One marker – four different functions: *pangar* in Seychelles Creole

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Main points of my talk (1):

(i) *pangar* in Seychelles Creole is used in four different functions in the domain of "undesirable possibility" (Schultze-Berndt & Vuillermet, workshop at this conference)

(ii) These four functions are precautionary imperative, AVERTIVE function, IN.CASE-function, and FEAR-complementation

(iii) These polysemy/co-expression patterns seem to be more wide-spread cross-linguistically (Lichterberk 1995).

Main points of my talk (2):

(iv) It may well be that Seychelles Creole speakers calqued or imposed the polysemous marker / construction from their Eastern Bantu substrate languages.

(v) Other creoles show different source constructions to express "undesirable possibility".

(vi) As constructions expressing "undesirable possibility" are underdescribed in many grammars, and as these constructions are rare in spoken / written discourse, much more research is needed!

1. Functions of the marker *pangar* in Seychelles Creole: precautionary imperative

- *pangar* < French *prends garde*! 'mind.IMP', 'watch out.IMP'

- defective verb used only in the imperative form

(1) *Bonzour,*   **pangar**   *lisyen!*
good.morning   watch.out.IMP dog
'Good morning, watch the dog(s)!' (St Jorre & Lionnet 1981)

- other instances of **old imperatives** of dialectal French lexicalizing/grammaticalizing into new lexemes/morphemes in Seychelles Creole and other creole languages (s. Koch 1993)

    – Seychelles Creole (also Mauritian and Reunion Creole) *tyenbo* 'hold', 'grasp' < *Tiens bon!* 'Hold (it) well!'

    – Louisiana Creole (also other Caribbean French-based creoles)

    kyenbé 'hold', 'grasp' < *Tiens b(i)en!* 'Hold well!'

    – Guadeloupean/Martinican Creole

    foucan 'escape', 'flee' < *Fous le camp!* 'Get lost!'

    – St Lucia Creole

    ajounou 'to knee' < *A genou!* 'On your knees!'

2. Functions of the marker *pangar* in Seychelles Creole: AVERTIVE or negative purpose

(2) *Mon oule toultan reste debout* [*pangar mon lenz*
    1SG want always keep standing   AVERTIVE POSS.1SG cloth

    a kraze].
    FUT wrinkle

    'I always want to stay up lest my cloth get wrinkled/ ... so that my cloth won't get wrinkled.' (Bollée & Rosalie 1994:130)

2.1 Positive and negative purpose relation

– Positive purpose relation

(3) *I called her* [*in order to* *tell her the news*].

- semantic relation of (positive) **purpose** between two situations
  - one situation is performed with the goal of bringing about the other situation

– Negative purpose relation

(4) *Let's have a little snack [**so that** we **won't** starve on the way].*

• semantic relation of **negative purpose** between two situations (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 129ff.)

   – one situation (preemptive situation, Evans 1995) is performed with the goal of preventing a very probable, but undesirable event/situation from happening

– Negative purpose relation

(4) *Let's have a little snack* [**so that** *we* **won't** *starve on the way*].

preemptive situation [undesirable situation]

• matrix clause expresses precautions ('have a little snack') that are taken to prevent the 'apprehension-causing' situation ('starving on the way') (Lichtenberk 1995), which is encoded in the subordinate clause.

There are two different coding patterns to express positive and negative purpose (irrespectively of the kind of formal expression: markers, subordinators, particles or affixes) :

(i) **symmetric coding pattern:**

– markers expressing negative purpose relations rely on the positive marker plus negation:

so that vs. *so that... not, damit* vs. *damit ... nicht*

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so that vs. *so that... not, damit* vs. *damit ... nicht*

(ii) **asymmetric coding pattern:**

a. dedicated avertive markers: *lest, pangar* (Seychelles Creole), *bembeya* (Norf'k), *ne* (Latin)

b. markers that express other semantic relations (temporal), too: *antu ku* (Casamancese Creole) 'before', *mahope* 'after' (Pidgin Hawaiian)

(i) **symmetric coding**: *pour/pour ki – pour ki...pa*

Positive purpose

(5) *Avan   nou servi lalwa* [*pour   anpay lanmson*]
   in.the.past 1PL   use   sisal in.order.to fix   hook
   'In the past, we used sisal to fix the hook.' (Michaelis 1993)

(6) *Fodre ou donn li   letan* [*pour li   aret per*]   different subject
   MOD 2SG give 3SG.OBL time   for   3SG.OBL stop be.afraid
   'You should give him [the child] time so that it can stop to be afraid/to
   overcome the fear.' (Michaelis 1993)

(7) *Nou bezwen ase   sonmey ek   repo   [**pour ki** nou laservel*
    1PL need   enough sleep   and relaxation so that POSS.1PL brain

    i   reste aktif].   different subject
    PM stay active (Michaelis 1993:79)   written style

    'We need enough sleep and relaxation so that our brain stays active.'

