

Haitian Creole and Guadeloupean Creole Mysteries

GC I ni on kouzen

HC Li gen on kouzen
She has a cousin

GC Chak djab ka pòté sak a i
Each devil is carrying sack the his

HC Chak djap ap pote sak li a
Each devil is carrying sack his the

GC An ké ékri ou lè an ké ni on moman tan

HC M a ekri ou lè m a gen on moman tan
I' ll write you when I will have a moment time

GC An k'ay [ka + ay] nan kaz

HC m prale [ap + ale] nan kay
I' m going in house

GC Sa pé pa fèt
That can not happen

HC Sa pa ka fèt
That not can happen

1. What are differences in the pronominal system?
2. What are differences in terms of syntax? How many areas of syntax show difference?
3. In what ways is GC more similar to Cape Haitian HC?

Discussion & Questions on Lefebvre, Claire 1998

1. What is Lefebvre's arguments about HC DP/NP
2. What does *anaphoric* versus *cataphoric* mean? Can you give Examples of words or structures that are one or the other?
3. What does the difference mean?

Jan	manje	pen	HC
Kòkú	du	blédi	Fongbe
Jean	mange	du pain	French
John	eats	bread	

4. What is phonologically similar about Fongbe's determiners compared to HC's?
5. Do French DP/NPs have any structure that resembles HC?
6. What do words like these suggest to Lefebvre?

Larivyè a	'the river'	<i>la rivière</i>
Lakay la	'the home'	<i>la case</i>
Latè a	'the land'	<i>la terre</i>
Dlo a	'the water'	<i>l'eau</i>
Diri a	'the rice'	<i>le riz</i>

7. How do the Fongbe & HC relative clause resemble each other compared to French?
8. Explain: "The copied lexical entry corresponding to the Fongbe determiner *ó* was relabelled on the basis of the phonetic matrix of the French form *là* yielding the Haitian determiner *la*" (83). Could you make a different argument?

1. Talk about why the HC form *YO* stands out. How does it exemplify relexification?
2. Where do some scholars claim *YO* comes from?
3. Explain “dialect leveling”

4. Examine and explain:

Krab yo	Yo pati
Crab PL	6p leave
‘the crabs’	‘they leave’

Àsón lê	Yê yì
Crab pl	6p leave

Les crabes	Ils partent / Eux, ils partent
Pl crabs	6p leave / As for them, they leave

5. Several West African languages demonstrate homophony in what relevant grammatical categories?

6. What about indefinite determiners?
7. What is the indefinite thought *not* to be the head of D^0 ?
8. Explain.

Yon krab	de krab	HC
A crab	two crabs	

Àsón dé	Àsón wè	Fongbe
Crab a	crab two	

Un crab	deux crabes	French
A crab	two crabs	

Haitian Creole determiner / pronoun data

M wè frè yo

1p see brothers DEF/POSS ☺ (M) ☺ ☺ ☺ (yo)
'I see their brother(s)'
'I see the brothers'

M wè frè yo a

1p see brother pl DEF ☺ (M) ☺ ☺ ☺ (yo)
'I see their brother'
I see the brother of theirs

*M wè frè yo yo

Compare with:

M wè frè m

M wè frè m nan

M wè frè m yo

1p see brothers POSS DEF

Disambiguation:

M wè frè pa yo

M wè frè pa yo a

(a) Northern HC possessive (ex. From Valdman 2007:345)

Sa se pa kin a ou, se kin a y
That is NEG POSS DEF PRO, is POSS DEF PRO

(b) Standard HC possessive:

Sa se pa pa ou a, se pa li a.
That is NEG POSS PRO DEF, is POSS PRO DEF
'That is not yours, its hers.'

