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A PARTIAL GRAMMAR OF THE HAITIAN CREOLE VERB SYSTEM: FORMS, FUNCTION AND SYNTAX

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A PARTIAL GRAMMAR OF THE HAITIAN CREOLE VERB SYSTEM:
FORMS, FUNCTION AND SYNTAX

by

Judith Wingerd Phillips

A dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of State
University of New York at Buffalo in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to make a non-diachronic, non-comparative description of Haitian Creole speech data collected in Haiti and in Miami, Florida over a period of several years, specifically data functioning in those segments of the syntactic predicate traditionally labeled as "verb", "tense", "aspect" and "mode".

Because extant linguistic works on the language tended to the possibility of being skewed by use of traditional word class and grammatical category labels, modeled especially on analyses of French, but also taken from analyses of various plausible "African" ancestors and of other related and non-related creoles, a more or less a-theoretical approach was to be attempted. By virtue of a "discovery procedure", free of premature assumptions, the systematicity of a language should disclose itself, revealing its proper structure on its own evidence.

The problematics of describing the structure of Haitian Creole in traditional "subject-verb-object" or subject -> noun phrase - verb phrase parlance are detailed. Because Haitian Creole forms and structure are shown to defy unilateral assignment of word class and grammatical category designations, yet display systematicity and predictability of grammatical behavior, an argument is offered as to the greater comprehensiveness and efficiency achieved by a more grammatically functional explication.

The Haitian Creole forms chosen for study, selected from predicate syntax, are listed and grouped by criteria of etymological affinity, display of variant shapes per form, apparent grammatical multifunctionality and syntactic multipositionality. Six categories of forms were clearly delineable.

The conclusion makes a participant-observer statement of the morpho-syntactic facts of the selected segment of the Haitian Creole predicate in a representative structure depicting generalizeable grammatical patterns. Although all forms demonstrate tendencies, inferred from frequency counts of the distribution of allomorphs, possibly indicative of grammaticization, none showed an exclusive syntactic position: grammatical role: variant shape relationship.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to discover generali-
zations and rules relevant to the mechanics of the verbal
system of Haitian Creole and to seek explanations for formal
variants occurring in the domain without attaching, a priori,
the labels or laws of any particular linguistic theory to
the data. The method is one of detailed exposé of recorded
actual, spontaneous speech and is intended to uncover regu-
larities, processes and possible directions of development
operative in Haitian Creole. It is hypothesized, if not
presumed, that Haitian Creole, spoken for well over 200 years
by between five and six million people, is a system deserving
of the label "language" and therefore amenable to disclosing
the structural frame on which is has been built.

The justification of such a study is not that the grammar
of Haitian Creole, or any subdomain, is unexplored territory.
There are grammatical treatises of descriptive, analytic
and explanatory quality extant. The language has been prod-
ded, tested, manipulated, labeled and categorized with the
tools and techniques of several schools of linguistic thought
and theory. The credibility of those works is put to doubt
simply by virtue of the vast and deep discrepancies they
display among themselves. The recent and burgeoning litera-
ture on language change, on creoles in general, on universals
is a further inspiration toward re-examination of Haitian
Creole apart from the research style programmed by the social

stereotype of creoles, i.e., that they are various deviant
approximations of European or colonizing languages. Valid
data are ground for theory-building as well as for theory-
testing.

This investigation is focused on those morphological
forms occurring within the syntax of the Haitian Creole
"verb" system, an attractive domain of inquiry because
1) although the forms reflect a French lexical heritage and
the syntax a general West African substratum, neither area
of the grammar can be directly or completely related to a
specific ancestor; 2) it suggests insights regarding the
creolization process and/or universals theory, and 3) the
discovery of operative laws and rules within one area of the
grammar may serve to illuminate analogues in others.

Additionally, discovery of the parts and mechanics of
the verb, as well as language, system could serve to rein-
force creolized parallels observed in the total complex of
cultural domains. An analysis accomplished by which the
data reveal their proper organization might also, signifi-
cantly, offer a final proof of the autonomy of Haitian
Creole, with which to establish its rightful linguistic and
social status as a unique language.

A. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The etymology of "creole" is from the Portuguese
crioulo 'white person born in the colonies'; in Spanish
the term is criollo, in French creole. (Webster's. 1973:268).
Time has extended its range of reference now to peoples of
the West Indies, Louisiana and various Caribbean countries
who are descended from mixed heritages, usually European
(French, Spanish, Portuguese, Anglo-) with African. They
often speak new languages, creoles, which emerged in the
context of New World colonialization, a "mix" of both
European and African languages. The linguistic term "creole"
is limited to such languages of relatively recent birth that
serve as the native language of a speech community. They
are fully competent to the communicative needs of their
speakers although linguistically distinct from ancestral
models with which they tend to remain associated. "French-",
"English-", "Dutch-", "Portuguese-", etc., "creoles" are
terms which perpetuate the original social status of "in-
feriors" and "superiors", one now connoting inferiority
of the creole to its "Parent" language (e.g., English, French,
etc.). Transparent lexical relationships are only super-
ficial and not indicative of mutual intelligibility.

The phenomenon "creolization", which yields a creole,
is a process, not only of the mix of two or more languages,
but of expansion and elaboration once the viable creole has
been created, in that it serves the expressive and communi-

cative needs of the society in which it has emerged, a society which is also characterizable as a creole one.

