

HA

## Kreyòl Ayisyen, or Haitian Creole (‘Creole French’)<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

Occupying the western third of Hispaniola, the second largest island of the Caribbean, Haiti has a population of more than 7 million. *Kreyòl* (as we Haitians call it) is the only language that is shared by the entire nation, the vast majority of which is monolingual (Y Dejean 1993). The official name of the language is also *Kreyòl* (cf Bernard 1980 and Article 5 of the 1987 Haitian Constitution). Haitian Creole (HA), as the communal language of the new Creole community of colonial Haiti (known as Saint-Domingue in the colonial period), emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries out of the contact among regional and colloquial varieties of French and the various Niger-Congo languages spoken by the Africans brought as slaves to work the colony’s land.

HA is modern Haiti’s national language and one of two constitutionally-recognized official languages (alongside French). However, most official documents published by the Haitian State in all domains, from education to politics, are still written exclusively in French to the detriment of monolingual Creolophones, even though French is spoken today by at most one-fifth of the population, at various levels of fluency. The Haitian birth certificate, the very first official document that every newborn Haitian citizen is, in principle, assigned by the state, exists in French only. Such French-only policies, at least at the level of the written record, effectively create a situation of “linguistic apartheid” in the world’s most populous Creole-speaking country (P Dejean 1989, 1993: 123-24). This linguistic apartheid goes against the spirit of Article 5 of the Constitution which states that “[a]ll Haitians are united by a common language: [Haitian] Creole”. In theory, HA is legally on a par with French, but not in practice. This disparity seems an inexorable neo-colonial legacy of post-Columbian Caribbean history and the imperialist ideologies of settlers, slave-holders, missionaries, historians, linguists, philosophers, politicians, etc., throughout Haiti’s history. Policies promoting various sorts of Creole exceptionalism were part and parcel of Europe’s *mission civilisatrice* from the beginning of the colonial period and throughout Haiti’s existence as a Creole-speaking nation. Related instances can be found for other Creole languages in the Caribbean and congeners elsewhere (Prudent 1980, Devonish 1986, DeGraff 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003, *in prep.*-b).

According to tradition, the name Haiti (*Ayiti* in its official HA spelling) is Amerindian – perhaps Arawak or Carib – and means ‘vast land of mountains’ (Fouchard 1972). However, aside from isolated lexical items, the Amerindian aborigines of pre-Columbian Haiti had little opportunity to influence the formation of the national language of contemporary Haiti. Very few aborigines survived Spanish rule, which began shortly after Columbus’s so-called discovery in 1492. Most of Haiti’s original inhabitants succumbed to forced labor and to diseases imported from Europe. Starting around 1625, European (mostly French) buccaneers, pirates and indentured servants, alongside a small number of African slaves, began to settle the area that is now northern Haiti. In 1664 they came under the protection of the French West India Company when Louis XIV laid claim to the western third of the island. The indigo, coffee, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton and cacao that early colonial farmers raised grew well, leading to an ever-increasing demand for slaves. In 1697 Spain recognized the French claim to Saint-Domingue, which was becoming a classic plantation colony with its own distinctive Creole culture and Creole language. The number of African slaves grew

<sup>1</sup> The label ‘Creole French’, assigned by the editors to HA for taxonomic purposes, carries the non-innocuous presupposition that HA is a so-called ‘Creole’ variety of French. I do not agree with that presupposition. First, HA is not a variety of French, notwithstanding systematic lexical and structural resemblances; second, no set of structural criteria reliably distinguish ‘Creole’ from non-‘Creole’ varieties (DeGraff 2001a, b, 2003).

from c. 2,000 in 1681 (a third of the total population) to c. 700,000 in 1791 (92%). By then African labor had turned Saint-Domingue into France’s richest colony, the source of one-third of French foreign trade. However, by this time our Black ancestors had begun their struggle for freedom, leading to independence in 1803 (Madiou 1848 [1987], Heintz & Heintz 1978, and references therein).

Our African ancestors spoke many languages, ranging from the Kwa group of West Africa to the Bantu languages of Central Africa.<sup>2</sup> These substrate languages influenced the formation of a contact language with a lexicon and much else derived from French. This colonial lingua franca eventually became the primary native language of the emerging Creole society. It is a matter of debate whether the key factor in the creation of this Creole was the African substratum (Sylvain 1936), the European superstratum (Faine 1937), or the first generation of native Creole speakers’ innate predisposition for universally-unmarked language structures in the absence of robust triggers from the environment (Bickerton 1981; on this debate, see Muysken & Smith 1986, Arends et al. 1994, Chaudenson & Mufwene 2001, Mufwene 2001; and DeGraff 1999b, 1999c, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, *forthcoming-a, -b, -c, in prep.-a, -b*).

This chapter’s relatively sparse outline of HA syntax is based on previous and ongoing research. I have also used my own intuitions as a native speaker, as well as those of informants, alongside examples from the literature, as indicated. All informants, including myself, are from the Port-au-Prince area. For broader regional representation, see Fattier’s (1998) monumental 6-volume dialect atlas, to date the most reliable and comprehensive survey of lexical and morpho-phonological dialectal variation in any Creole. The present chapter – an invitational appetizer rather than a satiating full course – only presents sketchy descriptive observations, preliminary data samples and hints of analyses towards the questions raised in the subsection titles. Many of the questions posed by the editors presuppose a specific set of (not uncontroversial) definitions regarding so-called adjectival verbs, passive, copula, etc.<sup>3</sup> All the topics addressed here deserve more data and detailed discussion at a deeper theoretical level. In the meantime, many generalizations presented here are only tentative and provisional.

The 1980 official (morpho-phonemic) orthography is used throughout. Most, but not all, letters have the value of the corresponding IPA symbol (Bernard 1980, Y Dejean 1980, 1985, Vernet 1980).<sup>4</sup>

## 1 Unmarked verbs

The TMA system of HA is one of the most subtle and intricate aspects of the grammar. This overview only reveals the tip of a gigantic iceberg (see e.g. Damoiseau 1982, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1994, Déchaine 1991, Spears 1990, 1993, Fattier 1998, Howe 2000, DeGraff *forthcoming-a*).

### 1.1 Statives with non-past reference

When used without TMA markers, the default temporal interpretation of stative verbs relates to a situation that holds at the time of utterance (Damoiseau 1982, Déchaine 1991).

- (1) *Bouki renmen chat la*  
B love cat DEF ‘Bouki loves the cat’

### 1.2 Statives with past reference

An unmarked stative verb (1) could well refer to a past situation, given appropriate pragmatics and discourse context (see Michaelis 1993 for similar observations on Seychelles Creole). Such an interpretation is not unlike the *présent de narration* in French or the historic present in English.

### 1.3 Non-statives with past reference

With respect to past versus non-past interpretations, there exists a noteworthy contrast between stative and non-stative verbs. When used without TMA markers, stative verbs like *renmen* in (1) are interpreted as non-past without regard to the specificity of their objects. However, there are cases where the temporal interpretation of non-stative verbs varies with the (non-)specificity of their objects: past when the object is specific (2), and non-past when the object is generic (3; §1.3, §4.1;

<sup>2</sup> Languages mentioned in the literature include Ewegbe and Fongbe (especially), Akan, Bambara, Fula, Gã, Gur, Efik, Ibibio, Igbo, Kikongo, Malinke. See e.g. Singler (1996: 200-16).

<sup>3</sup> [EDS: The categories noted in subsection titles are general descriptive ones, not specified or defined by the editors.]

<sup>4</sup> This paper was first written in 1993, then slightly revised in 2002. Both the original and revised versions have greatly benefited from a close critique by Yves Dejean (*Papa Iv*).

Déchainé 1991). This contrast suggests that temporal interpretation in HA is sensitive to the telicity of the corresponding predicate and, perhaps, to other *aktionsart*-related properties. The split between stative and non-stative predicates, although useful at first approximation, is thus too crude a distinction to adequately account for the interpretation of TMA morphemes in HA.

- (2) *Bouki vann chat la*  
 B sell cat DEF 'Bouki sold the cat'

#### 1.4 Non-statives with non-past reference

- (3) *Bouki vann chat*  
 B sell cat 'Bouki sells cats'

1 Unmarked verbs: summary for HA		
1.1	Statives with non-past reference	+
1.2	Statives with past reference	+
1.3	Non-statives with past reference	+
1.4	Non-statives with non-past reference	+

## 2 Anterior (or past) tense

### 2.1 Statives with past reference

Verb stativity is also relevant in interpreting the HA anterior marker *te*, which is etymologically related to F *étais, était, été* – imperfect and past-participle forms of the verbal copula *être* 'be'. (See DeGraff, *forthcoming-a*, for theoretical discussion of the development of the HA TMA system and VP syntax.) A widely-quoted idealization of the semantics of *te* (Bickerton 1981) can be summarized as:

- te* + stative verb → past (4)  
*te* + non-stative verb → past-before-past (5)

- (4) *Bouki te konn repons lan*  
 B ANT know answer DEF 'Bouki knew the answer'

### 2.2 Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference

Spears gives a different analysis in which *te* is an "antiperfect" marker: "*te* functions not merely to mark a situation as past with respect to some reference time, but has the more important function of negating that situation's connection with the present (or some posterior reference time)" (1993: 262; Damoiseau 1987).