Questions for discussion on DeGraff 2007, pp. 101-

1. What is the 'neo-colonial legacy' that DeGraff writes about?
2. What was the growth of the African slave population and what are the dates of its growth?
3. What is a stative verb?
4. What is the difference between (a) & (b)?
 - (a) Bouki vann chat la
sell cat DEF
 - (b) Bouki vann chat
sell cat
5. What is the difference between (a) & (b)?
 - (a) Bouki te konn repons lan
ANT know answer DEF
 - (b) Bouki te ale anvan Boukinèt vini
ANT go before came

6. What does ‘counter-factual’ mean? In what kind of clause it is used? Which sentence is counter-factual?
- (a) Si ou entelijan, ou konnen repons lan.
If 2p intelligent, 2p know answer DEF
- (b) Si ou te entelijan, ou t a konnen repons lan.
If 2p ANT intelligent, 2p ANT IRR know answer DEF
7. When thinking about the progressive aspect in HC, what is interesting about (a) & (b)?
- (a) M ap manje
1p AP eating
- (b) M ap vini
1p AP coming
8. What does the term “inchoative” refer to?

A **stative verb** is one which asserts that one of its arguments has a particular property (possibly in relation to its other arguments). Statives differ from other [aspectual](#) classes of verbs in that they are static; they have no duration and no distinguished endpoint.

Examples

- I **am** tired.
I **have** two children.
I **like** the color blue.
I **think** they **want** something to eat.
We **believe** in many Gods...
The case **contains** six bottles.
This would **imply** that we didn't care.

Inchoative = verbal category referring to action that will soon take place, e.g. “I’m going to...”

The **lexical aspect**, or **aktionsart**, plural *aktionsarten*, of a verb is a part of the way in which that verb is structured in relation to time. Any event, state, process, or action a verb expresses—collectively, any *eventuality*—may also be said to have the same lexical aspect. Lexical aspect is distinguished from grammatical aspect: lexical aspect is an inherent property of an eventuality, whereas grammatical aspect is a property of a specific verb form. Lexical aspect is invariant, while grammatical aspect can be changed according to the whims of the speaker.

For example, *eat an apple* differs from *sit* in that there is a natural endpoint or conclusion to eating an apple. There is a time at which the eating is finished, completed, or all done. By contrast, sitting can merely stop: unless we add more details, it makes no sense to say that someone *finished* sitting. This is a distinction of lexical aspect between the two verbs. Verbs that have natural endpoints are called *telic* (from Ancient Greek *telos*, end); those without are called *atelic*.

DeGraff 2007, 108 and following...

1. What is a modal verb? What does it “mark”?
2. Explain:

a. Tout moun vle	al	nan syèl
b. Everybody wants	to go	to heaven.
c. Iedereen wil	gaan	naar de hemel
3. What are the different purposes of *pou* ‘for.’
4. Point out syntactic/morphological similarities between Jamaican & Haitian Creole

***Gwan gal yuh fava teggerreg,
Ah wey yuh gwine goh do?
Yuh an yuh boogooyagga fren
Dem tink me fraid o' yuh?***

...

***Me noh know is wat kine o' chu'ch
Fe yuh mout' coulda jine,
Yuh lip dem heng dung lacka wen
Mule kean meck up him mine.***

Louise Bennett

1. What is the difference between a & b?
 - a. Bouki konnen Boukinèt renmen l anpil
 - b. Bouki konnen ke Boukinèt renmen l anpil
 B knows that B loves him a lot
2. What is “recursion” or “iteration” in syntax?
3. What is the difference between a & b?
 - a. Moun ki pa travay p ap touche
 People who NEG work NEG PROG paid
 ‘People who don’t work aren’t going to be paid’
 - b. Annou vote pou kandida nou vle a
 Let’s vote P candidate 4p want D
 ‘Let’s vote for the candidate we want’

Michel DeGraff & Daniel Harbour

Predicate clefts: West African substrate influence

[CP [IP [VP]]]

What categories & structures have we already associated with CP?

Interrogatives, complementizers (*that*), conjunctions (*because*),
 discourse markers, adverbs

He told me [CP *that, like, you know, unfortunately,* [IP he couldn’t come]]
 Li di m [CP *ke, kòm si, ou konnen, malerezman,* [IP li pa t ka vini]]

 Se malad Bouki malad, li pa mourì

It’s sick B sick , he didn’t die
 ‘Bouki is really sick.’

[Se **malad_x**] Bouki **malad_x**, li pa mourì
Adj

Se mache Bouki te mache, li pa te kouri

It’s walk B PST walk , he NEG PST run
 ‘Bouki really walked, he didn’t run’

[Se **mache_x**] Bouki te **mache_x**, li pa te kouri
V

Q: What are the mechanics of this structure?

