Grammaticalization of Tense in the Upper Guinea Creoles

Chiara Truppi
Tjerk Hagemeijer

Universidade de Lisboa

Goals

- To introduce the three Upper Guinea Creoles (UGCs)

- To provide an overview of the syntax and semantics of temporal ba(ŋ) in the UGCs

- To discuss substrate languages as a source for UGCs past marker

- To propose a grammaticalization scenario of *ba(ŋ)* across the UGCs

- To argue for a verb movement analysis in Kriyol

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The Upper Guinea Creoles

- The following creole languages belong to the Portuguese-related Upper Guinea Creole group (UGCs)
  - Capeverdean Creole
  - Kriyol (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
  - Casamancese Creole (Casamance region, Southern Senegal).

The formation of the UGC

- A common protolanguage for the UGC is typically assumed in light of the high level of shared lexicon and grammatical features (e.g. Holm & Patrick 2007; Jacobs 2011; Michaelis *et al.* 2013; Quint 2000)

- Development of an UG pidgin from the mid-15th century on from the contact between Portuguese and continental Africans, which were predominantly Wolof and Mandinka speaking slaves

- Primary hypotheses regarding proto-UGC (cf. Jacobs 2011)
  - Insular hypothesis: the proto-language formed on the island of Santiago (Cape Verde) and spread to the continent through a luso-African trade network
  - Continental hypothesis: the proto-language formed in the rivers of Senegambia/Guinea-Bissau and expanded through a luso-African trade network

- Casamancese Creole is a later offshoot of Kriyol (17th century)

Tense marking in the UGC

- UGCs stand out among Atlantic Creoles insofar they exhibit a postverbal past tense morpheme *ba*(*ŋ*)
  - Attached to dynamic verbs, *ba(ŋ)* yields a pluperfect reading
  - Attached to stative verbs, *ba(ŋ)* yields a simple past reading

(1) *Omi*   *kume*   *pon.*   (dynamic verb)
     'The man   ate   bread.'

(2) *N tene*   *un primu* *na Cacheu.* (stative verb)
     'I have   a   cousin in Cacheu.'

(3) *Omi*   *kume-**ba***   *pon.*   (dynamic verb)
     'The man   had eaten   bread.'

(4) *N tene-**ba*** *un primu* *na Cacheu.* (stative verb)
     'I had   a   cousin in Cacheu.'

(Kriyol examples)

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Tense marking in the UGC

- Among UGCs, there is an important difference as to the grammatical status of tense morpheme *ba*(*ŋ*)
  - In the leeward varieties of Capeverdean (CVC), -*ba* is a suffix (e.g. Baptista 1997; Quint 2000)
  - In Kriyol and Casamancese, *ba* and *baŋ* respectively, are usually labeled 'free morphemes' (e.g. Biagui 2012; Kihm 1994)

-*ba* in Capeverdean Creole

- Past tense marker –*ba* is a suffix
    - Object pronouns cliticize on bare verbs (5) but not onto -*ba* (6)
    - In a grammaticalized sequence of suffixes (-*da*), -*ba* occurs in rightmost position (7)

(5) *Omi*   *da-l/*el*   *pon.*

'The man   gave him/her/it   bread.'

(6) *Omi*   *da**ba***   *el/*l*   *pon.*

man   give.PST   3SG   bread

'The man had given him/her/it bread.'

(7) *Dja*   *m*   *fla**da**…*   (*da <*du-ba* (attested in the 19th century)

already   1SG   tell.PASS.PST

'I was told…'   (adapted from Quint 2000:235)

ba in Kriyol

- Kriyol past marker *ba* has developed into a clitic – less common in post-object positions (but cf. Kihm 1994)
  - Object clitics intervene between the verb and *ba* (8)
  - *ba* preferentially precedes strong pronouns (Themes) in Double Object Constructions (cf. 9a vs. 9b)
  - As in Capeverdean, *ba* is the outermost morpheme in clusters (10)

(8)   *Omi   da-l-**ba**   pon.*

        man   give-3SG-PST   bread

        'The man had given him/her/it bread.'

(9) a.   *Omi   da-nu-**ba**   el*. (preferred reading)

        man   give-1PL-PST   3SG

  b.   *Omi da-nu el **ba***.

        Both: 'The man had given it to him.'

(10)   *Yagu firbi-nti-du-**ba***.

        water boil-CAUS-PP-PST

        'The water had been boiled.'