- (5) *Bouki te ale (anvan Boukinèt vini)*  
 Bouki ANT go before Boukinèt come 'Bouki had left (before Boukinèt came)'

### 2.3 Anterior (or past) = counterfactual

*Te* is also used in the *if*-clause of counterfactual conditionals (6). In the absence of *te*, the conditional is not counterfactual (7).

- (6) *Si ou te renmen m, ou t a vini avè m*  
 if 2s ANT love 1s 2s ANT IRR come with 1s 'If you loved me, you would come with me'
- (7) *Si ou renmen m, vini avè m*  
 if 2s love 1s come with 1s 'If you love me, come with me'

### 2.4 Anterior (or past) with adjective

As in previous work (DeGraff 1992a, 1992c, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 1999a) I maintain the view that HA predicative structures do not contain a verbal copula of the type of English *be* or French *être*. The absence of such a verbal copula in HA gives rise to the illusory appearance of so-called adjectival verbs, nominal verbs, and prepositional verbs (8). In my analysis, the apparent verbs in (8) actually head non-verbal predicates that, in the absence of a copula, can surface string-adjacent to their subjects. Thus it is not surprising that TMA markers like *te* can precede adjectival phrases like *malad* 'sick' (9) and can also mark nominal phrases like (*yon*) *doktè* '(a) doctor' (10).

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- (8) *Elifèt*    *malad*    / *Elifèt*    *doktè*    / *Elifèt*    *nan jaden an*  
 E    —    sick    / E    —    doctor    / E    —    in garden DEF  
 ‘Elifèt is sick / Elifèt is a doctor / Elifèt is in the garden’
- (9) *Elifèt te* [<sub>AP</sub> *malad*]  
 E    ANT    sick    ‘Elifèt was sick’
- (10) *Elifèt te* [<sub>NP</sub> (*yon doktè* )]  
 E    ANT    IND    doctor    ‘Elifèt was a doctor’

## 2.5 Anterior (or past) with locative

Locative and, more generally, prepositional phrases can likewise be directly preceded by *te* (11). In light of the parallels in (8-11), string adjacency of TMA markers and adjectives does not force an analysis in which adjectival predicates would be classified as “adjectival verbs” (pace Holm 1988: 176). Indeed, if string-adjacency to a TMA marker were indicative of verbal status, then (*yon doktè* in (10) would be a nominal verb instead of a noun, and the locative morpheme *anba* in (11) would be a locative verb instead of a preposition. Such classification is empirically unjustified, as I take the paradigm in (8-11) to result from the copula-less nature of the language. However, it should be pointed out that Holm (1988: 189-90) also bases his “adjectival verb” analysis on the fact that when adjectival heads are fronted in predicate clefting constructions, they leave a copy behind in their original position. A similar predicate-clefting pattern emerges with verbs, but not with prepositional and nominal predicates, §12.4-5. Not only is the logic of Holm’s analysis flawed (§12.5), but there are other tests that distinguish HA adjectives from verbs (§12.6-7, §15.10; Damoiseau 1982, 1988, 1991, Damoiseau & Saint-Louis 1986).

- (11) *Elifèt te* [<sub>PP</sub> *anba tab la*]  
 E    ANT    under table the    ‘Elifèt was under the table’

2	Anterior (or past) tense: summary for HA	
2.1	Statives with past reference	+
2.2	Non-statives with (past-before-) past reference	+
2.3	Anterior = counterfactual	+
2.4	Anterior with adjective	+
2.5	Anterior with locative	+

## 3 Progressive aspect

The interpretation of progressive marker *ap* (dialectal variants *ape*, *pe*; Fattier 1998:864ff), like that of *te*, depends *inter alia* on the (non-)stativity of the verb following *ap* and other aspectual properties thereof. The etymon of HA *ap* is F *après* in the *être après à/de* (infinitival V) construction, which still exists in Québec French (Chaudenson 1974, Gougenheim 1971 on verbal periphrastic constructions). The schema for *te* in §2.1 has an idealized counterpart with *ap*, abstracting away from the telicity of the predicate (and other *aktionsart*-related properties) and the influence of discourse context (14, 15):

- ap* + stative verb → future (13, but see 20)  
*ap* + non-stative verb → progressive (12) but see (14, 15) for complications that arise due to discourse context (14) and the predicate’s *aktionsart* (15).  
*ap* + stative (verbal or non-verbal) predicates (including adjectives) → future or inchoative (18)

### 3.1 Indicating progressive

*Ap* is the principal marker of progressive aspect (12).

- (12) *M ap manje*  
 1s PROG eat    ‘I am eating’

### 3.2 Indicating future

*Ap* can also indicate the immediate future (13-15). Another future marker is *pral*, which in certain contexts competes with *ap* (40; Damoiseau 1989).

- (13) *Bouki ap konn lesson an*  
 B    FUT know lesson DEF    ‘Bouki will know the lesson’

- (14) *M ap vini (lè m fin manje)*  
 1s FUT come when 1s finish eat 'I will come (when I'm done eating)'
- (15) *M ap wè w*  
 1s FUT see 2s 'I will see you' [Not: 'I am seeing you']

### 3.3 Anterior plus progressive

The semantics of *te + ap* is generally compositional, i.e. past progressive (16) or future in the past (54, §6.3). *Te + ap* can also be used in the *then*-clause of counterfactual conditionals; in (17) *ap* seems to function as a variant of the irrealis marker *a (va)*, §6. (17) is adapted from Fattier (1998: 482, see also 496, 499 *passim*). For more on *te* and *ap*, see Magloire-Holly (1982) and references in §1.

- (16) *Bouki t ap danse yon bolewo*  
 B ANT PROG dance IND bolero 'Bouki was dancing a bolero'
- (17) *Si li te gen manch, li t ap rele 'valiz'*  
 if 3s ANT have handle 3s ANT IRR call handbag 'If it had a handle, it would be called *handbag*'

### 3.4 Progressive with adjective = inchoative

Note the ambiguity in (18). Other uses of *ap* with adjectives receive an unambiguous future interpretation (19). Given appropriate discourse context, an inchoative interpretation can also be found with *ap* taking scope over stative verbs such as *renmen* 'like' (20).<sup>5</sup>

- (18) *L ap malad*  
 3s PROG sick 'S/he is getting sick' [*inchoative*] or 'S/he will be sick' [*future*]
- (19) *Tank chany la fwote soulye a, tank soulye a ap pi klere*  
 the-more shoe-shiner DEF rub shoe DEF the-more shoe DEF PROG more shiny  
 'The more the shoe-shiner rubs the shoe, the more the shoe will shine'
- (20) *Pandan m wè ki jan ou jwe kat la, se kounyea m santi m ap renmen jwèt la*  
 while 1s see how 2s play card DEF HL now 1s feel 1s PROG like game DEF  
 'It's (only) now that I see how you play the cards that I feel I am liking [=getting to like] the game'

3	Progressive aspect: summary for HA	
3.1	Indicating progressive	+
3.2	Indicating future	+
3.3	Anterior + progressive	+
3.4	Progressive with adjective = inchoative	+

## 4 Habitual aspect

### 4.1 Zero marker for habitual

The habitual reading in (3) is related to the generic interpretation of bare NP complements, §1.4.

### 4.2 Progressive marker for habitual

The progressive marker does not usually indicate habitual by itself. In (21), it is the temporal adjunct *chak mèkredi* 'each Wednesday' that forces the habitual interpretation, which would obtain even in the absence of *ap*. Actually the presence of *ap* in (21) orients the weekly ("every Wednesday") habit in the future. (In Bickerton's slightly different example he misinterprets *ap* as a habitual marker.)

- (21) *Chak mèkredi tout gason ap pran bout-makak yo* (adapted from Bickerton 1981: 98)  
 each Wednesday every man PROG take stick DEF-pl  
 'Every Wednesday all the fellows will take their sticks'

### 4.3 Marker for habitual only

Two elements that mark habituality are *konn* (22) and *abitye* (23); both have other functions as well, as main verb and as adjective, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> I thank Yves Dejean for the examples (19, 20) and discussion thereof.

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- (22) *Kolbè konn vann liv bò isi a*  
 K HAB sell book around here 'Kolbè usually sells books around here'  
 K know sell book around here [or:] 'Kolbè knows how to sell books around here'
- (23) *Kolbè abitye vann liv bò isi a*  
 K HAB sell book around here 'Kolbè is in the habit of selling books around here'
- (24) *Malis deja konn(en) leson 1*  
 M already know lesson 3s 'Malice already knows his lesson'
- (25) *Mwen konn pale kreyòl*  
 1s know-how speak Creole 'I know how to speak Creole'
- (26) *Bouki abitye ak Boukinèt*  
 B familiar with B 'Bouki is accustomed to Boukinèt'

*Konn* is ambiguous. As a main verb (with variant long form *konnen*), it means 'know' (24, 25); compare F *connaître* 'know'. Such ambiguity gives rise to the second interpretation of (22, cf Magloire-Holly 1982). The morpho-phonological and/or syntactic conditions regulating the appearance of the short vs. long forms are still ill-understood; see DeGraff (2001a: 74-75) for one possible explanation. *Abitye* derives from F *habitué* and, as an adjective, also means 'familiar, accustomed' (26).