Q: How is it built? What are its parts?

Q: What categories are clefted?

Other types of clefting

Se yon doktè Elifèt ye, li pa yon enfimiyè
It's D doctor E pro, he NEG D nurse [Se_x yon doktè] Elifèt ye_x, li pa yon enfimiyè
'Elifèt is really a doctor, he isn't a nurse.'
DP

Se nan jaden an Elifèt ye
It's P garden D E V [Se_x nan jaden an] Elifèt ye_x
'Elifèt is *in the garden*.'
PP

Q: How are these clefts similar & different from those above?

Q: What types of categories/phrases are clefted?

Rive l rive, fi a pati.
Arrive he arrive, girl the left
'When he arrived, the girl left'

Q: What is different about the clefting structure given above?

Q: What kind of clause is it? (What is the clause's job?)

Conceptual issues:

Se **malad** Bouki **malad**, li pa mouri
[Se **malad**] Bouki **malad**, li pa mouri
PERIPHERY BASE

Se **mache** Bouki te **mache**, li pa te kouri
[Se **mache**] Bouki te **mache**, li pa te kouri
PERIPHERY BASE

Se yon doktè Elifèt **ye**, li pa yon enfimiyè
[Se **yon doktè**] Elifèt **ye**, li pa yon enfimiyè
PERIPHERY TRACE MORPHEME LINKED TO SE

Se nan jaden an Elifèt **ye**
[Se **nan jaden an**] Elifèt **ye**
PERIPHERY TRACE MORPHEME

Questions on DeGraff for pair work & communication:

1. What is the difference between these comparison structures? **Which do you use?**

chen sa pi bèl pase chat sa Stan.	that dog is more pretty than that cat
chen sa pli bèl ke chat sa Fr.	“ “
chen sa pli bèl pase chat sa DeGr	“ “

2. Explain this curious difference with existential verb *genyen/gen* ‘to have.’

(a) *Kisa ou gen? [* = ungrammatical]	
(b) Kisa ou genyen?	
What you have?	‘What do you have?’

3. What’s the difference between English & Creole?

Bouki voye timoun yo al lekòl	
Bouki sent children Dpl go school	‘Bouki sent the children away/off to school’

4. What kind of structure is shown in (b)? Can you explain what is happening?

(a) Mwen fè kabann nan maten an	
I made bed the morning the	‘I made the bed in the morning’
(b) Kabann nan fèt maten an	
Bed the made morning the	‘The bed was made in the morning’

5. Which of these two verbs is stative versus non-stative? What kind of structure is (b)?

(a) Yo kraze machin nan	
They demolished car the	‘They demolished the car’.
(b) Machin nan kraze	
Car the demolished	‘The car is demolished’.

Harbour, part 3.

1. Explain the relationship of example (a) with (b):

(a) Bondye granmèt tandex tandex priyè m
God bigmaster hear hear prayer my
'Lord God, truly hear my prayer.'

(b) Se tandex Bondye granmèt tandex priyè m
It's hear God bigmaster hear prayer my
'Lord God truly heard my prayer.'

2. What does Harbour mean by 'thoroughgoingness'
(859).

3. What is 'low' versus 'high' reduplication?

4. Explain: "**Cooccurrence Restriction:** In the surface string, no single predicate can both be low reduplicated and cleft". Which one is bad = *?
Why?

- a) Jan kouri kouri pou l rive alè.
- b) Se kouri Jan kouri pou li rive alè.
- c) Se kouri Jan kouri kouri pou l rive alè.
'Jan really ran fast to get there on time'

5. What is the *basic* argument of Harbour?

6. What is the implication/meaning of a *cooccurrence restriction*?

7. Does it make sense to assimilate *wh*-movement (questions) with predicate clefts?

Verb syntax in, and beyond, creolization

Michel DeGraff

1. When DeGraff talks about a “surface level”, what does that imply?
2. What is DeGraff’s basic morphosyntactic thesis?
3. Why did Haitians create HC, why didn’t they stick with French or Fongbe?
4. What is a pidgin language? What are some linguistic facts about the people who speak pidgins?
5. How does a pidgin become a creole?
6. What are creoles compatible with?

