

Shared Past, Shared Present? Contact between Creoles and Their Lexifier in French Guiana

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Overview

- Contact work
- Language documentation
- Work with Latino immigrants

Contact work

- Two interviews with Haitian men
 - 1 conducted by me with 2 Haitian men
 - 1 conducted by a Haitian with two others
 - Topics discussed
 - the transition from Haiti to French Guiana
 - the January 12 earthquake
 - employment
 - interactions with Guianese speakers and non-Haitians
 - advantages and disadvantages of being in the French Guiana

Extract

- *K. Ou gen enpresye menm keu prez... on prezidan Janklod t ale. Men Janklod t ale, men Janklod t ale men l kite peyi an, se pèup... pèup li menm se... pèp lan se peyi an. Sa di ke pou peyi an toujou [redacted]. Se pa prezidan k fè peyi a X ki kontinye. Se pèup lan ki pou fè peyi an kontinye.*
- *Y. Wi. Men olyè... olyè pèp la ka fè peyi a kontinye mache byen, yo pito kraze, fè dezòd epi [redacted] moun... sa k pa... [redacted]. <E. Enben, men se sa.> E... pran bagay moun enpi la, la le n ap tuye lòt. <E. Sò w di a... wè> XX.Ou konprann ?*
- *E. Sò w di a, se pèp la ki peyi. Peyi a se pèp la. <K. Wè.> Se pe... peyi, se pèp la k (ki) pou dirije peyi a, k (ki) pou met peyi a an lòd, an lamou de Dyeu. Enben se pèp la tou ki lage l, <K. An...> an mechanste detswi lèzòm, <K. Wè.>detri moun. Paske se yo menm ki mete Janklod deyò. Se pèp la ki mete Janklod deyò.*
- Key: blue – Haitian, red – French, [redacted] – Guianese, pink – interdialectal form, [redacted] – hypercorrection
- Combination of colors indicates an overlap of languages

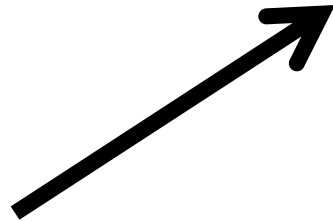
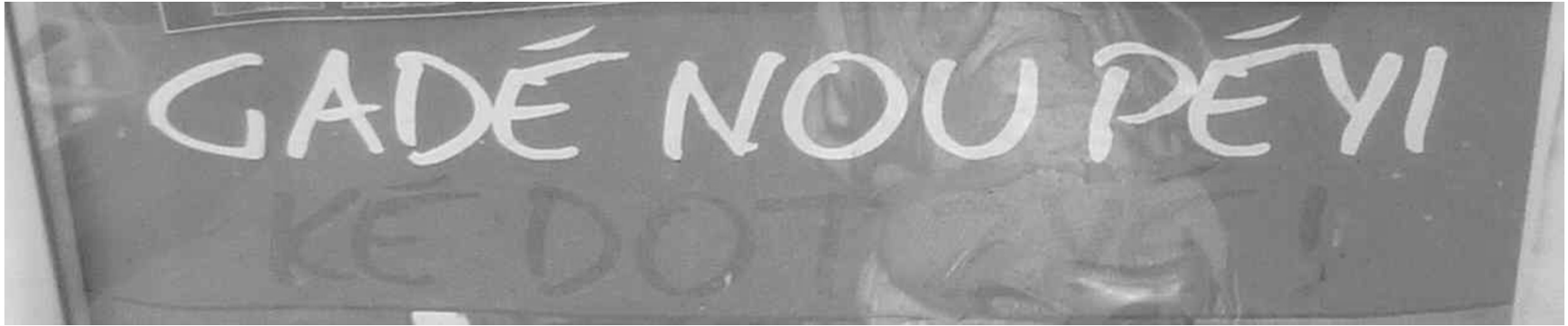
Guianese borrowings into Haitian

Guianese	Haitian	French	English
konnèt	konnen	connaître	know
bèt	bagay	chose	thing
tchwe	tiye	tuer	kill
vòlò (?)	volè	voleur	thief
bokou	anpil	beaucoup	a lot
osi	tou	aussi	too
Lagwiyàn	Lagiyàn	(La) Guyane	French Guiana
i	li	il	he/she/it
asiz	chita	s'asseoir, être assis	to sit, be seated

French borrowings into Haitian

French	Standard Haitian	English
maintenant	kounye a	now
au cœur	o kè	in the heart
ces (<i>bagay</i>)	(bagay) sa yo	these (things)
seswar	aswè a	tonight
gouvèneman (interdialectal)	gouvèlman	government
maison	kay	house
voiture	machin	car

Other evidence of mixing



Documentation

- Questions and conjoined NPs
 - (1) **Ki moun ak Mari ale nan mache?* (Haitian)
 - (2) **Qui et Marie sont allés au marché ?* (French)
 - (3) *Who and Mary went to the market?
 - (4) ?*Ki moun ké Mari alé dégra?*
- Unattested in other French creoles
- Pragmatically dispreferred

Predicate cleft

- Basics

- A kouri Frédéric ka kouri bokou.

- It's ran Frederick PROG ran a-lot

- 'Frederick was *running* a lot.'

- Used for emphasis, simultaneity of action ('once')

- Based on Harbour (2008)'s analysis of Haitian Creole

- Account claims that 1st copy of verb is generated in situ then targeted for movement because it is a maximal projection

- Makes certain predictions about adjectives, serial verbs, and conjoined VPs

- Adjectives

- Prediction: pre-adjectival modifiers move

- Se two mechan Melanni two mechan. (Haitian)

- A tro méchan Mélanni tro méchan. (Guianese)

- it's too bad(-ass) Melanie too bad(-ass).

- Melanie is really bad(-ass).

- Serial verbs

– (6) a. *Se mennen li mennen bèf la vini.*

It's led he led cow the come

b. **Se mennen vini li mennen bèf la vini.*

It's led come he led cow the come

'He led the cow home' (Haitian)

c. **Se vini li mennen bèf la vini.*

It's come he led cow the come

'He led the cow home'

– (7) a. ?*Sa mennen i mennen bèt a vini.*

It's led he led animal the come

b. ?*Sa mennen vini i mennen bèt a vini.*

It's led come he led animal the come

'He led the animal home' (Guianese)

c. *Se vini li mennen bèf la vini.*

It's come he led cow the come

'He led the cow home'

- Conjoined VPs in Haitian

- (J16) N ap chante ak danse.

- 1/2p PROG sing and dance

- ‘We are singing and dancing.’

- (J17) *Se chante n ap chante ak danse.

- It’s sing 1/2p PROG sing and dance

- ‘We are *singing* and dancing.’

- (J18) *Se chante ak danse n ap chante ak danse.

- It’s sing and dance 1/2p PROG sing and dance

- ‘We are *singing* and *dancing*.’

- Conjoined VPs in Guianese

- (J16) Nou ka chanté ké dansé.

- 1/2p PROG sing and dance

- ‘We are singing and dancing.’

- (J17) ?Sa chanté nou ka chanté ké dansé.

- It’s sing 1/2p PROG sing and dance

- ‘We are *singing* and dancing.’

- (J18) Sa chanté ké dansé nou ka chanté ké dansé.

- It’s sing and dance 1/2p PROG sing and dance

- ‘We are *singing* and *dancing*.’

- Ability to move second verb of serial construction, both conjuncts undermines the hypothesis that the copy mechanism targets a maximal projection
 - Given structural and semantic similarities between the two languages concerning predicate cleft, theoretical economy should give us a single unifying explanation
 - Substantial modification to the theory is needed to account for the differences