

Nou oblije pale mo-to: Code-switching between Haitian and Guianese French Creoles and their lexifier in French Guiana

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Abstract

The theories and methodologies developed to analyze intrasentential code-switching were developed to account for switching between clearly distinct languages. They seek to describe the constraints on intrasentential code-switching, essentially trying to account for how languages with very different structures can fit together in a single sentence. In this dissertation, I take a different approach, looking at languages that are much more closely related, namely French, Haitian Creole and Guianese Creole. These languages pose a special challenge because not only do they closely match each other in terms of phonology, but their morphology is frequently similar as well, which can make the identification of switch points highly difficult to ascertain. To test the theories, I start by reviewing a broad swath of literature relevant to code-switching among closely related varieties, including dialect contact and acquisition phenomena, as well as theories of language production and code-switching. I examine the social setting of creoles and their lexifier in contact in French Guiana. I also provide a grammatical sketch of the important differences among the varieties in question. In the major chapter of the dissertation, using the speech of Haitian immigrants in French Guiana as a test case, I look at a variety of possible code-switches that test the major claims of two models of code-switching, to see whether they can account for switches that occur between varieties that are not clearly distinct. I find that the theories as they exist now adequately— but not perfectly— account for code-switching in this circumstance. As a result, I propose a new line of inquiry for sociolinguistic variation using psycholinguistic methods to evaluate whether language-internal variation is code-switching between subgrammars.

1 Introduction

- Guianese and Haitian came into contact when Haitians started to immigrate into French Guiana in the 1960s
- The Haitians and Guianese speak two very similar, mutually intelligible creoles, in a region whose official and vehicular language is French
- **What happens with code-switching between these three varieties?**
- Code-switching theories have been developed for speakers of different languages, like English-Swahili, Spanish-Nahuatl, French-Kali'na

- **Can code-switching theories account for switching between languages that are closely related?**
 - *Closely related* should not be taken to imply a truly genetic relationship
 - Appearance of common genesis is enough, as code-switching theories make no reference to genesis and the synchronic linguistic data analyzed here cannot be taken as evidence in any way for common or distinct geneses

2 Literature review

2.1 Dialect contact

Trudgill (1986): *Dialects in contact*

- Accommodation: Modification of speech patterns in response to an interlocutor
- Accommodation leads to dialect change as interactions accumulate and more evidence for new patterns exists

Haitian dialect contact in Cape Haitian (Valdman, Villeneuve & Siegel in press)

- Some evidence of accommodation to standard
- Only partial changes in (3SG), some negative accommodation for (WITH)

2.2 Dialect acquisition

Jeff Siegel (2010): *Second dialect acquisition*

- Can be replacive
- Can be purposely non-nativelike
- Can be difficult to distinguish from accommodation over the long term
- Influenced by social factors, linguistic factors:
 - Social: age of arrival, length of residence, identification with the D2 group, social interaction, and motivation and attitudes
 - Linguistic: predictability, objective salience (e.g. articulatory distance, phonemicity, areal distribution), subjective salience (e.g perceptual distance)

