

SOME KWA-LIKE FEATURES OF DJUKA SYNTAX

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The frequent claim that creole languages on both sides of the Atlantic derive many of their syntactic features from a Kwa source is examined for three construction types in Djuka of Suriname: serial verb constructions, clefting for contrastive focus, and comparative constructions. The Djuka constructions are compared with analogous constructions in Kwa, Voltaic, Benue-Congo, Mande, and Chadic languages, Krio and West African Pidgin English, and non-African languages, both creole and non-creole. The hypothesis of a Kwa source for the clefting constructions in Djuka (and Atlantic creoles generally) is supported in particular by the data on clefting of predicates. The evidence for a Kwa source is much less clear for the serial verb constructions, while that for the comparative constructions falls in between these two. The influence of languages from other families, as well as universals, must still be taken into account, as the data from the non-African languages demonstrate.

0. Introduction

When I presented an earlier version of this paper at the 1975 International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles in Honolulu,<sup>1</sup> I described myself as in some ways a "Cartesian linguist," in that I was advocating a methodological skepticism. My skepticism was specifically aimed at claims in the literature for some specific West African source for particular syntactic features of West Atlantic creoles. I do welcome any attempts to narrow down the range of possible languages from which a particular feature, be it syntactic, lexical, phonological, or semantic, may have come into a particular West Atlantic creole. But I often have had the uneasy feeling that a particular West African source is claimed simply because we have more information about that West Af-

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<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank Talmy Givón for his comments on various drafts of this paper. But he can't help it if I have not always followed his insights.

rican language available than we do about other languages that might turn out to be equally good or better candidates as sources of the feature in question.

Study of creole languages on both sides of the Atlantic has uncovered a number of surface syntactic features reminiscent of specific non-creole languages of West Africa. In the literature it has been most frequently the Kwa languages that have been mentioned as resembling the creole languages with regard to these features, e.g. Bendix [1970], Williams [1971], Givón [1979b]. And it may well be that it is indeed the Kwa language group that was the source of particular syntactic features in West Atlantic creoles. But such a conclusion should be based on an examination of languages of other families in West Africa for the same features. To control for the factor of language universals, languages from other parts of the world should also be examined for these features.

This paper is a contribution to the discussion of the origin of three syntactic features of West Atlantic creoles: serial verb constructions (SVC), cleft-focus constructions, and comparative constructions. At the same time, the paper will make available data on Djuka, a creole language of Suriname which has been relatively little described in the literature, for in discussions comparing Atlantic creoles with non-creole languages of West Africa, it has been Krio of Sierra Leone which has received the most attention. Data have also been presented by Bendix [1970] on Papiamentu and San Andrés Creole English, but only in connection with serial verb constructions. And in the more general literature describing the creoles of Suriname, or of the Caribbean generally, Djuka has usually been mentioned briefly in comparison to more extensive descriptions of Sranan and Saramaccan, e.g. Alleyne [1980].

In section 1, two types of SVC found in Djuka are described; a third type common among the Kwa languages but marginal to Djuka is also discussed. Cleft-focus constructions are described in section 2 and comparative constructions in section 3. In each section the Djuka constructions are explicitly compared with the corresponding constructions in languages of West Africa. In addition, in section 1 SVC's are also discussed with regard to other languages, namely a West African creole (Krio), a Pacific pidgin (Tok Pisin), and a non-creole (Chrau of Viet Nam). Data from Sranan and Saramaccan are also included in

section 1.

### 1. Serial Verb Constructions

My starting point is the Djuka form of SVC, namely a sequence of verb phrases (VP) immediately juxtaposed in surface structure, and in particular with no subject or conjoining particle intervening. Following Lord [1977: 145], I am further restricting the definition of SVC to only those constructions "in which verbs after the first have no special marker (as in Yoruba)." Givón [1975] admits constructions with subjects and conjoining particles between successive VP's as SVC's. For the purposes of searching out possible African sources of Djuka SVC's, Givón's approach is historically the sounder one, as it is likely that in many languages SVC's as I am defining them have arisen from earlier constructions in which such material did intervene between successive VP's. Nevertheless, in order to limit the scope of this paper, I am omitting here any examination of constructions that conform to Givón's definition of SVC's but not to mine.

We begin with the use of three verbs of motion postposed to another VP and indicating direction.<sup>2</sup> In Djuka these verbs are *kon*, *go*, and *gwe*. In (1-3) these three verbs are used as independent verbs. Parallel examples are given for Djuka (DJ), Sranan (SN), and Saramaccan (SM).<sup>3</sup>

- |     |    |   |     |           |
|-----|----|---|-----|-----------|
| (1) | DJ | a | kon | 'he came' |
|     | SN | a | kon |           |
|     | SM | a | ko  |           |
|     |    |   | he  | come      |

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<sup>2</sup>See Alleyne [1980:91] for further examples. The use of verbs of motion *kon* and *go* before the main VP is dealt with in this paper only briefly, in section 1.4.

<sup>3</sup>Djuka data are from my own field work, in consultation with James Park. The Sranan data are also from my own field work, although I have benefited from discussion with Ch. H. Eersel. The Saramaccan data are from Naomi Glock and Catherine Rountree (see especially Glock [1972]). Tone and stress are left unmarked in all DJ, SN, and SM material except where necessary to distinguish otherwise homophonous forms.

(2) DJ a go a osu 'he went home'  
 SN a go na oso  
 SM a go a wosu  
 he go at house

(3) DJ a gwe 'he left'  
 SN a gwe  
 SM -----  
 he leave

The gap in (3) indicates that SM uses only two verbs in this position, as opposed to the three used in DJ and SN.

In (4-6) the same verbs are postposed to an intransitive VP.

(4) DJ a waka kon 'he walked (to point of reference)'  
 SN a waka kon  
 SM a waka ko  
 he walk come

(5) DJ a waka go a osu 'he walked home (away from point of reference)'  
 SN a waka go na oso  
 SM a waka go a wosu  
 he walk go at house

(6) DJ a waka gwe 'he walked away'  
 SN a waka gwe  
 SM -----  
 he walk leave

In (7-9) they are postposed to transitive VP.

