk resembles that function of attributives in SM in A. & G. And the combination of introducing and renewing attributives in Van Dyk outnumbers referential verbal predicates, again similar to modern SM in A. & G. In both languages as well there is an association of this greater use of introducing or renewing attributives with the word order of English attributives.

There is a significant difference between SM and early SR, however, in that unlike in A. & G. the adjectives as verbal predicates in Van Dyk tend more to introduce property depictions as new information. In other words, there are more depictions with greater variety in Van Dyk than in A. & G. This may be due to the possibility that Van Dyk spoke a white urban variety of early SR, a variety more influenced by Dutch. But, as discussed above, these depictions tend to be unmarked, similar to SM. In both early SR and modern SM, then, there is an association of unmarked predicative depictions with the substrate verbal predicate.

The attributive and predicate adjectives in HT also fit the pattern of SM, which would not be surprising considering both creoles have FGb as the primary substrate language. HT attributives reflect the order and variation of order of FR, namely postnominal with prenominal variation (Lf. 1998a:340). HT predicate adjectives, on the other hand, are intransitive stative verbs argued in Lf. (ibid.:234) to resemble FGb predicate adjectives syntactically and semantically.

The change of word order in the transfer of attributive adjectives may be seen as a push-pull motivation. Ambiguity created by simplification would be the push, while the attraction to English attributives in their function as introducers would be the pull. English, the primary lexifier language of SM, has Adj-N word order. In the model of transfer presented here the ambiguity created by simplification, namely loss of copula in (22.a) and loss of class distinction as in (15.d) above in (22.b), is resolved by changing the N-Adj word order to the Adj-N order of English, (22.c), and relexified in (22.d):

(22)	<u>attributive</u>		<u>predicative</u>	
a.	távò d̀àgbè	=	távò ø d̀àgbè	<i>simplified adj.</i>
b.	távò d̀àgbè	=	távò d̀àgbè	<i>merged with pred. st. adj.</i>
c.	d̀àgbè távò		távò d̀àgbè	<i>modified simplified adj.</i>
d.	hánso táfa		táfa hánso	<i>relexified SM adj.</i>
	beautiful table		table is beautiful	

Changing the word order of adjectives is not simply an isolated change in a language. The basic word order of a language often correlates to the word order of items within a clause, such as the Adj-N order (Greenberg 1963). If a language is VSO, VOS or SOV, for example, the word order of certain items in those languages may be predicted with some accuracy. For SVO languages, however, there is no particular correlation for word orders such as Adj-N (Comrie 1988:96). It would seem then that for speakers of an SVO language the shift in N-Adj word order would be easier, or statistically more likely, than for speakers of languages with VSO, VOS or SOV basic word orders. FGb has every appearance of an SVO language. Also, languages of any basic word order that have the order N-Adj, such as Portuguese, tolerate variation of this order to Adj-N. Languages with an Adj-N order are not as tolerant of variation (Comrie 1988:90). FGb has a N-Adj order, and so might tolerate variation, especially under the extreme conditions of creolization.

5.3.1.3. Attributive relexification from Portuguese

The Portuguese element in SM appears to have entered the creole at two different times; early PR items, items that also occur in other Surinamese creoles; and later items unique to SM, to be discussed below. By this criterion, the attributive *gãã*, ‘big/grand’, is an

early entry, from PR *grande*, 'big/grand'. This attributive in SM is suppletive with the predicate *bígi*, leading to the possibility that the attributive *gãã* is from the marked use of the PR *grande*. For the marked use in PR *grande* is prenominal, whereas the unmarked attributive is postnominal; there is no marked predicate adjective in PR. In SM *gãã* is not marked, nor is the predicate *bígi*. It would appear then that the PR item entered the creole at an early period, at a time when the English prenominal attributive word order had been established but before the expansion of the creole and the need for expressing markedness. It must have entered at a time when the superstrate adjectival directionality was seen as prenominal, and the PR influence was considered superstrate. Later items from PR did not have the PR directionality, as *kendé*, 'hot', has no suppletive form, as both attributive and predicate forms are the same. By the lexification argument, the later entries like *kendé* would be considered borrowings rather than the result of relexification, since these items do not retain the superstrate directionality (Lf. 1998a:388). But the early item *gãã*, on the other hand, does retain the superstrate prenominal directionality for attributives, and so would be considered the result of relexification. The significance of this is that for the early entries PR or some form of PR-based creole was a superstrate language, while for the later entries it was not.

In Dutch the adjective word order is like English, namely Adj-N (Bloomfield 1944). Regarding adjective word order, the influence of Dutch, if any, would be impossible to identify apart from the influence of English. In Portuguese, however, the unmarked adjective word order is N-Adj. This unmarked word order has obviously had no influence on SM. Portuguese adjectives have a marked word order Adj-N, however, whose effect can be seen in SM in the distribution of the SM adjective *gãã*, 'big'. The significance of this distribution in SM is that it appears to have been caused by ambiguity between the unmarked attributive and predicative adjective order during transfer. This is the same ambiguity that has been proposed as one of the causes of adjective word order change during transfer from Fongbe, in 5.3.1.2 above.

Portuguese, like Spanish, has a marked adjective word order Adj-N (Thomas 1969:49-53). For adjectives that may occur in this order, such as *grande*, 'big', there is a

shift in meaning brought about by a shift in topicality from the referent to the prenominal adjective. The marked meaning is subjective (Th. 1969:50), more a matter of opinion than the postnominal unmarked adjective. The prenominal adjective *grande* means 'grand' or 'great' more than 'big':

- (23) a. o grande homem PR (Th. 1969:50)
the big man
the great man
- b. o homem grande PR (Th. 1969:50)
the man big
the big man

In SM, the Adj-N word order under the influence of English had very likely been conventionalized by the time the language was partially relexified by PR or a PR based creole (Goodman 1987; Smith 1987). PR prenominal *grande* was adopted into SM as *gãã*, 'old', or 'grand', but also with the unmarked meaning 'big'. SM *gãã*, however, occurs only attributively, in (24.a). The predicative adjective is suppletive, using a form from English, *bígi*, 'big', in (24.c):

- (24) a. dí gãã wósu SM
the big house
the big house
- b. *dí wósu gãã SM
the house big
(the house is big)

- c. dí wósu bígi SM
the house big
the house is big
- d. *dí bígi wósu SM
the big house
(the big house)

The adjective *gǎǎ*, 'big', also occurs with meanings typical of the prenominal attributive in PR, such as 'grand' or 'great (due to age or wisdom)'. The adjective *bígi*, 'big', does not occur attributively, in (25.b), except with a specific meaning, as in (25.d):

- (25) a. gǎǎ sèmbè SM
great person
an elder person / large person
- b. *bígi sèmbé SM
big person
(a big person)
- c. gǎǎ wáta SM
great water
a great (wide) water (river)
- d. bígi wáta SM
big water
big (high) water (river)

Another common adjective from PR, *píkí*, 'small', occurs only attributively for some

speakers, in (26.a). The predicative counterpart is *pinkíi*, 'small', (26.b). Another possible example is the common adjective *búmbúu*, 'good', also from PR, which for some speakers similarly occurs only attributively. It may, however, be a truncated reduplication, (26.c). The predicative form is *búnu*, 'good', in (26.d). These items do not have any particular subjective meaning:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|-------------------|----|
| (26) | a. | pikí miíi
small child
a small child | (*)pinkíi miíi | SM |
| | b. | dí miíi pinkíi
the child small
the child is small | (*)dí miíi pikí | SM |
| | c. | búmbúu miíi
good child
a good child | (*)búnu miíi | SM |
| | d. | dí miíi búnu
the child good
the child is good | (*)dí miíi búmbúu | SM |

For the relevant speakers these three common adjectives, in (25.a, c) and (26.a, c), are restricted to attributive occurrence only. As mentioned above, it would appear that the unmarked postnominal position for attributive adjectives in PR interfered with the transfer of these items. The motivation for this interference could be the same as for the change of word order in simplified FGb, in (22.a, b), namely ambiguity. This may be schematized, as in (27). Simplified FGb would have no copula, and early SM similarly appears to have had no copula (McW. 1996b). The early records of SR that show the

lack of copula also show partial relexification from PR, as mentioned above, with items such as *bon*, 'good'. Therefore at the time of this relexification the copula in PR, just as in English, would not be 'visible' and considered for relexification. Thus the same ambiguity is seen in (27) as in (22), the ambiguity between attributive and predicative use of the adjective.

The PR unmarked adjectives in (27.a) are visible to early SM speakers in (27.b). As with FGb adjectives, in (22), the two occurrences are recognized as the same linguistic item in an ambiguous surface configuration. It is assumed that the definite article in the PR creole was prenominal, as in PR, or in any case did not interfere. In adopting other unmarked adjectives from PR, like PR *quente*, 'hot' > SM *kendé* 'hot', the speakers of early SM identified the postnominal and prenominal occurrences of the same adjective and collapsed them into the appropriate SM word order. Speakers of early SM must have known the marked use of the PR *grande* to have adopted it to include the subjective meaning, in (25.a). This marked adjective would have no predicative counterpart, as in (27.d), since it is marked in PR only as an attributive.

It is proposed here that the unmarked meaning of PR *grande* was not adopted into early SM, (27.c), thereby not filling the predicative slot. One reason may have been that there was no word order variation in early SM, as there is in PR, to reflect markedness. There was, though, the availability of English *big* as the source of SM *bígi*, 'big', for the unmarked meaning. In this scenario, then, an early SM would closely resemble PR in having a marked item, perhaps *grang*, 'big' (Riemer c.1780 in Ar. & P. 1995:288), without a predicative counterpart, and *biggi*, 'big' (ibid.:264), with both attributive and predicative occurrences. There may be evidence of this in the 1791 Grego letter (ibid.:385). The attributive *biegie sannie*, 'big things', contrasts with *Grang brara*, 'great brothers'. This perhaps unique markedness distinction in SM would be lost through levelling with the development of attributive reduplication to indicate markedness, discussed in Chapter 2. The loss of distinction, however, would result in suppletive forms, *gãã* and *bígi*, rather than the usual single item for both attributive and predicative occurrences.

An explanation for the retention of suppletive forms may lie in the way attributive and predicate adjectives are used, and in particular the SM adjectives for big. It was argued in Chapter 2 that predicate adjectives as intransitive stative verbs indicate an unmarked property. A marked predicated property description uses the copula *dé* with reduplication. In the A. & G. (1997) text, in Chapter 2, this *dé* + RE construction occurred quite rarely compared to the adjectival stative verbs. If this pattern could be hypothesized for early SM, the unmarked use would predominate and favor the retention of *bígi* as the verbal predicate adjective. An additional factor for this particular item is its frequency of occurrence. In the A. & G. text the predicate *bígi* occurred more than any other verbal predicate adjective. If this frequency of occurrence of the predicate *bígi* were also a tendency in early SM, the unique distribution of this item would be reinforced.

The attributive counterpart of *bígi*, namely *gãã*, has both the unmarked meaning big and the marked meaning great characteristic of PR. Attributive adjectives function to introduce, by T. (1988), but not to distinguish, re-identify or renew. The attributive *gãã* serves to introduce, in the A. & G. narrative text, but like other attributives it also occurs with a distinguishing or re-identifying function, contrary to the function of attributives in conversation cross-linguistically as argued in T. (ibid.:177). This function of distinguishing or re-identifying in SM attributives could be seen as marked relative to attributives in other languages. It might also be seen as marked in SM. The items in A. & G. that are re-identified have, of course, already been established. To re-identify them, then, would not be necessary. To re-identify them would cause them to be more foregrounded than items that are not re-identified. Thus re-identification would be marking. In addition, it would seem that re-identification would be subjective, which is the quality associated with the marked pronominal adjectives in PR. Thus the attributive *gãã* would be favored in its function of re-identification. Eventual levelling with the development of markedness reduplication would leave *gãã* as the primary attributive by eliminating the attributive *bígi* and the contrast. This would no doubt be due to the tendency, seen in modern SM narrative in A. & G. and assumed to have been similar in

early SM, for *gãã* to be the most frequently used attributive adjective in re-identification. Thus a large number of the occurrences of an item meaning big would be subjective, large enough to predominate during levelling. There is a trace of the original distinction, however, in (23.c, d), where *gãã wáta*, 'great water (wide river)' contrasts with *bígi wáta*, 'big water (high river)'. The width of a river is subjective when looking at a distant shore, but the height can be evaluated directly relative to landmarks on the shore.

As mentioned above, it is proposed that the marked attributive *gãã* predominated as the only attributive meaning big or grand, replacing an attributive *bígi*. The item *gãã* may denote either the subjective or objective meaning in modern SM. One reason put forward was that the subjective *gãã* may have occurred more frequently as an attributive than an objective *bígi*. Another reason may have been isomorphism. SM could perhaps tolerate two positions for adjectives from two different sources, based on the two positions of adpositions from two sources (McW. 1996b:40), as in *a dí wósu déndu*, 'in (<PR prenominal slot) the house inside (<FGb postnominal slot)'. The order of adpositions is as significant as the order of adjectives as a predictor of basic word order tendencies, by Greenberg (1963). But even though it fills the FGb postnominal adposition slot, the postnominal *déndu* is most likely nominal rather than an adposition, inasmuch as it may be the object of a preposition, *go a dendu*, 'go inside' (de Groot 1981:23). In this case it would seem that SM has only a prenominal adposition, with the postnominal FGb slot reinterpreted and filled with a nominal item. The reinterpreted phrase is an attributive construction in modern SM, at the house inside, namely at the inside of the house. Isomorphism may have motivated this reinterpretation, and may also have been a motivation to avoid any variation in SM attributive word order. There would be a slot from PR for word order variation for attributives, similar to the variation in HT attributive adjective word order that transferred from FR (Lf. 1998a:340). But SM had English and Dutch as lexifier languages as well, with invariant prenominal attributive word order. Isomorphism could be seen as the motivation for levelling out the influence of PR. Isomorphism would compel all subjective attributives to be treated the same. Since there is no special morphosyntax for subjective attributives in the predominate

lexifiers English or Dutch, isomorphism would be an influence in eliminating such special morphosyntax altogether.

The motivation for avoiding ambiguities would be an incentive for eliminating postnominal adjectives, which would also make the attributive construction more isomorphic. The ambiguity between attributive and predicative adjectives, in (28.b), is resolved with a configurational solution, namely the change in the word order of the attributive. But for PR *grande*, the attributive position is filled by the marked item, in (28.d). Because there was no unique place for the phonologically identical unmarked attributive, and because the unmarked adjectives were identified with each other, neither of the unmarked items transferred into SM, (28.c):

(28)	<u>attributive</u>	=	<u>predicative</u>	
a.	o homem grande		o homem es grande	PR
b.	o homem grande	=	o homem ø grande	'visible' PR
c.	o grande homem		o homem ø grande	<i>modified unmk</i>
d.	o grande homem			'visible' marked PR
e.	dí gãã wómi			<i>relexified SM</i>
f.	the big man		the man ø big	'visible' Eng
g.	dí bígi > gãã wómi		dí wómi bígi	<i>relexified SM</i>

The nearly unique occurrence of this SM adjective as a suppletive attributive is perhaps due, as mentioned above, to its frequency of use. There is no mechanism in SM parallel to PR for distinguishing marked adjectives, as SM uses reduplication. Frequent use of the marked meaning, in the absence of an overt mechanism for distinguishing marked adjectives, would allow the marked *gãã* to predominate, (28.d), and be relexified, in (28.e). Relexification, however, would require that this item be like other relexified attributives in not distinguishing a subjective meaning, in other words isomorphism. The result is the semantic expansion of the marked item into unmarked attributive meaning.

The establishment of *gãã* as the relexified attributive would block the use of an attributive *bígi*, in (28.g).

An explanation for the frequency of the marked attributive use may be found in Thompson (1988), as discussed in Chapter 2. Thompson finds that attributive adjectives most frequently accompany new information, while predicative adjectives tend to accompany old information. It is new information where one intuitively would expect subjective description, where old and known information would be described more objectively. This is perhaps why there is no marked predicative adjective in PR, and why the marked *dÉ*+RE predicative construction is rare in SM.

The importance of the *gãã*, 'big', example is the claim that the ambiguity created by 'visible' PR between postnominal attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives had an effect on SM relative to word order. In this way, it is parallel to the proposed change of word order in the transfer of attributive adjectives from FGb into SM.

5.3.1.4 Possible substrate relexification from Portuguese

Features of Portuguese origin in SM and other basilectal creoles of Suriname, and in some of the Fon languages of Benin, suggest the existence of a PR pidgin or creole in West Africa (Voorhoeve 1973). There are similarities between the Fon languages and PR, of course, as there are between any two unrelated languages. These similarities are purely coincidental, but may have facilitated transfer in a process termed conflation in Kihm (1989). For example, the FGb first person singular [-nominative] pronominal clitic is *mi*, 'me', (Lefebvre 1998a:149). It might be argued that this coincidental resemblance helped stabilize the relexification by the English *me*, or that the FGb pronoun was retained and expanded to include [+nominative], or that the coincidence was of no significance. In the absence of unique characteristics of these items, or of any other examples of pronominal resemblances, these arguments would not be falsifiable.

There are items with unique characteristics in SM, however, which resemble items in

both FGb and PR as well as items in other Surinamese basilectal creoles. The resemblances are phonological, semantic and distributional. These items in SM are *gãã*, 'great' or 'big', and to a lesser extent *pikí*, 'small', relative to PR *grande*, 'great' or 'big' and *pequeno*, 'small', and FGb *gán*, 'big', 'grand', and *vi*, 'small'. The resemblances of these items in PR, FGb, SM and the other Surinamese creoles with limited connections to Portuguese plantations in Suriname allows an argument that they may be more than coincidence. It will be argued here that the resemblances between PR *grande* and FGb *gn* are examples of conflation. It is a secondary conflation, however, in that the resemblances in PR and FGb enhance the transfer of these items into yet other languages, namely the English based Surinamese creoles. In bringing this about it may have been that the resemblances in PR and FGb resulted in a conflation that enhanced the features in an African PR creole. Another possibility, to speculate, is that PR in Africa influenced some of the Gbe dialects and thereby contributed to any conflation from further contact with PR in Suriname.

Migge (1999 ex.33, 2000:226) shows that in NDj the adjectives *gaan*, 'great', 'big', and *pikin*, 'small', occur only attributively, while *bigi*, 'big', and *nyoni*, 'small', occur only predicatively. The former appear to come from PR *grande*, 'big' and *pequeno*, 'small'. NDj also has other PR items, such as *kaba*, 'finish', and, like SM, a serial verb construction with this item meaning 'finish'. This appears to be from PR *acabar*, 'finish'. Similarly, *sabi*, 'know' for PR *saber*, 'know'; *koni*, 'smart', for PR *conhecer*, 'know'; *kai*, 'fall', PR *cair*, 'fall'; *saka*, 'come down', PR *sacar*, 'withdraw'; *bali*, 'shout', PR *balir*, 'bleat'; *bun*, 'good', PR *bom*, 'good'; *gaandi*, 'old, distinguished', PR *grandioso*, 'grand'; NDj data from Migge (1998). Sranan, the coastal creole, also has many of these items, including the TMA marker *sa*, 'can', from *sabi* from PR *saber*, and the serial item *kba*, 'finish', from PR *acabar*, 'finish'. These languages have obviously had a historical connection to PR, although less than SM.

In SM, verbs from PR are characterized by a low-high tone pattern, presumably from the final syllable stress on PR infinitives. There are some exceptions, however, and these exceptions in SM are among the PR verbs found in NDj, above. They are SM *sábi*,

'know', *kóni*, 'be smart', *sáka*, 'come down', and *bái*, 'shout'. The change in tone pattern to high-low suggests that these items came into contact use earlier than other PR items, and were assimilated to an English pitch pattern.

There is another feature of some PR verbs that suggests a later entry into SM. There are doublets where the verb has the characteristic low-high tone pattern, with the high tone on the final vowel *-á* from the PR infinitive *-ar*: *dendá* 'to enter', *déndu* 'inside' < PR (*de*) *entrar* 'to enter' and *dentro* 'inside'; *limbá* 'to clean', *limbò* 'clean' < PR *limpar* 'to clean' and *limpo* 'clean'; *lolá* 'to roll', *lólu* 'roll' < PR *rolar* 'to roll' and *rolo* 'roll'. If opaque derivation is not a possible outcome of creolization, by McW. (1998), then these doublets must have entered SM after creolization. If, however, they entered SM by way of a PR based creole, they would present a counterexample to McW. (*ibid.*).

Migge (1999 ex.37) gives data in the Gbe language Waci that may possibly reveal PR influence. Waci is in the Vhe group of languages, distinct from the Fon group of Gbe languages (*ibid.*). Waci is located in Benin about 3 miles from the coast (M. 1998:69). Speakers of the Fon languages are located further inland. The various Gbe speaking people arrived in this area between the 15th and 16th centuries and appear not to have moved since that time (*ibid.*:72). From the history of the Gbe people during the slave-trading era, compiled in Migge (1998), it would appear that the coastal people, such as the Waci, and definitely the nearby Xwela, traded slaves from the interior, including the Fon. Any contact with the Portuguese in this area of the Slave Coast must have occurred before 1600, when the Dutch arrived.

In Waci, *gan*, 'big', does not occur predicatively:

(29) a. *mía gbá nyí agbá gan de* Waci (M. 2000:227)
 your load COP load great one
 your load is a big one

b. **mía gbá [lə] gan* Waci (*ibid.*)
 your load COP great

There is another item which has this distribution in Waci, namely *vi*, 'small' (Migge p.c.). Like NDj *pikin*, 'small', which is also limited to attributive occurrence, this Waci item may be conflated with or borrowed from PR *pequeno*, 'small'. The *v* : *p* correspondence is similar to a *v* : *b* correspondence between Fon and SM, in Fon *vɛ* (*βɛ*), 'red' : SM *bɛ*, 'red'; Fon *ali-ví* (*-βí*), 'kidney' : SM *alibí*, 'kidney' (McW. p.c.). By Kihm (1989), an exact match is not necessary for conflation, only enough similarity for an identity to be recognized by speakers is sufficient. A variety of FGb studied by Lf. (1998a:388) has *bí*, 'child', a common additional meaning for 'small' in NDj and FGb, showing a *v* : *b* by way of *β* correspondence within the Fon dialects.

The more general word for 'big' in Waci is *lolo*, which may occur as a transitive or intransitive verb, and may occur as an attributive adjective (M. p.c.). Another perhaps related word for 'small' in Waci is *βɔ̃* (M. 1998:282). There is no analysis of the motivation for the distribution of *gan*, but it appears from (18.a) that it could have a subjective connotation, since the person addressed would likely know the objective size of the load. In this case *gan* would be similar to the PR pronominal *grande* discussed in 3.1.3, where *lolo* has a more general and unmarked meaning. Regardless of the motivation, there is a parallel in markedness. This parallel in markedness of the phonologically, semantically and distributionally similar items *gan* : *grande* would call for an explanation, as would the parallel of the semantically, distributionally and to a lesser extent phonologically similar items *vi* (*βɔ̃*) : *pequeno*.

The Gbe language Ajagbe, in the Aja group, also has *gan* as 'old', 'important', the distribution is unknown as yet. This language is spoken inland somewhat from Waci (M. p.c.). Another possible item, similar to NDj *pikin*, 'small' and 'child', is Aja *vi*, 'child' (M. 1998:200, 215). This item occurs in SM as 'child' as well, in *gããpiki*, 'grandchild'. The use of the item 'small' to mean 'child' is well known as a West African, not Portuguese, characteristic (M. 1998; Lf. 1998a).

The Gbe language Xwela, in the Phla group, has *ga* as 'big', 'fat', which may occur attributively by regular reduplication, *giga*. Xwela has another item, *gbo*, 'big', however,

which occurs only attributively. This Xwela item resembles HT *gwo*, 'big', suggesting the secondary conflation mentioned above. Xwela is spoken right on the coast adjacent to Waci. These people were highly involved in the slave trade (M. 1998:72-82). An influence from PR in Xwela may be seen in the item *okū*, 'eye', (ibid.:188), PR *ocular*, 'eyeball'. Also, as in Aja above, *evi*, 'child' (ibid.:213). This may be *e-* (nominalizing prefix (M. p.c.)) and *vi*, 'small'. Also, Xwela *vikpevu* (< *vi* + *kpevu*, 'child' + 'small'), 'childhood' (ibid.:188).

The Gbe language Gen, in the Gen group, has *gan* as 'old', 'important', the distribution is unknown as yet. These people were also involved in the slave trade (M. p.c.). Gen is spoken right on the coast adjacent to both Xwela and Waci.

The Gbe languages in the Fon group, on the other hand, have *sávɔ* as 'big' both predicatively and attributively (M. p.c.). As mentioned above, these people were most likely the slaves being traded, and their language is most likely the major substrate language in the Surinamese creoles.

If the attributives *gan* : *vi* in Waci, and the *gan/ga* : *vi/evi* in the other neighboring languages are cognates, it is not surprising that the interior Fon languages would have different items. It is in fact likely that these items are cognate, in that in the related Kwa language Ewe there are likely cognate forms *gã*, 'high, great, grand, large', and *ví*, 'child, a little' and *-ví*, diminutive suffix (Westermann 1973 (1907)). The coincidental similarity of phonological shape with PR in a creole genesis would be conflation. But the coincidence of the phonological shape and attributive only occurrence in Waci, and the occurrence of similar forms in geographically contiguous coastal languages, suggests an additional PR influence. This influence may be due to the conflation, if in fact this term may apply to influence on a language when no existence of a pidgin or creole is implied.

The coastal languages known to have these items were known to have been spoken by slave traders. It is easy to imagine Portuguese contact with coastal people. It is also probable that the speakers of the interior Fon languages who remained in Africa would have had no contact with the Portuguese. Thus any PR influence would have to have been transferred by speakers of coastal languages such as Waci or Xwela. PR influence

on these coastal languages may be the source of SM *gãã*, as well as the PR derived verbs which do not have the characteristic low-high tone pattern such as *sábi*, 'know', or *sáka*, 'descend', items which as mentioned above are also found in other English based creoles of Suriname.

The transfer of *gãã* into SM may be the most instructive example of early PR influence, both because the item is common and because its distribution is nearly unique. Regarding modern SM, recall from Chapter 2 that is the most commonly occurring attributive adjective in the A. & G. (1997) narrative text. It may be assumed that something like this modern tendency in narrative existed during creolization. The commonness of this item would be an explanation for the persistence of its distribution, an anomaly which otherwise might be levelled out during simplification. This item may thus provide a glimpse of the history of its transfer that for other items may have been lost.

The c.1780 Riemer wordlist entry for 'big' is *grang* (Ar. & P. 1995:288). It occurs as *grang*, translated as 'great', in the 1790/91 maroon letters (ibid.:383-387), where it is a pronominal attributive. The 1791 Grego letter (ibid.:385) also uses *biegie*, 'big', as an attributive, indicating that the two items for 'big', *grang* and *biggi* (ibid.:264), had not yet stabilized as suppletive. The 1805 Wietz Bible translation in SM (Schuchardt 1914) also uses both *grang* and *bigi* attributively, to be discussed in 4.1 below. This time period, the end of the 18th century, is the time of the proposed end of creolization for SR, as argued in Ar. (1993). At this time there may also have been unstabilized areas of SM grammar, for example the suppletive status of *grang* and *biggi*. There appears to be variation in early SR on the distribution of these items as well, as in Nepveu (1770 in Ar. & P. 1995:81) *biggi Sama gran Sama*, 'a tall person'. There is some influence from SR in the SM maroon letters (ibid.:377). But the use of *gran* in SR indicates that this item, and other PR items such as *kba*, 'finish', have a source independent of the majority of PR items in SM, since SR speakers were not exposed to the Portuguese plantations. They are also part of the shared history of the two languages, so that the SR influence on the SM maroon letters for these items is less significant. There would, then, be further changes in

both languages as they continued to stabilize.

One change in SM since the 18th century appears to have been an increase in the use of reduplicated attributive adjectives. Reduplication is African, of course, but its use in SM attributives is not the same as in FGb. In FGb it is morphological and carries no meaning. In SM, as argued in Chapter 2, it has discourse motivations and carries a markedness meaning. An increase in the use of reduplication in general could be seen as a change toward a substrate model. The apparent increase in attributive reduplication will be discussed in 4.1 below.

It is obvious from the phonology of 18th century SM that there have been changes in the language since that time, discussed in Aceto (1996). There has been a loss of /r/ since the 18th century, perhaps involving epenthetic vowels for the appearance of $Vr > rV$ metathesis. The loss of /r/ then also often resulted in a copy of the following vowel. Regarding the spelling of *grang*, the digraph *ng* is used for nasalization by modern Saramaccans, so to project to early SM > modern SM; *grā* > *gāã*. This new vowel is unspecified for tone, termed changeable tone in Rountree (1972), and so has a low tone in isolation. Thus there is an additional mora and a rising contour tone in the modern bimoraic word. This would appear to be an innovation in SM, as there is no indication that early SM had double vowels. In the Riemer wordlist there are only three double vowel spellings, which do not appear to represent a double vowel as judged from modern SM, for example; *faasi* in Riemer is *fási*, 'way' or 'manner', in modern SM. The loss of /r/ and the development of double vowels and contour tones may not actually be an innovation, however, but instead may be the renovation of features of West African phonology.

Another phonological change in SM since this time is the development, or redeployment, of prenasalized stops. In the Riemer wordlist there are items like *neti*, 'night', and *meki*, 'to make', words with a tense mid vowel following a nasal consonant. Tense mid vowels do not follow nasal consonants in modern SM. There is some recognition in these early texts of the distinction in modern SM between lax and tense mid vowels. Many of the double consonants appear to have been used in an attempt to

account for a preceding lax mid vowel, as in *moni/monni*, 'money', modern SM *móni*, and *léggede*, 'to lie', modern SM *lègèdè*. From this it seems *neti* and *meki* have a tense mid vowel. In modern SM mid vowels following a nasal consonant must be lax. To retain a tense vowel, in words like *neti* or *meki* for example, a prenasalized consonant may be used as in the modern SM *ndéti*, 'night', and *mbéi*, 'to make', thus separating the vowel from the nasal consonant. A West African feature that was not in use at the end of the 18th century was subsequently renovated and used to solve a particular problem.

Similarly, the item *grande/gran* in 18th century SR appears to have developed towards resembling the West African *gan*. The 1718 Herlein wordlist (Ar. & P. 1995:73) has one entry for 'big', the attributive in the expression *grande dankje*, 'big thanks'. In the 1765 Van Dyk text this expression is *gran tanki* (ibid.:139, 227, 232). In Herlein the long form *grande* occurs predicatively, written as a compound where it appears to be an adverb, *grandebon*, 'very nice' (ibid.:73). In the 1770 Nepveu text this Herlein entry is considered to be incorrect, *mooij* is listed instead (ibid.:77). Nepveu does list a long form *grandi* in an apparent adverbial use, *biggi grandi/biggi fortroe*, 'very big', while listing the short attributive form *biggi Sama gran Sama*, 'tall person' (ibid.:81). The 1765 Van Dyk text also uses a long form adverbially, *grande*, 'a long time ago' (ibid.:193). This corresponds to modern SM *gāāndi*, 'old', listed in Riemer as *grandi*, 'to be older', 'the older one', contrasting with *grang*, 'big', 'something big' (ibid.:287-8). Thus it appears that during the 18th century the pronominal attributive *grande* lost the final syllable, reminiscent of Spanish, while an adverbial use developed which placed the item after the adjectival head and retained the final syllable. This item as an attributive, then, became more like the Kwa *gan* in phonological form. In addition, by separating away the adverbial use and changing its word order to head-modifier, the attributive adjective became more like the Waci *gan* in being uniquely attributive. In other words, by the late 18th century the shortened form *gran* does not occur in a predicate adjectival construction, as did the long form in 1718, in (30.a) below.

There are four modified predicate adjective constructions in Herlein, in (30). Of these, only the two with modifier-head word order, (30.a) and (30.b), are considered

incorrect by Nepveu in 1770 (ibid.:77):

- (30) a. Mie jary no grandebon? SR, Herlein 1718 (Ar. & P. 1995:73)
 my garden not big-good
 Isn't my garden very nice?
- b. My belle wel SR, Herlein 1718 (Ar. & P. 1995:73)
 I very well
 I'm very well
- c. Ay hantsum fo trou SR, Herlein 1718 (Ar. & P. 1995:74)
 yes pretty for true
 Yes, it's very pretty
- d. Jie monbie toe moussie SR, Herlein 1718 (Ar. & P. 1995:75)
 you stingy too much
 You're very unwilling

The use of *belle wel* in (30.b) is considered obsolete by Nepveu, the corrected version uses *boen*, in *mi de boen* (ibid.:77). In the Nepveu wordlist, however, this item occurs as an option as *belwel*, in *a go boen of belwel*, 'I'm fine, or very well' (ibid.:79). In other words, the adverbial modifier *belle* has been reinterpreted as part of a single predicate adjective *belwel*. The result of this reinterpretation is that there are no preverbal adverbs in the Nepveu wordlist. Nor are there any in the 1765 Van Dyk text, nor in the 1790 Grego letters (ibid.:385-387), nor in the 1778 Schumann dictionary and the 1805 Wietz texts of SM compiled in Schuchardt (1914). The SR of *circa* 1770, then, conforms to modern SR in this constraint (Adamson & Smith 1994:226).

The use of *grandebon* in Herlein, on the other hand, is considered incorrect by Nepveu (Ar. & P. 1995:77). The use of *grande* in Herlein, in (28.a), is considered by

Arends to be adverbial (ibid.:32). In Nepveu the adverbial *grande* occurs following an adjective, as mentioned above, the same position as an alternative adverbial modifier *fortroe*, in *biggi grande of biggi fortroe*, 'very big' (ibid.:81). If this listing of *biggi* is as a predicate, it appears that by 1770 the adverbial *grande*, like *belle*, could no longer occur preverbally.

The constraint against preverbal modifiers that appears to have developed by the late 18th century may serve as another example of a renovated West African feature. The preverbal modifiers in Herlein may have been based on the superstrate word order. In FGb (Lf. 1998a) and apparently other Kwa languages the word order for all modifiers is head-modifier.

The renovations mentioned above were undoubtedly brought about by speakers or semispeakers of West African languages. The combined effect of these speakers caused change in the direction of West African languages. These renovations, then, might be considered to be interference, as defined in Thomason & Kaufman (1988).

It is fortuitous that the item *grande* occurs as an adverbial modifier in 18th century SR. This item otherwise would not occur in a predicative position, as discussed above. An adjectival head in predicative position resembles a noun in 18th century SR in that both may be modified by the item *grande*, even though a predicate adjective is an intransitive stative verb. The occurrence of *grande* as a modifier in both attributive adjective and in adverbial constructions points out a similarity between attributives and adverbs in modern SM. Both may involve reduplication to express markedness. Reduplication of modifiers is not used in this way in FGb, so that this development after the 18th century would not be considered to be interference. The significance of the occurrences of *grande* in 18th century texts is that this item occurs only as a modifier, as does its counterpart in Waci.

The occurrences of *grande/gran* in early SR and *grang* in early SM are always as modifiers. There is no variation in this pattern, there are no occurrences of *grande* as a predicate. In PR *grande* occurs with variation, as discussed above, where it is either a prenominal or postnominal attributive. It also occurs predicatively. Any such variation

in early SR or SM would not be surprising, it would be a superstrate feature just like the preverbal adverb in the 1765 Van Dyk *grande bon*. As with this preverbal *grande*, any predicative use of early SR *grande/gran* or early SM *grang* might be lost due to a renovation of FGb features. In this case the feature would be a renovation of the constraint on the Waci *gan* that occurs only as an attributive. The early SR and SM use of the item as attributive-only resembles the Waci usage more than that of PR. This would suggest, then, that the attributive-only constraint on *grande* is a substrate transfer feature, transferred before the 18th century texts were written. It was not the renovation of a substrate feature, like the renovations discussed above.

There remains the question of PR influence on Waci. Further data from interior FGb varieties could provide a definitive answer, as an attributive-only use of *gan* in the interior would imply no PR influence on Waci. But there could have been PR influence along the Benin coast. This influence would not be on Waci but rather on any PR based pidgin or creole used in the Waci territory. This PR influence would be considered conflation, by Kihm (1989). The conflation would be of the phonetically similar PR prenominal *grande* and Waci *gan*, both occurring attributive-only with the subjective meaning of 'grand' or 'big'. Conflation would enhance the salience of this idiosyncrasy that is shared by PR and Waci, and thereby increase the likelihood of its transfer.

There is a possible instance of conflation with PR prenominal *grande* and Waci *gan* in the PR lexified creole Kriyol. Kriyol is an Upper Guinea creole, the substrate languages are West Atlantic rather than the Kwa and Bantu substrate for the Gulf of Guinea creoles, by Ferraz (1987:337). However, monogenesis of the Atlantic PR creoles is argued in McW. (2001). In this case the Kwa languages would have been influential in Kriyol. Attributive adjectives in Kriyol are postnominal, with one exception in the prenominal *garandi*, 'great', which postnominally means 'old' (Km. 1994:148). This exception is considered to be decreolization (ibid.). But there are a number of other property items in PR that may occur prenominally that have not influenced Kriyol in this way. A Gbe *gan* would be a unique candidate for reinforcing a PR variation for the single property item *grande*, which in itself would be a variation on the notion of

conflation.

5.3.2 Transfer of stative adjectives

As mentioned above, FGb stative adjectives provided the model for SM predicate adjectives while FGb nominal adjectives were the model for attributives. These models, however, apply to the basic unmarked property depiction in SM, the type of transfer that would occur in an early stage of creole development. For marked property depictions in SM both attributive and predicate adjectives have the FGb stative adjectives as a model, in particular a subclass of stative adjectives termed causative/stative adjectives (Br. 1993), which pattern like derived adjectives in being reduplicated as attributives and having reduplication and the copula as predicates. The reduplicated forms used to express markedness in SM have not been simplified; they could be seen as relexified. But unlike relexification as defined in Lf. (1998a), the semantics of the SM forms differ from FGb in that the FGb forms do not express markedness. The expression of markedness with reduplication in SM is an innovation, and as argued it is the type of feature that would enter a creole at a later stage of development. The source of the forms is the substrate language through native language retention; the subjective expression of markedness being iconically reflected by forms more familiar to substrate language speakers. It is also iconic that the causative/stative adjectives serve as the model for markedness reduplication in SM, in that in FGb these adjectives resemble derived adjectives, which are inherently marked in depicting a state with a dynamic verb.

5.3.2.1 Transfer of predicative stative adjectives

Predicative stative adjectives in FGb, as in (3.a), copied as (31), occur as intransitive stative verbs:

- (31) àwù tòn myă
 pants GEN red
 his pants are red

Fongbe (Nd. 1992:70)

As argued for (15) above, loss of the copula through the simplification of predicative nominal adjectives resulted in their merger with predicative stative adjectives; *távò ø lóbwé = távò myă*. What is significant in this merger is that the stative predicates dominated, in that the resulting SM adjectives are stative verbs rather than nominal adjectives with a null copula (Winford 1997), with a possible exception in the optional copula with predicative *búnu*, 'good', in (14.c). Recall the association of predicate adjectives and verbal function in Thompson (1988), namely that both predicate known information. Thus there is an explanation as to why the stative verb interpretation predominated in the merger over the null copula and nominalization interpretation during the transfer of SM predicate adjectives.

The nominal status of the FGb nominal adjectives is seen in the lack of reduplication after the copula and in the noun-like predicate cleft, as discussed in 5.2.1 above. The nature of the copula *qò* also determines its nominal character.

It will be argued in Chapter 6 on the transfer of passives that the two copulas in FGb; *nyí*, 'be', and *qò*, 'be at', function differently in the model of simplification. To summarize that argument, simplification eliminates *nyí*, 'be', which in the verbal passive construction juxtaposes a reduplicated form to a preceding noun, in (33.a); *lămpù ó nyí cící*. By the normal morphosyntactic rules in FGb this juxtaposition blocks reduplication, in (33.b); *lămpù ó ø cí*. The resulting construction is transferred into SM with a passive meaning, *dí fája tapá*, 'the light was put out', its anticausative meaning is from a different source. Now the copula *qò*, 'be at', is not as purely verbal as *nyí*, in that it may also occur as a locative preposition 'at' (Lf. 1991, 1998a). The more prepositional nature of *qò* indicates that the reduplicated item following *qò* is less verbal than the item following *nyí*, and so escapes the reduplication blocking rule, in (33.c, d); *lămpù ó qò cící > lămpù ó ø cící*,

the hypothesized early SM *dí fája ø tapátapá*, modern SM *dí fája dé tapátapá*.

That the reduplicated items following the two copulas differ regarding verbhood is supported by analyses of Brousseau (1993) and Fabb (1992). Brousseau (1993:106) analyzes the reduplicated adjective in FGb as [+V,+N], with the reduplication considered a prefix as [+N], and the original as [+V,-N]. The reduplicated verbal passive (ibid.:108), on the other hand, is analyzed as [+V,-N], but with the reduplicated prefix as [+N] and the original as [+V,-N] as well. By the Brousseau analysis, a more nominal item, [+V,+N], follows *dó* in the adjectival passive, (32.a), while a more verbal item, [+V,-N], follows *nyí* in the verbal passive, (32.b):

- (32) a. adjectives [+V,+N] (Br. 1993:106)
 / \
 RE [+N] [+V,-N]
- b. verbal passive [+V,-N] (ibid.:108)
 / \
 RE [+N] [+V,-N]

Fabb (1992a:30) also determines that nonlexical reduplication is a prefix and is nominal. In this analysis, reduplicated verbal items, presumably [+V,-N], need to have the reduplicated [+N] prefix to license the original verbal item. If the verbal item is preceded by a noun, then it does not need to be reduplicated because it is preceded by a [+N] item. Hence the blocking of reduplication. It may be implied from this that adjectival reduplication, [+V,+N], is not blocked because it already is [+N], so that licensing is self contained.

The Brousseau and Fabb analyses may explain a tone sandhi feature in SM as transfer. Recall from Chapter 2 that reduplication occurs with attributive adjectives, derived attributive adjectives, and following the copula in the *dé* constructions. In these cases, there is tone sandhi between the reduplicated items. If the SM reduplicated form were analyzed as [+N]-[+V], parallel to the FGb items, the sandhi would match the normal sandhi between a noun and the following verb. Recall also that in iterative or

durative reduplication, there is no sandhi. This reduplication could be seen as [+V]-[+V], where, unlike serial verbs, the second verb is not the result or a compliment of the first. An iterative or durative depiction, in fact, would differ from a serial verb depiction in that it might not be considered a single event.

Considering SM non-iterative reduplication as nominalization would account for its occurrence in predicate cleft constructions, where, like nouns and unlike verbs, it leaves no copy; *kótíkóti dí físi dé : kóti dí físi kóti*. In any case the transfer (Migge 1998), or the loss of *dò*, as proposed in McW. (1996b), does not block reduplication, in (33.c). The FGb adjectival passive is transferred into early SM, which has a null copula (McW. 1996a, 1996b), later to become *dé*, in (33.d):

- (33) a. *lǎmpù ó nyí cícǐ* *Fòn verbal passive*
 lamp the COP RE-put out
 the lamp was put out
- b. *lǎmpù ó ø cí* *simplified Fòn*
 dí fája tapá *SM passive*
 the lamp was put out
- c. *lǎmpù ó dò cícǐ* *Fòn adjectival passive*
 lamp the COP RE-put out
 the lamp is put out
- d. *lǎmpù ó ø cícǐ* *later simplified Fòn*
 dí fája ø tapá-tapá *early SM*
 dí fája dé tapá-tapá *modern SM*
 the lamp is put out

From this model it would seem then that the FGb predicative nominal adjective would

retain a null copula after the loss of *dò*, 'be at', in (11); *àyìkùngbàn dò lóbwé* > *àyìkùngbàn ø lóbwé*, transferring and relexifying as SM **gõõliba dé lóntu*. But there is a difference between the two simplified constructions that lose the copula *dò*, 'be at'. The adjectival passive form is reduplicated, (34.a, b), the nominal adjective is not (34.c). As predicates, the simplified nominal adjective is identical to the stative adjective, (34.d), in surface structure:

- (34) a. *nyìbù ó dè hùhù* *simplified adjectival passive*
 cow the COP RE-kill (*transitive verb*)
 the cow is killed
- b. *lǎmpù ó dè cíí* *simplified adjectival passive*
 lamp the COP RE-put out (*anticausative verb*)
 the lamp is put out
- c. *távò dè dǎgbè* *simplified predicative nominal adj.*
 table COP beautiful
 table is beautiful
- d. *àwù tòn myǎ* *predicative stative adjective*
 pants GEN red
 his pants are red

The simplified nominal and stative adjectives resemble each other both morphosyntactically and semantically. They are both stative, they depict a state. As discussed above, these resemblances have been argued to have caused the merger of these two classes in simplification; *távò ø lóbwé* = *távò myǎ*. The adjectival passive also depicts a state, but a resultative state formed from eventive verbs. The adjectival passive depicts a resulting state from action but implies no agent, as opposed to the verbal passive

whose agent is implied but suppressed.

The adjectival passive of transitive verbs does not share the same innately stative semantics with the nominal and stative adjectives, and so was less likely to merge with them during simplification. It then retained the null copula until the development of the present SM copula *dé*, as in (34.a); *nyibú ó dọ̀ huhù* > *nyibú ó ø huhù* > *dí káú dé kíikíi*.

The adjectival passive of anticausative verbs, on the other hand, is prototypically less transitive than the adjectival passive of transitive verbs. In this way it is not so removed from the nominal and stative adjectives. Anticausative adjectives share a semantic feature with stative adjectives, namely that their verbal counterparts have no external agentive argument, in that a verb functioning as an anticausative has no external agentive argument. There is, then, no agent expressed in an anticausative construction, and no agent is implied by an anticausative adjective. The depiction of anticausative adjectives would therefore, like that of stative adjectives, be less likely to be interpreted as having been caused by an external agent. In this way the FGb anticausative adjectives and stative adjectives resemble SM anticausative adjectives and stative adjectives, namely, causation is less salient than for adjectives derived from transitive verbs. For SM, as argued in Chapter 2, markedness rather than causation is a motivation for the *dé* + RE adjectival construction, as well as for the reduplication of anticausative and stative attributive adjectives. In FGb, causation is marked for the anticausative adjectival passive, which transfers into the SM anticausative *dé* adjectival construction as markedness in general.

The adjectival passive of anticausative verbs in FGb, *lǎmpù ó dọ̀ cící*, appears to have split during simplification, transferring into SM both as a *dé* adjectival construction, like the adjectival passive of transitive verbs, *dí fája dé tapátapá*, and as predicate adjective, like the merged class of nominal and stative predicate adjectives, *dí fája tapá*. The *dé* adjectival construction in SM is the marked construction. The unmarked predicate adjective construction for anticausatives indicates, as argued in Chapter 2 that prototypical anticausatives are identified as adjectives rather than as transitive verbs.

For anticausatives in SM, the predicate adjective construction reflects its prototypical

meaning, while the *dé* adjectival construction reflects a marked meaning. This parallels the use of the *dé* adjectival construction with transitive verbs. Transitive verbs depict the transfer of effect on an object, and so prototypically imply an external agent. A prototypical predicative stative depiction for transitive verbs is a resultative stative with an implied agent, namely the passive. Lack of an implied agent would be marked for transitives, and, as argued in Chapter 2, the *dé* adjectival construction is marked for transitive verbs as well as for anticausatives.

Returning to predicate stative adjectives, the FGb intransitive stative verbs that comprise the class of stative adjectives (Br. 1993:46) depict states with no implication of cause. The FGb adjectival passive that implies causation for anticausatives also implies cause for those stative intransitives that may occur reduplicated, namely for those intransitive stative verbs classified as causative/stative (*ibid.*). FGb causative/stative adjectives in the adjectival passive construction depict a state that is resultative, although no agent is implied. In FGb, *bɔ̀*, 'soft', is a causative/stative adjective (*ibid.*):

- (35) a. wó ɔ́ b̀̀ FGb (Br. 1993:119)
 dough DET soft
 the dough is soft
- b. wó ɔ́ ɖ̀̀ b̀̀̀̀ FGb (*ibid.*)
 dough DET is-at RE-soft
 the dough is softened

The adjectival passive in (35.b) is interpreted as the result of a change (*ibid.*:119). As such, it is marked relative to the prototypical interpretation of verbs like *bɔ̀*, 'soft'. The markedness of causation expressed by reduplication for causative/stative adjectives in FGb appears to have transferred into SM as markedness in general. This is because the distinction between FGb causative/stative and stative adjectives did not transfer, since, as there is no semantic or morphosyntactic basis for this distinction, these two categories

merged. All adjectives in SM may be reduplicated and may occur in the *dé* + RE adjectival construction, depending on context. Thus, parallel to SM anticausatives, the *dé* adjectival construction with stative adjectives is marked in SM, although not necessarily because of causation.

The anticausative in FGb bears a morphosyntactic resemblance to the merged class of nominal and stative predicate adjectives (15.d) in occurring unreduplicated (9), copied as (35.a). The anticausative in SM bears the same morphosyntactic resemblance to predicate adjectives. But in SM there are more morphosyntactic resemblances. Anticausative adjectives match stative adjectives as predicates and in their reduplication as attributives, as argued in Chapter 2. It is the markedness motivation for reduplication as an attributive that is argued to be the determiner of the adjectival status of anticausatives.

It will be assumed, then, that the FGb adjectival passive split during simplification, with the anticausative and causative/stative adjectives merging with the nominal and stative adjectives with a stative meaning, and the anticausatives as transitive verbs merging with transitive verbs with a resultative meaning:

(36)	FGb adj passive	meaning	SM <i>dé</i> + RE	meaning
	transitive	resultative	transitive	resultative
	anticaus; trans	resultative	anticaus; trans	resultative
	(anticaus; adj)	none	anticaus; adj	stative
	caus/stative	resultative	stative; trans	resultative
	(stative)	none	stative; adj	stative

The stative meaning with the *dé* + RE construction in SM is an innovation. It is also an innovation that purely stative verbs even occur in this construction. The fact that items in FGb such as *wé*, ‘white’ (Br. 1993:46), are in the class of causative/stative verbs, which may occur in the adjectival passive, must have been an influence.

The occurrence of causative/stative verbs like *fà*, ‘cold’, in the adjectival passive

construction contrasts with stative verbs like *hünzò*, ‘hot’ (ibid.), which do not occur in that construction. With the merger of these two classes the causative/stative dominated in retaining the copula + RE construction, but the stative class dominated in allowing a stative interpretation. This stative interpretation must also have influenced anticausative *dé* + RE constructions as well, as they may also have a stative interpretation. In other words, all predicative adjectival constructions in SM may have a stative as well as a resultative interpretation.

Not represented in (36) is the class of FGb nominal adjectives, as these items are not verbs. The common morphosyntax and semantics of the simplified stative and nominal adjectives, in (34.b, c), would intuitively seem to motivate a merger of these two classes as part of the process of simplification, as proposed in (15) in 3.1.1. As predicates, the merger would mean a reinterpretation of either the nominal adjective, (34.b), as a stative verb, or of the stative adjective, (34.c), as having a null copula. The stative verb interpretation is shared by the stative adjective and the anticausative construction in (9), whereas both the nominal adjective and the anticausative adjectival passive have the null copula. In a merger of stative, nominal and anticausative adjectives, it would seem that stative adjectives as verbs most prototypically depict a predicate property, that they of the three would represent best the prototypical predicate property item. Recall the association of predicate adjectives and verbal function in Thompson (1988). The verbal function of predicate adjectives may account for the preponderance of adjectival stative verbs over nominal adjectives in FGb (Nd. 1992), which in any case would tend to marginalize the nominal adjectives during transfer. This is an explanation as to why the stative verb interpretation predominated over the null copula in the genesis of SM predicate adjectives.

5.3.2.2 Innovation of markedness contrast

The innovation of a stative interpretation with the *dé* + RE construction allows a contrast

in predicate adjectives in SM. The contrast is in markedness, where depictions that are subjectively marked occur with reduplication while unmarked depictions do not. This contrast in markedness expressed with reduplication is parallel to the markedness contrast in SM attributive adjectives. In both cases the marked expression uses reduplication, this use being an innovation in SM. Reduplication does not appear to function in that way for FGb adjectives. Yet reduplication itself is not an innovation, it is an obvious substrate feature.

For the *dé* + RE construction, the property depicting item is a nominalization. The copula *dé*, by McW. (1996b), is an innovation that replaces a zero copula. The innovative reinterpretation of the homophonous deictic adverb as a copula occurs because the deictic adverb is in the correct position to match the syntax substrate copula (ibid.:106).

By Migge (1998), however, it is a transfer of the FGb locative copula *dò*, ‘be at’. The Xwela (Gbe) locative copula *de* (ibid.:301) resembles the SM even more. Also, in final position the locative copula in Fon and Maxi (ibid.:303) and Waci (ibid.:305, 307) is *dé*. Capo (1997 p.c. in ibid.:307) suggests that the original non-equative copula was **dè* in all varieties of Gbe. Akuetey (1995 in ibid.:304) points out that some Gbe varieties the object pronoun *e* follows the locative copula as a default complement when there is no postverbal locative complement to form a portmanteau. This is seen in FGb in (2.c) above, *dè < (dò + è)* (Kinyalolo 1995:86), but not in FGb in (2.d), *dò è* (Lefebvre 1990:58). There are, then, many examples of substrate locative copulas that are phonetically similar to the SR and SM locative copula and deictic adverb.

As discussed in Chapter 2, elements of both the McWhorter and the Migge arguments may apply to the *dé* + RE construction.