2.3 Language production

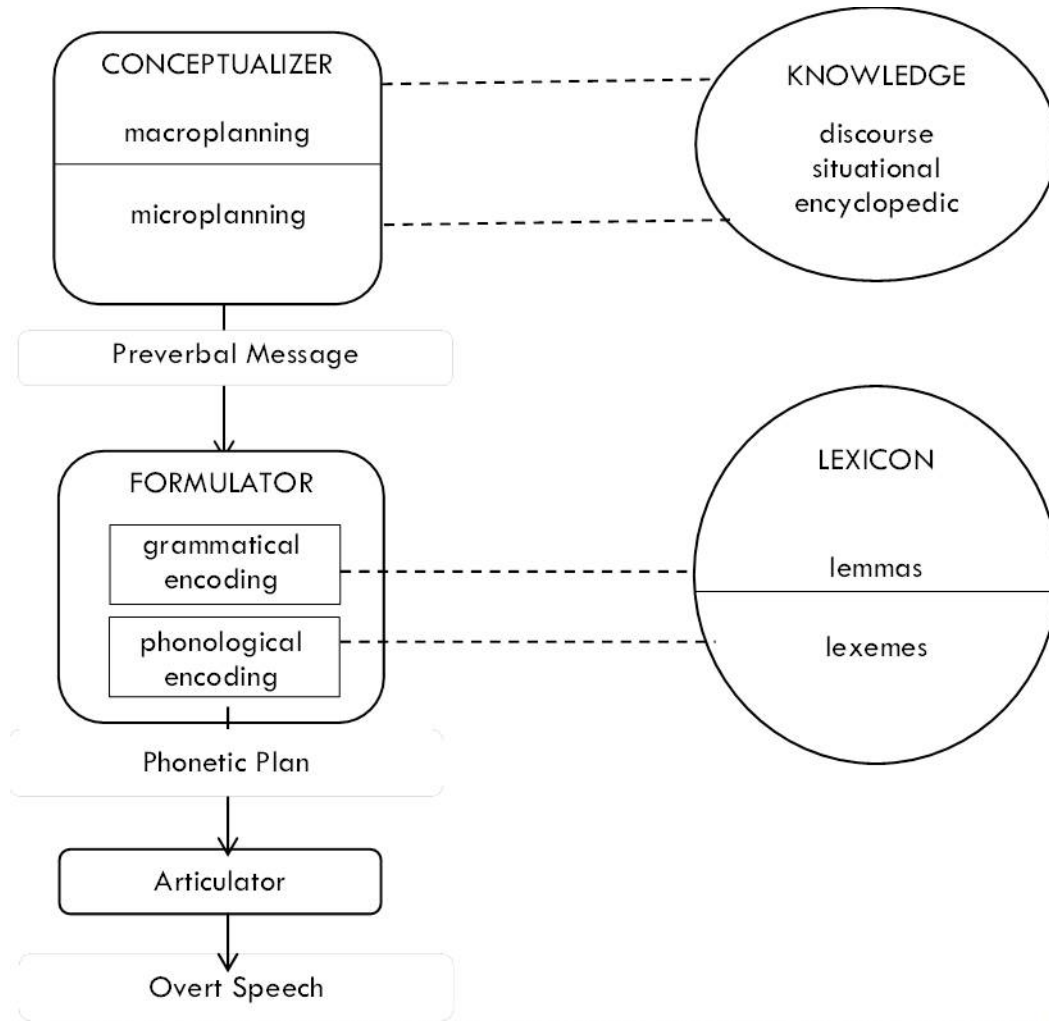


Figure 2.1. Levelt's (1989) model of language production, as cited in Siegel (2010b: 79)

