Exploring subordination in the Eastern Maroon Creoles

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Eastern Maroon Creoles

- It's a conservative English lexified Creole spoken in Suriname, French Guiana America) and in Europe (France, Netherlands).
  - It is part of the "Creoles of Suriname".
  - It consists of distinctive varieties aligned with communities: Aluku, Ndyuka, Pamaka
  - Varieties/communities emerged in the 18th century among runaway enslaved people in Suriname.
  - Various umbrella terms Aucans, Nenge(e), Ndyuka, Businenge(e) Tongo (Migge & Léglise 2015)
  - They are not in regular contact with English.

- Traditional practices are changing due to urbanization, migration, social diversification etc (e.g. Migge 2007, 2022; Migge & Léglise 2013, 2015; Léglise & Migge 2019).
  - Contact involves Sranan Tongo, Dutch, French, other Maroon languages & Jamaican English/Creole
  - It is still widely spoken and transmitted in urban areas where most speakers now live.
  - It is widely represented in (social) media platforms, music and increasingly also in education (in French Guiana).

Early views about Subordination in P/Cs

- Pidgins have "no structure more complex than the single clause (hence no embedding of one sentence within another, whether the embedded sentence be relative clause or sentential complement)" (Bickerton 1984: 175) **> ø**

- No complex models of subordination emerges in the creole stage; recruitment of verbs as functional elements **> serial verbs**

Directional serial verbs: *go / kon*

    Den   lon   kon   a   mi   wagi. 'They (came) running **to** my car.'

    they run come LOC   1poss cars

- There is one or a restricted set of multifunctional markers **> 'for'**

Aim: Examine whether this simplified picture applies to Eastern Maroon Creoles

Origin of the data

- Situated recordings in the village & urban setting
- Observation of linguistic practices
- Formal type elicitations
- Discussions with speakers
➢Most of the data presented has been inserted into SCroLl

Overview of Subordination

- P/C research traditionally focuses on a limited range of constructions
  - Utterance/knowledge/perception; purpose; modal; relative Cs

- **SCroIL** takes a wide perspective/typological perspective
  - Cristofaro, S. 2003. *Subordination*. Oxford: OUP.

3 broad areas

- Complement relations

- Relative Clause relations

- Adverbial relations

Types of constructions considered in SCroIL

B. Adverbial relations:

Purpose   Temporal Posteriority   Temporal Anteriority   Temporal Overlap   Reality Condition   Reason

C. Complement relations:

Desiderative   Knowledge   Manipulative-causation   Manipulative-request   Modal   Perception   Phasal   Propositional attitude   Utterance

D. Relative relations:

Subject   Object   Non-locative oblique   Locative   Headless

Complement Relations

Types of relations	Marker	Type of clause
Desiderative	wani ø/ wani fu	Subj. **wani** (**fu**) (non-)finite C
Modal	man ø/man fu musu ø/musu fu sa ø/*sa fu mu ø/*mu fu	Subj **mu/man** (**fu**) non-finite C
Utterance	taki	MC **taki** finite C
Knowledge	taki / ø	MC **taki** / ø finite C
Perception	taki / ø	MC **taki** / ø finite C
Propositional attitude	taki / ø	MC **taki** / ø finite C
Manipulative Request	fu taki (ø)	MC taki/fu/ø finite C
Manipulative Causation	ø	MC ø finite C
Phasal	ø /fu	MC ø /fu (non-)finite C
Relatives	di san pe (location) ø	

Adverbial relations

Types of relations	Marker	Type of clause
Purpose	**fu**	MC, **fu** (non-)finite C
Temporal Posterity	**fosi**	MC, **fosi** finite C **fosi** finite C MC
Temporal Anteriority	**di**; **baka di** (past; future; irrealis) **te** (habitual; future; irrealis)	MC, (**baka**) **di** finite C (**baka**) **di** finite C, MC
Temporal Overlap	**di** (past; future) **te** (habitual; future; irrealis)	MC, **di** finite C **di** finite C, MC
Reality Condition	**efu**	**Efu** finite C, MC MC, **efu** finite C
Reason	**bika**; **fu di**	**Bika /fu di** finite C, MC MC, **bika /fu di** finite C

Types of clauses & heads

- There is a wider range of clauses/heads than suggested in the literature.
  - Only one appears to derive from SVC: *taki*
  - Ø common in complement relations, but often optional/different semantics
  - *Fu* but also *di, te, efu, fosi*

- There is variation in markers in many domains.