The innovation of the copula *dé*, by McW. (1996b:103-119), involves the reinterpretation of the deictic adverb *dé*, ‘there’, homophonous with the modern SM copula *dé*. Thus in hypothetical early SM, *dí wómi dé témbema*, ‘the man there (is) a carpenter’, is reinterpreted as ‘the man is a carpenter’. The reinterpretation, however, does not capture the markedness of the deictic. The argument for reinterpretation points

out that emphatic constructions can lose their ‘semantic potency’ over time (ibid.:97), leaving them open for grammaticalization as other strategies fill the gap for expressing emphasis. In modern SM, however, there is no such gap, as the deictic *dé* is used for emphasis (ibid.:105), itself providing the model for the reinterpretation argument.

In a hypothetical early SM *dé* + RE construction, *dí wómi dé fátufátu*, ‘the man there (is) noticeably fat’, reinterpretation as ‘the man is noticeably fat’ maintains the markedness. But the hypothetical construction has two markers, namely the deictic *dé* and reduplication, both of which are in use in modern SM. It would seem plausible, then, that the *dé* is the transferred copula, the Xwela *dé* or the early Kwa **de*, since the transfer would be of a single construction expressing markedness. In either case the *dé* + RE construction might then be a starting point for the eventual spread of the copula *dé*.

The semantics of a locative copula of course include ‘be at’, but may also be seen as including a deictic ‘be there’. This is because there is no eventive action, the entire emphasis is on location, or more accurately on the fact that the location indicates existence (Arends 1989:34 in ibid.:295). The SM deictic *dé* does not actually specify location, *alá* is used for the notion ‘there’. Rather, location is a metaphor for existence. The FGb *dò* similarly indicates that information on location will follow, since more specific information on location involves a postposition:

(37)	<p>wè má ó dò é jí</p> <p>book the at it on</p> <p>the book is on it</p>	FGb (Lf. 1994:74)
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An existential deictic semantic component in the FGb locative copula *dò* would facilitate the reinterpretation of a deictic as a copula, especially considering that the originators of the creole retained the syntax and most certainly the semantics of the substrate locative copula (ibid.:106).

There is also the possibility that the *dé* + RE construction in early SM maintained the FGb *dò*, or Xwela *dé*, in the use of the deictic component, while the use of the copula *nyí*

lapsed. If so, the deictic component would also be maintained from the FGb progressive *qò* construction. The FGb causative/stative adjectives may occur in the progressive:

- (38) *sìn ó qò fífà wè* FGb (Br. 1993:47)
 water DET PROG RE-cold FOC
 the water is in the process of getting cold

The FGb locative copula *qò* occurs in locative and progressive constructions, and in both it takes a resumptive object pronoun, *è*, in clefts, in (39.a, b), where it would otherwise take the non-object pronoun *é*, in (37):

- (39) a. *távò jí wè Kòkú qò è* FGb (Lf. 1990:58)
 table on FO Koku at it
 it is on the table that Koku is
- b. *wìwlán wè Kòkú qò è* FGb (Lf. 1990:58)
 writing FO Koku at it
 it is writing that Koku is doing

The similarity between the locative phrase *távò jí* and the reduplicated *wìwlán* implies that there is a deictic semantic component in the progressive construction. McW. (1996b:105) points out that it is common among West African languages to have locative copulas identical to progressive markers that are related diachronically.

There is an indication that the locative copula of the FGb progressive construction did in fact transfer, perhaps from Xwela *dé*, or was replaced at an early stage by the deictic adverb due to its deictic semantic component and phonetic similarity. In early SR, genetically related to SM, the progressive marker was *de* (ibid.:104), which also means ‘to be’ and ‘there’. This early progressive marker was replaced in SM with *tá* (ibid.). The use of the deictic *de* in the progressive, either from Eng ‘there’ or from FGb *qò* or

Xwela *dé*, would be a likely place from which the use of *de* could spread to non-deictic uses.

The progressive cross-linguistically could be considered marked, as the simple past is the most commonly used and least morphologically marked verb form. There is, then, a common thread of markedness in the *dé* + RE construction, the deictic *dé*, and the early *de* progressive. There is also, of course, the structural similarity. It is the expression of markedness that draws on the less simplified substrate, in this case either with direct transfer or reinterpretation under the influence of conflation.

The diachrony of SM *dé* begins with the adjectival passive and the progressive construction. There is no reason not to assume that the general use of both copulas *qò* and *nyí* lapsed in the early stages of SR and SM. But there is also no reason not to assume that the use of the locative copula continued in the progressive, since a progressive construction is an essential part of the grammar. It would have locative semantics, meaning 'be at', which is typologically common for progressive constructions. The early SR/SM progressive marker *de*, then, transferred from a substrate *de*, *qe*, or *qe* ~ *qò*.

But like reduplication, and possibly because of it, the substrate locative copula began to be used to express markedness; as reduplication came to be used for markedness in attributives in SM, it was used for markedness with predicate adjectives. This use of reduplication is innovative, suggesting a lapse rather than direct transfer. Based on the similarity of the FGb adjectival passive and progressive, the substrate locative copula was drawn into use for the *dé* + RE construction. It would appear then that the copula in the *dé* + RE construction also transferred from a substrate *de*, *qe*, or *qe* ~ *qò*, although perhaps belatedly. There is phonetic similarity in the substrate and creole copula. There is also syntactic similarity between the SM *dé* + RE construction and the FGb adjectival passive. And there is distributional similarity, in that the locative copula occurs in the SM *dé* + RE and the FGb adjectival passive constructions, and in the progressive constructions in both the substrate and early creole languages. Of course the *dé* + RE construction has changed somewhat in transfer, allowing stative adjectives and a stative

interpretation, again suggesting a lapse rather than direct transfer. The stative adjective use of the SM *dé* + RE construction is no doubt based on the adjectival use in FGb with the causative/stative adjectives, in (38).

On the other hand, there is no distributional similarity between the substrate *dɛ* and SM *dé* regarding non-locative predication of nouns, as the SM *a dé témbema*, ‘he is a carpenter’ would not involve the locative copula in FGb. The reinterpretation of the deictic adverb *dé* as the copula *dé* explains the non-locative use. This reinterpretation could occur because the *dé* + RE construction used a copula that was phonetically similar to the SM existential deictic. The *dé* + RE construction is also similar to deictic *dé* clauses in markedness. For this reason the copula in the *dé* + RE construction shares the emphatic existential semantics with the deictic *dé*. The reinterpretation of deictic *dé* as a copula in marked clauses opened the way for the expansion in the use of *dé* into a more general copula.

There is an indication in early SR of an identification of this copula with the deictic ‘there’. In Nepveu 1770 (Ar. & P. 1995:87) the entry for ‘there’ is *dea*, as well as the copula, in *a dea na hebi*, ‘he’s at the heavy side’ (p. 81), *adea na tappoe*, ‘it’s/he’s upstairs’ (p. 82), and *mi dea hiaso*, ‘I’m here’, and in particular *joedea*, ‘are you there?’ (p. 88). For *joedea* it would be difficult to assign *dea* a meaning ‘are’, ‘are there’ or a null-copula ‘ \emptyset there’. There are also two similar occurrences of *de*, *a de nami heddi*, ‘it’s at the back of my mind’ (p. 86), and *oemeni de?*, ‘how many are there?’ (p. 83), as well as *mi de boen*, ‘I’m alright’, and *mi de bellewel*, ‘I am very well’ (p. 77). Half of the occurrences of this item in Nepveu resemble *dea*, ‘there’, both phonetically and in having a locative element of semantics. Of the *de* examples, only in *a de nami heddi* is it locative. In this limited corpus there appears to be a tendency for the locative meaning to be expressed by the item resembling *dea*, ‘there’, and elsewhere *de* is used. This data would fit the argument that the reinterpretation of the deictic ‘there’ began with a locative copula and spread into other uses, varying with a phonetically similar item that also has locative semantics. Such a scenario in SM would explain the fact that its copula resembles the deictic with a lax vowel, *dé*, unlike the FGb *dɛ*, especially considering the

actual vowel qualities *ea* (lax?) and *e* (tense?) might represent.

There is variation in the copular use of this item. But there is no variation in its use as a progressive marker. There are six occurrences of *de*, but none of *dea*, as a progressive marker, such as *mi de jam*, ‘I am eating’ (p. 89). Thus the use as a progressive marker gives no hint at identification with ‘there’. This data suggests a different origin than the deictic ‘there’ for the progressive marker. It would fit an argument for the transfer of FGb *dɛ* as a progressive marker. It would later be used in the *dɛ* + RE construction for markedness contrast, perhaps drawing in particular predicative nominal adjectives as well, which would also explain *de boen* and *de bellewel* as a construction transferred from the FGb nominal adjective.

The diachrony of the SM locative copula is not seen in HT. Its development in SM is explained in McW. (1996b:107) by the presence of an appropriate deictic adverb. There is, though, such an emphatic deictic adverb, *la*, in popular FR. The HT post-nominal definite article *la* is relexified, by Lf. (1998a:83), from this deictic adverb. As in SM, this deictic adverb is in the syntactic slot where reinterpretation as a copula would have been possible. There was even some phonetic similarity to substrate copulas, as it is *lɛ* in Aja and *lə* in Waci (M. 1998:300). The progressive in HT differs from that of early SM and SR, however, in that the progressive marker *ap* is relexified from FR *après* (Lf. 1998a:123). If the diachrony of SM *dɛ* begins with the substrate progressive marker *dɛ*, such development would not occur in HT because the progressive marker had been relexified.

5.3.3 Transfer of attributive stative adjectives

Fongbe stative adjectives as attributives, like attributive nominal adjectives and anticausative adjectives, follow the referent. Unlike attributive nominal adjectives, however, stative and anticausative adjectives are reduplicated. Simplification would not affect this reduplication, as *lãmpù ó ø cíí* in (33.d), as it does in the simplified verbal

passive, as *lǎmpù ó ø cí* in (33.b), presumably because the adjective is within the NP, not juxtaposed following it, and so is more nominal; as discussed above, reduplicated adjectives are analyzed as [+V,+N], where the reduplicated verb in the verbal passive is [+V,-N], in (Br. 1993:106).

The attributive stative adjective, in (40.a), does not resemble the attributive nominal adjective, (40.b). It is not ambiguous with the predicative stative adjective that is not reduplicated, (40.c). Depending on the loss of the determiner, it resembles the surface morphosyntax of the simplified anticausative adjectival passive, in (40.d), but without, of course, the predicative meaning:

- (40) a. àwù myǎmyǎ *attributive stative adjective*
 pants RE-red
 red pants
- b. távò dǎgbè dẹ́ *attributive nominal adjective*
 table beautiful a
 a beautiful table
- c. àwù tòn myǎ *predicative stative adjective*
 pants GEN red
 his pants are red
- d. lǎmpù (ó) dẹ̀ cící *simplified adjectival passive*
 lamp the COP RE-put out
 the lamp is put out

The model of transfer presented here proposes that the anticausative, nominal and stative adjective classes merged as attributives as well as predicatives. This would account for the change in word order of the attributive statives, assuming that in this merger the

prenominal word order of the nominal adjectives, discussed in 5.3.1.2, (22), dominates. In 5.3.1.2 it was proposed that the motivation for the change in word order of the attributive nominal adjectives was ambiguity with the surface structure of the simplified predicative nominal adjectives, with the superstrate English word order available as an alternative model. This ambiguity would not exist for the stative adjectives, because the attributive statives are reduplicated.

It appears, then, that the nominal adjective prevailed in the merger, since the model for word order change is based on the simplified nominal adjective. The unreduplicated nominal adjective prevailed as well in that attributive adjectives in SM may occur unreduplicated, and in Chapter 2 are defined by this characteristic. It would seem that of the three attributives in the merger that nominals would be the most prototypically attributive. Recall the association of attributive adjectives with nominal function in Thompson (1988), in that both are involved in the introduction of information.

A merger of these classes of attributive adjectives should accommodate the variation in reduplication as well as word order. Unmarked SM attributive adjectives may occur unreduplicated, but, as discussed in Chapter 2, may occur reduplicated as well, as in (41.e). Yet FGb attributive stative adjectives, as in (41.b), only occur reduplicated. In the process of simplification reduplication must have been blocked in some cases, but not in others, resulting in (41.c). An unreduplicated form would resemble the surface structure of the predicative adjective, in (41.a), allowing the ambiguity discussed in 3.1.2 and a word order change based on ambiguity. Lack of reduplication in stative and anticausative adjectives could result from the merger with the attributive nominal adjective. Based on SM, however, the reduplicated form undergoes the same word order modification, in (41.e):

- (41) a. àwù tòn myǎ *predicative stative adjective*
 pants GEN red
 his pants are red

- b. àwù myămyă *attributive stative adjective*
pants RE-red
red pants
- c. àwù myă / myămyă *simplified attributive stative adjective*
pants red / RE-red
red pants
- d. myă / myămyă àwù *modified simplified attributive stative adj*
red / RE-red pants
red pants
- e. bè / bè-bè buúku SM
red / RE-red pants
red pants

The question arises; why does simplification apply in some cases to block reduplication, and not in others? As mentioned above, Brousseau and Fabb do not address this type of reduplication. The rule blocking the reduplication of verbs elsewhere in FGb stipulates that the verb be preceded by an adjacent noun. Attributive adjectives, of course, are not considered verbs, accounting for the reduplication in the FGb attributive stative and anticausative adjective. But something must have changed in simplification to obscure the FGb rules regarding reduplication of attributive adjectives.

The model here has assumed that in simplification, the attributive adjective type most associated with nominals, namely the nominal adjective, would dominate in the merger with the other types of attributive adjectives regarding reduplication. Thus the expected attributive adjective after simplification would be unreduplicated. But if the construction were to be marked in some way, depicting something unusual or unexpected for example, based on SM there could be motivation to represent this markedness morphosyntactically.

A contrasting reduplicated form could be recalled, allowing a distinction, in (41.c). Reduplication cross-linguistically represents markedness, and reduplication would certainly be accessible through the FGb reduplicated attributives. A reduplicated attributive, then, would depict a marked or unexpected property, a property whose relevance to the referent would vary from prototypicality.

The reduplicated option, in (41.d), would have entered the creole after the process of modification of word order in that a reduplicated form would not be ambiguous with a predicate. In addition, the innovative use of reduplication in SM to express markedness suggests a lapse in the transfer of this feature rather than a direct transfer; the unreduplicated form would need to be conventionalized and therefore established in order to have a form for the reduplicated form to contrast with. In other words, the substrate feature of reduplication was introduced after simplification and modification. It is significant that the reduplication of attributives in SM does not serve the same function as it does in FGb; the morphosyntactic reduplication of the FGb attributives did not transfer into SM. The attributive reduplication in SM is an innovation. The assumption in this model that markedness could determine reduplication is made because, as argued in Chapter 2, markedness is the motivation for reduplication in SM attributive adjectives.

That markedness could function to allow variation in reduplication through the simplification process is not altogether *ad hoc*. The Thompson (1988) study of adjectives, discussed in Chapter 2, finds that attributive adjectives prototypically were used to introduce new information, while predicate adjectives were used to comment on known information. The well-known study by Rosch (1973) finds that items that most display the characteristics of a category are more central or prototypical of that category than less characteristic items. Hopper & Thompson (1984:707) apply this finding to grammatical categories, noting that according to tests prototypical items are more salient for speakers. Thus attributive adjectives depicting prototypical information are more central to the category than attributives whose information varies from prototypicality. In addition, the more prototypical attributives would be more salient. As discussed in Chapter 1, and in McWhorter (1996b:168), saliency is one important determiner in

transfer. More prototypical, and thereby more salient examples of attributives in the superstrate language provide the model for the more salient substrate attributives, those which are, by McW. (ibid.:169), 'constrained by simplification.' During simplification an attributive depicting prototypical information would therefore be more salient, so that after transfer the unreduplicated form would be basic. Attributive reduplication would then be more likely to transfer in marked contexts, and would therefore occur somewhat marginally, reflecting the peripheral meanings associated with reduplication.

Reduplication is only one way to express markedness; it would not need to be commonplace even after expansion, and its use could vary dialectically and diachronically. An examination of 18th century SM texts, discussed below in 5.4.2.1, indicates that reduplicated attributives were more marginal then than now.

5.3.4 Transfer of derived attributive adjectives

Derived attributive adjectives in SM have the same semantic constraint as the SM passive, in Chapter 2 and 3, and as the FGb passive-like constructions, in Chapter 6. They must be formed with verbs that denote a visible effect on the referent. It is likely therefore that the FGb passive-like constructions were influential in the transfer of the SM derived attributives, particularly in word order modification.

There are two types of passive constructions in FGb (Br. 1993). The semantics of the FGb adjectival passive denote a resultative state without reference to an agent. The semantics of the FGb verbal passive, as discussed in Chapter 6 on the transfer of passives, denote a resultative state with an implied agent. The semantics of verbs in the FGb adjectival passive are those of verbs in the SM derived attributive adjectives.

Derived attributives in SM denote a resultative state, so that any verb depicting a change of state may have a resultative attributive meaning. These attributives are reduplicated. Attributives depicting an unmarked stative property are not reduplicated. Verbs that do not depict states, then, do not occur unreduplicated as attributive adjectives.

Anticausative attributives may be interpreted as either stative or resultative, but as resultatives they are necessarily reduplicated. Transitive verbs like *kíi*, ‘kill’, are unlikely to have an anticausative reading, and are therefore unlikely to occur unreduplicated as attributives. Such verbs may be seen as conforming to the reduplication pattern of non-derived adjectives, however. As discussed in Chapter 2, these verbs prototypically depict an affecting action. A resultative stative meaning for such verbs would be marked, reflected in reduplication. The unreduplicated attributive of such verbs is a present participle, which depicts an ongoing action. Since action is closer to the aktionsart of such verbs, the present participle would be unmarked, reflected in the unreduplicated form. Present participles may also occur reduplicated, of course, with a marked meaning such as iterativity, as in *baibai dagu*, ‘barking dog’ (Glock & Mantell 1974:8), or *wákawáka síki*, ‘walking sickness (arthritis)’.

It is unlikely that the developing creole would not have a derived attributive adjective from the outset, but derived attributives may not have entered the language as reduplicated forms. They most likely merged with the non-derived adjectives in reduplication and word order. When reduplication became an option, derived adjectives occurred reduplicated indicating markedness relative to their non-stative aktionsart.

The unmarked attributive adjective is not reduplicated in SM, the result of the merger of FGb stative and nominal adjectives with the nominals dominating as far as attributive reduplication. Anticausatives, when interpreted statively, pattern with the stative adjectives in that they are intransitive stative verbs. Transitive verbs, however, have no stative interpretation. They do not share a stative interpretation with the nominal, stative and anticausative adjectives.

The derived attributives conform to the other attributives regarding the Adj-N word order. There is little likelihood that there could be exceptions to this word order, because although languages with the N-Adj word order allow variation, languages with the Adj-N word order do not (Comrie 1988:90).

The word order modification of derived attributives may have been similar to the proposed word order modification of non-derived attributives, mentioned above. If the

derived attributives were not reduplicated, the ambiguity would be with the passive:

(42)	a.	nyĩbú	hùhù		nyĩbú	nyí	hùhù	FGb (Br. 1993:100)
	b.	nyĩbú	hùhù	=	nyĩbú	∅	hùhù	<i>attr. = simp. vbl. pass.</i>
	c.	nyĩbú	hù	=	nyĩbú	∅	hù	<i>blocked RE, attr. = pass.</i>
	d.	hù	nyĩbú		nyĩbú	hù		<i>modified word order</i>
	e.	kĩĩ	káu		káu	kĩĩ		<i>hypothetical early SM</i>
		killed	cow		cow	was	killed	

The attributive adjective of a transitive verb is resultative, as is the passive, and so there is an equivalence, in (42.b). But passives imply an agent while adjectives do not, although resultative adjectives are semantically close to such an implication. Resultative adjectives differ from stative adjectives in depicting a state that begins at the endpoint of a process rather than a state without endpoints. Resultative adjectives would be expressed in some marked way, such as by reduplication, if such a strategy existed.

The simplification and modification in (42) would occur before the development, or the transfer, of the copula in the *dé* + RE construction for the expression of markedness. But a similar model may apply for reduplicated attributives, both derived and non-derived, since both have a predicative counterpart in the *dé* + RE construction. The model in (43), as in (42), assumes the loss of the locative copula *qò*, which, as mentioned regarding anticausative adjectives, does not block reduplication. In (43.a), the loss of the definite article and the locative copula *qò* in the simplified adjectival passive creates a syntactic resemblance with the attributive, in (43.b), which parallels their semantic resemblance, including lack of implied agent. The ambiguity created by the simplification is resolved, as with the ambiguities with the non-derived attributives, by adopting the superstrate English attributive word order, in (43.c). The relexified SM derived attributive, on the right, and SM *dé* derived adjective construction, on the left, are in (43.d) below:

- (43) a. nyìbú hùhù nyìbú dọ̀ hùhù FGb (Br. 1993:100)
 cow RE-kill cow COP RE-kill
 killed cow cow is killed
- b. nyìbú hùhù = nyìbú ø hùhù *attr. = simp. adj. pass.*
- c. hùhù nyìbú *modified derived attr. adj.*
- d. kīi-kīi káu káu dé kīi-kīi SM
 RE-kill cow cow COP RE-kill
 killed cow cow is killed

The adjectival passive, except for the causative/statives (Br. *ibid.*:47), and the verbal passive constructions in FGb are limited to highly transitive verbs that depict an effect on the patient. As mentioned above, derived attributive adjectives and passives in SM have this same constraint. As far as this constraint on derived attributive adjectives in FGb, there is very little data available. Brousseau (1993:120) shows that the reduplication process seen in the verbal and adjectival passive also applies to derived attributive adjectives, and that the only verbs that occur in these categories are verbs depicting a change of state. An apparent exception is *ḡḡ*, 'believed', from *ḡ*, 'believe' (Br. 1990 (27)). Verbs that depict change of location do not occur in these categories, such as *wà*, 'come', *yì*, 'go', *nyì*, 'throw', *tún*, 'push', *dèn*, 'pull', and *kòn*, 'pour'. Also excluded are unergative verbs of movement, such as *jé*, 'fall', *lón*, 'jump', *lìn*, 'swim', and *xwè*, 'stroll'. It appears then that the affectedness constraint applies to FGb derived attributive adjectives, and is the likely source of this constraint in SM derived attributive adjectives.

The semantic constraints on verbs in passives and derived attributive adjectives in SM parallel the constraints in FGb. Any particular differences may be due to a variation in the interpretation as to what constitutes a change of state. In SM, change of location or position as depicted by an unaccusative verb may also indicate a change of state, as in

d. kaábu-kaábu wági

SM

scratch-scratch car

scratched car < he scratched the car with a stick.

The referent in (45.a, c) is an instrument argument, not a patient argument, and so no change of state is depicted or implied. It is reasonable to assume that in FGb change of location attributives do not occur because most of them do not depict a change of state. Verbs depicting a change of location similarly do not occur as attributive adjectives in SM, such as *púu*, 'push', and *túwε*, 'throw'.

The Brousseau analysis treats verbal passives, adjectival passives and derived attributive adjectives the same regarding derivational reduplication, and also regarding the affectedness constraint. These constraints are not unusual for passives or derived adjectives cross-linguistically, and exist in the Caribbean English creoles (Winford 1993). But the fact that they match so closely in FGb and in SM, combined with the fact that both passives and derived adjectives have these constraints in both languages, and considering the fact that none of the superstrate languages are overtly constrained in this way, makes transfer a likely explanation for these SM constructions.

5.4 Discourse factors in the transfer of adjectives

Attributive adjective constructions in modern SM resemble those in the lexifier language, English, while SM predicate adjective constructions resemble those in the substrate language, FGb. In attributive adjective constructions there is a modifier-head word order; the adjective precedes the noun, and both are preceded by the determiner, as in English. In predicate adjective constructions the word order is head-modifier, and the predicate adjective is an intransitive stative verb, as in FGb. In the scenarios discussed in this chapter there were FGb models that would dominate in a merger of adjective classes during simplification. The FGb nominal adjectives dominated for attributives, while the

FGb verbal adjectives dominated for predicates. This coincides with the discourse functions ascribed to attributive and predicate adjectives in Thompson (1988), namely that attributives share an information introducing function with nouns, while predicates share with verbs the function of predicating known information. These discourse functions may have been a motivation for aligning nominal features with attributives and verbal features with predicates. But they are not an explanation for the alignment of nominal features with the superstrate and verbal features with the substrate.

The creole languages developed by slaves on large plantations were used primarily for communication among the slaves rather than with speakers of the target language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:152; McW. 1996b:168). The process must have begun with slaves learning target language vocabulary, but they apparently did not incorporate target language grammar as readily (T. & K. *ibid.*:151; McW. *ibid.*). Target language lexicon was useful for speakers of different substrate languages, but grammatical features of the typologically similar substrate languages could be retained.

The head-modifier word order is common to the possible SM substrate West African languages, including FGb. The noun-adjective word order in FGb, unlike Portuguese or French, allows no variation (Lf. 1998a:388). It would seem that there would have been a way to maintain the noun-adjective word order, especially considering the corresponding predicative property descriptions retained the FGb verbal characteristic.

A discourse motivation for shifting to the lexifier adjective-noun word order would involve the introducing function of attributive adjectives, in T. (1988). The target lexifier language supplies the names of items. Items being named tend to occur as new information, intuitively a salient condition for learning. Attributive adjectives function in the introduction of items. Named items with attributives are accepted and learned as such because they have an isomorphic correspondence with a real world item. Such an adjective-noun construction based on English, for example, could be used to designate an item among creole speakers irrespective of any communication with speakers of English. Property depictions of known items, on the other hand, would not be depictions of items whose names are being learned. In this case there would be no motivation to shift to the

lexifier model, so that predicate adjectives would retain their substrate characteristics.

This split in property depictions between attributives following the lexifier model and predicates following the substrate model is shared by all the Surinamese and Caribbean English creoles as well as by Haitian, all basilectal creoles with FGb as the primary substrate language. It is the case for the other Caribbean English creoles (Wn. 1993:136), which would not be unexpected if the Atlantic English creoles had a common origin (McW. 2001).

It also appears to be the case in Kriyol, which has a verbal predicate adjective (Kihm 1994:36) but pronominal numerals, demonstratives and possessives (*ibid.*:143). In addition, it may also be the case among the Gulf of Guinea PR lexified creoles, which have a Kwa substrate (Ferraz 1987:337; 1979:12), although São Tomé would at first appear to present a counterexample. São Tomé has a copular predicate adjective construction (Fz. 1979:77), a lexifier characteristic, and while having pronominal numerals (*ibid.*:59) as in PR, other modifiers are postnominal (Fz. 1987:344), a substrate characteristic. The reversal of the adjectival characteristics in São Tomé may be due to a reversal in the roles of the speakers of the lexifier and substrate languages. The policy of the Portuguese was to establish the islands as offshore administrative posts for the mainland, and to populate them. Convicts and children of Jews were among those sent to the islands, and it was decreed that every convict should be given a slave woman who would be freed along with her children and any slave men given to the convicts (Fz. 1979:16). Eventually the free African population became wealthy and culturally influential (*ibid.*:17). As PR continued to be spoken, it may be assumed that the developing creole was spoken in a home setting, and an important and influential group of learners would be the PR speaking fathers. In this case the creole would be the lexifier, and PR would be the 'substrate'. This would explain the PR model for predicate adjectives and the Kwa model for attributives. A similar sociolinguistic situation existed on the Cape Verde islands (Kh. 1994:4), and the Cape Verdean creoles also have copular predicate adjectives (Bartens 2000:53).

5.4.1 Discourse factors in the transfer of the tone sandhi of adjectives

The tone sandhi of adjectives, described in Chapter 2, may be seen from a discourse perspective as conforming to the prototypical discourse function of predicate and attributive adjectives as discussed in Thompson (1988). Recall that tone sandhi involves the raising of unspecified low tones to high tones between two specified high tones in a tonal domain. Predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs, and like all SM verbs they allow sandhi at their left edge, in (46.a). Attributive adjectives, on the other hand, do not allow sandhi at their left edge, in (46.b). Changed tones are underlined, and examples are not phrase final:

- (46) a. dǐ foló donú . . . [dǐ fóló dónú . . .]
 the flower yellow
 the flower is yellow
- b. dǐ donú foló . . . [dǐ dònú fóló . . .]
 the yellow flower
 the yellow flower

Recall that attributive adjectives share an introductory function with nouns and predicate adjectives share a predicating function with verbs, thus the tone sandhi of adjectives not unexpectedly parallels the sandhi of NPs and VPs. Tone sandhi does not occur at the left edge of NPs, in (47.a), but it does occur at the left edge of VPs, in (47.b):

- (47) a. a bebé dǎǎ éside [à bèbé dǎǎ . . .]
 he drink rum yesterday
 he drank rum yesterday

- b. kofi kulé a dóó [kofi kulé . . .]
 Kofi run at door
 Kofi ran outside

The sandhi pattern for SM verbs and NPs has a parallel in FGb, and may be a retained feature in the modern SVO word order from an earlier SOV word order (Wiesemann 1991:75). In a verb final word order it would seem that the right edge of the domain of tone sandhi would be the right edge of the verb. In modern FGb, there is sandhi between the NP and the following verb, but not between the verb and a following NP:

- (48) à wá # tò Fon (Ws. 1991:74)
 you come DISJUNCTIVE BORDER well
 you came to the well

The FGb tone sandhi pattern for NPs and verbs is the likely source of the corresponding SM system. By coincidence of diachrony, the tone sandhi of nouns and verbs in FGb corresponds to a discourse intonation well fitted to its SVO word order. The significance of the SVO word order is that it is iconic of real world event structure, namely that action is initiated by the subject and carried through the verb to the object. Although the SVO word order typifies creole languages, the SVO word order of SM was likely transferred from FGb.

Tone sandhi no doubt originated as slurred pronunciation between items that were expected to be juxtaposed, eventually defined as constituents in a tonal domain. Such constituents might be seen as topical, in that the information that follows an item is not unexpected. This is expressed iconically in tone sandhi in that the alteration of tones with possible ambiguity is tolerated. A subject NP, for example is prototypically known information, and in the SVO word order it is expressed and thereby known to the following verb. In FGb and SM there is tone sandhi between the subject NP and the following verb, as in (47.b). An object NP, on the other hand, is prototypically new

information (Du Bois 1987), and in FGb and SM there is no tone sandhi between a verb and the following object NP, as in (47.a).

The sandhi break between a verb and the following nominal object does not occur for a pronominal object in SM, in (49.a). Coincidentally, as with nouns, the tone sandhi is iconic of discourse. Pronouns are known information, of course, and the sandhi between verb and object pronoun reflects this. The origin of this distinction between nouns and pronouns is likely FGb; there is high tone spread between a verb and the following monosyllabic low tone object, which includes object pronouns (Lf. & Br. 2002:23). There are constructions in FGb where the object noun precedes the verb, to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. These constructions have apparently preserved the preverbal object from an earlier SOV word order. One of these is the progressive construction, in (49.b). In these constructions the pronominal objects follow the verb, in (49.c, d):

- (49) a. dí sitónu tá náki + mí... SM (Rountree 1972:323)
the stone prog. hit SANDHI me
the stone hits me ...
- b. é dọ wěm sà wẹ FGb (Fabb 1992a:30)
he book sell
he is selling books
- c. é dọ sisẹn we wẹ FGb (ibid.)
he adore you
he is adoring you
- d. Kòkú dọ gbìgbà è wẹ FGb (Nd. 1992:68)
Koku is RE-destroy ACC
Koku is in the process of destroying it

If the preverbal noun is preserved from SOV, it is likely that the postverbal pronoun is as well, and that the tonal domain would extend beyond the verb to include it.

Predicate adjectives in both FGb and SM are verbs, so the iconicity of the tone sandhi applies as it does for other verbs, in (46.a). Attributive adjectives, prototypically associated with new information, have a sandhi break at their left edge, in (46.b). This sandhi break in SM does not appear to be a substrate feature (Ham 1999), although it is argued not to be an innovation (*ibid.*). In any case, in SM the break in tone sandhi iconically represents new information.

There are some attributives, however, which may be seen as denoting a degree of expectation. This would imply topicality in the following item, since expectation involves knowledge. These adjectives include *óto*, 'other', *fósu*, 'first', *lásiti*, 'last', and *báka*, 'back, next, last (yet to come)'. These adjectives, as discussed in Chapter 2, effectively create tone sandhi with the following adjective or specified low tone syllable. in a domain which would characterize normal tone sandhi were it to occur. The analysis in Chapter 2 argues that in this tonal domain the default low tone of the unspecified syllables is reversed to surface as high tone. The semantics of these adjectives implies that the following property depiction is identificational, since there is a known item of comparison. This is reflected iconically in the appearance of tone sandhi, namely the high tones in the tonal domain:

- (50) a. *dí báka donú foló* [*dí báká dónú fóló* . . .]
 the last yellow flower
 the last yellow flower
- b. *dí báka bè foló* [*dí báká bè foló* . . .]
 the last red flower
 the last red flower

- c. dí báka foló [dí báká fóló . . .]
 the last flower
 the last flower
- d. dí báka sèmbè [dí báká sèmbè . . .]
 the last person
 the last person

The tonal domain includes syllables with unspecified tones between specified high tones where sandhi is not blocked, as in (50.c). But the reversal of the default surface tone is not restricted to this domain, as in (50.a, b, d). The default reversal has a domain that includes the following word, in other words where tone sandhi would otherwise occur, seen in the high unspecified tone of the following adjective in (50.a).

Viewed from the perspective of tone and tone sandhi in SM interpreted as a grammaticalization of discourse intonation, the surface high tone of unspecified syllables indicates expected or known information. This may occur as tone sandhi, which is a transferred feature, or as the tone raising described in (50). Further research into the tone sandhi of FGb may determine whether the tone raising in (50) is transfer or innovation. There is the possibility that Kikongo had an influence on the tones of SM. Kikongo otherwise appears only to have contributed lexical items and ideophones to SM. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the tones in Kikongo are blocked from normal processes in the context of certain quantifiers, like 'other', apparently for semantic reasons (Odden 1993:192). The issue of access to syntax and semantics for phonological rules is addressed in Odden (*ibid.*), and would be appropriate for the SM as well as the Kikongo data. From the discourse perspective, however, it could appear that semantics is also a motivation for the SM sandhi data in (50). This interpretation could be a factor in the incorporation of semantics into the tone system of SM, whether through transfer from FGb or Kikongo, or by innovation.

The Odden study of Kikongo tones has even more significance for the tone sandhi of

SM NPs and verbs. In Kikongo NPs are affected by tonal effacement, the loss of high tone, when they occur in certain syntactic environments (ibid.:175, 179), so that their tones are altered from the tones in isolation or in other contexts. Importantly, NPs do not undergo effacement when they occur in a focus position, which, as in SM, is in the VP (ibid.:185). This therefore relates to SM in that the object NP in general is a focus item, and object NPs in SM block tone sandhi. The source of this feature is FGb, discussed above, where the pattern may have originated in a word order change from SOV to SVO, the verb maintaining the original right edge of the sandhi domain. Perhaps the Kikongo focus strategy enhanced this feature in SM. But the significance of the Kikongo data is that a discourse consideration such as focus may be expressed in terms of removing the focus item within the VP from tonal processes, as if intonation had been grammaticalized.

The tone sandhi system in SM resembles the tone sandhi system of FGb to an extent that strongly suggests transfer. As FGb does not have grammatical tone, no grammatical tone transferred into SM. Information from the fact that sandhi is blocked at the left edge of nonpronominal NPs is redundant in that SM has strict SVO word order. The only aspect of FGb tone that is found in SM happens also to iconically reflect the prototypical discourse roles of new and known information. Considering that in creole genesis only essential items will transfer, as argued in McWhorter (1998), thereby creating a creole prototype, it would seem that there was a function for that part of a tone system which could distinguish topic from focus. The syntactic positions of focus, full NPs following the verb or attributive adjectives, would not need additional marking through tone sandhi. But there are instances of topicalization, such as the topicalizing attributives in (50), which cannot be determined by syntax. Tone sandhi, either from transfer or innovation, can identify these items. This more specialized function of tone sandhi may be the extra measure of usefulness that allowed the transfer of tone at all. In addition, the transfer of specified low tones would at first seem to be an unnecessary adornment; it in no way distinguishes topic from focus, for example, or anything else. But it is useful, as seen in the various tests it is put to, in determining characteristics of the tone system. This may

in fact be the function of words with specified low tones, to condition the periphery of the tone system to keep it vital. A system without these specified low tones might easily be reinterpreted.

It would seem from this argument that the role of the topicalizing attributives, like *óto*, 'other', *fósu*, 'first', or *lásíti*, 'last', was pivotal in the transfer of tone. In this regard it is interesting that these attributives in French are prenominal, where attributives generally are postnominal. Thus there is a syntactic distinction, which would make a tone distinction redundant. Haitian, of course, does not have tones.

5.4.2 Discourse factors in the reduplication of adjectives

The introduction of new nominal information, which involves the discourse function of attributive adjectives, is where markedness would likely be expressed. The reduplication of adjectives in SM, as argued in Chapter 2, expresses markedness. This is not the way reduplication is used in FGb, of course, so that the markedness use of reduplication in SM must be seen as an innovation rather than as transfer. Yet in SM reduplication itself is ultimately of African origin. Reduplication must have been transferred for reduplicated nouns and adverbs, which occur in the earliest SR and SM sources. As discussed above, the largest class of FGb attributives uses reduplication, although this reduplication is morphological and carries no meaning. It was argued above that the morphological process of attributive reduplication transferred, but that this transfer was motivated by a need to provide an alternative form for the expression of markedness. Since reduplication in itself might be considered marked, it would be logical for speakers or semispeakers of FGb to have turned to the substrate for this model. Thus the SM use of attributive reduplication is partly transfer and partly innovation.

A comparison of early SM texts to modern SM indicates a difference in the use of attributive reduplication. Attributive reduplication in the early SM texts is extremely rare, while in comparable modern SM texts it is more common. An example of this

difference may be seen in the comparison of two missionary biblical translations from the Book of Acts, one from 1805 and the other contemporary. Such a comparison has the advantage of register similarity, in that the church registers used by both non-Saramaccan missionary authors would be similarly removed from the conversational language. It also has the advantage of being from the same original text, although most certainly one was in German and the other in English.

5.4.2.1 The 1805 Wietz translation

A criticism of the reliability of early missionary translations might be that the missionary authors would not notice or would be disinclined to use features which differed from those of European languages, or that these authors would tend to level unfamiliar distinctions. This does not appear to be the case, however, for several features in the 1805 Wietz translation. The reliability of these features would tend to make the rarity of another, namely reduplicated attributives, more credible. There could be no doubt that Brother Wietz was familiar with SM, in that by 1805 he had been a missionary to the Saramaccans for more than twenty years (Price 1990). He was therefore familiar with serial verb constructions, which are included in the text. He may not have had insight into some of the semantic distinctions that were nevertheless recorded. Thus his acquired knowledge of the SM language does not appear to have prevented the use of these particular non-European features.

The 1805 Wietz translation is of Chapter 1 through 13:33 of the Book of Acts (Schuchardt 1914:1-35). This text includes a good number of eventive descriptions. There is, then, considerable use of serial verb constructions. There are intransitive change of location serials, such as *a hoppo subi go na Liba*, 'he rose, ascended, went to heaven' (1:2). Also, the serial construction for finishing, *Teh A takki dide kaba*, 'when he finished talking' (1:9). There are paratactic constructions which are not used in modern SM, such as *wan Ahu va Liba teki Hem, pulu Hen na dem Ojo*, 'a fog from heaven took

him, pulled him from their eyes' (1:9). There is another word order variation from modern SM in *dem sa pulu trueh hem na mindri vo Piple*, 'they shall pull, throw him from middle of people' (3:23). And there are shared object serial constructions like those in modern SM, *dissi tjari ju Manu go beri*, 'this one carried your husband, went (and) buried (him)' (5:9). There are, however, significantly fewer shared object serials in Wietz than in the contemporary Glock translation of the same chapters. This will be discussed in Chapter 7.

A very common serial verb construction in Wietz and in modern SM involves the verbs *takki*, 'talk' and *da*, 'give', *A takki da dem*, 'he talked gave them', namely 'he talked to them' (1:7). Unlike in modern SM, however, there is a contrast in Wietz with the verb *takki*, 'talk', and the preposition *na*, 'to', as in *Dem takki na dem*, 'they talked to them' (1:11). The *takki da* construction in early SM was likely a serial verb construction, as in modern SM, although this may not have been recognized by Wietz. There is a pattern of distribution between *takki da* and *takki na* in Wietz. For *takki da*, as the semantics of the V2 *da* suggest, the addressed party is in some way receptive to the message. In (1:4), *A, takki da dem - dem no mussu komotto na Jerusalem, ma dem mussu lukku di pramissi va Tatta*, 'he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father' (Revised Standard Edition). In (1:7), *A takki da dem, a no fiti unu va sabi di tem*, 'He said to them, "it is not for you to know times"' (R.S.E.). In each of these cases, the message is directed to believers and is not particularly unexpected or controversial. In contrast, the message in (1:11) is unexpected, *Dem takki na dem; Unu Omi va Galilea, ondi unu tan lukku so na Liba*, 'Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven?' (R.S.E.). In this case Jesus has just risen into a cloud, and two men in white appeared and presented this question. The addressed party in no way participated in the event referred to in the message, and had no choice in being receptive to it. As the semantics of *na*, 'to', suggest, this message was directed at rather than given to the addressed party. The contrast between *takki da* and *takki na* is seen in a single sentence, where Saul is blinded by a light and directed to act, with *na*, in (51.a), but told he will receive instructions, with *da*, in (51.b). The relation of Saul to the voice giving directions in

(51.a) is confrontational. The same directions are given non-confrontationally to a disciple with *da*, in (51.c):

- (51) a. Massra takki na hem, hoppo tan nappéh, go na dindru di Fotto;
Master talk to him rise stand on-foot go to inside the town
(And he) said (to him), rise and enter the city (Acts 9:6, R.S.E.)
(instructions to Saul, having just been blinded; confrontational)
- b. alla dem sa takki da ju, ondi ju sa du
there they shall talk give you what you shall do
and you will be told what you are to do (Acts 9:6)
(instructions from believers; non-confrontational)
- c. Massra takki da hem, hoppo nappéh go na di Paasi
Master talk give him rise on-foot go to the street
And the Lord said to him. "Rise and go to the street" (Acts 9:11)
(instructions to a disciple; non-confrontational)

The consistent distribution of *takki da* and *takki na* implies that knowingly or not Wietz accurately recorded this feature of early SM. The distinction has since been lost, as only *táki dá* occurs in modern SM. The loss of *takki na* could be seen as another example of SM becoming more substratal after the 18th century, in that the serial verb construction has replaced the target prepositional construction.

Another distinction in Wietz is between attributive *bigi* and *grang*, a distinction which is also almost entirely lost in modern SM with the replacement of *bígi* by *gãã*. In Wietz, *bigi* is used for ordinary or unmarked depictions while *grang* is used for subjective depictions that may be considered marked. Thus *bigi tranga*, 'great power' (4:33), or *bigi fredde*, 'great fear' (5:5), but *grang marka*, '(big sign) visions' (2:17) or *grang sondi*, '(big thing) prophesy' (2:17). It is *grang* that is used to depict subjective

qualities of greatness in people, as in *grang Tatta David*, 'patriarch David' (2:29). The distribution of *bigi* and *grang* in Wietz conforms to the historical development argued in 3.1 above. The consistency of this distinction in Wietz adds to the credibility of the translation.

There is also a distinction in Wietz between *nanga*, 'with' and *ko*, 'with', meaning both commitative and instrumental. The use of *nanga* is for marked depictions, while *ko* has an unmarked usage. When Peter and John saw a lame man, the unmarked *ko* is used, *Petrus ko Johannes* (3:4). Peter cures the man, who then walks with them into the temple, *a go nanga dem na Kerki*, 'he entered the temple with them' (3:8). This second depiction is marked in that the lame man was able to walk at all. The distinction between *nanga* and *ko* has since been lost, as modern SM has only *ku*, 'with'. Again, the consistency of the distribution of these items suggests that Wietz was accurate in recording the language.

Another consistent distinction in Wietz is between *leti*, 'right' and *reti*, 'right', meaning both 'correct' and 'right (side)'. The form *leti* is used for ordinary items, where *reti* is used when referring to deities. Thus David says *A de na mi leti sei*, 'he is at my right hand' (2:25). Later, God says *go sinda na mi reti Sei*, 'Sit at my right hand' (2:34). When Peter cured the lame man, he reached down to hold his right hand, *A panja hem na hem reti mau*, 'he took him by the right hand' (3:7). Peter's hand was no ordinary hand at this point, since he had declared the cure was *na nem va Jesu Christo*, 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (3:6), and so the hand of the lame man could also be seen as a marked item in this context. Of course *leti* has replaced *reti* in modern SM, not so much as a particular move away from the target form but as part of the replacement of all word initial /r/ with //.

The consistency in the Wietz text regarding these distinctions would enhance its overall credibility. Looking at attributive adjectives, there is a noticeable difference between the Wietz text and the modern Glock translation. Items considered in the count of attributive adjectives have been discussed in Chapter 2, and are basically only those items which also may occur as predicate adjectives, namely as intransitive stative verbs. Attributives that are part of names are also not counted, such as *grang domine*, 'high

priest' (4:6). The criteria for early SM attributives may be somewhat artificial, since the basis for determining attributives in early SM is modern SM. The result of the count is so noticeable, however, that a few errors would not change the basic picture. There are 169 simplex, or not reduplicated attributive adjectives, and one reduplicated attributive. The reduplicated form, (52.a), contrasts with a simplex form, (52.b), if one may hazard a guess at markedness:

- (52) a. a vermane dem va dem tan na Massra, nanga trutru hatti
 he exhort them for they stand at Master with true-true heart
 he exhorted them all to remain faithful to the Lord with steadfast purpose (Acts 11:23)
- b. a no sabi va a de wan tru sonđi va di Engel
 he not know for it is one true thing of the angel
 he did not know that what was done by the angel was real (Acts 12:9)

In (52.a) the 'steadfast purpose' was being helped by divine hand in the face of persecution. Notice the marked *nanga*, 'with', with the reduplicated attributive *trutru*. In the Glock translation this phrase is *ku wan hati*, 'with one heart' (11:23). In (52.b), the angel is helping Peter escape from jail, and has broken the chains. Peter does not see that this action has produced a real result; it is not a vision. The result may have been seen as unmarked in that 'real' is worldly, and in any case shows that *tru* may occur unreduplicated. Of course it is impossible to know what pragmatic emphasis was put on any particular item, and how the emphasis was interpreted by the SM speaker. In the Glock translation of this verse, for example, it is *tuutuu soni*, 'true-true thing' (12:9).

As for the predicative *dé* + RE construction, there are no occurrences of this predicate reduplicated adjective construction in the Wietz text.

Reduplication is a substrate feature, it could be said that a European missionary might not care to accommodate such a feature in attributives. But the Wietz text has a good deal of reduplication, as there are reduplicated nouns like *jamjam*, 'food', and most

adverbs are reduplicated. And, as pointed out above, there are a considerable number of serial verb constructions, which are a substrate feature. It would seem reasonable to assume that the Wietz text is an accurate reflection of the SM spoken in 1805 regarding these several features, including reduplicated attributives.

5.4.2.2 The Glock translation

The Glock translation of Acts 1 - 13:33 contrasts with the 1805 Wietz translation in a number of ways, as discussed above. It would be expected that a bible translation would also differ from the conversational and narrative registers as well. One difference between the Glock bible translation and the Aboikoni & Glock narrative text discussed in Chapter 2 is a greater use of the *dé* + RE construction in the biblical text. This could be seen as an upward register shift, an attempt to make a depiction less personal and thereby more official by removing agency.

The count of attributive adjectives in the Glock translation of Acts uses the criteria established in Chapter 2 for determining attributive status. Basically, an attributive adjective must also be able to occur as an intransitive stative verb, and may not be part of a name, such as *Hei Begima*, 'high priest' (4:6).

In the Glock translation, there are 140 simplex attributives, and 31 reduplicated attributives. Reduplicated attributive adjectives, then, comprise 18.2% of the total of 171 attributives. This is a contrast with the reduplicated attributive percentage in Wietz, which is 0.6% of the total of 170 attributives.

There are 9 occurrences of the *dé* + RE adjectival construction in the Glock translation, compared to the Wietz text which has none. From this it would appear that an increase in reduplicated predicate adjectives was parallel to the increase in reduplicated attributives.

There have been a number of features in early SM that appear to have changed in modern SM. These features may have been borrowings from SR, or they may be

retentions from an earlier shared history. In either case they appear to have been integrated into early SM. Some of the changes are the result of levelling where the unmarked item predominated, as with *nanga* and *ko*. Others resulted from the marked item predominating, as with *grang* and *bigi*. In both of these examples, though, it is the PR item that predominated. But in all of the cases discussed above, the change involved a move away from English, or perhaps more accurately, away from Sranan. It may be that there was a great deal of animosity towards speakers of SR at the time of the early SM texts. This time was shortly after the 1762 treaty that granted Saramaccans their freedom and their land. During the war for independence the Dutch were able to discover and destroy villages only with the help of freed speakers of SR (Price 1990: Ch. 1). There is animosity against speakers of SR in modern times, described in Price (1995). This animosity, coupled with an identity from the newly won independence, might be considered a motivation for favoring forms that were noticeably different from SR.

There is a parallel to such a development in modern times. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:220) describe two surveys done in Belize, one in 1970 before independence, and the other after independence in 1978. The pre-independence survey found a great variety of language and ethnic identities, but the post-independence survey found considerably fewer. In 1978 there was a tendency for Belizians of all ethnicities to identify as citizens of Belize, and to identify Belizian Creole as the national language. The change in identity came about in only 8 years, and the catalyst was obviously the political fact of independence. It is easy to imagine that independence for the Saramaccans in 1762 could have an even greater impact on a collective identity.

5.5 Conclusion

The transfer of adjectives from FGb into SM was a necessary part of creole genesis, as the capability for depicting properties exists in all languages. Although adjectives in FGb and SM do not form a single grammatical category they do fulfill a functional need,

which is a criterion for transfer (McW. 1996b:167).

There are two classes of adjectives in FGb, one class has nominal characteristics and the other larger class has verbal characteristics. Not unexpectedly this class distinction did not transfer into SM, as there is only a single type of adjective in SM. In the transfer of adjectives, however, the FGb classes merged so that characteristics of the FGb nominal adjectives typify SM attributive adjectives while characteristics of the FGb verbal adjectives typify SM predicate adjectives. SM attributive adjectives in their basic form are not reduplicated, like the FGb nominal attributives but unlike the FGb verbal attributives that are reduplicated. In addition SM attributive adjectives have a nominal feature that does not exist in FGb, they block tone sandhi at their left edge like SM and FGb nonpronominal NPs. SM predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs, like the FGb verbal predicate adjectives but unlike the FGb nominal predicate adjectives that require the locative copula. SM predicate adjectives allow tone sandhi at their left edge, like FGb predicate verbal adjectives, and SM and FGb verbs in general.

The merger during simplification of the two classes of FGb adjectives so that SM attributive adjectives have the nominal characteristics while SM predicate adjectives have the verbal characteristics is also a feature in the transfer of FGb adjectives into the other Surinamese creoles, the other Caribbean English creoles, and into Haitian. For these creole languages, then, the adjectives align with their discourse function in that attributive adjectives share the introducing function with nouns while predicate adjectives share the predicating function with verbs. From this alignment it would appear that the discourse function of distinguishing new from known information is a function that is necessary enough to be transferred. By McW. (2001) features of language which are necessary, and are therefore transfer features in creole genesis, in fact include a focus marking strategy and a topic marking strategy (*ibid.*:2). In the case of FGb adjectives, it would appear that the various facets of simplification were in a conspiracy, perhaps not unexpectedly (McW. 1996b:167), to align the transferred adjectives with this functional need.

Another characteristic of the transferred adjectives into the Surinamese creoles, the other Caribbean English creoles and Haitian is that the attributive adjectives follow the

model of the lexifier language, while the predicate adjectives follow the model of the substrate language. It would appear to be the case in the Atlantic PR creoles as well, considering the special sociolinguistic situation on the Guinean islands. Attributive adjectives have the lexifier word order with the referent, and the lexifier distributional variation. Predicate adjectives follow the substrate verbal adjectives in being intransitive stative verbs. In addition, they are like substrate verbs in general in being part of the aktionsart distinction between stative and dynamic verbs. They follow the substrate verb system as well in being multifunctional, in that they may also function as dynamic transitive verbs. This would seem to fall out from the discourse functions associated with attributive and predicate adjectives. The lexifier language would be the source of new information, namely the lexical representations. The substrate language, on the other hand, would provide a familiar context for predication of known information.

The feature of attributive reduplication in SM also resembles the FGb attributives. It might appear to be a transferred feature, in that reduplication is a feature of FGb and all other possible substrate source languages, and is not a feature of any of the lexifier languages. Yet reduplication in SM attributives is different than the reduplication of FGb attributives. FGb attributive reduplication is morphological; it carries no meaning. In SM, on the other hand, attributive reduplication in non-derived adjectives denotes markedness. Attributive reduplication in FGb, then, is an obligatory characteristic of the verbal stative attributive adjectives and of anticausative and derived attributive adjectives. But in SM reduplication indicates markedness for stative attributives and resultativeness for derived attributives.