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(ii) **asymmetric coding:** *pour/pour ki* vs. avertive marker *pangar*

Positive purpose

(9) *Nou bezwen ase   sonmey ek   repo   [pour ki nou laservel*
  1PL   need   enough sleep   and relaxation so that POSS.1PL brain

  i   reste aktif].
  PM stay active

  different subject

  'We need enough sleep and relaxation so that our brain stays active.'

  (Michaelis 1993:79)

Negative purpose

(10) *Mon oule toultan reste debout [pangar   mon   lenz a   kraze].*
   1SG   want always stay up   AVERTIVE POSS.1SG cloth FUT wrinkle

   'I always want to stay up lest my cloth get wrinkled/ ... so that
   my cloth won't get wrinkled.' (Bollée & Rosalie 1994:130)

   different subject

More *pangar*-examples with **AVERTIVE** function:

(11) *Pez   dibwa ek   sak disab* [***pangar** i   a   mate*].
weigh wood with bag sand AVERTIVE 3SG MOD/FUT fall.over

'Stabilize the piece of wood with a bag of sand lest it will fall over/so that it won't fall over.' (St Jorre & Lionnet 1981: 200)

('Fais le contrepoids avec ce sac de sable pour empêcher la pièce de bois de basculer.')

(12) *Ou depay   ou   lasenn* [***pangar** i   ava tonm dan lelis*].
2SG disantangle 2SG.POSS fishnet   AVERTIVE 3SG FUT fall   in   propeller

'You disantangle your fishnet so that it [the shark] won't get into the propeller./ ...or else the shark will get into the propeller.' (Michaelis 1993: 202)

Interim summary

(i) positive purpose clauses: *pour/ pour ki*

- overwhelmingly **same subject** in matrix and *pour*-clause
- therefore, subject is often left out (even though in some contexts it is redundantly expressed in the oblique form, mainly with verbs of cognition, e.g. *konnen* 'to know')
- TAM **markers –** *pour*-clauses: no TAM markers; *pour ki*-clauses: all markers as in balanced sentences (except FUT marker *pou*)
- **both orders possible**: matrix–purpose, purpose–matrix

(ii) negative purpose clauses (avertive function): *pangar*

- **different subjects** in matrix and *pangar*-clause

- **restricted TAM markers**: FUT *a(va)* obligatory (again no *pou)*

- **no negation** in *pangar*-clause

- **restricted order**: matrix–*pangar*-clause, **pangar*-clause–matrix

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3. Functions of the marker *pangar* in Seychelles Creole: IN.CASE-function

Besides the AVERTIVE **function**, *pangar* also marks the IN.CASE-**function** (Lichtenberk 1995).

(13) *Nou ti konmans vey sa de zans* [***pangar** zot ti a lager*]

1PL PST start observe DET two people IN.CASE 3PL PST FUT quarrel

'We started to observe these two people lest they quarrel / in case they quarrelled.' (Choppy, Ms, p. 12)

(14) *Nou ti vey zot* [***an ka** zot ti komans lager*].

1PL PST observe 3PL IN.CASE 3PL PST start quarrel

'We observed them in case they started to quarrell.' (Penda Choppy p.c.)

Another example of pangar in IN.CASE-function

(15) *I   ti   poz   en kou   e   get   dan direksyon Weston*
    3SG PST stop a   moment and look in   direction W.

    [*pangar i   ti   pe   ekoute*].
    IN.CASE 3SG PST PROG listen

    'She stopped for a moment and looked in the direction of Weston in case he was listening/would be listening.'

- Here we find a *pangar*-clause without FUT/IRR-marking, just the combination of PST and PROG. It may be that this is only possible in the IN.CASE-function and not in the avertive function (where the FUT marker *a* seems to be obligatory).