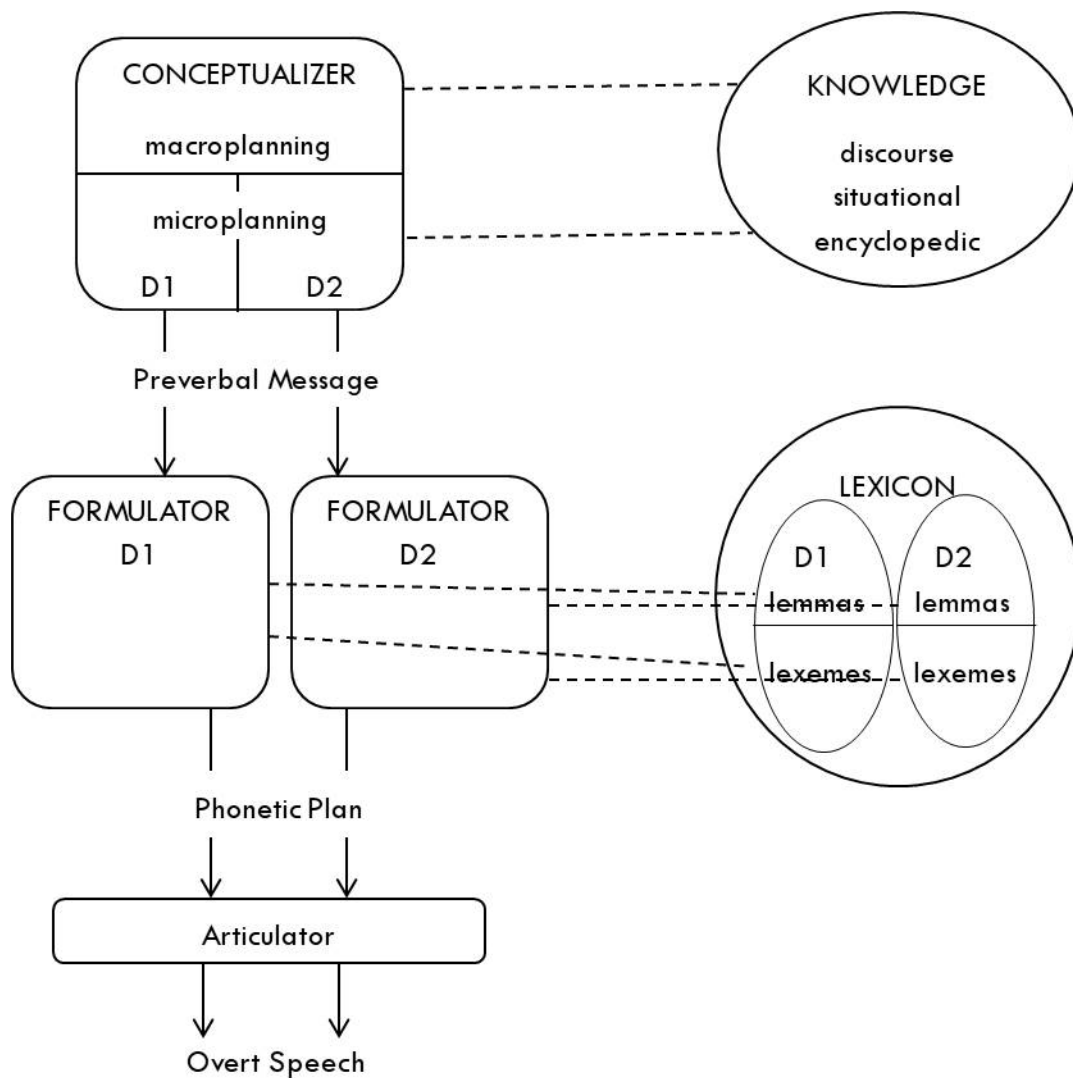


Figure 2.2. de Bot's (1992) adaptation of Levelt (1989) for bilingual production

Paradis (1987): 4 hypotheses about language in the mind

- (1) The **Extended System Hypothesis**: Roughly, the two languages are merely an agglomeration, with more linguistic elements than any individual language
- (2) The **Dual System Hypothesis**: The languages are stored separately, with different neural networks.
- (3) The **Tripartite System Hypothesis**: What is shared by the two languages is stored in one place, and what is not shared is stored in two separate places.

- (4) The **Subset Hypothesis**: That (1) and (2) are not mutually exclusive. The two languages are stored in the same way (since they make use of the same cognitive faculty), but they have their own neural networks due to their different usage patterns.

Theories of code-switching

Myers-Scotton (1993): The **Matrix Language Frame Model**

- Roughly: code-switched sentences have a Matrix Language, which supplies the frame (word order + system morphemes), and an Embedded Language, which supplies some content morphemes and occasionally system morphemes around EL content morphemes
- **4-M Model** (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000)
 - Four different types of morphemes: content, early system, late system (outsider, bridge)
 - Early system: Inserted early in derivation with content, contribute to essential conceptual structure
 - Bridge: show hierarchies among other morphemes, building constituents
 - Outsider: show coindexical relationships across maximal projections
- Criticisms
 - Determining the ML is difficult at times, if not impossible
 - Counterexamples abound
 - Only accounts for one-type of code-switching, where there is an ML (circular)

Poplack (1980/2000) Equivalence based theory

- **Free Morpheme Constraint**: No switching between bound morphemes (**I speak-ais*)
- **Equivalence Constraint**: Switches occur where surface structures line up (**Le boy uninteresting est arrivé*)
 - These constraints are violable
- **Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis**
 - There is a difference between code-switching and borrowing
 - Nonce borrowings (new, not widespread) are integrated morphologically and syntactically (and sometimes phonologically), therefore behave like established borrowings
- Picone (1994, 1997): Not everything has to be in one language or the other

3 Social setting

3.1 Haitians in French Guiana

- Growth in immigration from 25 people in 1963 to 470 in 1974 to 5500 in 1982 to almost 20,000 today (Gorgeon 1985: 144, Mam-Lam-Fouck 1992: 342, Calmont 2007: 11)
- May be as much as 15% of overall population
- Difficult integration
 - Mocked for being poor, non-Westernized, dark skinned
 - 2008: 60% of Haitians in French Guiana unemployed (compared to 23.2% overall)
 - Many undocumented, work off books
- 94% report being satisfied with their experience in French Guiana (INSEE 2012)