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baŋ in Casamancese

- Casamancese *baŋ* shows a similar behavior to Kriyol *ba*
  - *Baŋ* in Casamancese is separated from the verb by clitics (11)
  - *Baŋ* may precede or follow strong pronouns (Themes) in Double Object Constructions (12 vs. 13)

(11) *Ladron yentrá-nos **baŋ**, pabiya janela yabri-du **baŋ**.*

    thief   enter-1PL   PST   because   window   open-PASS PST

    'The thief had gotten in because the window was open.'

(12) *Saliña na kumé-bu **baŋ** yel buk*

    squirls   CONT   eat-2SG   PST   3SG   IDEO

    'The squirls have completely eaten it (from you).'

(13) *Pádur fasí-nu yel **baŋ**.*

    priest   do-1PL   3SG   PST

    'The priest had done this for us.'

(Adapted from Biagui 2012:175f.)

19th century sources

- The oldest data of Capeverdean and Kriyol from the late 19th century show that the contemporary patterns already existed

(14) *N   ta   mostra**ba**   **nho**.*
    1SG HAB   show.PST   3SG.formal
    'I was showing him.'
    (Capeverdean, adapted from Schuchardt 1888)

(15) *Fomi   na   kastiga-**l-ba**.*
    hunger   CONT punish-3SG-PST
    'He was suffering severe hunger.'
    (Kriyol, adapted from Schuchardt 1888; *castigalba* in the original)

Nonverbal *ba*

- In Kriyol and Casamancese, but not in Capeverdean, *ba(ŋ)* may follow nominals or adverbials and may occur in sentence-final position.

- In such cases, *ba(ŋ)* contributes a meaning of past and a sense of completion (Kihm 1994).

(16) *Kil   omi **ba** i   kin?*   (Kriyol, Kihm 1994)
       DEM   man PST PRED   who
       'Who is that man (who was there)?'

(17) *Purmeru **ba** nan,   e   ta   da-ba   nan.*   (Kriyol)
       first   PST indeed 3PL   HAB   give-PST indeed
       'In fact, previously, they used to give [scholarships].'

(18) *…e ta   fala basi   di analisi   linguistika **ba**.*   (Kriyol)
       3PL HAB say   base   of analysis   linguistic   PST
       '…they used to call 'Introduction to linguistic analysis.''

(19) *Anos tudu di la   **baŋ** na   Sindon.*   (Casamancese, Biagui 2012)
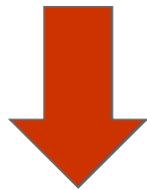   1PL   all   of there   PST in   Sindone
       'All of us were from Sindone.'

The origins of *ba*

- **Hypothesis**:

  – *ba(ŋ)* started out as a free morpheme, without a specialized host, related to the temporal interpretation in the (expanded?) pidgin-stage and started acquiring functional status during the nativization process

- **Second Language Acquisition:**

  – The <u>lexical</u> stage: bare verbs, time reference is provided by temporal and locative adverbs and certain connectives

  – The <u>morphological</u> stage: appearance of verbal morphology

  (Cf. Winford 2011 and references therein)

The origins of *ba*

- Against several previous claims, we dismiss Portuguese imperfective *-va (*e.g. *falava* 'spoke') as the source for *ba(ŋ)*
  i. Pidgins shed inflectional morphology
  ii. Creoles do not develop tense markers from imperfective morphology
  iii. Semantic mismatch (imperfective vs. perfective)

- In support of a previous free morpheme status
  i. Syntactic flexibility of *ba(ŋ)* in the contemporary UGCs
  ii. *Ba* is the most external suffix/clitic in Capeverdean and Kriyol morphological clusters
  iii. Pronouns cannot cliticize to Capeverdean suffix *–ba*, despite availability of a clitic paradigm
  iv. Possible connection with Portuguese *acabar* 'to finish' (Rougé & Kihm 2008)
     → cf. Perfect forms derived from *done, finish* in English Creoles (e.g. Winford 2011)

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Ba and the substrate

- The form and syntax of *ba(ŋ)* are arguably substrate-related

- Substantial evidence for a historical and linguistic founder role of Wolof and Mandinka in the formation of proto-UGC (e.g. Jacobs 2011; Lang 2004; Quint 2008; Peck 1988; Rougé 2004; Soares & Torrão 2007)

- Examples of Wolof and Mandinka substrate influence
  – Main sources of African lexicon in the UGCs
  – Syntactic passives without passive auxiliary (Wolof)
  – Causative morphology (Mandinka)
  – Complex pronominal systems with strong/weak contrasts (Wolof)
  – ...