(7) DJ a tyai den fisi kon 'he brought the fish'  
 SN a tyari den fisi kon  
 SM a tya dee fisi ko  
 he carry pl. fish come

(8) DJ a tyai den fisi go a osu 'he took the fish home'  
 SN a tyari den fisi go na oso  
 SM a tya dee fisi go a wosu  
 he carry pl. fish go at house

- (9) DJ a tyai den fisi gwe. 'he took the fish away'  
 SN a tyari den fisi gwe  
 SM -----  
 he carry pl. fish leave

Parallel constructions occur in Krio, as shown in (10) ( gowe after intransitive VP) and (11-13) (three verbs of motion after transitive VP). Krio data are from Ian Hancock [personal communication].

- (10) i waka gowe wantem 'he walked away at once'  
 he walk leave at once  
 (11) i ker am gowe 'he took it away'  
 he carry it leave  
 (12) i ker am kam<sup>4</sup> 'he brought it'  
 he carry it come  
 (13) i ker am go 'he took it'  
 he carry it go

The same postposing of verbs of motion occurs in many Kwa languages, illustrated in (14) by Yoruba data with transitive VP [Lord 1973:276].

- (14) m̄́ mú iwè wá Tíé 'I brought a book home'  
 I take book come house

Similar data have been presented in the literature for other Kwa languages, e.g. Givón [1975]. On the basis of the resemblance between Kwa languages and the Suriname creoles and Krio (as well as Papiamentu and West African Pidgin English—see Bendix [1970] and Dwyer [n.d.:348], respectively), and on the basis of what we know of the history of the Atlantic creoles, it is tempting to infer some substratal influence here. It would seem reasonable to conclude that the source of these constructions in these Atlantic creoles is a Kwa substratum.

Before jumping to such a conclusion, however, we must look at languages from other language families. The existence of the same construction, VP + verb of motion, is illustrated for Jukun, a Benue-Congo language, in (15) and for Vagala, a Gur language, in (16). Jukun data are from Welmers [1968b];

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<sup>4</sup>In the variant *i briŋ am kam*, the notion of direction-toward is expressed by the main verb *briŋ* as well as by the postposed *kam*.

Vagala data are from Pike [1970].<sup>5</sup>

- (15) kú sǒ súra yà 'he carried away some yams'  
 he carry yams go
- (16) ù kyìgò níf bà 'she brought water'  
 she carried water came

Such data suggest caution with regard to assuming a specifically Kwa influence on Atlantic creole syntax. If we look even farther afield, to Chrau, a language of Viet Nam not known to be a creole, we find again the same postposing of verbs of motion to VP, as illustrated in (17-19). Chrau data are from David and Dorothy Thomas [personal communication].

- (17) něh văt sirăq tăt 'he brought the book'  
 he carry book come/arrive
- (18) něh văt sirăq s'iq 'he took the book back'  
 he carry book return
- (19) něh văt sirăq saq 'he took the book away'  
 he carry book go

In the face of such data, it may still be valid to assume some West African (not necessarily Kwa but very likely Niger-Congo) origin of these SVC's in the Atlantic creoles. But more research into a variety of West African (especially non-Kwa and even non-Niger-Congo) languages is needed before a more specific source can be identified. And, as the Chrau data show us, the possibility of concomitant operation of language universals cannot yet be discounted.<sup>6</sup>

1.2. Dative/benefactive and 'give'. Turning now to a SVC more specifically associated with West African languages, and in the literature with Kwa languages in particular, let us examine the use of 'give' between a VP and a fol-

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<sup>5</sup>Givón [1975] presents data from some constructions in the Gur language Mooré which he terms SVC (although with the conjoining particle between the constituent VP they do not fit the definition of SVC used here). He does not give any examples of the VP + verb of motion construction for any Gur language.

<sup>6</sup>Mandarin constructions similar to the SVC's discussed in this paper, some treated as SVC's and some as "co-verb sentences", are described in Li and Thompson [1973].

lowing dative or benefactive NP. The verb 'give' appears as an independent verb in the Suriname creoles in (20), preceding a dative (indirect object) NP in (21), and preceding a benefactive NP in (22).

- (20) DJ a gi mi den fisi 'he gave me the fish'  
 SN a gi mi den fisi  
 SM a da mi dee fisi  
 he give me the-pl. fish
- (21) DJ a tyai den fisi kon gi mi 'he brought me the fish'  
 SN a tyari den fisi kon gi mi  
 SM a tya dee fisi ko da mi  
 he carry the-pl. fish come give me
- (22) DJ a go a foto gi mi 'he went to town for me'  
 SN a go na foto gi mi  
 SM a go a foto da mi  
 he go at town give me

An ambiguous case of VP + 'give' + NP, with both benefactive and dative readings, is given in (23).

- (23) DJ a kisi den fisi gi mi 'he caught the fish for me'  
 SN a kisi den fisi gi mi or  
 SM a kisi dee fisi da mi 'he caught me the fish (i.e. caught and gave them to me)'  
 he catch the-pl. fish give me

Some Kwa languages exhibit the same ambiguity as in the Suriname creoles, while others use different constructions for dative and benefactive. In Yatyę, for example, this ambiguity is present, as in (24) [Stahlke 1970:63].

- (24) àmì awá ínyahwẹ́ ibí akà àwọ̀ 'I brought you a book'  
 I took book came for you  
 (give?) or  
 'I brought a book on your behalf'

In Yoruba, on the other hand, the corresponding construction with 'give' serves only for the dative (25), while a different construction expresses the benefactive (26) [Stahlke 1970:63].

- (25) mo mú ìwé wá fún ẹ 'I brought you a book'  
 I took book came gave you
- (26) mo bá àbúrò mi mú ìwé wé  
 I on-behalf-of younger-brother my took book come [sic]  
 'I brought a book on behalf of my younger brother'

It is instructive to note at this point that Krio resembles Yoruba in using contrastive constructions for dative and benefactive, unlike the ambiguous expression of these two deep structure notions in the surface of Yatɛ and the Suriname creoles. Below are the Krio forms with 'give' as independent verb (27), VP + 'give' + dative NP (28), and contrasting construction for benefactive (29).