- The clause in the IN.CASE-function also expresses an **UNDESIRABLE POSSIBILITY** (cf. Schultze-Berndt & Vuillermet's workshop at this conference) – as does the *pangar*-sentence in an AVERTIVE function – , but the semantic relation between the matrix clause and the dependent clause is different in both cases:

AVERTIVE function	*Don't speak too loud **lest** the baby wake up.* *... **so that** the baby **won't** wake up.*	• action of the matrix clause is performed with the goal of preventing a very probable, undesirable situation to happen
IN.CASE- function	*Take the umbrella **lest** it rain/**in case** it rains.* *Take the umbrella *so that it won't rain.*	• IN.CASE-clause also refers to a very probable, undesirable situation, but this situation cannot be influenced by the action expressed in the matrix clause

4. Functions of the marker *pangar* in Seychelles Creole: FEAR-complementation

Beside the AVERTIVE and IN.CASE-**function**, *pangar* in the complementizer with verbs of FEAR (*per, enkyet* 'to be afraid') (Lichtenberk 1995):

(16) *Mon ti* **per** [*pangar kelken ti ava aras mwan mon boner*].
    1SG PST afraid COMPL someone PST FUT tear.out 1SG.OBJ 1SG.POSS bliss
    'I was afraid that someone would take my bliss away from me.'
                                     (Choppy, Ms: 47)

(17) *E mwan ki ti* **enkyet** [*pangar kek lanbara ti a leve (...)*]
    and 1SG.OBL REL PST afraid COMPL some embarassment PST FUT arise
    'And I, who was afraid that some embarassment would arise, (...).'
                                       (Choppy, Ms: 47)

(18) English: *I fear lest it rain/ I fear that it may rain.*

Examples from **Old Mauritian**, which is the most important precursor variety of Seychelles Creole

- *pran gard*: precautionary imperative

(19) *Mé* **pran gard** *dimoune, zot va met vou dan tribinal*
    but watch.out people   3PL FUT deliver 2PL in   court
    'Beware of men, for they will deliver you over to courts.'
                         (Anderson 1885, Bible translation, Matthew 10:17)

- *prend gare (pangar)* has grammaticalized into an avertive marker,

(20) *mais* **prend gare** *to casse mo dizef*
    but watch.out   2SG break 1SG.POSS egg
    'But (watch out) lest you break my eggs so that you don't break my eggs.' (Baissac 1888)

Examples from **Old Mauritian** continued:

(21) *Mé zot dir napa l'her la fet,* [***pran gar*** *la foul révolté*].
    but 3PL say NEG hour feast, AVERTIVE   crowd revolt
    'But they said, Not during the feast, so that the crowd would
    not revolt.'   (Anderson 1885, Bible translation, Matthew 26:5)

    'But they said, Not on the feast day, **lest** there be an uproar among the
    people. (Matthew, 26:5; King James Version)