A subtle difference between *konn* and *abitye* as habituality markers is that the habit expressed via the use of *konn* can be interpreted as unfurling over irregular time intervals, though it need not be. In this irregular-habit interpretation, the corresponding intermittent event – e.g., Kolbè's book-selling around here (22) – though recurrent, occurs sporadically. In (23), the unmarked reading is that the event of Kolbè selling books around here happens periodically over somewhat regular intervals. In (22) the intervals between the relevant book-selling events may, or may not, be regular.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.4 Anterior plus habitual

- (27) *Kolbè te konn vann liv bò isi a*  
 K ANT HAB sell book around here 'Kolbè used to sell books around here'
- (28) *Kolbè te abitye vann liv bò isi a*  
 K ANT HAB sell book around here 'Kolbè was in the habit of selling books around here'

4 Habitual aspect: summary for HA		
4.1	Zero marker for habitual	+
4.2	Progressive marker for habitual	0
4.3	Marker for habitual only	0
4.4	Anterior + habitual	+

### 5 Completive aspect

Like *konn* in §4.3, preverbal completive marker *fin* (30-32) is morphologically and semantically related to a (non-auxiliary) main verb, namely *fin(i)* 'end, complete' (29).

- (29) *Kolbè fin(i) devwa li*  
 K finish homework 3s 'Kolbè has finished his homework'

#### 5.1 Completive only (before/after V)

- (30) *Mwen fin bati kay la*  
 1s COMP build house DEF 'I have finished building the house'

#### 5.2 Completive plus adjective

With adjectives, *fin* indicates the endpoint of a process or change of state.

- (31) *Bouki fin fou*  
 B COMP crazy 'Bouki has gone completely crazy'

<sup>6</sup> I am thankful to Yves Dejean for pointing out the facts regarding the ambiguity of *konn*.

**5.3 Anterior (or other preverbal markers) plus completive**

(32) *Mwen te fin bati kay la*  
 1s ANT COMP build house DEF 'I (had) finished building the house'

5 Completive aspect: summary for HA		
5.1	Completive only (before /after V)	+
5.2	Completive + adjective	+
5.3	Anterior (or other markers) + completive	+

**6 Irrealis mode**

The marker *ava* (variants *a*, *va*, *av*) appears in the apodosis or consequence clause of a conditional statement or in purposive clauses where it expresses irrealis mood. This IRR marker is also found in the expression of wishes, plans, eventualities, hypotheticals, etc. The etymon is F *va(s)*, present singular of *aller* 'go', which like E *be going to* expresses certain kinds of future (Gougenheim 1971).

**6.1 Future (= progressive marker)**

Progressive *ap* can express future (§3.2, §3.4).

**6.2 Anterior plus irrealis = conditional**

In conditionals, replacing the irrealis marker *a(va)* in (33a) with *ap* in (33b) alters the interpretation to suggest greater likelihood that the event expressed by the apodosis will occur. Spears (1990) describes this contrast as a subjunctive/indicative split; see Damoiseau 1987, 1989 on the various (competing) realizations of the HA future. In certain dialects, *a* in (33a) functions as a variant of *ap* in (33b; Yves Dejean, p.c). For *te + ap* in the *then*-clause of a counterfactual conditional, see (17), §3.3. *Te + a(va)* is also used in conditionals (34; see also 6, §2.3).

- (33a) *Si Bondye vle, m a(va) monte nan syèl*  
 if God want 1s IRR go-up in heaven 'God willing, I might / will go to heaven' [*less certain*]
- (33b) *Si Bondye vle, m ap monte nan syèl*  
 if God want 1s FUT go-up in heaven 'God willing, I'm going to go to heaven' [*more certain*]
- (34) *Mwen t a vini si m te kapab*  
 1s ANT IRR come if 1s ANT capable 'I would (have) come if I could'

**6.3 Anterior plus irrealis = future in the past**

Given appropriate discourse context and appropriate *aktionsart*, both *te + a(va)* and *te + ap* can also express future in the past, somewhat like the F and E present conditional. In the ANT + IRR combination, event time is subsequent to reference time, and reference time is anterior to utterance time (Reichenbach 1947). (54) is another example of future in the past.

- (35) *Bouki pa te kwè Malis t a woule l*  
 B NEG ANT believe M ANT IRR dupe 3s 'Bouki didn't believe that Malis would dupe him'
- (36) *Malis mande Bouki ki lè li t ap konn leson l*  
 M ask B what time 3s ANT FUT know lesson 3s 'Malis asked Bouki when he would know his lesson'

**6.4 Anterior plus irrealis = future perfect**

The combinations *te + a(va)* and *te + ap* are not interpretable as future perfect.

6 Irrealis mode: summary for HA		
6.1	Future (= progressive marker)	+
6.2	Anterior + irrealis = conditional	+
6.3	Anterior + irrealis = future in the past	+
6.4	Anterior + irrealis = future perfect	0

## 7 Other combinations of verbal markers

### 7.1 Irrealis plus progressive

### 7.2 Anterior plus irrealis plus progressive

In (37) and (38), the meanings of the combined TMA markers appear compositionally-derivable from the meanings of their individual components. The TMA combinations in (37, 38), although easily interpretable by native speakers, seem rare in spontaneous speech (Sylvain 1936: 89), on a par with English auxiliary combinations like *This letter would have been being written at the moment when...*

- (37) Èske ou kwè y av ap dòmi lè n a rive  
 QM 2s believe 3p IRR PROG sleep when 1p IRR arrive  
 'Do you think they will be sleeping when we arrive?'
- (38) Èske ou kwè li t av ap danse pandan manman l ap chache l toupatou  
 QM 2s believe 3s ANT IRR PROG dance while mother 3s PROG look-for 3s everywhere  
 'Do you think s/he would be dancing while his/her mother is looking all over for him/her?'

### 7.3 Other auxiliary-like elements

There is a class of HA verbs that double as auxiliary-like items, like *konn(en)* 'know, HAB' in §4.3 and *fin(i)* 'finish, COMP' in §5. This semi-auxiliary class is briefly illustrated in (39-46), but see Magloire-Holly (1982), Spears (1990, 1993) and Fattier (1998). *Pral(e)* (< F *après à/de aller*; see the etymology of *ap* in §3), which marks future (40), is related to HA main verb *pral(e)* 'go (somewhere)' (39). In many contexts, *pral(e)* competes with *ap*, §3.2 and §6.1 (Damoiseau 1989). *Sòt* (< F *sortir* 'leave') marks recent past (42). It is related to the main verb *sòt(i)* 'leave, come from' (41).

- (39) Bouki pral(e) Jakmèl  
 B go J 'Bouki is going to Jacmel'
- (40) Lapli pral tonbe  
 rain FUT fall 'Rain will fall'
- (41) Bouki sòt(i) Jakmèl  
 B leave/come from J 'Bouki has left Jacmel' [or:] 'Bouki is from Jacmel'
- (42) Mwen sòt wè Mari  
 1s PAST see M 'I just saw Mari'

*Dwe* marks obligation (as a deontic modal) or likelihood (as an epistemic modal). It is related to the main verb *dwe* 'owe' (43). The cognate F *devoir* is also ambiguous between a deontic/epistemic reading and a main-verb reading ('owe'). (44) illustrates the ambiguity of *dwe* as modal with respect to its deontic and epistemic interpretations (Magloire-Holly 1982). This particular ambiguity disappears however when *dwe* combines with anterior marker *te* (45, 46); we get a different sort of (rather subtle) ambiguity with the *te dwe* combination in (45).

- (43) Bouki dwe Malis anpil lajan  
 B owe M much money 'Bouki owes Malis a lot of money'
- (44) Bouki dwe vini  
 Bouki MOD come 'Bouki ought to come' or 'It is likely that Bouki has come'
- (45) Bouki te dwe vini  
 B ANT MOD come 'Bouki was obliged to come' or 'Bouki should have come'
- (46) Bouki dwe te vini  
 B MOD ANT come 'It is likely that Bouki came/had come'

Somewhat similar patterns emerge with other modals in combination with *te* and with the sentential negator *pa*. DeGraff (1992a) analyses this pattern following Chomsky's (1986) Government and Binding notions of control-theory, NP-movement and thematic projection; see also Cinque (1999), and Dejean (1982: 13f, 32-35, 40ff) for additional observations and empirical/methodological caveats.

7	Other combinations of verbal markers: summary for HA	
7.1	Irrealis + progressive	+
7.2	Anterior + irrealis + progressive	+
7.3	Other auxiliary-like elements	+



## 8 Complementizers

### 8.1 Zero infinitive marker

HA does not have a general-purpose, semantically-empty pre-verbal infinitive marker like English *to*, Dutch *te*, German *zu*, etc. HA allows a null complementizer to introduce certain classes of clausal complements (see also §8.5).