3.2 French Guiana today

- Multiethnic region
 - Traditional populations: Amerindians, Bushi Nenge, Creoles
 - Newer ethnicities: East/Southeast Asians, Brazilians, Hispanics
- Immigrant destination
 - 62.3% of residents born outside the region, and 42.8% outside French territory (INSEE 2012)
 - France's most immigrant-heavy region by far
- Characterized by economic difficulty, colonialism
 - High unemployment, especially among the young (52.8%) (INSEE 2012)
 - The Métros (European French) are a transient population
 - Home to space center

3.3 Creoles in contact

- Guianese most prominent French creole of the region
 - Used as vehicular language
 - Appears on TV
- Many immigrants from other French creole regions
 - Martinicans 2%
 - Guadeloupeans 1%

- Once influential St. Lucian and Dominican communities
- Haitians
- Some important linguistic consequences
 - Borrowings of iconic words like *chwit* ‘delicious’ and *blada* ‘buddy’ from St Lucian
 - Borrowing of future marker *ké*
 - Possible koineization of Western Guianese

4 Methodology

4.1 Interview methods

- Identified two men who code-switched between Haitian and Guianese
 - Michel, a young man who recently immigrated
 - Réginal, an older man who has been in French Guiana for 20 years
- 2.5 hours of conversation with Michel
- 7 hours of conversation with Réginal
- Informal conversation between me and Michel
- Informal conversation between Réginal and his friends

4.2 Transcription methods

- Native speaker of Haitian transcribed all interviews
- I made corrections to his transcriptions
- All apparent borrowings and code-switches noted

4.3 Structural comparison

Similarities between Haitian and Guianese

Shared phonemes:

- Voiceless consonants: p t k f s ʃ
- Voiced consonants: b d g v z ʒ l m n ɲ ŋ
- Vowels: i e ε a ɔ o u ɛ̃ ã õ
- Semi-vowels: j w ɸ

Nasal spreading from nasal final segment to adjacent definite determiners

- *tan-an* ‘the weather’ (G/H), *moun-an* (G), *moun nan* (H) ‘the person’

- compare: *tè-a* ‘the ground’ (G/H), *poul-a* (G), *poul la* (H) ‘the hen’

Independent preverbal Tense-Mood-Aspect markers

- (5) (a) *Li t ap kouri*
 3S PST PROG run
 ‘He was running.’ (H)
- (b) *Li té ka kouri*
 3S PST PROG run
 ‘He was running.’ (G)
- (c) *Se kouri li t ap kouri*
 SE run 3S PST PROG run
 ‘He was RUNNING.’ (H)
- (d) *Sa kouri li té ka kouri*
 SA run 3S PST PROG run
 ‘He was RUNNING.’ (G)

N +N compounds

- *rat dlo* ‘raccoon (lit. ‘water rat’)’ (H), *trou nen* ‘nostril (lit. ‘nose hole’)’ (G)

Absence of a copula except in final position

- (6) (a) *Li granmoun*
 3S adult
 ‘She’s an adult.’ (G/H)
- (b) *Se granmoun li ye*
 SE adult 3S COP
 ‘She’s an ADULT.’ (H)
- (c) *Sa granmoun i fika*
 SA adult 3S COP
 ‘She’s an ADULT.’ (G)

Post-nominal definite determiner

- *chat-a* (G)/ *chat la* (H) ‘the cat’

Pre-nominal indefinite singular determiner

- *oun chat* (G)/*yon chat* (H) ‘a cat’

Different coordinating conjunctions for sentences and constituents

- Sentence: *épi* (G/H); Constituent: *ké* (G), *ak/avè(k)* (H)

Bare nouns interpreted as generic or as plural

- (7) (a) *Jouromou pa donner kalbas.*
 squash NEG yield calabash
 'The squash plant cannot produce calabashes.'
- (b) *Fanm toujou ka babiyé.*
 woman always PROG grumble
 'Women are/The woman is always grumbling.'