• no examples of *pangar* as complementizer after verbs of FEAR, but
too few examples of fear-verbs plus complement clause in the corpus.
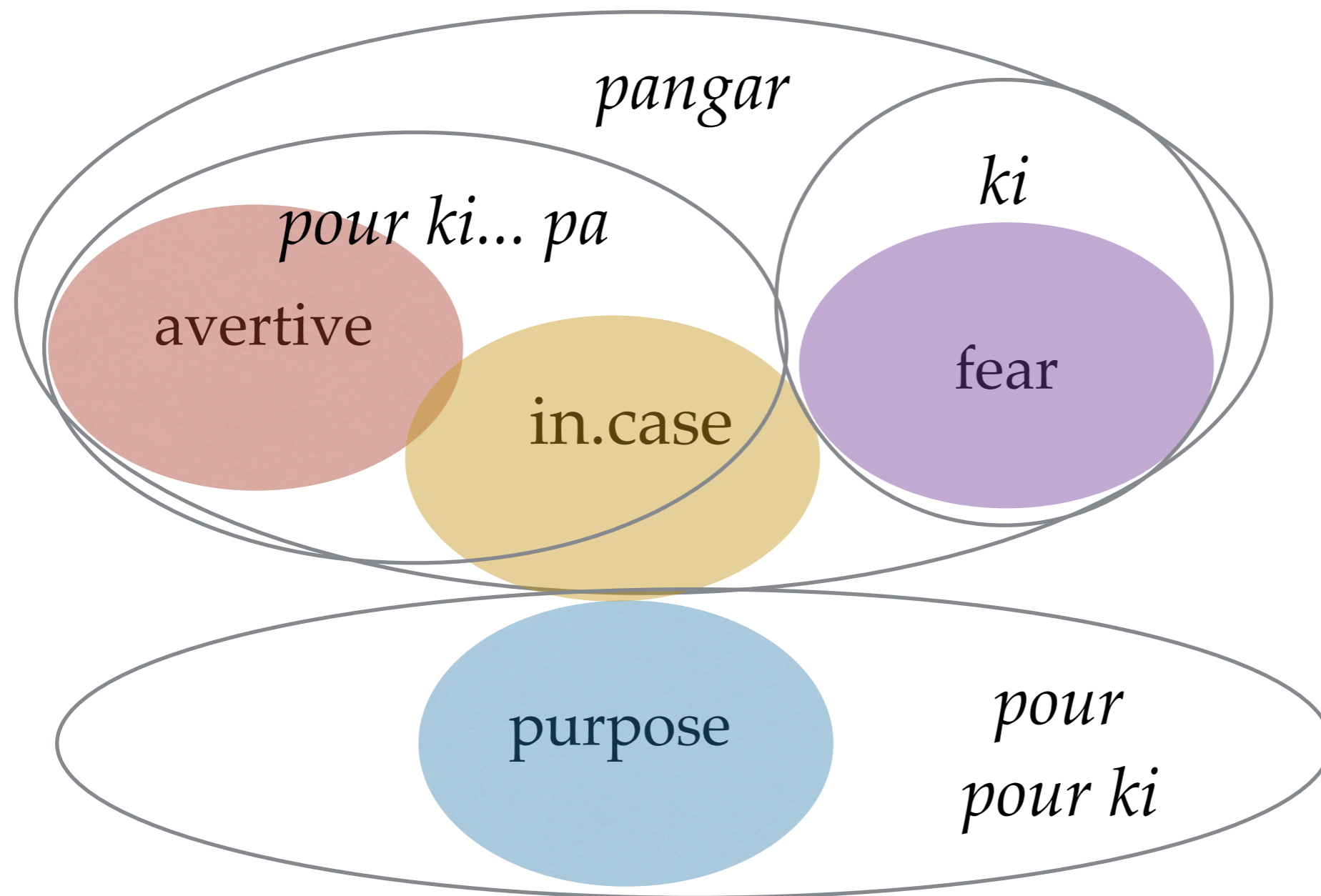
(22) *Pourtant mo per   ein pé,   Ø zot four' moi   dans prison*
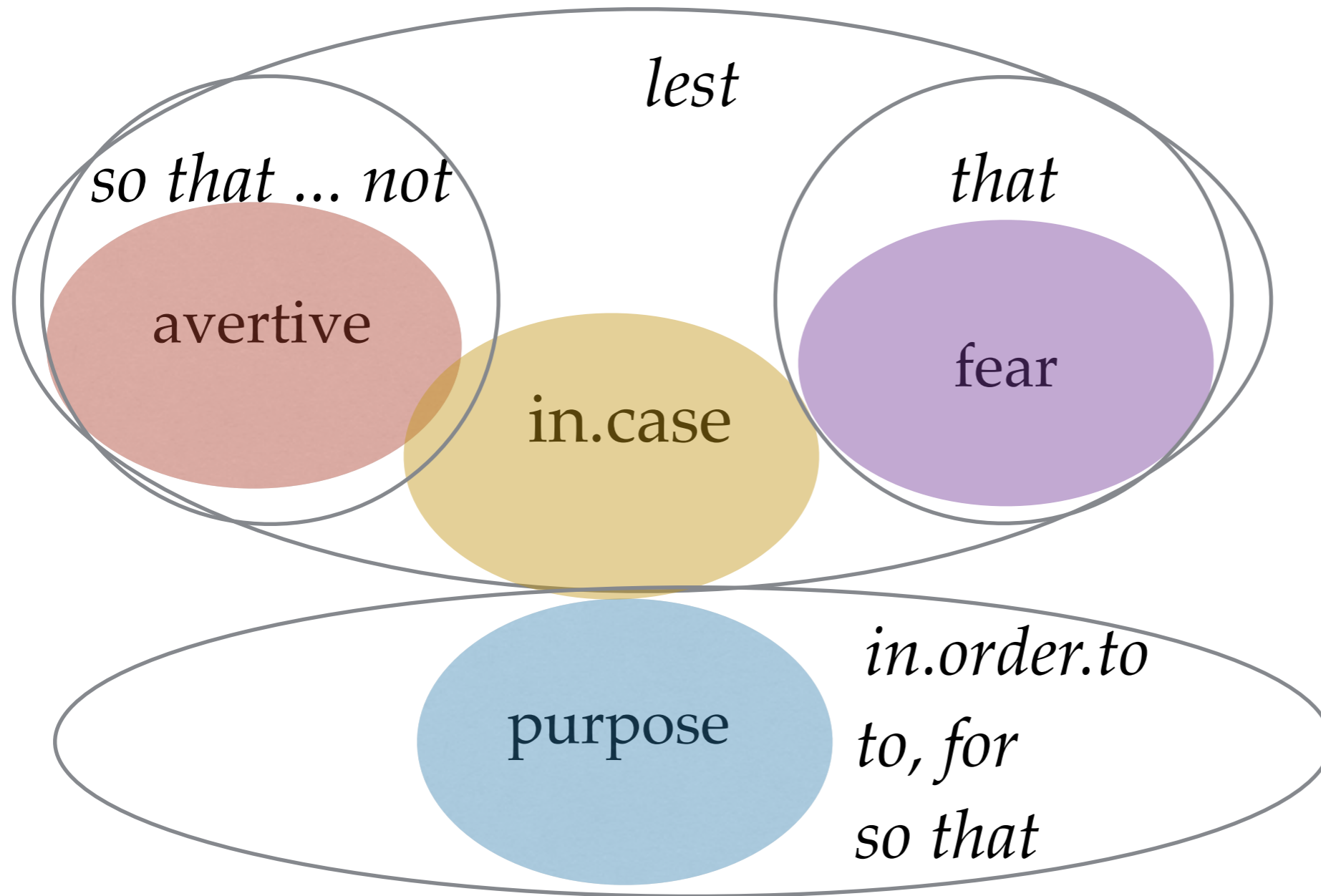   however 1SG be.afraid a.little bit,   3PL put 1SG.OBJ in   prison
    'However, I'm a little bit afraid (that) they put me into prison.'
                          (Le Mauricien, 21 April 1855)