- (47) *Tout moun vle al nan syèl*  
 every person want \_\_ go in heaven 'Everyone wants to go to heaven'

### 8.2 'For' as infinitive marker

*Pou*, in its syntactically simplest use, takes a nominal projection as its complement and heads a prepositional phrase: *pou Jan* 'for Jan'. When directly preceding a verb, *pou* 'for', in one of its uses, introduces a subject-less and TMA-less purpose clause (48a; cf F *pour*). This is one restricted sense in which *pou* could be called an infinitive marker. This label is all the more controversial in that *pou* also admits of an overt subject (48b).

Besides, the embedded purpose clause introduced by *pou* can also be a full clause with TMA markers preceding the embedded verb (49; also §8.4). Therefore *pou* cannot be unambiguously classified as an infinitive marker. Contrast with English *to* as in *He came to dance*; English *to* as infinitive marker never precedes a tensed verb: \**He came to he could dance*.

HA *pou* can also be used as a marker of modality (50, obligation), or as a complementizer for tensed clausal complements (51). Koopman & Lefebvre (1982), Mufwene & Dijkhoff (1989) and Muysken (1992) question whether Creoles actually distinguish between finite and non-finite verbs.

- (48a) *Kouto sa a pa fèt pou koupe pen*  
 knife DEM sg NEG make for cut bread 'This knife is not made for cutting bread'
- (48b) *Kouto sa a pa fèt pou li koupe pen*  
 knife DEM sg NEG make for 3s cut bread 'This knife is not made so that he can cut bread'
- (49) *Li te ale nan fèt la pou li te ka fè yon ti danse,*  
 3s ANT go LOC party DEF for 3s ANT capable do IND little dance  
*men lè li rive, pa te gen mizik*  
 but when 3s arrive NEG ANT have music 'S/he went to the party to dance a bit, but when s/he arrived there was no music'

### 8.3 'For' as a (quasi-)modal

Deontic uses of HA *pou* find parallels in the F (quasi-)modal periphrastic construction *être pour* + infinitival V, which is documented in the history of French (Gougenheim 1971).

- (50) *Se Bouki ki pou te vini*  
 HL B COMP MOD ANT come 'It's Bouki who had to come'

### 8.4 'For' introducing a tensed clause

- (51) *Mwen te mande pou l te vini*  
 1s ANT ask for 3s ANT come 'I asked that s/he come'

### 8.5 Subordinator from superstrate 'that'

Alongside the null complementizer, §8.1, HA allows *ke* 'that' (< F *que*) to introduce certain classes of clausal complements (52). In my own idiolect, the null complementizer seems preferred to the complementizer *ke* in the context given in (52). Also compare (54) where the complementizer of the clausal complement is obligatorily realized as *si* 'if'. (Similar facts obtain with respect to French *que* 'that' and *si* 'if', Fattier 1998: 957.)

- (52) *Bouki konnen (ke) Boukinèt renmen l anpil*  
 Bouki know COMP Boukinèt love 3s much 'Bouki knows (that) Boukinèt loves her a lot'

### 8.6 Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking

No such subordinator exists in HA.

### 8.7 Zero subordinator

As noted in §8.1, §8.4, HA has a zero subordinator.

8	Complementizers: summary for HA	
8.1	Zero infinitive marker	+
8.2	'For' as infinitive marker	0
8.3	'For' as a (quasi-) modal	+
8.4	'For' introducing a tensed clause	+
8.5	Subordinator from superstrate 'that'	+
8.6	Distinct subordinator after verb of speaking	0
8.7	Zero subordinator	+

## 9 Dependent clauses

Recursion is a defining property of natural-language syntax. Thus it is unsurprising that HA exhibits a variety of dependent clauses, including non-selected adjunct (=non-embedded) clauses (53); selected (=embedded) clausal complements (54); and relative clauses (58, 59).

### 9.1 Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)

In (53) *Lè Ayiti libere* 'when Haiti is freed' is a non-selected (=non-embedded) adjunct clause that modifies the temporal specification of the main clause.

- (53) *Lè Ayiti libere, tout Ayisyen ap rantrè lakay yo*  
 when Haiti freed every Haitian FUT return home 3p  
 'When Haiti is freed, all Haitians will go back home'

### 9.2 Subordinate clauses (embedded)

In (54) the embedded clause is a complement selected by the matrix verb *konnen*. Other cases of clausal complements include (51) and (52).

- (54) *Toussaint pa te konnen si tout patriyòt t ap leve goumen*  
 T NEG ANT know if every patriot ANT FUT rise fight  
 'Toussaint did not know if every patriot would rise and fight'

### 9.3 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = subject)

The status of *ki* in (55) is debatable: is it a complementizer, somewhat similar to that E *that* or F *qui* complementizers, or is it some sort of relative pronoun in subject position, i.e. Spec(IP)? Law (1995) chooses the latter analysis, taking *ki* in (55) to be the overt realization of an illicit subject trace in Spec (IP). However, Koopman (1982a, 1982b) and DeGraff (1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993a, 1993b, 1996) have opted for the former analysis. Assuming *ki* in (55) to be a head in complementizer position, there is then no (overt) relative pronoun corresponding to the relativized subject (*pace* Law 1995). Unlike well-established *wh*-phrases such as *kouman* 'how', *ki moun* 'which person, who', (*ki*) *kote* 'which place, where', etc, §17.8, *ki* usually does not occur alone in the Spec (CP) position.

- (55) *Moun ki pa travay p ap touche*  
 people COMP NEG work NEG FUT get-paid 'Those who don't work won't get paid'
- (56) *Ki \* (moun) ou wè?*  
 which person 2s see 'Who did you see?'
- (57) *[Ki fanm]<sub>i</sub> ou vle konnen si li/\*ki<sub>i</sub> renmen w*  
 which woman 2s want know if 3s/X love 2s  
 'Which woman<sub>i</sub> do you want to know if \*(she)<sub>i</sub> loves you?'

This suggests that HA *ki* by itself cannot occur in positions reserved for maximal projections, unlike the English *wh*-phrase *who* and the French *wh*-phrase *qui*. Furthermore, *ki* cannot resumptively spell out the (illicit) subject trace in well-established *wh*-islands. In such constructions (57), only an ordinary personal pronoun such as *li* can be used as resumptive subject pronouns in order to realize the illicit trace in Spec (IP). In other words, HA *ki* is not the analogue of the E resumptive pronoun *she* in the translation of (57). This seems to disconfirm Law's predictions.

Also see (59), where *li* functions as a resumptive pronoun spelling out an illicit trace. When the embedded predicate is nominal, *se* can also be enlisted as a subject resumptive pronoun in *wh*-islands (DeGraff 1992a, 1992c). In addition, although *li* spells-out the subject trace in (57), it cannot do so in (55): \**Moun li pa travay p ap touche*, with *li* instead of *ki*, is ungrammatical. These observations raise additional doubts on Law's (1995) hypothesis.

**9.4 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = direct object)**

The situation is straightforward in (58): there is no overt morpheme that could qualify as a relative pronoun corresponding to the relativized object.

(58) *Annou vote pou kandida nou vle a*  
 let-1p vote for candidate 1p want DEF 'Let's vote for the candidate we want'

**9.5 Relative clauses (relative pronoun = object of a preposition)**

Here too, there is no (overt) relative pronoun. In (59), the personal pronoun *li* '3s' occurs resumptively in the base position of the relativized object of the preposition *pou* 'for'. HA bans preposition-stranding, thus the need for a resumptive pronoun instead of a (silent) trace in the prepositional-object position targeted by *wh*-movement in the relative clause.

(59) *Demokrasi bay pèp la prezidan yo te vote pou li a*  
 democracy give people DEF president 3p ANT vote for 3s DEF  
 'Democracy gave the people the president they had voted for'

**9.6 Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun)**

HA relative clauses generally have no overt relative pronoun, §9.4-5, but see §9.3 and §17.9.

9	Dependent clauses: summary for HA	
9.1	Subordinate clauses (non-embedded)	+
9.2	Subordinate clauses (embedded)	+
9.3	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=subject)	0
9.4	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=direct object)	0
9.5	Relative clauses (relative pronoun=obj. of prep.)	0
9.6	Relative clauses (zero relative pronoun)	+

**10 Negation**

**10.1 Single negation (verbal)**

Within its minimal clause, *pa* as marker of sentential negation precedes the sequence of TMA markers and main verb. When it takes clausal scope, *pa* generally does not follow a TMA marker or a main verb occurring in its minimal clause (DeGraff 1992a, 1993b, 1997, 2000, *forthcoming-a*). In this respect, *pa* as sentential negation marker must be kept distinct from *pa* as constituent (e.g, VP) negation marker – the latter, unlike the former, can follow TMA markers.

(60) *Jan pa t av ale nan mache*  
 J NEG ANT IRR go to market 'Jan would not have gone to market'

**10.2 Discontinuous double negation**

HA does not have the Standard French type of discontinuous double negation with *ne... pas*.

**10.3 Negative concord**

There is negative concord. Several negative elements combine in a single instance of sentence negation (61), without cancelling each other's negative force (DeGraff 1992a, 1993b, Déprez 1999).