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Tense/Aspect in Wolof

- Wolof exhibits an identical basic dynamic/stative contrast as in the UGCs

    – Unmarked dynamic verb forms $\rightarrow$ perfect
    – Unmarked stative verb forms $\rightarrow$ simple present

(20) **tiit**-*na-a*

   be.afraid-*na*-1SG

   'I'm afraid.'

(21) **dem**-*na-a*

   go-*na*-1SG

   'I left.' / 'I have left.'

Tense/Aspect in Wolof

- Wolof exhibits remote past forms (pluperfect) which overlap semantically with *ba(ŋ)*
    - affix *–oon*
    - clitic/free morpheme *woon*

(22) *tiit-**oón**-na-a.*

be.afraid-PST-*na*-1SG

'I was afraid (but I am not now).'

(23) a. *lekk-**oon**-na-a.*

eat-PST-*na*-1sg

'I had eaten'

b. *lekk-na-a*   ***woon**.*

eat-*na*-1sg PST

'I had eaten'   (Torrence, 2005:51)

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Tense/Aspect in Wolof

- Wolof exhibits a morpheme *ba* which takes on several functions related to remoteness

  – <u>Distal deictic marker in the nominal domain</u>

(24) *xale*   ***ba***   (Robert 2006)

     child   DEF.DIST

     'that child'

  – <u>Past temporal conjunction (when, until)</u>

(25) ***Ba***   *ma*   *waxee,*   *ñu*   *dem* .   (Stewart 2018)

     'When/after   I   had spoken,   they   left. '

  – <u>Completion marker in semi-lexicalized chunks</u>

(26) *Añ*   *naa*   ***ba***   ***pare.***   (Stewart 2018)

     lunch   *na.*1SG   until   finish

     'I already had lunch.'

Mandinka

- Mandinka exhibits a form *baŋ* (often written as *bã* or *ban*)
  - Nominal : 'end, limit'
  - Adverbial :'up to now, so far'
  - Verbal: 'to end, to complete, to finish' , expressing completion and result

(27) a. *A kè-ra ka **bã***   (Delafosse 1955)
      'it is entirely concluded'

      b. *A ye k'-ya kè **bã***   (idem)
      'he finished the act of working'

In sum, morphophonetic, semantic and syntactic features of Wolof and Mandinka appear to have been crucial in shaping the UGCs Tense/Aspect system and may have converged to some extent with Portuguese *acabar* 'to finish'

Grammaticalization of *ba*

- The UGC reflect different stages of grammaticalization and possibly also different adstrate effects

1. Casamancese *baŋ* → temporal adverbial [+PAST, +COMPLETION] (?)

2. Kriyol *ba* → clitic tense marker [+PAST]
   → temporal adverbial [+PAST, +COMPLETION]

3. Capeverdean *-ba* → tense suffix in Capeverdean [+PAST]

Verb movement

Pollock (1989) and subsequent work

- Several syntactic tests, such as sentence negation, adverb placement and quantifier floating show that verbs in English and in French are in different structural positions

  – English lacks V-to-T movement

  – French exhibits V-to-T movement

Verb movement in creoles

(i) Creole languages lack verb movement (e.g. Roberts 1999)

- Lack of inflectional morphology

- Preverbal particles block V-to-T (otherwise violation of the HMC)

(ii) Yet, for some Creole languages V-to-T analyses have been proposed:

- Mesolectal varieties of Louisiana French (Rottet 1992)

- Capeverdean Creole (Baptista 2002)

V-Movement in Kabuverdianu

Baptista (2002: 203)