Consequently, there is a research benefit to be had in recognizing the human and social context from which language is abstracted, i.e., the socio-cultural system in which it operates, but most strikingly exemplified by the various creole languages that are part and parcel of "creolized" societies. In a recent editorial (Etudes Créoles. May, 1980:10), Jean Benoist makes the point that a larger view to the study of language than is traditionally linguistic is more elucidating. Here, he invokes an anthropological perspective:

> Le point de départ de l'anthropologue est certes différent de celui du linguiste. Celui-ci, quelle que soit son orientation, place la langue au centre et les autres pièces du système social dans une périphérie qui ne le concerne que secondairement, alors que l'anthropologue s'attache plus au système qu'à chacune de ses parties. Mais dans des sociétés où la langue a une position aussi centrale, où elle est au carrefour de l'histoire, des tensions et des projects d'avenir, anthropologue et linguiste se trouvent particulièrement proches. Ce qui importe avant tout cependant, c'est qu'ils ne quittent pas, pour le plaisir de quelque jeu intellectuel ou de la conquête de quelque territoire de connaissance, la réalite de ceux qui vivent le créole, ceux pour qui il est viscéralement important. Il s'agit de travailler au contraire avec eux, se partageant les tâches au gré des orientations de chacun, sinon l'étude créole aura peut-être fait progresser quelque peu nos sciences mais sera passée a côté de ce qui en fait le prix.

The term "creole", traditionally associated with languages, peoples, scoieties, even cuisine, could just as aptly pertain to religious, belief and value, art, architecture, music, etc., systems.

music, etc., systems.

While language might stand as a symbol or model of each and every cultural domain, it is more obviously interlinked with them by virtue of necessary labeling systems, i.e., vocabulary. In the case of Haiti and Haitian Creole, the creole lexicon manifests all three of its contributing sources, each of which in turn is further divisible; European, African and American Indian. The European contribution is most obviously from 17th and 18th century dialectal French; African, in the domain of religion, tends to be Fon, al-though other West and Central African languages are represen-ted; American Indian is essentially Arawak and Carib, largely relegated to the general domains of domestic flora and fauna, although there are some suggestions in the religious sphere that deity names in the "New World" Petro pantheon, as opposed to the more African Rada pantheon, may have come from the Indian labels. As Ute Steibich says in Haitian Art:

> The Haitian character, outlook, and life style have been shaped by the cultures of Africa, the Americas, and Europe. Each left distinctive traces. African belief systems and life of Taino, or Arawak, Indian has survived in foods such as cassava and in utilitarian objects such as the hammock. European culture has been absorbed mainly by the population of the cities and is evident in the language (French), architecture and interior decorating, and life style. (1978:94-5).

It should be pointed out that the terseness of Steibich's statement obscures important facts. The colonial situation in Haiti was not just a meeting of three vastly different sociocultural groups. Concomitantly, the development of

Haitian Creole was not a simple matter of two or three source languages' "mixing" to produce a new one, nor is it so simple and obvious as a French lexicon in a West-African grammatical mold. Rather, there were many groups and many languages, each of which had to adapt and borrow in order that they survive together. According to Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, in "An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective", the European contingent was much more homogeneous as a cultural and linguistic unit than was the African (West and Central). Although Spaniards occupied the island previous to the French, the heavy influx of Black slaves did not occur until by colonial policy of the latter. But, while that policy was based on economic function, the strategy with which it was carried out was based on self-defense: prevention of African solidarity. Slaves were brought from various areas of West and Central Africa; furthermore, indigenous tribal affiliations were not maintained because slaves were consciously separated. Plantations were not manned by ethnic and/or linguistic unities. Consequently, the linguistic system which evolved was the product of the need to communicate, achieved by an adaptation on all sides, by the French as much as the slaves. Although isolated artefacts, rituals, habits, customs, words have been taken as an indication of a more strictly delimitable African culture area, Mintz and Price assert that, under scrutiny, such a claim cannot be substantiated:

Today, Haiti's population still keeps many social, cultural, and religious traits of those Africans. Most of the vocabulary of voodoo, for example, is African. The Haitian proletariat and rural classes, that is, those who speak only Creole, have a cultural, social, and family organization obviously based on African values and traditions. Haiti's dances and music reflect those of the black continent. As Hyppolite says:

> Brought in from the West Coast of Africa, the Negroes did not leave their culture behind. They brought with them their art, religion, music, dances,...
> (1954:9)
>
> (Férère. 1974:4)

Although Mintz and Price would argue for an African homogeneity at a "deep" level, they say that superficially "... what the slaves undeniably shared at the outset was their enslavement; nearly all else had to be created by them". (10) They concur with Herskovits (1958:81) who "explicitly suggested an analogy between the similarities in the grammar of the language over the entire West African region ... (and) what may be termed the grammar of culture". (6) In their own words:

> We submit that a West African cultural heritage, widely shared by the Africans imported into any new colony, will have to be defined ..., by focusing more on values, and less on socio-cultural form, ... by attempting to identify unconscious, "grammatical" principles, which may underlie and shape behavioral response... "cognitive orientations": ...basic assumptions and expectations about social relations; ...basic assumptions and expectations about the way the world functions phenomenologically...certain common orientations to reality may tend to focus the attention of individuals from West African cultures upon similar kinds of events,...(5)

It is within the framework of the social institutions developed as a product of the skewed power situation that

cultural materials and traditions were adapted and "trans-
formed". As in the other socio-cultural domains, there was
a plethora of forms, practices and patterns to remold into
a viable language.

Stereotype has long held that Haitian Creole is the
result of an inferior mind bastardizing a superior language,
that the surface forms are simplifications of French. But,
while slaves may have had to surrender most of their cultural
identities, even among themselves,

> the masters came to accept the patternings of
> slave institutions as part of daily reality and
> to which they, too, had to adjust ... enslavement
> involved   the masters, as well as the slaves, in
> patterned behaviors. (20).