Purpose (pos/neg) and fear-complementation in Seychelles Creole:

pangar

pour ki... pa

avertive

in.case

ki

fear

purpose

pour
pour ki

Purpose (pos/neg) and fear-complementation in English:

lest

so that … not

avertive

that

fear

in.case

purpose

in.order.to
to, for
so that

Possible influence of substrate languages: Swahili (Eastern Bantu)

Positive purpose

(23) *Nenda sokoni*   *u- ka- nunu-e   ndizi*
      go   market.in 2SG-CONS-buy-SBJV   bananas

      'Go to the market to buy bananas.' lit. 'Go to the market that you buy bananas.' (Rieger 2011)

(24) *Ni-li-ondok-a*   *mapema* **ili**   *ni-li-wah-i*   *gari la moshi*
      1SG-PST-leave-IND early   so.that 1SG-PST-be.on.time-SBJV train

      'I left early so as to catch the train.' (Mohammed 2001: 237)

Positive purpose: expression of same subject in purpose clause

Swahili

(25) *Nenda sokoni* [***u-** ka- nunu-e ndizi*].
　　 go　　market.in 2SG-CONS-buy-SBJV　bananas

　　 'Go to the market to buy bananas.' (Rieger 2011)

Seychelles Creole

(26) *Apre mon a get lo la* [*pour **mwan** konnen konbyen*
　　 then　1SG FUT look on there　in.order.to 1SG.OBL know　how.many

　　 zour mon'n reste isi].
　　 day　1SG.PRF stay　here

　　 'Then, I will look at it in order to know how many days I've been staying here.' (Michaelis 1993: 82)

French

(27) *Vas　au　marché pour acheter des　bananes.*
　　 go.IMP to.MASC market　to　buy　INDF.PL banane
　　 – but see dialectal varieties with expression of subject (Michaelis 1993)

Swahili

AVERTIVE (negative purpose)

(28) *Ondoka sasa.hivi* [*u- si- j- e* *u- ka- chelew-a*].
    go.away right.now 2SG-NEG-come-SBJV 2SG-CONS-run- IND
    'Get going right away so that you don't run late.' (Rieger 2011: 127)

-si- modal negative marker, lit. 'so that it may not happen to you' > 'so that not ...'