Since markedness reduplication of attributives is not a FGb feature, this use of reduplication must be an innovation in SM, a change that is independent of transfer. But there must have been access to substrate features in order to have a model, in particular it would seem there would need to be a model not just of reduplication but of reduplicated stative adjectives. This would mean a model such as the attributives of the FGb verbal stative adjectives and the *dò* + RE adjectival passive of the FGb causative/stative predicate adjectives. As reduplicated attributives, the FGb verbal stative adjectives,

before the merger with the nominal adjectives, provide a non-resultative contrast to the inherently resultative derived attributives. For this contrast to be of use, the substrate languages must still have been spoken at the time of this independent change; a time after the simplification and transfer of the unmarked adjectives. Such an assumption is made in McW. (1996b:167) regarding the independent development of the copula in SM.

The designation of markedness is not one of the essential features transferred into creoles, listed in McW. (2001:2), and is not a characteristic of the creole prototype, in McW. (1998). By the model presented here it developed after the simplification and transfer of unmarked constructions. Because of the time lapse in the development of the markedness function of reduplication it is not surprising that in SM it does not correspond to FGb. It is also not surprising that such an independent change would take some time to develop stylistically, as it appears not to have been used as commonly in the 18th century texts as it is in the contemporary language. The increased use of reduplication appears to correspond to phonological and other changes in the language which give the contemporary language a much more 'African' quality. These changes may have been inspired by an increased 'maroon' identity following the independence gained from the successful slave rebellion. These changes were probably also inspired by the constant arrival of escaped slaves, of whom many no doubt still spoke African languages.

The changes in the language after the 18th century of course occurred long after the completion of creole genesis, after the time the language had become the primary means of communication. But they show that changes in features can be dissimilatory; that a language can become less like a language it is in contact with. If this can happen diachronically, there is no reason to assume it could not happen during creole genesis as well.

Chapter 6

Transfer of Fongbe Passive

6.1 Introduction

Passive constructions function as backgrounding strategies. Passives, then, would not be typical of constructions found in the early stages of creole development, the stage associated with basic communication related to work or trade (Foley 1988). The passive in SM is similar to SM predicate adjectives in that both constructions are backgrounding, and the syntax of both constructions is subject-verb. The SM passive may be seen as the dynamic equivalent of the stative predicate adjective, involving dynamic object-affecting verbs and depicting resultative states rather than states. Even though the passive in SM is the type of construction to enter a developing creole at a later stage, it did undergo changes from the FGb passive, changes characteristic of the mutual linguistic accommodation associated with pidgin or early stages of creole development (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:174). The resulting form of the passive in SM is identical to the SM predicate adjective, which also changed in transfer. But the change in FGb predicate adjectives, as discussed in Chapter 5, was not a change in the verbal adjective, but rather the loss of the class of nominal predicate adjectives that resembles the superstrate predicate. The SM predicate adjective, then, resembles the substrate; a transferred construction resembling the substrate is characteristic of the later expansion stage of creole development, as argued in Chapter 1. In Chapter 5 it was argued that predicate adjectives are backgrounding, a function characteristic of an expansion stage. It will be argued in this chapter that passives are analogous to predicate adjectives in their backgrounding function, and that for this reason the conventionalized form of the passive

is essentially the dynamic counterpart to the stative predicate adjective. Analogy with the SM predicate adjective, then, accounts for the transferred form of the SM passive.

The analogy between passives and predicate adjectives in SM is part of a broader analogy between adjectives and derived adjectives. The verbs of passives in SM and in FGb are the verbs that may occur as derived adjectives, namely verbs constrained to depict a visible or perceptible change in the referent. This analogy allowed the reduplication of FGb derived adjectives to be generalized to occur as well in non-derived adjectives in SM, where it denotes markedness. Semantic extensions of the substrate feature of reduplication in adjectives to include the expression of pragmatic markedness would appear to characterize an expanded communication system, where the subjectivity of markedness would rely on familiar substrate strategies. There is a predicate adjectival construction in SM that is an exact relexification, the *dé* + RE construction discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, which involves reduplication and depicts markedness. This construction with adjectives, which are stative, also occurs with dynamic verbs that may occur as passives, where it depicts resultative states. Adjectives derived from dynamic verbs imply a process, a complex depiction very likely to be expressed in a separate clause in a pidgin or the early creole stage. As adjectives, they imply a process without agency, which would be a marked use for non-stative verbs, and they denote a resultative state, which would be marked for non-stative event-depicting verbs. The *dé* + RE construction in effect functions as an expression of markedness for passives, although without the implied agency of passives. The *dé* + RE construction with both adjectives and derived adjectives, then, would enter at a later stage, and would resemble the substrate.

The passive in Fongbe is a periphrastic construction with a reduplicated verb, while the passive in Saramaccan is simply the patient NP followed by the verb. The transfer process into SM, it will be argued, involved the loss of the FGb copula and the loss of reduplication during simplification. The semantic constraints on the FGb passive closely resemble the semantic constraints on the SM passive, and are also the constraints on FGb and SM derived attributive adjectives and on the verbs in FGb and SM shared object

serial verb constructions. The modification of the FGb passive in transfer gave the SM passive its syntactic resemblance to predicate adjectives as well as to the patient-verb phrase of the shared object serial.

6.1.1 Passive constructions in Fongbe and in Saramaccan

Fongbe is considered to be the primary substrate language for Saramaccan, as discussed in Chapter 1 (Migge 1998). The syntactic and semantic resemblances between the SM passive, derived adjective, and shared object serial constructions, discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, may be seen in these constructions in FGb as well. A motivation for these resemblances is an identifiable common phrase in several constructions in FGb, the patient-verb constituency, which will be discussed in Chapter 7, where it will be argued that the motivation exists in FGb but not in SM, thereby indicating transfer. In this chapter it will be argued that the syntactic and semantic features of the passive in SM are transferred from FGb.

Fongbe does not have a true morphological passive construction (Ameka 1994 for Ewe; Lefebvre 1994; Brousseau 1993; Lf. & Br. 2002:273), but rather has a periphrastic construction using reduplication and the copula *nyí*. This construction in the language functions like the passive in SM, namely to suppress the agent and topicalize the affected patient with a resultative reading. This construction shares with the SM passive the constraint of the transitivity parameter Affectedness (Hopper & Thompson 1980), in that the subject must be interpreted as affected and the effect must be visible at the time of reference; the syntactic subject of the FGb passive construction and the SM passive construction must have a patientive role. The FGb passive and SM passive constructions also employ an animacy hierarchy that constrains the role of the subject argument. Where the agent is not expressed, as in SM and in two of the FGb constructions, the implied or understood agent must have a higher animacy than the patient.

It might be assumed that the animacy hierarchy and affected patient constraint

transferred into SM, since these features, although not uncommon, are not an essential component of passives cross-linguistically (Keenan 1985). These features exist in Caribbean English creoles as well, (Winford 1993:122; Rahman 2002), but of course do not exist in the superstrate languages. The syntax of the SM passive can be seen to be the result of simplification, in particular a very common simplification in creole genesis involving the loss of the copula (McW. 1996a, 1996b for SM). The loss of copula and resulting loss of verbal reduplication rendered the FGb verbal passive (6.2.2 below) and anticausative (6.2.1 below) syntactically identical. In SM, for those verbs that allow both verbal passive and anticausative, there is ambiguity, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The SM passive allows reference to an agent, like the FGb verbal passive, while the SM adjectival *dé* construction does not and the FGb adjectival passive (6.2.3 below) does not (Br. 1993:100).

Brousseau (1993:34) describes four constructions in Fongbe that function as passives. These are the anticausative (*inchoatif* is her term), verbal passive, adjectival passive and *moyenne*. Ameka (1991) describes a passive-like construction in Ewe using the verb 'to know', which parallels a construction in FGb (6.4.2 below). Each of these constructions will be discussed in view of their transfer into SM.

6.2 Fongbe passive-like constructions

The unmarked forms of the FGb passive-like constructions are shown below. They are not marked for tense. They are also not marked for aspect, with the exception of the *moyenne*, which requires the habitual marker:

- (1) a. àvò ó wólón *anticausative* (Br. 1993:96)
 trousers DET crumple
 the trousers crumpled

- b. àvò ó nyí wìwólón *verbal passive* (Br. 1993:95)
trousers DET are crumpled
the trousers were crumpled
- c. àvò ó dọ̀ wìwólón *adjectival passive* (Br. 1993:96)
trousers DET are at crumpled
the trousers are crumpled
- d. àvò ó nẹ̀ wólón gànjí *moyenne* (Br. 1993:96)
trousers DET HAB crumple well
the trousers crumple easily
- e. kokló nyó ọ̀ *modal passive-like construction* (Fabb 1992a:31)
chicken know eat
chicken is easy to eat

The anticausative, (1a), and the verbal passive, (1b), translate in the past tense, indicating an eventive action with a bounded conclusion. The adjectival passive, (1.c), and *moyenne*, (1.d), translate in the present tense, indicating stativity with an unbounded conclusion. The modal construction, (1.e), also translates in the present, is parallel in meaning to the *moyenne*.

Recall from Chapter 3 that the unmarked SM passive and anticausative also translate in the past, (2.a), while the unmarked SM adjectival *dé* + RE construction translates in the present, (2.b):

- (2) a. déé nótọ̀ boóko kàà *SM passive*
the (pl) nut break already
the nuts broke / have been broken (open) already

- b. déé nótò dé boóko-boóko kàà SM *adjectival dé'+ RE*
 the (pl) nut COP RE-break already
 the nuts are broken (open) already

Recall from Chapter 3 also that the passive in SM is easier to elicit with *kàà*, 'already', emphasizing a resultative interpretation.

6.2.1 Fongbe anticausatives

The FGb unmarked anticausative is formed with a patient argument in subject position and an unreduplicated transitive verb. The anticausative verb must depict a change in the patient argument (Hale & Keyser 1987; Br. 1993:40). In FGb it is translated in the past tense (Br. 1993:36), which is characteristic of dynamic verbs in the language (*ibid.*:47), in (3a). This is also characteristic in SM, in (3b):

- (3) a. bóâ ó yó FGb (Br.1993:35)
 butter DET melt
 the butter melted
- b. dí éísi jó SM
 DET ice melt
 the ice melted

Verbs like *see* do not depict a change of state or location in the object argument, and do not occur in this FGb construction, (4a), or in SM, (4b):

- (4) a. *àsíbá / hwè kpǒ / mǒ kòkú Abomey FGb (Lf. 1991:63)
 Asiba / house look / see by Koku
 (Asiba / house is looked at / seen by Koku)
- b. *dí wósu lúku / sí SM
 the house look / see
 (the house was looked at / seen)

The verb *nǎ*, 'loan' in FGb occurs in this construction, (5.a), but *yĩ*, 'receive,' does not, (5.b), parallel to the SM verbs 'lost' which can occur in the passive, (5.c), and 'found' which does not, (5.d):

- (5) a. àkwé Nǎ nú Kòkú Abomey FGb (Lf. 1991:65)
 money loan to Koku
 money was loaned to Koku
- b. * àkwé yĩ Kòkú Abomey FGb (Lf. 1991:64)
 money receive by Koku
 (money was received by Koku)
- c. dí móni lási SM
 the money lost
 the money was lost
- d. * dí móni féni SM
 the money found
 (the money was found)

The FGb verbs *nyà*, 'loan' (and *sà*, 'sell') do not occur in double object constructions (Lf.

1994:117), which would block the passive (ibid.:75). Recall in Chapter 3 that SM ditransitives also not occur as passives. In (5.a, c) the money exists and is affected by change of location away. In (5.b, d) the money does not exist until after the action of the verb. Perhaps the money may be affected by being removed, but ‘nothing’ cannot be affected to produce money.

The FGb verbs *bló*, ‘make’, (6.a), and *gbà*, ‘break’, (6.b), present a similar pattern:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--------------------|
| (6) | a. | *àlògàn ó bló
ring DET make
(the ring was made) | FGb (Nd. 1993:111) |
| | b. | kófù ó gbà
window DET break
the window broke | FGb (Nd. 1993:111) |
| | c. | *móni mbéi
money make
(money was made) | SM |
| | d. | dí fénse boóko
the window break
the window broke | SM |

Ndayiragije (1993:112) considers (6.a) ungrammatical because the subject NP is a goal and does not undergo a change. A similar argument could be made for SM in (6.c). The subject NP in (6.b) does undergo change, and so is acceptable as an anticausative, as in SM in (6.d). As in (5), an existing item may be affected, but producing or presenting an item that does not exist before is not an effect. Similarly in SM, factitive verbs like *mbéi*, ‘make’, or *sikífi*, ‘write’, are difficult to elicit as passives.

- (8) a. *dí bóto síngi ku sábi SM *anticausative*
the boat sink with know
(the boat sank on purpose)
- b. dí bóto síngi ku sábi SM *passive*
the boat sink with know
the boat was sunk on purpose
- c. *dí bóto dé síngisíngi ku sábi SM *dé adjectival*
the boat is sink-sink with know
(the boat is sunk on purpose)

Although the inherent property of the participant is involved in the action of the anticausative verb, the verb is not necessarily interpreted as stative. Stative verbs in FGb do not occur with the progressive marker. Brousseau (1993:35) shows that the anticausative may occur with the progressive marker (9.a), whereas the adjectival passive may not (9.b). The verbal passive (9.c) may also occur with the progressive marker:

- (9) a. bóta ɔ̀ d̀ò ỳyɔ̀ wè FGb *anticausative*
butter DET PROG melt FOC
the butter is in the process of melting
- b. *tèví ɔ̀ d̀ò síso d̀ò wè FGb *adjectival passive*
yam DET PROG pound is-at FOC
(the yam is being pounded)

- c. tàkí ó dọ̀ kpìkpà nyì wé FGb *verbal passive*
 pepper DET PROG peel is FOC
 the pepper is being peeled

There is similar data for SM in (10)

- (10) a. dí éísi tá jọ́ SM *anticausative*
 the ice CONT melt
 the ice is melting
- b. *dí alísi tá dé fǔ-fǔ SM *dé'adjectival*
 the rice CONT COP RE-pound
 (the rice is being pounded)
- c. dí alísi tá fǔ SM *passive*
 the rice CONT pound
 the rice is being pounded

The occurrence of the progressive marker in the SM anticausative and passive shows that these constructions are not stative. This is also indicated by their past tense translation when unmarked. Thus as in FGb, the SM unmarked anticausative is interpreted as the result of an affecting event, with a bounded conclusion, even though the event occurs through an inherent or intrinsic property of the affected argument rather than through an agent.

6.2.2 Fongbe verbal passives

The unmarked verbal passive is formed with the patient argument followed by the copula

- (13) kòkú nyí dótó ó FGb (Nd. 1992:71)
 Koku COP doctor DET
 i. * Koku is the doctor
 ii. Koku is this type of doctor

When the post-copula NP is possessed, the generic interpretation becomes an existential interpretation (Nd. 1992:72). Presumably this is because possession makes the post-copula NP too specific. The specificity of possession may be diluted by a perfect reading, signifying a type of possession that may still exist rather than possession that definitely does exist:

- (14) a. kòkú nyí xóntón cè FGb (Nd. 1992:72)
 Koku COP friend POSS
 i. * Koku is my friend
 ii. Koku has been my friend
- b. * kòkú nyí nòvì cè FGb (Nd. 1992:72)
 Koku COP brother POSS
 * Koku is my brother

In (14.a), 'friend' allows a temporary interpretation, whereas in (14.b), 'brother' does not. A 'brother' relationship is unbounded in duration.

The reduplicated form of the verb following *nyí* in the unmarked verbal passive, as in (1.b), induces the same perfect reading as the possessed NP following *nyí* in (14.a). The implication is that the reduplicated passive form of the verb refers to a specific action, not an ongoing condition. In particular, the specific action, like the friendship in (14.a), may be bounded in duration. The verbal passive is therefore dynamic rather than stative.

As with the anticausative construction, the subject argument of the verbal passive must be a patient, it must be visibly affected by the verbal action. The FGb verbal

Recall from Chapter 3 that the SM passive is sensitive to animacy as well, which is expressed in terms of the animacy of the patient, in (16.a, b), and agent, in (16.c, d) for the passive reading of an anticausative verb:

- (16) a. *dí wómi náki SM *passive*
 the man hit
 (the man was hit)
- b. dí dágu náki SM *passive*
 the dog hit
 the dog was hit
- c. dí gǒǒ tjúmá SM *passive*
 the ground burn
 the garden site has been burned (for planting)
- d. (?)dí gǒǒ tjúmá
 the ground burn
 the garden site was burned (by lightning)

Affectedness in FGb is a function of the patient NP as well for *bló*, 'make'. As a full verb with an affected patient NP, it occurs in the verbal passive, (17.a), but as a light verb it does not, (17.b). Contrast (17.a), which implies an agent, with an anticausative construction such as (6.a), copied as (17.c), which does not:

- (17) a. távò lé nyí bǐbló FGb (Nd. 1993:114)
 table PL COP made
 tables were made

- b. * mɛ̀j̀òmɛ́ (ɔ́) nyí bíbló FGb (Nd. 1993:115)
 mischief DET COP made
 (mischief was made)
- c. * àlògàn ɔ́ bló FGb (Nd. 1993:111)
 ring DET make
 (the ring was made)

Since *bló* in (17.b) is a light verb (Nd. 1993:115) its effect on the patient argument may be described as 'minimal'. FGb light constructions occur only with an active verb with a [+definite] singular NP argument. In other words, the minimally transitive light verb construction may occur only with highly transitive features. But the minimal effect of light constructions does not depict a visible change in the patient argument, and so does not allow a passive by the affected argument constraint.

Notice that (17.a) is acceptable, whereas (6.a), copied above as (17.c), is not. The crucial difference in acceptability between (17.a) and (17.c) is the feature [+/-intrinsic]. Anticausatives, as in (17.c), are [+intrinsic], whereas verbal passives as in (17.a) are [-intrinsic]. In other words, the effect depicted in an anticausative construction is attributed to an inherent property of the central participant and not to an agent (Br. 1993:59) and (7.a, c) above. The effect depicted in the verbal passive is attributed to an external agent. It appears then that in FGb an agent is capable of creating an item, as in (17.a), but an item cannot create itself, as in (17.c). Factitive verbs, like *bló*, 'make', are difficult to elicit as passives in SM, and do not occur as passives in the Kwa language Ewe, by Litvinov & Agbodjo (1988:236). The factitive passive in the FGb variety in (17.a) may be licensed by cultural expectations. The examples in (6) and (17) show that in these varieties of FGb verbs that may occur as passives do so only in the periphrastic construction with the copula *nyí*.

It is the FGb anticausative construction more than the verbal passive that resembles the SM passive syntactically. The Abomey variety of FGb examined by Lefebvre (1991)

appears to have a passive construction that also resembles the SM passive, except for its present tense reading:

- (18) *àsǒ d'ó távò jí* Abomey FGb (Lf. 1991:57)
 crab be placed table on
 the crab is placed on the table

The early stages of creole genesis involve the evaluation of all input from all otherwise equally represented substrate varieties. The Abomey passive, as in (18), could have influenced the final form of the SM passive. In any case it could have reinforced the simplified passive of the variety examined by Brousseau. This simplification, it will be argued, involved the loss of the copula and of reduplication, so that it resembled the Abomey form. The Abomey example in (18) apparently depicts a visible change, as verbs of change of location otherwise do not occur as passives in the FGb variety examined by Brousseau (1993:100). The present tense reading in (18) suggests an adjectival interpretation. It could not have influenced SM, as no such derived adjectival construction without a copula exists in SM. To speculate, the construction in (18) may be unique to the verb *d'ó*, 'put', as a locative, resembling the verbal use of *d'ó*, 'be at' (Lf. & Br. 2002:320). A passive interpretation is stative, therefore unbounded, and so resembles the locative copula.

6.2.3 Fongbe adjectival passives

The unmarked adjectival passive is formed with the patient argument followed by the locative copula *d'ó*, 'be at', and the reduplicated form of the affecting verb. It is translated in the present, characteristic of stative verbs in FGb, (19.a). The corresponding SM *d'é* + RE adjectival construction also translates in the present, (19.b):

- (19) a. lămpù ́ d̀ ćć FGb (Br. 1993:34)
lamp DET COP extinguished
the lamp is extinguished
- b. dí f́ja dé ḱti-ḱti SM
the fire is cut-cut
the light is extinguished

The FGb adjectival passive depicts the resulting state of an eventive action without a bounded conclusion, (9.b) above, and without reference to an agent, (7.b) above. Brousseau indicates that the action and resulting state do not occur with reference to an external agent argument. In (7.b) the adverbial phrase 'while dancing' is in reference to a proposed agent in the adjectival passive. Recall in (9.b) the adjectival passive does not occur with the continuative marker, indicating that this construction is stative.

Brousseau, following Levin & Rappaport (1986), shows the crucial property in the formation of the adjectival passive is the externalization of the internal argument (Br. 1993:115), whose objective case has been absorbed. In her analysis it is generated in subject position, and not moved, as is the subject NP in her analysis of the verbal passive. The adjectival passive therefore is simply an adjective construction (Br. 1993:116). The derived attributive adjective form, (20.b), in fact, is identical to the verb form in the adjectival passive, (20.a). Recall the identical distribution in SM, (20.c, d):

- (20) a. bóù ́ d̀ tíón FGb (Br. 1993:116)
balloon DET COP RE-burst
the balloon is burst
- b. bóù tíón àtòn FGb (Br. 1993:116)
balloon RE-burst three
three burst balloons

- c. dí kúja dé mǔjǎmǔjǎ SM
the calabash is RE-moisten
the calabash is moistened
- d. dií mǔjǎmǔjǎ kúja SM
three RE-moisten calabash
three moistened calabashes

The adjectival passive and the derived attributive adjectives may be formed with any verb that functions to depict a change of state (Br. 1993:118), as in SM. Adjectival passives may also be formed from certain verbal adjectives, but not from intransitive stative verbs in general, as these verbs do not occur reduplicated (ibid.:119). Verbs in the class of intransitive stative verbs termed *causative/stative* in Br. (ibid.:46) do occur reduplicated and in the adjectival passive (ibid.:47). These include items such as *wé*, ‘white’, *wì*, ‘black’, and *fà*, ‘cold’, which in SM would be basically stative. The causative/stative verbs contrast with the class of intransitive stative verb termed *stative* (ibid.:48), whose verbs do not occur reduplicated or in the adjectival passive. These include items such as *hùnmýò*, ‘hot’, and *kpén*, ‘thick’, which in SM might also have a transitive or anticausative interpretation. The distinction between these classes does not appear to be based on semantics or morphology. Not surprisingly, then, the distinction between causative/stative and stative verbs has been lost in transfer, as all predicate adjectives in SM may occur reduplicated.

In both FGb and SM predicate adjectives function as intransitive stative verbs. The causative/stative verbs may occur in the adjectival passive. Like adjectival passives formed from affecting verbs, these causative/stative verbal adjectives, as in (21.a), denote an unbounded resultative state, compared to predicate adjectives which simply denote an unbounded state, as in (21.b). The corresponding SM examples are in (21.c, d), with (21.c.i, ii) showing that the loss of the distinction between causative/stative and stative is

accompanied by a loss of distinction between a stative and a resultative interpretation, and (21.d.i – iii) showing a loss of distinction between stative, passive and anticausative:

- (21) a. wó ó d̀ò b̀ìb̀ò FGb (Br. 1993:116)
 dough DET COP RE-soft
 the dough is softened
- b. wó ó b̀ò FGb (Br. 1993:116)
 dough DET soft
 the dough is soft
- c. dí tokú dé m̀óim̀óì SM
 the dough is RE-soft
 i. the dough is soft
 ii. the dough is softened
- d. dí tokú móì SM
 the dough soft
 i. the dough is soft
 ii. the dough has been softened
 iii. the dough softened

Recall from Chapter 2 that the copula *d̀ò* must occur with the FGb class of nominal adjectives as predicates (22.a), in Ndayiragije (1992:70). These are adjectives that also do not occur reduplicated as attributives (22.b). This does not occur in SM, as unreduplicated attributive adjectives, (22.c), are verbal as predicates, in (22.d). There is one exception in SM, the adjective *b̀únu*, 'good', in (22.e), which resembles the FGb nominal adjectives:

- (22) a. xwé éì d̀ d̀gbè / l̀bwé / kpèví FGb (Nd.1992:70)
house DET COP beautiful / round / small
the house is beautiful / round / small
- b. k̀kú bló távò d̀gbè / l̀bwé / kpèví FGb (Nd.1992:70)
Koku make table beautiful / round / small
Koku made a beautiful / round / small table
- c. dí wáiti wósu SM
the beautiful house
the beautiful house
- d. dí wósu (*d̀) wáiti SM
the house is beautiful
the house is beautiful
- e. dí wómi dé (d̀) búnu SM
the man there is good
the man there is good

Verbal adjectives do not occur with the copula *d̀* (23.a), and must be reduplicated as attributives (23.b, c), as in (20.c, d) for SM:

- (23) a. àwù t̀n (*d̀) myá / wí / blí FGb (Nd. 1992:69)
pants his COP red / white / stain
his pants are red / white / stained

b. * kòkú kló àwù myă / wí / blí lé FGb (Nd. 1992:70)
 Koku wash pants red / white / stain PL
 (Koku washed red / white / stained pants)

c. kòkú kló àwú myămyă / wíwí / blíblí lé FGb (Nd. 1992:70)
 Koku wash pants red / white / stain PL
 Koku washed red / white / stained pants

The copula *dò* does not occur with an unreduplicated verbal predicate, as in (23.a). It occurs with reduplicated verbs in the adjectival passive, of course, and as a progressive marker, in (24.a). This progressive construction did not transfer into SM, in (24.b), presumably because a transitive progressive clause has an object-verb word order, in (25), and no OV clauses transferred into the strictly SVO language:

(24) a. kòkú dò wíwlán wè FGb (Lf. 1990:57)
 Koku PROG RE-writing PROC
 Koku is writing

b. * kofí dé sikífisikífi SM
 Kofi is RE-write
 (Kofi is writing)

The FGb progressive itself did not transfer, but the copula may have. As discussed in Chapter 5, the FGb *dò*, the early Kwa **dé* (Migge 1998:307), or the Xwela *dé* (ibid.:301), may have been influential in the development of the early SR and SM progressive marker *de*, which also means ‘to be’ and ‘there’. The early SR *de* existed in SM as well, but was replaced with *tá* (McW. 1996b:104). The phonetic similarity, especially between SR *de* and Xwela *dé*, could be seen as conflation (Kihm 1989) of the Xwela *dé* and the SR *de*, ‘there’. Such conflation would facilitate the reinterpretation of *de*, ‘there’, as *de*, ‘to be’

(McW. 1996b). McW. (ibid.:105) argues that the deictic adverb was reinterpreted as a copula, replacing a null copula.

In Chapter 5 it is argued that the SM deictic *dé*, the SM adjectival passive (*dé* + RE), and even the progressive are constructions expressing markedness. In early SM these three constructions involved the locative copula *dé*. A reinterpretation of a marked construction with the deictic *dé* would leave an unmarked construction, which would seem a somewhat unlikely development in that the deictic *dé* is still used commonly for emphasis in modern SM; in other words early SM would have needed two deictic *dé* uses, one marked and the other unmarked, where the unmarked variation would undergo reinterpretation.

The progressive construction may be seen as marked in that the aktionsart of dynamic verbs is past tense and stative verbs do not occur in the progressive. But a progressive construction is an essential part of any grammar, and would therefore be present in an early developmental stage; as such its form would represent a mutual linguistic accommodation. This is in fact what exists, as the OV word order for transitives and reduplication for intransitives has been lost, while the substrate copula remains.

The adjectival passive is a marked construction in both FGb and SM; in FGb it derives a stative depiction from dynamic verbs, and presents causative/stative adjectives as derived; in SM it applies to derived adjectives and non-derived adjectives as well, and is used to depict pragmatic markedness. This is the type of construction that would be associated with a later expanded stage of creole development, and so would be expected to show little accommodation with the superstrate.

In unmarked constructions, the effect of substrate simplification left the early creole without a copula. In marked constructions substrate features with less simplification are used, such as reduplication. Speakers would be aware of the use of the locative copula in FGb adjectival passives and progressives, and would be aware of the semantic and phonetic similarity with the creole deictic adverb. Speakers would draw on a less simplified substrate to use either the transferred substrate item or an early replacement item based on conflation. In either case the less simplified feature, the FGb locative

copula, can be seen to have contributed to the development of the SM copula in the progressive and *dé*+ RE constructions.

The OV word order of FGb transitive progressive clauses, referred to as patient-verb, *PV*, in Chapter 7, no doubt contributed to the blocking of the transfer of this construction into SM, a characteristically strict SVO language. The FGb copula *dò* is followed by nominal arguments when used as a progressive marker for transitive verbs, as in (25.a), and as a locative, as in (25.b):

- (25) a. kòkú d̀ò nù wlán wè FGb (Lf. 1990:57)
 Koku PROG thing writing PROC
 Koku is (at) writing (something)
- b. kòkú wá b̀ò é d̀ò hwégbé FGb (Lf. 1990:58)
 Koku come and he LOC home
 Koku came and is at home

It could be argued that the FGb copula *d̀ò* only precedes non-verbal items, following Fabb (1992a) in analyzing the reduplication of verbs in the progressive and other PV constructions as nominal arguments, basically that RE is nominal while the verb is verbal. Manfredi (1997:102) also argues that the verb in Kwa PV constructions is verbal rather than part of a nominalization. The SM *dé* similarly only precedes non-verbal predicates, but as mentioned above, occurred in early SM as a progressive marker. The transfer and reinterpretation of the FGb copula as a progressive marker in the SM TMA system could occur if the verb is verbal rather than a nominalization. The FGb *d̀ò* in the progressive, as well as the V1s in the other PV constructions, such as *bě*, ‘start’, and *gb̀ò*, ‘stop’, are analyzed as verbs rather than auxiliaries (ibid.). Whether verbs or auxiliaries, the syntactic identity of these items makes the transfer of *d̀ò* in the progressive more likely than in copular constructions. The FGb PV word order in (25.a) does not occur for progressive aspect in SM; the SVO word order of SM is the likely reason that this

construction itself did not transfer. And the reduplication of the FGb progressive has been lost; by Fabb (1992a) in RE-V, the RE is nominal while the V is verbal, so the RE is lost just like the O in OV. It will be argued in Chapter 7, however, that the PV word order in (25.a) was influential in the transfer into SM of the shared object serial verb construction.

6.2.4 Fongbe *dò* and *nyí*

Lefebvre (1990:58) discusses the semantic unity of the progressive and locative meanings of *dò*, which, along with the copula, share the meaning 'at'. This basic meaning of *dò* contrasts with the basic meaning of the copula *nyí*, which is argued to be 'not at'. This contrast can be highlighted in the comparison of the progressive construction with *dò* and a progressive construction with *nyí*. The *dò* progressive allows an object NP, in (26.a), the *nyí* does not, in (26.b):

- (26) a. kòkú dò xwé ó gbà wè FGb (Nd. 1992:68)
 Koku PROG house DET destroying PROC
 Koku is (at) destroying the house
- b. àvùn ó nyí gbìgbó (*àjòtó ó) FGb (Br. 1993:110)
 dog DET is barking (thief DET)
 the dog is barking (*at the thief)

The delimiting argument in (26.b) must be too specific for the *nyí* construction, as shown in (14.a, b) above. In (26.b), the dog may be barking, but not at anything in particular. Brousseau (1993:110) attributes this constraint in the case of the *nyí* construction to the reduplication of the verb, which she determines absorbs the case of 'thief'. Without case, object NPs are not licensed and therefore do not occur in the *nyí* construction. She

considers the reduplication with *nyí* to be verbal, and therefore different from the reduplication with *dò*, which is like nominal reduplication and is therefore not subject to verbal reduplication rules (Br. 1993:124).

Fabb (1992a) observes that both *dò* and *nyí* are followed by reduplicated verbs. When *dò* is separated from the verb, by a nominal object for example as in (26.a), the verb is not reduplicated. The Fabb analysis determines that the verb must be preceded by a nominal item. If there is no nominal item the verb is reduplicated, with the implication that the reduplicated prefix is nominal. Thus in (26.a) the nominal object licenses the verb, so it does not need to be reduplicated. A pronominal object in the *dò* progressive construction, however, follows the verb, as in (27):

- (27) kòkú dò gbìgbà è wè FGb (Nd. 1992:68)
 Koku PROG RE-destroy ACC PROC
 Koku is in the process of destroying it (the house)

In (27), case has not been absorbed, even though the verb is reduplicated. The Fabb analysis differs from Brousseau in claiming that it is the nominal argument before the verb that blocks reduplication in both the *dò* and *nyí* constructions. This cannot be falsified, however, since no nominal items precede *nyí*. It appears therefore that the difference between (26.b) and (27) in terms of licensing an object is due to the semantic difference between *dò* and *nyí*. The difference is that the copula *dò* has characteristics of a preposition (Lf. 1993:58), while the copula *nyí* has characteristics of an auxiliary verb. The copula *dò* denotes being 'at' a physical location, or being 'at' an activity which may be argument affecting. The copula *nyí* denotes a 'type of' nominal NP, or a 'type of' activity which involves only a topical argument. Thus *nyí* would not have an object.

Specific NPs are not mentioned as predicates in the non-specific type of activity denoted in the *nyí* construction. No core argument follows the verb form following *nyí*. Thus *nyí* resembles a valence-reducing auxiliary, like 'be' in the English passive. The *nyí* construction fits an absolutive (as opposed to ergative) pattern, its subject is the single

argument of an intransitive or of an underlying transitive verb. The single argument of the *nyí* construction has a non-affecting semantic role. This contrasts with the arguments of the *dò* progressive construction, which appear to have no such constraint.

The semantics of *nyí* indicate that it is more like a copula than *dò*. The subject of a copula would certainly be non-affecting. The semantics of *dò* indicate that it is more of an inflectional morpheme that doubles as a copula when necessary. This is seen particularly in the use of *dò* as the progressive marker.

Syntactic properties of *nyí* and *dò* indicate a categorical difference that parallels the semantic difference. When *dò* has the copula function, it may be marked for tense, as in (28.a, b), but otherwise it may not, in (28.c):

- (28) a. kòkú (ná) d̀ò távò jí FGb (Lf. 1993:57)
 Koku FUT table on
 Koku (will be) is on the table
- b. kòkú (ná) d̀ò wíwlan wè FGb (Lf. 1993:57)
 Koku FUT writing PROC
 Koku (will be) is writing
- c. kòkú (ná) wlan nú (*ná) d̀ò távò jí FGb (Lf. 1993:57)
 Koku FUT write thing FUT table on
 Koku (will be) wrote something at the table

There is no such restriction on tense for *nyí*, as would be expected since it has no prepositional function. The restriction on tense in (28.c) removes *dò* somewhat from prototypical verbhood, in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1984). Thus *nyí* is more prototypically verbal than *dò*.

Another syntactic difference involves clefting. When the complement of a verb is fronted, it leaves no lexical trace, as in (29.a). There is similarly no trace for the fronted

complement of *nyí*, in (29.b). For the fronted complements of *ǝ̀*, however, there is a trace, in (29.c, d, e):

- (29) a. távò jí wè kòkú sò àsón ǝ̀ FGb (Lf. 1993:49)
 table on FO Koku take crab put
 it is on the table that Koku put the crab
- b. òtò ǝ̀ kòkú wè é ná nyí FGb (Nd. 1992:81)
 doctor DET Koku FO EXPL FUT
 the doctor in question, it will be Koku
- c. távò jí wè kòkú wlán nú ǝ̀ è FGb (Lf. 1993:59)
 table on FO Koku write thing it
 it is at the table that Koku wrote
- d. távò jí wè kòkú ǝ̀ è FGb (Lf. 1993:59)
 table on FO Koku it
 it is on the table that Koku is
- e. wíwlán wè kòkú ǝ̀ è FGb (Lf. 1993:59)
 writing FO Koku it
 it is writing that Koku is at

There is a trace for the fronted complement of the preposition function of *ǝ̀*, in (29.c), shown in (28.c) to be the function that blocks tense. The trace would be expected in this function, since other preposition-like *verbids* (Lf. 1993:49) also require a resumptive pronoun lexical trace for a fronted complement. But the trace is also required for fronted complements of *ǝ̀* in the locative copula function (29.d) and the progressive function (29.e), the functions of *ǝ̀* that are more categorically verbal in allowing tense.

The semantic and syntactic properties of *qò* and *nyí* indicate that in the function they share, namely the copula, they are categorically different. The copula *nyí* is more prototypically verbal than *qò*. This is reflected, of course, in the use of *nyí* in the verbal passive and the use of *qò* in the adjectival passive. The difference between the two copulas is also seen in the difference between the verbal cognate of *qò*, the verb *qó*, 'put' (Br. 1990:61; Lf. & Br. 2002:320), and the homophonous *qó*, 'arrive', and the possible verbal cognate of *nyí*, the verb *nyí*, 'throw (away)'. Both verbs have a different tone than the corresponding copulas. The semantics of the cognate verbs are parallel, *qò*, 'be at' and *qó*, 'put (at)' or 'arrive (at)', with *nyí*, 'be not at', and *nyí*, 'throw (away)'. These cognate verbs are the verbs that may occur grammaticalized as V3 in FGb serials, having locational prepositional meanings (daC. 1994:51). As such they show a reduction in verbhood, perhaps an indication of a derivational relationship with the copulas.

The corresponding verbs in SM are *butá*, 'put', and *túwε*, 'throw < throw away', and possibly *púu*, 'push', occurring commonly as V2 in directional serials. They parallel the verbs *qó* and *nyí*, of course, but also the copulas *qò* and *nyí* in that *butá* has a more locative depiction like *qò*, emphasizing where the object is after the action, while the more eventive *púu* depicts motion of the object relative to where it is before the action, *púu a táfa*, 'push off the table', and *túwε* depicts motion of the object relative to where it is not before the action, *túwε a táfa*, 'throw onto the table' (also observed by McW. p.c.). It would seem that *púu* occupies a semantic middle ground between *butá* and *túwε*; *butá* denotes action 'at' the agent, *túwε* denotes action 'not at' the agent, and *púu* could be either. Just as the FGb verbs *qó* and *nyí* are grammaticalized in directional serials (daC. *ibid.*), the SM verbs may occur in directional serials and elsewhere with less than their prototypical meaning; *butá* may occur as an intransitive metaphorically, as in *butá a míndi*, 'get going'. In addition, *púu* and *túwε* as intransitives may also be used metaphorically, as in *a púu kaí*, 'he died', or *a fá túwε*, 'he spoke out', unlike their more specific counterparts *pusá*, 'push', *vínde*, 'throw' or *híti*, 'throw', and they often occur as V2 in serials denoting telicity of a manipulated change of location without actually meaning 'put' or 'throw'. These characteristics show a reduction in verbhood, and are

perhaps transferred.

The non-specific nature of the *nyí* predicate would explain the lack of an expressed agent. An agent would be too specific, as is the predicate in (14.b), copied below as (30.a). Although agentless passives are common cross-linguistically (Siewierska 1984; Keenan 1985), the agentless passive in FGb, in (30.b), may be the likely origin of this characteristic in the SM passive, in (30.c):

- (30) a. *kòkú nyí nòvì cè FGb (Nd. 1992:72)
Koku COP brother POSS
* Koku is my brother
- b. * nyìbù ó nyí hùhù gbòn Sejlo jí FGb (Br. 1993:99)
cow the COP kill by means of Sejlo on
(the cow was killed by Sejlo)
- c. *dí káu kǐ ku / a / dá kofí SM
the cow kill with / at / give Kofi
(the cow was killed by Kofi)

Corresponding to the difference in semantics of *qò* and *nyí* are differences in the semantics of the reduplicated verbs that follow them.

Brousseau (1993:106) analyzes the reduplicated adjective in FGb as [+V,+N], with the reduplication considered a prefix as [+N], and the original as [+V,-N]. The reduplicated verbal passive (ibid.:108), on the other hand, is analyzed as [+V,-N], but with the reduplicated prefix as [+N] and the original as [+V,-N] as well. By the Brousseau analysis, a more nominal item, [+V,+N], follows *qò* in the adjectival passive, while a more verbal item, [+V,-N], follows *nyí* in the verbal passive:

- (31) a. adjectives [+V,+N] (Br. 1993:106)
 / \
 RE [+N] [+V,-N]
- b. verbal passive [+V,-N] (Br. 1993:108)
 / \
 RE [+N] [+V,-N]

Fabb (1992a:30) also determines that non-lexical reduplication is a prefix and is nominal. In this analysis, reduplicated verbal items, presumably [+V,-N], need to have the reduplicated [+N] prefix to license the original verbal item. If the verbal item is preceded by a noun, then it does not need to be reduplicated because it is preceded by a [+N] item. Hence the blocking of reduplication in constructions with PV word order (ibid.). It may be implied from this that adjectival reduplication, [+V,+N], is not blocked because it already is [+N], so that licensing is self contained.

It appears that the differences in the FGb copular reduplication constructions transferred into SM. The *nyí* verbal passive is the source of the SM passive, seen in (32.a) below, and the *dò* adjectival passive is the source of the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction, seen in (32.c).

6.3 Transfer of the Fongbe passive constructions into Saramaccan

The unmarked SM passive, as described in Chapter 3, consists of the patient argument followed by the unreduplicated verb, which translates in the perfect or past tense, as in (32.a). For anticausative verbs, such as *boóko*, 'break', (32.b), this same morphosyntax describes an anticausative interpretation as well, which also translates in the perfect or past tense. Another construction has been claimed also to be passive by Bakker (1991). This adjectival passive construction involves the copula *dé* followed by the reduplicated verb, and unmarked translates in the present tense, (32.c):

- (32) a. dí gaási boóko SM *passive*
the glass break
the glass was broken
- b. dí gaási boóko SM *anticausative*
the glass break
the glass broke
- c. dí gaási dé bookoboóko SM *dé adjectival construction*
the glass COP RE-break
the glass is broken

These constructions resemble FGb passive-like constructions. One close resemblance is the anticausative construction. Semantically and structurally the anticausative construction could have transferred directly from FGb into SM, in (33.b), but only, of course, for anticausative verbs. Similarly, the FGb adjectival passive matches the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction semantically and structurally, in (33.c). Semantically, but not structurally, the FGb verbal passive matches the SM passive, in (33.a):

- (33) a. dí gaási boóko SM *passive*
zèn ó nyí gbìgbà FGb *verbal passive*
the glass the COP (RE-)break
the glass was broken
- b. dí gaási boóko SM *anticausative*
zèn ó gbà FGb *anticausative*
the glass the break
the glass broke

- c. dí gaási dé boókoboóko SM *dé* *adjectival constuction*
 the glass the COP RE-break
 the glass is broken

It appears that the mismatches in morphosyntax may be accounted for by the application of FGb morphosyntactic rules during the simplification process.

6.3.1 Loss of copula in transfer

The loss of the copula during simplification is a possibility in substrate transfer (Ferguson 1971). The loss of the FGb copula during transfer to SM has been documented by its absences in early SR (Arends 1987) and applied to SM (McW. 1996b). Although many languages do not have a copula, it has been argued that SM has developed two copulas, with semantics close to but not exactly like the two substrate copulas (McW. 1996b).

The FGb verbal and adjectival passives use these two copulas. In 6.2.3 above the semantic and syntactic differences between these two copulas have been discussed. The copula *nyí* is the more prototypically verbal of the two, the copula *qò* being more prepositional. The earliest written records of SM indicate that there was no copula at the earliest stage of development, suggesting the FGb copula was lost, as well as the copula of the other less influential substrate languages. Prepositions, however, have existed in SM since this early period (McW. 1992:54).

For the transfer model it will be will argued that the more verbal copula *nyí* was lost in transfer, while the loss of the more prepositional *qò* is more obscure. Perhaps it was even retained in a prepositional function, and especially in the progressive construction with the meaning ‘be at’, influencing the independently developed phonologically and semantically similar SM copula *dé*, somewhat on the model of Migge (1998:311). The model here will assume that the substrate semantics of a construction will endure longer than the morphosyntax during transfer, since the semantics of the substrate would be

more familiar than that of the superstrate. It assumes as well that morphosyntactic rules associated with the semantics of constructions that are being transferred will also endure into the reformulation process. This assumption is based on the observation by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) and Foley (1988:166) that simplification in transfer is simplification of the substrate language, since that is the language the speakers control. This model will assume that in creole genesis, the speaker needs to adopt a less familiar and simplified morphosyntax to a familiar semantics. But it is likely the speaker would retain substrate rules as long as possible.

The copula *nyí*, the more verbal of the two copulas, is used in the verbal passive. This is not unexpected, since the verbal passive is the more eventive of the two copular passive-like constructions. It will be assumed that the eventive semantics will endure during the reformulation of this construction during transfer.

The proposed first step in the transfer of the FGb verbal passive is the loss of the copula *nyí*:

- (34) zèn ó nyí gbǐgbà *loss of copula*
 glass the COP RE-break
 the glass was broken

The result is an affected argument followed by a reduplicated verb. Brousseau (1993:101) considers reduplication to be the morpheme of the passive. Fabb (1992a:31) finds that reduplication is induced in certain non-passive constructions (progressive, ingressive, etc.), but this reduplication is blocked if the verb is preceded by the future particle *ná* or by a noun phrase. Brousseau finds that reduplication is blocked, or 'truncated', by the negative marker *mà* as well, (Br. 1993:125), and conjectures that it is reasonable to assume that the habitual marker *nò* in the moyenne construction is also truncating. Observe that these three verbal particles function to reduce the overall transitivity of the clause. Similarly, the very constructions that place a noun before its affecting verb, the progressive, ingressive, and the other PV constructions, are reduced in

transitivity. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Both Brousseau and Fabb, however, consider the absence of reduplication in these constructions to be a function of morphosyntax which itself in no way alters the meaning. In creole genesis, a speaker forced into dropping the copula *nyí*, by some mechanism of simplification, would be faced with a reduplicated verb following a noun phrase. As with the PV constructions, the NP in the simplified passive has an UNDERGOER macrorole, compared with the subject NP of the progressive, which has an ACTOR macrorole. The subject NP of the FGb progressive preceding a reduplicated verb in simplification would not indicate reduced transitivity, and of course would not be PV; the copula *dò* of the progressive may not have been lost in simplification. For the FGb verbal passive, the morphosyntactic rules of FGb would require this reduplication be blocked, by being adjacent to a preceding patient NP, with no change in meaning. The resulting simplified passive construction would have parallels in other constructions with low transitivity and blocked reduplication:

- (35) zèn ó ø gbì-gbà *reduplication blocked*
 glass the COP RE-break
 the glass was broken

The loss of the copula may be considered part of simplification, in itself a process in transfer (Ferguson 1971; Meisel 1977; T. & K. 1988). The blocking or truncation of reduplication dovetails with simplification as well, which in any case would only augment the motivation of the existing morphosyntactic rule against reduplication. At this point in transfer, then, relexification can produce the SM construction in (33.a); (36):

- (36) a. dí gaási booko SM *passive*
 b. zèn ó ø gbì-gbà FGb *simplified verbal passive*
 the glass the COP RE-break
 the glass was broken

For an anticausative verb like 'break', the FGb simplified passive ends up identical to the FGb anticausative construction, as the SM passive is identical to the anticausative, (33.b) copied as (37):

- (37) a. dí gaási booko SM *anticausative*
 b. zèn ó gbá FGb *anticausative*
 the glass the break
 the glass broke

The complete morphosyntactic overlap of the verbal passive/passive with the anticausative construction in both FGb and SM is accompanied by a degree of semantic overlap as well. Unmarked, the verbal passive and anticausative are translated in the perfect or past tense in both languages. The FGb verbal passive and SM passive, and the anticausative in both languages, then, are formed with dynamic verbs. These verbs also, in both languages, are subject to the Affectedness semantic constraint. They maintain semantic distinctions, of course, in that the FGb verbal passive and SM passive are [-intrinsic] while the anticausative construction is [+intrinsic] in both languages. There is a passive-like construction in both FGb and SM which gives a stative reading, translated in the present tense, namely the FGb adjectival passive and the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction, (33.c) copied as (38):

- (38) a. dí gaási dé booko-booko SM *dé adjectival construction*
 b. zèn ó dọ gbìgbà FGb *adjectival passive*
 the glass the COP RE-break
 the glass is broken

The FGb adjectival passive is formed with dynamic affecting verbs. As in SM, these may include anticausative verbs functioning as transitives. Reduplication of these verbs

as transitives in SM, as discussed in Chapter 2, and in FGb (Lf. 1993) gives a resultative reading. The reduplication of verbs in (38) has a resultative meaning, not an emphatic or a continuative meaning. The FGb adjectival passive construction is [-intrinsic], like the verbal passive, so that the resulting state is the result of an external action, but unlike the verbal passive, no agent is implied. The translation of the construction is in the present tense, however, indicating an unbounded conclusion. As mentioned above, this present tense reading is due to the copula *dò*.

The model of transfer for the FGb verbal passive requires loss of the copula, with a subsequent blocking of reduplication. The model of transfer for the FGb adjectival passive must account for the retention of reduplication and the presence of the copula in SM. The key to the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction is in the FGb copula *dò*, and the nominal nature of the reduplicated form following it (31.a). As shown in (29.c, d, e), *dò* does not have all the characteristics of verbs, and shares characteristics with prepositions. In this way *dò* is different than *nyí*, which is more prototypically verbal. As mentioned above, transfer into SM may have involved the loss of the copula but not necessarily the loss of prepositions. And a preposition would most likely govern a nominal item. In any case, the nominal nature of the reduplicated FGb form allows its transfer into SM:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|---|
| (39) | a. | <i>zèn</i> | <i>ó</i> | <i>dò</i> | <i>gbìgbà</i> | FGb <i>adjectival passive</i> |
| | b. | <i>zèn</i> | <i>ó</i> | <i>dè</i> | <i>gbìgbà</i> | FGb (<i>simplified</i>) <i>adjectival passive</i> |
| | c. | <i>zén</i> | <i>ó</i> | | <i>gbìgbà</i> | FGb <i>simplified adjectival passive</i> |
| | d. | <i>dí</i> | <i>gaási</i> | | <i>boókoboóko</i> | early SM (<i>dé</i>) <i>adjectival</i> |
| | e. | <i>dí</i> | <i>gaási</i> | <i>dé</i> | <i>boókoboóko</i> | SM <i>dé adjectival</i> |
| | | the glass | the COP | break-break | | |
| | | the glass | is | broken | | |

One possible reason for the retention of reduplication, is that a prototypical complement of *dò* is in a locative object (case) relationship rather than a purely copular relationship. As a locative object, the complement of *dò* must be closer to prototypical nounhood than

prototypical verbhood (H. & T. 1984). The reduplicated or PV complement of *qò* in the progressive construction, on the other hand, involves a nominal O or RE with a verb. Neither the preverbal object nor reduplication transferred into the SM progressive.

Brousseau (1993:115), as mentioned regarding (26) above, categorizes the reduplicated verbal complement as an adjective, whereas the verbal complement of *nyí* is considered a passive verb, as diagrammed in (31). Thus by her analysis the adjectival complement of *qò* is categorically different than the verbal complement of *nyí*, just as the two copulas are different. As a parallel, there is a difference between nominal reduplication, which cannot be blocked, and verbal reduplication, which can (Br. 1993:124). If there is a categorical difference between these two passive-like complements, it is reflected, as mentioned, in the past/present translations of the two constructions. The dynamic verbal passive with a passive verb complement is more eventive, and has a bounded conclusion, while the stative adjectival passive with an adjectival complement has an unbounded conclusion. If this model of transfer is correct, the stative/dynamic distinction in the FGb passive-like constructions was important enough to be maintained in the morphosyntax while other morphosyntactic distinctions were lost through simplification.

The Brousseau analysis of the adjectival complement of *qò* provides a motivation for its retention of reduplication through simplification.

If at the point of relexification neither passive-like construction had a copula, the stative/dynamic distinction would be reflected in reduplication alone:

- (40) a *zén* *ó* *gbà* FGb *simplified verbal passive*
 glass the break
 the glass was broken
- b. *zén* *ó* *gbìgbà* FGb *simplified adjectival passive*
 glass the break-break
 the glass is broken

It might be assumed that these constructions did not have a copula at the point of relexification, since there is evidence that points to the lack of a copula in early SM (McW. 1996b). What is significant here is the semantic continuity through the transfer. The reduplicated form in the adjectival passive remained 'nonverbal' enough in early SM to require the copula in the modern language.

It is interesting, however, that the copula used in the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction developed from *dé*, 'there' (McW. 1996b). The locative semantics of SM *dé*, 'there' approximates the locative semantics of FGb *qò*, 'be at'. These two items also approximate each other phonologically, especially considering the Xwela *de*, and the early Kwa **de*. Had there been a direct transfer of *qò/de*, there would be a good case for conflation (Kihm 1989). The similarity, in fact, would support an argument that there was a direct transfer.

In Chapter 5 it is argued that the copula *qò/de* of the progressive construction did transfer into early SR and SM as the TMA marker *de*, later relexified as *tá* in SM. The copula *qò/de* also transferred with the FGb adjectival passive into the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction. But this transfer must have occurred over time, perhaps after a lapse in use, because it has additional semantics; the FGb construction is resultative, where in SM it may also be stative. In FGb the adjectival passive has no alternatives, and so itself carries no contrastive meaning. In SM the *dé* + RE adjectival construction is an alternative to the predicate adjectives, and functions to denote markedness. These additional features in the SM *dé* + RE adjectival construction must have taken time to develop, as they are innovations.

It is also argued in Chapter 5 that other non-locative use of the SM copula *dé* is also an innovation, the reinterpretation of the deictic adverb *dé* as the copula *dé*. The FGb *qò* does not occur in copular non-locative uses. The analogy with the deictic *dé*, 'there', caused the spread of the lax vowel to replace the tense vowel of the transferred *de* or *qe* in the *dé* + RE adjectival construction.