(61) *Nan katye sa a pèsonn pa di pèsonn anyen*  
 in neighborhood DEM -sg nobody NEG say nobody nothing  
 'In this neighborhood, nobody says anything to anybody'

10 Negation: summary for HA		
10.1	Single negation (verbal)	+
10.2	Discontinuous double negation	0
10.3	Negative concord	+

## 11 Passive

To the extent that one can speak of a cross-linguistic syntactic passive construction, it seems to involve some combination of four properties, as illustrated in (62) for English (Chomsky 1986):

- i) a form of the copula – *was* in (62b)
- ii) some language-specific verbal morphology – the participial suffix *-en* in *seen* (62b)
- iii) the canonical object argument – *John* (62b) – appears displaced in surface subject position, leaving a gap where the object occurs in the active form (62a)
- iv) an optional oblique agentive phrase – *by Mary* (62b) – corresponds to the agentive subject (62a)

(62a) *Mary saw John*

(62b) *John was seen* \_\_ (by *Mary*)

### 11.1 Passive construction

Properties (ii) and (iii) above seem to exist in HA. The displaced position of *kabann lan* (63b) mirrors that of *John* (62b), as the contrast between *fè* and *fèt* (63) mirrors that between English active *see* versus passive *seen* (62), but one caveat is in order. Assuming that the alternation *fè/fèt* is derived in the syntax (contra e.g. Ritter 1991), and assuming some form of Baker’s (1988) “mirror principle”, the grammatical-function change in (62) and (63) is signaled by morphology in the syntax, even though, outside of pairs such as *fè/fèt*, the morphological exponent of the HA passive is null for most verbs that undergo this alternation. Given the systematicity of the word-order alternation in English and HA pairs similar to (62) and (63) respectively, the abstract inflectional system of each language would mark all such grammatical-function changes, whether or not the morphological exponent of this inflection is overt (Baker 1988: 284, DeGraff 2001a: 75).

(63a) *Mwen fè kabann lan rapid-rapid matin an*  
 1s make bed DEF rapid-rapid morning DEF ‘I made the bed very quickly this morning’

(63b) *Kabann lan fèt rapid-rapid matin an*  
 bed DEF made rapid-rapid morning DEF ‘The bed was made very quickly this morning’

### 11.2 Passive equivalent

HA passive-like constructions include lexical passives of the adjectival sort (64). Although (64) seems to involve displacement of *machin lan* into object position on a par with *John* in (62) and *kabann lan* in (63), the *aktionsart* and temporal properties of the predicate *kraze* in (64) are not preserved: *kraze* is non-stative and past in (64a), but stative and present in (64b). This is unlike (62, 63), where the *aktionsart* properties of the predicates are not affected by passivization (Damoiseau 1988, 1991, Ritter 1991).

(64a) *Yo kraze machin lan*  
 3p demolish car DEF ‘They have demolished the car’

(64b) *Machin lan kraze*  
 car DEF demolished ‘The car is demolished’

11 Passive: summary for HA		
11.1	Passive construction	+
11.2	Passive equivalent	+

## 12 Adjectives: verbs?

Arguments for collapsing the classes of verbs and adjectives in HA seem unconvincing, Holm (1988) notwithstanding; see §2.4-5. In §12.6-7 and §15.10, I argue that HA adjectives and verbs need to be kept apart. Damoiseau (1982, 1988, 1991) and Damoiseau & Saint-Louis (1986) offer additional observations on delimiting HA syntactic categories.

### 12.1 Preverbal markers before adjectives

TMA markers can appear before adjectives. For anterior see §2.4-5; for aspectual and mood markers, §3.4; for completive markers, §5.2. Also relevant is the absence of a verbal copula in HA, §2.4-5, §13.

### 12.2 Preverbal markers before nouns

TMA markers can precede nominal phrases; see (10), §2.4-5.

### 12.3 Preverbal markers before locatives

Locative and prepositional phrases generally can directly follow TMA markers; see (11), §2.5.

### 12.4 Predicate clefting: adjectives or adjectival verbs

Predicate clefting occurs with both adjectives and verbs, *inter alia*. One potential argument in favor of the adjectival verb hypothesis is that adjectives and verbs both undergo the same type of predicate clefting, as in (65) with the adjective *malad* and (66) with the verb *mache* (Holm 1988).

- (65) *Se malad Bouki malad, li pa mouri*  
 HL sick B sick 3s NEG dead 'Bouki is sick, not dead'
- (66) *Se mache Bouki te mache, li pa te kouri*  
 HL walk B ANT walk 3s NEG ANT run 'Bouki had walked, not run'

### 12.5 Predicate clefting: other verbs

Are similarities in predicate clefting (65 vs. 66) enough evidence to collapse the categories verb and adjective in HA? Compare (67) and (68) where nominal and prepositional phrases also undergo predicate clefting. Unlike adjectives and verbs in (65-66), the entire predicate projection (the DP *yon doktè* or the PP *nan jaden an*) is fronted. Instead of leaving a copy of the predicate head *in situ* like adjectives and verbs in (65-66), the base position of the clefted DP and PP predicates is occupied by the morpheme *ye*, which seems to act as a resumptive pro-form for [-V] predicates (DeGraff 1995b).

- (67) *Se yon doktè Elifèt ye, li pa yon enfimiyè*  
 HL IND doctor E proP 3s NEG IND nurse 'Elifèt is a doctor, not a nurse'
- (68) *Se nan jaden an Elifèt ye, li pa nan kay la*  
 HL in garden DEF E proP 3s NEG in house DEF 'Elifèt is in the garden, not in the house'
- (69) *Elifèt (\*se) nan jaden an*  
 E HL in garden DEF 'Elifèt is in the garden'
- (70) *Elifèt \*(se) yon doktè*  
 E HL IND doctor 'Elifèt is a doctor'

By the logic of the adjectival-verb argument in §12.4, one might conclude based on the similarities across (67) and (68) that DPs and PPs should be collapsed into a single category since they are subject to the same strategy for predicate-clefting (XP-fronting with *ye* spelling out the XP-trace left in the base predicate position). This seems a fairly dubious conclusion. In fact, when left *in situ* in their canonical post-subject position, PP predicates can occur string-adjacent to their subject (69), whereas DP predicates cannot (70). The syntax and semantics of HA predication and clefts are examined in DeGraff (1992a, 1992c, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 1999a).

The data in §12.6-7 and §15.10 suggest that, notwithstanding similarities in predicate clefting patterns (65-66), adjectives and verbs in HA need to be kept in separate classes. Likewise, nouns and prepositions belong to distinct categories, notwithstanding similarities in predicate-clefting in (67-68).

### 12.6 Comparison with 'pass'

The data in (71) and (72) show that adjectives like *bèl* 'beautiful, handsome' and verbs such as *mache* 'walk' enter into distinct sets of comparative constructions. Both adjectives and verbs can enter into comparative constructions with *pase* 'pass' (< F *(dé)passer* 'to pass (over)'). Some HA dialects use *depase* instead of *pase* to express comparison (Fattier 1998: 919ff, 937ff, 943, 962).

However, only adjectives can take a preceding *pli* (< F *plus* 'more'; variant form *pi*). In the 'pass' comparative, only verbs can be optionally followed by *plis* (also < F *plus*). Thus HA has:

- Adjectives: ... DP1 ... (*pli*) Adj *pase* DP2 ...  
 Verbs: ... DP1 ... V (*plis*) *pase* DP2 ...

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(71a) *Boukinèt (pli) bèl pase Mari*  
 B more beautiful pass M 'Boukinèt is more beautiful than Mari'

(71b) *Boukinèt mache (plis) pase Mari*  
 B walk more pass M 'Boukinèt walked more than Mari'

### 12.7 Comparison as in superstrate

HA has a superstrate-like comparison construction modeled on F *plus... que*. However, again only adjectives are preceded by *pli* and followed by *ke*, while only verbs are followed by *plis ke*. According to Fattier (1998: 943, 962), the comparative constructions in (72) are more common among French-HA bilinguals than among monolingual Creole speakers.

Adjectives: ... DP1 ... *pli* Adj *ke* DP2 ...

Verbs: ... DP1 ... V *plis ke* DP2 ...

(72a) *Jan pli bèl ke Jak*  
 J more handsome than J 'Jan is more handsome than Jak'

(72b) *Jan mache plis ke Mari*  
 J walk more than M 'Jan walked more than Mari'

Besides, in many HA dialects adjectives (73a), unlike verbs (73b), can be preceded by *twò* 'too much' (Y Dejean pc, also Sylvain 1936: 150, Fattier 1998: 920f). Note that post-predicate *twòp* 'too much', unlike pre-predicate *twò*, is compatible with both adjectives and verbs (73c). Dejean notes that even speakers who accept (73b) show a marked preference for (73c) *Boukinèt mache twòp*, whereas these same speakers find (73a) perfectly acceptable.