(Baptista, 2002: 203)
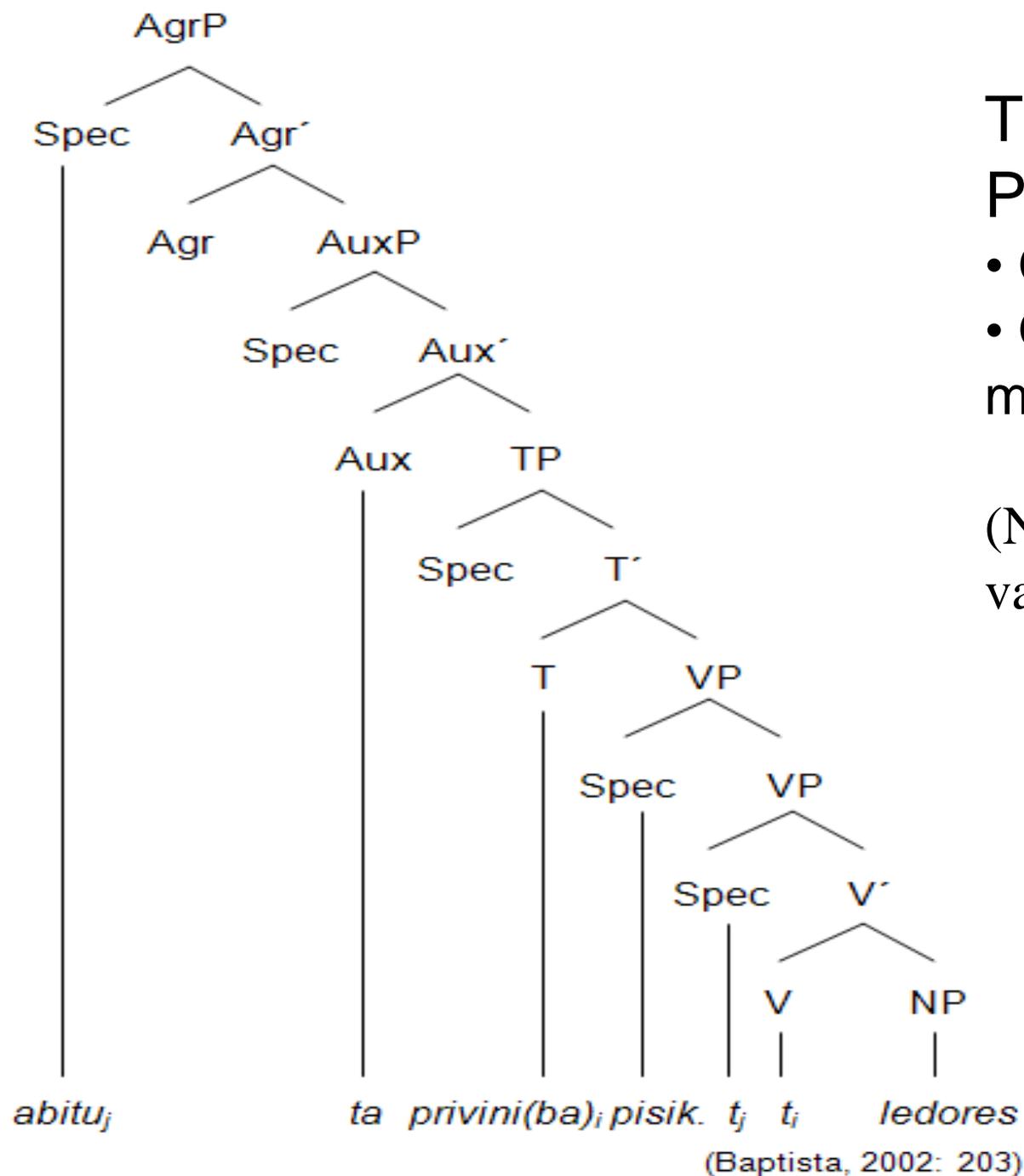
This analysis has been discussed by Pratas (2007) and Alexandre (2009):
• Order V-ADV-OBJ is severely restricted
• Quantifier floating is restricted to monoargumental predicates