(G: Peyraud 1983: 189; my translations, H: Déprez 2005: 859)

4.4 Differences between Haitian and Guianese

- Guianese retains etymological /ɸ/ before back rounded vowels, while Haitian has /w/
- Tense Mood Aspect markers

(8)

	Anterior	Future	Progressive/Nonpunctual
Guianese	<i>té</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>ka</i>
Haitian	<i>te</i>	<i>a/va/ava</i>	<i>ap/pe</i>

- Derivational morphemes

(9)

Guianese	Haitian	Gloss
<i>rou-</i>	<i>re-</i>	re-
<i>-ò/-èr</i>	<i>-è</i>	(agentive)
<i>-aj</i>	<i>-ay</i>	(nominalizing)

- Pronouns

(10)

	Guianese		Haitian	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	<i>mo</i>	<i>nou</i>	<i>mwen, m</i>	<i>nou, n</i>
2 (informal)	<i>to</i>	<i>zòt</i>	<i>ou, w</i>	<i>nou, n</i>
2 (formal)	<i>ou</i>			
2 (scornful)	<i>twé</i>			
3	<i>i</i> (subj.), <i>li, l, so</i> (poss.)	<i>yé</i>	<i>li, l</i>	<i>yo, y</i>

- Lexical items

(11)

Guianese	Haitian	French	English
<i>Laguiyàn</i>	<i>Lagiyàn</i>	<i>(la) Guyane</i>	French Guiana
<i>lé</i>	<i>vle</i>	<i>vouloir</i>	to want
<i>tchò</i>	<i>kè</i>	<i>cœur</i>	heart
<i>savé</i>	<i>konnen</i>	<i>savoir</i>	to know
<i>konnèt</i>	<i>konnen</i>	<i>connaître</i>	to know
<i>soumaké</i>	<i>lajan</i>	<i>argent</i>	money
<i>bèt</i>	<i>bagay</i>	<i>chose</i>	thing
<i>asiz, sizé</i>	<i>chita</i>	<i>s'asseoir, être assis</i>	to sit, be seated
<i>aplé</i>	<i>rele</i>	<i>appeler</i>	to call
<i>kontan</i>	<i>renmen</i>	<i>aimer</i>	to like

4.5 Similarities between French and Creole

Shared phonemes:

- Voiceless consonants: p t k f s ʃ
- Voiced consonants: b d g v z ʒ l m n ɲ ŋ
- Vowels: i e ε a ɔ o u ẽ ã õ
- Semi-vowels: j w ɥ

Grammatical stress on final syllable of the word (G: Fauquenoy 1967: 37, F: Tranel 1987: 33, H: Iskrova 2010)

- *foto'graf* 'photographer', *fi'ni* 'finished', *kré'yòl* 'creole'

Shared derivational morphemes:

- *-man* (adverbial suffix): *solanèl/solanèlman* 'solemn(ly)'
- *-ité* (Adj-to-N suffix) : *pénal/pénalité* 'penal(ty)'

Post-nominal adjectives

- *krenm épès* (G) 'thick cream' (lit. 'cream thick')
- *rad nwè* (H) 'black clothing' (lit. 'clothing black')
- *faits intéressants* (F) 'interesting facts' (lit. 'facts interesting')

SVO basic word order

- *Jan ékri lèt.* (G/H) 'John wrote letters'
- *Jean a écrit des lettres.* (F) *ibid.*

4.6 Differences between Creole and French

Floating consonants in French

- *un petit chien* vs. *un petit_ami* 'a small dog' vs. 'a boyfriend'
- No floating consonants in Creole except in the liaison contexts of *an(n)* 'in'

Stable /ɥ/ in coda position

- *pa/ɥ/ler* (F), *pa(/ɥ/)lé* (G/H) 'to speak'

Grammatical gender

- French has it, Creole does not
- *Le chien_ méchant: a cassé un_e vase_ importante.* 'The bad dog broke an important vase.'

Position of definite determiner: French DP-initial, Creole DP-final

- *le chat blanc qui est mort* (F) ‘the white cat that died’
- *chat blanch ki mourì a* (G/H) *ibid.*

Explicit copula in French

- *L’instrument que j’ai joué était un tambour.* (F) ‘The instrument I played was a drum.’
- *Lenstriman mo jwé té Ø oun tanbou.* (G)
- *Lenstriman m jwe te Ø yon tanbou.* (H)

Definite determiner with demonstrative determiner in Creole

- (12) (a) *(*le) ce chien*
 DEF DEM dog
 ‘this dog’ (F)
- (b) *sa chyen -an*
 DEM dog DEF
 ‘this dog’ (G)
- (c) *chen sa a*
 dog DEM DEF
 ‘this dog’ (H)