- There is variation in the structure of clauses.
  - Non-finite /Finite
  - Placement of clauses
  - But no differences in structure between subordinate & main clauses

Complement relations

Modal + desiderative contexts

- **ø** is most common; **fu** < E 'for' may occur with modal verbs

- Variation NOT due to structural factors (finiteness, tense, length etc)

DJK.80 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Den	**ná**	**e**	**wani**	**#**	**yee**	**den**	**sani**	**de**	**moo.**
3PL	NEG	PROG	want	DES.COMP	hear	DET.DEF.PL	thing	DEM.distal	more

They do not want to hear those things any more.

DJK.220 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE PRESENTS AN OVERTLY EXPRESSED SUBJECT (PERVASIVE)

Mi	**an**	**wani**	*fu*	**en**	**anga**	**foluku**	**abi**	**debati**	**anga**	**taki**	**moo.**
1SG	NEG	want	DES.COMP	3SG.OBJ	with	people	have	debate	with	talk	more

I do not want him and the people to debate and talk [about the issue] any more.
recording PM19

DJK.223 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR HABITUAL (INTERMEDIATE)

Efu	**u**	**wani**	**#**	**a**	**e**	**kon**	**ala**	**wiki.**
if	2PL	want	DES.COMP	3SG	HAB	come	all	week

If you (pl) want to, she comes (can come) every week.
elicited

DJK.257 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR PROGRESSIVE (INTERMEDIATE)

Den	**an**	**wani**	**fu**	**a**	**e**	**kii**	**en.**
3PL	NEG	want	DES.COMP	3SG	PROG	kill	3SG.OBJ

They don't want her to kill her.
elicited and prog has more of a future marking function here.

Modal + desiderative contexts

- Unlike *wani,* other modal verbs only take non-finite clauses

DJK.130 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Boni	Doo,	u	an	man	#		go	de.
Boni	Doo	1PL	NEG	MOD	MOD.COMP		go	there

We cannot go to the village of Boni Doo.
recordings PM 27

DJK.136 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE PRESENTS THE SAME WORD ORDER AS THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Den	musu	*fu*	lobi	en.
3PL	MOD	MOD.COMP	love	3SG.OBJ

They must love her.
Musu expresses strong obligation and insertion of fu increases strength
elicited

- Modal markers never take *fu*-headed complements

DJK.131 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE PRESENTS THE SAME WORD ORDER AS THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Gowtu	busi,	te	i	o	go	ne	en	i	an	mu	//		go	anga	kwali.
gold	forest	POST.COMP	2SG	FUT	go	LOC	3SG.OBJ	2SG	NEG	MOD	MOD.COMP		go	with	quarrel

When you go to the goldmining areas, you should not bring along quarrels.
recordings PM 27

- *fu* usage depends on nature of modal element > modal verb vs marker
- *fu* usage appears sensitive of pragmatics :
  - Emphasis
  - Some evidence of stylistic differences – careful
- Origin:
  - Ø is common in substrate modal constructions (Winford & Migge 2009)
  - Marker head is common in superstrate (to) & early documents (fu) = bakra talk

Xwela	evi	ɔ	tɛn	nɔ	fi	xwesa	xeɔ.
child	DET	MOD	stay	here	night	this	

'The child may stay here tonight.' (Winford & Migge 2009)

Example 1-134:

Da mastra a za wandi fo slibi lange mi na netti kaba a za fom mi alle de.

Da	masra	a		sa	wani fo slibi	nanga	mi	na	neti	kaba	a		sa	fon	mi	ala	de.
DET.SG	master	3SG.SBJ		FUT	want to sleep	with	me	at	night	and		3SG.SBJ	FUT	hit	1SG	all	day

'The master, he will want to sleep with me in the night, and he'll beat me up every day.'

Verb-derived clausal heads

- **Taki** derived from E 'to talk' means 'to say, to talk, to speak'; 'talk', speech etc:

Mi anga X taa dey u **taki** de. 'Myself and X spoke the other day.' ND1
I with X other day we talk there

Mi o **taki** anga en luku osi. 'I will talk to her and see.' ND1
I FUT talk with 3SGOBJ look FUT-si

A **taki** a sani tu leysi kaba. 'He said it twice already.' elicited
3SGSUB talk DETSG thing 2 time already

A **taki** fu en mooy tee. 'Her talk/speech was very enjoyable.'
DETSG speech POSS 3SGOBJ nice very

- Taki also functions as a quotative.