As it is clear that the Colonial policy was not one to
encourage the assimilation of the slave population, it is
apparent, too, that there were no rigorous efforts at
"second language teaching". That lack, according to Dirk
Hesseling, led to the "triumph" of the slave, as he explains
the more significant African input to the eventual reality
of viable creoles:

> The slaves were less in a position than their
> masters to conceive of a different manner of
> communication other than their own; thus, they
> had to content themselves with imitation. So
> they learn the surface structure of the European
> languages, although they make them suitable for
> their own manner of thinking. Something there-
> fore emerges which satisfies both parties. The
> masters hear their own words, however truncated
> or misshapen, while the slaves employ the foreign
> material in a way which is not in complete conflict
> with their inherited manner of expressing them-
> selves (1979:69).

In a discussion related to the emergence of creoles in the context of the colonial power structure, Mervyn Alleyne has said:

> The language shift that creates creole languages is not a qualitively different case from other known instances of language shift. Certainly some of the special factors usually alluded to in creolization are different. Bickerton, for example, places considerable importance on the systematic separation of African slaves so that slaves belonging to the same ethnic and linguistic group would not find themselves on the same plantation. If this is meant, as it seems, to imply that the slaves were languishing in some preverbal state before they picked up something from a European language to express themselves, then this is quite false and absurd. The whole claim, by Schumann and others, that pidginization or universal-type simplification is involved in such situations and is the most important factor in language genesis in such situations does seem to imply the existence of some such preverbal stage. That is to say that in settled contacts, and in the specific case of the language contact in the Caribbean beginning from about the early 17th century, the claim seems to be that there was no full natural speech activity going on among Africans, and that whatever knowledge Africans had of their own languages somehow became suspended when they embarked on the acquisition of the other language in the contact situation. My claim of course is that this knowledge was there, was alive, and was actuated in considerable speech activity by Africans until this very day and was not suspended when Africans began to undergo language shift and language acquisition. It is important to note that bilingualism was already widespread in Africa and that many Africans coming to the New World were already competent in more than one African language. Furthermore, my claim is that the full European languages were heard, and that if any simplification occurred it was not as significant a factor as the transfer and continuity of the structure of the native languages in the acquisition of the other language. For example, the full inflectional system of French is to found in fossilized in French-based creoles; ...(1979:107).

The French masters were equal collaborators with the slaves

in the development of Haitian Creole, a language which is neither French nor "West African", but a new system, constructed from familiar formal parts, re-created to fit a new society and culture.

Within the general overview by Mintz and Price on the development of Afro-Caribbean America, several cultural domains have been well explored in other literature. What is widely and stereotypically recognized as "voodoo" has been the object of "classic" investigation (Métraux, Courlander, Simpson...) Just as Haitian Creole is no simplified version of French, neither is vodun deserving of the label "black magic" which implies a certain ignorant and crude superstition. It is an integral and complex religious system which has incorporated African, European and American elements into a web of sophisticated beliefs and rituals. Although vodun is a Fon (West African) term meaning "deity", it is the name of the Haitian religion, one which is at root probably more cognitively African than may be some other cultural institutions, as religion was a domain in which the French and slaves did not share participation.

Haitian vodun is, nonetheless, an example of the creolizing process. West African religions were not one of a kind, so the Haitian experience incorporated several pantheons, including ones they found native to the Caribbean, and distilled traditions and rituals to common levels. Robert Farris Thompson, writing on the phenomenon of Haitian religious art says:

> ...vodun is Africa reblended. The encounter of
> the classical religions of Kongo, Dahomey, and
> Yoruba land gave rise to novel forms emerging in
> full historical significance. In the process,...
> within this structure room was left ... to accomo-
> date ingenious interpolations of Igbo, French, and
> other influences. (in Steibich. 1978:26).

Vodun is a novel religious form, a sort of African continuum
adapted to a new land and new socio-cultural forces. It
not only recognized and integrated New World deities into its
pantheons, but "borrowed" European (Catholic) symbols. There
is a Catholic gloss to the religion. But, just as the
French lexicon has been reinterpreted and re-structured in
Haitian Creole, so have Catholic rituals, saints and parapher-
nalia within the vodun framework. Thompson claims that Haitian
vodun and its associated art are realizations of "...African-
descended concepts unfolding in new forms" (27), that
Haitian priests and priestesses "...explored stylistic re-
sources new to the Old World traditions..." creating symbols,
icons and tools demonstrating "both continuity and innovation..."
(32).

The flagrant borrowing of what was superficially
Catholic, and its subsequent re-use, re-interpretation,
Thompson sees as a credit to the slaves for the determination
of one people not to be structured wholly within another
people's formal language". (27) He implies that vodun, and
perhaps other socio-cultural institutions are not arbitrary
products of cataclysmic, disorienting culture contact, but
were, at least partially, the result of a conscious craft-
work based on tradition underlaid by shared concepts.

The same conclusion is to be inferred from an article
by John Vlack on the phenomenon of the "shot-gun" house, a
type of structure found not only in Haiti, but in the
United States as well. It is the predominant style found in
southern Haiti, a Black development, as contrasted with the
Norman colonial construction found in the ancient capital
area in the north.

This form is invariably a 12' by 12' structure, a
narrow floor plan of two (possibly three) continuous rooms
with doors at front and back. Even when the 19th century
Neo-Gothic architectural innovations were introduced in
Haiti, the shot-gun continued to be the preferred structure,
albeit ornamented with a Neo-Gothic gloss. Vlack says that:

> This tenacious conservatism indicates that
> Haitian blacks had become accustomed to the shot-
> gun form, retaining internal familiarity while
> bowing to stylish fashion. (1977).