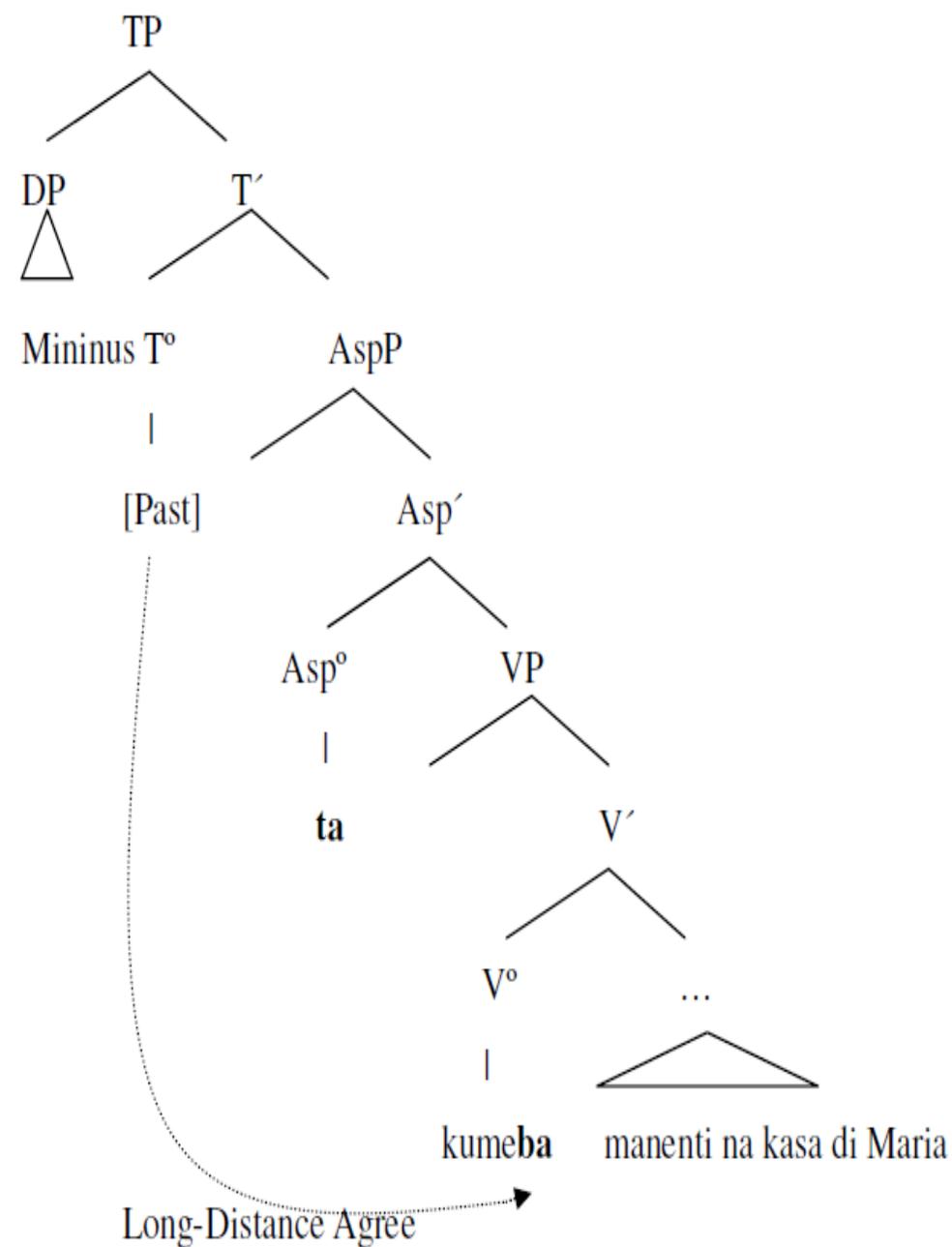(Note that Capeverdean varieties appear to exhibit variation wrt these tests)