7. What is synchronic versus diachronic?
8. Explain the ‘creole continua’: basilect / mesolect / acrolect / lexifier
9. “P/C instantiates diachrony” (explain)
10. What is the difference between the examples:
 - (a) Ti Pyè **deja** konn leson an
Ti Pyè already know lesson the
 - (b) *Ti Pyè konn **deja** leson an
‘Ti Pyè already knows the lesson’

 - (c) Pierre connait **déjà** la leçon
Pierre know already the lesson

- (d) *Pierre **déjà** connaît la leçon
 ‘Pierre already knows the lesson’
- (e) Bò kókló lò sólé súlú nû Fongbe
 And chicken the again vomit thing
 ‘and the chicken again vomited the thing’
 ‘Et le poulet vomit encore la chose’ Fr
- (f) Je ne veut **pas** étudier
 (g) *Je ne pas veut étudier
 (h) M **pa** vle etidye
 (i) *M vle pa etidye
 ‘I don’t want to study’

Data from Fongbe (Brand 2000, *my translations*)

- (a) bò vi lò jè **vã** lò kûji
 and child the began flute the play
 ‘and the child began to play the flute (Brand 2000:41)

What is curious about the direct object?

- (b) bò ññnú **lò** dò
 and woman the said
 ‘and the woman said...’
- (c) bò ñã **lò** huzu Dã Ayida Huèdo (37)
 and man the became Dan Ayida Huèdo
 ‘and the man became the snake Ayida Huèdo

What is curious about the definite determiner?

- (d) bò yé yi jè kòta **dé** kō

and they left arrived termite mound a nearby
'and they arrived at a nearby termite mound' (37)

What is curious about the indefinite determiner?

Notes on Fongbe:

Regarding (a), see (e):

(e) Timoun nan pote **bagay la** vini
Child the carry thing the come
'the child carried the thing over'

(f) Li voye **fatra a** jete
She sent trash the throw
'She threw the trash away'

What is curious about the direct object in these serial verb constructions?

Notes on HC lexical items:

ayovi, alounvi, alovi, elounvi, elovi, malounvi, tchovi, tyovi = child still-born or deceased after birth; tiny baby
Danbala Wedo / Ayida Wedo

Nonm = *un homme* or *ñã*

La = *lò* ?

Yo = *yé* (n.b. in Louisiana Creole 3p pl. is *ye*) *eux*

Question on morphosyntax, p. 71-76

1. How do French verb relate to their inflections, i.e.
J'aimerai manger quelque chose

How does *aim-er-ai = ai-er-aim* ???

2. What is AgrP & TP?

3. What is D-structure? What is S-structure?

Tree-drawing activity. Can you diagram this square-bracketed information:

[AgrP Je [Agr' [aim_i-er]_j-a] [TP [T' t_j [VP [V' t_i]]]]]

J'aimera = I will love

Questions:

1. How is the morphology driving the syntax?

2. Explain:

(a) Ben ne parle **pas** bien le fongbe **FINITE**

(b) Ne **pas parler** le fongbe n'est pas bon. NON-F

(c) *Ne parler **pas** le fongbe n'est pas bon.

3. What is DeGraff trying to say about inflection?

Fr.	Je	[parl]	Nous	[parlõ(z)]
	Tu	[parl]	Vous	[parle(z)]
	Il	[parl]	Elles	[parl(t)]
HC	M	pale	Nou	pale
	Ou	pale		
	Li	pale/pal	Yo	pale

4. What is interesting about Louisiana Creole?

- (a) Fo tuzhu koupe zerb la
Must always cut grass the
- (b) Fo to kup tuzhu zerb la
Must you cut always grass the
Why this difference?
- (c) Mo pa bwa diven
I not drink wine
- (d) Mo bwa pa diven
I drink not wine
Why is this a problem for Rottet and how does he solve it?