A taygi mi **taki**: "Tamaa a o kon." 'He told me "We will come tomorrow."'

Taki as complementizer

- *Taki* introduces S complements of knowledge, perception, utterance, evaluative verbs.
    - It's semantically bleached in most contexts; cline of bleaching
- *Taki* in 'V2' position is similar but not identical to substrate patterns (Migge& Winford 2013).
- *Taki* varies with ø (and *efu*);

DJK.45 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

A	an	be	sabi	*taki*	a	de	anga	yonku	potopoto	pikin.
3SG	NEG	ANT	know	KNOW.COMP	3SG	COP	with	young	IDEO	child

She did know that she has a very young child.
recording PM17

DJK.46 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Yu	á	yee	#	kasifabriki	fika	a	bilo	no?
2SG	NEG	hear	PRCP.COMP	gas.company	remain	LOC	downriver	discourse.marker

You did not know (hear) that the gassbottle company has remained downriver, right?
recording ND1

Taki as complementizer (cont.)

- variation seems to be category & lexically specific

"complement clauses of utterance verbs such as *taagi/taygi* 'tell', piki 'answer' seem to nearly always be headed by the complementizer taki when they express a simple proposition. Absence of the complementizer is also relatively rare in the case of verbs such as sabi 'know' and *pakiseli/pakisei/pakiseri* 'think'.

By contrast, in the case of verbs such as *yee/yere* 'know, hear' and *denki* 'think' more than half of the instances do not involve the complementizer *taki*. Finally, verbs like *si* 'see' select complement clauses with and without *taki* to roughly the same extent." (Migge& Winford 2013:21).

Origin

- *Taki* construction derive from SVC type construction in substrate

- *Be* (Ewe) is equivalent of *taki; it may be used a V but usually gblɔ*

- *Be* and other Gbe equivalents can introduce same range of Ss as V2

Fon *É   mɔ̀   ɖɔ̀   ví   ɔ́   yàví.*
     s/he see   COMP child DEF   cry
     '(S)he saw that the child cried.'
     (Tossa, 1994:181, in Lefebvre and Brousseau, 2002:543)

Ewe *É-vé-m   ná   wò   bé   nè-gblẽ   fofo-wò   ɖí.*
     it-IMPERS-pain-me   DAT   you   COMP you-spoil father-you DIR
     'It pains me that you abandoned your father.'

Waci *ə́   tíŋ   nyí   bə́   Kōfi   ɖù-nà   nú   cú   sɛ̃́.*
      it   can   be   COMP   Kofi   eat-HAB thing all   before
      'It is possible that Kofi was greedy before.'   (Migge, 2006:43)

- Complementizer absence is not possible in Gbe (English influence?)

Table 2

Similarities between fact-type complements in the Creoles of Suriname and Gbe.

Characteristics	Suriname Creoles	Gbe varieties
Head of fact-type complements is homophonous with verb 'say'	Yes	Yes (in case of some varieties; used to be in case of others)
Complementizer 'say' is semantically bleached	Yes	Yes
Complementizer 'say' cannot select TMA markers & be predicate clefted	Yes	Yes
Complementizer 'say' cannot be stranded	Yes	Yes
Complementizer 'say'-headed complements cannot function as subjects	Yes	No
Extraction out of fact-type complements is possible	Yes	Yes
Complements of 'seem' and evaluative verbs always appear as extraposed subjects	Yes	Yes
A similar wide range of CTPs, e.g. utterance, perception, cognition, desiderative, evaluative, causative verbs, etc.	Yes	Yes
Complementizer 'say' is obligatory	Yes (expect for a few verbs)	Yes
Complementizer 'say' may directly follow homophonous verb 'say'	No	No (except for some varieties in which homophonous 'say' retains a verbal function, e.g. Gun)
Complementizer 'say' may follow homophonous verb 'say' if there is intervening material between the two	Yes	Yes (in case of some varieties where 'say' is verbal)
Complementizer 'say' introduces extraposed subjects	Yes	Yes
Complementizer 'say' introduces clauses of purpose and result	Yes	Yes
'Say' functions as a quotative by itself and following another main verb	Yes	Yes