(73a) *Boukinèt twò bèl*  
 B too-much beautiful 'Boukinèt is too beautiful'

(73b) \**Boukinèt twò mache*  
 B too-much walk 'Boukinèt walks too much'

(73c) *Boukinèt bèl/ mache twòp*  
 B beautiful/walk too-much 'Boukinèt is too beautiful' / 'Boukinèt walks too much'

12	Adjectives: verbs? summary for HA	
12.1	Preverbal markers before adjectives	+
12.2	Preverbal markers before nouns	+
12.3	Preverbal markers before locatives	+
12.4	Predicate clefting: adj. or adjectival verbs	+
12.5	Predicate clefting: other verbs	+
12.6	Comparison with 'pass'	+
12.7	Comparison as in superstrate	+

## 13 The copula

### 13.1 Equative copula (with NP)

HA does not have a verbal copula of the sort of F *être* and E *be*; see §2.4-5, Fauchois (1982), Damoiseau (1982, 1987). But then, what is *se* in (74)? If its function in (74) is to equate *Poutin* 'Putin' and *prezidan Risi* 'president of Russia', why is it not needed in (75-77)?

(74) *Poutin se prezidan Risi*  
 P ?? president Russia 'Putin is the president of Russia'

(75) *Ki moun ki prezidan Risi?*  
 which person COMP president Russia 'Who is president of Russia?'

(76) *Divalye pa prezidan Ayiti*  
 D NEG president Haiti 'Duvalier is not president of Haiti'

(77) *Divalye te prezidan Ayiti*  
 D ANT president Haiti 'Duvalier was president of Haiti'

DeGraff (1992a, 1992c, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 1999a) proposes that *se* in (74) is a resumptive pronominal that spells out the trace produced by subject-raising to Spec (IP) from within a small clause headed by the nominal predicate. (These references are relevant throughout §13.) The subject is first merged within the (extended) projection of the nominal predicate – i.e., in the subject position of the small clause – but it must move to Spec (IP) in order to check its Case and satisfy the Extended Projection Principle. In certain contexts – (74), but not (75-77) – the trace left by subject-raising is not licensed; hence its spelling-out by *se* as a last-resort mechanism to avoid violating a licensing requirement vis-à-vis traces.

### 13.2 Locative copula (with expression of place)

Unlike some other Atlantic Creoles, HA has no locative copula; (8, 11), §2.4-5. Unlike proposals where *ye* is analyzed as a locative copula, my analysis considers *ye* as a pro-form for non-verbal, i.e. [-V], predicates. This pro-form is used to fill the base position of the predicate when the latter undergoes movement, as in clefts (67-68) and *wh*-questions (78).

### 13.3 Zero copula with adjective

There is no verbal copula before adjectives; §2.4, §2.5.

### 13.4 Highlighter with question words

In addition to occurring in post-subject position with nominal(-like) predicates (74), *se* also occurs clause-initially in focus constructions (e.g. clefts and *wh*-questions), irrespective of the category of the clefted phrase; see (78-79) alongside §12.4-5.

- (78) *Se ki moun ou ye?*  
 HL person 2s proP 'Who are you?'

### 13.5 Highlighter with other structures

*Se* also occurs with a range of other structures; §12.4-5.

- (79) *Se Poutin ki prezidan Risi*  
 HL P COMP president Russia 'It is Putin who is the president of the Russia'

### 13.6 Existential ('have' = 'there is')

The existential construction (80) uses the verb *gen*, which also expresses possession (81, cf E *have*). In certain dialects (mine for example), *gen* alternates with a long form *genyen* (< F *gagner*); the long form is required in various contexts, e.g. when stranded by *wh*-movement at the end of a clause (82).

- (80) *Gen manje sou tab la*  
 have food on table DEF 'There is food on the table'
- (81) *Mari gen kouraj*  
 M have courage 'Mary has courage'
- (82) *Ki sa ou genyen?*  
 which that 2s have 'What do you have?'

13	The copula: summary for HA	
13.1	Equative copula (with NP)	0
13.2	Locative copula (with expression of place)	0
13.3	Zero copula with adjective	+
13.4	Highlighter with question words	+
13.5	Highlighter with other structures	+
13.6	Existential ('have' = 'there is')	+

## 14 Serial verbs

I use the term 'serial verb' atheoretically for constructions where main (i.e. non-auxiliary) verbs occur in series without the intervention of overt morphemes for subordination or coordination. Similar constructions are quite common among Niger-Congo ancestors of HA. The serial constructions

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below involve verbs of motion (83-84, 80), transfer (85), and both motion and transfer (86), while the data in §12.6 involve comparison (see e.g. Déchaine 1988, Byrne 1991, DeGraff 1992a, 1993a, 1996).

#### 14.1 Directional with 'go'

- (83) *Bouki voye timoun yo al lekòl*  
 B send children DEF-pl go school 'Bouki sent the children away to school'

#### 14.2 Directional with 'come'

- (84) *Mennen timoun yo vini*  
 lead child DEF-pl come 'Bring the children'

#### 14.3 Serial 'give' meaning 'to', 'for'

- (85) *Boukinèt te pran yon flè bay Bouki*  
 B ANT take IND flower give B 'Boukinèt gave a flower to Bouki'

#### 14.4 Serial 'say' meaning 'that'

This construction is not attested in HA.

#### 14.5 Serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'

See §12.6.

#### 14.6 Three serial verb constructions

- (86) *Mennen timoun yo vini wè m*  
 lead child DEF-pl come see 1s 'Bring the children to see me'

#### 14.7 Serial verb constructions with four or more verbs

- (87) *Al pran machin lan pote vini ban mwen*  
 go take car DEF bring come give 1s 'Go get me the car'

14 Serial verbs: summary for HA		
14.1	Directional with 'go'	+
14.2	Directional with 'come'	+
14.3	Serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'	+
14.4	Serial 'say' meaning 'that'	0
14.5	Serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'	+
14.6	3 serial verb constructions	+
14.7	Construction with 4 or more serial verbs	+

### 15 Noun phrase

The structure and semantics of the HA noun phrase are rather complex; Joseph (1988) gives a painstaking description.

#### 15.1 Bare nouns (generic, definite)

Nouns occurring by themselves may be indefinite and plural (88); indefinite and unmarked for number (89, 90); predicative (91, 92); or generic (93); or locatives (133). In certain narrative contexts such as tales, bare nouns can receive a definite interpretation in a name-like fashion (94).

- (88) *Moun te pè vote*  
 person ANT afraid vote 'People were afraid of voting'

- (89) *Mwen vle dlo*  
 1s want water 'I want water'

- (90) *Mwen gen kay*  
 1s have house 'I have a house/houses'



- (91) *Mwen doktè*  
1s doctor 'I am a doctor'
- (92) *Nou doktè*  
1p/2p doctor 'We/you are doctors'
- (93) *Wosiyòl manje kowosòl*  
nightingale eat soursop 'Nightingales eat soursops'
- (94) *Bouki te marye ak yon bèl wosiyòl. Wosiyòl te renmen kowosòl*  
B ANT marry with IND pretty nightingale, Nightingale ANT like soursop  
'Bouki was married to a beautiful nightingale. (Madame) Nightingale loved soursops'

### 15.2 Indefinite article

*Yon* is the indefinite singular article and occurs pre-nominally. The most common allomorphs and dialectal variants are *on*, *ou* and *you*, with allomorphy determined by the morpho-phonological environment. Note that *yon* is also the numeral 'one'; cf F *un* 'IND, one'.

- (95) *Mwen te wè yon moun*  
1s ANT see IND person 'I saw someone'

### 15.3 Definite article (from superstrate deictic)

The definite article *la* is post-nominal (96), like its Gbe analogue (Sylvain 1936). Its superstrate etymon is the F deictic locative *là* (Chaudenson 1993). As in the Gbe substrate, HA *la* functions as a clausal determiner (Lefebvre 1992, DeGraff 1992a, 1994b). HA *la* has contextually determined phonological variants (Joseph 1988) with allomorphs *a*, *an*, *lan* and *nan*. (For more on *yon* and *la*, see Y Dejean 1980, Joseph 1988, Fattier 1998.)

- (96) *Patriyòt la kouri*  
patriot DEF run 'The patriot ran away'

### 15.4 Plural marker (= 'they')

The post-nominal plural marker *yo* has the same form as the third person plural pronoun; Ritter (1992) offers one theoretical explanation for this link.

- (97) *Li kouri dèyè makout yo*  
3s run after thug DEF-pl 'S/he ran after the thugs'

### 15.5 Personal noun plus plural marker

The (personal noun + *yo*) construction resembles the associative English use of family names in the plural. See Joseph (1988) for additional observations on the HA construction.

- (98) *Alelouya! Divalye yo pati!*  
Alleluia D DEF-pl leave 'The Duvalier gang is gone; good riddance!'

### 15.6 Demonstrative

The most common demonstrative pronouns are *sa* 'that' (99) and *sa a* 'this one/that one'. *Sa a* (pronounced with a long vowel) is often confused with *sa* (pronounced with a short vowel), even in the writings of native HA speakers (see Y Dejean 1982, 1999; DeGraff 1999a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, *forthcoming-b*, for methodological and epistemological caveats on this and related matters).