5. What is interesting about English diachronically?
What happened to English and why did it happen?

Ti dikte IPA

[blã mãnã muri ãba lakal batimã ã]

[dzɔb mwẽ se tʃeke fim nã]

Flore Zéphir (1998)

1. Why should bilingual education *not* be remedial education.
2. Define Language as a problem
Language as a right

Language as a resource

3. Would bilingual education threaten the “social and political stability of the US”? Exemplify yes/no.
4. How could bilingual education produce students with higher achievement?
5. How did bilingual education become a civil rights issue?
6. How can bilingual communities be seen as a *resource*?
7. What is “cultural wastage.”
8. What is the “Common Underlying Proficiency” model?
9. What are some cognitive benefits to bilingualism?
10. What are some of the problems in US school system with respect to bilinguals and Creole-speakers?
11. What is the “bipolar” classification of race found in the US? Why is this so empirically problematic?

Is Haitian Creole a Pro-Drop Language

1. What is pro-drop, what is a null subject?
2. What is curious about:
 - (a) Genlè Jak damou
Seems Jacques is in love
'*it seems* Jacques is in love.'
 - (b) (li) te fè frèt

*(It) was cold
*(Il) faisait froid (Fr.)
'it was cold.'

3. What other empty categories have we talked about?
4. What is a 'referential pronoun' versus an expletive pronoun

5. What do these examples suggest with respect to the notions 'tonic pronoun' versus 'clitic'?

Mwen ale > m ale

Mwen ap pale > m ap pale

6. What is wrong below?

*Li, bèl ti abitan an, ap viv nan vil Sen-Mak

She, the lovely little farmer, is living living in Sen-Mak

7. In the question, *Ki moun ki genyen*, what can one answer?

Bouki

Li-menm

Li

8. Do Haitian auxiliaries move?

*Te ou wè mwen?

Did you see me

Ti dikte IPA

[blã mãnã muʁi ãba lakal batimã ã]

[dzɔb mwẽ se tʃeke pʁi jo]

Tricky transcriptions

[dʒ] = voiced affricate

[tʃ] = unvoiced affricate

[ʁ] = HC's "r"

[ɔ] = open "ò"

[o] = closed & labialized "o"

Gwada: A pa ti long lajouné long

[A pa ti lɔ̃g laʒune lɔ̃g!]

Ayiti: Se pa ti long lajounen long

[Se pa ti lɔ̃g laʒunẽ lɔ̃g!]

What a long day it was!

Gwada: Se jouwè-la pa té dakò èvè arbit-la

[Se ʒuwɛ la pa te dakɔ ɛvɛ aʁbit-la]

Ayiti: Jwè yo pa t dakò avèk abit la

[ʒwɛ jo pa t dakɔ avɛk abit la]

'The players didn't agree with the referee.'

Gwada: Se vlé i vlé i, ba i li!
 [se vle j vle j, ba j li]
 [se vle i vle i, ba i li]
 Ayiti Se vle li vle li, ba li li
 [Se vle li vle li, ba li li]

Gwada: An ka pati lendi dèmen, mé an poko ni biyé-la
 [ã ka pati lẽdi demẽ , me ã poko ni bije la]

Ayiti: M ap pati lendi demen, men m poko gen biye a
 [m ap pat^si lẽdi demẽ , mẽ m poko gẽ bije a]

Johnson & Alphonse-Férère

1. What is the ‘Gallicizing’ dialect?
2. What vowels is the Gallicizing dialect known for? Can you write down at least 2 of them in IPA?
3. What are the features of /p t k / ?
4. What are the features of / b d g / ?
5. When does / g / become / ŋ /? Can you think of an example?
6. What are the *dental* sounds of Haitian Creole? Why are they called dental?
7. What do we call /ti/ → [t^si] or /di/ → [d^zi] ;
 /tjeke/ → [t^sjeke]
8. What is a velar fricative or approximant? How is it represented in the IPA? What other sounds are considered approximants?
9. What are HC’s high vowels, mid-vowels and low vowels?

10. Do Johnson & Alphonse-Férère consider nasal vowels to be underived?
11. What consonants trigger “deliberate nasalization”?
12. What do Johnson & Alphonse-Férère call the phenomenon given below:
[kɔmɛsã ã]
Does this phenomenon cross morpheme boundaries?
13. What is segmental versus supersegmental? What is said to be a supersegmental aspect of Haitian Creole phonology? What are the advantages of such a claim?