The diachrony of *dé* relates to that of the SM passive. The FGb copula *nyí* was lost in

simplification from the verbal passive and elsewhere. Most of its copular functions were assumed by SM *dé*. Some of the rest were assumed by SM copula *dá*, also an innovative reinterpretation (McW. 1996b:93). This rearrangement of functions suggests a lapse or loss of the use of *nyí*, as it is the functions of *nyí* that are diminished. The loss of *nyí* in the verbal passive, by FGb morphosyntax, resulted in the loss of RE, with the remaining item being a verb. The copula was not replaced since there is a verbal predicate.

6.4 Fongbe moyenne

The SM middle construction, like the anticausative construction, is predictable from SM syntax. The SM middle is derived from the application of the TMA markers *tá*, PROG, CONT, and *sá*, 'can' < *sábi*, 'know':

- (41) a. *alísi tá paandí akí noómo* SM
 rice CONT plant here normal
 rice is planted here for sure
- b. *pěějã sá njã* SM
 piranha can eat
 piranha can be eaten

There are two *moyenne*, or middle, constructions in FGb, corresponding to the SM middles in (41). One, described in Brousseau (1993:122), uses the habitual marker *nɔ̄*, and is accompanied by an adverb of manner, as in (42.a). Otherwise unmarked, it is interpreted as a generic present tense. The other construction involves a grammaticalized form of the verb *nyɔ́*, 'know', as the first verb in a serial verb construction (Fabb 1992:30, Ameke 1994 for a similar construction in Ewe), as in (42.b). Unmarked, this construction also translates as a generic present, the verb *nyɔ́*, 'know' implies the adverb of manner

'easy' or 'well':

- (42) a. làn é̃lò nò jà gànjí FGb *habitual moyenne*(Br.1993:122)
 meat this HAB cut easy
 this meat cuts easily
- b. kokloo nyó sìsà FGb *serial verb moyenne* (Fb.1992a:31)
 chicken know RE-sell
 chicken is easy to sell

6.4.1 Fongbe habitual moyenne

The habitual moyenne construction is formed with the habitual marker *nò*, as in (42.a). It translates in the present tense and does not occur with the progressive marker *dò*. It is therefore considered to be stative (Br. 1993:38). The effect on the patient argument has an unbounded conclusion. Verbs that occur in the habitual moyenne have the same semantic constraints as the verbs in the verbal passive (Br. 1993:124). The verbs must depict an effect on the patient, (43.a). Like the verbal passive as well, the verb may not have a compliment, as in (43.b.):

- (43) a. *é nò yí gànjí FGb (Br. 1993:124)
 he HAB go easy
- b. é nò gbó xwèxwè (*àjòtó ó) FGb (Br. 1993:124)
 it (dog) HAB bark seldom (thief the)
 it seldom barks (*at the thief)

The habitual moyenne shares another feature with the verbal passive, in that both

constructions refer to an implied agent (Br. 1993:123). These two constructions are thus different from the anticausative and adjectival passive constructions, which have no implied agent. The implied agent is referred to in the adverb of manner:

(44) a. nàkí ń tò gánjǐ kpó hànjíjí kpó FGb (Br.1993:123)
 wood the stack easy with sing with
 the wood is easily stacked while singing

b. * hón ń nò sú gánjǐ kpó zìzèn kpó FGb (Br.1993:123)
 door the HAB shut easy with creak with
 (the door is easily shut while creaking)

The adverb of manner in (44.a) refers to an implicit agent who could stack wood. The adverb in (44.b) refers to the door, not to an agent shutting the door. Only the reference to an external agent is acceptable.

Brousseau (1993:125) considers the FGb habitual *moyenne* to be derived from the verbal passive. The verbal passive with the habitual marker is interpreted iteratively, (45.a), whereas the habitual *moyenne* derived from the verbal passive has a generic reading, presumed to be like (45.b). In contrast, the progressive gives a non-iterative continual reading, in (45.c):

(45) a. tàkí ń nò nyì kpìkpà kpóḍó jìví éló kpó FGb (Br. 1993:37)
 pepper the HAB COP RE-peel with knife this with
 the pepper is habitually peeled with this knife

b. tàkí ń nò kpà kpóḍó jìví éló kpó FGb (Br. 1993:35)
 pepper the HAB peel with knife this with
 the pepper is peeled with this knife

- c. *tàkí ó ɔ̀ kpìkpà nyí wè* FGb (Br. 1993:35)
 pepper the PROG RE-peel COP FOC
 the pepper is being peeled

These distinctions are not found in the SM continuative passive:

- (46) a. *kasába tá paandí ku sikópu* SM
 cassava CONT plant with shovel
 i. cassava is planted with a shovel
 ii. cassava is being planted with a shovel
- b. *wéti ajó paandí-paandí a bakase dé* SM
 white onion RE-plant in backside there
 i. garlic has been planted (habitually) in the forest garden
 ii. garlic has been planted (iteratively) in the forest garden

The SM continuative construction in (46.a) is most likely not the result of transfer from any of the FGb constructions in (45). There is nothing particular to the FGb constructions in the SM passives in (46.a) that could not be attributed to the SM continuative marker *tá*. The SM passive with the continuative marker *tá* is the probable result of the normal application of the continuative. As such, it is similar to the FGb constructions in (45), in that they are considered to be the result of normal processes in the language.

Thus the strategy for producing the habitual *moyenne* and the continual passive in both FGb and SM begins with the application of normal morphosyntactic processes to the verbal passive / passive. Brousseau (1993:125) considers the *moyenne* to be derived from the verbal passive. The strategy itself should not be considered a transfer feature since it is not at all unique cross-linguistically nor anomalous in SM grammar.

The *moyenne* in FGb may not have transferred as such into SM, but a variation of it

without the habitual marker may have been influential in the final SM form due to its synchronicity with the superstrate form. This variation is seen in (44.a) is from Br. (1993:38, 123), copied below as (47.a). Recall that a dialectal variation of the passive in (18), copied as (47.b) below, is proposed to have influenced the final SM passive due to its synchronicity with the superstrate:

- (47) a. nàkí ó tò gànjí kpó hànjíjí kpó FGb (Br.1993:38,123)
 wood the stack easy with sing with
 the wood is easily stacked while singing
- b. àsǎ dọ távò jí Abomey FGb (Lf. 1991:57)
 crab be placed table on
 the crab is placed on the table

The translation of (47.a) indicates a *moyenne* construction, although the form resembles an anticausative. Anticausatives, however, necessarily do not imply an external agent. Moreover, anticausatives translate in the past tense. It may be that the implied agency in the adverbial phrase renders the habitual marker redundant. Also, to speculate, there is a parallel between the verb *tò*, ‘to stack’, and the postposition *tó*, ‘on the edge’, similar to the parallel between the verb *dọ*, ‘to place’, and the locative copula *dò*, ‘to be at’, discussed in (18), which in each case allow a more stative than resultative stative reading. In any case, the variation in *moyenne* in (47.a) and the variation of the verbal passive in (47.b) may have been an influence in causing SM to adopt a single syntactic construction for the transferred FGb anticausative, verbal passive and *moyenne*. Recall that early SM had no copula, so that the copula in the primary superstrate language, namely English, was not relevant to transfer. Neither, of course, were English inflections. In this case, for the creole speaker, English also had a single syntactic construction parallel to the FGb anticausative, verbal passive and *moyenne*.

6.4.2 Fongbe *nyó* moyenne

There is a FGb *moyenne* construction which uses a grammaticalized form of the verb *nyó*, 'know', preceding a reduplicated verbal item. The verb 'know' is considered to be grammaticalized by Ameka (1994:300) as it parallels *nyá*, 'know', constructions in Ewe:

- (48) a. kokloo nyó sìsà FGb *nyó* *moyenne* (Fb. 1992a:31)
 chicken know RE-sell
 chicken is easy to sell
- b. kokló nyó djà FGb (Ameka 1994:300 in Fb. 1990)
 chicken know RE-eat
 chicken is easy to eat
- c. kokló nyó dù FGb (Ameka 1994:300 in Fb. 1990)
 chicken know eat
 chicken knows how to eat

The *moyenne* construction with the grammaticalized *nyó* is one that induces reduplication in the following verb, in (48.a, b) (Fb. 1992a:31). The normal construction does not induce reduplication, (48.c). The *nyó* *moyenne* is often translated with an adverb of manner indicating 'ease' or 'nice', indicating that the type of action described is understood to be likely for the particular patient argument (Ameka 1994:324-36).

Whether the *nyó* in (48.b) is grammaticalized relative to the *nyó* in (48.c) is not as relevant to transfer as the difference in the verbal items. The reduplicated verbal item in (48.a, b) may be the nominal adjective described in (31.a).

Regarding transfer, there is a passive-like construction in SM which uses the TMA marker *sá*, 'can', a shortened and grammaticalized form of *sábi*, 'know', in (49.a). A

shortened form *sá* may also be used as a verb meaning 'know', (49.c, e):

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|----|
| (49) | a. | alísi sá paandí akí
rice can plant here
rice can be planted here | SM |
| | b. | a sábi u paandí alísi akí
he know for plant rice here
he knows how to plant rice here | SM |
| | c. | a sá u paandí alísi akí
he know for plant rice here
he knows how to plant rice here | SM |
| | d. | a sábi dí pási
he know the road
he knows the road | SM |
| | e. | a sá dí pási
he know the road
he knows the road | SM |

The derivation of 'can' from 'know' is no doubt common cross-linguistically, but this feature in both FGb and SM allows the probability of transfer of the SM potential passive construction, (49.a), from FGb. As far as morphosyntactic transfer, however, the FGb construction differs from SM in using a reduplicated verb:

- (50) a. kokloo nyó ðídu FGb *nyó moyenne*
 b. ganiá sá njǎ SM *potential passive*
 chicken can (RE)-eat
 chicken can be eaten (easily)

As far as the interpretation, the SM construction does not translate with 'easy' or any adverb of manner, although it is certainly implied. The *nyá moyenne* in Ewe, does not appear from the examples given in (Ameke 1994) to have the visible effect constraint of the FGb and SM passive. Also, no such constraint is mentioned for FGb *nyó moyenne* in Fabb (1990, 1992a). The SM potential passive, in (49.a) and (50.b), contrary to other SM passives, also appears not to be constrained by Affectedness. This may be seen in the use of *sá* with Color semantic type adjectives. This type of adjective in SM, unlike Physical Property and other adjective types, resists a passive interpretation, (51.a.ii), the *kó* construction being preferred, in (51.b). With *sá*, however, there is a passive in (51.c):

- (51) a. a baaka SM
 it black
 i. it is black
 ii. (*)it was blackened
- b. a kó baaka SM
 it become black
 i. it got black
 ii. it became blackened
- c. Di koosu sa baaka SM (Kahrel 1987:63)
 i. It can be black
 ii. It can be blackened (It can be made black)
 iii. It can become / turn black

Similarly, factitive verbs like *mbéi*, 'make', and *sikífi*, 'write', are easier to elicit as passives with *sá*:

- (52) a. Di wosu i ke, a sa mbei a tu liba SM (Ka. 1987:58)
the house you want it POT build in two month
The house you want can be built in two months
- b. So wan biifi sa sikifi SM (Ka. 1987:58)
such a letter POT write
Such a letter can be written

And finally, verbs of perception are acceptable with a passive interpretation with *sá*, in (53.a), although the *de* active alternative is preferred, in (53.b):

- (53) a. dí pizii sá jéi a dóo SM
the party can hear at door
the party can be heard outside
- b. de sá jéi dí pizii a dóo SM
they can hear the party at door
- i. they can hear the party outside
- ii. the party can be heard outside

Fabb (1992a) treats the FGb *nyó* moyenne construction as one of a class of constructions which also include the progressive, ingressive, etc., to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. These constructions use an auxiliary verb, like *nyó*, 'can', for the moyenne, or *dó*, 'be at', for the progressive. Active transitive VPs also occur in these constructions, in which case the affected object occurs before the affecting verb. By the Fabb analysis, discussed

above, verbs are licensed by a preceding nominal item in these constructions, which includes the reduplicated [+N] prefix in the absence of a nominal item.

None of these constructions have transferred into SM, with the possible exception of the *sá* potential passive. Since there is no object in the passive, in the transfer of this single construction there would be no contrast in licensing, and so no need for reduplication. Also, SM *sá* < *sábi* is a verb, seen by its occurrence in a cleft construction in (55), and so by Fabb (1992a) blocks reduplication. This is an explanation for the difference in reduplication between FGb and SM in (50). The other constructions with PV word order did not transfer into SM, but it will be argued in Chapter 7 that they were influential in the transfer of the shared object serial verb construction.

There is the possibility that the FGb *nyí* moyenne construction was influential in the development of the SM TMA potential marker *sá*. Some common words in SM with *-bi* as the second syllable are often shortened. Thus *á* < *ábi*, 'have', *ló* < *lóbi*, 'love', and *sá* < *sábi*, 'know'. This shortening appears to occur when there is no question about the stated proposition, that is, the 'having', 'loving' or 'knowing' is understood to be likely, and thereby backgrounded. The truncation of *sábi* in a backgrounding function could be the catalyst for grammaticalization which would yield the TMA marker. Whether considered an auxiliary verb or a TMA marker, in (55) below, *sá*, 'can', (54.e), is more backgrounded than the verb *sá*, 'know', (54.b, c). The middle level of animacy of *ganía*, 'chicken', allows both active (54.b, c) and passive (54.e) readings in SM, and shows the parallel with the FGb constructions:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------|------|-----|---------------------|
| (54) | a. | kokloo | nyó | du | FGb |
| | b. | ganía | sábi | njá | SM |
| | c. | ganía | sá | njá | SM <i>shortened</i> |
| | | chicken | know | eat | |
| | | chicken knows how to eat | | | |

- d. kokloo nyó d̪id̪u FGb *nyó moyenne*
- e. ganíá sá njǎ SM *potential passive*
- chicken can eat
- chicken can eat
- chicken can be eaten

That the grammaticalization is not complete might be indicated by the fact that *sá* alone among TMA markers may be clefted (Kahrel 1987:68):

(55) sa a sa njan di gwamba SM (Ka. 1987:68)

As with the possible grammaticalization of *nyó*, in (48), the TMA status of *sá* may be epiphenomenal. The following VP may simply be a compliment, as it is in the FGb *nyó moyenne*. The meaning 'can' derives from the prototypical background discourse function of the shortened form, but can be foregrounded by predicate cleft. In this case, there would be a parallel between *sá* and *nyó*. In (48.a, b) *nyó* takes an adjectival compliment, and in (46.c) *nyó* takes a verbal compliment.

The ambiguity between 'know', serial clauses, (54.b) and 'can', TMA clauses, (54.d) created by the grammaticalization of *sá* would invite the influence of English in the development of the construction in (49.b, c) with *(f)u*, 'for', 'in order to'. Many purpose clauses optionally occur without *(f)u*, 'for', 'in order to', perhaps reflecting the substrate influence of another FGb construction, the *gbè* serial purposive clause as described in Fabb (1990), in which no item precedes and introduces the purpose clause.

6.5 FGb and SM double object constructions

Both FGb and SM have double object constructions:

- (56) a. kòkú ná àsíbá àsón FGb, *goal first* (Lf. 1994:74)
 Koku give Asiba crab
 Koku gave Asiba crab
- b. kòkú ná àsón àsíbá FGb, *theme first* (Lf. 1994:74)
 Koku give crab Asiba
 Koku gave Asiba crab
- c. kofí dá mi kaábu SM, *goal first*
 Kofi give me crab
 Kofi gave me crab

The two objects in FGb may occur in either order, but in SM the only order is goal first. The SM restriction against a theme first order is likely due to the influence of English. For FGb, Lefebvre (1994:83) has argued with event determiners that the goal is the most affected of the two arguments in either order. Ameka (1994:323) has shown that in Ewe serial constructions with *nyá*, 'know' (*nyó* in FGb) and a double object verb, only the theme may be fronted, the goal must remain adjacent to the verb. Note that the Ewe *nyá*, 'know', relative to the FGb *nyó* *moyenne* construction, which has been shown not to be a substrate transfer of the SM passive, allows double object verbs:

- (57) a. akónta mé nyá fiá- á ɖeví- wó ná- m o Ewe
 arithmetic NEG know teach HAB child PL to 1SG NEG
 teaching children arithmetic does not please me (Am. 1994:323)
- b. ?ɖeví- wó mé nyá fiá- á akónta ná- m o Ewe
 child PL NEG know teach HAB arithmetic to 1SG NEG
 ?teaching children arithmetic does not please me (Am. 1994:323)

Inasmuch as the Ewe data parallels FGb, this could indicate a substrate influence on the SM order, keeping the goal and the verb adjacent. There is nothing particularly unique about this relationship between the verb and the goal, however, as it constitutes one of the major typologies of the world's languages (Dryer 1986). What it does indicate, though, is that the FGb *nyǒ* moyenne is not the origin of the SM passive, nor is it related to the FGb passive. Neither of these passives allows a double object verb:

- (58) a. *àsǐbá nyí àsón ná FGb (Lf. 1994:75)
 Asiba COP crab give
 (Asiba was given crab)
- b. *àsón nyí àsǐbá ná FGb (Lf. 1994:75)
 crab COP Asiba give
 (crab was given to Asiba)
- c. *wisio dá kaábu SM
 Wisio give crab
 (Wisio was given crab)
- d. *kaábu dá wisio SM
 crab give Wisio
 (crab was given to Wisio)

Lefebvre (1994:75) accounts for the lack of double object passive in FGb by finding that *ná*, 'give', does not select a complement and does not assign case. This probably means that neither argument in (58.a, b) is affected, having the roles of theme and goal rather than patient. This is the same argument for the lack of a double object passive in SM in Chapter 3.

This feature, the lack of a double object passive, may be unique enough to qualify as

transfer. Lefebvre (1994:75) refers to Larson (1988) who links the presence of the double object construction in a particular language to the availability of passive. Thus a language with *John sent Mary a letter* should have available *Mary was sent a letter by John*. The linking of double object constructions to their passive must be common enough cross-linguistically to have justified the proposal in Larson (ibid.). The absence of this link in a language would therefore be marked. Lefebvre (ibid.) demonstrates that this link does not exist in FGb. The link also does not exist in SM. The absence of this link in both FGb and SM might therefore be due to transfer. Similarly, double object verbs do not occur in serial verb constructions in both languages, while in both languages the V2 of shared object serials resemble passives, to be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.6 Discourse motivation for the transfer of passives

Passives apparently are not an essential part of a grammar, as many languages do not have a passive. PR lexified São Tomé, for example, has no passive (Ferraz 1979:89). Passives in some creole languages may be evidence of decreolization. In Kriyol there is a passive, the verb has a PR transferred suffix *-du* (Kihm 1994:243), perhaps through decreolization. In Cape Verdean, those dialects with the greatest PR influence, not surprisingly have a periphrastic passive like PR (Bartens 2000:49).

Acrolectal pressure towards the use of passive is twofold. First, the lexifier languages have a passive construction, and are sociolinguistically likely models. Second, the registers with the highest prestige, such as church or official registers, typically use passives more than ordinary speech. In Kwéyòl, for example, a high register speech such as news broadcasting uses the passive more than ordinary speech, and in addition the passive in these registers tends to be a periphrastic construction like the lexifier model rather than the Kwéyòl intransitive verb (Garrett 2000:81).

In view of the fact that there are languages including creole languages without passive constructions, it may be assumed that passive constructions are not a necessary

feature of language. Yet there are creole languages such as SM and HT that have passive constructions, constructions that appear to have transferred from the substrate languages. Passives therefore must be parallel to the category of features considered prototypically more essential to language (McW. 2001:2). Perhaps the function of topicalization associated with passives could be considered a topic marking strategy; an essential feature (ibid.). In introducing and reintroducing information, discussed in Chapter 3, the SM passive does create a background topic.

The passive in SM resembles the verbal passive in FGb syntactically and semantically, most likely explained by transfer. The most common subject NP of the passives in A. & G. (1997) is a reintroduced noun. Assuming this tendency at the time of transfer, the passive construction would be functioning to establish the reintroduced item as a topic and then commenting on it. As a predicating device the passive shares a predicating function with both verbs and predicate adjectives (Thompson 1988), falling between verbs and predicate adjectives in that passives depict a state, like predicate adjectives, yet imply agency, which would be expressed by verbs. The passive would fill a somewhat specialized role, depicting a state that resulted from an action without reference to the agent or cause of the action. This specialization and resulting rarity may be the explanation for its failure to transfer in some cases, like São Tomé. It did transfer into both SM and HT (Lefebvre 1998a:309) with substrate syntax and semantics, indicating that as with predicate adjectives the passive function is met in the familiar context of the substrate language.

It would be expected that the passive would not be very common in the earliest stages of creole genesis, as backgrounding would be less common, but that it would become more common as the creole expanded (Foley 1986:176). An implication of the rarity of passives is a rarity of the contrast between the verbal passive and the *dÉ* + RE ‘passive’, namely the *dÉ* + RE adjectival construction with the transitive effect-depicting verbs that occur in passives. This contrast is argued to involve markedness, similar to the contrast between simplex and reduplicated attributives. Recall from Chapter 2 that this contrast in attributives did not appear to be as common at the time of the earliest written records as it

is in the contemporary language. The same argument may be applied to the contrast in passives.

The 1805 Wietz translation of Chapters 1 - 13:33 of the Book of Acts has two passive constructions, as in (59.a). The contemporary Glock translation of the same segment has 12 passive constructions, as in (59.b). Contrasting the verbal passives with the *dé* + RE 'passive' construction, there are no *dé* + RE 'passives' in the Wietz text, where there are 6 in the Glock text, as in (59.c):

(59) a. a bi tai ko tu Ketting Acts 12:6 (Wietz 1805)
he PAST tie with two chain
he was tied with two chains

b. ka a bi kiija Acts 9:30 (Glock)
where he PAST raise
where he had been raised

c. a bi dē sikifisikifi a di pisi u Gadu Buku Acts 1:20 (Glock)
it PAST COP write-write in the piece of God Book
it has been written in this part of the Bible

It appears, then, that an increase in the use of the verbal passive was accompanied by an increase in the use of the *dé* + RE 'passive' construction as well, in other words the increase in the use of the passives meant an increase in the contrast.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Wietz text is very likely quite true to the spoken language, as seen in the treatment of variables that Wietz could not have been aware of. Wietz himself had spent two decades in the interior among the Saramaccans, and his translator was likely a fourth generation maroon. The Wietz text does not appear to have altered the transcription in a way to make it seem more 'European', as, for example, there are serial verb constructions and reduplicated nouns and adverbs. This criticism would

not apply in any case to any omission of passives, as they are a superstrate feature and would be more common in the bible register.

The increase in the use of the verbal passive and the reduplicated passive occurred in the same time period as the increase in the use of attributive reduplication, namely after the treaty of 1762 granting independence to the Saramaccans. This is also the time period for the phonological changes described in Aceto (2000). It could hardly be argued that the process of expansion was still going on at this time, but it is argued in Chapter 5 that normal language changes could conspire to give the language a more 'African' appearance, motivated by language attitude changes resulting from the newly attained independence. An increase in the use of reduplication would fit this conspiracy.

6.7 Conclusion

The passive constructions in SM resemble the FGb verbal passive semantically more than they resemble the English passive. Syntactically the SM passive resembles predicate adjectives in SM and FGb more than the Eng passive. It has been argued that the SM passives transferred from the FGb verbal passive, even though the Eng passive is robust. Passives, like predicate adjectives, prototypically comment on known information. The passive in SM, in A. & G. (1997), appears to function mainly in reintroducing items, which would be known information. Further, the SM passive is constrained to depict only information that would not be contrary to expectations. The passive, then, as with predicate adjectives, would not typically depict unexpected information.

The familiar context of the FGb verbal system, the system familiar to the creators of the creole, provides in the simplification of the verbal passive construction the grammar for predicating expected resultative information. The FGb grammar also provides a strategy for predicating unexpected resultative information, an innovation in SM. This is the non-simplified adjectival passive construction, the *dé* + RE 'passive' construction. In commenting on mirativity, namely the expression of the unexpected, DeLancey notes

that 'languages express in their grammars those semantic and pragmatic categories for which their speakers have a frequent and regular need.' (2001:370). The constraints of the FGb verbal passive were apparently appropriate for backgrounding already known resultative information. There obviously was also a need to express markedness in a resultative depiction, a need met by the adjectival passive. The SM *dé* + RE 'passive' construction differs from a passive in that there is no implied agent. Such a feature would be marked for resultatives, since for resultatives cause is implied. Resultative adjectives derived from dynamic affecting verbs are marked because they vary from the eventive aktionsart of those verbs in being stative.

The SM *dé* + RE 'passive' construction, from the FGb adjectival passive, is transferred from FGb rather than modeled on English. The contrast between the SM *dé* + RE 'passive' and the SM verbal passive, however, is an innovation, as there is no such contrast in FGb. There is a parallel with the SM adjectives, then, in that for attributive and predicate adjectives as well as passives there is a contrast involving reduplication where the morphology is transferred from FGb but the semantics of the contrast as well as the contrast itself are innovations.

The development of a markedness contrast in SM expressed by reduplication fulfills a synchronic pragmatic need, but this use of reduplication is not the result of a direct transfer. It is not obvious from the data on FGb whether the need itself exists in FGb and is transferred, although it would not seem to be like one of the essential items that do transfer (McW. 2001:2). For both adjectives and passives in SM, then, the development of reduplication to express markedness represents a complication of the morphology. This complication involves morphology that was transferred, namely reduplication. It must be assumed then that this development occurred during creole genesis, in that substrate features are used. But the innovations suggest that this development took time. The expansion of use may have taken a long time, as from historical texts it would appear that the use of the markedness contrast increased over time and after creole genesis. The use of reduplication to express a markedness contrast represents a complication in the morphology, which would be contrary to the notion that transfer is characterized by

morphological simplification. In fact the innovation of a markedness contrast would complicate the grammar in general, especially it would be complicated beyond the grammar of the creole prototype. A logical assumption would be then that the contrast in markedness developed after the genesis of the basic creole, as proposed for the contrast in markedness for adjectives, and continued to expand its usage over time.

Chapter 7

Transfer of shared object serial verb constructions

7.1 Introduction

The shared object serial verb construction in Saramaccan functions to activate information, and also appears to be used to introduce narrative episodes and to depict markedness. These discourse functions would suggest that the shared object serial was incorporated into the developing creole at an expanded stage, a stage where the creole language would be needed for communication beyond that related simply to work or trade. Another indication that it might have entered the creole at a later stage is its resemblance to the substrate Fongbe shared object serial; an argument for later entry is based in part on historical data showing an increase in the proportion of substrate speakers over time during the critical period of creole development, thus increasing the proportion of substrate input in an expansion stage. A comparison with adjectival and passive constructions shows there is a similar pattern in constructions expressing the more expanded communicative functions resembling the substrate, while more basic functions appear to be a compromise between substrate and superstrate features. The SM shared object serial verb construction is basically a relexification of the FGb construction, with FGb semantic and syntactic constraints. The argument for a later entry of the shared object serial considers that the plantation creoles of Suriname began with a pidgin stage, the seeds of which may already have begun in slave forts (McWhorter 1995). In this stage the mutual linguistic accommodation of pidgin formation (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:174) under conditions of extreme social asymmetry would result in a pidgin with a mainly superstrate lexicon and a grammar with both superstrate and substrate features, as discussed in Chapter 1. The pidgin would serve basic communicative needs between

substrate and superstrate speakers, the motivation for mutual accommodation. The expansion into a creole, however, implies expansion into a language that would become the first language of a segment of the population (ibid.:150). This segment is a portion of the substrate population, and the newly developed creole language would be for their own communication. The input for this expansion would then most likely be from the substrate languages. The shared object serial verb construction transferred virtually unchanged from the substrate languages, there is no equivalent superstrate construction. Thus there was no mutual accommodation in its transfer. It can be assumed that some of the functions of the shared object serial in modern SM were similar in the expansion stage, namely the functions of information activation and episode bracketing and the expression of markedness. These discourse functions are characteristic of an expanded stage, but not of a pidgin.

The transfer of shared object serials from Fongbe into Saramaccan, it will be argued, was facilitated by analogy with similar constructions. Shared object serials share a constituent with these other constructions, namely a preverbal patient argument and the following verb that affects it. This patient-verb, or *PV* constituent in both languages is used in constructions depicting a partial effect on the patient argument. In FGb this PV constituent occurs in the shared object serial verb construction and the ‘take’ shared object serial verb construction, which transferred into SM, and also in various other non-serial constructions depicting a partial effect on the patient argument, such as the progressive, which did not transfer. The progressive and the other non-serial constructions with the PV constituent did not transfer, it is argued, because such constructions are a basic part of communication and would therefore be part of a pidgin stage of development, and would be negotiated in the process of mutual linguistic accommodation. These non-serial PV constructions are marked in FGb, and would therefore give way to the SVO word order of the superstrate and all other non-serial substrate constructions. The PV serial constructions, on the other hand, would not be considered an essential part of basic communication, since there are non-serial alternative constructions. The PV serial constructions transferred at a later stage in creole

development, a stage where mutual accommodation no longer played a role. The transfer of the PV serial constructions into SM was facilitated by analogy with the SM passive construction, which had undergone modification and entered the creole with a PV constituent. Because the PV phrase is an identifiable constituent in FGb, it would be as well in SM, and an analogy of the PV in SM serial clauses with the PV in the SM passive resulted in an innovation in SM; the PV in SM serial clauses was reinterpreted as subject-verb, SV.

Another feature of FGb that transferred into SM is lexical tone. In a pidgin stage, substrate tone could mimic superstrate stress. But in addition to tone in FGb there is tone sandhi. Tone sandhi in FGb resembles stress patterns in languages with intonational systems, and the variation in sandhi in FGb allows the expression of focus and other intonational functions. Tone sandhi transferred into SM virtually unchanged, most likely at a later stage in creole development where intonational functions would be appropriate, and where mutual accommodation would no longer be part of the process. The FGb tone sandhi appears to have undergone a reinterpretation, however, in that syllable boundaries in the mostly monosyllabic FGb lexicon have been reinterpreted as word boundaries in the mostly disyllabic SM lexicon. The resulting tone sandhi in SM serial constructions with a PV phrase, or with any constituent between serial verbs, is the apparent ‘non-local’ tone sandhi of SM.

7.1.1 Shared object serials in Fongbe and in Saramaccan

The Saramaccan shared object serial verb construction resembles the shared object serial verb construction in Fongbe both syntactically and semantically. The similarities between the SM and FGb constructions suggest transfer. That transfer from FGb is the source of this construction in SM is likely, considering the probability that other serial verb constructions in SM have been argued to be the result of transfer (McWhorter 1996b). In all probability, transfer rather than innovation is the source of all the serial

verb constructions in SM, considering that cross-linguistically serial verb constructions are rare and therefore marked, yet among the Kwa languages and in the Surinamese creoles they are common and thereby unmarked. Further, the syntactic characteristics of serial verb constructions, as defined in Foley & Olsen (1985), of the Surinamese creoles more closely resemble those of the Kwa languages than many other serial verb languages, as argued in McW. (1996b).

As the SM shared object construction is the result of transfer, it will be argued here that the semantic constraints associated with this construction transferred with it. It has been argued in Chapters 5 and 6 that these semantic constraints, in particular the constraint that the shared object must be visibly or perceptibly affected, transferred into SM with the derived attributive adjectival and the passive constructions. Thus this semantic feature in all three constructions in SM could be attributed to transfer from the corresponding three constructions in FGb. In SM there is no principled reason these three constructions should share this feature, as there are languages whose adjectival or passive constructions are not so constrained. It will be argued in this chapter that the semantic constraints on the verbs in these three constructions in FGb, which are also on the verbs in the corresponding constructions in SM, indicate that all three constructions transferred with these constraints.

It will be argued that during transfer the FGb shared object serial verb construction went through an analogous change based on the other FGb constructions which have a patient-verb, *PV*, word order. These constructions include the 'take' shared object serial and constructions like the progressive, where the PV verb is V2. By analogy to the fully lexical verbs in these other PV phrases, the verb following the shared object changed during transfer from a serial item to an open-slot fully lexical verb. This change can be seen as leveling during simplification, resulting in all PV phrases having fully lexical verbs. Analogy and leveling are characteristics of normal diachrony, and their occurrence during transfer would indicate a similarity between diachrony and transfer. But the change in the PV phrase of the shared object serial from a serial item to a fully lexical verb is the reverse of grammaticalization, and so in this way it is not characteristic

of diachrony. The change represents an increase in the transitivity of the PV phrase in the shared object serial. In Chapter 1 it was argued that this change came about during transfer motivated by a tendency to use highly transitive constructions to facilitate communicative needs during creole genesis.

There is also an analogy on the SM side of transfer between the shared object serial and the passive, which, as discussed in Chapter 6, is a PV phrase. The analogy holds for those shared object serials expressing direct causation, namely those depicting a change of location. It also holds for subsequent affecting actions, namely depictions of change of state. In these shared object serials, NP2 is the subject of V3. These constructions resemble the passive in SM, which may itself be the first verb of a serial construction. The occurrence of a subsequent V3 in a SM shared object serial represents an increase in verbal characteristics in the V2 over the serial item V2 in FGb, which may not be followed by another serial verb. The analogy with the passive could occur at the point in creole genesis after the passive had become a PV phrase, and after the shared object serial had developed the more verbal V2 and itself could function as V1 in a serial verb construction. The analogy could also occur because both constructions are resultative.

7.2 Shared object serials

Shared object serial verb constructions are common in conversational SM, and are a commonly used strategy in SM narration. An examination of the narrative account of the funeral of Granman Aboikoni (Aboikoni & Glock 1997) shows the extensive use of this construction in narration. Shared object serials are found in both Basuse and Libase varieties of the language, with no difference in semantic constraints. The most prominent constraint, as discussed in Chapter 4, restricts the second and subsequent object affecting verbs to those verbs that depict a visible or perceivable effect on the patient NP. No other serial verb construction in SM is semantically constrained in this way.

This semantic constraint applies to the two types of shared object serial described by

Veenstra (1996:142-3), which are basically the resultative and paratactic types. As discussed in Chapter 4, this distinction is a matter of event interpretation and has no syntactic distinction in SM, in V. (ibid.). Recall from Chapter 4 that many resultative shared object serials, as in (1.a), tend to be idiomatic, such that the semantics of the verbs are fused, where shared object paratactic-type constructions, as in (1.b), are interpreted more as separate parts of an event:

- (1) a. a kándi dí wáta túwe SM
 he pour the water throw
 he poured out the water
- b. A kísi dí fou náki kíi limbó bói njan SM (V. 1996:103)
 3SG catch DET bird hit kill clean cook eat
 He caught the bird, struck it dead, cleaned, cooked and ate it

What is significant for both types of shared object serial is that the patient object is affected both by the verb before it and by the verb or verbs that follow it. The effect on the patient NP by two or more verbs is the unique feature of the shared object serial verb construction in SM, as discussed in Chapter 4. No other serial verb construction in SM has this syntactic property.

In the SM shared object serial, all the affecting verbs perform a verbal function in the overall proposition. Other serial constructions involve one verb that performs a non-verbal function, summarized in Migge (1998:149), Sebba (1987) and others as a 'closed slot' verb. The 'closed slot' verb, or *serial item*, is from a limited number of verbs in serial verb constructions. It often translates into European languages as a preposition. As discussed in Chapter 4, the semantic constraint on the shared object serial in itself should not qualify the verbs as serial items, since the term *serial item* refers to specific verbs and not necessarily classes of verbs. Of the various types of serial verb constructions in SM, only the shared object serial verb construction has no serial item or 'closed slot' verb.

The occurrence or usage of the shared object serial verb construction in FGb stands in contrast to its SM counterpart. In many varieties of FGb there is in fact no shared object serial construction, as is the case in many of the Kwa languages (Lefebvre p.c.). In contrast, the shared object serial verb construction occurs in all varieties of SM.

The shared object serial is shown to exist in the Gbe languages examined by Migge (1998:222), including the Fon dialect Maxi (ibid.:153), in (2.a). Migge (ibid.) and Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) are the only mentions of this construction in the literature on FGb. The SM shared object serial is exemplified in (2.b):

- (2) a. e nɔ̃ / hɛ xo afũ hu Maxi (Migge 1998:153)
 he HAB / ITER hit dog kill
 he is habitually / continually killing dogs by hitting
- b. a tá náki dí dágu kíí SM
 he CONT hit the dog kill
 he is hitting (and as a result) killing the dog

The FGb resultative verb V2, which depicts a visible effect on the patient object (M. 1998:223), is analyzed as a serial item. This is because in FGb, in the Migge analysis, this verb in the V2 slot is limited to a few verbs, with meanings such as 'break' or 'kill', and with more characteristics of prepositions than many other serial items. In addition, this V2 serial item may not occur with tense or aspect markers, and does not occur as a predicate cleft (M. 1998:238). These are general characteristics of V2 in all FGb serial verb constructions, which, with the exception of 'take' serial constructions, are serial items.

The V2 resultative verb in SM is not limited in this way. Any verb may occupy this V2 position in the shared object serial as long as it fits the constraints. There are, of course, idiomatic preferences that create common combinations of verbs with V2 items such as *túwɛ*, 'throw', or *púu*, 'push/pull'. There is no strict subcategorization for such

common V2 items, however, although by semantic fusion, as seen in the translations, the event depicted is less interrupted and so more transitive in (3.a), contrasting with the less idiomatic shared object serial in (3.b). Simultaneous or near-simultaneous action of both verbs is not limited to transitive change of location verbs as V2, as seen with the idiomatic uses of other transitive verbs in (3.c, d):

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------------|----|
| (3) | a. | a fáa dí páu túwε | SM |
| | | he fell the tree throw | |
| | | he cut down the tree | |
| | b. | de fáa dí gōō tjumá | SM |
| | | they fell the ground burn | |
| | | they prepared the garden | |
| | c. | a pājēē hóí ku tú mǎū | SM |
| | | he grab-it hold with two hand | |
| | | he held it with two hands | |
| | d. | de súti ě kǐi | SM |
| | | they shoot it kill | |
| | | they shot it dead | |

Unlike FGb, both verbs in the SM shared object serial may occur with aspect markers, in (4.a), as in nearly all SM serial constructions. In certain functions of V2 *dá*, 'give', serials are an exception, in V. (1996:171). In addition, each verb in a serial construction in SM may be clefted, (4.b), and much more rarely may occur with tense marking, in (4.c). Thus V2 verbs in SM serial constructions have more characteristics of prototypical verbhood than V2 serial verbs in FGb, reflecting a general increase in clause transitivity, or in any case in the sharing of transitivity by the verbs:

- (4) a. de tá náki déé báta tá booko SM
they CONT hit the(pl) bottle CONT break
they're hitting (and) breaking the bottles
- b. kíi a súti hen kíi SM (Veenstra 1998)
kill 3SG shoot 3SG kill
He shot her DEAD
- c. dí báta ó kaí a gǔǔ ó booko SM
the bottle FUT fall on ground FUT break
the bottle will fall to the ground (and it) will break

As discussed in Chapter 4, the difference in transitivity between more idiomatic constructions, as in (3.a, c, d), and those like (3.b) where the resultative action is more specific, is defined by a cline. The transitivity difference relates to the simultaneity of the separate actions, where the more idiomatic constructions depict more simultaneous actions and are therefore more transitive. The most idiomatic constructions on this cline may be the most likely to grammaticalize V2 into a serial item, as argued in Migge (1998:222) for Fon, but this has not happened yet in SM since the class of V2 verbs is open. The change in this class from closed to open during transfer in fact, as mentioned, represents a reversal of any grammaticalization in FGb.

In addition, by the criterion of limitation to a 'closed slot' neither the SM resultative V2 nor the more paratactic V2 in the shared object serial are serial items. In this way SM shared object serial verb constructions vary from the definition of serial verbs as having a 'closed slot' verb, or serial item, as summarized in Migge (1998:149). Basically, V2s in SM shared object serials are less lexically conventionalized than in FGb. This is a transfer related innovation in SM relative to FGb. Also, as with nearly all the serial verb constructions in SM, these V2 verbs occur as predicate clefts, and may occur with aspect.

This is a contrast between the SM and FGb shared object serial verb constructions, and also represents a general innovation in serial verbs in SM relative to FGb.

7.2.1 'Take' shared object serials

The contrast between FGb and SM shared object serials also applies to FGb and SM shared object serials with 'take' as V1, concerning the serial item status of this item. These 'take' shared object serial constructions exist in SM, in (5.b, c), but may not in some varieties of FGb. They are argued by Lefebvre (1991:67) not to exist in the Abomey dialect of FGb. The explanation given is that V2 is a middle verb and does not depict a change of location. Da Cruz (1994:82), a native FGb speaker of the Porto Novo variety (Lf. 1993:395), also argues that V2 may be middle, namely anticausative. But the V2 may include other object affecting verbs of change of state or change of location or possession as well. This construction, then, occurs in his dialect (daC. *ibid.*). Brousseau (1993), Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) and Migge (1998) also show that there are 'take' shared object serials in the FGb dialects used in their studies. Brousseau (1993:137) argues that, in the FGb variety of her study, for 'take' shared object serials the relationship of V1 to V2 is causative, concurring with Lefebvre (1991:73) on *só*, 'take', serials in general. But Brousseau argues that the clause need not depict a change of location. Thus the existence and nature of this 'take' construction may vary among the Fon dialects, similar to the apparent variation among the Kwa languages for shared object serials in general.

The 'take' shared object serial occurs in SM, defined in V. (1996:128) as 'take' *theme* serials, contrasting with 'take' *instrumental* serials. In theme serials the shared object is a patientive argument of both verbs, where in instrumental serials NP2 is not a patientive argument of V2. These same 'take' serials occur in FGb. A FGb 'take' shared object serial is exemplified in (5.a) with an equivalent construction in SM as (5.b), and FGb and SM constructions depicting change of location in (5.c, d), and constructions with

transitive verbs which are not anticausative, in (5.e, f):

- (5) a. kòkú sọ kófù ó gbà FGb (Brousseau 1993:128)
Koku take glass the break
Koku broke the glass
- b. kofí téí dí báta boóko SM
Kofi take the bottle break
i. Kofi broke the bottle
ii. Kofi took (and) broke the bottle
- c. Kòkú sọ àvò ó xíy FGb (daC. 1992:123)
Koku take clothes DET put in sun
Koku spread the clothes in the sun
- d. de á ó téí dí láí pǎjǎ SM
they NEG FUT take the load grab
they won't take the luggage
- e. Kòkú sọ kòkló ó hù FGb (Br. 1993:128)
Koku take chicken DET kill
Koku killed the chicken
- f. A téí dí beée kóti SM (V. 1996:117)
3SG take DET bread cut
He cut the bread [approx.]

In the FGb example, (5.a), V1 is analyzed as the serial item by Migge (1998:194). In addition to being limited to two verbs, *sọ*, 'take', and *hèn*, 'hold', V1 is less verbal than

V2. This is suggested in the translation emphasizing V2. In the SM example, (5.b.i), a similar argument could be made for *téi*, 'take', as V1. Unlike the verbs in other shared object serials in SM, the verb *téi*, 'take', as V1 is often less prominent, as suggested in translations, than V2, although not always, in (5.b.ii). This is not the case with *tjá*, 'take', 'hold', in (6):

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| (6) | a tjá dí báta boóko | SM |
| | he hold the bottle break | |
| | i. * he broke the bottle | |
| | ii. (?) he took/held the bottle (and) broke it | |

The 'take' shared object serials in SM are limited to the item *téi*, if the *theme* designation in Veenstra (1996) is correct in distinguishing it from other shared object serials. As suggested by the translation, the verb *tjá* in (6.i) is not a serial item. In (6.ii) the construction is questionable for pragmatic reasons, but shows the prominence of V1. The item *téi*, on the other hand, may have characteristics of a somewhat grammaticalized item, as in *a téi dí báta boóko*, 'he broke the bottle', in (5.b.i). In this way it resembles the idiomatic use of V2 items such as *púu* and *túwe*. The item *téi* differs, of course, and is unique in that it is V1. By the criterion of limitation to a single item, *téi*, 'take', as V1 in a 'take' shared object serial like (5.b.i) could be considered a serial item. But (5.b.ii) is also a translation, where *téi*, 'take' would not be a serial item. From (5.b.ii) it would appear that *téi*, 'take' is not a serial item, but rather a lexical V1 in a shared object serial. Veenstra (1996:117) posits two verbs *téi* in the SM lexicon, one being the serial item. The lexical *téi* occurs in serial verb constructions in the same position as the serial *téi*, like the lexical and serial item *pasá*. As argued in Chapter 4, the *téi* shared object V1 is a lexical verb in a resultative EVENT STATE serial, while the *téi* instrumental V1 is a serial item in a preconditional STATE EVENT serial. The two interpretations in (5.b) differ in that (i) is more idiomatic and simultaneous, while (ii) is more paratactic and sequential, but both are resultative, or EVENT STATE, in that unlike a STATE EVENT serial the second

term is not independent of the first. The occurrence of *téi* in the EVENT term argues against a serial item status, as no other serial items occur in the EVENT term in SM.

The SM 'take' *theme* serial differs from SM shared object serials syntactically in a way that would suggest *téi*, 'take' can be interpreted as a serial item. In Chapter 4 it is argued that change of location verbs following an affected object in a shared object serial have that argument as their subject, since they depict the change of location of the affected object, not the matrix subject. This includes intransitive change of location verbs, but not unergative intransitives, in that the change of location is caused. It includes *gó*, 'go', and *kó*, 'come', considered unergative by Veenstra (1996:79-81) because they do not occur as attributives, yet they allow subject control through contiguity unlike unergatives like *wáka*, 'walk', in (7), copied from Chapter 4. In a simple shared object serial, the patient affecting V2 has NP2 as a subject, as do any subsequent contiguous verbs. But example (7.b) is ungrammatical, since *butá*, 'put', would have NP1 as its subject, as it is contiguous with NP1 subject verbs. In (7.c, d), *gó*, 'go', expressing directional motion could have NP2 as its subject, but in (7.b), *wáka*, 'walk', being an unergative verb could not. In (7.c), then, *butá* would be contiguous with NP2. This does not apply to the 'take' serial in (7.a):

- (7) a. Mi téi dí búku wáka gó butá ec alá SM (V. 1996:136)
 1SG take DET book walk go put over there
 I have taken the book, walked away and put it there
- b. *A sáka hen wáka gó butá alá SM (V. 1996:142)
 3SG lower 3SG walk go put over there
- c. a sáka dí búku gó butá alá SM
 he lower the book go put over there
 he took the book down (and) put it over there

- d. a puu wan sipandji go tuwë go ala SM (Amoida 1982:5)
 he push a chip go throw go there
 he broke off a chip (and) threw it away

Veenstra (1996:136) assumes an empty category *ec* in (7.a), although as a theme serial the argument is shared by both verbs (V. 1996:128). If the argument is shared, the *ec* would be resumptive, as basically argued in V. (ibid.:134). He argues that (7.a) indicates subject control, namely a non-local control relation, and so differs from the local object control, or predication relations of directional and shared object serials (ibid.:136). The *ec* in the ‘take’ shared object serial also points to *téi* as a serial item, in that the *ec* receives the effect that the serial item, being less verbal, does not transmit.

The Veenstra analysis of (7.a) shows it to be a preconditional STATE EVENT serial, in that the second term, with the *ec* object, is independent of the first. The serial item, then, is in the STATE term. Such an example may be considered to be a *theme* serial, but it is not a shared object serial. As discussed in Chapter 4, a *téi* shared object serial, like all other shared object serials, may not have a resumptive object of V2; a *téi dí báta boóko* (*é).

The SM serial verb constructions in (7) involve more than two verbs, and so would probably not occur in FGb (M. p.c.). Additional verbs occur in FGb serials only where one of the verbal slots is filled by a serial verb set (ibid.), or as the V3 highly grammaticalized verbs of change of location *dó* ‘put’ and *nyí* ‘throw’ (daC. 1994:51), cognate verbs of the copulas *dó* ‘be at’ and *nyí* ‘be’. There is no way then to test subject control in FGb as in (7). The da Cruz (1994) analysis of FGb ‘take’ shared object serials makes such a determination though, based on the V2 alternation in these constructions between causative and anticausative verbs (ibid.:68). The NP1 is analyzed as the subject of transitive verbs, such as *xò*, ‘buy’, in (8.a). Anticausative verbs, like *gbà*, ‘break’, however, may occur as either a transitive (causative) or as an anticausative. The object of the transitive occurrence of an anticausative or the subject of its intransitive occurrence should receive the same thematic role (ibid.:69 and references), in (8.b):

- (8) a. Kòkú sọ̀ gàn ọ́ xọ́ FGb (daC 1994:60)
 Koku take display the buy
 Koku bought the display
- b. Kòkú sọ̀ kófù ọ́ gbà FGb (daC 1994:69)
 Koku take window the break
 Koku broke the window

In (8.a) the subject of both verbs is NP1. In (8.b), the subject of V2 is NP2. In neither is the second term independent of the first, so both are EVENT STATE resultative serials. In FGb, then, the ‘take’ serial item may occur in an EVENT term.

A local (object) control, or predication relationship analysis of anticausatives is the same for adjectives functioning as transitives, such as *hwè*, ‘be small (belittled)’, or *sù*, ‘be large (honored)’, (ibid.:64). This analysis underscores a similarity between anticausatives and adjectives. It also indicates that anticausatives in FGb are more prototypically intransitive than transitive. SM anticausatives may also be seen as prototypically more intransitive than transitive by their markedness reduplication as attributive adjectives, discussed in Chapter 2. SM anticausatives functioning as transitive verbs of course are reduplicated as attributives, like all attributives derived from transitive verbs.

Relative to the transfer of control into SM, the FGb ‘take’ shared object serials would provide both non-local (subject) and local (object) control models depending on the transitivity of the open class V2. This variation, in allowing object control, determines that the FGb anticausative ‘take’ shared object serials with anticausative V2 are resultative, namely EVENT STATE, with a subject predication relationship of NP2 to V2. The other FGb ‘take’ shared object serials with subject control could have an object predication relationship of NP2 to V2, also EVENT STATE. But by Déchaine (1997), as discussed in Chapter 4, only in a resultative serial can NP2 be the subject of V2, again indicating that both types of FGb ‘take’ shared object serials are resultative. There is no

analysis such as in Da Cruz (1994) as to the control feature in the FGb resultative shared object serials, but there is no reason not to assume they are also EVENT STATE. The FGb 'take' shared object serial with anticausative V2 parallels SM shared object serial in the object control of V2.

The EVENT STATE composition with a predication relationship between NP2 and V2 is necessary for the SM shared object serial to have an object controlled V3, most obvious in serials depicting a change of location. The Lefebvre (1991) analysis of FGb 'take' serials finds that they must depict a change of location. The SM *téi*, 'take', serials may also indicate change of location, as part of the semantics of 'taking'. But in a somewhat subtle way, they indicate a degree of volitionality, as discussed in Chapter 4:

- (9) a. a booko dí báta, ma ná ku sábi SM
 he break the bottle but not with know
 he broke the bottle, but not on purpose
- b. a tjà dí báta booko, ma ná ku sábi SM
 he hold the bottle break but not with know
 (?)he took/held the bottle (and) broke (it), but not on purpose
- c. * a téi dí báta booko, ma ná ku sábi SM
 he take the bottle break but not with know
 (he broke the bottle, but not on purpose)
- d. a tjà dí báta booko ku sábi SM
 he hold the bottle break with know
 (?)he took/held the bottle (and) broke (it) on purpose

The 'taking' depicted by *téi* is a metaphor based on change of location, where rather than location it is the focus on the object which changes as a result of volitionality against a

background of less volitional expectations. A volitional use of *tjá* in (9.d) shows there is no volitional contrast with *téi*.

In contrast to the SM 'take' shared object serial, da Cruz (1994) shows that volitionality is overtly in the semantics of the parallel 'take' constructions in FGb, to be discussed below in (32). The FGb *só*, 'take' depicts volitional action, while *hèn*, 'take' is used for accidental action:

- (10) a. kòkú hèn kófù ó gbà FGb (daC. 1992:130)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass (by accident)
- b. kòkú só kófù ó gbà FGb (daC. 1992:124)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass (with volition)

The 'take' shared object serials in varieties of FGb are not the more common 'take' instrumental serials, which appear to occur in all the Fon dialects and throughout the Kwa languages. The instrument serials in FGb also involve *só*, 'take', as the V1 serial item, but not *hèn*, 'take', 'hold'. This is very likely because one would not use an instrument non-volitionally. Ditransitives in 'take' serials also have no volitionality contrast with *hèn*, and similarly such involuntary action would be unlikely. The instrumental argument follows the serial item, while the affected argument follows V2. Thus even though the 'take' shared object serial and the instrumental serial share the V1 *só*, 'take', they treat the affected object differently. The FGb instrumental serial, in (11.a), has an equivalent in SM, (11.b). Interestingly, there is an example of a SM 'take' instrumental with *tjá*, 'carry', which may be seen as an action lacking volition because of the inanimate agent, in (11.c):

- (11) a. kòkú só jìvì sèn làn FGb (Brousseau 1993:129)
 Koku take knife cut meat
 Koku cut the meat with a knife
- b. kofí téí fáká kóti gwàmbà SM
 Kofi take knife cut meat
 Kofi cut the meat with a knife
- c. ee i lesi òn taki, nòò a sa tja dèdè kii i seei SM (A. & G.:69)
 if you read its talk now it can carry death kill you self
 if you read its (apintii drum) talk, it could even bring death to you

The use of *tjá* in (11.c) suggests analogy during transfer of the instrumental with the 'take' shared object serial regarding volitionality, although *hu*, 'kill', does not occur with *hèn* serials because it is not anticausative (daC. 1992:127). The 'take' shared object construction is not treated as a shared object serial by da Cruz, Brousseau or Migge, however, but is considered to be a variation of the 'take' instrumental serial, in (11.a). These analyses therefore parallel the theme/instrumental analysis of Veenstra (1996:128). Da Cruz, for example, refers to them as 'change of state, possession or location' variations of the 'take' serial verb constructions (daC. 1992:119-123).