- (27) a gi am di kɔpɔ 'I gave him the money'  
 I give him the money
- (28) i kɛr dis kɔpɔ go gi am 'he took this money to him'  
 he carry this money go give him
- (29) i go tɔŋ fɔ ram 'he went to town for him'  
 he go town for him

The force of these data is that, at least in the modern forms, even such similar languages as Krio and the Suriname creoles differ in the use of SVC's. This difference may indicate a different origin within West Africa for the Krio construction and the Suriname constructions, which would not be surprising given the very different history of the Krio society and the Suriname societies. But the difference could equally well be due to subsequent development from a common source. Krio has, after all, been exposed to post-creolization influences from English in a way that the Suriname creoles have not. If it does turn out that we could discover that Krio never has used the gi construction to express benefactive, then the benefactive use of this construction would probably be neither a language universal nor a pidgin-creole universal. That it is not found, even in the dative use, in all pidgins and creoles is suggested by the Tok Pisin data below with 'give' as independent verb (30), 'give' in single clause but not SVC (31), and dative and benefactive without 'give' (32-33).<sup>7</sup> Tok Pisin data are from Ellis Deibler [personal

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<sup>7</sup>The discussion of clauses with 'give' in Mauritian Creole in Corne [1970:

communication].

- (30) em i givim ol dispela pis long mi  
 he give pl. this fish at me  
 'he gave me the fish'
- (31) em i hukim ol dispela pis na givim (long) mi  
 he catch pl. this fish and give (at) me  
 'he caught the fish and gave them to me'
- (32) em i kisim ol dispela pis i kam long mi  
 he take pl. this fish come at me  
 'he caught the fish and brought them to me'
- (33) em i go long taun na baim rais bilong mi  
 he go at town and buy rice of me  
 'he went to town and bought rice for me'

In (34) and (35) we see a similar construction, i.e. verb serialization with 'give', in Chrau, but not a precisely parallel one (VP + 'give' + NP + 'have' rather than simply VP + 'give' + NP).

- (34) nēh văt ca sĭq an ănh iun 'he brought me a fish'  
 he carry fish return give me have
- (35) nēh văt an ca ănh iun 'he carried a fish for me'  
 he carry give fish me have  
 or  
 'he brought me a fish'

Finally, with reference to the West African data, it should again be pointed out that Gur languages such as Vagala also have SVC's with 'give' parallel to the Kwa usage. Two examples of its use for benefactive are given in (36-37). I do not have data to indicate whether this SVC is also used for the dative. (Note that in another Gur language, Mooré, the construction with kó 'give' following a VP to introduce indirect object must have the connective n between the preceding VP and kó and thus is not a SVC in the sense used here [Lehr et al. 1966:56].)

- (36) ù wà sá !ígyò tè ù bówl  
 he came danced igyo-dance give his village  
 'he danced the igyo-dance for his village'

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19] also makes no allusion to a SVC with don 'give' between a VP and a following dative NP.

(37) ù é ù té ñ  
he did it gave me

'he did it for me'

The dative use of 'give' in the Benue-Congo language Jukun is illustrated in (38).

(38) bé ze yá yá kuru yô ka 'they carried it to the chief  
they take go give chief inside town wall of the town'

The occurrence of SVC's with 'give' in Kwa, other African, and non-African languages supports the supposition that such a syntactic feature could arise in different areas independently, perhaps as a result of some natural semantax (see Bickerton [1974]). Whether or not this is true, the African data prevent us from assigning a specifically Kwa source to the Djuka construction. Not only is it unlikely that we will, with further historical research, be able to find a specific source for such a construction, it is also doubtful whether there ever was such a specific single-language source, rather than a more general areal source.

1.3. Instrumental and 'take'. The third sort of SVC to be discussed here is dealt with not in order to describe Djuka syntax directly, but to highlight a significant difference between Djuka on the one hand and the Kwa languages and Krio (as well as Papiamentu, although it is not illustrated here) on the other.

For Kwa data, we use examples from Yoruba [Lord 1973:291]. In (39), a VP consisting of 'take' + NP precedes another VP and denotes an instrument.

(39) ó fī òbē gé ērā 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
he take knife cut meat

The same construction is used to express manner in Yoruba, as in (40).

(40) ó fī èsò gé ērā 'he cut the meat with care'  
he take care cut meat

The Gur language Vagala uses the same pattern for instrument, as in (41). I do not know whether manner is also expressed using this construction in Vagala.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See Bendix [1970] for examples of this type of SVC for instrumental in Papiamentu and Ijo.

- (41) ù kpá kíyžèé mòng ówl 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 he took knife cut meat

For the instrumental usage, Krio uses the same construction, given in (42), although another construction given in (43), considered Anglicized Krio, is also used.

- (42) i tek nɛf čɛčɛ di bif 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 he take knife cut the meat
- (43) i čɛčɛ di bif wit nɛf " " " " " " "  
 he cut the meat with knife

Krio does not use a SVC with 'take' for manner, however.

In Djuka, such a SVC is rare for expressing instrument and does not occur at all for manner. Thus (44) is possible but very infrequent. A Djuka speaker is more likely to use either the simple clause construction given in (45) or two overtly conjoined clauses as in (46). I believe the same can be said of Sranan and Saramaccan, although I do not have enough experience with those languages to support this hypothesis.

- (44) a teke nɛfi koti a meti 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 he take knife cut the meat
- (45) a koti a meti anga nɛfi " " " " " " "  
 he cut the meat with knife
- (46) a teke nɛfi, ne a koti a meti " " " " " " "  
 he take knife then he cut the meat

The resemblance between the usual Djuka construction in (45) and English is evident (cf. the Krio example (43)). Does this mean that this particular construction was borrowed into Djuka from English? Not necessarily, for Kwa languages also have a parallel construction using 'with' for expressing instrument. We again limit our data to a Yoruba example, given in (47) [Lord 1973:281].

- (47) ó gé ɛrā̄ kpèlú òbē 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 he cut meat with knife

Further, it should be remembered that many languages, including the Suriname creoles, English, and Kwa languages (but not Krio) use the same prepositional construction for instrumental, manner, and comitative, as in (48-59).