V-Movement in Kabuverdianu

Pratas (2007: 149)   Alexandre (2012: 27)
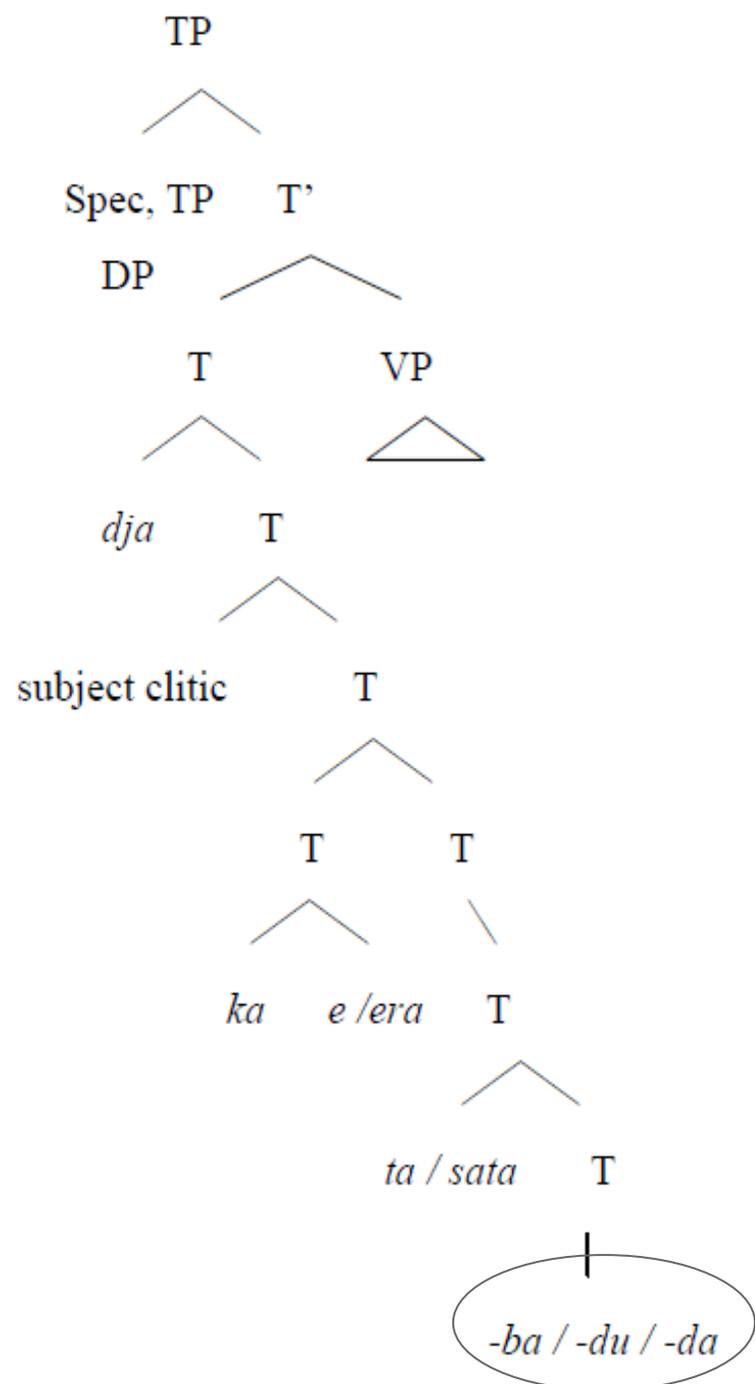
Affixes are lowered to V°   Affixes hop to V° + agreement relation T-V

Kriyol: Adverb placement

- Kriyol shows unrestricted adverb placement between verb and object, irrespective of the presence of –*ba*

(28) *Na Bisau, Barbosa ta kumpra* **sempri** *arus ku kana…*

in Bissau Barbosa HAB buy always rice and rum

'In Bissau, Barbosa always buys rice and rum …' … (ECU 2009: 3)

(29) *I kumpu* **dja** *vinti kasas.*

3SG build already twenty houses

'He has already built twenty houses.' (BGB, 2010: 128)

(30) *I solteru, i ka tene* **inda** *fidjus...* (BGB, 2010: 50)

3SG bachelor 3SG NEG have yet children

'He is a bachelor, he doesn't have children yet....'

(31) *Alunu studa* **diritu/ben** *si lison.*

student study well POSS lesson

'The student studied his/her lesson well.' (Maria 2013: 29)

24

Kriyol: Quantifier floating

- Kriyol exhibits generalized quantifier floating

(32) a. **Tudu** *mininus lei librus.*
        all   children read   books
        'All the children read books.'
   b. *Mininus* **tudu** *lei librus.*
        'The children all read books.'
   c. *Mininus lei* **tudu,** *librus.*   (Maria 2013: 30)

(33) (**tudu**) *alunus* (**tudu**) *kuri* (**tudu**)
     'All the students ran.'   (Maria 2013: 31)

Kriyol: Clitic+*Ba* constructions

- The position of clitics with respect to clitic *-ba*

(34) a. *Omi*   *ta*   **da-ba**   *mininu*   *pon.*

man   HAB   give-PST boy   bread

'The man used to give the boy bread.'

  b. *Omi*   *ta*   **da-l-ba**   *pon.*

man   HAB   give-3SG-PST   bread

'The man used to give him bread.'