Manipulative requests

- *fu* is more common than *taki*; but both can also occur
- Both finite and non-finite complements are possible with *fu*

DJK.146 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Den	taagi	en	*taki*	a	mu	gwe.
3PL	tell	3SG.OBJ	UTT.COMP	3SG	MOD	leave

They told him to leave.
overheard

DJK.147 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Den	akisi	en	*fu*	a	go	suku	wan	taa	peesi	e	tan
3PL	ask	3SG.OBJ	REQ.COMP	3SG	go	search	DET.INDEF	other	place	PROG	stay

They asked him to find another place to stay
akisi is less strong in terms of ordering than taagi
overheard

DJK.148 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Den	dweengi	a	famii	fu	den	*fu*	seli	a	osu.
3PL	pressure	DET.DEF.SG	family	POSS	3PL.OBJ	REQ.COMP	sell	DET.DET.SG	house

They pressured their family to sell the house.
elicited

DJK.154 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE IS INTRODUCED BY MORE THAN ONE SUBORDINATING DEVICE (INTERMEDIATE)

Lanti	tayigi	en	*taki*	*fu*	(a)	seli	a	dyali	gi	den.
state	tell	3SG.OBJ	UTT.COMP	REQ.COM	3SG	sell	DET.DEF.SG	yard	give	3PL.OBJ

The government told her to sell the yard to them.
it seems though that taki is optional here.
elicited

Manipulative requests (cont.)

- The *fu/taki* variation might be due to semantic/pragmatic constraints
  - Whether verb or activity is conceptualized as uttering or ordering
  - There could be a style/register constraint: politeness

Manipulative causation

- S complements of manipulative verbs are introduced using ø
- Clauses are finite & only aspectual marking (*e*) seems possible

DJK.92 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

A	Baa	B	meke	//	mi	e	teke	en.
FOC	Mr	B	make	CAUS	1SG	PROG	take	3SG.OBJ.

It's Mr B who caused me to take it.
recording ND2

DJK.95 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS UNMARKED (INTERMEDIATE)

A	koo	winta	meki	//	mi	kosokoso.
DET.DEF.SG	cold	wind	make	CAUS	1SG	cough

The cold wind causes/caused me to cough.
elicited

Phasal complement constructions

- There is variation between ø and fu as in modal contexts
- Commonly non-finite clauses
- Origin similar as in case of modals: ø (substrate); *fu* superstrate/bakra

DJK.168 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE PRESENTS THE SAME WORD ORDER AS THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

A	tide	seefi	mi	mu	bigin	#	kiin	kanba.
FOC	today	self	1SG	MOD	begin	PHA.COMP	clean	room

Even today I should start cleaning the rooms.'
recording PM 17

DJK.167 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

A	ten	de	Sa	D	kaba	#	nyan	a	gwana.
LOC	time	DEM.DIST	Ms	D	finish	PHA.COMP	eat	DET.DEF.SG	iguana

At that time, Ms D had finished eating the iguana.
recordings PM1

DJK.173 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Den	kaba	*fu*	gwe	langa	ten.
3PL	finish	PHA.COMP	leave	long	time

They have been finished [and ready] to leave for a while.
elicited

Relative clauses

- Relative clauses are typically marked by an overt marker: **di** < E 'this' **/san** < E 'thing'
- Variation is mostly style-based; *san* associated with Sranan Tongo / stylistic

DJK.270 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN REFERENT (PERVASIVE)

Yu	*di*	anga	en	be	abi	toobi	á	mu	go	na	en	osu.
2SG	REL	with	3SG.OBJ	ANT	have	trouble	NEG	MOD	go	LOC	3SG.POSS	house

You who had trouble with her should not go to her house.
ND suggested by speaker

DJK.232 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN REFERENT (PERVASIVE)

A	systema	*san*	u	si	á	be	e	go.
DET.DEF.SG	system	REL	2PL	see	NEG	ANT	PROG	go

The system that we see did not work.
recording ND 1

- There are also a few instance of relativizer absence but rare

DJK.243 : NO RELATIVIZER(S) OCCUR(S) (GAP) (RARE)

A	ini	1910	fosi,	di	a	gaan	sitali	#	den	kay	komeet	von	Hally	kon	fu	si	a	tapu,	....
LOC	inside	1910	before	OVER.COMP	DET.DEF.SG	big	star	REL	3.PL	call	comet	of	Hally	come	PURP.COMP	see	LOC	top	