English

- (48) he cut the meat WITH a knife  
 (49) he cut the meat WITH pleasure  
 (50) he cut the meat WITH Kofi

Suriname creoles

- (51) DJ a koti a meti ANGA nefi 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 SN a koti a meti NANGA nefi  
 SM a koti di gbamba KU faka  
 he cut the meat with knife
- (52) DJ a koti a meti ANGA piisii 'he cut the meat with pleasure'  
 SN a koti a meti NANGA prisiri  
 SM a koti di gbamba KU piizii  
 he cut the meat with pleasure
- (53) DJ a koti a meti ANGA kofi 'he cut the meat with Kofi'  
 SN a koti a meti NANGA kofi  
 SM a koti di gbamba KU kofi  
 he cut the meat with Kofi

(For (53), a much more common construction, in Djuka at least, would be *kofi anga en koti a meti* 'Kofi and he cut the meat'; cf. 59.)

Kwa<sup>9</sup> (Yoruba [Lord 1973:281-282])

- (54) ó gé ērā́ KPÈLÚ òbḗ 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 he cut meat with knife
- (55) ó gé ērā́ KPÈLÚ èsò́ 'he cut the meat with care'  
 he cut meat with care
- (56) ó gé ērā́ KPÈLÚ ākī́ 'he cut the meat with Akin'  
 he cut meat with Akin

Krio

- (57) i ʒeʒe di bif WIT nef 'he cut the meat with a knife'  
 he cut the meat with knife

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<sup>9</sup>Note, however, that this alternative method of expressing instrument is apparently not found in all Kwa languages; see Stewart [1963] and discussion by Pike [1970:2-3] on Twi.

- (58) i čěčě di bif WIT gladi 'he cut the meat with pleasure'  
 he cut the meat with pleasure
- but* (59) i en kofi čěčě di bif 'he cut the meat with Kofi'  
 he and Kofi cut the meat

We note in passing, without citing examples, that Tok Pisin does not use a SVC with 'take' for expressing instrument; it uses the general preposition *long* to introduce an instrument, but a different preposition, *wantaim*, to introduce comitative. On the other hand, Vietnamese does express instrument with a SVC, e.g. 'he use knife cut meat' = 'he cut meat with a knife', but does not express manner in this way.<sup>10</sup>

1.4. Other serial verb constructions. We mention briefly here some other SVC's attested in Djuka, without discussion. For description of parallel SVC's in Saramaccan, see Glock [1972:56-61].

(1) The verbs of motion postposed to VP as discussed in section 1.1 can also be preposed, as in (60-61). (Cf. Eze [1980:69-73] for a more detailed description of a similar construction in Nigerian Pidgin English.)

- (60) a go luku 'he went and looked'  
 he go look
- (61) a gwe go luku 'he left to go look'  
 he leave go look

(2) Certain verbs that occur in transitive clauses are preposed to VP, taking then the same position as other forms that are clearly modals. In (62) *wani* 'want' appears in a transitive clause. In (63) it appears preposed to a VP in the same position as the modal *musu* in (64). The verb *sabi* 'know' has a similar distribution.

- (62) a wani den fisi 'he wants the fish'  
 he want the-pl. fish
- (63) a wani go 'he wants to go'  
 he want go
- (64) a musu go 'he has to go'  
 he oblig. go

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<sup>10</sup>Much of sections 1.1-1.3 appeared in a somewhat different version in Huttar [1974].

(3) Successive clauses having the same subject (and optionally other common constituents as well) are juxtaposed with common elements deleted. Example (65) may be viewed as the surface representation of a sutu a bofoo 'he shot the tapir' and a kii a bofoo 'he killed the tapir', with identical subject a and object a bofoo deleted from the second clause.<sup>11</sup>

(65) a sutu a bofoo kii 'he shot the tapir dead'  
 he shoot the tapir kill

This type of SVC differs from the others described or mentioned in that the class of verbs occurring in each VP of such a SVC is open.

(4) The comparative constructions discussed in section 3 are another type of SVC.

## 2. Cleft-focus Construction<sup>12</sup>

A neutral (non-emphatic) declarative Djuka sentence with one constituent clause is illustrated in (66).

(66) mi dda kii tu pakila anga goni a busi tide  
my father kill two peccary with gun at jungle today  
 Subject Pred Object Adjunct Adjunct Adjunct  
 'my father killed two peccaries with a gun in the jungle today'

To give contrastive focus to any one of the surface constituents of the sentence (that is, to explicitly contrast that constituent with other items in paradigmatic relationship with it), the constituent is copied in initial position in the sentence and preceded by na 'be'. In all cases except focus of Predicate, the copied constituent is deleted from its position in the neutral sentence, so that we may describe the result as a clefting of the constituent out of its original position. Such clefting, or copying and deleting, is vac-

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<sup>11</sup>See the similar analysis of such SVC's in Twi by Stewart [1963:145]. On Nigerian Pidgin English, see Eze [1980:74ff.]; on Guyana, Jamaica, and Surinam creoles, see Alleyne [1980:93]. Constructions parallel to (65) are described by Thompson [1973] for Mandarin as "resultative verb compounds", in which the 2nd VP indicates a result of the first.

<sup>12</sup>I am especially indebted to James Park for his detailed help on sections 2 and 3 of this paper and to Franklin Velanti of Drietabbetje for his suggestions and reactions as a native speaker of Djuka.

uous in the case of the Subject, which occurs initially in the neutral sentence. Contrastive focus for Subject is marked only by the preceding *na*. Focus of the six constituents of (66) results in sentences (67-72). Note that in (68) the predicate appears twice, both in copied (front) position and in neutral position. The focused nominal constituents in (67) and (69-72) occur only in copied position.<sup>13</sup>

## (67) Subject Focus

*na mi dda kii tu pakila anga goni a busi tide*  
 it-is my father kill 2 peccary with gun at jungle today  
 'it's my father that killed two peccaries with a gun in the jungle today'

## (68) Predicate Focus

*na kii mi dda kii tu pakila anga goni a busi tide*  
 'it's killed my father killed two peccaries with a gun in the jungle today' (i.e. in contrast to merely hitting or wounding them, he specifically killed them)

## (69) Object Focus

*na tu pakila mi dda kii anga goni a busi tide*  
 'it's two peccaries that my father killed with a gun in the jungle today'

## (70) Instrumental Adjunct Focus

*na anga goni mi dda kii tu pakila a busi tide*  
 'it's with a gun that my father killed two peccaries in the jungle today'

## (71) Locative Adjunct Focus

*na a busi mi dda kii tu pakila anga goni tide*  
 'it's in the jungle that my father killed two peccaries with a gun today'

## (72) Temporal Adjunct Focus

*na tide mi dda kii tu pakila anga goni a busi*  
 'it's today that my father killed two peccaries with a gun in the jungle'

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<sup>13</sup>While (66-72) are grammatical, they are rather unusual because of

When receiving contrastive focus, the third singular subject pronoun is *en*, the form also used for all oblique cases; *a* occurs only as a non-focused subject. Compare (73) and (74).