5 Results

5.1 Ambiguous tokens

- (13) *Ti Kliyo a on ti katkat li ye.*
 ‘The little (Renault) Clio is a little kid’ (Réginal, Interview 2)
- Is *a* a Haitian determiner or a Guianese presentative?
 - Determiner: other sentences near it use the determiner
 - Presentative: cleft sentences usually include a presentative, *Ti Kliyo* is anthropomorphized, thus *namelike*
- (14) *Enben yo le. . . lese Aristid pran pouvwa a, X sèten tan. Aprè, te gen oun revolusyon ankò ki fèt antre larme e ke LE PÈP, ke LE PA. . . PATI SIVIL ke larme, se paskeu. . . Aristid sanble pa te respekte tout prensip lame a.*
 ‘Well, they al. . . allowed Aristide to take power, X a certain time. After, there was another revolution that was born between the army and and [sic] the people, the ci. . . the civil parties and the army. It’s because. . . Aristide seemed to have not respected all the principles of the army.’ (Réginal, Interview 2)
- Ambiguity between agglutinated forms (*lepèp*, like *lalin* ‘moon’, *lajan* ‘money’) and composite form *le pèp*

5.2 Code-switches

(15) mwen pas on b... on BÒN jounen

‘I had a g... a good day’ (Michel, Interview 2)

- *Bòn* appears to be a single item switch, bearing feminine gender
- Where does the gender come from, since Creole does not have it?
- Nonce borrowing (Creole word into French): Usually masculine but when there’s a feminine translation equivalent (e.g. *la night*), may be feminine

(16) *I ka vande sigarèt, i ka vann msye...* DU WÒM

‘He sells cigarettes, he sells the man... some rum’ (Réginal, Interview 1)

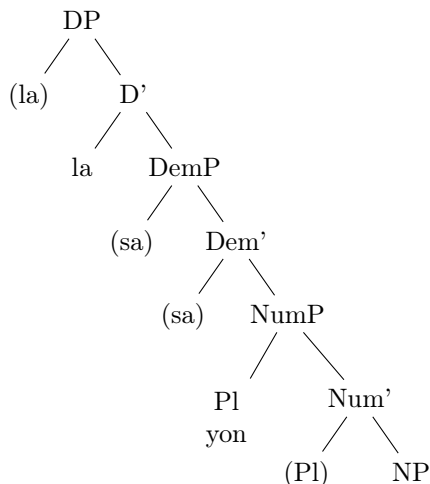
- Two words for ‘sell’: *vann* (H), *vande* (G)
- *I* comes from Guianese, but is used a lot (!) as a 3S pronoun in the speech of these speakers
- *Ka*: Haitian modal ‘can’ that’s somewhat semantically bleached and has epistemic & deontic readings, Guianese non-punctual or general marker
- How do we determine the ML to determine what language is being borrowed into?
- Myers-Scotton (2008): MLF model not meant for mutually intelligible languages
- Poplack: Can’t tell what language is doing the integrating

(17) *Pr on bay pou nou vide sa bay la.*

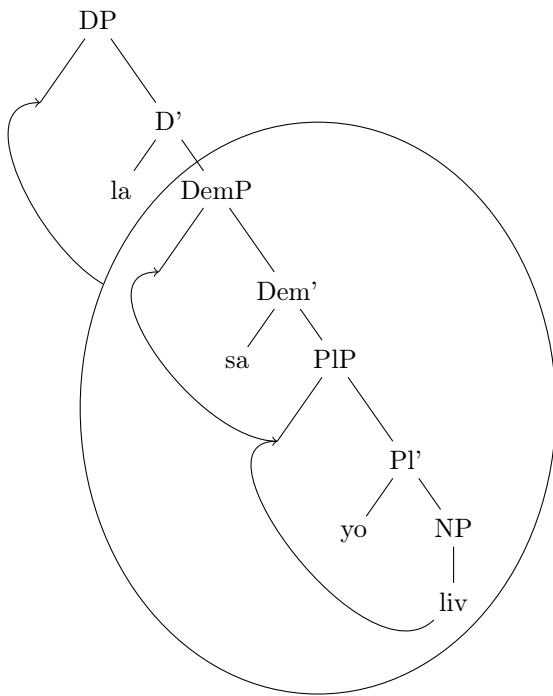
‘Get something so we can empty this thing’ (Réginal, Interview 1)

- Prenominal *sa* is Guianese, *bay la* is Haitian
- Syntactic structure complicates things, as *sa* is projected at intermediate level between the head and the definite determiner