The V1 position of the serial item in the two FGb 'take' constructions is unique to these two constructions. The V1 'take' serial items in FGb differ from other FGb V2 serial items in that they show verbal characteristics typical of V1 verbs, namely predicate cleft, (12.a), and tense, in (12.b). The V2 non-serial items, on the other hand, do not show these characteristics, in (12.c, d), which is typical of V2 serial items but atypical of V1 non-serial items:

- (12) a. cɔ (e) kofi cɔ afɔkpa wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:230)
 SI(take) FOC Kofi SI(take) shoe hide
 Kofi INTENTIONALLY hid the shoes
- b. kofi la cɔ afɔkpa wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:230)
 Kofi FUT SI(take) shoe hide
 Kofi will actively hide the shoes
- c. *wla (e) kofi cɔ afɔkpa wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:230)
 SI(take) FOC Kofi SI(take) shoe hide
- d. *kofi la cɔ afɔkpa la wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:230)
 Kofi FUT SI(take) shoe FUT hide

Some speakers of FGb allow predicate clefting of both V1 and V2 (Lf. & Br. 2002:407), but all speakers allow only one future marker (ibid.:402). What is important with all speakers, though, is that the V1 position for ‘take’ serials is the same as the V1 of other serials in syntactic tests (ibid.:408), even though ‘take’ is a serial item.

Two constructions with an identical V1 serial item, namely *sɔ́*, ‘take’, could be a natural classification, especially considering the uniqueness of the V1 serial items, which are V2 in other FGb serial verb constructions. But such a classification ignores any patient or theme/instrument role difference of NP2 such as in SM, and also neglects constraints on V2. The FGb ‘take’ instrumental serials, like their SM counterparts, are not constrained to depict a visible effect:

- (13) kòkú sɔ́ cìcì kpɔ́ xò (Lf. 1991:63)
 Koku take glasses look at house
- i. Koku takes glasses and looks at the house
- ii. Koku takes glasses in order to look at the house

- c. mōto ɔ hɛn emɛ ɛ va Gbe, Maxi (ibid:211)
 car DET SI person DET come
 the car brought the person

Migge (1998:222) appears to be the first publication to introduce the FGb shared object construction. Shared object serials are also mentioned in Lf. & Br. (2002:414, 423-426), but in no other literature on FGb serial verbs used in this study. The overall impression in the variation of occurrence among languages and sparse treatment in the literature is that shared object serials do not exist in all the Fon (or Kwa) languages, and that where they do exist they are not common. Shared object serials were not among the serial verb constructions used in McWhorter (1996b) to demonstrate substrate transfer. This perhaps in part explains the classification of FGb 'take' shared object serials with the 'take' instrumental serials.

7.3 Patient-verb word order constructions in FGb

Characteristic of the shared object and 'take' shared object serial verb constructions in both FGb and SM is a patient-verb word order. The patient-verb phrase, *PV*, is a patientive argument followed by the verb that affects it. In SM, the shared object serial and the passive are the only constructions with a *PV* phrase. It is exemplified for shared object serials in the Gbe languages Fon (Maxi), (2.a) above, and Phla (Xwela), (15.a) below, as well as in SM, (15.b):

- (15) a. e la li awu lo fyɔ Xwela (M. 1998:223)
 he FUT iron shirt the SI (burn)
 he'll iron the shirt until it'll get burned

- b. a ó jasá dí beéé tjumá... [à ó jásá dí beééé tjú má...] SM
 he FUT bake the bread burn
 he'll bake (and) burn the bread

The V2 in (15.a) is analyzed in Migge (1998:222) as a serial item, which as mentioned above means it is the 'closed slot' verb in this construction. In other words, this V2 is from a limited number of verbs that may occur in this type of serial. In addition to being from a closed class, there is the constraint that the V2 must be a verb that depicts an effect on the object. As with 'take' shared object serials in FGb, V2 may include strictly transitive verbs, like *hù*, 'kill', as well as anticausatives, like *gbà*, 'break' (ibid.). The V2 in FGb 'take' serials is not a serial item, and so differs from the V2 of the FGb shared object serials. The V2 in the SM shared object serial is also constrained to depict a visible effect on the object. Contrary to the V2 in the Fon and Gbe languages, however, the SM V2 is not from a closed class (V. 1996:102), it may be any object affecting transitive or anticausative verb, as in (15.b). In the PV word order phrase the verb may or may not be a serial item, or even a serial verb.

In (15.b) the V2 is an anticausative functioning as a transitive verb. As seen by its tone sandhi, the construction is not a small clause complement. It is assumed that the Xwela example in (15.a) is not a small clause complement, as strictly transitive verbs may also occur as V2, as in (2.a).

7.3.1 Progressive, prospective, and similar PV constructions

There are several constructions in FGb, other than the shared object and 'take' shared object serials, which have the PV word order. These are the progressive, prospective, and other constructions with verbal auxiliary-like items meaning 'begin', 'stop', or 'know how' (Fabb 1992a:30-31). Wiesemann (1991:75) considers these PV constructions to be remnants of an earlier SOV word order. This would also explain the blocking of tone

sandhi after verbs in FGb, and in SM, since in the SOV order the verb would be the right edge of any tonal domain. It also suggests that the verb in the PV construction was previously verbal, rather than a nominalization. That PV constructions are remnants is a plausible assumption, since these PV constructions are reduced in transitivity, are the type of construction used in backgrounding, and are therefore less likely to be used and thus would be more conservative regarding word order change.

Fabb (1992b) analyzes the first verb, V1, in the FGb PV constructions as a true verb, not an auxiliary. The Fabb analysis brings these constructions superficially somewhat closer to the Migge analysis of serial verb constructions, in that there are two verbs, one of which is a serial item performing a reduced verbal function. There is a resemblance to shared object serials in that V2 is reduced in transitivity, in that in the PV constructions in F. (ibid.) the affecting verb is reduced in transitivity. These constructions resemble shared object serials as well, in that the affected argument precedes the affecting verb. The PV constructions do not resemble shared object serials, though, in that both verbs in the PV do not affect the object. They also do not resemble FGb shared object serials regarding the serial item status of V2. They do resemble FGb 'take' serials, however, in that V2 is not a serial item. They also resemble the 'take' serials in that V1 is restricted to a limited number of items. The closest resemblance, then, is with 'take' shared object serials. There is the further resemblance that the V1 of the FGb 'take' shared object serial functions to qualify V2 rather than depict an effect. The PV constructions in F. (ibid.) also resemble both the FGb and SM shared object serials in that the transitive or anticausative V2 of the PV appears to be constrained to depict a visible or perceivable effect on the object.

The progressive in FGb is one of the PV constructions. An unmarked sentence in FGb, (16.a), has SVO word order. The progressive, in (16.b), has the PV order. The preverbal object serves to block reduplication, (Fb. 1992a, b), in (16.b). If the object does not separate the two verbs, as in (16.c), V2 is reduplicated:

- (16) a. *é sà wěmà* FGb (Fabb 1992a:30)
 he sell book
 he sells books
- b. *é d̀ò wěmà sà wè* FGb (Fabb 1992a:30)
 he COP book sell PRT
 he is selling books
- c. *é' é d̀ò s̀sà wè* FGb (Fabb 1992a:30)
 what he COP RE-sell PRT
 what is he selling?

The progressive construction in (16.c) also resembles the progressive anticausative and the adjectival passive, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, in having a reduplicated verb follow the locative copula *d̀ò*. Removal of the subject *é*, 'he' in (16.c) should give an ambiguous reading; 1) a progressive anticausative 'what is selling?', and 2) an adjectival passive 'what is sold?'. Both meanings would be assertive, due to the particle *wè*. An example from a different construction, involving *nyó*, 'know', in (28.e) below, illustrates a passive reading. The progressive, prospective and other PV constructions in Fabb (1992a, b) also resemble the adjectival and verbal passive in that V1 modifies V2, rather than affecting the patient. This resemblance is more than superficial, however, because the progressive and other PV constructions in Fabb (1992a, b) apply only to eventive verbs, which for FGb means object affecting for transitive verbs (Lf. 1995:163). Hence the resemblance to the passive-like constructions, which involve only verbs depicting effects:

- (17) a. **K̀òkú d̀ò àjót' s̀ m̀ wè* FGb (Lf. 1995:163)
 Koku ASP thief DET see PART
 (Koku is in the process of seeing the thief)

- b. * Kòkú dọ̀ àsíbá tùn wẹ̀ FGb (Lf. 1995:164)
 Koku ASP Asiba know PART
 (Koku is in the process of knowing Asiba)

Verbs that do not depict an effect on the object, such as verbs of perception, in (17.a), or stative verbs, as in (17.b), do not occur in the progressive construction. It will be argued that this follows from a more general constraint on event determiners, such as *wẹ̀*, the marker of new information in an event (Law & Lefebvre 1995:16). Event determiners occur following phrases that depict events. Events in part are defined for FGb as involving affected objects when the verb is transitive, in (18.a, b). This same constraint applies to predicate cleft constructions where the verb is fronted (*ibid.*:31). A noun may be fronted in a predicate cleft construction involving non-eventive clauses, but in (18) predicate clefts of verbs are restricted to eventive clauses:

- (18) a. súnù dẹ́ gbà mótò ọ́ I/wẹ̀ FGb (Lw. & Lf. 1995:12)
 man a destroy car DET DET
 a man destroyed the car (known/new event)
- b. * súnù dẹ́ kpé vǐ ọ́ I/wẹ̀ FGb (Lw. & Lf. 1995:13)
 man a meet child DET DET
 (a man met the child (known/new event))
- c. gbà wẹ̀ súnù dẹ́ gbà mótò ọ́ FGb (Lw. & Lf. 1995:13)
 destroy DET man a destroy car DET
 it is DESTROY that a man did to the car (known/new event)
- d. * kpé wẹ̀ súnù dẹ́ kpé vǐ ọ́ FGb (Lw. & Lf. 1995:13)
 meet DET man a meet child DET
 (it is ACCOMPANY that a man did to the child (known/new event))

The constraint is explained in Lefebvre (1998a:118) as a requirement of the event determiner that its complement be an identifiable object. Events can be identifiable objects if they have a beginning and an endpoint, that is, if they are complete. An event in FGb, then, is delimited by the verbal action that for transitive verbs implies the affecting of the object.

A predicate clefted item in FGb is followed by the event determiner *wè*, signifying that this fronted item is the delimiting item of the event in (19.a). This may explain why there may be only one event determiner in a clause, in (19.b):

- (19) a. *dù wè Kòkú dù àsón ó* FGb (Lw. & Lf. 1995:13)
 eat DET Koku eat crab DET
 It is EAT that Koku did to the crab
- b. **dù wè Kòkú dù àsón ó ó/wè* FGb (Lw.& Lf. 1995:17)
 eat DET Koku eat crab DET DET

The progressive construction, as in (16.b), has *wè* as the final item. It may not be followed by an/another event determiner:

- (20) a. **Jan dọ wíwá wè ó* FGb (Lf. 1998a:118)
 John at arriving POST DET
 (John is arriving, as we knew)

The explanation given in Lf. (1998a:118) for (20) is that the progressive does not depict a completed event, and so may not have an event determiner; *ó* in this example is the determiner for known information. It is also possible, however, that the progressive construction itself uses *wè* as an event determiner, which would preclude an additional marker, as in (18.b). This is indicated in the identical constraint on verbs in the

progressive construction, in (17), as on verbs in event determiners and predicate cleft constructions, in (18).

A further indication that the marker *wè* is an event determiner in predicate clefts is the generally accepted view that these fronted items followed by *wè* are nominal, namely nouns or nominalizations. Considering the fronted verb a nominalization in the predicate cleft construction would explain why clefted verbs must leave a copy, whereas nouns are extracted. All nouns may occur in predicate cleft constructions, but only those dynamic verbs that depict events have this syntactic privilege. A nominalization, in Hopper & Thompson (1984:745), 'names an event taken as an entity.' Events named by verbs as defined in Lf. (1998a:118) may be expressed by nominalizations of these verbs in a predicate cleft construction.

The marker *wè* is more than an event determiner, however. As mentioned above, the marker *wè* indicates new information, where the marker *ó* indicates known information. It is primarily the marker *wè* that occurs in predicate clefts. This is not unexpected, since fronting is a common strategy for presenting new information. It is the marker *wè* that also occurs with the progressive construction. This is also not unexpected, since in the progressive construction dynamic verbs must be event depicting. In addition, the complement of *qò* headed by *wè* in the progressive construction is considered by most researchers to be a nominalization (Lf. 1998a:122). As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, Fabb (1992a:30) and Brousseau (1993:106-8) analyze FGb verbal reduplication as a prefix that is nominal. Thus the occurrence of *wè* in the progressive construction parallels its occurrence in predicate clefts in heading a nominalized phrase.

The occurrence of *wè* in the progressive construction implies that the nominalized complement of *qò* is new information. This may be seen in the resumptive pronoun following *qò* in the predicate cleft construction, in (21). The item *qò* is termed a verbid in Lf. (1990) because it has verbal characteristics, but also prepositional characteristics such as taking resumptive weak pronouns with extraction. The resumptive pronoun is marked by its tone as an object. Recall from Du Bois (1987) that objects of transitive verbs are prototypically associated with new information.

The FGb weak 3SG pronoun has two forms, differing in tone. The low tone *é* is [+objective] (case), it is governed by a verb or by the preposition *nú*, 'to / for'. The high tone *é* occurs elsewhere.

A complement of *dò* is not case marked for [+objective], as seen in (21.a). The prepositional complement is fronted, in (21.b), and headed by *wè*. The resumptive pronoun is [+objective]. As a copula, the verbid *dò* would not take a [+objective] complement, nor would it as a preposition, unlike *nú*. The implication of the [+objective] resumptive pronoun is that it signals reference to new information. This status as new information is expressed by *wè*.

The complements of *dò*, to the right in (21.c, d), are headed by *wè* without predicate cleft. When clefted, the entire complement is fronted, as in (21.b). This complement is not headed by an additional marker *wè*. Nor is it blocked, as in (20), indicating an additional marker. The implication is that the phrase headed by *wè* is new information whether clefted or not:

- (21) a. *wè má ó dò é jí* FGb (Lf. 1994:74)
 book the at it on
 the book is on it
- b. *távò jí wè Kòkú dò è* FGb (Lf. 1990:58)
 table on FO Koku at it
 it is on the table that Koku is
- c. *wìwlán wè Kòkú dò è < K. dò wìwlán wè* FGb (Lf. 1990:58)
 writing FO Koku at it
 it is writing that Koku is doing

- d. xwé ó gbà wè Kòkú dọ è < K. dọ xwé ó gbà wè
house DET destroy wè Koku is-at 3SG FGb (Nd. 1993:82)
it is destroying the house that Koku is in the process of doing

The marker *wè*, then, appears to indicate new information. However, in predicate cleft and progressive constructions it does not appear to necessarily indicate events. In (21.b), for example, a prepositional phrase is not an event. Similarly, in (21.c, d) nominalizations are not events, although the verbs are necessarily event depicting. The corresponding non-cleft sentences in (21.c, d) are themselves not prototypically eventive, by the definition in Lf. (1998a:118), since they are progressives and so do not depict completed actions.

As an event determiner, then, the marker *wè* occurs with verbs that could depict an event. These are dynamic verbs which depict a completed action, either intransitive action or transitive action which affects an object. It does not include transitive stative verbs, such as verbs of cognition, or transitive dynamic verbs that do not affect the object, such as verbs of perception. Intuitively a progressive occurrence of an otherwise event-depicting verb would be at variance with its prototypical occurrence or aktionsart, and so would be new information. The marker *wè* in predicate cleft constructions occurs with identifiable objects in focus position, also indicating new information. As an event determiner, a focus marker in predicate cleft constructions, or as the head of the complement in progressive constructions, the marker *wè* serves to indicate new information.

The defining characteristics of verbs occurring with *wè*, together with the function of *wè* to indicate new information, combine to define the characteristics of another category, showing that the affectedness constraint is not limited to just one area of FGb grammar. This category is the category of derived attributive adjectives, both in FGb and in SM.

Derived attributive adjectives refer to an internal argument of the verb. Excluding those verbs occurring with *wè* that have no internal argument, namely unergative intransitives, leaves precisely those verbs that occur as derived attributives, namely object

affecting transitives and unaccusative or in any case referent affecting intransitives. The correspondence sharpens when only predicate cleft and progressive constructions are considered, because these involve nominalizations. This may be because, recall from Thompson (1988), attributive adjectives have nominal characteristics, whereas predicate adjectives have verbal characteristics. Recall also that attributive adjectives help introduce new information, whereas predicate adjectives predicate known information. Thus the type of verb, the nominal character, and the association with new information are characteristics shared by predicate cleft and progressive constructions and derived attributive adjectives.

There is another category of verbs which occur in predicate cleft and progressive constructions, at least in some dialects, but which do not depict events. These are intransitive stative verbs, namely, verbal adjectives:

- (22) a. kpèn (wè) nùsúnú ó kpèn < nùsúnú ó kpèn FGb (Nd. 1992:93)
 thick sauce DET is thick
 it is thick that the sauce is
- b. nuḍé ká ɖo nyu-nyo nɛ mɛ wē Gbe, Maxi 2 (M. 1999 (11))
 nothing ? COP good-good for person FOC
 nothing has even been getting good/better for people

The item *ká* in (22.b) could be the contrastive focus marker *ká* with high tone spread (Ws. 1991:78). The verbal adjectives are not mentioned in Lf. (1990, 1994, 1998a) in connection with the predicate cleft and progressive constructions, but are discussed in Lf. & Br. (2002:510); they occur clefted if they depict a temporary state, namely a stage-level predicate. Verbal adjectives are clearly not event depicting. But their inclusion among the verbs occurring in predicate cleft and progressive constructions has significance for attributive adjectives in Fgb and SM. When stage-level predicates, verbal adjectives are temporal and imply that the referent has undergone a process. This

is implied in the translation of (22.b). These verbal adjectives have an UNDERGOER argument, (Foley & Van Valin 1985; V.V. 1990), in the same way that unaccusative intransitives have an UNDERGOER argument. As mentioned above, verbs with an UNDERGOER affected argument may be derived as attributives, since the referent is the UNDERGOER argument. This should be modified somewhat to include verbal adjectives, namely that the UNDERGOER argument bears the locus of effect, as in Croft (1995). More significantly, however, constructions like (22) in FGb set the stage for analogy during transfer leading to the inclusion of verbal adjectives in predicate cleft and *dé* + RE constructions in SM.

The verbs that occur in predicate cleft and progressive constructions are object affecting transitive dynamic verbs, eventive intransitive dynamic verbs, and intransitive stative verbs. These verbs depict the locus of effect on the least agentive argument. Thus they do not depict an affected experiencer argument, eliminating transitive stative verbs and verbs of perception. These verbs, then, allow only transitive verbs whose subjects are less affected than their objects. They may be seen as conforming to an iconicity of the syntactic roles of subject and direct object, namely that prototypically the subject is less affected than the object.

The verbs that may occur as attributive adjectives are a subset of the verbs that occur in predicate cleft and progressive constructions. As mentioned above, they include only verbs with an affected argument. The stative verbs occurring as predicate adjectives and the dynamic verbs occurring as the dynamic counterparts to adjectives in both FGb and SM are also in this subset. The dynamic counterparts include unaccusative intransitives and passives. Particularly in SM, the constraints on the passive involving animacy can be seen as conforming to the iconicity of syntactic roles relative to an implied but unexpressed agent, in that animate arguments are less likely to be affected, discussed in Chapters 3 and 6.

The fact that the same constraint exists in separate parts of FGb grammar indicates that the constraint itself reflects an underlying motivation in the language. In this case, the constraint excludes transitive verbs whose object is less affected than the subject, like

verbs of perception. In other words, the constraint conforms to the iconicity of syntactic subjects and objects, that subjects prototypically are less affected than objects. This constraint is modified for particular uses, for example with event determiners. Event determiners accompany phrases that fit the narrow definition of an event, part of which limits verbs to those that depict completed actions. They thus exclude intransitive stative verbs. There is this difference, then, between event determiners and predicate clefting, since the modification does not apply to predicate cleft and progressive constructions. For attributive adjectives, the constraint is modified to exclude those verbs that do not depict an affected argument. Similarly, the possessive case marker on nouns, *tɔ̃n*, applies only to nouns which are affected, parallel to derived adjectives, or to inalienably possessed nouns, parallel to stative adjectives (Kinyalolo 1995:84). Those nouns that are not affected imply the locus of effect falls on the syntactic subject instead of the syntactic object.

Law & Lefebvre (1995:9) make the prediction that languages lacking event determiners will also lack a predicate cleft construction. This prediction is made on the basis of the similarities between the two constructions, namely that the argument must be affected, delimiting and specific. The Lw. & Lf. account does not mention the occurrence of intransitive stative verbs in predicate cleft constructions. This is a difference between the two constructions, as mentioned above, since stative verbs do not depict events. Stative verbs do occur clefted in FGb, by Lf. & Br. (2002:510), but only if they depict a temporary state; a stage-level predicate (Kratzer 1989). *Wh*-constructions in FGb are also considered clefts, and may optionally have *wɛ̃* (Lf. & Br. *ibid.*:157). These constraints on predicate clefting in FGb appear to hold in SM as well.

The Lw. & Lf. prediction may hold for SM, which has predicate cleft but does not have event determiners, at least not with the same constraints on definiteness as FGb. The SM *wɛ̃* is an intensifier (McW. 1996b:91), it occurs with eventive object affecting verbs, (23.a), and in non-eventive copular constructions, (23.b), but also occurs with non-affecting verbs, (23.c), in a *Wh*-construction:

- (23) a. Mi wě téi ěn SM (Rountree & Glock 1977:73)
 I EMPH take it
 I took it
- b. Dí wómi-dε ø dáta wε o! SM (McW. 1996b:92)
 the man-there doctor well INT
 Now that man is a doctor!
- c. ambehweh bi takki da ju (Randt 1781 in McW. p.c.)
 who wε ANT talk give you
 who was talking to you?

Unlike the FGb event determiners, the SM *wě* is optional and semantically aligned with emphasis. But syntactically it resembles FGb *wé*. But SM lacks the definite determiner of FGb and HT.

The FGb *wé* allows a null copula in clefted constructions, used for contrastive focus (Lf. & Br. 2002:134), in (24.a), which is parallel to (23.b) above, suggesting that this null copula in SM is transfer rather than innovation. The FGb *wé* is considered a copula in all contexts (ibid.:133-138), again suggesting transfer for constructions in SM like (23.a, c) which parallel (24.b):

- (24) a. àtín wè (é nyí) FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:141)
 tree it.is 3sg be
 It is a tree (that it is)
- b. masè vī lé wè wá FGb (ibid.)
 Massè child PL it.is arrive
 It is the people of Massè who have arrived

The construction in FGb that is equivalent to the SM shared object serial verb constructions, termed the resultative serial verb construction in Migge (1998:222), bears a semantic similarity to the FGb progressive construction in that the V2 serial items conform to the constraints. As with the event determiners, the constraints are modified to fit the construction, namely the resultative construction would not depict non-resultative states. The FGb resultative serial verb construction therefore would not be expected include adjectives as V2 serial items.

The FGb resultative serial verb construction also resembles the progressive construction syntactically in being a PV construction. The PV items of the progressive, however, appear in (21.b, c, d), *xwé ó gbà wè* (d), ‘destroying the house’, to be nominalizations, whereas the V2 serial items are not nominalizations. This is indicated in the predicate cleft, where nominal items are clefted without copies, as in (21.b, c, d), *xwé ó gbà wè, Kòkú dọ̀ è*, ‘it is destroying the house that Koku is doing’ (d). The resultative V2 serial items may not be predicate clefted, a characteristic of V2 in FGb (M. 1998:236). Also, prepositions but not verbs may be pied-piped (M. 1998:227), an additional non-verbal characteristic of the pied-piped PVs in (21.b, d). Thus there are syntactic differences between the progressive and the resultative serial verb constructions. But there is an indication that the PV of the progressive and other PV constructions is in fact verbal. In this case, the predicate cleft characteristics of PVs may be a strategy for clefting V2, which for the PVs in (21) are the items carrying the main verbal information. No FGb serial verb constructions may cleft its V2, most likely because all but the ‘take’ serials have a serial item as V2, so the main verbal information is V1 which may be clefted.

The Fabb analysis of the PV constructions, shown in (25) below, is that they have two verbs, that is, the first verbal item is V1, and the PV verb is V2. Fabb (1992b:29) argues there is no semantic or morphosyntactic evidence to suggest that the V1 verbs form an independent set of auxiliary verbs. In this analysis then, these constructions superficially resemble the syntax of shared object serials in SM in that V2 is not a serial item. For intransitive verbs in the progressive the reduplicative prefix is nominal, but the entire

word is not a nominalization. The V2 analysis is based on the placement of the future marker, in (25), which creates the prospective, or 'Prospective I' (Kinyalolo 1992:41; Lf. 1995:166). The future marker also occurs in other PV constructions (Kn. 1992:42):

- (25) un d̀ò ń ná d̀ù ẁè FGb (Fb. 1992b:13)
 I COP thing FUT eat PRT
 I am about to eat

The placement of the future marker after the preverbal patientive argument and before V2 is part of the justification of the Fabb (1992b) claim that the preverbal patientive argument and V2 are an embedded sentence. The patientive argument in (25) is in the absolutive case (ibid.:12), assigned by V2 which is [+tense] (ibid.:28). Fabb (ibid.:13) presents proof that the future marker is not a verbal prefix, and that its position is between the subject and the verb. This analysis superficially resembles the analysis of SM change of location shared object serials discussed in Chapter 4, namely that the object of V1 is the absolutive case subject of V2. Interestingly, da Cruz (1994:85) and Lefebvre (1989) analyze 'take' shared object serials with anticausative V2s in FGb in a similar way, namely, that the object of V1 is the subject of V2. The first verb in (25), of course, does not have an object, but the resemblance to the SM passive as well as the SM change of location shared object serial is that the affected argument is the patientive subject of the following verb which affects it.

Manfredi (1997:103) also argues that the V2 of a PV construction is verbal. The argument relates to the PV phrase in FGb as well as in several other Kwa languages. In these Kwa languages the PV phrases share a common semantic feature in that they are semantically durative. This means they do not depict an endpoint, so they have a non-terminative reading. The aktionsart of affecting verbs determines a terminative event. To avoid this interpretation, the object occurs preverbally, thus it is removed from the scope of the verb (ibid.:104). Manfredi refers to this as *scopophobia*, after Verkuyl (1994).

The verbal nature of V2 in these PV constructions may be seen in the contrast with the gerund, which for transitives in FGb involves PRV, an object preceding a reduplicated and presumably nominalized verb (Fb. 1992b:2):

(26) a. é b̀è xó d̀ò FGb (Fb. 1992b:8)
 he start word say
 he starts speaking

 b. é b̀è xó d̀i-d̀ò FGb (Fb. 1992b:8)
 he start word RE-say
 he starts the speech

The gerund, in (27.a), may occur as a predicate cleft, in (27.b):

(27) a. KÓkú Dò nũ DuDú wè FGb (Lm. & Lf. 1990:776)
 Koku is-doing food prepare that
 Koku is doing FOOD PREPARING

 b. nũ DuDú WÈ KÓkú Dê (=Dò è) FGb (Lm. & Lf. 1990:776)
 food preparing that Koku is-doing-it
 It is FOOD PREPARING that Koku is doing

The cleft in (27.b) contrasts with the cleft in (21.d), *xwé ó gbà wè Kòkú d̀ò è*, where the clefted verb is not reduplicated. This contrast indicates a difference between PV and the nominalized PRV gerund. Considering the Fabb (1992a, b) analysis that the verb in a PV construction is not a nominalization, the occurrence of PV predicate clefts is the only occurrence of a clefted V2 in FGb. In this way the FGb PV constructions resemble SM serial verb constructions, which may cleft V2. The clefted verb, by the Fabb analysis, includes its licensing preverbal object or reduplication, and thus differs from SM clefting.

There is a further resemblance, however, in that the object pronoun *e'* is left as a trace where a copy of the clefted verb would be left in SM.

The clefting of PV as a unit establishes it as a single item, an item capable of serving as an icon during transfer representing a partial event.

The verbs in the FGb PV constructions are low in transitivity, depicting only a part of an event rather than a completed event. In this way they resemble serial verbs in general, which, by H. & T. (1984), share the transitivity of an event. Thus they resemble the SM resultative shared object serial verbs in particular. The FGb PV constructions resemble SM shared object serial as well, of course, in the occurrence of the affected object before the affecting verb.

Regarding transfer, there is no structure in SM equivalent to the progressive and other PV constructions in FGb. As discussed in Chapter 1, those constructions that have a high degree of transitivity would be more likely to transfer due to the communicative needs of early contact. Clauses with the PV constructions in Fb. (1992a) are low in transitivity. More specifically, however, clauses with the PV constructions are low in transitivity because they depict incomplete events. The PV constructions have been compared to serial verb constructions, especially the shared object serial. Serial verb constructions are defined as depicting single events, namely complete events. But the verbs in a serial construction share the overall transitivity (H. & T. 1984) and depict only part of the completed event. The PV phrase is equivalent to only part of a shared object serial construction.

Serial verb constructions have transferred into the Surinamese creoles and HT, but the PV constructions in Fb. (ibid.) have not. An additional explanation for this failure to transfer could be that serial verb constructions depicting complete events had a pragmatic role, such as activation of information, which was essential in creole genesis. Without this function the serial construction might be less necessary, and could be replaced by two or more non-serial clauses. A clause depicting an incomplete effect on an object would be less effective in introducing that item. The PV constructions, analyzed as having two verbs, may not have functioned effectively in activation, and in other

functions were replaced by two or more non-serial clauses or by TMA constructions.

Along the lines of essential features for creole genesis, in McW. (2001), and the lack of features in this genesis that take time to develop (McW. 2000), scopophobia (Manfredi 1997) may not be such an essential feature. The motivation for scopophobia appears to have been initiated by a word order change in FGb from SOV to SVO, a change that occurred over time. Any possibility of transfer for a preverbal object may have been offset by the motivation in creoles to have a temporally iconic word order, namely SVO. The PV phrase could transfer in shared object serials then, because the serial construction itself begins with SVO, and most obviously for the change of location V2s the SVO word order applies to the PV phrase as well.

The other PV constructions listed in Fabb (1992a:31) are presented below in (28). The V1 in these constructions occurs followed either by a reduplicated verb or by the object and a simplex verb. The object and simplex verb construction is in the left column in (28) below, with a reduplicated verb construction to the right:

(28)	<u>Patient - Verb</u>	<u>REDUP -Verb</u>
a.	é jà nǔ d̀̀ gbé he thing eat he is going to eat	é jà wǐwá gbé he RE-come he is about to come
b.	é jè xó d̀̀ he word say he begins to speak	jí é jè wǐwá jí he RE-come he begins to come
c.	é bĕ xó d̀̀ he word say he starts to speak	éťé é bĕ sǐsà what he RE-sell what is he starting to sell?

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------------------|
| d. | gbò xó d̀̀ | gbò w̃wá |
| | word say | RE-come |
| | (he) stops speaking | (he) stops coming |
| e. | é nyó xó d̀̀ | kokloo nyó s̃sà |
| | he word say | chicken RE-sell |
| | he can speak | chicken is easy to sell |

These PV constructions also appear from this data to be restricted to eventive verbs, by Lf. (1998a:138), and so they also depict incomplete events. In addition, the PV constructions may be seen as limited to emphasized objects, so that their occurrence in discourse may be seen as marked; nouns and emphatic pronouns may occur with the PV word order, in (29.b), but non-emphatic pronouns occur postverbally, in (29.a):

- (29) a. é d̀̀ z̀̀nz̀̀n m̃ w̃è FGb (Kinyalolo 1992:40)
 he/she be insult me
 He/she is insulting me
- b. é d̀̀ nyè z̀̀n w̃è (ibid.)
 he/she be ME insult
 She/he is insulting ME

This formal distinction between emphatic (29.b) and non-emphatic (29.a) pronouns highlights this distinction in FGb grammar in general as a source of the motivation for such a distinction in SM. SM of course has emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns (Veenstra 1996:30-34). But the contrast in (29) may also have served as a model for the tendency of the SM PV constructions to occur with non-pronominal patient arguments, as discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Naming an item can be considered an emphasis, since the item is being introduced or reactivated for possible further non-emphatic pronominal

reference. Considering the FGb PV constructions to be a model for depicting emphasis would not necessarily imply that these constructions were a model for the SM *tá* progressive or *sá* potential TMA constructions, in that TMA constructions are not limited to transitive verbs and are unmarked as far as emphasis depiction. The FGb progressive *dò* construction is likely not the source of the SM progressive construction with *tá*, although as discussed in Chapter 5, the FGb *dò/dè/de* V1 of this construction may have transferred as the early SR and SM progressive marker *de*. Also, in Chapter 6, FGb *nyó* could be the source of SM *sá*. The occurrence of the emphatic pronoun in the named item position is most likely due to analogy because of the inherent salience in a named item, rather than that position denoting emphasis. There would be no activating function of the preverbal noun in the progressive to motivate its transfer, especially to compete with the motivation for the SVO word order.

The PV word order is not a characteristic of the FGb TMA system, as seen in the anterior (30.a) and future (30.b) constructions. These constructions in themselves depict complete events, and the affected object follows the affecting verb:

- (30) a. Mari kò d̀a wó FGb (Lf. 1998:117)
 Mary ANT prepare dough
 Mary had prepared dough
- b. Mari ná d̀a wó FGb (Lf. 1998:125)
 Mary DEF-FUT prepare dough
 Mary will prepare dough

The anterior and future constructions are also not constrained to depict a visible effect (Lf. 1998a:117-125). It could be argued that the anterior and future markers are minor category items that transferred into SM as TMA markers through relexification (Lf. 1998a:47). But if the progressive marker *dò* were a minor category item, substrate word order would be maintained (ibid.:388), which is not the case in SM. If *dò* were a major

category item, as in fact it is analyzed as a verb rather than an auxiliary in Fb. (1992a), then it is distinct from the other FGb TMA markers, as in (30). The progressive construction and the other PV constructions are distinct from the TMA constructions and are not likely sources of the SM TMA system. The SM progressive construction, with the relexified *tá* from early SR *de*, < early Gbe *dɛ*, was probably modeled the FGb TMA constructions with *ná* and *kò*.

The FGb progressive and related prospective constructions with *dò* are the most relevant of the Fb. (1992a) PV constructions regarding the impact of PV characteristics during transfer. This is because of the marker *dò*, the same item used in the adjectival passive. There is a potential ambiguity in simplification with anticausative verbs, by the scenario presented in Chapter 5, where reduplication is not blocked after the loss of *dò*, in (31). The ambiguity does not manifest itself in SM, as the progressive, (31.a), and other Fb. (1992a) PV constructions did not transfer. Perhaps the potential ambiguity was an influence in preventing the transfer, but in any case it could highlight the similarities between these two constructions and with the other PV constructions as well. The involvement of an anticausative verb is significant, since anticausatives are the one type of verb that may occur in all the FGb PV constructions:

- (31) a. *làn ó dò fí-fyó wè* > *làn ó dè fí-fyó wè*
 the meat is burning
- b. *làn ó dò fí-fyó* > *làn ó dè fí-fyó*
 the meat is burned

The loss of *wè* creates the ambiguity in (31). The copula *dò* in fact may not have been lost, as argued in Chapter 5, it may have transferred in the adjectival passive (31.b) and may be the progressive marker in early SR and SM. This ambiguity would not develop in the other Fb. (1992a) PV constructions, since their V1s are not this copula. Coincident with this, there happens to be no data as to any affectedness constraint on these

constructions, although from the examples, and from the scopophobia argument of Manfredi (1997:103) regarding these constructions, it appears that they could be similarly constrained.

7.3.2 Transitivity in PV constructions

The PV word order constructions in (16), (25) and (28), in Fb. (1992a), provide a syntactic model that is relevant to the transfer of the FGb shared object serials. They share the feature of preverbal object word order. They may also share the patientive absolutive subject of V2, claimed by Fabb (1992a) in (25) for the PV constructions, and by da Cruz (1994) for 'take' shared object anticausative V2 serials, and thereby qualify as a potential source or influence in the transfer of this feature in SM change of location shared object serials. These syntactic features accompany constructions that, by Hopper & Thompson (1980), are low in clause transitivity. The verbs in Fb. (1992a) vary from prototypical verbhood, as discussed in H. & T. (1984), in not depicting an uninterrupted completed event. They not unexpectedly then vary in FGb verbal characteristics by having a preverbal object. The verbs in the FGb shared object and 'take' shared object serials also, by H. & T. (ibid.), vary from prototypical verbhood. Verbs in shared object serial constructions share in the effect on the shared object during a single event, so that each verb in a two verb serial construction has half of the overall verbal transitivity (ibid.). Neither verb, then, depicts a completed event. The V2 in the FGb shared object serial not unexpectedly also varies from FGb verbal characteristics in having a preverbal object.

Thus the constructions in Fb. (1992a) and the shared object serial constructions in FGb are characterized by verbs which are less than prototypically transitive and which follow the argument they affect. It appears that in the grammar of FGb there are no constructions in which a prototypically transitive verb follows the argument it affects. It

can be assumed by this isomorphism, then, that the PV word order itself iconically signifies a clause with a less than prototypically transitive verb. It is iconic both in the sense that the PV word order represents reduced transitivity in FGb grammar, and in the real world sense that an object is best affected when it follows the verb denoting the action that affects it. It is the iconicity of the first sense that could reinforce its interpretation across various types of constructions, but combined with the iconicity of the second sense it could reinforce the interpretation of reduced transitivity in any simplified construction in FGb, and continue as a motivation in transfer. The PV word order in a FGb construction could signify reduced transitivity in the verb for both of the reasons for the reduced transitivity. It will be argued that the PV phrase in FGb served as an icon during transfer, enhancing the transfer of these phrases with reduced transitivity.

Regarding overall clause transitivity, the constructions in Fb. (1992a), the 'take' shared object serial and the shared object serial form a cline. The shared object serial has the highest transitivity, having two affecting verbs, and in SM with their full verbal semantics. The 'take' shared object serial is somewhat lower in transitivity, in that the serial item 'take' does not maintain its full verbal semantics, as seen in (5.a, b) above. The lowest clause transitivity is seen in the progressive and other PV constructions in Fb. (1992a). In these constructions, the V1 has very little by way of semantics and performs a non-verbal function. The cline in clause transitivity among the three types of PV construction indicates an intermediate position for the 'take' shared object serial. As mentioned above, the constructions with the least overall transitivity did not transfer into SM.

7.3.3 Verbal semantics in PV constructions

It is the resemblances in the FGb PV constructions that are relevant to the transfer of shared object serials into SM. In particular, the resemblance between the 'take' shared object serial and the shared object serial on the one hand, and, on the other hand, between

the 'take' shared object serial and the other PV constructions. The 'take' shared object serial is seen as an intermediate between the shared object serial and the PV constructions in Fb. (1992a). It will be argued that the FGb 'take' shared object serial transferred into SM along with characteristics shared with the PV constructions in Fb. (1992a), and that by analogy this encouraged the transfer of the shared object serial with these features. At the same time the resultative and non-volitional features of the shared object serial was an influence in the transfer of the 'take' shared object serial.

7.3.4 'Take' shared object serials

There is a volitional/non-volitional reading associated with the FGb 'take' serials, described in da Cruz (1992, 1994). These serials allow two serial item verbs for 'take', *só*, 'take', and *hèn*, 'hold', as mentioned in 3.1 above. These two verbs retain a measure of their verbal semantics as serial items in the 'take' shared object serial. The use of *só*, 'take', indicates that the action of V2 will be purposeful, reflecting the purposefulness of 'taking', while the use of *hèn*, 'hold', indicates that the action of V2 will be accidental, reflecting the more coincidental nature of 'holding'. The special semantics of this contrast, in (32,a, b) below, did not transfer into SM. Migge (1998:207-212) has found that in NDj there is this semantic contrast. The FGb verbs *só*, 'take', and *hèn*, 'hold' are relexified as NDj *teki* and *tja*, the equivalents in SM are *téi* and *tjá*. As seen in (6.a, b), SM *téi* may show volition, but there is no contrast, as the *tjá* construction does not specifically denote lack of volition. On the other hand, a primary function of the FGb 'take' shared object serials, by da Cruz (1992), is to indicate volitionality, seen in (32), copied from (10):

- (32) a. kòkú hèn kófù ó gbà (daC. 1992:130)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass (by accident)

- b. kòkú s'ó kófù ó gbà (daC. 1992:124)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass (with volition)

Regarding the serial item status of the FGb verbs for 'take', it is assumed that the retention of some part of the semantics of *s'ó*, 'take', and *hèn*, 'hold', entails some degree of effect on the shared object. The effect is not great enough, as mentioned for SM regarding (5.a, b), to include the serial item 'take' in the translation. The effect of the FGb serial item 'take' on the entire clause is to indicate the degree of volitionality in V2 without necessarily indicating that the affected object is physically 'taken'. Thus the retained semantics of *s'ó*, 'take', and *hèn*, 'hold', apply to the verb V2 more than to the object.

It is in the relationship between V1 and V2 that the FGb 'take' shared object serial resembles the progressive, prospective and other PV constructions in Fb. (1992a). The V1 in each of these constructions is relevant to V2 more than to the preverbal object. It affects the second verb in a way that lowers the transitivity of the PV phrase. As discussed in 3.2, the constructions in Fb. (1992a) lower transitivity by changing telicity, as in the progressive, or limiting the complete transfer of effect, as in the prospective. The 'take' shared object serials lower the transitivity of V2 because their effect on the shared object, although limited, is shared with V2. But they can also lower the transitivity of V2 by changing the parameter of volitionality. The use of *s'ó*, 'take', as V1 gives a volitional reading. Since volitional actions are more effectively transferred than non-volitional actions, the V2 of the *s'ó* construction depicts greater transitivity than the V2 with *hèn*. The use of *hèn*, 'hold', is interpreted in the 'take' shared object serial as giving a non-volitional reading to the clause. No doubt the non-volitional interpretation would be aided by an anticausative reading of V2, *gbà*, 'break', in (32.a), since an anticausative reading does not imply agency.

It appears that one of the main functions of the FGb 'take' shared object serials is to indicate the presence or absence of volitionality. With this potential to reduce transitivity

by depicting a lack of volitionality, combined with the fact that it is a serial construction with shared transitivity, it is not surprising that this construction has the PV word order. This would especially be the case for anticausative readings of V2. The fact that the PV word order is associated with phrases with lowered transitivity should analogously make the interpretation of reduced transitivity easier in the PV phrases of both the 'take' shared object serials, but especially in the *hèn*, 'hold' shared object serial. It is proposed that the involuntary reading of *hèn*, 'hold', did not transfer because of its low transitivity, thereby causing the loss in transfer of the distinction in volitionality altogether. What remained to transfer was the semantics of activation, the introduction by 'take' followed by the *affecting event-depicting verb*. This will be discussed in detail in 6.

The *hèn* serial did not transfer into SM, its low transitivity relative to the *só* serial being a likely explanation. In this regard the *hèn* serial would be particularly low in transitivity after the *só* > *téi* serials developed the option of occurring as a shared object serial without a serial item, in association with this innovation in the resultative shared object serial.

7.3.5 Verbal passive

Another construction with a preverbal patient is the verbal passive, which after simplification is a PV phrase, discussed in Chapter 6. The FGb verbal passive is an agentless construction, but implicates that the action depicted is agentive. The verbal passive, like the shared object serials, has the semantic constraint that the verb must depict an effect on the object. In the verbal passive, like the shared object serials, the affected patient precedes the affecting verb. The simplified verbal passive resembles the shared object serials both in sharing a PV word order and in the special semantics. The verbal passive resembles the 'take' shared object serials in that in both constructions there is only one truly affecting verb. The two constructions involve agency, but differ in the expression of agency, which is expressed in the 'take' shared object serial but only

implied in the verbal passive. In transfer the simplified verbal passive loses the copula *nyí* and is not reduplicated, so that syntactically the PV phrase of the verbal passive exactly matches that of the 'take' and resultative shared object serials.

The FGb verbal passive is described in Brousseau (1993:95-138) and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The verbal passive and the other passive-like constructions, namely the adjectival passive, anticausative and *moyenne*, have patientive subjects that precede the verbal elements. In this way they resemble the PV word order constructions in Fb. (1992a). In Chapter 6 the verbal passive has been proposed as the source in the transfer of the SM passive, which differs from the English passive in having no overt passive morphosyntax. The FGb verbal passive was proposed because it implies an agent, as does the *moyenne*, and translates in the past tense, as does the anticausative construction. The simplified passive is similar to the shared object serial regarding agentivity and unmarked past tense interpretation, and, of course, the PV word order. The four passive-like constructions in FGb below, copied from Chapter 6, are from Brousseau (1993:95-6):

- (33) a. àvò ó nyí wìwóńń *verbal passive*
 clothes DET COP RE-crumple
 the clothes were crumpled
- b. àvò ó dò wìwóńń *adjectival passive*
 clothes DET COP-at RE-crumple
 the clothes are crumpled
- c. àvò ó wóńń *anticausative*
 clothes DET crumple
 the clothes crumpled

- d. àvò ó nò wólón gànjí *moyenne*
 clothes DET HAB crumple well
 the clothes are easily crumpled

The verbs in the four passive-like constructions in (33) are constrained in exactly the same way as the verbs in the Gbe shared object serial (M. 1998:222) and in the SM shared object serial, namely they must depict a visible effect on the patient argument (Br. 1993:96).

Of the four passive-like constructions above, the verbal passive and the adjectival passive are most similar to the PV of the SM shared object serial regarding the limitation on V2 verbs. These verbs are 'open slot' non-serial item verbs, constrained by the visible effect requirement. The verbs in the anticausative and *moyenne* constructions have the same semantic constraint, but are limited to verbs that would be appropriate to those constructions. For example, 'crumple' would be appropriate, but 'hit' would not.

It is the anticausative and the *moyenne* constructions, however, which resemble the PV of the shared object serial syntactically. Brousseau (1993:123) proposes that the *moyenne* is distinct from the passive because of its generic and stative qualities. There is an example of a *moyenne* construction without its characteristic habitual marker *nɔ̀*.

- (34) nàkí ó tò gànjí kپó hànjíjí kپó (Br. 1993:38, 123)
 wood the stack well with sing with
 the wood is easily stacked while singing

This example is similar in syntax to the SM passive. It implies an agent and has the PV word order. But it has a generic present tense reading.

The anticausative construction, (33.c), has a past or perfect interpretation, like the shared object serial and 'take' shared object serial. But unlike the shared object serials, the anticausative construction is limited to verbs whose action may be seen as inherent in the patient, and of course does not imply agency. Most of the V2 serial items in the FGb

shared object serial, however, may also occur as anticausatives. There is an overlap with the 'take' shared object serial constructions with V2s that are anticausative, in that the subject of the anticausative verb is the affected patient, in daC. (1998:85). The feature of absolutive subject, then, is shared by the 'take' shared object serial, anticausative and *moyenne* constructions, and the verbal passive, as well as by the PV constructions in Fb. (1992a), but is not mentioned in the literature for the resultative shared object serial. The anticausative construction and the verbal passive share a past tense interpretation with the 'take' and resultative shared object serials. And all these constructions share the affectedness constraint. But only the verbal passive, the 'take' shared object serial and the Fb. (1992a) PV constructions may have any affecting verb which is interpreted in the past tense but may occur with any tense or aspect. The V2 of the FGb shared object serial is a serial item from a closed class.

The verbal passive is a periphrastic passive (Keenan 1985:257) with a copula followed by the reduplicated nominalization. The verbal passive is, then, not simply the 'take' shared object serial without the agent phrase. But the verbal passive does share a semantic feature with the 'take' serials, namely an implication of change of location due to the semantics of the copula *nyí*.

The verbal passive is formed with the copula *nyí*, 'be', and reduplication, as discussed in Chapter 6. This construction contrasts with the adjectival passive, which uses *dò*, 'be at'. Recall that *nyí*, 'be', has the connotation 'is a type of' for non-referential items, and 'has been a' for referential items (Nd. 1992:69). This forced perfect reading gives the verbal passive as well as the transferred SM passive the perfect or past meaning which all passives must be able to express (K. 1985:267). Contrasted with *dò*, 'be at', the copula *nyí*, 'be', might be translated 'be not quite at'. Thus while *dò*, 'be at', could imply a lack of change of location, corresponding to the present tense reading of the adjectival passive, *nyí*, 'be not quite at', could imply change of location, at least metaphorically, corresponding to a perfect reading where action begun in the past continues to be relevant in the present.

The 'take' serials in FGb, including the 'take' shared object serials, almost always

constructions may be similar in resultativeness, although there could be a difference in topicality in the patient argument.

Resultative events are seen by Déchaine (1997) as EVENT STATE. The composition of events addresses serial constructions, but may apply to all events. The event composition of resultatives, from Chapter 4, defines a predication relationship (=) of subject or object. Resultative shared object serials with either subject or object control of V2 fit this analysis. For the resultative verbal passive, however, such an analysis might seem counterintuitive, since the copula *nyí* is a stative verb, while the V2 must be dynamic:

- (36)
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ // \backslash \\ // \backslash \\ \text{VP1} \quad \text{VP2} \\ // \backslash \quad \wedge \\ // \backslash \quad / \backslash \\ =\text{V1 DP}=\text{V2} \dots \\ \text{zén } \acute{o} \text{ nyí } \text{ gbì } \text{ gbà} \\ \text{glass the is RE break} \\ \text{the glass has been broken} \end{array}$$
 (based on D. 1997:54)

The copula *nyí*, from Chapter 6, implies ‘to be not quite at’, as opposed to the locative copula *qò* which means ‘to be at’. Considering the reduplication in the verbal passive is [+N], the meaning of (36) could be that ‘the glass is not quite at brokenness until it’s been broken’. The copula depicts a stage level predication, one that is temporally bounded and contains an event. It is the resulting action that bounds the event.

A similarity in event composition between the FGb verbal passive and shared object serial would be one of many similarities that would allow analogy during simplification. The loss of the copula *nyí* and the reduplicated prefix would effectively move the referent into the predication relationship with V2, the same relationship as the PV referent in the shared object serial and the other PV constructions.

The subject of passives is topical, prototypically, and the object of transitive verbs is

prototypically new information. But this inherent difference between the subject of FGb and SM passives and the shared object in shared object serials may be somewhat reduced. The shared object, at least for change of location serials, is also a subject, and so potentially topical. As for the verbal passive, the nominal reduplicated prefix in the verbal passive follows the copula, and so is in a focus position. It is also in a focus position relative to the following verb, much like an incorporated noun. With the loss of this copula and prefix, the referent moves into that position. Yet even without simplification the subject of the FGb verbal passive may be less than prototypically topical, based on the passive of the related and neighboring Kwa language Akan. The study by Tomlin (1995), discussed in Chapter 3, indicates that topicality plays no role in the function of Akan passive-like constructions. If this is a Kwa or areal tendency, then the FGb passive subject may not have a topical function either, and it would mean that other characteristics of the passive in FGb, like the resultative interpretation, would be more important functionally. It would make the passive subject and the shared object more similar in that the patient argument of the FGb passive would be less than prototypically topical.

The study by Tomlin (1995), discussed in Chapter 6, would indicate that speakers of Kwa languages do not code topicality in passive-like constructions. Recall that the study involved speakers of many languages asked to comment on several short scenes presented on a computer. The scenes were of two fish of different colors. An arrow would appear above one of the fish just before the action and then disappear. In the action, one fish would eat the other. When the arrow appeared above the eating fish, the commentary would be an active sentence. When the arrow appeared above the eaten fish, the commentary would be in the passive, except for speakers of the Kwa language Akan, (and also speakers of Finnish.) These speakers used active sentences for both scenes. The study concluded that speakers of Akan do not use their passive (or passive-like construction) to encode topicality.

The simplified FGb passive resembles the Akan passive in PV word order, with no copula and no reduplicated verb, and in semantic constraint, as most are anticausative

(Boadi 1971:36). If in fact speakers of FGb similarly do not fully use the passive-like constructions to topicalize the patient, the pragmatic load of these constructions falls more heavily on the implication of the agent and on resultativeness. The verbal passive expresses the intersection of these features more than the other passive-like constructions. Therefore the construction most capable of utilizing these features is the verbal passive.

If the reduced topicality of the passive subject in Akan can be presumed to exist in FGb as well, it would bring this patient subject closer to the patient object of the V1 of the shared object serial. But there is also the possibility that this patient object NP2 argument could be the subject of V2, as the NP2 is in the 'take' shared object serial with anticausative verbs. There is no data on FGb shared object serials to determine the absolutive nature of its NP2. This has been determined for the anticausative 'take' shared object serials (daC. 1994:85). Additional evidence may be seen in the tonal domains of the 'take' serials and shared object serials, where NP2 and V2 are in a domain characteristic of subject and verb (Br. p.c.). The NP2 of these serials would be more topical than a typical object, and thereby closer to the passive subject in topicality.

Reduced topicality may be a characteristic of the SM passive as well, as suggested in the text analysis, in Chapter 6, showing passives constructions functioning to reactivate information. The analysis also showed SM shared object serials favoring this function, a similarity with the passives that may be transferred.

7.4 The PV constructions in relation to shared object serials

The shared object serial verb construction in FGb, as mentioned in 1 above, does not appear to be as robust or common as it is in SM. There is the possibility that in many instances it may be an object depictive small clause complement in FGb, as described for SM by Veenstra (1996:54). Tone sandhi distinguishes small clause complements from shared object serials in SM, discussed in Chapter 4. The limited data on FGb shared object serials allows such a determination only through the translation. The 'take' shared

object serial in FGb also appears to vary dialectally. Data on the SM 'take' shared object serial is fairly consistent, although one consultant allows a volitional interpretation of the *téi* serial, but there is no non-volitional contrast with a *tjá* counterpart.