- (99) *Mwen t a renmen sa*  
1s ANT IRR like DEM 'I would like that'
- (100) *Mwen t a renmen sa a*  
1s ANT IRR like DEM-sg 'I would like this one/that one'
- (101) *Mwen t a renmen sa yo*  
1s ANT IRR like DEM-pl 'I would like these/those'

### 15.7 Demonstrative plus definite or plural

When used adnominally, demonstrative *sa* is post-nominal and precedes *a* (singular) or *yo* (plural):

- (102) *Moun sa yo renmen kandida sa a*  
person DEM-pl love candidate DEM-sg 'These people love this candidate'

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### 15.8 Relative clause followed by definite or plural marker

Nominals may be modified by relative clauses. The definite article associated with the head noun follows the intervening relative clause *nou vle* (103). §9.3-5 has further examples of relative clauses.

- (103) *Mandela se prezidan nou vle a*  
 M HL president 1p want DEF 'Mandela is the president that we want'

### 15.9 Prenominal adjective

Nouns may also be modified by adjectives. Although most adjectives are postnominal (105), a few may occur prenominally (104; Joseph 1988).

- (104) *Nana vann gwo wòb la* (Joseph 1988: 198)  
 N sell big dress DEF 'Nana sold the big dress'

### 15.10 Postnominal adjective

Going back to the question whether HA adjectives are a subclass of verbs, verbs (unlike adjectives) are barred from adnominal position, suggesting again a categorical V-vs.-Adj distinction (106-7).

- (105) *Nana vann wòb jòn la* (ibid.)  
 N sell dress yellow DEF 'Nana sold the yellow dress'
- (106) *yon fanm entelijan*  
 IND woman intelligent 'an intelligent woman'
- (107) *\*yon fanm konnen*  
 IND woman know 'a knowledgeable woman'

### 15.11 Gender agreement

HA nouns, like adjectives and other categories, are mostly uninflected, abstracting away from the possibility of abstract morphology (§11.1). But there exist sub-classes of nouns (e.g. nationality names) that productively and overtly inflect for gender and are subject to overt morphological agreement, as in *fanm Ayisyèn* /ajisjèn/ versus *\*fanm Ayisyen* /ajisjē/, 'Haitian woman'. *Ayisyèn* 'Haitian+FEM' agrees with the feminine head noun *fanm* 'woman'; contrast also F *femme haïtienne* /*\*haïtien* (DeGraff 1997, 1999b, 2001a, 2001b, *forthcoming*-a, -b on HA morphology and its development).

15	Noun phrase: summary for HA	
15.1	Bare nouns (generic, definite)	+
15.2	Indefinite article	+
15.3	Definite article (from superstrate deictic)	+
15.4	Plural marker (= 'they')	+
15.5	Personal noun plus plural marker	+
15.6	Demonstrative	+
15.7	Demonstrative plus definite or plural	+
15.8	Relative clause followed by definite or plural marker	+
15.9	Prenominal adjective	+
15.10	Postnominal adjective	+
15.11	Gender agreement	+

## 16 Possession

### 16.1 Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor plus possessed]

This construction is not attested in HA with the indicated word order, but see §16.2.

**16.2 Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]**

In my dialect there is no morpheme corresponding to the English Case-marking preposition *of*, and the possession relation in (108) is indicated by juxtaposition – but in the reverse order from §16.1. However, in certain dialects, there is such a morpheme that links possessed to possessor, i.e. *a* (<F *à*) – and *pa* (< F *part* ‘part’). The latter is also found in possessive constructions where the possessor and/or the possession relation is emphasized. For more on HA noun phrases see Damoiseau (1982, 1991), Joseph (1988), Lumsden (1989), DeGraff (1992a), Ritter (1992), and Fattier (1998).

- (108) *liv (a/pa) Jan an*  
           book of J DEF ‘Jan’s book’
- (109) *tout jwèt timoun lan*  
           every toy child DEF ‘all the child’s toys’

**16.3 Nouns: possessive adjective [possessor HIS possessed]**

This construction is not attested in HA.

**16.4 Possessive adjectives: prenominal**

There are no prenominal possessive adjectives in HA.

**16.5 Possessive pronouns: distinct**

A single set of personal pronouns and their clitic-like allomorphs (§17.1-6) serve as postnominal possessive pronouns as well as subject and object pronouns. Thus in (108), the third-person singular form *li* can be substituted for the possessor noun phrase *Jan*, resulting in (110). There is no overt morphological distinction between possessive and non-possessive pronouns, §17. *Li* in (110) is interpreted as possessive because of the structure in which it occurs, on a par with the possessor nominal phrases – *Jan* and *timoun lan* – in (108-109). Note that such possessor nominal phrases do not form a morphologically-distinct class of possessive nominals.

- (110) *liv li a*  
           book 3s DEF ‘his/her book’

**16.6 Possessive pronoun as emphatic possessive adjective**

HA does not manifest a distinct class of possessive pronoun forms, or a distinct class of emphatic possessive adjective forms. Emphasis is indicated with the morpheme *pa*, §16.2, as in *liv pa l la* ‘HIS book’, or with stress on the pronoun that refers to the possessor, as in *liv LI a* ‘HIS book’ (110).

16	Possession: summary for HA	
16.1	Nouns: juxtaposition [possessor + possessed]	0
16.2	Nouns: preposition [possessed (of) possessor]	+
16.3	Nouns: possessive adjective [possessor <i>HIS</i> possessed]	0
16.4	Possessive adjectives: prenominal	0
16.5	Possessive pronouns: distinct	0
16.6	Possessive pronoun as emphatic possessive adjective	0

**17 Pronouns: case distinctions**

Putting aside the peculiarities of *se* (§13.1), HA personal pronouns are generally marked for person and number, but not for case, gender, degree of intimacy or proximity, etc. The same pronominal forms are found in positions of subject, direct and indirect object, oblique, possessor, etc., without any overt change in their morphology, *modulo* cliticization possibilities.

In certain morpho-phonological and syntactic contexts, these personal pronouns exhibit the properties of clitics (see DeGraff 1992a, 1992b, 1993a, 1996, Déprez 1992, Cadely 1994 on their phonological and syntactic status). Below, clitic-like forms follow the non-clitic forms after a semicolon. I abstract away from regional differences; Fattier (1998) is a reliable, empirically-rich overview.

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**17.1 Personal pronouns: first person singular**

(111) *mwen; m* 'I; me; my'

**17.2 Personal pronouns: second person singular**

(112) *ou / wou; w* 'you; you; your'

**17.3 Personal pronouns: third person singular**

(113) *li; l* 'he, she, it; him, her; his, its'

**17.4 Personal pronouns: first person plural**

(114) *nou; n* 'we; us; our'

**17.5 Personal pronouns: second person plural**

(115) *nou; n* 'you; you; your'

**17.6 Personal pronouns: third person plural**

(116) *yo; y* 'they; them; their'

**17.7 Reflexive pronouns: distinct form**

Certain predicates express reflexivity by using, in object position, a complex nominal headed by a body-part noun – *tèt* 'head' or *kò* 'body' – with, as possessor, a pronoun co-referent with the subject (117). Other reflexive predicates use simplex personal pronouns in object position (118-119; Carden & Stewart 1988, Déchaine & Manfredi 1994).

(117) *Li<sub>i</sub> rale tèt -li<sub>i</sub> nan goumen an*  
3s pull head 3s LOC fighting DET 'S/He pulled himself/herself out of the fight'

(118) *M<sub>i</sub> ap repoze m<sub>i</sub>*  
1s PROG rest 1s 'I am resting (myself)'

(119) *Yo, antann yo, byen*  
3p get-along 3p well 'They get along well with each other'

**17.8 Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic**

Within *wh*-phrases the morpheme *ki* (< F *qui*) functions as *wh*-marker *par excellence*, and heads maximal projections with the *wh* feature. *Ki* forms *wh*-phrases productively on the pattern [<sub>Y</sub> ...*ki* X... ], meaning '[<sub>Y</sub> ...which X... ]', where X and Y can turn out to be quite complex. This gives rise to the appearance of polymorphemic *wh*-phrases of increasing complexity. But it would be a misnomer to call this open class of complex *wh*-phrases '(bimorphic or polymorphic) pronouns'. The *wh*-phrases in (120a-b) do not form a closed class of interrogative pronouns. Instead, they constitute an open class of maximal projections that can be productively expanded in the syntax. Thus, the question whether certain HA interrogative WH-phrases are bimorphemic pronouns is ill-defined.<sup>7</sup>

- (120a) *ki bò* 'where' [*lit*: 'which side']  
*ki jan* 'how' [*lit*: 'which manner']  
*ki kote* 'where' [*lit*: 'which place']  
*ki lè* 'when' [*lit*: 'which hour']  
*ki moun* 'who' [*lit*: 'which person']  
*ki sa* 'what' [*lit*: 'which that']  
*ki zanmi* 'which friend'  
*ki zouti* 'which tool'
- (120b) *liv ki moun* 'whose book' [*lit*: 'book which person']  
*nan ki jaden* 'in which garden'  
*pou ki moun* 'for whom' [*lit*: 'for which person']  
*pou ki sa* 'why' [*lit*: 'for which that']
- (121) *nan jaden ki moun*  
in garden which person 'in whose garden'
- (122) *ti frè ki moun*  
little brother which person 'whose little brother'

<sup>7</sup> [EDS: At least some items in (120a) are semantically transparent, which underlies the rating for §17.8.]

