Haitian Creole and Guadeloupin 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

HC 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?
   
   Jean  manje  pen  HC  
   Kòkú  du  blédì  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’  *la rivière*
   Lakay la ‘the home’  *la case*
   Latè a ‘the land’  *la terre*
   Dlo a ‘the water’  *l’eau*
   Diri a ‘the rice’  *le riz*

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 determinant *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 lè 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°?
8. Explain.
   Yon krab de krab HC
   A crab two crabs

   Àsón dé Àsón wè Fongbe
   Crab a crab two

   Un crab deux crables 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)’ 😊😊😊 (frè)
‘I see the brothers’

M wè frè yo a
1p see brother pl DEF 😊 (M) 😊😊😊 (yo)
‘I see their brother’ 😊 (frè)
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 static 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 teggereg,*
   *Ah wey yuh gwine goh do?*
   *Yuh an yuh boogooyagga fren*
   *Dem tink me fraud 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, kòmsi, ou konnen, malerezman, [IP li pa t ka vini ]]

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Se malad Bouki malad, li pa mouri
It’s sick B sick , he didn’t die [Se maladₐ] Bouki maladₐ, li pa mouri
‘Bouki is really sick.’

Se mache Bouki te mache, li pa te kouri
It’s walk B PST walk , he NEG PST run [Se macheₐ] Bouki te macheₐ, li pa te kouri
‘Bouki really walked, he didn’t run’

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 enfimyè
It’s D doctor E pro, he NEG D nurse [Se$_x$ yon doktè] Elifèt ye$_x$, li pa yon enfimyè
‘Elifèt is really a doctor, he isn’t a nurse.’

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.’

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

Q: What types of categories/phrases are clefted?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rive</th>
<th>l rive, fi a pati.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrive</td>
<td>he arrive, girl the left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘When he arrived, the girl left’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 enfimyè
[Se yon doktè] Elifèt ye, li pa yon enfimyè
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
       ‘Lord God, truly hear my prayer.’

   (b) Se tandeₓ Bondye granmèt tandeₓ priyè m
       ‘Lord God truly heard my prayer.’

2. What does Harbour mean by ‘thoroughgoingness’ (859).

3. What is ‘low’ versus ‘high’ reduplication?

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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 déjà konn leson an
       Ti Pyè already know lesson the
   (b) *Ti Pyè konn déjà leson an
       ‘Ti Pyè already knows the lesson’
   (c) Pierre connait déjà la leçon
       Pierre know already the lesson
(d) *Pierre déjà connait 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 ŋönú lò dò
    and woman the said
    ‘and the woman said…’
(c) bò ŋã 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 kõ
and they left arrived termite mound in 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:

$^[\text{AgrP} \text{Je} \ [\text{Agr'} \ [\text{aim}_i$-$\text{er}]_j$-$\text{a}] \ [\text{TP} \ [\text{T'} t_j \ [\text{VP} \ [\text{V'} t_i ]]]]]]]$

$J'$aimera = I will love

Questions:
1. How is the morphology driving the syntax?
2. Explain:
   (a) Ben ne parle $\text{pas}$ bien le fongbe \textbf{FINITE}
   (b) Ne $\text{pas}$ $\text{parler}$ le fongbe n’est pas bon. \textbf{NON-F}
   (c) *Ne parler $\text{pas}$ le fongbe n’est pas bon.

3. What is DeGraff trying to say about inflection?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fr.</th>
<th>Je</th>
<th>Nous</th>
<th>Tu</th>
<th>Vous</th>
<th>Il</th>
<th>Elles</th>
<th>HC M</th>
<th>pale</th>
<th>Nou</th>
<th>pale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[parl]</td>
<td>[parlø(z)]</td>
<td>[parl]</td>
<td>[parle(z)]</td>
<td>[parl]</td>
<td>[parl(t)]</td>
<td>pale/pal</td>
<td>pale</td>
<td>pale</td>
<td>pale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 āba lakal batimã ā ]

[ dʒɔb mwɛ 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
Tricky transcriptions

[dʒ] = voiced affricate
[tʃ] = unvoiced affricate
[γ] = HC’s “r”
[ɔ] = open “ò”
[o] = closed & labialized “o”

Gwada: A pa ti long lajouné long
[ A pa ti lɔŋ laʒune lɔŋ! ]

Ayiti: Se pa ti long lajounen long
[ Se pa ti lɔŋ laʒunẽ lɔŋ! ]

What a long day it was!

Gwada: Se jouwè-la pa té dakò èvè arbit-la
[Se ʒuwε la pa te dakɔ ɛvε aɣbit-la]

Ayiti: Jwè yo pa t dakò avèk abit la
[ʒwε jo pa t dakɔ avεk 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 pokò ni biyé-la
[ã ka pati lĕdì di ñmè, me ã pokò ni bije la]
Ayiti: M ap pati lendi demen, men m pokò gen biye a
[m ap pat’ì lĕdì demè, mè m pokò gẽ biye 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 /tì/ → [t’ì] or /dì/ → [d’ì] ; /tjeKE/ → [t’jeKE]
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:
   \[\text{koménsa} \ ŗ\]
   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?