

Lexical diffusion and the glottogenetics of creole French

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9. REPLY TO PARKVALL (26/02/01)

(29)a (mouén) j-manj, (nouzot) on-manj, etc. (Magoua)

(29)b (ego) am-o, (nos) am-amus, etc. (Latin)

(29)c je manj, je manj-on, etc. (Acadian)

(29)d je mang-e, nous mang-eons, etc. (Standard French)

(30)a Erstwhile "lexical" pronouns in syntactic positions doubling subjects are categorically downgraded to inflectional items marking subject agreement.

(30)b Erstwhile "conjugational" copula paradigms are regularized freeing an (30ba) erstwhile "present tense" stem and an (30bb) erstwhile "past tense" affix stem for recovery in syntactically reanalyzed positions or functions. [In koine French, this is the paradigm proposed in (12): <je_suis tait> /ch te/, ..., <son tait> /son te/, something I suggested for the first time in 1972 on the basis of orthographies of the type <est tes> for <était> "was". The reanalysis of <était> as /son te/ is rendered in the literature from the 19th century on as <sontaient>, i.e. the standard French 3PL <sont> "are" plus the regular 3PL suffix <-aient>.]

(30)c Inflectional items of type (30ba) compete with inflectional items of type (30a) as "grammaticalized" subject agreement markers. [These are the agglutinated chu-/j- <je_suis> type clitics competing with j-/ch- <je> type clitics in the Magoua data.]

(31)a An erstwhile pronominal article system was downgraded to a morphologically rich noun class system pairing into 9 genders on a continuum that ranges today from "fully functionally class markers" to class markers "in a state of attrition" and "fossilised class markers".

(31)b New determiner systems developed out of "demonstratives" and show either "DEM N order" or alternatively "N DEM". Alternatively, definiteness may be expressed by class concord marked on the verb in varieties with "fully functionally class markers".

(32) X predicate PASS

(33)a *Jan ro pase "John is taller" (Haitian)

(33)b *Rejina dous pase "Régina is sweeter" (Guadeloupean)

(33)c *ou gwan pase "you are bigger" (Dominican)

(33)d *brik mwê lu pase "bricks are less heavy" (Saintlucian)

(34)a li pi/mwen vanse (pase *(mwen)) (Haitian)
"he is MORE/LESS advanced/progressive (THAN *(me))"

(34)b brik pi/mwen lou (pase *(mòtye)) (Saintlucian)
"bricks are MORE/LESS heavy (THAN *(mortar))"

- (35)a PREDICATE-QUANTIFIER (COMPLEMENTIZER-*(STANDARD))
 (35)b QUANTIFIER-PREDICATE (COMPLEMENTIZER-*(STANDARD))
 (35)c (*(STANDARD)-COMPLEMENTIZER) QUANTIFIER-PREDICATE
 (35)d (*(STANDARD)-COMPLEMENTIZER) PREDICATE-QUANTIFIER
- (36)a ó tóbi jùlo (Yoruba)
 "he (is) big PASS
 "He is bigger"
- (36)b àfi lè suè wú (Gbe)
 "mouse is small PASS"
 "The mouse is smaller"
- (37)aa i-midi pase
 noon PASS "it's past noon"
 (37)ab i-pas midi
 PASS noon "it's past noon"
 (37)ba Jan i-si pyé pase
 John six foot PASS "he is more than six feet tall"
 (37)bb Jan i-pas si pyé
 John PASS six foot "he is more than six feet tall"
 (37)ca s-pen la i-pezi si liv pasé
 bread DET weigh six pounds PASS "the bread weighs more than six pounds"
 (37)cb s-pen la i-pezi i-pas si liv
 bread DET PASS weigh six pounds "the bread weighs more than six pounds"
- (38)a ... i enme jwe {plis, mwens, trop} (Dominican)
 ... he like play {MORE, LESS, TOO-MUCH}
 (38)a ... i {pli, mwen, tro} enme jwe
 ... he {MORE, LESS, TOO-MUCH} like play
- (39)a mwen (pli) piti anba-i (Dominican)
 I (MORE) small UNDER him "I'm smaller than him"
- (39)b mo (pi) piti anba li (Karipuna Creole)
 I (MORE) small UNDER him "I'm smaller than him"
- (40)a em i-wokabout i-go (Tok Pisin)
 he PM-move PM-go
 "he went away"
 (40)b em i-kisim ol dispela pis i-kam long mi
 he PM-take PL DEM fish PM-come to me
 "he caught the fish and brought it to me"
- (41)a Kòfí gbã fésrè lá kplé kpé
 Koffi break window DET be-with stone
 "Koffi broke the window with a stone"
 (41)b Kòfí tsó kpé gbã fésrè
 Koffi take stone break window
 "Koffi broke the window with a stone"
- (42)a mwen ch-te-àpre-à-manjé à-pòm-la

- (42)b m-t-ap-manjé mango-a
- (43)aa li menm lave kò-li (HC)
"he self wash body-his"
- (43)ab lui i-té s-làvé l-ku (Magoua)
"he AGRS-PAST self-wash CL-ass"
- (43)ac il s'est lavé (Standard French)
"he washed"
- (43)ba wete kò-u la (HC)
"remove body-yours (from) there"
- (43)bb ot ton-ku d-dla (Magoua)
"remove your-body from-there"
- (43)bc retire-toi de là (FS)
"get out of the way"
- (43)ca li jete kò-li atè (HC)
"he throw body-his totheground"
- (43)cb (pi lui) i-kris son-ku àter (Magoua)
"(and he) AGRS-throw his-ass totheground"
- (43)cc il s'est jeté par terre
"he trew himself to the ground"
- (43)da m ap woule kò-m pou mwen wè si m a jwenn yon djòb nan Kolas (HC)
"I FUT manage body-mine for I see if I FUT get a job in Kolas"
- (43)db m a m-grouyé l-ku pou (mwén) wè si m a ponyé èn djòb à chèp (Magoua)
"I FUT manage CL-ass for (I) see if I FUT get a job at factory"
- (43)dc je me débrouille pour voir si je peux trouver du travail à la Kolas (FS)
"I'll make a move to see whether I can find a job at the local factory"
- (43)ea gouye kò-u (HC)
"move body-yours"
- (43)eb tas ton-ku (Magoua)
"move your-ass"
- (43)ec pousse ta viande (Paris slang)
"move your meat"
- (43)ed pousse-toi (FS)
"move over"
- (44) ... ne T pas V ...
- (45) m p-ap ba ou anpil lagent (Valdman 1978:217)
"I NEG-FUT give you much money"
"I won't give you much money"
- (46) Milèt i/t-àpre/pou l-enstàlé ta-fournez dmen-màten
"Milette AGRS-PROGR/FUT AGRO-install your-furnace tomorrow-morning"
"Milette is going to install your furnace tomorrow morning"
- (47)a lé-fiy euzot son te pou vòté oui si nouzot onhe pa té la
"CL-girl 3PL AGRS PAST FUT vote if we AGRS NEG PAST there"
- (47)b lé-fiy euzot yé te pour vòté oui si nouzot on àve pa (é)té la
"CL-girl 3PL AGRS PAST FUT vote if we AGRS AUX NEG PAST there"
"The girls would have voted "yes" if we hadn't been there"