In 1910 when the big star (which) they call comet von Hally became visible in the sky
I'm not sure how common such gap structures are; I've never done a quantification of it in recordings
podcast - Paakosi

Adverbial relations

Adverbial relations

Types of relations	Marker	Type of clause
Purpose	**fu**	MC, **fu** (non-)finite C
Temporal Posterity	**fosi**	MC, **fosi** finite C **fosi** finite C MC
Temporal Anteriority	**di**; **baka di** (past; future; irrealis) **te** (habitual; future; irrealis)	MC, (**baka**) **di** finite C (**baka**) **di** finite C, MC
Temporal Overlap	**di** (past; future) **te** (habitual; future; irrealis)	MC, **di** finite C **di** finite C, MC
Reality Condition	**efu**	**Efu** finite C, MC MC, **efu** finite C
Reason	**bika**; **fu di**	**Bika /fu di** finite C, MC MC, **bika /fu di** finite C

Adverbial relations

- All adv. clauses are introduced by overt markers
- There appears to be less? variation within categories

Purpose clauses

- *Fu* appears obligatory (e.g. fronting)

- TMA unmarked *fu* clauses may be non-/finite; difference often due to emphasis

DJK.10 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

A	e	suku	boto	*fu*	a	gwe	a	opu.
3SG	PROG	search	boat	PURP.COMP	3SG	leave	LOC	upriver.area

She is searching a boat (or a lift) to go to the upriver area.
elicited

DJK.248 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS BEFORE THE MAIN CLAUSE (RARE)

A	fu	seli	baka	Sa	Mendi	e	bay	den	apeesina	ya.
FOC	PURP.COMP	sell	back	Ms	name	PROG	buy	DET.DEF.PL	organe	here

In order to resell Ms Mendi is buying these oranges.
It is essentially a left dislocated construction. I've heard this being used and it was also confirmed by several speakers but I do not find them frequently in my data.
elicited PM

DJK.21 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR IRREALIS (INTERMEDIATE)

A	an	be	mu	iti	hipi,	wan	pikinso	*fu*	a	be	baka	en.
3SG	NEG	ANT	MOD	throw	much,	DET.INDEF	little.bit	PURP.COMP	3SG	ANT	bake	3SG.OBJ

She should not have put (that) much [oil], a little bit in order for her to bake it.
ANT+MOD creates a irrealis overtone here
PM17

DJK.203 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR IRREALIS (INTERMEDIATE)

I	mu	sutu	mi	*fu*	mi	mu	dede	wanten	ye.
2SG	MOD	shoot	1SG.OBJ	PURP.COMP	1SG	MOD	die	right.now	ASSERT

You have to shoot me in order that I should die right now!
PM17

Temporal relations: posteriority

- 'before' time clause typically headed by *fosi*;
- finite clauses that may precede or follow MC
- 'before' time is now? differentiated from 'after' time & temporal overlap but *fosi di* exists

DJK.70 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS UNMARKED (PERVASIVE)

Fosi	a	gwe,	a	fosi	baana	boon.
POST.COMP	3SG	leave	DET.DEF.SG	first	plantain	burn

Before he left, the first plantain got burned.
recording PM19

DJK.69 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR FUTURE (PERVASIVE)

Den	sikowtu	o	kon	now	*fosi*	gaaman	o	poti	en	weti	gi	den.
DET.DEF.SG	police	FUT	come	now	POST.COMP	paramount.chief	FUT	put	3SG.POSS	law	give	3PL.OBJ

The police will come now before the paramount chief will impose his power on them.
recording PM19

- *Fosi* < E 'first' also functions as ordinal number/adj

Den **fosi** o go.   Na en na a **fosi** pikin.
3PL first FUT go   FOC 3SG COP/FOC DET.SG first child
'They will leave first.'   'He is the first child.'

Temporal relations: Anteriority & Overlap

- Both are expressed by *di* < *disi* < E 'this' meaning 'when' now; probably derived from *ten disi* 'time this/which' through grammaticalization

DJK.206 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR IRREALIS (INTERMEDIATE)

Da	*di*	i	be	o	meki	wan	pikin,	da	i	an	be	sidon	wasi	faya	wata?
then	ANT.COMP	2SG	ANT	FUT	give.birth	DET.INDEF	child	then	2SG	NEG	ANT	sit.down	wash	hot	water

Thus when you would give birth to a child, you wouldn't wash with hot water?
recordings PM 17

DJK.207 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR ANTERIOR (INTERMEDIATE)

Di	i	be	kon,	san	i	be	nyan?
ANT.COMP	2SG	ANT	come,	what	2SG	ANT	eat?