- Altogether, Kriyol exhibits several syntactic properties that are considered indicative of verb movement
- Proposal:
  - *Ba* is the head of an aspectual projection (AspP)
  - Kriyol exhibits generalized verb movement to Asp⁰

Derivation: *Omi ta da-ba mininu pon*. 'The man used to give the boy bread.'
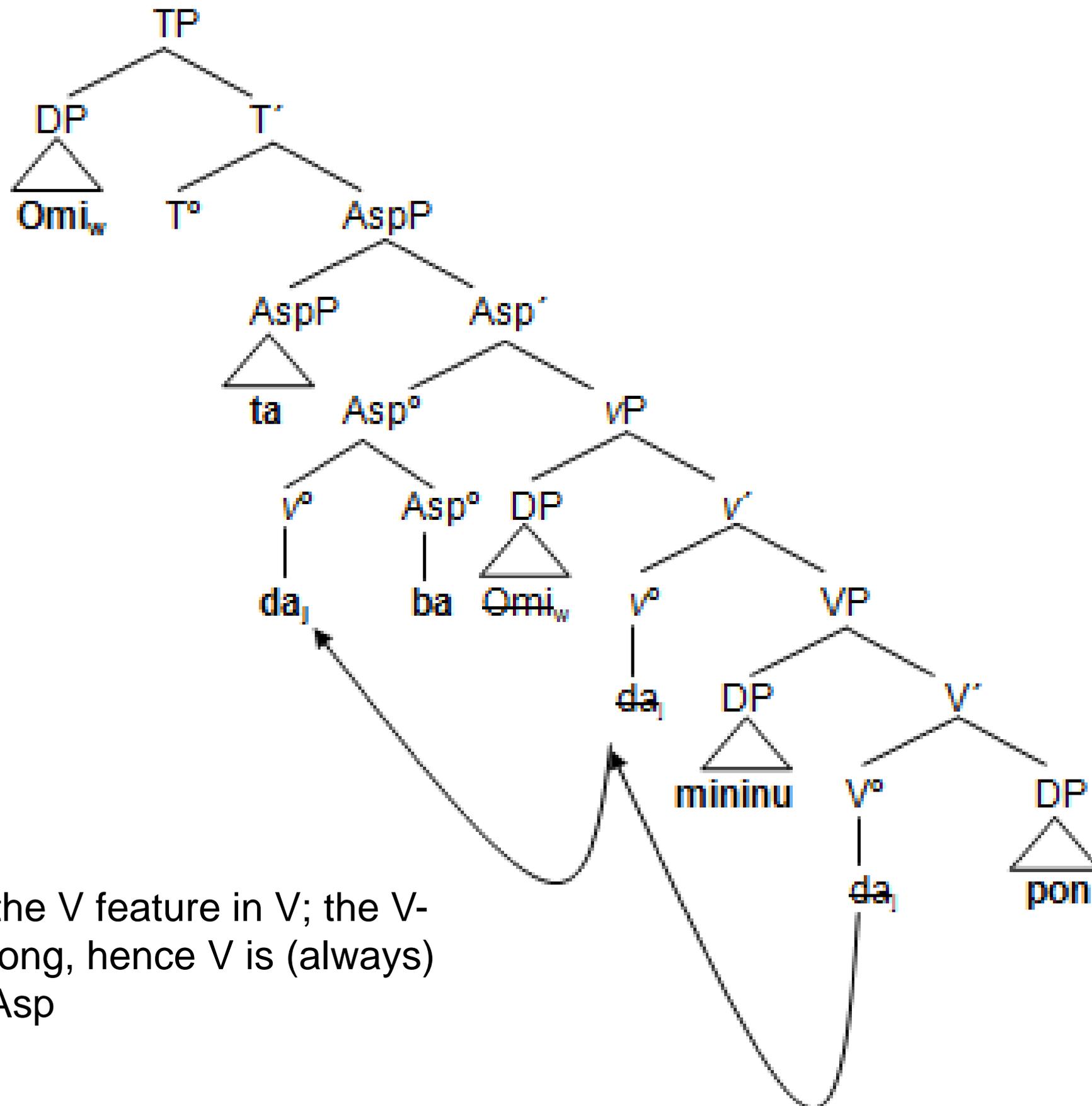
Asp probes the V feature in V; the V-feature is strong, hence V is (always) attracted to Asp