- (73) *a go* 'he went'  
*he go*
- (74) *na en go* 'it's he who went'  
*it-is him go*

Besides receiving positive contrastive focus as just illustrated in (67-72), a constituent can also receive negative contrastive focus, whereby it alone (as opposed to the whole sentence) is negativized. Negative focus is accomplished by the same process as positive focus except that the preposed particle is *ná* 'not; not be' rather than *na* 'be'. Examples (75) and (76) illustrate negative focus of Predicate and Object respectively.<sup>14</sup>

- (75) *ná kii mi dda kii tu pakila anga goni a busi tide*  
 (it-is)not kill my father kill 2 peccary with gun at jungle today  
 'it's not killed my father killed two peccaries with a gun in the jungle today' (i.e. whatever he may have done to them, he specifically did not kill them)
- (76) *ná tu pakila mi dda kii anga goni a busi tide*  
 'it's not two peccaries that my father killed with a gun in the jungle today'

Compare (77) in which the whole sentence is negativized, i.e. the entire proposition is denied.

- (77) *mi dda ná kii tu pakila anga goni a busi tide*  
 'my father did not kill two peccaries with a gun in the jungle today'

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their length and number of constituents. This is particularly true of (67-72), where clefting to emphasize one constituent would ordinarily preclude explicit mention of so many other elements.

<sup>14</sup>Chris Corne [personal communication] reports that in Mauritian Creole, a sentence with fronted negative marker similar to (75) and (76) does not have the negative meaning of the Djuka construction, but rather an emphatic positive meaning. By contrast, see Eze [1980:87-88] on front-shifted verb preceded by negative 'be' in Nigerian Pidgin English with the same meaning as in Djuka.

The negative element *ná* in (77) cannot receive focus through clefting nor can the unstressed particles *be* 'completive', *sa* 'irrealis', *o* 'future', or *e* 'continuative':

	Neutral		Focus
(78)	a be go he comple- go tive	'he had gone'	na go a be go 'it's gone he had gone *na be a be go
(79)	a sa go he irreal- go is	'he will go'	na go a sa go 'it's go he will go' *na sa a sa go
(80)	a o go he future go	'he will go'	na go a o go 'it's go he will go' *na o a o go
(81)	a e go he contin- go uative	'he's going'	na go a e go 'it's going he is go- ing' *na e a e go

On the other hand, stressed modals *musu* 'must' (but not its unstressed alternate *mu*), *wani* 'want', and *poi* 'be able' can be clefted for emphasis, either positive or negative. This usage is illustrated in the exchange in (82):

- (82) Na wani ju wani go? 'Is it that you want to go?'  
it-is want you want go
- Nono. Ná wani mi wani. Na musu mi musu.  
no (it-is)not want I want it-is must I must
- 'No, it's not that I want to go, but that I have to go.'

In sentences with more than one verb, be it in one clause or more than one, i.e. sentences with SVC's, not all elements can be clefted with equal ease. Sentence (83) has one constituent clause with a main verb and a postposed directional verb *kon*. While the main verb can undergo clefting as in (84), the directional *kon* can neither be clefted as shown in (85) nor clefted in the manner of nominal constituents as in (86).

- (83) a iti a patu kon 'he threw the pot to me'  
he throw the pot come
- (84) na iti a iti a patu kon 'it's threw he threw the pot to  
it-is throw he throw the pot come me'
- (85) \*na kon a iti a patu kón

(86) \*na kon a iti a patu

Sentence (87) has two constituent clauses, the first with verbal elements *tyai* and *kon*, the second with *poti*. Clefting of *tyai* (88) is normal, while that of *kon* (89) and of *poti* (90) is unacceptable:

(87) a tyai a patu kon poti a osu  
he carry the pot come put at house

'he brought the pot and put it in his house'

(88) na tyai a tyai a patu kon poti a osu  
it-is carry he carry the pot come put at house

'it's brought he brought the pot and put it in his house'

(89) \*na kon a tyai a patu kon poti a osu

(90) \*na poti a tyai a patu kon poti a osu

The adjunct in the second clause can also undergo clefting, as in (91).

(91) na a osu a tyai a patu kon poti

'it's at his house that he brought the pot and put it'

Similarly, the object may be clefted, as in (92) or as in (94) (cf. 93).

(92) na a patu a tyai kon poti a osu

'it's the pot that he brought home'

(93) a go teke a patu tyai kon poti a osu  
he go take the pot carry come put at house

'he went and got the pot and brought it home'

(94) na a patu a go teke tyai kon poti a osu  
it-is the pot he go take carry come put at house

'it's the pot that he went and got and brought home'

Further, the verb *teke* in (93), which I assume to be more lexically salient than the directional verb *go* preceding it, can be copied in initial position under clefting, as in (95). The directional verb *go*, although more "grammatical" and less "lexical" than *teke*, is still the first verb in the sentence and can similarly undergo clefting, as in (96).

(95) na teke a go teke a patu tyai kon poti a osu

'it's got he went and got the pot and brought it home'

- (96) na go a go teke a patu tyai kon poti a osu  
 'it's went he went and got the pot and brought it home'

I leave aside here the interesting question of whether the fact that both *go* and *teke* can undergo clefting is due to diachronic development in Djuka of *go* and other verbs of motion in this position from fully lexical items to partly grammatical ones. Both Givón's [1975] argument for such a development in Niger-Congo and Pike's [1967] more general comments on fully lexical verbs developing into grammatical morphemes have their force. But I do not here assume such a development in Djuka, not having examined the available evidence on earlier stages of Djuka.