When you came, what had you eaten?
recordings PM 18

DJK.100 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS BEFORE THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Di	mi	baka	a	kuku	den	pikin	(e)	pee	a	ganda.
OVER.COMP	1SG	bake	DET.DET.SG	cake	DET.DEF.PL	child	PROG	play	LOC	outside

When I baked the cake, the children played/were playing outside.
overheard

Temporal relations: Anteriority & Overlap (cont.)

- To clearly differentiate 'after' from 'overlap' relations
  - *baka di* 'after when'

DJK.245 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)						
Den	**kiin**	**a**	**dyali**	***baka-di***	**mi**	**didon.**
3PL	clean	DET.DEF.SG	yard	ANT.COMP	1SG	lie.down

They cleaned the yard after I lay down.

  - *Neen* 'and then' or *da* 'and then, thus' to connect clauses

DJK.77 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS BEFORE THE MAIN CLAUSE (INTERMEDIATE)										
Di	a	mma	gwe,	(neen)	den	pikin	nyan	ala	a	kuku.
ANT.COMP	DET.DET.SG	mother	leave	(and-then)	DET.DEF.PL	child	eat	all	DET.DEF.SG	cake

After mother left, the children ate all the cake.
elicited

DJK.206 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR IRREALIS (INTERMEDIATE)														
Da	*di*	**i**	**be**	**o**	**meki**	**wan**	**pikin,**	**da**	**i**	**an**	**be**	**sidon**	**wasi**	**faya**	**wata?**
then	ANT.COMP	2SG	ANT	FUT	give.birth	DET.INDEF	child	then	2SG	NEG	ANT	sit.down	wash	hot	water

Thus when you would give birth to a child, you wouldn't wash with hot water?
recordings PM 17

Temporal relations: Anteriority & Overlap (cont.)

- Overlap can also be expressed by 'a doubling type' construction

DJK.252 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS BEFORE THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)								
Fa	i	si	a	si	mi	a	lon	gwe.
how	2SG	see	3SG	see	1SG.OBJ	3SG	run	leave

As (soon as) he saw me, he ran away.
overheard

Temporal relations: Anteriority & Overlap (cont.)

- Some temporal relations must/may be expressed by *te* < E 'time' or Portuguese?
  - Other functions of *te* are '(un)til'; adverb of intensity 'very'

Wi	o	tan	**te**	anga	twalfu	yuu.
1PL	FUT	stay	till	and	12	hour

'We will stay (here) until 12pm.'

A	nyanyan	ya	switi	**te**.
DET.SG	food	DEM	sweet	very

'This meal is very delicious.'

- It appears obligatory in contexts of habitual reference

DJK.103 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR HABITUAL (PERVASIVE)

Te	mi	(e)	go	a	foto	(da)	a	e	luku	den	pikin	fu	mi.
OVER.COMP	1SG	HAB	go	LOC	town	(then)	3SG	HAB	look	DET.DEF.PL	child	POSS	1SG.OBJ

When I go to town, she looks after my children.

DJK.282 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR HABITUAL (INTERMEDIATE)

Fa	i	si	a	kaba	lon	te	a	e	si	en	pisi,	a	e	daay	baka.
how	2SG	see	3SG	finish	run	ANT.COMP	3SG	HAB	see	3SG.POSS	part	3SG	HAB	turn	back

As you see the dog stop running, when it sees its home.area, it turns around.
PM 18

Temporal relations: Anteriority & Overlap (cont.)

- *Te* may replace *di* in future contexts

DJK.279 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR PROGRESSIVE (PERVASIVE)

Te	sama	e	kon	da	i	kisi	holi.
OVER.COMP	person	PROG	come	then	2SG	catch	hold

When someone comes then you grab them.
PM 18

DJK.281 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR FUTURE (INTERMEDIATE)

Te	i	o	opo	sani,	i	o	fii.
ANT.COMP	2SG	FUT	lift	thing	2SG	FUT	feel

When you take things, you'll feel it.
PM 18

- *Te*-phrases often involve zero TMA marking or PROG in such contexts

DJK.278 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS UNMARKED (PERVASIVE)