Vlack traces the origin of the shotgun to southwest Nigeria,
claiming it to be classically Yoruban and its name is probably
a re-interpretation (by Americans) of the Fon label to-gun,
meaning place of assembly (56).

Vlack's conclusion is similar in the abstract to that
of Mintz and Price and Thompson:

> African architectural concepts provided the
> central, formative influence for plantation houses
> in Haiti. These concepts, together with features
> borrowed from house forms used by Indians and
> Europeans, were incorporated into the rural Haitian
> shotgun....(56)

After independence in 1804,

> The mulatto class took the mud-and-thatch

> house, and, by changing the techniques of con-
> struction, transformed it into a stylish city
> dwelling. But their changes did not alter the
> plan of the building. The internal pattern
> remained familiar. (56).

Furthermore, he extends himself to write that the shotgun

is an architectural representation of an African attitude,

that of intimacy: "the shotgun is a physical expression of

an African state of mind". (67)

B. SUMMARY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL/LINGUISTIC CREOLIZED DOMAINS

All of the above cultural domains are implied to be

characteristically West African in origin, re-structured to

varying degrees, with a European appearance achieved through

extensive borrowing and re-interpretation so that the re-

sultant product is neither exclusively European nor

exclusively African. The concomitants of borrowing,

European surface, have led many to believe that Creole

society is a diluted form of the European, due to the ina-

bility of the slaves to achieve the posited standard. But,

as Thompson has indicated, the slaves did not easily relin-

quish their heritages, their traditions, the conceptual

frameworks in which they realized their own identities. The

phenomenon of borrowing in itself is made more clear by

Mintz and Price, no matter the domain, and the creolized

results much more comprehensible:

> ...borrowing was never achieved without resultant
> change in whatever was borrowed, and, in addition,
> without incorporating elements which originated in
> the new habitat that, as much as anything else,
> give the new form its distinctive quality ...

> "borrowing" may not best express the reality at
> all - - "creating" or "remodelling" may make it
> clearer. (43-4).

The literature describing and analyzing the several
cultural domains of religion, art, architecture and language
makes constant and consistent use of the polar concepts of
1) conservatism/tradition/continuity-continuum/deep values/
African concepts/African cognitive orientations: as opposed
to: 2) creativity/development/growth/dynamism/novel forms/
remodelling/reblending/synthesis. The literautre in each
case also refers to the vast difference between surface and
deep forms/structures/orientations, that the usually
European facade thinly veils an African "cultural grammar",
a grammar which has proven flexible enough to exploit New
World resources and account for New World phenomena, bending
enough to create a cultre which is neither African nor
European, while maintaining (consciously or not) the identity
and subsequent security of a deep level core. That these
basic cognitive orientations remain intact in various other
socio-cultural domains might suggest an argument as to the
plausibility of their tenacity and subsequent significance
in the development of Haitian Creole.

II. OVERVIEW OF HAITIAN CREOLE

Haitian Creole:

> est formé, de trois-quarts, pour le moins, du
> dialecte normand des seizième et dix-septième
> siècles qu'il a conservé tres peu et auquèl sont
> venus s'ajouter des patois d'autres régions de
> France: Picardie, Anjou, Poitou, Isle-de-France,
> etc. (Faine. 1936:1)

> is not a dialect of French, but an independent
> language, almost as closely related to French as
> (say) modern Italian and to Latin ... to be classed
> among the Romance languages, and specifically
> among the northern group of the Gallo-Romance
> branch, on the basis of its phonological, morpho-
> logical, syntactical, and lexical correspondences.
> (Hall. 1953)

> est probablemente né dans l'île de la Tortue au
> cours du XVIIe siecle ... (Sylvain. 1936:8) ...
> Nous sommes en présence d'un français coulé dans
> le moule de la syntaxe africaine ou, comme on
> classe généralement les langues d'après leur
> parenté syntaxique, d'une langue ewe à vocabu-
> laire français. (Ibid. 136)

> is not a kind of pidgin but the last-born of the
> Romance languages, derived from French in the same
> manner as French itself is derived from Latin.
> Though the vocabulary, with the exception of a
> certain number of terms of African or Spanish
> origin, is almost entirely French, the pronunci-
> ation and grammar bear the imprint of various
> West African languages. (Métraux. 1976:7)

Because Haitian Creole has been accorded all the
possible classifications: 1) a degenerate version of French,
2) a Romance language derived from French, and 3) a daugh-
ter of some African parent, it is instructive to survey its
phonological, morphological and syntactic properties with a
comparative eye thrown at alleged ancestral relatives.

No matter what weight accorded French or African linguistic

ancestry, no author or linguist leaves the other side un-
mentioned: several give more or less equal import to both,
depending on the area of grammar being discussed.

A. PHONOLOGY

The French spoken at the time of 17th and 18th century
colonization was not Parisian French, not a normativized
French, rather several dialects of French, as Jules Faine
has listed above. His work Philologie Créole, in fact,
cites the particular dialects from which he traced the origin
of each of the lexical entries in his glossary. Consequently,
without even a normativized French as reference, it is
impossible to know precisely the phonology of the French to
which slaves brought from Africa were exposed. At the same
time, an absence of scholarly, technical work on the emer-
gence of Haitian Creole as a distinct language and the al-
most complete dearth of early Haitian Creole literature make
a definitive phonological inventory of the period unattainable.
A collection of poems (1811), several versions of several
songs, some Biblical translations, all written in a "frac-
tured French", are all that remain of the formative period,
due to the fires that ravaged the capital of Cap Haitien and
its store of official documents shortly after Independence.
But, even in the 20th century, recordings of oral literature,
Biblical and religious treatises and more technical studies
of the language proper have apparently not attempted to

normalize their chosen orthographies, so that there are still very real uncertainties of phonological reality.