In summary, it appears that the following elements in a sentence can undergo clefting for contrastive focus:

- i. subject
- ii. object
- iii. adjuncts of first or second clauses of sentences<sup>15</sup>
- iv. stressed modals
- v. first verb of sentence
- vi. first lexical verb of sentence if preceded by directional verb

The following elements cannot be front-shifted:

- i. unstressed particles *be*, *sa*, *o*, *e*
- ii. adjuncts of clauses other than in *iii* above
- iii. the negative particle *ná*
- iv. verbs other than in *v* and *vi* above

Among languages of West Africa, clear examples of constructions parallel to the Djuka cleft-focus construction are found in West African Pidgin English (WAPE). Compare the neutral sentence (97) with (98), where the subject *Jòn*, already in front position, is preceded by *na* 'be' and thereby marked for emphasis [Dwyer, n.d.].

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<sup>15</sup>The constraints on clefting of objects and adjuncts from non-initial clauses are not clear.

- (97) Jòn dè còp fùfu 'John is eating foo-foo'  
John cont. eat foo-foo
- (98) na Jòn dè còp fùfu 'it's John who is eating foo-foo'  
it-is John cont. eat foo-foo

Cleft-focus of the object is illustrated in (99) (cf. 97). Unlike the Djuka construction, however, the WAPE construction does not delete the object NP from neutral position after copying it in front, but replaces it by a pronoun (am in (99)).

- (99) nà fùfu Jón dè còp àm 'it's foo-foo that John is eating'  
it

Cleft-focus of a locative element is illustrated by (100-101), and of a temporal element by (102-103). Here the emphasized elements are deleted, not replaced by pro forms, in their neutral positions, exactly parallel to the Djuka construction.

- (100) à dón lúk àm fò dé 'I found it there'  
I completive find it (prep.) there
- (101) nà fò dé à dón lúk àm  
it-is (prep.) there I completive find it  
'it's there that I found it'
- (102) à kám tudé 'I came today'  
I come today
- (103) nà tudé à kám 'it's today that I came'  
it-is today I come

The expression of contrastive focus by clefting with some form of 'be' is also found in non-creole languages of West Africa. In the Kwa language Igbo, for example, the subject (already in front position) is preceded by 'it is' when emphasized [Carrell 1970].<sup>16</sup>

- (104) nwókó hère ákwékwó 'the man saw the book'  
man see book
- (105) ó bè nwókó hère ákwékwó 'it's the man who saw the book'  
it is man see book

<sup>16</sup>See Givón [1979:246-248] for a reconstruction of the historical development of these "cleft-focus" constructions.

This construction exactly parallels the Djuka cleft-focus construction with focused subject. For the post-verbal object, however, Igbo differs from Djuka by inserting the relative marker *kà* after the object, as in (106) (cf. 104).

- (106) *ó bè ákwékwó kà nwókó hère* 'it's the book that the man saw'  
 it is book that man see

In another Kwa language, Yoruba, the added form of 'be' follows, rather than precedes, the focused element, as (107-108) show for subject, (109-110) for object, and (111-112) for locative [Bangboṣe 1966:56-57].

- (107) *ìyẹn ò da* 'that's not good'  
 that-one not good
- (108) *ìyẹn ni ò da* 'it's that one that's not good'  
 that-one is not good
- (109) *wón raṣo* 'they bought a dress'  
 they bought-dress
- (110) *aṣo ni wón rà* 'it's a dress that they bought'  
 dress is they bought
- (111) *ó bèrè lé.kó* 'it started in Lagos'  
 it started in-Lagos
- (112) *(ní) èkó ló ti bèrè* 'it's in Lagos that it started'  
 (in) Lagos is it started

The situation appears to be similar for two other Kwa languages, Ewe as described by Warburton et al. [1968] and Twi as described by Redden et al. [1963], both for focused subject. In Twi an additional difference from Djuka is evident, in that the subject occurs both before and after the particle *na* in the latter position as a verb prefix. Christaller [1875:§247] gives numerous examples for both subject and post-verbal elements undergoing clefting in Twi.

In Efik<sup>17</sup> the particle ( *ké* ) follows the focused element as in Yoruba. In Efik, however, the particle is no longer a form of 'be', though it may

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<sup>17</sup>Efik is classified by Greenberg [1966] as a non-Bantoid member of Benue-Congo, a subdivision, like Kwa, of Niger-Congo. Givón [1975] tentatively follows Greenberg. Welmers [1971:763], however, is "convinced that Efik and certain other languages in Eastern Nigeria are more clearly related

well have been earlier.<sup>18</sup> Clefting of object is illustrated by (113-114) and of locative by (115-116) [Welmers 1968a:41-42]. The particle *ké* is homophonous with a locative preposition [Welmers 1968a:40], a homophony which Lord [1973] has argued has arisen in Kwa languages through the development of locative prepositions from locative verbs. In Djuka, the form *na* occurring at the beginning of cleft-focus constructions has been treated here as the copula *na* 'be', because of the occurrence of *ná* 'not, not be' in the corresponding position for negative focus. Unlike the situation in Kwa (and Efik), the Djuka locative preposition *na* is homophonous with this copula, but not with the locative/existential verb *de*.

- (113) *ńkedèp ìboró* 'I bought bananas'  
I-bought bananas
- (114) *ìboró ké ńkedép* 'it's bananas that I bought'  
bananas (part) I-bought
- (115) *ńkaka íkòt Ékpené* 'I went to Ikòt Ekpené'  
I-went
- (116) *íkòt Èkpené ké ńkaka* 'it's Ikòt Ekpené that I went to'  
(part) I-went

For focused subject, no particle occurs at all. The emphatic status of the subject is marked only by the tone of the verb (cf. the different tones on the verb in (113-114) and (115-116)) and, in the case of pronominal subjects, by different pronouns.<sup>19</sup>

Turning to the Gur family, we find in Mooré a special particle (*ya* for positive, *ka* for negative) occurring before the focused element. In addition, the particle *la* occurs after it in the same position as Igbo rela-

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to Igbo than to the Bantu languages, and these are therefore classed as Kwa rather than Benue-Congo. Indeed the whole question of a boundary between Kwa and Benue-Congo, and of the integrity of each of these branches of the Niger-Congo family, is open for further investigation." This same position is assumed in Welmers [1973].

<sup>18</sup>I owe this diachronic observation to Talmy Givón [personal communication]. Cf. Givón [1974].