Ma	te	den	kaiyenni	wan	kon,	sani	an	de,	den	o	kisi	i	kodo
but	ANT.COMP	3PL	Cayenne	one	come	thing	NEG	exist	3PL	FUT	catch	2SG	IDEO

But when the (special police from) Cayenne comes, there is no recourse, they'll catch/arrest you for sure.'
PM 17

DJK.280 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS UNMARKED (PERVASIVE)

Ape	te	i	kay	dyuulu	i	ede	ná	e	opo	oo.
Over.there	ANT.COMP	2SG	fall	IDEO	2SG.POSS	head	NEG	HAB	get.up	ASSERT

Over there, when you fall (falt & backwards), you won't be able to lift your head!.
PM 18

Reality Condition

- It is always indicated by *efu < E 'if'*
- It can introduce both factual and counterfactual conditionality.
- In counterfactual contexts, the *efu* clause involves past (*be*), and MC past future (*be o*).

DJK.105 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (PERVASIVE)

Mi	be	o	teke	a	sitampu	a	lanti,	*efu*	boto	be	de.
1SG	ANT	FUT	take	DET.SG	stamp	LOC	government	COND.COMP	boat	ANT	exist

I would have obtained the stamp from the government, if a boat had been there [to take me downriver].
Elicited

- <u>Factual</u>: *efu* clauses are unmarked or PROG and MC involves FUT but other combinations are possible too.

DJK.213 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR HABITUAL (INTERMEDIATE)

Den	taki	*efu*	den	ná	e	gi	i	mankeli,	den	ná	e	fii	bun.
3PL	say	COND.COMP	3PL	NEG	HAB	give	2SG.OBJ	injury	3PL	NEG	HAB	feel	good

They say that if they don't injure/hurt you, they are not content.
recordings PM 17

DJK.255 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR PROGRESSIVE (INTERMEDIATE)

Efu	u	e	taki	naamo	fu	fusutan	u	seefi,	da	a	bun,	ma	efu	u	e	diingi,	a	o	buuya
COND.COMP	1PL	PROG	talk	only	for	understand	1PL	self	then	3SG	good	but	COND.COMP	1PL	PROG	drinngk,	3SG	FUT	be.messy

If we are only talking to make ourselves understand, then that's fine but if we are (starting) drinking, it'll be messy.
ND1

Reason

- Clauses introducing Reason are headed by *bika* < E 'because' or *fu di* < E *'for this'*
- They can precede or follow the MC and involve finite clauses; fronting common.
- Both types of reason clauses may TMA marking
- Origin of *'for this'* needs more research

DJK.114 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS BEFORE THE MAIN CLAUSE (INTERMEDIATE)

Fu.di	ala	ten	a	o	wani	a	bobi,	da	a	e	kee	gi	en	naamo.
REAS.COMP	all	time	3SG	FUT	want	DET.DEF.SG	breast,	then	3SG	PROG	cry	give	3SG.OBJ	constantly

Since he will want the breast [to be fed] all the time, he is crying for her constantly.
recordings PM1

DJK.115 : THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE OCCURS AFTER THE MAIN CLAUSE (INTERMEDIATE)

Mi	mu	go	kiin	Mma	B.	kanba	*bika*	a	e	kon.
1SG	MOD	go	clean	Ms	B.	room	REAS.COMP	3SG	PROG	come

I have to clean Ms B. room because she is coming.
recordings PM1

DJK.120 : THE SUBORDINATE VERB IS MARKED FOR ANTERIOR (PERVASIVE)

Ma	*fu.di*	a	be	e	feti,	da	dati,	den	be	puu	en.
but	REAS.COMP	3SG	ANT	PROG	fight	then	DEM	3PL	ANT	remove	3SG.OBJ

But since he was fighing [waging war on the country], they removed him.
recording ND 2a

Conclusion

- There is a broader range of subordinate marking options than predicted.
- Much less maker absence than anticipated.
- Variation is due to different processes – substrate, superstrate

- Variation marker/ø or *fu/taki* appears pragmatically determined
  - Mostly emphasis on structural (syn-sem) constraints
  - More discussion of stylistic differentiation needed (e.g. di/san)

- Variation between *di/te* variation may be due to different reflexes of same construction *di*(*si*) ten which are semantically differentiating or different superstrate influences?

- *Fu di/bika* variation could be due to different historical forms/style

- More research on sources needed.