Therefore, a general comparison of phonological characteristics of today's Haitian Creole with today's standard French may not be at all revealing of the actual linguistic situation in the 17th and 18th centuries. The French phonemic chart presented here is taken from Albert Valdman's Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, 1977, page 161, the Haitian Creole one from his Basic Course in Haitian Creole, 1970, pages 11-31.

As to African language phonological characteristics brought to the New World, the issue is even more moot. It has long been thought that

> the majority of the captives originated from that
> African region long known as the Slave Coast.
> The treaty ports of Dahomey and Nigeria supplied
> the largest contingents of 'ebony'. The history
> of the trade, the evidence adduced by bills of
> lading of the Negro vessels and by certificates
> of sale, suffices to indicate the size of the
> Dahomeyan element in the slave population.
> (Métraux. 1960:14)

Suzanne and Jean Comhaire-Sylvain, moreover, demonstrate a preponderence of Dahomeyan language origins in a study published under the title "Survivances africaines dans le vocabulaire religieux d'Haiti" (in Etudes Dahoméennes XIV, Porto Novo, 1955). Further, as quoted above, Suzanne Sylvain would define Haitian Creole to be an Ewe language with French vocabulary.

On the other hand, recent scrutiny of slave records

indicates more ethnic heterogeneity than was previously
thought and that percentages of provenience should be taken
with scepticism. It is now recognized that Haiti may have
originally been populated by a greater number of Central
than Western Africans (cf. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price.
1976:8). Whether this be the case or not, it was a clear
policy of the French that slaves speaking the same language
be separated per plantation so as to ensure white control.
Such a policy was intended to wipe out native languages.

In sum, the African language situation is a much more
varied picture than that presented by the several dialects
of French represented in Haiti. Establishing phonological
input on the multi-language African side is even more prob-
lematic than is the multi-dialectal French, and, again, is
further complicated by the lack of historically contemporary
phonological analyses of those languages.

Nonetheless, because of the preponderence of Dahomeyan
vocabulary in the religious sphere, and repeated citations
of discernable "ewe" remnants, for the sake of provoking
thought, a sketch of Ewe phonology will be proffered, taken
from Ewe Basic Course by Warburton, Kpotufe and Glover (1968).

It must be kept in mind that simple phonemic inventories
do not begin to hint at the complexity of a language's
phonological system. While it is not in the purpose of
the current research to detail that system, some of the dif-
ferences between French and Haitian Creole phonological pro-

cesses will be apparent, but not discussed in later sections.
It is at such levels as the morphophonemic that comparisons
are more interesting and significant.

VOWELS

Standard French			Ewe		Haitian Creole	
i	ÿ	u	i	u	i	u
e	ø	o	e	o	e	o
œ		ɔ			ɛ	ɔ
	a			a		a
ẽ	ẽ		ĩ	ũ	(ĩ)	(ũ)
œ̃	õ		ẽ	õ	ẽ	ɔ̃
			ɛ̃	ɔ̃		
				ã		ã

The Haitian Creole phonemes are what Valdman calls "the core
system"; i.e., the inventory of the monolingual, usually
rural speaker. The parenthecized nasal vowels are uncommon,
their restricted occurrences a matter of dispute. Valdman
would add the three front rounded vowels of French to more
gallicized versions of Creole.

CONSONANTS

Standard French			Ewe				Haitian Creole			
p	r	k	p	t	č	k	kp	p	t	č	k
b	d	g	b	ɖd	ǰ	g	gb	b	d	ǰ	g
f	s	š	f	s		x̌		f	s	š	
v	z	ž	v	z		ɣ̌		v	z	ž	
m	n	ñ	m	n	ñ̃	ŋ		m	n	ñ	
	l	r		l		r			l		r
w	y		w	y					y		

(Refer to p.89 for phonetic symbols and descriptions used
in this study.)

Although there are many phonological phenomena worthy
of discussion, one of the most significant is that, in Ewe,
tone is of outstanding importance. Ewe is "the classical

and rare example of a language in which tone is almost
exclusively lexical". (Warburton. 1968: vii). This is
not the case in either French or Haitian Creole, although
in the latter, there seem to be tonal vestiges, perhaps just
intonational idioms. On the other hand, Haitian vowels tend
to be morphophonemically much more malleable than their
French counterparts, perhaps reflecting a vowel harmony
tendency of Ewe.

B. MORPHOLOGY

In comparing morphological characteristics of the
three languages, it is clear that, while Haitian Creole
lexical forms are derivatives from the French, their de-
fining features are more West African than Romance or Indo-
European. Haitian forms are marked by a very high degree
of structural immutability:there is no inflectional process oper-
ative in the language. As a result, semantic expression is
dependent on a rigid word order in Haitian Creole, a faith-
fully analytic language, whereas French is classifiable
as a synthetic language. Morphs are readily identifiable
in Haitian Creole; phonological modification, mainly ab-
breviatory, is the concomitant more of sociolinguistics
(discourse) than grammar. The effects of declension and
inflection in French are achieved by juxtaposition of meaning-
ful forms in Haitian Creole, apparently also generally the
case in Ewe, although there may be in that language some
processes which are affixal. Warburton et al state that

"nouns often have a vowel or nasal prefix which is used to form nouns from verbs" (vii). In contrast, many Haitian Creole "nouns" and "verbs" are structurally identical, only playing appropriate grammatical roles by virtue of position.