7.4.1 Volitionality in passives and 'take' shared object serials

As mentioned above, the two types of 'take' shared object serials in FGb are used to distinguish volitionality. One type involves *só*, 'take', as the V1 serial item, as in the 'take' instrumental serial. A verb depicting a conscious effort is V2. There is another type of 'take' serial in FGb, involving the verb *hèn*, 'hold', as the V1 serial item, and a verb that depicts unconscious additional effort as V2. The 'take' shared object serials are a subset of 'take' serial constructions with *só* and *hèn* that distinguish volitionality, in daC. (1992, 1994). The volitional contrast did not transfer into SM. In FGb the contrast with *só* and *hèn* may also occur with a V2 that is an intransitive verb depicting change of location, such as *yí*, 'go', which is not a shared object serial, as well as with a transitive or anticausative verb depicting visible effect and perhaps implying change of location, such as *gbà*, 'break'.

In (37.a, c) below the V2 verbs of the *hèn* serials are shown by the translation to be more independent of V1 than is the case with the *só* serials, in (37.b, d). An example from the Fon language Maxi in (37.e) parallels the variety used by da Cruz:

- (37) a. kòkú hèn kófù lé yĩ FGb (daC. 1992:116)
 Koku take glass PL go
 Koku left with the glasses
- b. kòkú só kófù lé yĩ FGb (daC. 1992:116)
 Koku take glass PL go
 Koku took the glasses away

- c. kòkú hèn kófù ́ gbà FGb (daC. 1992:130)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass (by accident)
- d. kòkú ś kófù '́ gbà FGb (daC. 1992:124)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass (with volition)
- e. kòku hèn mǎto ɔ gba Maxi (M. 1998:211)
 Koku take car DET break
 Koku took and wrecked the car (unintentionally)

It is the *ś* serials that are of primary interest regarding the verbal passive, because of the feature of volitionality in both these constructions. Volitionality is shown in the FGb verbal passive (38.a) in reference to (38.b), and is not acceptable (38.c) in reference to (38.d). Volitionality is related to animacy, which, as discussed in Chapter 3, is one of the determiners of the acceptability of passives in SM. But volitionality of an implied agent itself does not appear to constrain SM passives, as in (38.e, f). As with the SM *téi*, 'take', serials, there is no contrasting non-volitional passive construction:

- (38) a. d̀ ́ nyí xùxù FGb (Br. 1993:113)
 wall DET COP RE-hit
 the wall was hit (by a bus driven by someone)
- b. àgbànhún ́ xù d̀ ́ FGb (Br. 1993:113)
 bus DET hit wall DET
 the bus (driven by someone) hit the wall

- c. *dò ɔ nyí xùxù FGb (Br. 1993:113)
 wall DET COP RE-hit
 (the wall was hit (by a stick))
- d. kpò ɔ xù dò ɔ FGb (B. 1993:113)
 stick DET hit wall DET
 the stick hit the wall
- e. dí táfa tjá gó líba SM
 the table carry go above
 the table was taken upstairs
- f. diiteni jaa tja go liba SM (Aboikoni & Glock 1997:21)
 three-ten year carry go above
 thirty years have been carried above (thirty years old)

The feature of volitionality is a function of both the FGb shared object *só*, 'take', serial verb constructions and the passive-like constructions. There is no particular motivation for this feature in passives, it is not a feature necessarily associated with passive constructions. In English, for example, the simple passive is the pragmatic preference for involuntary events; *the road was blocked by a fallen tree*, compared to *a fallen tree blocked the road*. But volitionality is one of the parameters of transitivity, in Hopper & Thompson (1980), in that volitional actions are more effectively transmitted. Volitional actions affect an object more than non-volitional actions, making volitional passives more acceptable due to the affectedness constraint on FGb passives.

For FGb 'take' shared object serials there is an additional motivation for volitionality. It involves the difference between *só*, 'take', and *hèn*, 'take', 'hold'. In (37) the difference can be seen in terms of the relationship of V1 to V2. For *só*, there appears to be a closer semantic relationship with V2 than there is for *hèn*. Constructions with *hèn* are

interpreted more as two distinct actions, so that whatever volition is involved with the action of *hèn* as V1 is not necessarily transmitted to V2; hence the independent, unintentional or accidental readings in (37.a, c, e). Constructions with *só* are interpreted more as a single action, where the volition involved in 'taking' is transmitted to V2, in (37.b, d).

The motivation, then, for volitionality in the *só* shared object constructions is that the action of 'taking' involves volitionality, and this feature is transmitted to V2. Volition may also be part of 'holding' in the *hèn* constructions, but this feature is not as fully transmitted to V2. Important in this analysis is the verbal nature of *só* and *hèn*. They must retain some of the semantic distinction between 'taking' and 'holding'.

In contrast to (37), the verb *só*, in the 'take' instrumental serial is analyzed as a serial item in Migge (1998:228). It appears to function as a valence increasing strategy, introducing an instrumental argument to V2. As such, the semantics of 'take' are minimal. The relationship of *só* to V2 in instrumental constructions is similar to the relationship between serial items and the main verb of other serial constructions in FGb and SM where the serial item verb is somewhat grammaticalized, for example, in the direction of prepositions (Lord 1973). The verb *hèn* does not appear to occur in instrument introducing constructions in all of the examples in da Cruz (1992) and elsewhere. This has been explained above by the implausibility of taking and using an instrument accidentally, which *hèn* would indicate. The instrumental 'take' construction itself contains the inference of volition. Thus if the relationship of *só* to V2 in instrumental constructions like (11.a) *só jìví sèn làn*, 'take knife cut meat', is of such limited semantic involvement that there is not much need for its semantics, a contrasting relationship of *hèn* to V2 does not need to exist.

The difference between the verbs *só* and *hèn* in constructions like (37) can be correlated with instrumental 'take' constructions. The instrumental 'take' serial construction involves a grammaticalized *só*, and does not allow *hèn*. Very little of the semantics of *só* is transferred to V2, since the instrumental construction itself carries most of the instrumental meaning. This would explain why the instrumental 'take' serial is not

constrained to depict a visible effect. In (37), the shared object 'take' serial construction involves a less grammaticalized *só*, and allows an even less grammaticalized *hèn*. This construction does have the visible effect constraint. It appears then that for the V1 serial item the amount of semantic transfer to V2 varies with the degree of grammaticalization. It would appear that *só* is more grammaticalized than *hèn* in the 'take' shared object serials, but even more grammaticalized in the 'take' instrumental serials. This parallels the different degrees of grammaticalization of SM *téi*' and *tjá* in shared object serials, as in (6).

The shared object 'take' serial is different from the instrumental 'take' serial in many ways, one of which is the degree of grammaticalization of the verb 'take'. The less grammaticalized and more verbal 'take' in the shared object 'take' serial, perhaps causing the greater flexibility in allowing two verbs of 'take', would indicate that the shared object 'take' serial is newer. This might also explain, then, its non-occurrence among some of the Fon dialects, discussed in (39), below. The functional and structural similarities between the 'take' shared object serial and the verbal passive might explain the absence of the verbal passive in those dialects without a 'take' shared object serial, also in (39), below.

7.4.2 Resultativeness in passives and 'take' shared object serials

As mentioned in section 7.3.5.1, above, the verbal passive is considered to be resultative by the Brousseau (1993:114) analysis of the reduplicated passive verb. The verbal passive depicts a state that is the result of an action. It resembles the unmarked shared object serials and to a lesser extent the 'take' shared object serials in that for these constructions the action of V2 is also the result of previous action, in this case the action of V1.

The 'take' serials shown in (11.a), *só jìvì sèn làn*, above, are instrumental serial verb constructions. The second argument, NP2, is presented as an instrument, and as such is

part of the relational argument structure of V2. It is not a core argument of V2, however, as is the affected argument, NP3, which follows V2. This construction would not necessarily be considered resultative, since the action of V2 is not the result of the action of V1. The event composition of 'take' instrumental serials is considered to be preconditional by Déchaine (1997) rather than resultative. It is different in a basic way from a shared object serial where the affected object is in the core argument structure of both the preceding and following verbs. Examples of the shared object type of 'take' serial are shown in (37.c, d) above; *kòkú sò/hèn kófù ó gbá*, 'Koku broke the glass'. The construction in (37.c) with *hèn* as V1 would also not necessarily be considered as resultative as one with *sò* as V1 in (37.d), since the action of V2 is not so much the result of the action of *hèn* as V1 as it is coincident to it. The construction in (37.d) is resultative, however. The verb *sò* is less grammaticalized in (37.d) than it is in instrumental 'take' serials like (11.a), *sò jìvì sèn làn*, 'take knife cut meat', because it does not simply introduce a non-core argument to V2. The shared object is already in the argument structure of V2. The verb *sò* is an affecting verb in (37.d), it affects the shared object in that it must be able to be 'taken'; hence the affectedness constraint, discussed in 4.3 below. The effect of V1 is enough that the action of V2 must be appropriate to 'taking', namely object affecting. In addition, that action must be the result of volition, and thereby the construction is resultative. In other words, the effect on the object is shared by both verbs (H. & T. 1984) and begins, iconically, with the first verb, to be concluded with the second.

It appears that acceptance of shared object 'take' serial constructions is varied dialectally. The Abomey dialect informants for Lefebvre (1991:62) do not accept (37.d), repeated below as (39.a). They do accept the passives in (39.b-e) which resemble the shared PV of (39.a), but are not found in the Brousseau (1993) study of FGb passives. In particular, in (39.e) there is the meaning but not the form of a verbal passive. The verb *dó* in (39.e) is not the locative copula *dò*. Seen in the context of the unacceptability of the 'take' shared object serial in (39.a) in the Abomey dialect, (39.b-e) appear as shared object serials without the expression of the implied agent and of V1; for Abomey

speakers there is a PV passive which, as in SM, resembles the PV of the shared object serial, yet this V2 is anticausative and in FGb has object control. The mismatch of the two verbs in (39.a) for agency is not acceptable. If the anticausative verb is preceded by a copy of *só*, in (39.f), agency is implied as with passives, which is acceptable:

- (39) a. *kòkú só kófù gbá Abomey dialect (Lf. 1991:62)
 Koku take glass break
 (Koku broke the glass)
- b. àkwé nǎ àsibá Abomey (Lf. 1991:57)
 money pass on Asiba
 the money was passed on to Asiba
- c. àkwé Nǎ nú kòkú Abomey (Lf. 1991:65)
 money loan to Koku
 the money was loaned to Koku
- d. flásé kplɔ̄ / hɛlé àsibá Abomey (Lf. 1991:57)
 French show/teach Asiba
 French is shown/taught to Asiba
- e. àsɔ́ dɔ́ távò jí Abomey (Lf. 1991:57)
 crab be placed table on
 the crab is placed on the table
- f. Kòkú só kófù ɔ́ só-gbà (Lf. & Br. 2002:413)
 Koku take glass DEF take-break
 Koku broke the glass

The compound verb *sɔ́-gbà* in (39.f) makes V2 volitional, like V1, and thereby unifies the event depiction more as far as transitivity parameters. Lefebvre finds that (39.a) is not acceptable in Abomey because the V2 is a middle verb, namely anticausative. However, Brousseau (1993:128) and da Cruz (1992:124) do find (40.a) acceptable, as well as the shared object 'take' serial with other verbs not likely to be interpreted as middles, in (40.b, c):

- (40) a. kòkú sɔ́ kɔ́fù ɔ́ gbà FGb (Br. 1993:128)
 Koku take glass the break
 Koku broke the glass
- b. kòkú sɔ́ gàn ɔ́ xò FGb (Br. 1993:128)
 Koku take watch the buy
 Koku bought the watch
- c. kòkú sɔ́ kòkló ɔ́ hù FGb (Br. 1993:128)
 Koku take chicken the kill
 Koku killed the chicken

The more 'single event', semantically fused or *lexicalist* (applied to FGb and HT by Lefebvre 1991) translation in (40) emphasizes the difference in the two types of 'take' serials with *sɔ́* or *hèn*, as shown in (37), and emphasizes a resultative interpretation of V2. Perhaps lexicalist claims for the two verbs in the *sɔ́* serial explains the dependency between them that makes (39.a) unacceptable to Abomey speakers, and for FGb prevents an interpretation such as (41.ii) below, where one verb is stative. Recall that adjectives are stative verbs in FGb, as they are in SM. Stative verbs are not resultative, they depict a state with unbounded inception and conclusion. Da Cruz (1992:116) rules out a stative reading for V2 in (41.ii):

- (41) kòkú sọ́ mésì tòn lé̀ sù FGb (daC. 1992:116)
 Koku take teacher GEN PL big
- i. Koku praised his teachers
 - ii. * Koku took his teachers and they are grand

The property item *sù*, 'big', in (41.i) is used as a transitive verb whose visible effect is metaphorical. Recall from Chapter 5 that, as in SM, certain FGb adjectives may function as transitive verbs. Thus (41.i) is resultative, the action of V2 is a result of the action of V1.

7.4.3 Affectedness constraint in passives and 'take' shared object serials

The shared object 'take' serials, unlike the instrumental 'take' serials, have a semantic constraint on V2, namely, the V2 must depict a visible effect on NP2. This considers, naturally, that constructions with V2 intransitive verbs depicting change of location, as in (37.a, b), are not defined as shared object serials. The V2 verbs for 'take' shared object serials in the da Cruz (1992) study of semantic restrictions on serial constructions may all be seen as depicting a visible effect. They include: *hú*, 'kill'; *ḡà*, 'prepare'; *sù*, 'enlarge (praise)'; *tón hwè*, 'belittle'; *ḡi*, 'eat'; *dà*, 'marry'; *gbà*, 'break'; *bú*, 'ruin'; *nú*, 'drink'; *gànjí*, 'look after'; *xíyá*, 'make dirty'; *gblé*, 'destroy'; and *hén*, 'take', 'hold'. As in SM these FGb V2s may also include transitive change of location verbs, such as; *ḡó*, 'put', *nyí*, 'throw', *hwálá*, 'hide', *xò*, 'buy', *xáyà*, 'rent', and *sà*, 'sell' (Lf. & Br. 2002:410-411).

The FGb passive-like constructions, like the shared object serials, have the visible effect constraint, discussed in Chapter 6 and in 7.2.2 above. The SM passive is similarly constrained, discussed in Chapter 3. As in SM, then, FGb verbs like *mǔ*, 'see', or *kpǔ*, 'look at', would not be found as passives or passive-like constructions, as in (42.a, b). They would also not occur as the V2 in a FGb 'take' shared object serial, as in (42.c), or SM shared object serial, as in (42.d). They might occur in SM or FGb preconditional

'take' serials, however, as in (42.e, f):

- (42) a. *àsíbá / hwè kpɔ̃ / mɔ̃ kòkú (Lf. 1991:63)
 Asiba / house look at / see Koku
 (Asiba / the house is looked at / seen by Koku)
- b. * dí wósu sí SM
 the house see
 (the house was seen)
- c. * kòkú sɔ́ / hèn gbà mɔ̃ (daC. 1992:132)
 Koku take box see
 (Koku took the box (and) saw it)
- d. * kofí sáka dí dósu sí SM
 Kofi lower the box see
 (Kofi lowered the box and saw it)
- e. kòkú sɔ́ cícì kpɔ̃ xò (Lf. 1991:63)
 Koku take glasses look at house
 i. Koku takes glasses and looks at the house
 ii. Koku takes glasses in order to look at the house
- f. a téi dí háiko lúku déé fóu SM
 he take the binoculars look the(pl) bird
 he took the binoculars and looked at the birds

Because examples (42.e, f) are not resultative, the STATE term and the EVENT term are independent, and the affectedness constraint does not apply. As passives are resultative,

the affectedness constraint is also proposed as the reason ditransitives do not occur in passive constructions in SM, in Chapter 3, and, with the exception of Abomey in (39.b, d), in FGb, Chapter 6. Ditransitives in shared object serials have not been found in the literature on FGb, and do not occur in SM; from Chapter 4, the verb *léi* is locative, and the verb ‘give’ in both languages is not ditransitive as V2, but is used to mark the goal or benefactive argument, as in SM, (43.a.ii), and FGb, (43.b). Ditransitive verbs, analyzed with locative objects, also occur in FGb ‘take’ shared object serials, in (43.c). But unlike matrix ditransitive clauses where either argument may follow the verb, in serials only the most affected argument, the theme, may be shared, as seen in (43.d). As with shared object serials, the goal follows the serial item:

- (43) a. a wási koósu dá mi SM
 she wash clothes give me
 i. *she washed the clothes (and) gave them to me
 ii. she washed the clothes for me
- b. wa tú dotó xó nò mi Gbe, Waci 2 (Migge 1998:202)
 they-FUT build doctor house SI us
 they’ll build a hospital for us
- c. Kòkú só àsón ná Àsíbá FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:411)
 Koku take crab give Asiba
 Koku gave crab to Asiba
- d. *Kòkú sò Àsíbá ná àsón FGb (ibid.)
 Koku take Asiba give crab

It would appear that FGb differs from SM in the occurrence of ditransitives in serial verb constructions. In (43.b) what appears to be the most affected argument, the item that is

given, is the shared object. The affected argument in FGb ditransitives, however, is the goal, by Lf. & Br. (ibid.:447). In (44.a) the event determiner *ó* is not acceptable if the goal is not [+definite], which identifies the goal as the affected argument. Definiteness of the theme argument does not affect the event determiner. A [+definite] goal in (44.b) allows the event determiner:

- (44) a. **súnû dẹ ná àsón dẹ/ó ví dẹ ó* FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:452)
 man IND give crab IND/DEF child IND DEF (event determiner)
- b. *súnú dẹ ná ásón dẹ/ó ví ó ó* FGb (ibid.)
 man IND give crab IND/DEF child DEF DEF (event determiner)
 a man has given the child a/the crab
 (as we knew the child would be given a/the crab)

The goal is not a locative argument, as locatives do not occur with ditransitives, in (45):

- (45) **kòkú ná kùtónû àkwé* FGb (ibid.:448)
 Koku give Cotonou money
 (Lit.: Koku gave Cotonou money)

The unacceptability of (45) could also be due to the lack of difference in animacy between the goal and theme, as they may occur in either word order and so would be hard to distinguish. The ‘take’ shared object serial in FGb, however, may have a locative recipient, perhaps because the order of goal and theme is fixed, in (46.a). The goal in a shared object serial might also be seen, then, as a locative, in (46.b):

- (46) a. *kòkú só àkwé ná kùtónû* FGb (ibid.:449)
 Koku take money give Cotonou
 Koku gave money to Cotonou

- b. *mé* *lɔ* *do* *wen* *ná* *mí* *a?* Gbe, Xwela 2 (Migge 1998:200)
 person DET put message SI you(pl) QP
 who gave you the message?

The goal in the ‘take’ serial is not the recipient, but rather it is a locative (ibid.:448), and the verb *ná* depicts a change of location, as do the other ditransitives in this serial construction. The theme argument, then, undergoes a change in location, and so is the affected argument (ibid.:461). A similar argument could be made for the shared object serial, in (46.b).

The FGb use of ditransitives as change of location verbs in the ‘take’ shared object serial means that these serials do not occur with ditransitives. Also, the use of *ná* to indicate the goal or benefactive in shared object serials blocks its use as a ditransitive. In this way, then, these FGb serials resemble the SM shared object serials, which also do not occur with ditransitives. In SM the ditransitive use of *dá* ‘give’ is blocked by the V2 use to indicate goal/ben arguments, and V2 *léi* ‘show’ takes a locative argument.

Serials in early SM appear to have alternated between the use of *da*, ‘give’, and *na* ‘to’, in the indication of the goal, discussed below regarding the Wietz 1805 Bible and the Grego letters. Thus both *takki da* and *takki na* meant ‘talk to’, although *na* had a more prepositional denotation, like ‘talk down to’, while *da* was more interactive, like ‘talk with’. Interestingly, in all the early texts examined, the serial for ‘giving’, *dá - dá* in modern SM, is nearly always *da - na*. The single example of *da - da* in Wietz, Acts 10:8: *Kaba a kom da da dem tulu sondi*, ‘and having related everything to them (R.S.E.)’, uses the V1 *da* to mean ‘relate’ rather than ‘give’. For the other examples the notion of ‘giving’ is most likely conveyed sufficiently by V1, and so avoiding a repeat of *da* also avoids its possible ditransitive interpretation. An additional explanation follows a suggestion by Enoch Aboh (p.c.), that *na* in this early use could be the FGb V2 *ná*, ‘give’; itself a serial item with loss of verbal characteristics. In this case a notion of ‘giving’ would be retained in the V2, but with the reduced verbal characteristics of the

substrate *ná*.

The occurrence of ditransitives in the Abomey passive and PV of the 'take' shared object serial and the lack of ditransitives in these constructions in SM point out the similarity of the passive and the PV phrase in SM and Gbe. The motivation for the affectedness constraint is not inherent in the nature of passive constructions. In English, for example, *Bigfoot was seen yesterday* and *the arguments have been heard in court* are acceptable. But an affectedness constraint is apparent throughout FGb grammar. Affectedness determines the type of possessive case construction an argument may take, by Kinyalolo (1995); the explanation quotes Jaeggli (1986:607) that a non-affecting verb cannot eliminate its external argument. By this argument, an internal argument of a non-affecting verb may not be externalized, thus blocking passives. This explanation would also account for the affectedness constraint in 'take' shared object serials with anticausative verbs, from daC. (1994:85), that allows the shared object to be the subject of these anticausatives. But it does not account for the affectedness constraint elsewhere in 'take' shared object serials.

There is a likely motivation for the affectedness constraint in the 'take' shared object serials, however. Recall from Foley & Olson (1985), Sebba (1987) and others that serial verb constructions depict single events. The two or more verbs in the construction are parts of the event, whose order iconically reflects the order of actual occurrence. The act of 'taking' in itself implies a visible effect; in the shared object 'take' serial both *só* and *hèn* retain a good deal of the semantics of 'taking'. Thus for V2, the shared object has been depicted as visibly affected by the 'taking' by V1. Because a serial construction depicts a single event, the thematic relationship of the verbs to the arguments should be similar. Da Cruz (1992, 1994), in discussing volitionality for *só* and *hèn*, finds that the V2 of these 'take' serials must align with the V1 in terms of volitionality. Aligning by affectedness should also be possible. Implicit in the nature of a shared object, it would seem, is that the object, a core argument of both verbs, be affected in the same way by both verbs. In this case, it would be in the role of patient. It could not be a patient to one verb and a theme to the other as a single event. Since the V1 verb 'take' is a given, and

takes a patient argument, V2 should take a patient argument as well. Thus the 'take' shared object serial will always be constrained to depict an effect on the shared object.

The V2 in (42.e) takes a theme argument in NP3. Recall that this construction is a 'take' instrumental serial, and the V1 verb *só* is more grammaticalized than for 'take' shared object serials. It serves to introduce the instrumental argument of V2. The core argument of V2 follows the verb. The NP1 instrumental argument is not as affected by the more grammaticalized serial item *só* as it would be by *só* as a V2 in a shared object serial construction. In any case, in an instrumental serial it is not a core argument of V2. Thus the V2 in a 'take' instrumental serial has its own core argument, and so is not constrained by the argument roles of V1.

7.4.4 Existing object effect in passives and 'take' shared object serials

In FGb, as in SM, the passive or passive-like construction must affect an object that exists. An object may be affected so that it no longer exists, as in (47.a) for FGb and (47.c) for SM. But an object may not be affected into existence, as in (47.b) for FGb and (47.d) for SM. 'Something' may be made into 'nothing', but 'nothing' cannot be made into 'something'. As discussed in Chapter 3, passives of verbs like *kísi*, 'catch', are acceptable when they mean the item is no longer available, in which case the reference begins at the time the item exists and is removed from availability, in (47.e). Passives of factitives, verbs of creating such as *sikífi*, 'write', or *mbéi*, 'build', are marginally acceptable with the continuative marker *tá*, which gives a more stative reading implying that the item already exists in some form, or with *kàà*, 'already', which gives a perfect reading implying its existence is not an issue, in (47.f). The constraint on passive-like verbs to visibly affect existing items may be common to the Kwa languages, as in Ewe, (47.g):

- (47) a. àkwé Nă nú kòkú Abomey (Lf. 1991:65)
 money loan to Koku
 money was loaned to Koku
- b. * àkwé yĩ kòkú Abomey (Lf. 1991:64)
 money receive Koku
 (money is received by Koku)
- c. dí móni lási SM
 the money lose
 the money was lost
- d. * dí móni féni SM
 the money find
 (the money was found)
- e. dí fĩsi kisi SM
 the fish catch
- i. * the fish was caught (so now someone has it)
 ii. the fish was caught (so no one else can catch it)
- f. dí wosu mbéi *(kàà) SM (Kahrel 1987:57)
 the house build
- i. * the house was built
 ii. the house has been built already
- g. * xɔa le tutu Ewe (Litvinov & Agbodjo 1988:236)
 house is RE-build
 (the house is built)

The semantic constraint shown in (47) for passive-like constructions also holds for the V2 of 'take' shared object serials, in (48.a, b). It appears to hold as well for 'take' serials in SR, in (48.c, d). Da Cruz (1992:132), a native speaker of FGb (Lf. 1993:395), offers the explanation that an item which does not exist cannot be 'taken' as the reason (48.b) is not grammatical. However da Cruz offers no explanation for a similar example, (48.e), which is grammatical. This may be due to some particular pragmatic condition such as in (47.e) above:

- (48) a. kòkú só/hèn kófù ó gbà FGb (daC. 1992:124, 130)
 Koku take glass DET break
 Koku broke the glass
- b. * kòkú só/hèn hwé ó gbá FGb (daC. 1992:132)
 Koku take house DET build
 (Koku built the house)
- c. a teki a fisi seri SR (Sebba 1987:60)
 s/he take the fish sell
 s/he sold the fish
- d. * a teki a fisi bay SR (Sebba 1987:60)
 s/he take the fish buy
 (s/he bought the fish)
- e. kòkú só gàn ó xò FGb (daC. 1992:122)
 Koku take watch the buy
 Koku bought the watch

The examples in (47) and (48) illustrate the similarity between FGb passive-like verbs and the V2 verbs in 'take' shared object serials regarding the effect on an existing object. This characteristic feature is seen in SR, and perhaps in other Surinamese creoles as well, and in Caribbean English creoles (Winford 1993:259) and may likely be an areal feature among the Kwa languages. The existing object constraint is found in SM passives, shared object serials and 'take' shared object serials, as seen in Chapters 3 and 4. The FGb passive-like verbs and the V2 verbs in 'take' shared object serials are also similar regarding the semantic constraint on object affectedness, as illustrated in (42), and regarding volitionality in (37) and (38). These semantic features also characterize the SM passive.

The constraint against passivization of factitives may be seen as part of the affectedness constraint. In which case, the Jaeggli (1986) analysis would preclude externalization of the unaffected internal argument. As for the 'take' shared object serials, this explanation would apply to anticausatives, as they resemble passives in having the affected argument externalized as their subject, by daC. (1994:85). But factitives are not anticausatives. The da Cruz (1992:132) explanation can be seen to rely on the iconicity of word order, namely that an item must exist to be taken, and the verb 'take' occurs before the factitive verb. A similar explanation might be offered for this constraint on passives, namely that the passive subject occurs before the verb and thereby implies its existence before the action of the verb.

7.5 Resultative shared object serials

In addition to the 'take' shared object serials, there are also shared object serial constructions in FGb and other Kwa languages. In the shared object serial verb construction, the position of the serial item *sóhèn*, 'take', is filled with a verb from an open class. This V1 verb must visibly affect the object (M. 1998:223), as do the verbs *sóhèn*, 'take', but moreso in that it is a lexical verb; it is not a serial item. In other words,

the V1 retains its full semantics. It is the V2 that has been analyzed as the serial item. As mentioned above, there appears to be a cline of grammaticalization in the V1 of the serial constructions under consideration. This cline is from the least verbal, most categorically a serial item, to the most verbal and least like a serial item. The least verbal V1 verb, *só*, 'take', occurs in the instrumental 'take' serials, functioning as an instrumental marker, as in (11). The V1 verbs, *sóhèn*, 'take', in that order are somewhat more verbal in the 'take' shared object serials, where they function with V2 to share the effect on the object. These verbs also control the semantics of the construction by their own semantics, as seen in 4.1 above. The most verbal V1 verbs are in the shared object serial constructions.

The shared object serials may be considered resultative for the same reason as the 'take' shared object serials, as discussed in 7.4.2 above. The difference is that while the 'take' shared object serials affect the object as a theme with a 'take' V1, giving a resultative reading to the clause, the shared object serials specify the V1 effect with a fully lexical verb. The shared object serials, then, are able to include more new information about the onset of the event. The main verbal information, in fact, is carried by V1, since in FGb the V2 is a serial item.

As mentioned in 1 above, these constructions may not occur in many Kwa languages, and may not occur in all the Fon languages. Examples of this construction in FGb are in the Fon language Maxi, in Migge (1998), in (49.a), and Migge (p.c.), in (49.b, c, d). The only other available Gbe example in Migge (1998) is in the Phla language Xwela, in (49.e). Examples in FGb are also found in Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:423-427). The V2 in (49.e) is analyzed as a serial item, as Migge (1998:222) analyzes all V2 verbs in Fon shared object serials as serial items. The V2 in these constructions do not occur as predicate clefts, even though, by the data and analysis in Lf. & Br. (ibid.), the V2 in some other serials may. This would indicate a reduction in verbal characteristics of V2, including reduced transitivity. This reduction would be in addition to the reduced transitivity of serial verbs in general by Hopper & Thompson (1984). Among the V2 serial items, the resultative V2 verbs are considered to be among the more prepositional serial items in the language, in M. (1998:238), in that they may not, unlike the more

verbal FGb serial items, occur with TMA markers.

The shared object V2 is similar in the reduced transitivity to the verbs of the passive-like constructions. Notice that the translation of V2 in (49.e) is a ‘get’ passive, and the translations of (49.b, c, d) are anticausative. The V2 in (49.a) is resultative. In these translations there is an indication of the similarity between the verbs in passive-like constructions and V2 of the shared object serial:

- (49) a. e nɔ̃ / hɛ xo afũ hu Maxi (M. 1998:153)
he HAB/ITER hit dog kill
he is habitually/continually killing dogs by beating them to death
- b. e dɔn awu ɔ tren Maxi (M. p.c.)
he pull shirt the rip
he pulled the shirt until it ripped
- c. e nyin go ɔ gba Maxi (M. p. c.)
he throw bottle the break
he threw the bottle until it broke
- d. e xo go ɔ gba Maxi (M. p.c.)
he hit bottle the break
he hit the bottle until it broke
- e. e la li awu lɔ fyɔ Xwela (M. 1998:223)
he FUT iron shirt the SI (burn)
he'll iron the shirt until it'll get burned

The V2 in (49.e) is analyzed as a serial item, in M. (1998:222), whose function is to delimit the action of V1. In this analysis the V2 follows a VP. As such there is the iconic

implication that V2 is less verbal and thus less transitive than it would be as a lexical verb, since it depicts only the result or limit of an event already depicted by the VP. The reduced verbal function of the V2 is reflected in its more prepositional nature, as mentioned above, compared to more verbal V2 serial items. This resultative analysis is appropriate to the passive translation of V2 in (49.e), and would apply to all the examples in (49). The V2 in the SM shared object serials have been analyzed by Veenstra (1996:142) as delimiting as well, although this SM V2 is not considered a serial item. The SM V2 has passive characteristics, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, but does not translate as passive or anticausative. It will be assumed here that the Migge analysis of the Fon V2 as a serial item indicates it is somewhat grammaticalized, and therefore differs from the SM ‘open slot’ V2 counterpart. Migge also analyzes the V2 of the NDj resultative shared object serial as a serial item, and a transferred characteristic.

Resultatives in FGb are shown to have an anticausative V2 in Lf. & Br. (ibid.:426), so that this V2 resembles the anticausative V2 of the ‘take’ shared object serial in having object control (daC. 1994:64). The FGb resultative ‘take’ serials are not accepted in some varieties, such as Abomey in (39.a) above, and there is limited acceptance of FGb shared object resultatives, by Lf. & Br. (ibid.). It appears that an inanimate matrix subject is preferred:

(50) a.OK/*Kòkú xò kófù gbà FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:426)

Koku hit glass break

(Koku broke the glass) [Lit.: Koku hit the glass, the glass broke]

b. Hún ó xò dọ́ ó gbà (ibid.)

vehicle DEF hit wall DEF break

The vehicle broke the wall [Lit.: The vehicle hit the wall, the wall broke]

If NP2 is the subject of the anticausative V2, then there is no implicated agent. The lack of implied agent could explain the preference for an inanimate matrix subject; an

inanimate subject would have fewer agentive features, such as volition. This may be an explanation for the unacceptability of ‘take’ shared object serials by Abomey speakers, since ‘taking’ is volitional. A volitional agentive action followed by a non-agentive anticausative action in a serial might stretch the notion of ‘single event’. The SM V2, on the other hand, is argued to be passive, and thereby implies an agent. In SM there is the possibility of analogy between the PV phrase of NP2 and V2 with the structurally identical passive construction. There is no such possibility in FGb, as the verbal passive in FGb does not resemble the PV of the resultative shared object serial. The SM serial with all agentive verbs would be more of a single event, perhaps an explanation for the greater frequency of shared object serials in SM.

Another rare and marginally acceptable shared object construction in FGb involves the V2 *hù*, ‘kill’:

- (51) a. kòkú sọ kòklô ó hù FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:414)
 Koku take chicken the kill
 Koku killed the chicken
- b. kòkú xò kòklô ó hù FGb (ibid.)
 Koku hit chicken the kill
 Koku beat the chicken to death
- c. *kòkú xò kòklô ó kú FGb (ibid.:415)
 Koku hit chicken the die

Unlike the ‘take’ shared object serials in FGb with object control of anticausative V2s, in the ‘take’ serial in (51.a) both verbs have the same agent (ibid.:414). The same might be said of (51.b); even though it is resultative, the intransitive V2 is not acceptable, in (51.c). The shared object serial with the transitive V2 differs from those with anticausative V2s in (50) in that both verbs have the same agent. In both (51.a) and (b) the object and the

following affecting verb resemble the PV phrase.

The SM shared object V2 differs from the corresponding FGb and NDj V2 in that it has a verbal characteristic not associated with serial items. The SM V2 has the ability to select a subject, a positive test for verbhood (M. 1998:224), when depicting a change of location. Recall from Chapter 4 that SM shared object serials, as well as the other types of serial verb constructions, do not distinguish paratactic from serial verb constructions syntactically. In this way SM differs from FGb and NDj (M. 1998:155). Thus for SM the distinction is semantic, a matter of interpretation regarding the depiction of a single event. A V2 that is clearly not paratactic is *túwε*, 'throw', in (52.a). In Chapter 4 it was argued that the V2 of change of location constructions takes the shared object as its absolutive subject, indicated by the following more paratactic verbs:

- (52) a. a fáa dí páu túwε kaí a wáta SM
 he fell the tree throw fall in water
 i. he chopped down the tree (and it) fell in the water
 ii. * he chopped down the tree (and) fell in the water
- b. dí sónu jaká déé físi púu gó a sitónu básu SM
 the sun chase the(pl) fish push go to stone under
 the sun chased the fish under a stone
- c. a púu dí báli náki gó a dí góli SM
 he push the ball hit go to the goal
 he set up (and) knocked the ball into the goal

Such constructions do not occur in the Gbe languages, although there are serial verb constructions where the V2-V3 constituent is itself a serial verb, in (53) (M. p.c.):

- (53) a. sí wema towe læ hě i FGb (Segurola 1963:479)
 take books your PL hold go
 Take away your books

In (53), the verbs *hě i*, 'hold, go', are serial verbs, relexified in NDj as *tya go* (M. 1998:228), and in SM as *tjá gó*, 'carry away'. There are also, of course, constructions where the V1-V2 constituent is a serial verb, followed by the goal/ben V3, FGb *nɔ*, 'give', SM *dá*, 'give'.

Two examples with 'take' shared object serials, in (54), resemble the SM in (52) in having a V3 change of location verb. The FGb V3 verb, however, appears to be grammaticalized (M. p.c.; Essegby p.c.). The FGb verbs *dó*, 'put', and *nyí*, 'throw' (daC. 1992:120), are translated as prepositions and have vowel loss. Vowel loss is not a characteristic of verbs followed by vowel initial complements, as *àmà lé jè áyí*, 'the leaves fell down' (Kinyalolo 1992:42), *Síká dó àtín*, 'Sika planted trees' (Avolonto 1992:99), or *yí àxì mè*, 'go to market' (daC 1992:115):

- (54) a. kòkú só m̀̀ ́ zín d(ó) àyí FGb (daC 1992a:120)
 Koku take person the hold on (sur) ground
 Koku floored the person
- b. kòkú só s̀̀n ́ kón ny(ì) àyí FGb (daC 1992b:72)
 Koku take water the pour on (par) ground
 Koku poured the water about on the ground

The verbs *dó* (*dó*) 'put' and *nyí* 'throw' are cognate verbs to the copulas *dó* 'be at' and *nyí* 'be not at'. Their grammaticalized use in (54) approximates their preposition-like copular counterparts. The Gbe and NDj equivalents to the SM construction in (52) would involve a conjunction with possible ellipsis of the NP2 subject for V3 (M. p.c.).

In Gbe and in NDj there is a syntactic distinction between serial and paratactic

constructions (M. 1998:153-7). The absence of such a syntactic distinction in SM allows for variation in semantic distinction. As argued in Chapter 4, the distinction in SM between serial, or core level junctures, and more paratactic, or peripheral layer junctures (Foley & Olsen 1985), is a matter of degree. This is especially obvious in SM shared object serials involving change of location, as in (52), *a fáa dí páu túwε kaí a wáta*. The V2 may be seen as semantically integrated with V1, although the action of *túwε* follows the action of *fáa*. The action of *kaí*, however, is more like a conjoined action. Yet both V2 and V3 depict actions that are caused by V1. And both V2 and V3 have the same absolutive subject, the object of V1. The construction in (52) could be considered part serial, part paratactic. By Déchaine (1997) it would have the resultative event composition [[EVENT STATE] STATE]. The lack of a clear distinction between shared object serial and shared object paratactic constructions in SM probably contributed to the loss of this syntactic distinction for all SM serials in transfer. In particular, the resumptive pronoun associated with paratactic constructions in NDj (M. 1998:155) does not occur in SM. Regarding the transfer and leveling of syntactic characteristics, then, serial characteristics were conventionalized in SM at the expense of paratactic characteristics.

The lack of a clear serial/paratactic distinction in the SM shared object serial construction also coincides with the status of V2 as a lexical verb rather than as a serial item, since serial items do not occur in paratactic constructions (ibid.:154). Regarding the transfer and leveling of the verbal status of the shared object V2, then, paratactic characteristics were conventionalized at the expense of serial item characteristics.

These compromises in the transfer of serial and paratactic features into the SM shared object serial may be attributed to the characteristics of the SM V2. There may also be motivation for compromise in transfer from FGb. The 'take' serials in FGb present an unclear image of the serial item 'take', which has verbal rather than serial item characteristics, due to their occurrence as V1. This holds for the 'take' shared object serials as well, and is significant in terms of influence on the transfer of shared object serials because of the syntactic and semantic resemblances between the FGb shared

object serials and the 'take' shared object serials.

The shared object serials in FGb must depict a visible effect on the object. In this way they resemble the 'take' shared object serials and the passive-like constructions. Yet because the V1 slot is open, it would seem possible that this slot could be filled by a verb taking a theme, content, or other non-patient argument role. In this case, as already mentioned regarding the 'take' shared object serials, the single event criterion could be expected to require a similar verb as V2. But the V2 is constrained to depict a visible effect. Therefore the entire construction should depict a visible effect, which from the available examples in (49) appears to be the case. In this way the subcategorization of FGb shared object serial V1 resembles that of the SM shared object serial, as argued in V. (1998) for SM.

The overall effect of the subcategorization of the V1 of the FGb shared object serial and the V2 of the 'take' shared object serial is the same, a clause where both verbs as lexical verbs depict a visible effect. As mentioned above, the serial item 'take' in FGb is not typical of FGb serial items. It takes a subject and TMA markers. It may be predicate clefted, in (55.a), while the lexical verb may not, in (55.b), exactly the opposite characteristic of other serial verb constructions in FGb. The lexical verb, however, may be stranded instead of pied-piped, in (55.c), a verbal rather than a more prepositional serial item characteristic:

- (55) a. cɔ (e) kofi cɔ afɔkpa wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:230)
 SI(take) FOC Kofi SI(take) shoe hide
 Kofi INTENTIONALLY hid the shoes
- b. * wla (e) kofi cɔ afɔkpa wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:230)
 hide FOC Kofi SI(take) shoe hide

- c. afɔkpa (e) kofi la ɔ wla Gbe, Waci (M. 1998:231)
 shoe FOC Kofi FUT SI(take) hide
 Kofi will intentionally hide the shoes

The data in (55) leads Migge to conclude that these serial items in both Gbe and NDj should be 'characterized as verbs' (M. 1998:231), while the open class V2 verbs are 'probably not fully verbal' (ibid.:229). It might be that the characteristics of more verbal items are the privilege of V1, while less verbal characteristics are associated with V2, which in all other serial verb constructions are serial items, except that these V2 characteristics vary by serial item (ibid.:238).

To speculate, the unclear distinction in 'take' serial constructions may have resulted in the transfer of 'take' serials into SM with V1 and V2 characteristics that are nearly the same, as in most SM serial verb constructions irrespective of the serial item status of either verb. Also, the shared object serial with 'take' as a lexical V1 transferred simply as another SM shared object serial, in (3.b.ii). Thus it would appear that the influence of the FGb 'take' shared object serial on the serial item status of the verbs in SM shared object serials during transfer derives from the similarity of the FGb 'take' and resultative shared object serial constructions.

7.6 Analogic change in FGb shared object serials

The basis for analogic change is similarity in a paradigm. There is structural, semantic and functional similarity to the FGb shared object serial in the PV constructions and the 'take' shared object serials as well as in the simplified verbal passive. The paradigm is the PV constituent. The change in the FGb shared object serial during transfer into SM created, in a sense, an innovated construction. It could be seen as innovated in that the SM shared object serial has reversed a process of grammaticalization that had reduced the verbal characteristics of the FGb V2 in the direction of prepositions. The shared object

The morphosyntax of the PV constructions also indicates reduced transitivity. As shown in (11), copied as (57), the verb is reduplicated when not preceded by the object NP:

- (57) *é jà nǔ d̀ù gbé* *é jà wìwá gbé* (Fabb 1992a)
 he thing eat he RE-come
 he is going to eat he is about to come

Reduplication is used in passives and derived adjectives (Brousseau 1993) and in nominalizations (Brousseau & Lumsden 1992), all of which are lower in transitivity than active verbs. The reduplication in the PV constructions is blocked, in Fabb (1992a), by the object NP preceding the verb. The Fabb (1992a) analysis argues that there is PV word order because the verb cannot assign case, which must be assigned by the first verbal item. This analysis, then, also indicates reduced transitivity in the loss of verbal characteristics by the inability of the verb to assign case. The Manfredi (1997) analysis argues that the PV word order allows the patient argument to avoid the scope of the verb, again a reduction of verbal characteristics and clause transitivity.

Reduced transitivity is a feature of V2 in the shared object serial, as mentioned above, since the overall clause transitivity is shared by the affecting verbs (H. & T. 1980). There is no way to test this FGb V2 for reduplication, since the object precedes it.

Reduced transitivity is likely a feature of V2 in the 'take' shared object serial as well, by the logic of H. & T. (1980). The degree to which *só* and *hèn* as V1 are less transitive than the V1 of the shared object serial, the V2 of the 'take' shared object serial is more than half transitive. In other words, the V2 of the 'take' shared object serial is always less than fully transitive, since *só* and *hèn* are more verbal than other serial items.

The PV constructions provide a syntactic and semantic parallel to the shared object and 'take' shared object serials in placing the affected object before the affecting verb that is reduced in transitivity. The semantic and syntactic parallel with PV constructions should strengthen the likelihood of transfer of the two shared object serials by helping

create an identifiable PV item. The two shared object constructions are unique among FGb serial constructions regarding the shared effect on the object and the position of the object. In this sense they should be considered a marked construction in FGb. The parallel with the PV constructions in Fb. (1992a) reduces this markedness somewhat. Markedness relative to the substrate languages is an inhibiting factor in transfer (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). For a substrate feature to transfer, it should be 'of uniform and widespread distribution among the speakers' (McW. 1996b:154). The two shared object serial constructions would probably not meet this criterion, but the feature they share with the PV constructions certainly would; that the affected NP-affecting PV verb word order signals reduced transitivity.

There is a further resemblance between the PV constructions of Fb. (1992a) and the shared object serials that would further reduce the markedness of the shared object serials. This is a resemblance in tonal domains. There is a domain between subject and verb in FGb, but not between verb and object (Wiesemann 1991). This exactly parallels tone sandhi in SM (Rountree 1972). In 'take' shared object serials there is a tonal domain between the shared object and the following verb (Lf. 1991; Br. p.c.), so that this PV resembles the subject-verb domain. In the daC. (1994:65) analysis of 'take' shared object serials with anticausative V2, as mentioned above, that shared object in fact is the subject of the following verb. There appears to be a parallel with FGb shared object serials, as seen in the translations of anticausative V2s in (20.1). Brousseau (p.c.) assumes that the tonal domain between shared object and following verb is the same for resultative shared object serials as well, although this construction was not studied, very likely because it is not common. This tonal domain holds for the preverbal object and the following verb of the progressive construction as well (Br. p.c.). In (58) the + sign indicates tonal domain, the - sign means no tonal domain:

- (58) a. kOku + sO - kOfu O + gba FGb (Br. p.c.)
 Koku take bottle the break
 Koku broke the bottle (purposely)

- b. kOku + Do - kOfu O + gba + wE FGb (Br. p.c.)
 Koku be at bottle the break part.
 Koku is breaking the bottle

The tonal domains in (58.b) would indicate that V1 in these PV constructions is a verb rather than an auxiliary, as proposed in Fb. (1992a), in that it shows verbal characteristics in sharing a domain with the subject and not with the following object. In addition, the preverbal object shows characteristics of a subject in sharing a domain with the following verb, exactly like the shared object in (58.a). Thus regarding tonal domains there is a close resemblance to the 'take' shared object serial, and presumably to the resultative shared object serial as well.

Of these three PV constructions in the varieties of FGb, the progressive, prospective and others discussed by Fb. (1992a) are the most widespread. The two 'take' shared object serials appear to be somewhat less widespread, and the shared object serials the least widespread. Yet as far as transfer into SM, only the shared object serials transferred completely; only the *só* 'take' serial transferred, and without its volitionality contrast, and only the progressive marker *dó* : *dé* transferred, without the PV constructions.

7.6.2 Passive-like constructions and shared object serials

Like the PV constructions, the passive-like constructions in FGb also resemble the two shared object constructions syntactically in that they both have the affected NP before the affecting verb, basically the PV word order. The passive-like constructions also share the feature of reduced transitivity which the PV word order signals. And like the progressive and prospective PV constructions, the passive-like constructions are restricted to patient-affecting verbs, as are the shared object and 'take' shared object serials.

The verbal passive in particular shares other features with the two shared object

serials. The verbal passive translates in the past tense when unmarked, and depicts action that implies an agent. The two shared object serials also translate in the past tense when unmarked, as do all patient-affecting verb clauses in FGb. And the V2 of the two shared object serials depicts action that, of course, refers to an agent. The verbal passive and the two shared object serials must both refer to volitional agency. They must also depict an effect on an already existing object. The verbal passive also shares a resultative interpretation with the two shared object serials.

These similarities between the passive-like and the two shared object serial constructions, like the similarities with the progressive and prospective PV constructions, might serve to make the two shared object constructions less anomalous in and among the varieties of FGb during transfer. In other words, the two shared object serials may be marked relative to other constructions in the language, but the reduced transitivity and semantically constrained meanings they convey are shared with the less marked passive-like constructions and PV constructions.

The verbal passive differs from the two shared object serials in an important way. Although the verbal passive implies an agent, the agent is not expressed, at least not in the analysis of the Fon variety examined by Brousseau (1993). It is also not expressed in Ewe (Ameka 1994). Examples (42.a) and (47.b) imply that there may be an expressed agent in the Fon variety examined by Lefebvre (1991), in that these examples have expressed agents but are presented as not grammatical for a different reason. Perhaps this explains why the 'take' shared object serial was not acceptable in this variety in (39.a). To speculate, it may be that the Abomey dialect in Lf. (1991) uses its passive, (39.e), as an agentless substitution for the 'take' shared object serial, along with the use of the passives in (39.b-d) with ditransitives as an alternative for 'take' preconditional serials. This substitution could occur if the two constructions were functionally and structurally similar.

The verbal passive may share an activation function with the shared object serials, based on the activation function of the corresponding transferred constructions in SM. But they may also have the capability of having a presentational function. Both passives

and shared object serials in SM are event depicting and occur primarily with full NP patient arguments. Both passives and shared object serials with an NP2 subject depict the result of action on the referent intransitively, and in clauses which could be characterized as more unaccusative than unergative. These qualities characterize clauses that focus an entire event rather than the subject or predicate, so that passives and shared object serials could lend themselves to event reporting. Event-reporting sentences, by Lambrecht (1994:14), may serve to either introduce or reactivate a discourse referent or to depict an event involving a new or reactivated discourse referent, which of course is a full NP. Event-reporting sentences, or sentence-focus, resemble presentational constructions in introducing an item which is not an active topic or a presupposed proposition (ibid.:144). In event-reporting sentences this item is an event, whereas in presentational constructions it is an entity. Both are referred to as *thetic* sentences (ibid.:140) in that they assert rather than predicate. To the degree that event depicting overlaps with event reporting in SM, the passive and shared object serial constructions share the capability of having a presentation-like function. This would be the case for the PV of change of location serials in particular, and passives, as intransitives are more likely to occur as a sentence-focus than transitives. The semantic constraints on passives and shared object serials inclines them more towards a sentence-focus interpretation than active non-serial clauses, which is one more feature these two constructions share. The predominance of definite patient referents in these constructions, particularly in passives, would diminish the sentence-focus function, as definiteness tends to be topical. Recall, however, the non-topical referent of the Akan passive, a possible Kwa feature which if transferred into SM would allow non-topical definite referents.

As mentioned above, sentence-focus structures must be event-reporting clauses with full NPs. The sentence-focus interpretation of the shared object predicate NP2-V2 in SM is possible because it resembles sentence-focus structures in English. The difference between English and French sentence-focus structures indicates a lack of this motivation for the transfer of shared object serials into HT. In Lambrecht (1994:223), *my CAR broke down* may be interpreted as an answer to *what happened?* In this answer, the entire

proposition is new information. The corresponding answer in French is *j'ai ma VOITURE qui est en PANNE*. The FGb shared object predicate, particularly the anticausative V2 with NP2 subject, resembles the English sentence-focus structure, but not the French. Recall that all the FGb serial verb constructions that transferred into SM also transferred into HT, with the exception of the shared object serial (Lf. p.c.).

The FGb anticausative construction, (59.e), is a passive-like construction with a PV word order, and is important in being part of the analogy of PV constructions influencing the transfer of shared object serials as well as the source of the SM anticausative construction. The anticausative construction is like the verbal passive in its past or perfect translation, but differs in not implying external agency. It also differs in that it is restricted to anticausative verbs, namely verbs depicting action that is intrinsic to the nature of the patient. The anticausative construction is like the PV of a shared object serial with an anticausative verb in having a patient subject, but again differs regarding agency, since the shared object serial depicts direct causation. Anticausative verbs, of course, depict affectedness, and anticausative verbs are the only verbs in FGb that occur in all the passive-like constructions. Clauses with anticausative verbs are event depicting or event reporting, and so may be interpreted as sentence-focus or presentation-like. This possibility is greatest, however, where there is a patient subject of the anticausative verb.

The various PV constructions may be schematized with constructed examples based on FGb sentences, in (59). The reduplication in the progressive, (59.a) is blocked by the preceding NP, but is retained in (59.f), the verbal passive (Fb. 1992a). It is impossible to determine if the forms in the shared object serials are reduplicated and blocked, since they are always preceded by NPs, in (59.d), as it is also impossible to determine in intransitive serials since they are preceded by tensed verbs which, by Fabb (1992a), also block reduplication:

- (59) a. é d̀ò làn ́ ḡ fyó wè he is burning the meat
 b. é só làn ́ fyó he burned the meat (purpose)
 c. é hèn làn ́ fyó he burned the meat (accident)
 d. é d̀à làn ́ fyó he prepared, burned the meat
 e. làn ́ fyó the meat burned
 f. làn ́ nyí fī-fyó the meat was burned
 g. làn ́ d̀ò fī-fyó wè the meat is burning
 h. làn ́ d̀ò fī-fyó the meat is burned

The constructed examples in (59) are arranged to show the similarities among the different PV constructions.

Independent evidence of the association between shared object serials and PV constructions in the Kwa languages may be seen in example (60.a) in Ewe, from Litvinov & Agbodjo (1988:237):

- (60) a. avu d̀e aḡwo le fiafiam Ewe (Lt. & Agb. 1988:237)
 dog uncover tooth-PL be show-RE-m
 the dog showed its teeth.