FEAR-complementation

(29) *A-li-ogop-a* [*a- si- j- e* *a- ka- shind- wa*].
    3SG-PST-fear-IND   3SG-NEG-come-SBJV 3SG-CONS-conquer-PASS
    'He was afraid lest he should be conquered.' (Ashton 1944: 273)

French has different subordinators for negative purpose (*pour... ne...pas/pour que... ne...pas, de crainte que ... ne* + SBJV) and FEAR-complementation (*que...ne* + SBJV).

Data from other creoles and pidgins

AVERTIVE meaning

(30) Casamancese Creole (Biagui & Quint 2013)

perá   *N*   *kalá*   [***antu ku***   *ña*   *beju~beju na kordá*].
wait.IMP 1SG.SBJ keep.quiet before REL.OBJ POSS.1SG old~old   FUT wake.up
'Well, let me speak more quietly so that my "oldie" (baby / husband) does not wake up.'

In this example, the conjunction *antu ku* ('before that') is used to render the negative purposive / avertive meaning 'so that not'.

Data from other creoles and pidgins

AVERTIVE meaning

(31) Pidgin Hawaiian (Roberts 2013)

Wau olelo   iaia noho malie, [***mahope*** *huhu kela kahunapule*]*.*
1SG speak 3SG be   quiet lest   angry DEF priest

'I told her to shut up, or else the priest would get angry.' (... so that the priest would not get angry)

– the original sense of *mahope* is 'later'

(32) Yumplatok (aka Torres Strait Creole, Broken):

Ai go   go deya, [***bambai*** *ai   mes-e   da   plein*]*.*
1SG MOD go there   AVERTIVE 1SG miss-TR DEF plane

'I'd better go there, or else I'll miss the plane.' (Shnukal 1988: 113, cit. after Angel & Schultze-Berndt 2017)

Data from other creoles and pidgins

– **FEAR**-complementation

San Andres English Creole, too, has a complementizer after verbs of **FEAR** that goes back to a precautionary imperative (< *mind*):

(33) San Andres Creole English (Bartens 2013)
 Naansi wehn fried [***main*** *Taiga iit im op*].
 Anansi ANT afraid mind Tiger eat 3SG up
 'Anansi was afraid lest Tiger would eat him up.'

Different grammaticalization pathways

- precautionary imperative > AVERTIVE marker, **FEAR**-complementation
  - *pangar* (Seychelles Creole) < French *Prends garde!* 'mind, watch out!'
  - *main* (San Andres Creole English) < English *Mind*!

- temporal subordinator/adverb > AVERTIVE marker
  - *antu ku* (Casamancese) < Portuguese *antes que* 'before'
  - *bembeya* (Norf'k): AVERTIVE, IN.CASE, temporal function lost) < English *by and by* 'later', *bambai* (Kriol): AVERTIVE and temporal (Angelo & Schultze-Berndt 2017)
  - *mahope* (Pidgin Hawaiian): AVERTIVE and temporal

- 'so that it may not arrive to you' > AVERTIVE marker, **FEAR**-complementation
  - *u-si-j-e* (Swahili) [2SG-NEG-come-SBJV]

Conclusion (1):

(i) *pangar* in Seychelles Creole is used in four different functions in the domain of "undesirable possibility" (Schultze-Berndt & Vuillermet, workshop at this conference)

(ii) These four functions are precautionary imperative, AVERTIVE function, IN.CASE-function, and FEAR-complementation.

(iii) These polysemy/co-expression patterns seem to be more wide-spread cross-linguistically (Lichterberk 1995).

Conclusion (2):

(iv) It may well be that Seychelles Creole speakers calqued the polysemous marker/construction from their Eastern Bantu substrate languages.

(v) Other creoles show different source constructions to express "undesirable possibility".

(vi) As constructions expressing "undesirable possibility" are underdescribed in many grammars, and as these constructions are rare in spoken/written discourse, much more research is needed!

Paris, 5 September 2018

Syntax of the world's languages

One marker – four different functions: *pangar* in Seychelles Creole

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