<sup>19</sup>Cf. (73) and (74) for Djuka emphatic pronoun *en*.

tive marker *kà* . Both preposed *ya* and postposed *la* are identical or homophonous with forms of two verbs 'be'. The cleft-focus construction is illustrated for object in (117-118) and for locative in (119-120) [Lehr et al. 1966:107-108].<sup>20</sup>

- (117) *m díkdà móbilì* 'I'm taking the car'  
I am-taking car
- (118) *yá móbil la m díkdà* 'it's the car that I'm taking'  
it-is car it-is I am-taking
- (119) *ub wáa Dákad* 'they arrived in Dakar'  
they arrived Dakar
- (120) *ya Dákad la ub wáé* 'it's in Dakar that they arrived'  
it-is Dakar it-is they arrived

The Mooré data (and, depending on whose classification scheme you follow, Efik data as well) indicate that contrastive focus is signalled by clefting in other African languages than Kwa languages. However, the particular pattern of copying the verb but not deleting it from its original position, leaving a full verb in both positions, seems to be peculiar to Kwa.<sup>21</sup>

Before too quickly assuming a Kwa, or even an African, substratum as the source of the Djuka construction, we should consider the possibility of influence from the European languages. We note first of all that English also expresses contrastive focus, among other ways, by moving the elements in focus to initial position and preposing the appropriate tense of 'it is' as in (121) for object, (122) for locative, and (123) for subject.

- (121) It was two peccaries (that) my father killed in the jungle.

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<sup>20</sup>The construction appears to be used for focus of post-verbal elements only, not of (pre-verbal) subject (cf. Efik).

<sup>21</sup>Givón [personal communication]. Jaggar [1978:80] does report for Hausa a device for marking a VP with contrastive focus, but he goes on to say that the verb "may not be repeated in full when marked (+F) but simply leaves the substitutive *yi* ." Until we have examined more closely earlier stages of Djuka or other Suriname or West Atlantic creoles, we cannot press too far the differences among various Kwa languages. It may be, for example, that the Djuka cleft-focus construction earlier had a relative marker as Igbo still does.



- (126) a wooko ja, a moo mi 'this job is too much for me'  
the work here it me
- (127) ne a sani kon moo en 'then the thing began to be too  
then the thing came him much for him'
- (128) Baa Kujaku moo Baa Bubu 'Brer Deer beat (won over) Brer  
brother deer brother jaguar Jaguar'

From these examples we may gloss this sense of *moo* as 'surpass, be too much for'.

The morpheme *moo* also occurs following a VP with no following NP. In this usage it occurs in negative (129), interrogative (130), and imperative (131) sentences, but not in positive declarative sentences except in the context of another sentence with *moo*, as in (132).

- (129) mi á sabi en moo. 'I don't know him any more.'  
I not know him
- (130) ju sa sabi en moo? 'Do you possibly still know him?'  
you irrealis know him
- (131) iti go moo 'Pour some more.'  
throw go
- (132) "Mi sa subi go moo?" "Shall I climb further?"  
I irrealis climb to  
"Ai, subi go moo." "Yes, climb further."  
yes climb go  
Ne a subi go moo. Then he climbed further.'  
then he climb go

In (133-136), *moo* precedes a stative verb/adjective in attributive (133-134) and predicative (135-136) position, expressing comparative (including superlative) degree.

- (133) a moo langa wan na mi dda 'the taller one is my father'  
the tall one be my father
- (134) ondi na a moo koni man? 'who is the cleverest one?'  
which be the clever person
- (135) dati moo langa 'that one is taller'  
that tall
- (136) a sisa moo koni 'the sister is the cleverest'  
the sister clever

In (137-139), *moo* follows intransitive (137), transitive (138), and

stative (139) VP and precedes a NP serving as a standard of comparison. Examples (137b-139b) illustrate an alternative construction with *moo* also preceding the VP.

- (137) a. a e waka moo mi 'he travels more than I do'  
 he cont. travel I
- b. a e moo waka moo mi  
 he cont. travel I
- (138) a. a e sutu meti moo mi 'he shoots more game than I do'  
 he cont. shoot game I
- b. a e moo sutu meti moo mi  
 he cont. shoot game I
- (139) a. a langa moo mi 'he's taller than I am'  
 he tall I
- b. a moo langa moo mi  
 he tall I

Finally, *moo* is used in expressions of proportional comparison as in (140), which is similar to English 'the longer the better'. In (141), *moo* occurs not only nominalized (preceded by *on* 'which, whatever'), but also within the VP of each clause, a situation not paralleled in English.

- (140) a moo a langa, a moo a bun 'the longer it is, the better'  
 the it long the it good
- (141) on moo mi e moo bali a pikin, on moo a e moo du en  
 which I cont. call the child which he cont. do it  
 'the more I call the child, the more he does it'

The morpheme *pasa* is also used transitively as in (142-143) and intransitively as in (144-145).

- (142) a kon pasa mi 'he overtook me'  
 he come me
- (143) a pasa a taa boto 'he overtook the other boat'  
 he the other boat
- (144) san pasa? 'what happened?'  
 what
- (145) wan sani pasa anga mi 'something happened to me'  
 a thing with me

In the transitive usage, the sense of *pasa* may be glossed as 'pass, over-

take' and in the intransitive as 'happen'.

While *moo* precedes VP to express comparison, *pasa* follows them to express intensification, as for a stative in (146) and an intransitive in (147).

- (146) a langa pasa 'it's very long'  
it long
- (147) a fufuu pasa 'he steals a lot'  
he steal

Other morphemes occur in the same position, expressing various degrees of intensification. Some of these are given in (148-149), illustrated for stative VP only.

- (148) a langa fu toko 'it's really long'  
it long of war
- (149) a langa tumisi 'it's very long/it's too long'  
it long very

The expression (transitive VP?) *pasa maiki* also occurs in this position:

- (150) a langa pasa maiki 'it's very long (long beyond  
it long mark measure)'

The use of *pasa* + NP after VP is illustrated with intransitive verbs (151-152) and a stative verb, where it is marginally acceptable (153).

- (151) a o goo pasa ju 'he'll grow bigger than you'  
he fut. grow you
- (152) a waka pasa mi 'he overtook me'  
he walk I NOT \*he walked more than I did
- (153) ?a langa pasa mi 'he's taller than I am'  
he tall I

Transitive VP + *pasa* + NP (154) is ungrammatical.

- (154) \*a sutu meti pasa ala sama ('he shoots more game than anyone')  
he shoot game all person.