These characteristics will be illustrated below:

1) NOMINALS

Both grammatical gender and number in French are indicated by definite and indefinite articles (un, une; le, la; des; les) which occur before the noun. All modifiers (determiners, adjectives, possessive adjectives, possessive pronoun replacements, pronoun replacements) agree with nouns in gender and number. Additionally, presence or absence of an affix indicative of number marks the noun proper.

Ewe substantives, in contradistinction, encode neither grammatical gender nor number. For entities that are clearly male and female, there are separate words.

Likewise, the nouns of Haitian Creole carry no grammatical indication of number or gender. For animals, the noun label is taken as neutral or male; female-ness will be shown by juxtaposition with the noun morphs fɛmɛl or mâmâ. There is no grammatical agreement with any modifying elements.

a) Pluralization

To pluralize French nouns, a plural morpheme is suffixed; additionally, determiners and any modifying elements

such as adjectives and possessives are morphologically
inflected to indicate plural. These characteristics, though,
are orthographic and cannot be taken as literal comparison,
especially if the reader is concerned to contrast French and
Haitian Creole as if French had been the "target". The
written inflections of French are variously realized in
actual speech, often more salient in determiners than in
the nouns themselves.

In Ewe, according to Washburton, et al, pluralization
is effected by suffixation of "the 3rd person plural pronoun
to the singular" (vii).

Haitian Creole postposes the third person plural pro-
nouns to the noun to indicate plural. Accompanying modifying
elements remain structurally unchanged, syntactically posi-
tioned between the noun and the plural marker.

French	Ewe	Haitian Creole
-les ___-s, -aux	-wo	-yo

"houses":

```
French:   les maisons
Ewe:      xɔwo
Creole:   kay-yo

French:   les animaux de mon père:   the animals of my
                                                     father
Creole:   bɛt papa-m yo:   my father's animals
          animal father-I they

French:   mes amis:   my friends
Ewe:      xɔʌyèwó:   my friends
          friend I plural
Creole:   zami'm:   my friends
          friend'I
```

2) DETERMINERS

French determiners agree in number and gender with the noun. There are different forms for both definite and indefinite determination. All occur before the noun.

In Ewe, the definite article is -la, -a; there is none to indicate indefiniteness. The -la follows the nominal; whether it is a suffix, a postposition or a free form is unclear in the literature.

Definite "the" in Haitian Creole is a complex of forms whose various shapes are dictated not by the concord of gender or number, but by phonological environment. As in Ewe, the definite occurs after the noun or the noun and accompanying modifying elements. Indefiniteness, i.e., "a" is signaled by a form which also means "one". This is not obligatory as in French, as indefiniteness is inferrably a semantic feature of the substantive. The form occurs prior to the "noun".

French	Ewe	Haitian Creole
le, la, l'. les	-la, -a	-la, -a, -n ,
un, une, des		yɔ̂ , ɔ̂,ɲɔ̂
l'arbre	ati-la	pye bwa la
the tree	tree-the	tree-the

In a series of nouns and modifiers, Creole and Ewe operate on a similar pattern.

```
French:   ce bel arbre - that beautiful tree
Ewe:   ati nyui sia la - tree beautiful that the
Creole:   pye bwa bɛl sa a - tree beautiful that the
```

3). DEMONSTRATIVES

Again, while French demonstrative adjectives are in-
flected for number and gender and syntactically precede the
noun, Ewe and Haitian Creole use post-positional forms.
The French demonstrative pronoun is a different shape from
the adjective, whereas in Haitian Creole it is invariant
and in Ewe it is pronominalized with the addition of
e-prefix.

French	Ewe	Haitian Creole
ce, cet, cette, ces	-si, -sia	-sa, - sila
(pronominal): celui, celle, ceux -ci and -la may be suffixed for "this" and "that" .	esi, esia	sa

4) PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Haitian Creole personal pronouns are apparent lexical
derivatives of the French objective case pronouns. On
the other hand, their formal invariance and the nature of
their grammatical operations are more characteristic of the
West African languages. While French pronouns encode all of
number, gender, person and case, neither Ewe nor Haitian
Creole is morphologically marked for gender or case.
Variation in the shape of Haitian Creole pronouns is phon-
ologically motivated. All forms in the language tend, in
normal, informal speech, to reduce to their smallest iden-
tifiable shape. Allowances for ellipsis are generous. In
the instance of personal pronouns: "'m', 'n', 'l', 'u'

sont toujours préfixées comme sujets aux formes verbales
commençant par une voyelle; 'm', 'n', 'l' peuvent aussi
précéder des consonnes ou être suffixés comme compléments
aux formes verbales terminées par une voyelle". (Sylvain.
1936:62).

Both Ewe and Haitian Creole personal pronouns are, in
structural shape, identical in the nominative and objective
cases, the latter including accusative and dative case roles.
In rather striking contrast, there are four delineable per-
sonal pronoun paradigms in French, although only first,
second and third person singular and third person plural
pronouns are actually multiple in form. There are both
nominative and objective case pronouns, the latter separable
into accusative and dative, further distinguishable by virtue
of syntactic position and certain co-occurrences. The
group which are "free" or "independent are not restricted
to objective roles but in specific environments are nominative:
e.g.: C'est moi. "It is I." In the possessive, French
pronouns as such are scarcely recognizeable; they are in-
stead adjectives which agree in person with the possessor,
in gender and number with the possessed. Ewe possessive
adjectives are governed by a more complex set of rules than
those of Haitian Creole, the former utilizing factors of
pre- or post-position and tone to render meaning. To
indicate possession in Haitian Creole, the personal pronoun
follows the possessed. There is no morphological indication

that they be considered "adjectives". They are identical
in shape in all three cases, elliptic versions dictated by
phonological environment and discourse style. It is their
syntactic locus, post-positional to the possessed, which
marks their grammatical role.