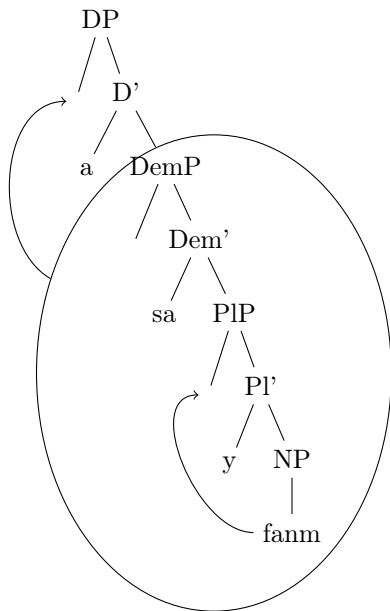
(18) General structure of French Creole DP (Déprez 2007)



(19) Haitian DP (Déprez 2007: 300)



(20) Guianese DP (Déprez 2007: 298)



- Switch superficially appears to be between demonstrative and NP, but with syntactic analysis, it is more likely that the switch is between the demonstrative and the definite determiner
- *Sa* is an early system morpheme, while *la* is a late system morpheme, and switches between those are not unusual

(21) *si pou marye konnya la, fè LE CHWA w.*

‘If it’s a matter of getting married now, make your choice’ (Michel, Interview 1)

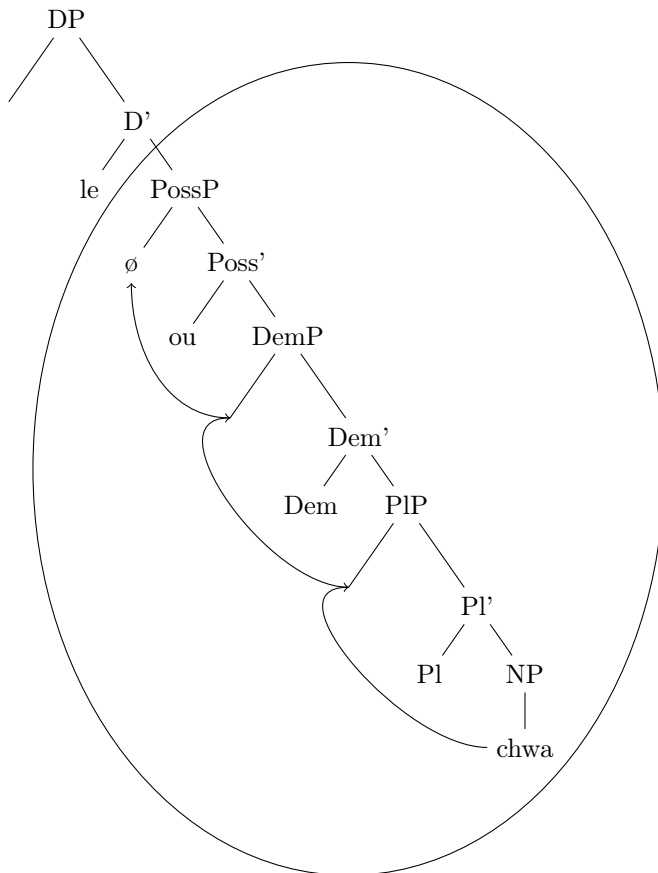
- Where does PossP fit in?

(22) *Fo mo chanjé mo sa mové labitid -a.*

necessary 1S change 1S DEM bad habit DEF

‘I’ve got to drop that bad habit of mine.’

- PossP merges above DemP
- PossP merges below DP (as seen in languages like Italian and Nieuwan)
- Here we have a switch after PossP



(23)

(24) Se on sigarèt ki TRÈZEFIKAS

‘It’s a cigarette that’s very efficient.’ (Réginal, Interview 1)

- Liaison process means both words must be French
- Mismatch of grammatical and phonological word
- Successful interface process = code-switch
- Failed interface process = ?

(25) Divalye te RANVÈRSE PAR... PAR XXX <B. Jant militèr, jant militèr.> PA LE PÈP.
... Aprè, msye te vini RANPLASE PA EUN JEUNT MILITÈR, JENT MILITÈ.

‘Duvalier got overthrown by... by XXX. <L. A military junta, a military junta.> By the people. [...] Afterwards, the man got replaced by a military junta, a military junta.’
(Réginal, Interview 2)

and

(26) lè Pwospè Avril ranvèse, se te Èta Paskal Twouyo, i te mete pwovizwarman.