The use of a verb meaning '(sur)pass' as a comparative marker is a fairly well known feature of the West African language area. An example from Efik is given in (155) [Welmers 1968a:72]; its structure corresponds exactly to that of the Djuka equivalent given in (139), repeated here, if

moo in (139) is taken as a verb on the basis of sentences like (124-128). (As Russell Schuh has pointed out to me, however, moo in (139) could be construed adverbially on the basis of examples like (129-136), suggesting a parallel between moo in (139) and -er in English 'he (is) tall-er (than) me'.)

(155) ɛ̃yé ónyóŋ ákàn mí 'he's taller than I am'  
he (is)-tall surpass me

(139) a langa moo mi

For the Kwa language Gwari, Hyman and Magaji [1970:72-73] gloss the verb du as 'to pass by' when used as an independent verb, as in (156), but as 'surpass' in comparative constructions, as in the three alternative forms in (157-159).

(156) wó lá dù ya 'he has passed by'  
he comp. pass-by release

(157) wo du mí ó kpâ 'he's taller than I am'  
he surpass me at height

(158) wokpá dū mikpá " " " " "  
his-height surpass my-height

(159) wokpá dū minyá " " " " "  
his-height surpass mine

None of (157-159) parallels the Djuka-Efik pattern of NP + VP + 'surpass' + NP. Igbo appears to follow the Gwari pattern as well (see Carrell [1970:64-65] and Swift et al. [1962:358ff.]).

Other Kwa languages, however, do have a comparative construction parallel to that of Djuka and Efik. For Twi, the verb 'surpass' occurs with (160) and without (161) a following NP [Redden et al. 1963:50].

(160) ɔwáre sɛñ ní ñúá 'he is taller than his brother'  
he-is-tall surpass his sibling

(161) ɔwáre sɛñ 'he is taller'

(In the corresponding Djuka sentences, moo and pasa are both used in the first case, although moo is much more usual; cf. (139) and (153). In the second case, only pasa occurs; cf. (146), but also (129-132).

The verb wú 'surpass' in the Kwa language Ewe is used as a comparative marker both with (162) and without (163) a following NP, just as in Twi

[Warburton et al. 1968:182-183].

- (162) xosia lolo wú éma 'this room is bigger than that  
room-this (is)-big surpass that-one one'
- (163) esia loló- wú 'this is bigger'  
this-one (is)-big surpass

For Yoruba, the comparative marker *ju* (with various tones) is glossed as 'too' [de Gaye and Beecroft 1922] or 'to be excessive' [Stevick and Aremu 1963]. The use of *ju* without a NP is illustrated in (164) and (165) and with a NP in (166). Besides *ju* preceding the NP, the comparative construction also includes a post-NP *lò*, as in (166), so that the Yoruba pattern differs in this respect from the pattern found in Djuka, Efik, Twi, and Ewe [Stevick and Aremu 1963:285-286].

- (164) ó gbóná jù 'it is too hot'  
it (is-)hot excessive
- (165) tíì yí lē jù 'this tea is very strong'  
tea this strong excessive
- (166) ȝsàn yí dún jū èyūn' lȝ  
orange this sweet be excessive that go  
'this orange is sweeter than that'

In the Mande language Kpelle, the VP *tɛɛ...mà* 'pass by on top' is used in comparative constructions, as in (167) [Gay and Welmers 1971:89].

- (167) bérei ní kétéi é tɛɛ nyíti mà 'this house is larger than that  
house this large it that-  
(?) one one'

The (non-Niger-Congo) Chadic language Hausa uses a verb glossed as 'exceed' in comparative constructions, as in (168) [Kraft and Kraft 1973:187].

- (168) yā fī shì kwārī 'it is stronger than the other  
it exceed it strength one'

Of the languages for which examples are given here, Efik, Twi, and Ewe appear to resemble Djuka in regard to comparative constructions with '(sur)-pass' more than do the other languages cited: Gwari and Yoruba (Kwa), Kpelle (Mande), and Hausa (Chadic). If Efik is indeed a Kwa language as Welmers insists, then the hypothesis is supported that a Kwa substratum was an important source of this construction in Atlantic creoles. (The resem-

blance between Krio and Kwa languages on this point is mentioned, but not illustrated, by Williams [1971:63]. The use of *pas* as a post-VP intensifier and of *pas* + NP in a comparative construction in WAPE is illustrated in Dwyer [n.d.:329].) We may even note particular groups of languages within the Kwa family that are more likely sources of this construction than others.<sup>25</sup> If, on the other hand, Efik is best considered not to be Kwa, then we must be more cautious in asserting a Kwa origin for this construction. Given the general disagreement among specialists regarding the details of classification of Kwa languages with regard to Gur or Voltaic, or Benue-Cross (see Mukarovsky [1977]), and other language groupings of this area, there is no point in pursuing these matters further here.

In any event, the hypothesis of a Kwa origin seems more certain for this comparative construction than for the SVC's discussed in Section 1. It should be noted, however, that we have not in this section dealt with data bearing on the role of English or Portuguese influence or of creole or language universals. With regard to the role of universals, it is noteworthy that the description of comparative constructions in Mauritian Creole in Corne [1970:45] makes no mention of any use of a form of '(sur)pass'.

#### 4. Conclusion

Data have been presented from various languages, from both West Africa and elsewhere, both creoles and non-creoles, in comparison with a more detailed account of selected syntactic features of Djuka, a creole of Suriname. The data are most extensive for serial verb constructions, somewhat less extensive for cleft-focus constructions, and even more scanty, at some points merely suggestive, for comparative constructions. The general conclusion, however, seems clear enough: that statements identifying the source of SVC's with a specific language family of West Africa, e.g. Kwa, should be regarded with some scepticism until data from a wider sampling of languages are considered. There is likewise room for some similar scepticism with regard to statements regarding Kwa origins for cleft-focus and comparative construc-

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<sup>25</sup>Greenberg [1966] does in fact group Ewe and Twi together in his sub-classification of Kwa languages.

tions, although the evidence for Kwa origins in these cases is clearer than for SVC's. Even so, the possibility of language universals and universals of creolization being partly responsible for such constructions means that we must continue to examine evidence from creole, post-creole, and non-creole languages from other parts of the world, as well as from earlier stages of West African languages, creoles on both sides of the Atlantic, and the European contact languages.

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