Pronominal emphatics in French are realized by the
combination of the objective case pronouns (the set which
would follow the verb) with même "same" or "self". This
is practically identical to the Haitian Creole: while the
pronouns are invariant, the lexeme for "same" is from the
French. Additionally, because of the absence of reflexive
verb mechanisms in Haitian Creole, the emphatics are also
reflexives. Ewe personal pronouns are also followed by a
form meaning "self" ɲutɔ to effect both emphasis and reflexi-
vization.

In additon, Haitian Creole shares with many West
African languages the options of post-posing the personal
pronouns to nominal forms indicating body parts, e.g.,
kɔ "body", kadav "body", tɛt "head".

Nominative

French		Ewe	Haitian Creole
je, j'	moi	nye, me	mwɛ̂, m'
tu	toi	wò, e	u
il (m.)	lui	éyà, yè, e	li, l'
elle (f.)	elle		
nous	nous	míawo, mie, mi	nu, n'
vous	vous	miawò, mie, mi	u
ils (m.)	eux	wòawo, wo	yo
elles (f.)	elles		

Objective

Accusative	Dative	Free		
me, m'	me, m'	moi	same as nominative	same as nominative
te, t'	te, t'	toi		
le, l'	lui	lui		
la, l'		elle		
nous	nous	nous		
vous	vous	vous		
les, leur	leur	eux		
les, leur		elles		

Possessive

French	Ewe	Haitian Creole
mon, ma, mes	nye, yefé, ye	-mwɛ̂, -m
ton, ta, tes	wò	-u
son, sa, ses	è, èfe	-li, -l
notre, nos	mía, miafe	-nu, -n
votre, vos	mia, miafe	-u
leur, leurs	wó, wófe	-yo
	(usually pre-positions)	(post-position)

Emphatic (Reflexive)

French	Ewe	Haitian Creole
moi-même	ŋye ŋút	mwɛ̂-mɛ̂m
toi-même	wo ŋútɔ	u-mɛ̂m
lui-même	eya ŋútɔ	li-mâm
(soi-même)		
nous-même	míawò ŋutɔ	nu-mɛ̂m
vous-même	miawo ŋutɔ	u-mɛ̂m
eux-même	wóawo ŋutɔ	yo-mɛ̂m
elles-même		

Although the appearance of Haitian Creole personal pronouns is "French", there are some African language forms that may coincidentally have reinforced emerging shapes. In both Ewe and Creole, m is a contracted form for the first person singular. Grammatically, Haitian Creole personal pronouns share more similarity with West African languages than with French; i.e., invariance with case, absence of grammatical gender, use of "body" and "head" nominals "possessed" by the personal pronouns to indicate pronominal emphasis and reflexivization, juxtaposition of personal pronoun with possessed to indicate possession.

5) VERB

It is the purpose of this research to investigate more thoroughly the province of the "verb". The following, therefore, is intended to be a sketch for the sake of comparison with possible ancestral roots of only the more salient characteristics.

Robert Hall, in going so far as to classify Haitian Creole in the Romance line of languages, offers as evidence that

> all eight of the typical Indo-European 'parts of speech' (noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction, interjection or minor-clause form) must be distinguished on the basis of morphological and syntactical criteria; ...the verb-forms fall into the conjugations typical of the Romance languages, and specifically into the three characteristic of French (pal-é 'speak'; dom-i 'sleep', bwe 'drink') ... (1953:11).

Verb forms, as lexemes, are obviously derived historically from the French. To wit:

French	Haitian Creole	
aller	ale	"to go"
aimer	rɛmɛ	"to like"
chanter	šâte	"to sing"
arriver	rive	"to arrive"
manger	mâže	"to eat"
dire	di	"to say"
prendre	pra	"to take, get"
voir	wɛ	"to see"

Even on the level of a simple list, though, there is a glaring difference. The French form is marked as "infinitive" by virtue of -er, -re -r suffix. The parallel Haitian form functions as an "infinitive", as the present

conjugation" for all persons singular and plural, as
"present" and "past participles", as the "imperative", as
a modal or aspect, etc., with no marking whatsoever.
Grammatical role can only be determined in syntactic context.
Generally the verb, except for elliptical processes, remains
invariant in shape, its explicit meaning shaped in conjunction
with modificatory particles and surrounding "parts of speech".
In other words, there is no morphological conjugation as
compared to the French etymon which is marked for person,
number, tense and aspect. Although the following chart
forces Haitian Creole data into a paradigm which is neither
necessarily grammatically appropriate nor psychologically
real, it serves for comparison with its alleged model:

	French	"to speak"	Haitian Creole
present:	je parle		m pale
	tu parles		u pale
	il, elle parle		li pale
	nous parlons		nu pale
	vous parlez		u pale
	ils, elles parlent		yo pale
future:	je parlerai		m'a pale
past:	j'ai pale		m te pale
imperfect:	je parlais		m t'ap pale
conditional:	je parlerais		m t'a pale
infinitive:	parler		pale
imperative:	parle! parlons! parlez!		pale!

The following example of Ewe "conjugation" demonstrates
an invariant verb root that agrees with one of person,
number, gender or tense. Tense is signaled with the appro-
priately meaningful form between pronoun and verb:

"to go"

present:		future:	
meyì	- I go, I went	máyì	
èyì	- you go	àyì	
éyì	- he goes	áyì	
mìeyì	- we go	míayì	
mìeyì	- you go	míayì	
wòyì	- they go	wòayì	

Haitian Creole would appear to mirror the Ewe paradigms

except that the latter is complicated by the factor of tone.