This appears to be a shared object type serial construction where the equivalent of V2 is a constituent that could be an Ewe adjectival passive or progressive construction. Litvinov & Agbodjo state that this equivalent of V2, *le fiafiam*, is resultative. This constituent, then, resembles the FGb verbal passive in depicting resultativeness, and in the reduplication of *fia*, 'show' (FGb *fia*, 'show', SM *fijá*, with a different tone pattern, 'show'). The constituent, however, resembles the FGb adjectival passive in the use of *le*, 'be', which is the locative copula (McW. 1996b:86), the equivalent of FGb *d̀ò*, and reduplication. It also resembles the Ewe progressive construction (*ibid.*:105), which in this case would involve an anticausative verb. If the constituent were any of the three constructions the NP2 would be absolutive. The resemblance of the V2 constituent to the

three PV constructions in a shared object serial construction illustrates the association of these constructions in a Kwa language.

7.6.3 Change of location in 'take' serials and shared object serials

The FGb 'take' shared object serials appear to have the primary function of conveying the degree of volitionality of an action. The verb 'take' as V1 does not have the full semantic value, and so the verbal information in the construction is mainly in V2. The semantics of the two 'take' verbs as V1 is effective in establishing the visible effect constraint and in distinguishing volitionality. The 'take' verbs do not appear to convey the actual action of 'taking'. In the Abomey variety studied by Lefebvre (1991), however, the verb *só* retains the semantics of change of location.

The semantics of the verbs 'take' as V1 in FGb serials may also include a depiction of change of location. Lefebvre (1991 and elsewhere) argues that all FGb 'take' serials involve change of location of some kind. This is due to the semantics of *só* and *zé*, the verbs for 'take' (Lf. 1991:55). In the 'take' serial the change of location depicted by the 'take' verb must be implied by V2. In (61.a) the action of 'hitting' implies change of location of the stick, while in (61.b) there is no change of location of the stick implied in 'killing'. The construction in (61.b) is analyzed as a subordinate-adjunct construction, or as a purpose clause (ibid.:63), not as a 'take' serial. The 'take' shared object serial in (61.c) is ungrammatical in Abomey because the middle verb *gbá*, 'break', does not imply change of location:

- (61) a. kòkú só àfí xò àsíbá Abomey (Lf. 1991:61)
 Koku take stick hit Asiba
 Koku hit Asiba with a stick

- b. kòkuí só àǎí (bó) hù àsíbá Abomey (Lf. 1991:63, 64)
 Koku take stick and kill Asiba
 i. Koku took a stick and killed Asiba /
 ii. Koku took a stick in order to kill Asiba
- c. * kòkuí só kófù gbà Abomey (Lf. 1991:62)
 Koku take glass break

The Abomey variety apparently does not use the 'take' shared object serial, in (61.c), to distinguish degree of volitionality. A pragmatic change of location interpretation is possible for 'take' instrumental serials, but for 'take' shared object serials such an interpretation relies more on the semantics of V2. The Fon varieties examined by da Cruz and Brousseau apparently do not have a change of location constraint in 'take' serials. Similarly, the SM 'take' serials do not have a change of location constraint. A preference during transfer for the FGb varieties which allow change of state verbs in 'take' serials may be seen as a preference for the variety which can express the greatest transitivity. Changing the state of an object has a greater effect than changing its location.

The change of location feature does occur in SM shared object serials, though, as a condition for subsequent object controlled intransitive serial verbs, in Chapter 4. Recall that shared object serials depicting change of location may be followed by subsequent verbs, such as (62.a). The V2 as well as of the subsequent verbs express direct causation. But this simultaneous caused action is not the only factor, since the V2 in (62.c) depicts action equally as simultaneous and caused, but cannot have subsequent object controlled verbs. Most SM speakers accept the serial *káí káí* in (62.b):

- (62) a. a fáa dí páu túwε kaí a wáta SM
 he fell the tree throw fall in water
 he chopped the tree down (and it) fell in the water

- b. a súti dí pingo kíi (*) (hě a) kaí a wáta SM
 he shoot the pig kill and it fall in water
 he shot the pig and it fell in the water
- c. a náki dí báta booko *(hě a) kaí a gõõ SM
 he hit the bottle break and it fall on ground
 he hit the bottle (and) broke (it) and it fell on the ground

The change of location in (62.a) iconically indicates the possibility of subsequent caused action, where the change of state in (62.c) iconically indicates that the referent has changed in some way and is no longer quite the same entity, and so cannot have subsequent serial verb action. Most speakers apparently consider that *kíi* in (62.b) does not change the identity of *pingo* enough to block subsequent caused action. In this sense, then, *kíi* may be seen as depicting a change of location, since the visible effect is ‘falling’.

The argument for a change of location constraint in Lf. (1991) applies to instrumental serials in Abomey, but since there are no grammatical shared object serials presented it is not clear that it applies there too. As discussed in Chapter 4, there is no such change of location constraint on SM ‘take’ instrumental serials. The SM ‘take’ shared object serial the V1 *téi* retains all of its lexical semantics, so volitionality or change of location is not distinguished in the same way as in the FGb or Abomey counterparts.

The object control associated with the SM change of location shared object serial is determined by V2 of the PV, as it is in the Abomey ‘take’ shared object serials. The mutual influence of the two types of shared object serials suggests there is a substrate source of this feature in SM. In both SM and Abomey FGb the change of location feature may actually be a constraint that an affected object NP2 cannot undergo subsequent change of location if it has undergone a change of state, in effect not being the same item. A constraint involving a changed item is an extension of another constraint, the existing object constraint. If an object must exist before it can be changed, it would follow that

once it has been changed it no longer exists.

7.7 Innovation in the transfer of shared object serials

The absence of a serial item in the SM shared object serial verb construction is an innovation. The occurrence of more than two verbs in a shared object serial is also an innovation in SM, as the FGb resultative serial construction and the corresponding resultative serial construction in NDj are basically limited to two verbs (M. p.c.). It has been argued that the occurrence of a V3 is possible because the SM V2 is not a serial item, and has a subject for itself and subsequent verbs like other serial verb chains. It will be argued below that the non-serial item status of the SM V2 is the result of analogy with the PV phrase of the anticausative and passive constructions and of the 'take' shared object serial, and that a subsequent V3 is the result of analogy with the SM anticausative and passive serial constructions.

It could be argued that the PV phrase in FGb is an iconic representation of a verb phrase depicting a partial effect on the patient argument. It is isomorphic and motivated, as defined in Haiman (1980, 1985). It is isomorphic in that there is a one-to-one relationship between the depiction of partial effect and the PV word order. From the available data on FGb, and from Manfredi (1997), all occurrences of PV depict a partial effect, while the occurrences of VP depict effects, irrealis effects, or the negation of effects. The PV word order is motivated to represent a partial effect by reversing the iconic direction of the flow of transitivity, namely from the agent through the verb to the patient.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the influence of iconicity in creole genesis is likely to be greater than it is in normal diachronic change, since in creole genesis, as in child language development, restricted access necessitates a greater use of analogy (Givón 1979, 1985; Slobin 1985). Maximally isomorphic forms are easier to store, retrieve and communicate (Givón 1985:189). Maximally isomorphic forms should therefore function

more easily as the basis for analogy, making the analogized forms more accessible. The advantage of isomorphism is economy, in the sense of the need to economize mental effort and processing time (*ibid.*:198). Presumably, then, the economy of isomorphism is a motivation for analogy that functions to simplify, a characteristic of creole genesis.

Looking at the PV phrase as a constituent that can be used in various contexts corresponds to the idea of *emergent grammar* argued by Hopper (1987, 1988). Grammar, by Hopper (1987:145), is the result of the rearrangement of ready-made elements in an improvised way. These memorized bits of linguistic material (*ibid.*:148) are used in strategies to create discourse. The concept of emergent grammar has been criticized by Newmeyer (1992:782). He argues that subtle distinctions, regarding parasitic gaps for example, are consistently made even though such occurrences are too rare to be readily accessible in memory, and therefore must be stored in decontextualized grammar. Both of these arguments may apply to the transfer of the PV phrase. As a 'memorized bit', the PV phrase could be freely rearranged during creole genesis because decontextualized grammar is in flux.

The various PV constructions in FGb are copied from (59) as (63), below, with their simplified forms before relexification. Before simplification only the resultative shared object serial construction, (63.d), has a 'closed slot' or serial item for the verb in the PV (Migge 1998:222). All the PV constructions, however, depict a partial effect on the patient. The simplification process brings the periphrastic passive, (63.f), into a more canonical PV. It also eliminates the progressive, (63.a), and other PV constructions in Fb. (1992.a), as the SM equivalent progressive construction is SVO. In addition, for SM (but not for NDj) it eliminates the contrast of volitionality for the 'take' shared object serials, (63.b, c), so that only (63.b) is transferred:

- (63) a. é d̀ò làn ́ fýwè > ø
 he is burning the meat

- b. é só làn ó fyó > é só làn ó fyó
 he burned the meat (purpose)
- c. é hèn làn ó fyó > ø
 he burned the meat (accident)
- d. é dâ làn ó fyó > é dâ làn ó fyó
 he prepared, burned the meat
- e. làn ó fyó > làn ó fyó
 the meat burned
- f. làn ó nyí fĩ-fyó > làn ó fyó
 the meat was burned
- g. lán ó dò fĩ-fyó wè > ø
 the meat is burning
- h. làn ó dò fĩ-fyó > làn ó (dò) fĩ-fyó
 the meat is burned

The elimination of the contrast in volitionality between the two 'take' shared object serials leaves the construction with *só*, 'take', without a main function. At this point it could appear, in (64.a), as an ordinary resultative shared object serial, like (64.b), except that V2 is not a serial item, while *só* is. These are the only simplified serial verb constructions with the partial effect-depicting PV phrase:

- (64) a. é [só]sɪ làn ó fyó he (took,) burned the meat
 b. é dâ làn ó [fyó]sɪ he prepared, burned the meat

In SM instrumental serials the V1 serial item *téi*, in affecting the object less than a lexical verb, can be seen as introducing the instrument object in a theme role; *téi fáka kóti físi*, ‘take a knife and cut fish’. It contrasts with the PP mention of the instrument; *kóti físi ku fáka*, ‘cut fish with a knife’, as the PP depicts focus while the *téi* serial topicalizes. In the *téi* serial the NP2 object is then affected by V2 with a patient role. In both SM and FGb the introduction and subsequent effect resembles a presentational strategy, even though the serial construction is considered a single clause and the introduction is not intransitive. A STATE EVENT composition, however, would accommodate presentation. The shared object serial does not have this resemblance to presentation, as the shared object is not a theme of V1 and the composition is EVENT STATE. In FGb the V1 of the ‘take’ shared object serial has a greater effect on NP2 than the V1 of the instrumental serial. The argument for this is based on the affectedness constraint for V2 in the ‘take’ shared object serial, which does not apply to the ‘take’ instrumental serial. Thus while the ‘take’ instrumental serial would be unequivocally STATE EVENT, the ‘take’ shared object serial might lend itself also to an EVENT STATE interpretation. The FGb ‘take’ shared object serial and shared object serial would be similar in event composition, then, and this similarity would imply a similarity in the function of activation of information.

One feature that has transferred from the FGb into the SM ‘take’ shared object serial is the affectedness constraint on V2, since this SM serial is a shared object serial. As discussed in Chapter 4, this may be attributable to the semantics of ‘take’, in that the serial verbs in an event affecting a shared object should both be eventive. The V2 is therefore constrained to be eventive, unlike the V2 of the instrumental serials. And as V1 is eventive there is the indication that the shared object is affected by ‘take’. In SM the V1 *téi* has been reinterpreted as a lexical verb, and so NP2 has a more patientive role. This role change might be seen as going in the opposite direction of normal grammaticalization, where a ‘take’ verb would become an accusative case marker, as with Mandarin *bǎ* (Sebba 1987 and references). The FGb serial item ‘take’, as discussed above, retains enough semantics to constrain V2 to be patient affecting, and so would

also affect the NP2 somewhat more than as a theme argument. The two constructions in (24), then, have in common that they are serial verb constructions with a shared object affected in a patientive way by both verbs, and that they are unique in this regard in both FGb and SM.

Based on the activation function of their SM counterparts, the two PV serials in (64) may also have a function in common, the function of introduction or reactivation. As mentioned above, the simplified 'take' serial in (64.a) may emphasize the object as new information by affecting it twice, once by the serial item *só* as a patientive theme, and again as a patient by V2. New information is prototypically expressed as the object of a transitive verb or as the subject of an intransitive verb, by Du Bois (1987). The 'take' shared object serial provides an opportunity to express a non-pronominal object as new information relative to two verbs, in effect emphasizing it by mentioning it in the preferred argument structure (*ibid.*) of the two verbs. Because both these verbs are affecting, the new information is part of an event. This is true of course for shared object serials as well, in (64.b). In emphasizing the new information in an event they also have the possibility of emphasizing an event; the resultative EVENT STATE composition means the second term is not independent of the first, so that the two verbs depict a more unified event than a STATE EVENT serial. If shared object serial constructions can be event-reporting, they can bethetic sentences (Lam. 1994:144). The 'take' instrumental serials with a theme NP2 resemble presentational constructions, and the 'take' shared object serials with a more patientive theme role for NP2 would be conducive to either NP introduction or event reporting. In this last function the 'take' shared object serial resembles the shared object serial and is distinct from the 'take' instrumental serial. Both shared object constructions, then, have a structure more conducive than their non-serial counterparts to presenting an event as new information.

In the simplified resultative serial in (64.b), the object is also affected twice. The first effect is by V1, the second effect is by a serial item, a grammaticalized verb which functions to depict the delimitation of the event. The delimitation emphasizes the completion of the transfer of effect to the object, and would therefore emphasize the

event, as well as emphasize the new information. As mentioned, the two serial constructions in (64), representing SM constructions before relexification, are particularly suited to the function of activation, and emphasizing the depiction of events. But even when not in a sentence-focus function, the resultative meaning implies that the focus information relates to event depiction. In other words, the new information is related to a discourse context rather than the more task-oriented referential function of Foley (1988:164).

The two serial constructions in (64), then, are similar in a number of respects. They have the PV word order, and the affectedness constraint of V2 on the object. And they both have a structure suited for the activation of information or the reporting of events. They differ in that the 'take' serial in (64.a) has V1 as a serial item, while the resultative serial in (64.b) has V2 as a serial item. Of course neither is as suited as the SM shared object serial, which has no serial item.

The two serial constructions in (64) are also similar in that the shared object may in some cases be the absolutive subject of V2. Regarding the FGb 'take' serials, Lefebvre (1991:67) gives arguments for the association of NP2 with the subject position of V2. Part of the argument involves tone sandhi. In simple clauses the subject and verb form a tonal domain separate from the direct object. In this type of serial verb construction in FGb, the NP2 forms a tonal domain with V2 as if it were its subject (ibid.:68). In addition, the 'take' verb is analyzed as having a causal relationship to V2 (ibid.:70), which like V1 fills a head position (ibid.:68). The 'take' verb internalizes the external argument of V2 (ibid.:69), thus indicating that V2 may have an absolutive subject; both affected by the transitive V1 and the subject of an intransitive V2. This is also the conclusion of da Cruz (1994:60-70) regarding the 'take' shared object serial construction with an anticausative V2. The tonal domains in the resultative shared object serial are the same as in the 'take' serials (Br. p.c.), and being resultative implies a causal relationship of V1 to V2. It might be assumed then that this shared object is also absolutive, especially considering the obviously absolutive shared object of change of location serials in SM.

It would appear that regarding the predication relationship the resultative serial

constructions in FGb are split by the control of transitive and anticausative V2 just like the 'take' constructions, in (8) above. By the translations, a transitive V2, like *hu*, 'kill', appears to have an object NP2. The translation of anticausative V2s like *fyɔ*, 'burn', on the other hand, suggests a subject NP2:

- (65) a. e nɔ̃ / hɛ xo afũ hu Maxi (M. 1998:153)
 he HAB/ITER hit dog kill
 he is habitually/continually killing dogs by beating them to death
- b. e la li awu lɔ fyɔ Xwela (M. 1998:223)
 he FUT iron shirt the SI burn
 he'll iron the shirt until it'll get burned

This split between transitive (a) and anticausative (b) regarding the absolutive subject of V2 is also seen in (49), (50) and (51) above, and is one more resemblance of FGb resultative to 'take' shared object serials.

The transfer scenario of the resultative shared object serial construction may be summarized as follows. The PV phrase in FGb iconically represents a partial effect on the patient argument by an affecting verb. The FGb progressive and other PV constructions represented by (63.a) as well as the 'take' and resultative shared object serials establish the isomorphism of the PV phrase. The iconicity of the PV phrase exists before simplification, since it is used in simplification. Therefore the influence of the progressive construction contributes to the iconicity of the PV phrase, even though the progressive and other constructions represented by (63.a) did not transfer. These constructions establish an association of the affectedness constraint for transitive verbs, and the broader locus of effect constraint for intransitive statives, with the PV phrase. These constructions are also important in establishing a construction where the PV argument is absolutive for transitive verbs, and particularly for anticausatives. After simplification, in (66), it is the PV phrase with anticausatives that has the greatest number

of constructions with an absolutive argument:

- (66) a. é [sɔ́]_{SI} [làn ɔ́]_{ABS} fyó he (took,) burned the meat
 b. é ɖà [làn ɔ́]_{ABS} [fyó]_{SI} he prepared, burned the meat
 c. [làn ɔ́]_{ABS} fyó the meat was burned
 d. [làn ɔ́]_{ABS} fyó the meat burned

From a pragmatic point of view, it would seem that a resultative construction would favor an anticausative verb. Virtually all anticausative verbs depict conditions that are the stative results of actions. Verbs that are strictly transitive, like 'hit' or 'kill', may result in a visible change of state, but the aktionsart of these verbs puts emphasis on the action more than the result.

The scenario for the transfer of the FGb resultative shared object serial calls for a change in its PV phrase based on analogy with the other constructions with PV phrases, in particular the 'take' serial construction with an anticausative verb as V2. The V2 changes from a serial item to a lexical verb. This change is motivated by simplification, the reduction of variation in the PV phrases to increase isomorphism. The 'take' serial with anticausatives is important in the analogical change of resultatives because of the association of anticausatives with resultativeness, discussed above. It is also important, of course, because both constructions are syntactically similar as shared object serials, and both are EVENT STATE. After simplification the passive is also a PV phrase, and like the 'take' anticausative, the patient is the subject, and the verb is not a serial item. The passive verb, then, could be V1 in a serial construction. Analogy with the shared object serial allows its PV the option of subsequent serial verbs. Analogy of the anticausative construction with the shared object serial would not allow subsequent serial verbs of change of location, since anticausatives depict a change of state and therefore depict the end of the identity of the item as far as subsequent action. Also, unlike the passive, the anticausative does not imply agency.

The FGb 'take' serials, as discussed above, convey a contrast in volitionality where *sɔ́*,

'take', as V1 denotes a volitional action, and *hèn*, 'hold', as V1 denotes an accidental action. The proposed analogical change in the shared object resultative serials begins with the loss of this contrast in the 'take' shared object serials during simplification. Without this contrast, a major function of the FGb 'take' serials is lost. The *só*, 'take', serial transferred into SM as the *téi*, 'take' shared object serial, perhaps, as discussed above, retaining a portion of its volitional meaning. The *hèn*, 'hold', serial, on the other hand, has no special function or syntax in SM. Without a special function, the verb *hèn*, 'hold', can be interpreted as a typical V1 in a resultative shared object serial, but the SM *tjá* meaning 'carry' almost never occurs in a shared object serial for pragmatic reasons. In its most common usage it has become semantically fused with *kó/gó*, 'come/go', meaning 'bring/take', as in (67.a), as these are the only verbs of movement that occur with the *hèn* serial in FGb (daC. 1992:125); the unacceptable insertion of *wáka*, 'walk', in (67.b), shows that *tjá gó* in SM is also a semantically fused lexical item:

- (67) a. a *tjá dí búku gó butá a táfa líba* SM
 he hold the book go put on table top
 he took the book away (and) put (it) on the table top
- b. * a *tjá dí búku wáka gó butá a táfa líba* SM
 he hold the book walk go put on table top
 (he took the book away, walked (and) put (it) on the table top)

The *tjá*, 'hold/carry', construction does not necessarily denote accidentalness. Since the *hèn*, 'hold', construction in FGb denotes accidental action, contrasting with volitional action for *só*, 'take', its V2 would prototypically convey action that is somewhat independent of the agent. In this way it is similar to the PV phrases with anticausative verbs with an absolutive subject. The *só*, 'take', construction, on the other hand, is prototypically similar to the PV phrase with subject control where the action is volitional and therefore less independent of the agent. The PV most independent of the agent is the

hèn serial with an anticausative V2, and the least independent is the *só* serial with a transitive V2.

The resultative shared object serial depicts an action and its result. A change of location result, depicted by V2, could be seen as somewhat independent of the agent relative to V1. In this way the change of location resultative serial construction is similar to the PV phrases with anticausative verbs with an absolutive subject, and so also to the *hèn*, 'hold', construction, which as a shared object serial only occurs with anticausative V2s. Because of the absolutive subject, there is an unequivocal association of the *hèn* serial with an EVENT STATE composition. The *hèn* serial resembles the resultative shared object serial in event composition, but in SM, as mentioned above, it does not have the function of distinguishing volition and is rare for pragmatic reasons. Perhaps because *tjá* has a narrower range of meaning than *téi* it is not as useful in topicalization, another reason for its rarity. There is a parallel with SR *teki* 'take' and *tjari* 'carry' serials, in (69) below.

In the scenario, then, the loss of contrast for volitionality in the FGb 'take' serials resulted from the *hèn*, 'hold', serial construction resembling an ordinary resultative serial, as it does in modern SM. It would appear that these two constructions each changed by analogy to the other, or in effect merged, since in SM neither V1 nor V2 is a serial item. The *só* serial also merged with the shared object serial. The *só* serial occurs with non-anticausative verbs, and so is not as unequivocally associated with an EVENT STATE composition. In this way it resembles the FGb shared object serial in having both anticausative and strictly transitive verbs, as seen in SM shared object serials.

There are two motivations for the adoption of the FGb 'take' shared object PV over the resultative serial item PV in the merged shared object serial construction. One is the model of all the other PV phrases, whose prototype represents partial effect by any affecting verb, not just a serial item from a closed class. By collapsing all PV phrases into this prototype, the PV phrase becomes more isomorphic. As discussed in Chapter 1, isomorphism is more influential in creole genesis than in normal diachrony.

The other motivation is transitivity. Prototypical serial items have fewer verbal

characteristics than lexical verbs, and thus are less effective, and thereby they are less transitive. As discussed in Chapter 1, a more transitive construction is more likely to transfer. Of the two 'take' serials, the *só* construction is the more transitive by denoting volitionality and is the one that most resembles the FGb resultative shared object serial. As for the resultatives, they became more transitive by changing the serial item status of V2, in effect becoming what in FGb or NDj would be paratactic constructions, distinguished syntactically from serials. The innovation in the SM resultative serial is in the interpretation of what constitutes the depiction of a result, namely that resultative serials are EVENT STATE, where paratactic serials are EVENT EVENT. In FGb the result in a resultative serial is expressed by a serial item that is even more preposition-like than other serial items. In SM the result of an action may be expressed as another action, a resultative action. A result in SM may in fact also include subsequent caused action of the shared object, the result of the earlier action. The SM resultative serial can be considered more transitive than its FGb counterpart because the effect on the object is depicted by verbs that have more characteristics of prototypical verbhood.

The 'take' and resultative shared object constructions in NDj, in contrast with SM, do not appear to have merged. The contrast in volitionality in FGb 'take' shared object serials exists in NDj as well, in (68), where FGb *só* and *hèn* are relexified as NDj *teki* and *tya*. Also, the resultative shared object serials have a V2 serial item in NDj, (68.c), as in FGb (M. 1998:222):

- (68) a. a teki a bata booko NDj (M. 1998:208)
 he SI DET(sg) bottle break
 he intentionally (took and) broke the bottle
- b. a tya a moni lasi NDj (M. 1998:210)
 he SI DET(sg) money lose
 he took and lost the money (unintentionally)

- c. a hali a impi piiti NDj (M. 1998:222)
 he pull the(sg) shirt SI(rip)
 he pulled the shirt until it ripped

One interpretation of the NDj data in (68) in view of its contrast with SM is that the NDj 'take' shared object serials did not lose their function of depicting volition in transfer, and so *teki* and *tya* remained serial items and were not available for reinterpretation as an open class shared object V1. Thus there was no change in either the 'take' or the resultative shared object serials.

The same constructions in SR, on the other hand, resemble SM. The SR V1 *teki*, 'take', in (69.a), does not have a counterpart in the verb *tyari*, 'carry' (Sebba 1987:131). Also corresponding to SM, instrumental serials are not restricted to the V1 *teki*, in (69.b):

- (69) a. Kofi teki den krosi kibri SR (Sb. 1987:131)
 Kofi take the-pl clothes hide
 Kofi hid the clothes
- b. Kofi fringi a tiki trowe naki Amba SR (Sb. 1987:92,129)
 Kofi throw the stick eject hit Amba
 Kofi threw the stick away and hit Amba

Sebba (ibid.:92) shows features that V2 in (69.b) shares with the passive, but analyzes V2 as transitive with NP2 as the object, and V3 with NP2 as its subject. Since the action of V3 is the result of causation, NP2 would be low in agentive characteristics. It would be more of an absolutive subject of V3. An interpretation of the SR data in (69) could be that in SR the volitional contrast of the 'take' shared object serials was lost, followed by a merger of the two shared object serial constructions. As in SM, the merger resulted in a possible absolutive interpretation of NP2. Another interpretation is that *trowe* is an intransitive depicting the motion by the matrix subject, as it can be in SM, so that (69.b)

is a paratactic construction, or perhaps an asyndetic conjoined construction as suggested for SM in V. (1996: 81). However, based on the data in (7) that instrumental serials may have intervening intransitive verbs, (69.b) will be considered an instrumental serial. The verb *trowe* is intransitive, the verb *fringi* is the V1, and *naki* is the verb with *tiki* as the instrument argument, all with the matrix subject.

Regarding the 'take' construction in (69.a), Sebba comments that the only function of the serial construction, as opposed to the simplex *Kofi kibri den krosi*, is to move the object of *kibri* to the left (ibid.:131). This of course moves it into a position to be the focus of two verbs. The SR *teki* shared object serial is compared to one of the *bǎ* constructions in Mandarin (ibid.:140), where *bǎ* once meant 'take', but has been grammaticalized into an object marker for the following NP. This object marking would be an alternative to the normal word order marking in Mandarin, as well as in SR and SM, suggesting it has a specialized function. The comparison points out a possible pragmatic function for 'take' shared object serials in SR and SM, namely emphasizing the object status of NP2 for activation.

An emphasis on the effect on an object may in fact be a motivation for shared object serials in general, distinguishing their usage from conjoined clauses. A clause depicting a completed effect is more transitive, and presumably more effective in activation, than a clause depicting an incomplete effect. Breaking an event into two effects iconically emphasizes the completion of the event with a separate verb, a verb that reflects the real-world order of actions. This second verb is in a focus position, in that topical items are prototypically to the left of focus items. The V2 of the resultative shared object serial in particular emphasizes the completion of the effect. This motivation may also apply to serials in SM with *dóu*, 'arrive', as V2, metaphorically meaning 'finish', and of course serials with the V2 *kabá*, 'finish'. It may, in fact, be a motivation for all eventive serials, explaining why there are serials for 'finishing', but not for 'beginning'.

In FGb the clause determiner emphasizes a completed event (Lf. 1998:234), which may be significant regarding the possible emphatic function of shared object serials. The FGb clause determiner occurs only with dynamic verbs. As with shared object serials,

the clause determiner occurs only with transitive verbs that are dynamic affecting verbs. The FGb clause determiner for known or expected information is *ó*, phonologically identical to the definite article *ó*. This is probably not a coincidence. Lefebvre (ibid.:234) explains that the clause determiner requires an identifiable object as a complement, and that events can be identifiable objects. Events, of course, are depicted with dynamic affecting verbs. The FGb clause determiner transferred into HT, in (70.a), with the affected object constraint, in (70.b):

- (70) a. Mounn nan kraze yon manchinn nan HT (Lf. 1998:230)
 Súnnù ó gbà móto dé ó FGb (ibid.)
 man DET destroy a car a Det
 The man destroyed a car, as we knew
- b. * Yon mounn wè manchinn nan an HT (Lf. 1998:230)
 * Súnnù dé mò móto ó ó FGb (ibid.)
 a man a see car DET Det
 [Lit: a man saw the car, as we knew]

Haitian and the Surinamese creoles are basilectal creoles with FGb as the primary substrate language. The clause determiner as an event determiner of FGb, labelled *Det* in (70), transferred into HT, but did not transfer into SM, SR or NDj. On the other hand, the FGb shared object serial construction transferred into SM, SR and NDj, but did not transfer into HT. Following the logic that both the event determiner and resultative shared object constructions emphasize events in FGb, there are two constructions with a similar function. In transfer, simplification would be a motivation for isomorphism, so that a single construction would be preferred for a single function. In this case, HT preferred the event determiner, while the Surinamese creoles preferred the shared object serial.

7.7.1 Innovation in the transfer of tone

The resemblances of the SM tone sandhi patterns to FGb are obviously the result of transfer. In both languages a preverbal NP sandhis with the verb, while a postverbal NP does not (Weisemann 1991; Lf. & Br. 2002:22). In both languages, then, a shared object sandhis with the following V2 and does not sandhi with the preceding V1. It would appear, however, that the non-local sandhi effect between V1 and V2 in SM, described in Chapter 4 and in Rountree (1972) and Good (2001), does not exist in FGb. In (71) the + sign represents sandhi or sandhi effect, and the - sign indicates no sandhi:

- (71) a. kOku + sO - kOfu O + gba FGb (Brouseau p.c.)
 kókú + téí + + boóko SM
 - dí báta +
 Koku take bottle the break
 Koku broke the bottle

The non-local sandhi effect, namely the approximation of local sandhi between two non-contiguous items, appears to be an innovation in SM. The motivation for this innovation, as discussed in Chapters 2, 4 and 5, could be an association of tone sandhi with expectedness. For serial verbs there is the expectation that all the verbs in a serial verb construction depict a single event, which is reflected by sandhi. This expectation would be reinforced by substrate sandhi; contiguous serial verbs in FGb form a sandhi domain (Weisemann 1991:78). In SM, where sandhi does not occur because the constituents are not contiguous there is an approximation of sandhi. This sandhi effect, analyzed as the insertion of floating high tone morphemes in Good (2001:43), reverses the default low tone to high tone on syllables unspecified for tone. This innovation in SM tone sandhi may be related to the lack of transfer of the FGb event determiner into SM, in that each of these strategies defines an event. It may also relate to the SM notion of ‘event’, which

appears to be broader than that of SR or NDj, as SM allows more verbs in serial constructions. In any case the notion of expectedness appears to be a motivation in other areas of tone sandhi, and is a constraint in other parts of the grammar as well.

Other than the SM innovation to approximate tone sandhi, the SM tone sandhi system is similar to the FGb system. The domains of tone sandhi in FGb resemble those in SM; most notable being the break in sandhi between a verb and a following object. Wiesemann (ibid.:87) finds three types of sandhi borders, determined by grammatical constructions and semantics. *Disjunctive borders* (ibid.:75) do not allow tone sandhi, which is basically the rightward spread of high tone (ibid.:83). A disjunctive border separates a verb from the following item. *Conjunctive borders* (ibid.:78) allow normal tone sandhi. Conjunctive borders exist between a preverbal object and the following verb, or PV. There are also conjunctive borders between serial verbs. *Neutral borders* (ibid.:81) allow or block sandhi under pragmatic conditions that are not yet understood. Neutral borders exist between subject and verb, and between clause constituents following the disjunctive border after a verb.

The SM tone system resembles the FGb tone system as well in that the tones are lexical but not grammatical (ibid.:87). In Chapter 4 it is argued that the SM tone system is basically intonational rather than grammatical, based on the non-grammatical nature of the tones and on the pragmatically motivated variation that occurs in the sandhi, and on the iconicity of the sandhi patterns that matches the inherent iconicity of intonation (Bolinger 1985). Wiesemann (ibid.:87) makes the same argument for FGb. The non-grammatical nature of the tones allows variation across neutral borders, variation that is subjective. Wiesemann argues that it is the variation across neutral borders that parallels variation in intonational stress systems, and that in languages with highly developed intonational systems the preferred stress placements are similar to the sandhi border placements in FGb. This FGb characteristic may relate to the ‘split’ lexicon in SM, which has features of both stress and tone language systems, described in Good (2001); the words with unspecified tones resemble stress words, and allow tone sandhi to occur, while words with specified low tones test the sandhi rules. It is the obstruction of normal

sandhi by specified low tones that no doubt motivated the special sandhi rules in SM.

Another motivation for the innovation of non-local sandhi effect in SM relates to the expanded nature of SM serial verb constructions. SM serials include actions that would be considered paratactic in FGb. These actions are parts of single events in SM serials. Yet SM does not have the event determiner of FGb to help define the innovated serials as events. The innovation of non-local sandhi effect would ensure the identification of a paratactic-type serial as being a serial verb construction depicting a single event, rather than an asyndetic co-ordinate construction defining two events.

More generally, an early stage in the development of SM may not have had serial verb constructions where constituents break the contiguity of verbs. These constructions, described in Chapter 4, are characteristic of a later and more expanded language. This is particularly the case for shared object serials, with their tendency to activate arguments in discourse. An early identification of serial verb sandhi with the depicted event would motivate the non-local sandhi effect that would come later.

There is an indication that there were contiguous object-affecting serial verbs, (72.a), and paratactic serials with resumptive pronouns, (72.b), in an early stage, since these constructions exist in the 1805 Wietz Bible but do not occur in modern SM. There were also shared object serials, (72.c):

- (72) a. dem sa pulu trueh hem na mindri vo Piple (Wietz 1805: Acts 3:23)
they shall pull throw him in middle of people
(every soul) . . . shall be destroyed from the people (R.S.E.)
- b. dem Sombre tjarri hem, putta hem inidagga na dorro va Kerki (ibid.: 3:2)
the(pl) person carry him put him each-day in door of church
(a man . . . was being carried, whom) they laid daily at that gate
of the temple . . . (R.S.E.)

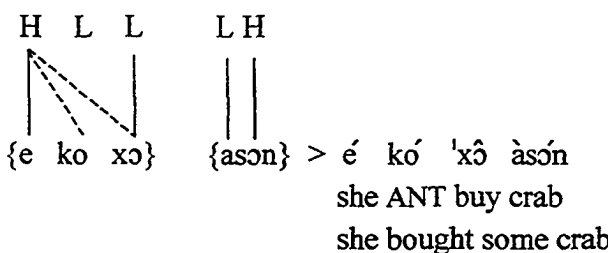
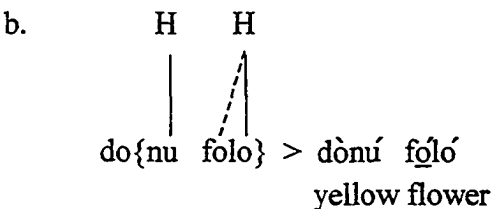
- c. a teki di Moni putta na Futtu va dem Apostel (ibid.: 4:36)
 he take the money put at foot of the(pl) apostle
 (Joseph) . . . brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet (R.S.E.)

There are 4 shared object serials in the Wietz Book of Acts 1 - 33. Two of these have the object extracted, but are considered to be shared object serials of the (c) type, above, rather than the (a) type, because the object is non-human. The shared objects, then, are all non-living humans. There are 3 serials of the (a) type, all with human objects. There are 12 serials of the (b) type, all but two having human objects. The shared object serials in Wietz, then, appear to have favored non-human objects, as do shared object serials in modern SM. They also appear to have an activation function, as in modern SM, since there are no pronominal shared objects. The other two types in Wietz favored human objects, which are mostly pronominal.

Regarding tone sandhi, type (a) allows contiguous verbs to sandhi. Type (b) avoids the single event interpretation by breaking the action into a paratactic construction, and so also avoids sandhi between the verbs. It is the shared object serial, type (c), which presents a problem for expressing serial action with sandhi. The shared object serial in Wietz is far less common than the paratactic construction. In modern SM, on the other hand, the shared object serial occurs far more frequently, discussed in 7 below, while the other types no longer occur due to the strict SVO word order in the contemporary language. Projecting this trend back to an early stage of the language, the shared object serial may have been even less frequent. The use of the shared object serial required the innovation of sandhi effect, something that no doubt developed after the regularization of normal sandhi rules; the sandhi effect applies to constructions that are characteristic of an expanded pidgin; and the sandhi effect is an attempt to compensate for normal sandhi, which implies that the normal sandhi rules had been conventionalized first.

The normal sandhi rules of SM can be seen as an adaption of FGb sandhi rules, mainly the rule of high tone spread in a tonal domain. The FGb high tone spreads to the right (Br. 1991:104; Lf. & Br. 2002:22), while the SM high tone spreads to the left (Ham

1999; Good 2001:27). The high tone in FGb spreads from TBU to TBU, and also from word to word. Non-derived words in FGb are almost entirely monosyllabic (Lf. & Br. *ibid.*:19). Most words in SM are bisyllabic, and most belong to the class of words with at least one lexical high tone, and have a TBU with an unspecified tone that shows the effect of tone sandhi (Rountree 1972:316). The high tone spread in FGb continues to the right edge of the tonal domain. In SM the tonal domain is limited to two words, or more accurately, the edges of the domain are the lexical high tones of the two words. The motivation for the spread in FGb is that tonal domains are right-dominant in that the final syllable has the strong position, and in FGb the high tone is the strong tone (Lf. & Br. *ibid.*:23). The high tone spread in FGb puts the strong tone in the strong position. In SM, the rightmost TBU already has a high tone. High tone spread in SM, then, fills in the preceding unspecified TBUs; the plateau effect resembles the high tone spread in FGb, but the filling in can be seen as a foreshadowing of the sandhi approximation for non-adjacent serial verbs:

- (73) a.  FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:22)
- b.  SM

The unlinking of low tone in FGb in (73.a) creates downstep, $\acute{x}\hat{o}$, and in the final low TBU creates a high-low falling tone. There is also a low-high rising tone; the realization of a lexical high tone preceded by a voiced consonant, as $v\check{r}$, ‘child’, and $gb\check{a}$, ‘to build’. This is because voiced consonants, which induce low tones diachronically, carry a low

tone in FGb (Lf. & Br. *ibid.*:32), in (74.a).

In some varieties of FGb the low tone of voiced obstruents, but not sonorants, blocks the high tone spread, in (74.b). The low tone of the voiced obstruent, unlike that of a vowel, cannot change, as voiced consonants have the feature [+slack vocal cords] (*ibid.*). This would be especially true of voiced obstruents, since restricting the release of air above the vocal cords reduces the pressure difference across the vocal cords and thereby the frequency of their vibration. The unchangeable low tone of FGb voiced obstruents blocks high tone spread, and similarly the unchangeable low tones in SM block high tone sandhi to the right (R. 1972:315), in (74.c):

- (74) a. $\begin{array}{c} L \quad H-H \\ | \quad | \\ \text{gb} \quad \text{a-a} \end{array} > \text{gb}\check{\text{a}}$ FGb (*ibid.*)
- b. $\begin{array}{c} H \quad LL \\ | \quad || \\ \text{e} \quad \text{gba} \end{array} > \text{é} \quad \text{gb}\grave{\text{a}}, * \text{é} \quad \text{gb}\hat{\text{a}}$ FGb (*ibid.*)
s/he broke
- c. $\begin{array}{c} HL \quad H \\ || \quad | \\ \text{d}\check{\text{i}} \quad \text{k}\check{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{m}\check{\text{a}} \quad \text{k}\check{\text{u}}\text{l}\check{\text{e}} \end{array} > \text{d}\acute{\text{i}} \quad \text{k}\check{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{m}\grave{\text{a}} \quad \text{k}\grave{\text{u}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}, * \text{d}\acute{\text{i}} \quad \text{k}\check{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{m}\hat{\text{a}} \quad \text{k}\hat{\text{u}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$ SM
the crocodile ran

The low tone of voiced onsets spreads to the following vowel in all varieties of FGb, in (74.a), and the low tone of voiced obstruents blocks high tone spread in some, in (74.b). In addition to the rightward spread of high tone, there are two modifications of tone that involve the low tone of voiced consonants (Br. 1991:103; Lf. & Br. 2002:22):

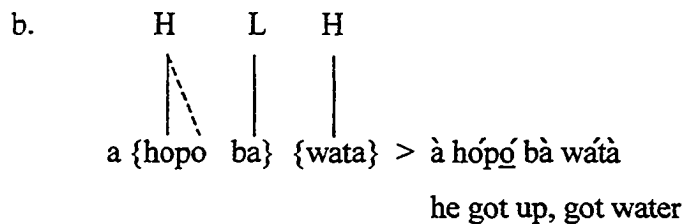
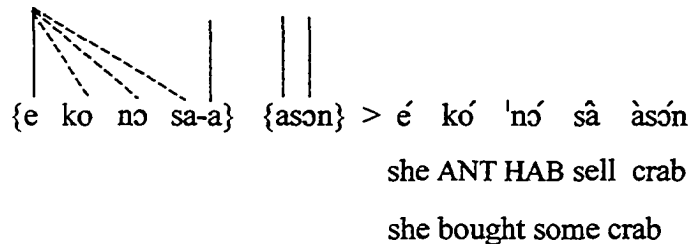
(75) *high tone absorption*, where LH becomes L when preceding H; LHH > LH.

low tone unlinking, where LH becomes H when following H; HLH > HH.

These rules may be seen reflected in SM.

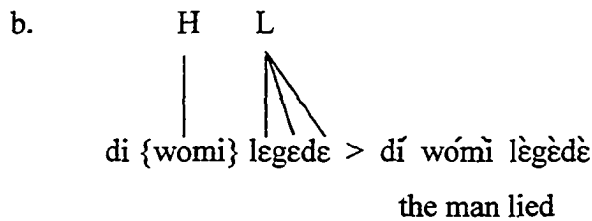
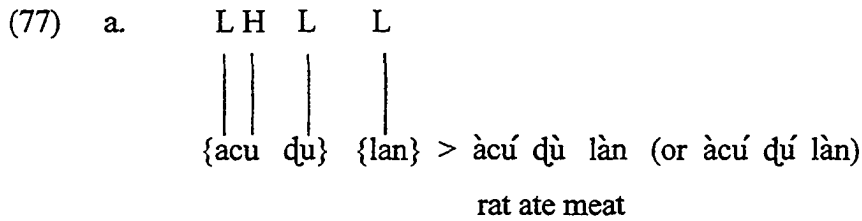
The spread of high tone in SM is to the left. For serial verbs, however, it is possible to see this spread as rightward, as (76.a) in FGb. The special rule of H insertion for serial verbs in SM resembles a rightward high tone spread in FGb, in (76.b); as discussed in Chapter 4, the H, a floating high tone morpheme, applies to the left before the right, and so implies a rightward spread. The leftward spread in SM may have developed at a later stage; it is evident now only in phrase final lowering. It can be assumed therefore that there was rightward spread in the early stage of SM. The hypothetical rightward spread in SM occurs with serial verbs, *hópó bà*, a conjunctive border in FGb, but not between noun and following verb, *wómì lègèdè*, a neutral border in FGb:

(76) a. H L L L-L LH FGb (Br. 1991:103)



Serial verbs in FGb constitute a conjunctive border, in Ws. (1991:78), a border where high tone spread occurs. This resembles the high tone spread in SM, in (76.b). The border between subject and verb in FGb, however, is a neutral border, and high tone spread may or may not occur (ibid.:81), as in (77.a). The parallel in SM is the lack of



high tone spread between subject and verb in (77.b). The contrast with (76.b) suggests that the special rules for H insertion in SM correspond to conjunctive borders in FGb:



There is no special H insertion for subject and object in SM, which is a neutral border in FGb. But there is H insertion for serial verbs in SM, and there is also H insertion for serial verbs with intervening items. In FGb both serial verbs and preverbal objects have conjunctive borders (ibid.:78).

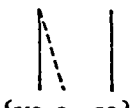
In SM serials, then, the apparent high tone spread occurs even when an item comes between the serial verbs, as seen in the high tone insertion on the first verb, and on the second verb when the intervening item, with appropriate junctures, has a specified low tone. There is a parallel in FGb, where an intervening unchangeable low tone does not stop high tone spread, in (78.a). The unchangeable low tone of the voiced consonant does not block the rightward spread of high tone, which by the low tone unlinking rule spreads to the resulting L of the rising tone L-H. Thus the L of the rising L-H, itself created by the unchangeable low tone, is replaced by H; the L-H in effect becoming H-H, in (78.a). In SM serials, the specified low tone before an unspecified TBU may be seen as creating an underlying L-H, where the surface tone depends on one of the tone modification rules, as in (78.b). There is some phonetic justification for proposing the L-H following a specified L; in this environment the unspecified TBU is often realized as


somewhat closer to a mid tone, most noticeably when phonologically L:

- (78) a. H(L)L-H FGb (Br. 1991:103)

 e gba-a xwe > é gbá xwé; s/he built a house
- b. H H (L) L-HH SM

 de{feni {dí logoso bu-uta} a tela > dè féní dí lògòsò búta... .


In FGb the L-H of *gbá* becomes H-H, *gbá*. In SM a proposed L-HH of *búta* becomes H-HH, *búta*. Because the spread is rightward (Br. 1991:105 ex. 36), the environment HL-H for L unlinking occurs before the environment L-HH for H absorption, in (78.b). The high tone spreads over unspecified TBUs from specified high tones. As with the spread from *dí*, the high tone must be able to spread to V2 for sandhi effect to occur. The {} brackets, as in (78.b), represent a global domain for sandhi effect which can include local tonal domains, such as the spread in V1 and the spread from *dí*. The notation with the {} bracket before *dí* indicates that the spread to V2 is from within the conjunctive border, as in FGb, but when this spread can occur, it also occurs in V1. This modification may be seen as the result of an innovation in SM; the change to pronominal modifiers. This SM innovation changed the nature of the conjunctive border so that it no longer has a noun at the left edge. As FGb postnominal modifiers allow high tone spread, the modification in SM is a compromise; tone spread may occur up to but not into the conjunctive border.


Where the HL-H environment does not occur, a following L-HH environment allows H absorption, in (79):

- (79) a. (L)L-H H FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:23)

 {ye-e so} {ga-an} > yè só gǎn; they elected a chief


b. L (L) L-HH SM

 a {ba {pòtòpòtò bu-uta} a wã se > à bà pòtòpòtò bùtá... .

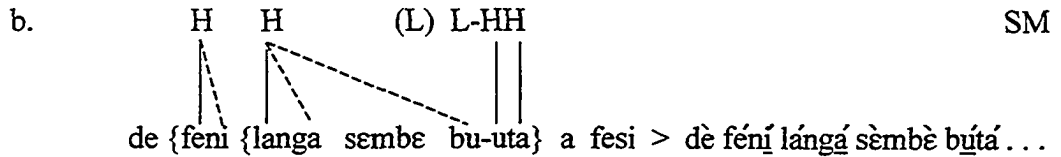
The L-HH environment applies when isolated from a preceding H, namely when H does not occur in the domain:

(80) a. H (L)L-H H FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:23)

 {e wli} {vè-è ó} > é wlí vè ó; s/he caught the varan

b. H L (L) L-HH SM

 de {fèni {gàdjà sèmbè bu-uta} a fesi > dè fèní gàdjà sèmbè bùtá... .

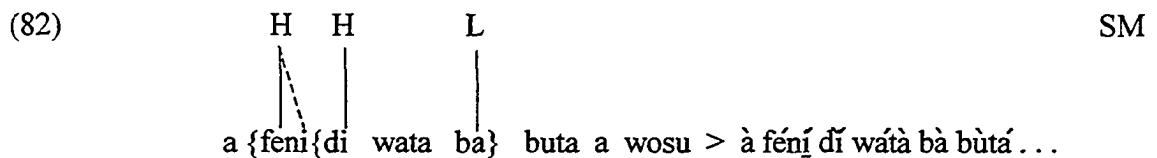
In (80.a) the H is separated from the L-HH by domain boundaries. In (80.b) the H of *fèni* is separated by a domain boundary, and the L of *gàdjà* similarly allows the L-LH environment for V2. This L is unchangeable, unlike the L of L-H, and so blocks the rightward spread of H. The blocking of rightward spread also blocks access to V2, so that there is no spread of H in V1. This blocking resembles the blocking of rightward H spread by voiced obstruents in some FGb lects, as in (74.b). Failure of H to spread to V2 causes failure to meet the condition for spread, in (81.a), as failure of H to spread from within the intervening constituent results in no sandhi effect. There is normal sandhi between NP2 and V2 in (81.a). The H spread within the conjunctive border allows sandhi effect, in (81.b):

(81) a. H L H SM

 de {fèni {gàdjà wòmí buta} a fesi > dè fèní gàdjà wòmí bùtá... .

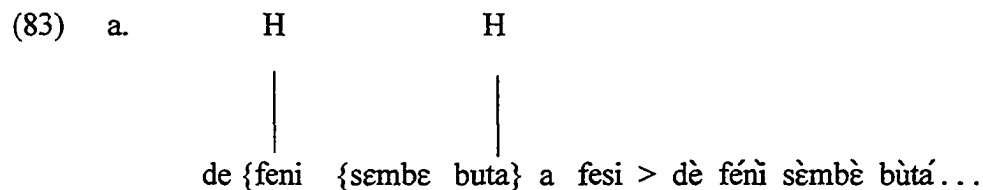




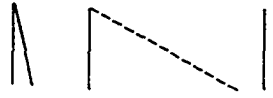
The parallel of (81.a) to (80.b) shows that words without specified L are the same as those with specified L preceding V2; they do not spread H to V2, in that there is no sandhi effect on V1 in either case. In SM, it is specified L that tests the sandhi system, since they do not sandhi. The special rules for sandhi effect are motivated to accommodate the L. Once the rules are established, they can be generalized to include words without specified L.

Failure of H to spread to a V2 with specified L does not block sandhi effect on V1, because H can spread up to V2, just as it can in FGb:






What allows sandhi effect in (82) is the ability of H to spread from the conjunctive border, not the actual spread to V2. Since the word preceding V2 is not visible in this spread, the H must originate from a word to its left. If the spread of H is from the word at the conjunctive border, the spread is visible to V1 and sandhi effect occurs, as in (82). As it is assumed that the rule for (L) is generalized, the (L) and the special L-H notation are no longer needed:



- b. H H H

 de {feni {di sɛmbɛ buta} a fesi > dè féní dí sɛmbè butá...
 c. H H H

 a {feni {di koosu buta} a fesi > à féní dí kóósú butá...
 d. L H H

 a {gili {di akata jabi} a sitonu > à gílí dí àkàtá jábí...
 she scrubbed the head pad and opened it out on a stone

The H may spread from a determiner, in (83.b, c, d), or from an adjective, in (81.b). But the left edge of attributives blocks sandhi, so H may not spread to V2 from items to the left of that juncture, in (84.b), contrasting with (a):

- (84) a. H H H

 a {feni {donu akata buta} a hedi > à féní dònú àkàtá butá...
 b. H H H H

 a {feni {di donu akata buta} a hedi > à fèní dí dònú àkàtá butá...
 c. H HH HH H

 de {feni {sikisi olansi sɛmbɛ buta} a fesi >
 dè féní síkísí olánsí sɛmbè butá...

The left edge of *donú*, ‘yellow’ blocks a spread of H from *dí*, so there is no spread that is local and visible to V1, and so here is no sandhi effect in (84.b). Numerals and adjectives depicting nationality (R. 1972:319) allow sandhi, however, so there is a continual H spread from the conjunctive border in (84.c).

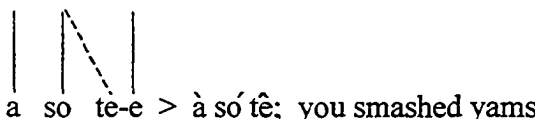
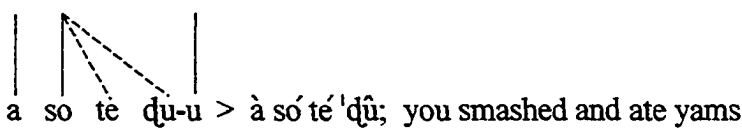
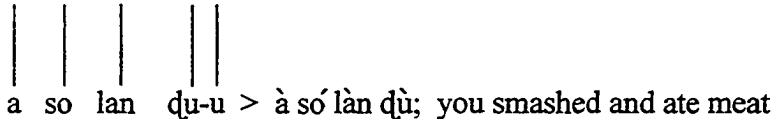
There is a parallel to this spread of H for non-contiguous serial verbs in FGb; the extension of the tonal domain beyond the verb for monosyllabic low tone object NPs with voiceless onsets (Br. 1991:108). In this case as well, an intervening item is the cause of apparent sandhi between V1 and V2.

In FGb the extension of the tonal domain beyond the verb to include a monosyllabic object NP with a low tone and voiceless onset implies the inclusion of a sizeable portion of the lexicon, which is mostly monosyllabic (Lf. & Br. 2002:19). Such a common occurrence would be a plausible base for analogic leveling during transfer to include all bare nouns, so that all bare nouns sandhi with the preceding verb. But to extend the analogy to include complex NPs there would need to be special rules to create a sandhi effect. In SM this inclusion resulted in special rules for complex preverbal objects, namely H insertion. But as no special rules were needed for bare nouns in FGb, no such rules for bare preverbal objects developed in SM.