Alongside these complex *wh*-phrases, we find monomorphemic *wh*-phrases (123). The *ki* in (120) is located within *wh*-phrases that have been moved to Spec (CP), as in (124) where *ki moun* ‘which person’ is first merged as the object of *wè* ‘see’. This *ki*, in *ki moun*, is syntactically different from the *ki* in (55), §9.3. The latter *ki* surfaces around the left-edge of IP, perhaps in the complementizer head, as a consequence of A-bar movement to Spec (CP) via the subject – Spec (IP) – position.

- (123) *konbyen* ‘how much’  
*kouman* ‘how’  
*kote* ‘where’  
*sa* ‘what’
- (124) *Ki moun ou wè?*  
 which person 2s see ‘Who did you see?’

### 17.9 Relative pronouns

As noted in §9.3-5, there are usually no overt relative pronouns when relativization targets the object of a verb or a preposition. However the (potential) status of *ki* as a subject relative pronoun in §9.3 is a matter of debate. In (125) – an example of relativization that targets a locative PP – *kote* ‘place’ could be argued to be a relative pronoun, equivalent to E *where*. But it can also be argued that *kote* in (125) heads a complex nominal that modifies *kay*; see §19.2 for HA locative modifiers that surface without any overt preposition. This possibility extends to locative modifiers within complex nominals (126). In such an analysis, the head noun *kote* in (125) is itself modified by the relative clause [*yo te rete*]. This relative clause would be formed via movement of a non-overt locative operator (i.e. a phonetically null relative pronoun) into Spec (CP), with this operator being co-indexed with *kote*. This would be on a par with E *the house they used to live in*. The null operator in the relative clause that modifies *house* would be the counterpart of the null relative pronoun in (125); see Koopman (1982a) and Y Dejean (1982) on HA relative clauses.

- (125) *Siklòn Gòdonn kraze kay kote yo te rete a*  
 Hurricane G destroy house place 3p ANT live DET  
 ‘Hurricane Gordon destroyed the house where they used to live’
- (126) *kay Kenskòf mwen an*  
 house K 1s DEF ‘my house in Kenscoff’

17 Pronoun case distinctions: summary for HA		
17.1	Personal pronouns: first person singular	0
17.2	Personal pronouns: second person singular	0
17.3	Personal pronouns: third person singular	0
17.4	Personal pronouns: first person plural	0
17.5	Personal pronouns: second person plural	0
17.6	Personal pronouns: third person plural	0
17.7	Reflexive pronoun: distinct form	+
17.8	Interrogative pronouns: some bimorphemic	+
17.9	Relative pronouns	0

## 18 Coordinating conjunctions

### 18.1 ‘And’ joining sentences

Sentences may be coordinated with *epi* (< F *et puis* ‘and then’) or just *e* (< F *et* ‘and’):

- (127) *Lapli ap tonbe e(pi) van ap vonte*  
 rain PROG fall and wind PROG blow ‘It’s raining and the wind is blowing’

### 18.2 ‘And’ joining sentence parts: distinct

Nominal phrases may be coordinated with *ak* / *avè* / *avèk* (< F *avec* ‘with’) or, less commonly, with *e* in certain syntactic contexts:

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- (128) *Annou goumen pou lapè ak/e lajistis*  
 let-1p fight for peace and justice 'Let us fight for peace and justice'

<b>18</b>	<b>Coordinating conjunctions: summary for HA</b>	
18.1	'And' joining sentences	+
18.2	'And' joining sentence parts: distinct	+

## 19 Prepositions

### 19.1 General locative preposition (or post-position)

HA *nan* 'in, into, at, to, on, from' has a broad semantic range, which is partly illustrated in (129-31):

- (129) *Timoun yo te nan mache a*  
 child DEF-pl ANT LOC market DEF 'The children were at the market'
- (130) *Timoun yo al nan mache a*  
 child DEF-pl go LOC market DEF 'The children have gone to the market'
- (131) *Timoun yo sòti nan mache a*  
 child DEF-pl go LOC market DEF 'The children have come back from the market'

### 19.2 Zero preposition with motion verb plus place

Usually, prepositions are not employed when the goal or locative argument is a place name (132; compare 130) or a noun referring to a familiar entity (133; Damoiseau 1982, 1991, Joseph 1988, Lumsden 1989).

- (132) *Timoun yo al Mache Pòspyewo*  
 child DEF-pl go market P 'The children have gone to the Poste-Pierrot market'
- (133) *Timoun yo al lariòyè / lanmès / legliz / lekòl / lopital*  
 child DEF-pl go river mass church school hospital  
 'The children have gone to the river /to mass /to church /to school /to the hospital'

<b>19</b>	<b>Prepositions: summary for HA</b>	
19.1	General locative preposition (or postposition)	+
19.2	Zero preposition after motion verb + place	+

## 20 Miscellaneous

### 20.1 Word order: questions SVO

There is no word-order change in *yes-no* questions; interrogative mood is indicated by rising intonation or by a clause-initial question marker, *èske* (< F *Est-ce que... ?* 'Is it that...?'), as in (134). In *wh*-questions, the *wh*-phrase usually moves to (or toward) the clause-initial position where it may surface preceded by the highlighter *se* (135a; §13.4). HA also has the option of *wh*-in-situ (135b, c; Y Dejean 1982: 50-54), contra Koopman (1982b: 217).

- (134) *(Èske) Ou manje diri a?*  
 QM 2s eat rice DET 'Did you eat the rice?'
- (135a) *(Se) Ki moun ou kwè ou renmen?*  
 HL which person 2s think 2s love  
 'Who do you think you love?'  
 [or:] 'Who is it that you think you love?'
- (135b) *Ou kwè ou renmen ki moun?*  
 2s think 2s love which person  
 'Who do you think you love?'
- (135c) *Ki moun ou kwè ki renmen ki moun?*  
 Which person 2sg think COMP love which person  
 'Who do you think loves whom?'

Note that HA (pro)nominal objects, unlike their analogues in French and in the Kwa substrates, are uniformly post-verbal. That is, no HA objects undergo the sort of object movements to clause-

internal pre-verbal position that are found in both French (with object clitics) and Kwa (in certain constructions such as the progressive and prospective); see DeGraff (1994a, 2000, *forthcoming-a*, *forthcoming-b*) for details.

## 20.2 Sentence-final -o

Like its English equivalent, this interjection expresses veneration, surprise, lament, delight and a whole gamut of other emotions (136, 137). Yves Dejean (p c) reminds me that this exclamative is also used to modify vocatives when calling someone from afar (138).

- (136) *Bondye o! Ala bèl bagay ou fè pou nou o!*  
 God o beautiful thing 2s make for 1p o  
 'Oh, Lord! Oh, what beautiful things you have done for us!'
- (137) *Ala yon bèl lang se kreyòl o! Li bèl kankou tout lòt lang...*  
 IND beautiful language HL Creole o 3sg beautiful like all other language  
*malgre tout tenten y ap pede di sou li*  
 notwithstanding all nonsense they PROG keep say on 3sg  
 'Oh, what a beautiful language Creole is! It is as beautiful as any other language...  
 notwithstanding all the nonsense being said about it'
- (138) *Marilèn o, kote ou ye?*  
 M o, where 2sg proP 'Marilene O, where are you?'

20 Miscellaneous: summary for HA		
20.1	Word order: questions SVO	+
20.2	Sentence-final -o	+

## Conclusion

What can this brief survey – this partial and relatively superficial sample, with a sketchy set of data – offer us toward understanding HA morphosyntax and its genesis? It provides some entry points into a variety of morphosyntactic and semantic puzzles in HA synchrony and diachrony, and into the growing primary research literature on HA.

What about the paths of HA genesis? Some of the constructions alluded to above have unmistakably African origins, e.g. predicate clefts (§12.4-5), serial verbs (§14), and the post-nominal and post-clausal definite determiner (§15.3). Other data reflect systematic French influence: the HA lexicon, which is massively French-derived (Fattier 1998 painstakingly documents HA etymology), the form and semantics of its TMA system (§2-§7), its use of certain main verbs as semi-auxiliaries (§7.3), one of its comparison constructions (§12.7), and various facts about its word order.

Yet a few characteristics of Haitian Creole seem to resist straightforward and exclusive explanation based either on the strict relexification of its Kwa substrate (Sylvain 1936) or the restructuring of its Romance superstrate with little substrate influence (Faine 1937). These characteristics include the structure of non-verbal predication (§13.1-3), certain constructions without overt (expletive) subjects (§13.6), and certain word-order facts such as relatively rigid SVO order (§20.1). As I have often argued (DeGraff 1994a, 1997, 1999b, 1999c, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, *forthcoming-a*, -b, -c, *in prep.-a*), various aspects of HA diachrony offer recurrent and, in my view, unsurprising parallels with more general patterns of so-called gradual language change and of language creation via language acquisition. The joint study of language creation and change, at both the individual/cognitive and community/socio-historical levels, promises to advance the field of Creole studies through new insights about the mental and societal bases of language (re-)creation.

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