‘When Prosper Avril was overthrown, it was Ertha Pascal-Trouillot; she was placed there provisionally’ (Réginal Interview 1)

- Haitian has no passive, but this is a passive structure
- All possible Haitian morphemes

Possibility of nonce structural borrowing

- Need not be preceded by extensive lexical borrowing, contra King (2005), Silva-Corvalán (2008), because of previously shared lexicon
- The assertion that while lexical items can either be borrowed or code-switched, structures must always be evidence of code-switching only is asymmetric and not justified
- Nonce structural borrowings should only be proposed when there is no structural equivalent in the borrowing language
- Other nonce structural borrowings

(27) OUI MAIS Y A DES FOIS, gen de fwa m TROUVE ELLE UN PEU ENNUYANT

‘YES BUT THERE ARE TIMES, there are times I find HER KIND OF ANNOYING.’
(Barnèche 2013: 61)

(28) DÈS QUE TU VOIS ELLES FAIRE DES AFFAIRES

‘Once you see them doing stuff’ (ibid)

- verb + pronoun + predicate found in Haitian but not French

(29) POU LE MOMAN konnya la kisa ki ka pase, nòmalmàn èske w te ka REVYEN, si w k alèz.
'For now, now what might happen, under normal circumstances, could you go back, if you were comfortable?.' (Michel, Interview 1)

- Double inflection
- Bybee (1985): frequent forms get stored separately, as do forms that are morphologically irregular

5.3 High frequency items

Guianese indefinite *oun*

- Appears in just 19 tokens, 4% of overall distribution
- Seems to pattern with French feminine nouns (15/19)
- All indefinite articles appear to be used with NPs of other varieties

Personal pronouns

- French *je* is used only 4 times in Creole contexts, and Guianese *mo* and Haitian *m(wen)* are not used at all in French contexts
- *mo* and *mwen* are both found in the other creole
- Guianese 3s pronoun *i* is used in Haitian about as much as Haitian *li* or *l*
- Borrowing of case?
 - *I* is marked for case in a way that other Creole pronouns are not (cf. (10)), which could have facilitated its borrowing
 - Ease of borrowing in closely related varieties

Future *ké*

- Once borrowed into Guianese from Antillean French Creoles
- Meets Poplack et al.'s (1988) criteria for being an idiosyncratic borrowing for Réginal, but it seems intuitively that functional items should have a higher threshold
- Generally co-occurs with potentially Guianese morphemes
 - Verbs: *fè, alé, di, gen, rèsté, bwè*
 - Pronouns: *nou, li, i, sa* (and 5 non-Guianese pronouns)
- But these morphemes are also potentially Haitian, so saying that the ML is Guianese based on the presence of *ké* is equally problematic
- Possible nonce structural borrowing to resolve ambiguity of Haitian *ap* (which can mark future or progressive)

6 Conclusions

6.1 Contributions

- Theories handle code-switches relatively well
- Account for a good deal of the tokens examined
- Theories of underlying structure needed slight repair
 - Adding PossP to Déprez (2007)
- Some minor repairs to code-switching theories needed
 - Existence of nonce structural borrowing of passive
 - Alternate bases that appear inflected may not be, e.g. *revyen*
- Some exceptions
 - Ambiguous tokens
 - *Ti Kliyo a on ti katkat li ye.* ‘The little (Renault) Clio is a little kid’
 - *lepèp* ‘the people’
 - * Agglutinated form or composite structure?
 - *Vann/vandé*: What’s the language?
 - High-frequency forms
 - * *Oun*: Guianese or French?
 - * Asymmetry of pronoun borrowing
 - * Is *ké* a nonce structural borrowing?

6.2 Future directions

- Testing psycholinguistics of code-switching between languages and dialects
 - Switchers between Haitian/AAVE/Standard English
 - Switchers between Swiss German/High German/French
- Testing code-switching between different levels of a language continuum
 - For nearby Guyanese Creole, is there a difference between basilect-mesolect switching and acrolect-lexifier switching, the latter of which is putatively a switch between languages?
- Applying theories of code-switching to sociolinguistic variation
 - No principled difference between late-acquired sociolect and late-acquired dialect
 - Or is there? We should look to find out
 - Intrasentential style-shifting (e.g. in jokes)

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