It is possible to see the inclusion of low tone monosyllabic objects with voiceless onsets as the residue of a motivation to include all monosyllabic objects in the tonal domain following the verb. The rightmost tone of a domain in FGb occupies the strong position, and H is the strong tone (Lf. & Br. 2002:23). Thus a monosyllabic object NP with H already has the strong tone, so there is no need for H spread from the verb. For monosyllabic object NPs with L, only voiceless onsets are included. This may be because the voiced consonants in FGb have a low tone (ibid.:32), which spreads to the following vowel. A voiced onset, then, is a TBU, as seen in the following rising tone. Voiceless onsets produce no such contoured tones, and so do not constitute a TBU. A monosyllabic word with a voiceless onset has one TBU, while one with a voiced onset could be seen as having two TBUs, at least in this special environment. The word with

two TBUs would not be considered monosyllabic. It seems then that there is an attempt to include all monosyllabic NP objects in the tonal domain beyond the verb. This motivation would involve the majority of items, since simple words are almost all monosyllabic, thereby being a likely influence in transfer. In SM all bare items are the same regarding the H insertion rule.

In FGb an object such as *tè*, ‘yam’, is in a tonal domain with the verb, in (85.a), the contour tone is due to its domain final position rather than the voiceless onset. If the item *tè* were a shared object, it would also be in a tonal domain with V2. A prediction would be that the entire serial verb clause forms a tonal domain, in (85.b). The (L) of the voiced consonant before the verbal TBU does not block H spread, resembling SM, as in (81.b); *féní lánǎ sèmbè búta*. The L of a voiced consonant not adjacent to the verbal TBU does block the H spread, in (85.c), as in SM in (81.a); *féní gǎdǎ wómí búta*:

- (85) a. L H L-L FGb (Lf. & Br. 2002:23)

 a so te-e > à só têt; you smashed yams
- b. L H L (L)L-L FGb (predicted)

 a so te du-u > à só té' dũ; you smashed and ate yams
- c. L H(L)L (L)L-L FGb (predicted)

 a so lan du-u > à só làn dũ; you smashed and ate meat

In (85.b) the H of V1 in effect spreads to V2, resembling the sandhi effect in SM. Whether this predicted sandhi effect occurs in FGb or not, the resemblance to SM sandhi effect implies that the predicted sandhi occurred at some point in transfer. Since nearly all non-derived words in FGb are monosyllabic, occurrences of serial constructions with

shared objects, like (85.b), must be common. This would make them easily accessible for adaption in transfer. A monosyllabic NP, though, may not include additional morphemes such as determiners or plural markers (Br. 1991:102).

The monosyllabic object must be a bare noun, and thus non-specific. The serial construction would then depict an ACTIVITY. It appears, however, that shared object serials in SM disfavor ACTIVITY depictions. It is argued in Chapter 5, though, that the use of the determiner lapsed during transfer. If this were the case, then specific monosyllabic shared objects could have occurred with sandhi effect, identical to a non-specific object as in (85.b). The point where the determiner came into use in early SM is the time when special rules were needed to continue to include specific objects in sandhi effect.

7.8 Discourse function of SM shared object serials after transfer

The survey of shared object serials in the Aboikoni & Glock (1997) narrative text indicates that there is a tendency for shared object serials to prefer ACCOMPLISHMENT depictions (Van Valin 1990), discussed in Chapter 4. In other words, they tend more to occur in depictions of events affecting specific objects, rather than in ACTIVITIES (ibid.) that depict effects on nonspecific objects. In addition, shared object serials tend to avoid pronominal objects. Comparing shared object serials to clauses with verbs which may also occur in shared object serial constructions shows that these corresponding verbs have roughly twice the percentage of ACTIVITY occurrences, and have roughly twice the percentage of pronouns. It would appear from this that shared object serials function to introduce or reintroduce information, as argued in Chapter 4.

The survey of the A. & G. (1997) narrative text also indicates that SM attributive adjectives tend to occur in ACCOMPLISHMENT contexts, and that they function to help introduce or reintroduce information, in Chapter 2. This function would be predicted by Thompson (1988), who argues that attributive adjectives function to help introduce

information while predicate adjectives are commentary on known information. It was observed in Chapter 5 that SM attributive adjectives have the lexifier characteristic of adj-noun word order, while SM predicate adjectives have the substrate characteristic of being intransitive stative verbs. This might also be predicted by T. (ibid.), who argues that attributive adjectives share the introductory function with nouns, while the predicating function of predicate adjectives is a verbal characteristic. It was then argued in Chapter 5 that a lexifier language is the prototypical source of items of new information in the earliest stage of creole development, while the retained verbal features of the substrate would be the preferred predication. This would explain the split in property depiction in SM, where attributive adjectives have nominal lexifier characteristics and predicate adjectives have verbal substrate characteristics.

As with other serial constructions with non-serial alternatives, the SM shared object serial verb construction is a verbal substrate characteristic. The predicating function of these serials is shared with their non-serial counterparts. Both the shared object serial and the passive appear to activate specific information at roughly twice the rate of their non-serial or active counterparts. But in these two constructions the activation is resultative, which indicates it occurs in a discourse context. The need for such a discourse function is the sign of an expanded communicative system, where there is enough familiarity with the developing language to use it creatively. Such subjectivity would naturally draw on the substrate, since subjective expression in the superstrate would be less accessible. In the transfer of the shared object serial and the passive, then, there is a parallel with the transfer of adjectives regarding reduplication in that a form uniquely identified with the substrate is used subjectively. In addition, both the shared object serial and passive constructions primarily activate inanimate referents, and have other semantic constraints in common that exist in FGb. There is another parallel with adjectives as well, then, in that substrate verbal strategies are used in the expression of what is known, in this case the expected semantic and pragmatic constraints that are uniquely identified with the substrate.

The FGb shared object serial is the one serial verb construction found in the

Surinamese creoles that did not transfer into Haitian (Lefebvre p.c.). In the early SR texts it appears to have transferred only with the V2 *poti*, 'put' (Arends & Perl 1995:56). In Schumann (1783) all but one of the serial verbs constructions found in modern SR, (*seni* 'send' + V), are represented, including V + *poti* (ibid.). The absence of a robust shared object serial with other verbs is more striking in Schumann since the inventory of serial verb constructions is otherwise nearly complete relative to modern SR.

The lack of a shared object serial in HT and the limitation to V + *poti* in early SR suggests that this particular serial verb construction differs from the other serial verb constructions in some way that tends to restrict transfer or usage after transfer. This difference, of course, is likely related to the fact that shared object serials are unique among serial constructions in FGb in having two verbs affect a single NP, and that the double effect gives the NP prominence among activated items. The shared object serial construction in early SM, as in early SR, may also have been limited. An examination of an 18th century Bible translation compared to a modern SM translation of the same passages gives the impression that shared object serials were still used infrequently in the 18th century compared to their use in modern SM.

The 1805 Wietz translation of the Book of Acts 1 - 13:33, discussed in Chapter 5, is compared to the contemporary Glock translation. The comparison of shared object serials parallels the comparison of reduplicated attributive adjectives. Recall that in the Wietz text there was 1 reduplicated attributive out of 170 attributives, while in Glock there were 31 reduplicated attributives out of 171 attributives. This represents an increase of 3100%. For shared object serials, there are 4 in the Wietz text, and 114 in Glock. This represents an increase of 2850%.

The shared object serials in Wietz and Glock also parallel attributive adjectives, which tend to occur in ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting contexts (Ch. 5), in that they are primarily ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting. All 4 in Wietz and all but 3 of the 114 in Glock are ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting.

The parallels between shared object serials and attributive adjectives are significant in that both are argued to be involved in the introduction or reactivation of information.

For the activation of nominal information a depiction would need to be specific, the item being introduced would need to be identifiable and distinct from the verbal action. In other words, the depiction must be an ACCOMPLISHMENT where the verbal action is bounded and affects a specific object. It may not be an ACTIVITY where the verbal action is unbounded and affects unspecific objects, since no individual item could be introduced. What would be introduced in ACTIVITY depictions would be the action of affecting items in general.

The 4 shared object serials in Wietz and 111 of the 114 in Glock are ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting, as mentioned above. In the Glock text, then, the ACTIVITY depicting shared object serials comprise only 2.6% of the total. This percentage may be compared to the percentage of ACTIVITY depicting verbs that occur in the same Glock text but do not occur in shared object serials. The verbs being considered are those that could occur in shared object serials, namely verbs depicting a visible or perceptible effect on an object. There are 417 such verbs in the Glock text. Of these, 81 are in ACTIVITY depicting clauses. The ACTIVITY depicting verbs comprise 19.4% of the total. Thus there is a far greater percentage of ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting shared object serials than ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses with the corresponding verbs.

Another indication that shared object serials function to activate information is the lower percentage of pronouns, discussed in Chapter 5. The survey of pronominal objects in Glock separates highly animate or human objects from inanimate or non-human objects. Non-human objects are more likely to be props or minor participants, and therefore are less likely to be referred to anaphorically at a later point. Of the 32 shared object serials with non-human objects, 4 are pronouns. These pronouns comprise 12.5% of the total. There are 222 non-human objects of the corresponding verbs, of which 60 are pronouns. These pronouns comprise 27.0% of the total. Thus for non-human objects the shared object serials have fewer pronominal objects than the corresponding verbs. They therefore are more likely to name the object, functioning to either introduce or reactivate.

Highly animate or human objects would be more likely to participate in extended

action in a narrative, and so pronominal reference would convey its activity after the introduction or reactivation by naming. Yet even for human objects there is a difference between shared object serials and the corresponding verbs. Of the 82 shared object serials with human objects, 48 are pronouns, comprising 58.4% of the total. For the corresponding verbs there are 195 human objects, of which 127 are pronouns, comprising 65.1% of the total.

The comparison of pronouns in the Glock text suggests that shared object serials tend to have fewer pronominal objects than the corresponding verbs. However, since the introduction of information occurs in ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses, the comparison of pronouns should account for ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses only.

All the shared object serials with human objects are ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses, so the percentage of pronouns remains at 58.4%. For the 195 corresponding verbs, however, there are 20 ACTIVITY depicting clauses, all with nonpronominal objects. Thus of the 175 ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses the 127 with pronominal objects comprise 72.6% of the total. The difference between these shared object serials and their counterpart verbs is greater when considering only ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses, the clauses which activate nominal information.

For the 32 shared object serials with inanimate or non-human objects there are 3 ACTIVITY depicting clauses, all with non-pronominal objects. Thus of the 29 ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses the 4 with pronominal objects comprise 10.3% of the total. For the 222 corresponding verbs, however, there are 61 ACTIVITY depicting clauses, all with non-pronominal objects. Thus of the 161 ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses the 60 with pronominal objects comprise 37.3% of the total. The difference between these shared object serials and their counterpart verbs is also greater when considering only ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting clauses.

In the Glock text, then, there is a tendency for shared object serials to have fewer ACTIVITY depicting clauses and fewer pronominal objects than clauses with verbs that could otherwise occur in shared object serials. Recall from Chapter 4 that in the Aboikoni & Glock (1997) narrative text there is a similar tendency for shared object

serials. In A. & G. (ibid.) for ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting shared object serials the pronominal objects comprise 16.2% of the total. The percentage of pronominal objects for ACCOMPLISHMENT depicting corresponding verbs is 33.3% of the total. The two texts are in different registers, as the Glock text is a Bible translation while the A. & G. text is a spontaneous narrative. Yet the similarity in shared object serials in these two texts is an indication that this tendency is a feature of modern SM.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the expression of subjectivity would likely be consigned to familiar substrate features, as long as those features are accessible. For reduplication and serial verb constructions there would be an awareness of the association with the substrate by the creators of the creole, since there would be no superstrate model. This association would naturally become opaque to later generations of SM speakers, but the functions of these features would continue. Now the time of the earliest texts coincided with an important political event; in 1762 the Saramaccans won their independence from the Dutch. Such an event could cause an increased awareness of language as a marker of group identity, as it did in Belize after independence (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). An awareness of language, of course, is an awareness of differences with other languages, in this case Sranan and Dutch. As SR had few, perhaps one shared object serial, and Dutch has none, this feature could be a self-ascribed marker of identity in SM. It would be particularly likely because one of its functions is the expression of subjectivity, an inherently inward looking function. The apparent increase in the use of the shared object serial in SM since independence coincides with an apparent increase in the use of reduplication of attributive adjectives, in Chapter 5, and a dramatic change in phonology towards more substratal features, also in Chapter 5.

These changes are not part of creole genesis, of course, but they are significant in showing that contact related change can be away from the contacted language. If the use of shared object serials could increase with increased familiarity with Dutch, then it could transfer even with increased familiarity with English. In other words, it could transfer at a later time than other constructs.

7.9 Conclusion

The SM shared object serial verb construction, like the adjectival and passive constructions, transferred from FGb with modifications. Yet the shared object serials, as well as many other serial verb constructions in SM, are in a sense superfluous, in that expressions involving serial verb constructions may be replaced with less marked constructions, such as two or more non-serial clauses, with the same basic meaning. These serial verb constructions, then, would appear to be non-essential. Considering the argument that creole genesis incorporates only essential grammatical features (McW. 2001:2), there is the question as to whether the notion of essentiality would apply to grammatical constructions as well. If so, then with non-serial alternatives there is the question as to why these serial verb constructions transferred at all.

One obvious answer to this question might be that for speakers of FGb a strategy for depicting single events with fragmented verbal action allows a greater semantic range for fewer verbs. This would account for shared object serials in FGb, were the number of V2 serial items is large, but would not explain serials with single serial items, like serials denoting 'finishing', for example. There is then the question as to why such a marked feature as serial verbs would be essential enough to transfer. Looking at shared object serials in SM, it appears that this particular serial verb construction is used to highlight the shared object in effect by naming it twice; that is, by two verbs. Of course non-serial clauses with verbs that could occur in shared object serials also name objects, but it appears that they do so far less frequently. Both types of construction then may be used to name objects, functioning to introduce or reactivate referents, or to contrast those that are not identifiable in a particular context. But of these two types of construction the non-serial clauses also use identifiable objects, namely pronouns. So while shared object serials generally have one function regarding naming objects, the corresponding non-serial clauses have that function and another function as well. Lambrecht (1994:17) states a general rule that 'given a pair of allosentences, one member is pragmatically

unmarked if it serves two discourse functions while the other member serves only one of them. While the marked member is positively specified for some pragmatic feature, the unmarked member is neutral with respect to this feature.’ The shared object serial in SM is used as a strategy for expressing the contextual activation or reactivation of the shared object. Corresponding non-serial clauses may do this as well, but as they are neutral for this feature they are not associated with this function. For shared object serials, then, it seems that being marked for this function is what makes the construction essential enough to transfer.

The shared object serial construction in SM may be considered marked as well by the fact that it occurs far less frequently than corresponding non-serial clauses. But it cannot be said that it expresses markedness in its introduction or reactivation function alone. The use of pronominal coding refers to an active referent, but lexical coding does not necessarily denote an inactive referent. Thus, by Lambrecht (*ibid.*:98), pronominal coding is marked for the feature [active], while lexical coding is unmarked for this feature. The lexical coding in SM shared object serial may be considered marked relative to other lexical coding, however, because of the semantic constraints of these serials. In this sense shared object serials resemble passives. The lexical item in a shared object serial may also be considered marked in having two affecting verbs in a single clause. In addition to the double effect and word order difference unique to this construction, it is longer than its non-serial counterpart. Lambrecht (*ibid.*:96) points out that a new referent requires a greater mental effort to create or interpret than an active referent, and that this greater effort is generally represented iconically with more phonological material. This logic might be extended somewhat to include the clause with a new referent. A longer clause would take more mental effort. The shared object serial clause is longer than its non-serial counterpart, implying then that its new referent is ‘newer’ in some way. For attributive adjectives, whose function is introduction, the longer reduplicated form indicates markedness of the referent. Markedness is in a sense a ‘newness’ that is added to the new referent. Further research may determine if there is a similar denotation of markedness of referents in shared object serials. But the many ways in which shared

object serials themselves are marked indicates that they may in fact function to express referent markedness. It could be considered, though, that the subjective use of a marked alternative construction would be an expression of markedness.

There is, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, a parallel for expressing markedness in SM adjectival and passive constructions. In all three constructions, namely adjectival, passive and shared object serial, the expression of markedness involves a construction that is a substrate characteristic. Attributive adjectives use reduplication, predicate adjectives and passives use the *dé* + RE construction, passives are marked compared to the impersonal *de* construction, and of course there is the use of the shared object serial verb construction as an alternative to corresponding non-serial clauses. These uniquely FGb features contrast with the corresponding constructions that do not express markedness and that more closely resemble superstrate constructions in not being uniquely identifiable with the substrate.

The parallels in these particular constructions indicate a more general tendency to use a construction that resembles the substrate for subjective depictions, including discourse backgrounding and markedness, and to use a construction that more closely resembles a compromise with the superstrate as a default. More specifically, the default constructions are the result of the transfer of constructions that can simply be relexified from the superstrate, like the non-serial alternatives or the impersonal *de* passive, or of a greater degree of simplification and modification than the constructions depicting markedness, like the unreduplicated attributives, so that they match the superstrate and thus appear to be relexified from it.

An explanation for the matching of the default with the superstrate might be that the default constructions occur more frequently and so are exposed to greater acrolectal pressure during the early stage of creole genesis, while the more marked constructions have less pressure from creolization and therefore are more conservative. The default constructions would also be exposed to greater pressure because they would be in use longer, as the specialized constructions would not come into use until the need developed during expansion. The more conservative forms are conservative in the use of substrate

features like reduplication, but of course the use of these features does not necessarily match the substrate use, as seen for example in the reduplication of attributive adjectives. This disconnect from the substrate is a further indication that some time must separate the use of these features from the beginning of the creolization process.

A similar argument could be made for lexical items in SM, as for NDj (Huttar 2002), in that central items tend to be superstrate, like *fési*, ‘face’, but more peripheral items tend to be substrate, *agbá*, ‘chin’.

The creation of more marked constructions uses substrate features, but the process did not involve relexification. There are of course no corresponding superstrate constructions to relexify with SM words. In addition, there are also no exact corresponding FGb constructions. Reduplication of FGb attributive adjectives characterizes a class of adjectives and carries no meaning, as there is no contrast in reduplication for either adjectival class. The *dé* + RE predicate adjective in SM resembles the *dò* + RE adjectival passive in FGb, but differs in that the SM construction also occurs with stative adjectives; again there is no contrast in FGb.

The SM shared object serial verb construction similarly is not an exact copy of the FGb resultative serial verb construction. The V2 in the FGb resultative construction is a serial item, a member of a closed class of verbs. The V2 in the SM shared object serial is from an open class, restricted by the constraint to have a patientive object in its argument structure. In this way the SM V2 resembles the V2 of the FGb ‘take’ shared object serial, a possible model. But the SM V2 differs from both the FGb shared object serial V2 and the ‘take’ serial V2, and in fact all FGb serial V2s, in that it may occur in a predicate cleft construction. In other words, the SM V2 has the verbal characteristic of predicate cleft that the FGb V2 does not. The FGb progressive and similar PV constructions may have been a model for this, in that they are the only constructions in FGb with V2 predicate cleft.

The tendency of the SM shared object serial to avoid pronominal objects may have had a model in the FGb PV constructions, where pronominal objects are postverbal and therefore *VP*. The FGb PV constructions would also be a model for passives in SM,

whose subjects are non-agentive and tend not to be pronouns. The use of the SM shared object serial to introduce or reactivate items may fall out from an analogy with the FGb PV constructions regarding postverbal pronominal objects. This tendency in SM shared object serials contrasts with the far greater occurrence rate of pronominal objects in non-serial constructions with object-affecting verbs. In this sense the SM shared object serials are marked, and contrast with corresponding non-serial clauses.

The possibility of having a V3 with the NP2 as a subject in a shared object serial depicting change of location is a characteristic of SM but not of FGb. This feature may be analogized on the simplified passive, basically the SM passive construction, which allows subsequent serial verbs. It is not known if the FGb verbal passive allows subsequent serial verbs. But the loss of the copula *nyí* after simplification would leave a more prototypical verb, with verbal properties such as occurring as V1 in a serial construction. This V1 would be a PV item where the patient NP is the subject of subsequent verbs, thus a likely model for shared object serials where NP2 is the subject of subsequent verbs. The patient NP in each construction is affected by an agent, implied in the passive and expressed in the shared object serial.

The transfer of tone and tone sandhi into SM is another example of the transfer of a feature used to express subjectivity, in this case through intonation. The tone sandhi pattern aligns with prototypical intonation contours in SM as it does in FGb (Wiesemann 1991:88), which serves as a background for variation based on subjectivity. A cursory glance at the FGb and SM lexicons leaves the impression that there are a large number of monosyllabic minimal pairs distinguished by tone in FGb, compared to a very few in SM. Tones in FGb no doubt have a far greater function in the FGb lexicon. This would imply that the intonational function of the tone system in SM is proportionally greater than in FGb. The greater intonational function, then, would be motivation for the changes in the SM tone sandhi system during transfer; the reinterpretation of syllable boundaries as word boundaries in order to maintain the FGb intonation-like tone system.

There are constraints on the tones of lexical items in SM that are characteristic of stress patterns in non-tone languages (Good 2001). This apparent mixture of tone and

stress in the SM lexicon suggests that there was a time lapse before the use of tones was fully implemented. If the tones in SM have an intonational function, as in FGb, there is an explanation for such a time delay, namely that intonational variations involve subjectivity and would come into use only in an expansion stage of creole development.

The transfer of the tone sandhi system is similar to the transfer of adjectives or passives in that the SM version incorporated FGb features in ways that these features were not used in FGb. Attributive reduplication, for example, is not a pragmatically conditioned variable in FGb, as it is in SM. In the case of tone sandhi, SM has incorporated the FGb semantic feature of expectedness. In FGb the sandhi between serial verbs may be seen as a reflection of expectedness, as well as the sandhi between a noun and the possessive marker *tɔ̀n*, the sandhi before the contrastive focus marker *kà* and the habitual *nɔ̀*, and the sandhi between a preverbal object and the following verb (Ws. *ibid.*:78). Through coincidence the FGb tone sandhi conforms to expectedness, for example in a serial verb construction a subsequent verb is expected, or for preverbal objects the effect on that object would be expected. However, it does not appear that FGb has the tone sandhi effect that exists in SM, the effect of sandhi motivated by expectedness. In the transfer of tone and tone sandhi, then, the innovation of the sandhi effect in SM, analyzed as floating tones (Good 2001), made use of expectedness as a motivation in a way that it was not used in FGb.

The use of grammatical tone does not occur in creole languages (McW. 1998). The features found in creole languages are those features that might be considered to be minimally necessary for language (McW. 2001), so that features such as grammatical gender or ergative alignment do not transfer. Grammatical tone might be considered to be such an unnecessary feature. FGb does not have grammatical tone (Ws. *ibid.*). Lexical tone in SM is not as important as in FGb, since in SM there are very few tonal minimal pairs. Intonation appears to be the primary function of tone in SM. Intonation and pragmatic expression in general, then, must be a necessary feature of language in terms of transfer and creole genesis. The coincidence of tone sandhi and intonation in FGb may have set the stage for the transfer of tone, since without this function in FGb the

tone system would have had little other function in SM and may not have transferred.

The transfer and expansion of tone sandhi in SM may be related to the transfer and expansion of shared object serial verb constructions. The development of non-local tone sandhi effect in SM gives an additional cue to indicate a serial verb construction, which would logically be associated with the development of more complex serial verb constructions. It would appear that both expansions were innovations during creole genesis, and both were motivated in part by expectedness. The innovation of the special sandhi effect rules must date from after the establishment of normal tone sandhi, since these rules compensate for normal sandhi in expressing expectedness.

Shared object serial verb constructions in SM differ from the FGb resultative shared object serial in several ways. These differences may be summarized as both an increase in the verbal characteristics of V2 and an increase on the part of V2 in sharing event depiction with V1. These two somewhat conflicting tendencies facilitate the function of introducing the shared object. The more verbal V2 allows a diverse and more thoroughly resultative effect on the shared object, while the single less paratactic event depiction allows a single introduction. Considering that in the early stage, as in modern SM, introduction may have been a function uniquely identified with the transferred shared object serial, the increase in verbal characteristics of V2 is an increased motivation for transfer.

The transfer of the shared object serial involved incorporating features of similar constructions into a new innovative construction. The transfer, then, did not involve a strict relexification, nor did it involve creating features that did not exist through innate language ability, nor did it involve removing features in attempting language acquisition. Rather, the process seems to have involved analogy.

The transfer of the shared object serial verb construction is parallel to the transfer of the passive and adjectival constructions in that in each case the innovations are the result of analogy. It would appear though that these analogies were considerably broader than those in normal language change. In fact, the incorporation of FGb features into these constructions may go beyond analogy and may simply involve the incorporation of

morphosyntactic features of similar constructions for new functions. These new functions basically relate to the expression of subjectivity or markedness. An explanation may be based on the premise in McW. (2001) that creole genesis occurs under such traumatic conditions that normal language acquisition is disrupted. Under such conditions the role of iconicity would be expected to be more influential. The traumatic conditions could also be expected to stress the normal limits of analogy. In particular it would seem that the expression of subjectivity or markedness would be open to creative constructions, especially since such emphasis would necessarily differ from standardized unmarked constructions.

In the case of each of the constructions considered here, the features selected for constructions expressing subjective markedness are substrate features that differ from features of the corresponding unmarked constructions in resembling the superstrate less and in being uniquely identified with the substrate. This strategy makes intuitive sense, in that a subjective expression would more likely invoke substrate features and strategies available through native language retention. The mental effort required for a subjective expression could drain the effort needed to reinterpret relexified constructions or process simplification and modification, leading to a creative new way to use the more familiar substrate features.

Reduplication is a substrate feature used with attributive adjectives to express markedness. This markedness is largely pragmatic and cultural rather than related to discourse. Attributive adjectives function in the introduction of information. A logical place to express the markedness of an item is when it is introduced. As with unmarked attributive adjectives, the markedness expressed by the reduplication of attributive adjectives is stative, it does not contribute to eventive discourse because it is temporally unbounded. But the subjective judgments that determine pragmatic or cultural markedness are appropriate in an expanded stage of creole development; they would not be used in an early stage where communication is more task-oriented. Attributive adjectives have been modified in that they conform to the word order of English, but the adoption of reduplication is a move away from the superstrate.

The SM passive has undergone simplification, but this process did not bring the passive any closer to the English passive. The FGb verbal passive is periphrastic, like the Eng passive, so that loss of the copula is also a move away from the superstrate. Unlike the word order change for attributives, this change in the passive cannot be seen as an accommodation to the superstrate. The loss of reduplication in the FGb verbal passive is also a move away from the superstrate, in that the resulting passive has a true verb rather than a nominalization. The passive is syntactically identical to the stative predicate adjective, and is in effect its dynamic counterpart. The form of the passive is analogous to the predicate adjective, a likely motivation for the changes in the FGb passive during transfer. The passive is resultative and backgrounding, and so relates to discourse. The passive is the type of discourse related construction that would enter a developing creole during an expanded stage, a stage where there would be less pressure to accommodate the superstrate.

The shared object serial is also resultative, and argued to have entered the creole at a later and expanded stage of development. The shared object serial, like all the serial verb constructions, obviously did not accommodate the superstrate. The change in the shared object serial, the change of V2 away from serial item status, can be seen as simplification based on analogy with the PV, in that no PV constituent in the resulting creole has a serial item. This change is also a move away from the superstrate, in a sense, in that a shared object serial with a more verbal V2 is less like an adjectival small clause complement or preposition.

The examples of transfer in this study are intended to show that transfer involves more than one process. There are clear examples of relexification throughout SM. There are also examples that need to be explained by simplification and modification. There are examples where constructions did not transfer that may be explained by their low transitivity. And there are examples where items did not transfer because they were not essential.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the process of creole genesis in a single creole language, Saramaccan Creole. The process is complex, by most theories, involving at least two identifiable stages defined in terms of time. The hypothesis at the outset of the study was that constructions associated with the functions of the early stage would be the result of accommodation between the superstrate and substrate, while constructions associated with the functions of the expanded stage would be the result of accommodation between the substrate languages. The intent of this study was to test the theoretical stages of creole development in Saramaccan by looking at constructions associated with the functions of these two stages. The study set out to examine the transfer of these constructions regarding the accommodation of morphosyntax and semantics to see if they align with their purported functions. The SM attributive adjective construction is associated with the early stage, and the constructions associated with the expanded stage are predicate adjectives, derived attributive adjectives, passives, shared object serial verb constructions, and the variations of both attributive and predicate adjectives involving reduplication. A comparison of these constructions in the creole and in the substrate could then be aligned with the known historical facts to determine the plausibility of the implications drawn from the transfer scenario.

The sociolinguistic history of the SM language puts it in a relatively ideal position for such a study. As a maroon language, SM was relatively isolated from a very early period in its history, probably only a few generations after its formation. There would be, then, a minimum of decreolization through influence from superstrate languages. It could be

assumed that there would be minimal contact with other maroon languages as well. It is known, however, that some newly escaped speakers of African languages were able to join the maroons, so that there would be a continued substrate influence. Now, the sociolinguistic history of SM is similar to that of the other Surinamese maroon creoles, as well as to Sranan, and is also similar to creoles formed elsewhere in a plantation environment. Yet there are distinctive features in SM, such as the partial relexification by Portuguese, in Chapter 5, and the extent of the use of tone, in Chapter 4, that point to unique historical events. These features that are specific to SM may help clarify the sequences of developments in the language, which may be applicable to the development of other creoles. Further research should determine which aspects of the development of SM are applicable to creole genesis in general and which aspects are specific to maroon creole languages, and which are particular to Saramaccan.

8.2 Sociolinguistic history of Saramaccan

As mentioned in Chapter 1, one important theoretical observation on creole genesis is that it occurs in stages, where at an early stage the pidgin or early creole language develops only enough to handle basic communication related to trade or work, and at a later stage develops the other functions needed for expanded communication, and for creoles the functions needed for native-language communication (Mühlhäusler 1980; Foley 1988). Another observation is that pidgin language formation is characterized by mutual linguistic accommodation between speakers of the source languages, since a pidgin is used by speakers of these languages and yet is the native language of no one, while a creole language is a native language of speakers of at least some of the source languages, and any mutual accommodation is among its speakers and not necessarily with speakers of the lexifier language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). The combination of these two observations means that the earlier stage of creole development would involve input from all the source languages, which in the case of the plantation creoles

would be input from both superstrate and substrate languages. The later stage would then involve mainly input from the various substrate languages, since the developing creole language would be primarily for communication among speakers of these various substrate languages.

The known history of the Surinamese plantation system, summarized in Migge (1998), provides dates and population data to test the theoretical development of the plantation creoles. This development is theoretical, of course, as there are no written records of any plantation creole before 1718, by most accounts long after the period of creole genesis. The existing historical records and the findings of this study allow a sociolinguistic interpretation of the development of the Surinamese creoles.

It was in the period from 1651 to 1667 that English influenced the developing creole, both in the grammar and in the lexicon. The research of the study indicates that this superstrate influence could be seen as affecting the more central elements of the creole. Lexically, there is a pattern in SM that also exists in NDj (Huttar 2002), where more central items are superstrate, like *fési*, 'face', while more peripheral items are substrate, like *àgbà*, 'chin'. In the grammar of SM, constructions associated with work (but not trade in this case) represent a compromise with the superstrate, like the Adj-N word order of attributive adjectives, *bè foló*, 'red flower', while constructions associated with the functions of a more expanded language show little sign of compromise with the superstrate, like reduplicated predicate adjectives that depict subjective markedness, *dí foló dé bèbè*, 'the flower is reddish', discussed in Chapter 2. This differential pattern suggests that the compromised items entered the language under different conditions than the more substrate items. One obvious difference would be the effective loss of English as a lexifier language after 1667. Along with this fact, however, is the implication that the developing language had become a means of communication among speakers of substrate languages, but was not used with superstrate speakers. This would mean that any further development in an expanded creole would take place without significant input from a superstrate language.

But the removal of access to the superstrate would not in itself cause a pidgin language to expand into a creole. The demographics of the colony did not change much with the departure of the English; the ratio of Europeans to Africans went up only to 1:3, which is not the disproportionate ratio considered to be necessary for creole development. Had the Africans learned enough English to communicate with Europeans, the departure of English speakers would encourage the development of an already existing pidgin. What is more likely is that Africans and the English used the pidgin during the English period, and after 1667 other Europeans learned enough of it for their purposes. The pidgin would be a common language among Africans, where there was no common language among the Europeans; the colony had speakers of Dutch, English, German and Portuguese. Some relexification from other European languages may have happened at this later time, such as the partial relexification of Saramaccan with Portuguese, in Chapter 5; the pidgin would be English-based, but as a pidgin there would still be mutual accommodation.

It would seem, though, that the departure of the English would give the Africans a greater stake in the pidgin for their own communication, because the pidgin would be less intelligible to other Europeans, and because it would be the only common language for the Africans. Another factor is the attrition rate due to death or escape during and in the decade after the English period. From 1660-1669 the attrition rate was 58%, and from 1670-1679 it was 72%. At any time in these decades, then, with the replacements there would be a significantly large proportion of the African population learning the pidgin, or in any case adding to any previous knowledge of the slave fort pidgin. The new slaves would learn from the old slaves, increasing the identity of the language as their own system of communication. The departure of the English would eliminate most of the Europeans who would have known the pidgin so that, as the research indicates, the new Europeans would be learners as well and not in a position to negotiate mutual accommodation. Their linguistic contribution would be peripheral, namely lexical items.

To review from Chapter 1, the decade from 1680-1689 saw a sharp increase in the African population, bringing the ratio of Europeans to Africans to 1:5, and the ratio of old

slaves to imported slaves rose from 1:1.8 to 1:6.6. In 1695 the ratio of Europeans to African rose to 1:12. These ratios fit the generally accepted asymmetry associated with creole genesis; Africans would have little access to the various superstrate languages, and their own linguistic diversity would leave the expanding pidgin as a primary means of communication. These facts indicate that three factors favoring the development of a creole are then; 1) the absence of a single superstrate language as a potential target language for slaves; 2) the absence of a single substrate language dominant enough to serve as a target language for other slaves; 3) the existence of a pidgin identified as a language for slaves. Even though the attrition rate for this decade dropped to 47%, the increased importation of slaves meant that the majority of Africans would have learned the expanded pidgin or early stage creole after the period of mutual accommodation with English. It is most likely that the ancestor of the Surinamese plantation creoles developed during this decade, expanding mostly through input from substrate languages.

The findings in this study on substrate influence indicate that the input during creole expansion would mainly have been from adult speakers of substrate languages; in addition, there were very few African or Surinamese born children. The adults would have to learn the creole and then accommodate this to their own native language, thus contributing to its expansion, where children would have no interference and would learn it as a native language. The more of the language that must be learned, the more the learners need to apply acquisition strategies, like learning another language, and the less they are able to negotiate through interference. For children, then, the learning would simply be native language acquisition, with no interference. For those who learn the language, it is a system of conventionalized rules, but for those who create the language these rules are negotiable. The segment of the population most involved in negotiation the mutual accommodation would be those involved in the earliest stages of development, while those least involved would be children learning an expanded creole as a native language. In the middle would be those who learned some and then accommodated some, the group whose ratio compared to old slaves rose from 1:1.4 in 1651 to 1:6.6 in the 1680s.

Among adult speakers of substrate languages there were two basic types; those who spoke a Kwa language, and those who spoke a variety of Kikongo. The distinction between these two types is significant because of the nature of the substrate influence in the plantation creoles. The study finds that the grammar is unmistakably the result of Kwa influence, where Kikongo influence is primarily lexical. Yet records of shipments show that from 1680 to 1699 the population of Africans imported to Suriname was basically split between speakers of Kwa languages and speakers of varieties of Kikongo. It was not until the decade from 1700 to 1709 that the percentage of Kwa speakers rose to 70.6%. By most accounts the plantation creoles had stabilized by 1700, and this is roughly the date of the beginning of the marronage of Saramaccan speakers.

The interpretation of these facts in this study leads to two explanations for the dominance of Kwa and the absence of Kikongo grammatical features; 1) an English-Kwa pidgin from the slave forts, and 2) the creole-like nature of the Kwa languages. Of course these two could also have worked together to disfavor Kikongo grammatical input.

Regarding the first point: in the proposed slave fort pidgin (McW. 1995) the castle slaves spoke Igbo, closely related to the Kwa languages of the Slave Coast. The Igbo lived in a contact situation with local Gbe speaking people. The slave fort pidgin would then have Igbo and Gbe substrate input, with English as the superstrate. The pidgin would be learned by slaves as they passed through the slave forts, but they would not be in contact long enough to have an effect on the pidgin language. The plantation creoles would develop from this pidgin. Now to add to the McW (ibid.) argument, slaves who spoke Gbe languages, such as Fongbe, would recognize familiar grammatical features, where those who spoke Kikongo would not. The Gbe speakers could negotiate further mutual accommodation with the familiar Gbe features, where the Kikongo speakers would need to learn those features as conventionalized grammar. The speakers of Kikongo, then, would be more likely to accept and identify the pidgin as an existing means of communication for the African population.

Regarding the second point: the Kwa languages, and especially Fongbe, themselves have creole features. FGb has a basic SVO word order, no inflectional affixes, lexical but

not grammatical tone, and a predominantly monosyllabic lexicon characterized by a CV syllable structure. These features are generally considered to be the result of simplification in creole genesis, with the implication that these results are universal. If so, the fact that FGb in particular has these features already would seem to give it an advantage regarding input over a language like Kikongo.

Regarding lexical tone and the complexity of tone sandhi, as described in Chapters 2 and 4, it is unlikely that English speakers would recognize tones, so that tone was probably not a part of the pidgin or early creole stage. There is tone in NDj, but it is not reported in other maroon languages. The coast creole Sranan, though, is not a tone language. It may have lost tones in decreolization, being in close contact with Dutch. But SR has not lost its English base, and the African speakers maintain the verbal predicate adjective, as in SM in Chapter 2, where non-African speakers use the copula (Winford 1997). If this indicates stability in spite of contact, then it may be that SR never had tone. In any case in those languages with tone, it was most likely incorporated in the expansion stage. Lexical tone in SM is easily recognizable as a transferred feature from FGb, and the tone sandhi shows no compromise with the superstrate. Tone sandhi in FGb mimics intonational systems, and appears to be an iconic reflection of discourse relationships in SM, as it has almost no grammatical function. This discourse function would also point to an entry in the expansion stage. It could be argued that tone may have entered SM after separation from SR by marronage, which would also be the time when Kwa speakers would predominate among new arrivals.

The plantation creoles, in this interpretation, expanded between the departure of the British in 1667 and the time of marronage beginning in 1700. The maroons, for one thing, most certainly had an expanded language; it was their means of communication, as the use of African languages is reported to have been incidental. After 1700 the increase in the percentage of Kwa speakers would certainly impact the maroons, since they maintained contact with the plantations and accepted runaways. But the attrition rate of the plantations was probably not paralleled in maroon society, so the ratio of new to old members of the maroon society would be lower than that ratio on the plantations. In

other words, the increase in the number of Kwa speakers after 1700 would not seem to have had a major effect on the creole language, such as purging any Kikongo grammar. But Kwa speakers among the maroons may have had a more long term but more peripheral effect. Examination of the earliest texts in SM, in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, shows a language much more like English. The texts, from the late 18th century, reveal SM of the time to have a phonology much more like modern Sranan, and therefore more like English. The study finds that the early texts also show fewer substrate features like reduplication and serial verb constructions. Modern SM resembles FGb much more in these features than did the SM of the late 18th century. These changes may be attributed to the presence of Kwa speakers, but also to an increased awareness of language identity following the treaty establishing Saramaccan independence in 1762. These changes are not considered to be part of creole genesis in this study, since when they occurred the creole was a native language for a substantial proportion of the maroon population, and so by definition stabilized.

8.3 Historical interpretation of linguistic features

The linguistic features of SM reflect the history of the development of the language, as well as the influence of universals of creole genesis. The claim that development occurs in stages, and the further claim that in the later stages of development the language expands to include the more expressive functions associated with native languages may be tested in SM by examining features that would be used to express subjectivity or background. For the features examined in this study there appears to be a pattern, where constructions associated with early development are the result of compromise between superstrate and substrate input, while constructions associated with later expanded development resemble the substrate input with little influence from the superstrate.

8.3.1 Transfer of adjectives

Adjectives in SM provide a good example of the differential composition of creole constructions. Attributive adjectives, by Thompson (1988) and shown in text analysis in Chapter 2, help introduce information, a function they share with nouns. This is a referential function, and one particularly relevant to an initial contact situation where items are introduced and identified in the newly developing communication system. This early stage is characterized by mutual linguistic accommodation, since both substrate and superstrate language speakers use the developing language. In SM, attributive adjectives differ from FGb attributives in their word order, which is Adj-N as in English, where it is N-Adj in FGb. In FGb there are two classes of adjectives, one resembling nouns, which are not reduplicated as attributives, and the other whose members are intransitive stative verbs, which are reduplicated as attributives. In SM the basic unmarked attributive adjective resembles attributives of the FGb nominal adjective class. This study shows that attributive adjectives in SM, then, represent an accommodation to English in terms of word order and reduplication. The SM attributives also appear to be influenced by the iconic association of attributives with nouns, in that the unreduplicated FGb nominal attributive is the construction that transferred.

Predicate adjectives in SM present a contrasting transfer scenario. Predicate adjectives comment on known information, a function shared with verbs (*ibid.*), and shown in text analysis in Chapter 2. This is a backgrounding function, a function characteristic of an expanded stage of creole development. Predicate adjectives in SM are intransitive stative verbs, like one of the classes of adjectives in FGb. For predicate adjectives, then, there is little accommodation to English. As for FGb, the transfer of predicate adjectives favored the verbal class over the nominal class. Thus as with FGb attributive adjectives, FGb predicate adjectives also may have been influenced by the iconic association of predicate adjectives with verbs.

Subjective property depictions may also be expressed in SM, with reduplication, in Chapter 2. One of the uses of reduplication cross-linguistically is to denote semantic

peripherality. Notions of plurality for nouns or iterativity for verbs, for example, are peripheral to prototypical nounhood or verbhood (Hopper & Thompson 1984). Considering such reduplication to be iconic means it would not be considered inflectional, namely an inflectional plural or iterative prefix. As such it would be a counterexample to the creole prototype of McW, (1998) which does not include inflectional affixes. For adjectives, peripherality also includes pragmatic markedness of the depicted property relative to the referent. In SM, for example, *koókokoóko foló* is ‘yellowish flower’, a color that would be peripheral to a more true yellow, but *wétiwéti mujée* is ‘white woman’, which in the context of marriage would be pragmatically marked, and peripheral to the notion of a marriageable woman. Similarly for predicate adjectives, *dí dóo jabí* means ‘the door is open (as is the custom when one is at home)’, while *dí dóo dé jabíjabí* is ‘the door is open (left open by accident)’. The subjective depiction of a property would be an expressive function of language, characteristic of the expanded stage of creole development. The use of reduplication in SM is obviously a substrate transfer; reduplication of adjectives in SM shows no sign of compromise with any of the superstrate languages. But for the Adj-N word order of attributives there is an accommodation with English. Considering that the use of reduplication was incorporated after the conventionalization of this word order, the compromise would have occurred in the earlier stage. For the marked predicate there is no compromise, since the *dé* + RE construction is a virtual relexification from FGb. The presence of the copula *dé*, then, is not due to the copula in English predicate adjectives. Thus the use of reduplication to express markedness may be attributed to an expansion stage.

The semantic function of reduplication with adjectives in SM, however, does not match the use in FGb, as shown in Chapter 5. In FGb, reduplication is a morphological feature of derived adjectives and of the class of verbal adjectives as attributives, or of derived adjectives and the class of causative/stative adjectives as predicates. In neither case is there a semantic peripherality associated with reduplication, except for the peripherality that is inherent in derivation. In SM, reduplication has been generalized to apply to all adjectives, not just derived adjectives. And, of course, in SM the semantic

peripherality of derivation has been generalized to include peripherality in general and pragmatic markedness. This is an innovative generalization in SM, it cannot be seen as the result of accommodation with English, nor can it be seen as having transferred without compromise from FGb. The motivation for this generalization must have been a universal or at least typologically common tendency, the association of reduplication with semantic peripherality. To consider the use of reduplication to express markedness as other than an extension of the inherent markedness of derived adjectives would be to consider the reduplication of derived adjectives to be simply a derivational morphology. As such, it would present a counterexample to the creole prototype of McW. (1998), which would not include opaque derivation.

The application of universal or typologically common tendencies in transfer can be seen in the reduplication of adjectives in SM, as well as in the simplification of FGb adjective classes in the transfer to SM. The association of reduplication with semantic peripherality, the association of attributive adjectives with nouns, and the association of predicate adjectives with verbs all seem to have affected the transfer of adjectives. These effects may be seen in a broader sense as iconic, and may be greater in creole genesis than in normal diachrony (Givón 1979, 1985), perhaps because there is less constraint by language specific conventions (Hudson 1980). The process of creole genesis is a process of negotiation, right guesses, and mutual accommodation. In the Surinamese plantation creoles this process occurred between superstrate and substrate language speakers in the early stage, and between speakers of various substrate languages in the expanded stage. At any stage, though, the process may also involve accommodation with iconic, universal or common typological tendencies in language; in other words, accommodation between available linguistic forms and an innate concept of their function.

8.3.2 Transfer of passives

In Chapter 6 it is argued that the passive construction in SM is also the result of accommodation, both of linguistic forms and of their function. The SM passive resembles neither the English nor the FGb passive, but rather it resembles the SM predicate adjective construction. The study found that the SM passive, like the FGb passive, occurs only with verbs constrained to depict a visible effect on their referent. It has also been found that verbs derived as adjectives in FGb and SM also have this constraint. In the formation of SM marked adjectives, an analogy was made between adjectives, which are intransitive stative verbs, and derived adjectives, which are derived from object-affecting dynamic verbs. Evidence is presented in Chapter 2 that marked attributives in SM are reduplicated, argued to be a generalization of the inherently marked derived attributives, based on analogy. Marked predicate adjectives in SM are also reduplicated in the *dé* + RE construction. This construction in FGb, the *qó* + RE construction, applies only to FGb derived predicate adjectives, and has no marked meaning beyond that of derivation itself. This FGb construction transferred into SM without accommodation with a superstrate language. But in transfer, it is argued, the resulting *dé* + RE construction was extended to marked predicate adjectives, based on analogy just as with marked attributive adjectives. The analogy between derived adjectives and adjectives in SM also resulted in the resemblance of the passive to unmarked predicate adjectives. The passive construction in SM in fact, it is argued, is the dynamic counterpart to the unmarked stative predicate adjective construction. The research shows that passives in SM depict unmarked resultative states, they do not depict the unexpected or unusual. Passives, like unmarked predicate adjectives, provide commentary on known information, determined by text analysis. Passives are the type of construction that would enter the language at an expanded stage, like predicate adjectives, because they are backgrounding. But like predicate adjectives, it is argued, they were affected in transfer by the association of verbs with commentary on known information. For SM predicate adjectives, the FGb nominal adjectives did not transfer while the verbal

adjectives did; the nominal adjectives are noun-like. As for the SM passive, the FGb passive is also nominal, namely the copula *nyí* and a nominalization; the *nyí* + RE construction, analyzed as less nominal than the *dò* + RE construction. The analogy with the verbal predicate adjective construction allowed a verb-like passive construction in SM.

8.3.3 Transfer of shared object serials

In Chapter 7 it can be seen that the transfer of the shared object serial verb construction into SM did not involve mutual accommodation with superstrate language speakers, as there is no such superstrate construction. The shared object serial, by text analysis in Chapter 4, functions to activate referents into discourse, and also appears to denote markedness. It is the type of construction that would enter the creole language at an expanded stage, so in the context of the Surinamese creoles no superstrate influence would be expected. But the study found the FGb shared object serial was affected in transfer. It was affected by analogy with the SM passive, so that the shared object and following verb resemble the SM passive construction. The research shows that unlike this constituent in FGb, the patient-affecting verb or PV constituent in SM has a verb that has verbal characteristics and so is not removed from verthood through grammaticalization, and this verb may be followed by similar verbs in the serial verb construction. It was also shown that the SM shared object serial is similar to the passive in that both constructions function to activate information. They are also similar in that the verbs in shared object serials and passives are constrained to depict a visible effect on the referent, a transferred characteristic. And they are also similar in having an argument followed by a verb that affects it; the shared object serial and the passive are the only constructions in SM with this characteristic, namely a PV constituent. This PV constituent reverses the iconically normal direction of transitivity, signaling a reduction in transitivity, which is appropriate for the constructions using it in both SM and FGb.

There are a number of constructions in FGb with a PV constituent, but most of these constructions did not transfer. In these PV constituents the patient argument is the object of the following verb, with one exception. The FGb ‘take’ shared object serial, which did transfer, has a patient-object for transitive V2s, but a patient-subject argument for anticausative V2s. All these PV constituents, though, have a fully verbal V2. The FGb shared object serial, on the other hand, has a PV with a grammaticalized V2. But in all the FGb PV constituents the V2 is constrained to depict a visible effect on the referent. The number of PV constructions in FGb would establish the PV as an identifiable constituent for the purposes of analogy in transfer. The ‘take’ shared object serial is the closest to the shared object serial, since these are the only serial constructions with the PV. Both these serial constructions changed in transfer. The ‘take’ shared object serial in FGb has a grammaticalized, or serial item, as V1, and the shared object serial has a V2 serial item. The SM shared object serial has no serial item; all verbs are fully verbal. The ‘take’ shared object serial in SM is simply another shared object serial with ‘take’ as V1. The study finds that the SM shared object serial has a patient-subject for change of location depictions, and patterns like the passive for change of state depictions suggesting a patient-subject there as well. The SM shared object serial, then, appears to have changed its PV constituent on analogy with the PV of the FGb anticausative ‘take’ shared object serial, giving the patient-subject, and then with the PV of the SM passive, giving the possibility of extending the serial with subsequent verbs.

8.3.4 Transfer of tone

The lexical tone system of FGb transferred into SM, as argued in Chapter 7, but with characteristics of stress systems in the tone pattern of the majority of lexical items (Good 2001). The accommodation of a tone system with a stress system would indicate an early incorporation of the resulting hybrid system, which would not be unexpected considering that development of the lexicon would be one of the first areas to become

conventionalized. The tone system in SM also includes tone sandhi, which shows no sign of compromise with the superstrate. The absence of superstrate influence would not be surprising, since there is no tone sandhi in the superstrate languages, although superstrate influence might have resulted in the failure of tone sandhi to transfer. The fact that it did transfer, and without compromise with the superstrate, suggests that it was incorporated into the developing creole in the later expanded stage. A further indication of a later transfer is the nature of the FGb tone sandhi pattern, whose patterns of sandhi and sandhi breaks mimics intonational patterns in stress languages. As intonation is a discourse feature relating to topic and focus, it would not be used until the language expanded to include discourse related features. Now, if the FGb tone sandhi boundaries are similar to intonational boundaries, it might be that there is superstrate influence. But there are serial verbs in SM, and the tone sandhi for serial verb constructions has obviously not been influenced by superstrate intonation. The tone sandhi for SM serial verbs is argued to be a transferred feature from FGb. The FGb sandhi for serial verbs did change in transfer to SM, however, discussed in Chapter 7. The change is argued to involved a reinterpretation; FGb syllable boundaries were reinterpreted as word boundaries in SM. This could occur because the FGb lexicon is largely monosyllabic words, while the SM lexicon is largely bisyllabic words. Since the sandhi in FGb works across syllable boundaries, the SM sandhi generalized the pattern for FGb monosyllabic words so that SM sandhi works across word boundaries. In doing this, it is argued based on Good (2001), SM makes use of floating high tone morphemes. This in effect reverses the default tone on syllables unspecified for tone to mimic the FGb tone sandhi pattern. In a way this innovation in SM could be seen as the result of accommodation with the superstrate, since the bisyllabic lexicon is a result of that accommodation. But the lexicon was formed in the early stage, and the sandhi innovation developed in the later stage. The FGb sandhi pattern, by diachronic coincidence, could be seen as iconic of discourse functions, giving it the resemblance to intonation. Based on the iconic nature of the FGb sandhi system, it is argued in Chapter 7 that the SM sandhi system adjusted to

maintain the iconicity. The accommodation, then, was between the linguistic forms in SM transferred from FGb and their iconic association with discourse.

8.4 Conclusion

The examination of shared object serials, passives and adjectives in FGb and SM in this study is an attempt to trace the transfer of these three constructions relative to current theories on transfer and to the particular history of Saramaccan Creole. The study shows that for these constructions it is possible to view the process of creole development as having at least two stages, an early stage and a later stage. A two-stage development of creole languages is predicted in one form or another by a variety of theories, but also fits into the history of slavery in Suriname. The study also shows that the process involves mutual accommodation in the early stage, but more direct substrate transfer in the later stage. This would imply that in the later stage the creole language was used mainly by substrate speakers, where in the earlier stage it was used by superstrate speakers as well. Such difference in usage would be predicted in theories that posit a social difference in the speakers of the source languages, namely superstrate and substrate. An extreme difference in the social status of the speakers of the source languages is, of course, characteristic of the Surinamese plantation creoles, so again the history matches the theory. But for the process of transfer itself, there is no written historical record of the developing creole. By various theories, in the initial stage of pidgin or creole development the language is in its most minimal form, where elements of language that are not absolutely essential have been stripped away. But as the language expands, the extra linguistic material must either be created from the existing language, or be transferred from a source language. The findings of the study indicate that in the case of the Surinamese creoles, the primary users of the expanded language were speakers of substrate languages, and these languages were the source of the new material during that stage. The new material examined in this study would be considered substrate transfer

with very little influence from the superstrate; predicate adjectives, passives, shared object serials, and the reduplication associated with the expression of markedness. The form and function of these constructions indicate that substrate transfer, in the context of Saramaccan Creole, is most direct in that portion of the language most associated with the expressive functions of language.

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