Derivation: *Omi ta da-l-ba pon* 'The man was giving him bread'/'The man used to give him bread.'
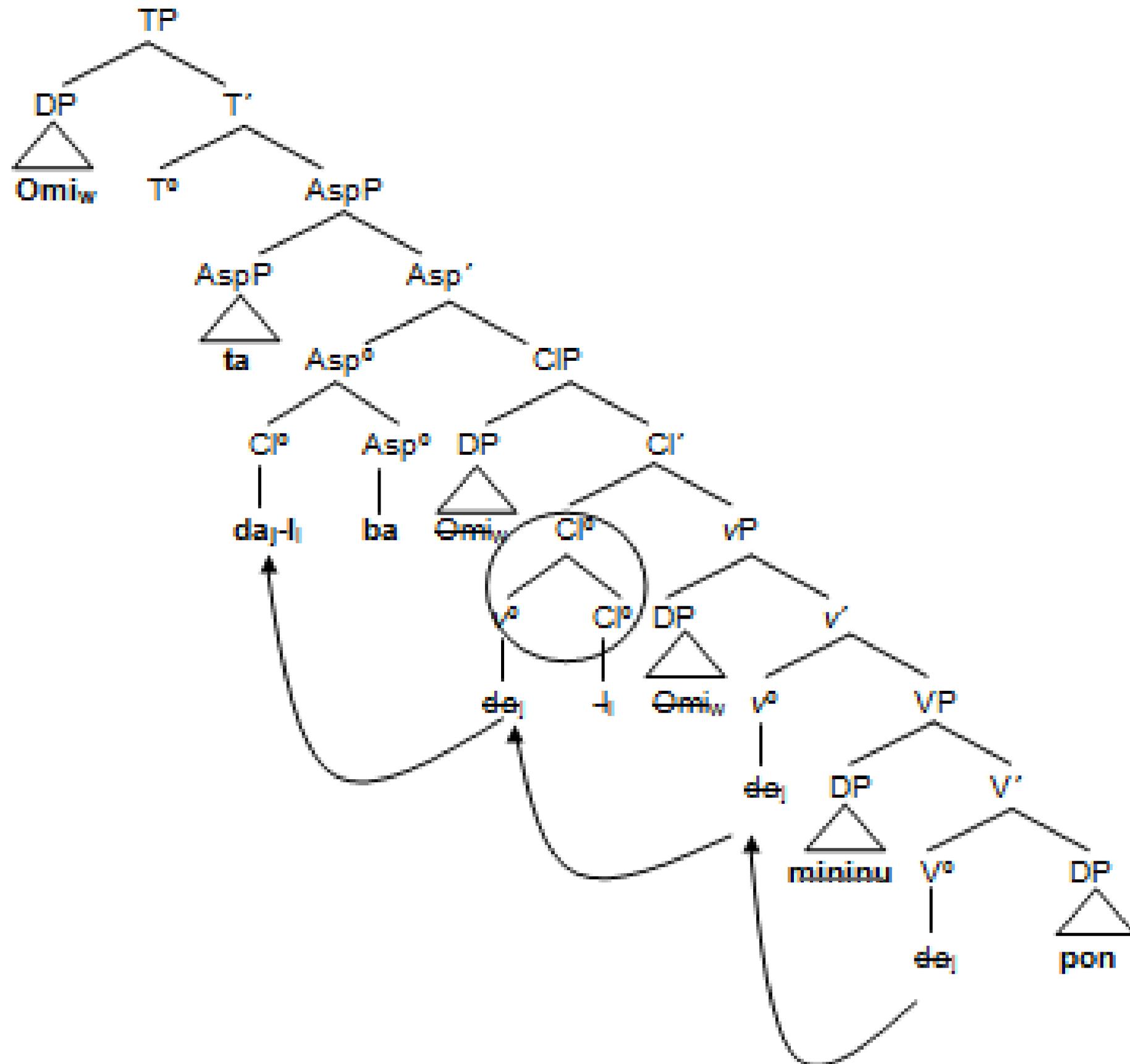
Final remarks

- The UGCs arguably show ongoing change from an isolating to a agglutinating typology through universal processes of grammaticalization and primary and secondary contact with agglutinating languages (Kriyol and Casamancese).

- Grammaticalization processes, such as the development of clitic past marker *-ba* in Kriyol, may lend additional support to syntactic analyses

- Kriyol in particular contradicts the idea that creole languages lack verb movement altogether and that verb movement is related to (rich) inflectional morphology

- The lexically filled AspP-shell agreeing with an empty T formalizes the idea that aspectual information is prominent in Creole languages

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