The following Yoruba example reinforces the African

Kwa language family pattern:

"to love"

present:		future:	
emi fe	- I love	emi ofe	
iwo fe	- you love	iwo ofe	
on fe	- he, she loves	on ofe	
awa fe	- we love	awa ofe	
enyin fe	- you love	enyin ofe	
awon fe	- they love	awon ofe	

past:	
emi ti fe	
iwo ti fe	
on ti fe	
awa ti fe	
enyin ti fe	
awon ti fe	

Again, the similarity of construction with that of Haitian

Creole is striking if not provocative. "Conjugation" of

"tense" is marked by preposed particles with neither verb

nor particle agreeing in number or person with the pronoun.

C. GRAMMATICAL CHATACTERISTICS AND PROCESS OF THE PREDICATE
      VERB SYSTEM

1. TENSE-ASPECT

Creole languages have been characterized in the litera-
ture as having an abundance of aspects as compared to the
frequency with which they mark for tense, itself a category
less definite than that indicated by the labels of past,
present and future affixed to the markers of the creoles'
lexical ancestors. In fact, Derek Bickerton (in Valdman.
1979:58) has coalesced the categories of tense and aspect and
does not make the traditional distinction between the two
in a description of the creoles' verbal systems. Although the
majority of his first-hand research has been among more
English-based creoles, i.e., Hawaiian, Guyanese, his con-
clusions are applicable to the evidence of Haitian Creole
as well as to many others:

> B. Tense and aspect. All early-creolized creoles
> share almost all, and many share all, of the fol-
> lowing characteristics:
> (i) . The zero form on the verb marks 'simple
> past' for action verbs and 'nonpast' for state
> verbs (as explained at some length in Bickerton
> 1975a, 'simple past action' and 'nonpast state'
> would not be characterized as separate entities
> in a creole grammar, but form a single 'nonanterior'
> category).
> (ii) A marker of anterior aspect (vin or some
> phonological variant - ben, en, wen, min, etc. -
> in all Anglo-Creoles, te, t' etc., in Franco-
> Creoles, etc.) indicates past-before-past for
> action verbs and simple past for state verbs.
> (iii) A marker of irrealis aspect (go in many
> Anglo-Creoles, sa in Sranan and early Guyanese
> Creole, (a)va or ke in Franco-Creoles) indicates
> 'unreal time, i.e., future, conditional, subjinc-
> tive, etc., for all verbs.

(iv) A marker of nonpunctual aspect (<u>stei</u> in
Hawaii, <u>de</u>, <u>e</u>, <u>da</u>, or <u>a</u> in most Anglo-Creoles,
<u>ap</u>(<u>e</u>) or <u>ka</u> in Franco- Creoles, etc.) indicates
both durative and iterative aspects (or better,
a single 'nonpunctual' category) for all action
verbs. This marker is indifferent to the past/
nonpast (but not the anterior/nonanterior) distinc-
tion, and cannot co-occur with state verbs.
(v) All markers are in preverbal position (excep-
tion: Papiamento <u>lo</u>, the irrealis marker, which
retains the clause-external position commonly
occupied by tense-aspect markers in pidgins).
(vii) The meaning of anterior + nonpunctual is
"a durative action or a series of non-durative
actions taking place either before some other event
under discussion, or during a period of time under-
stood to be definitely closed."
(viii) The meaning of irrealis + nonpunctual is
"a non-punctual action occurring in unreal time,"
e.g., a future progressive.
(ix) The meaning of anterior + nonpunctual is
"an unrealized condition in the past."
(x) The meaning of anterior + irrealis + non-
punctual is "an unrealized condition in the past,
of a nonpunctual nature," e.g., <u>I</u> <u>would</u> <u>have</u> <u>been</u>
<u>looking</u> <u>for</u> <u>something</u> <u>else</u>.

It is certainly the case in French that no sentence is
unmarked for a "tense". All sentential verbs carry an in-
evitable morphological indicator. For possible creole
models, then, it is worth looking at some African language
characteristics.

William Welmers, in his <u>African Language Structures</u>,
introduces a discussion of the verb systems of the Niger-
Congo languages, of which Kwa is a branch, with the implicit
admonition that a traditional approach to their grammars has
resulted in "widespread misuse of labels, and apparently
widespread misunderstanding of usage." (1973:344) There-
fore he suggests using the term "verbal construction" to

explain more clearly the grammatical composition and behavior

of verb systems and separate them from the assumptions carried

in traditional labels. To wit:

> For the most part, the verbal systems of
> Niger-Congo languages are best described in terms
> of a uni-dimensional list of "verbal constructions"
> rather than in terms of a bi-dimensional or multi-
> dimensional grid with intersecting categories
> such as tense, aspect, and mode. ... The term
> "verbal construction" is thus designed to avoid
> the confusions and complications inherent in dis-
> tinguishing categories such as tense, aspect, and
> mode. ...the forms or constructions of Niger-
> Congo languages do not fall into neat sets with
> different types of morphological structures.
> (314-5)

It is both inferrable as well as directly asserted in

much of the creoles literature that the creole verb systems

are patterned after an, at least, abstract West African model

That is certainly a plausible hypothesis and one worthy of

pursuit.

On the other hand, though, the more important point made

by Welmers is one which echoes an admonition made by Hugo

Schuchardt in 1914, that:

> ...We involuntarily regard our language as the
> model - and we have no feeling for the fusions and
> obfuscations, the inconsistencies and eccentri-
> cities, by which they excel all other languages;
> we perceive the splinter in the stranger's eyes, but
> not the beam in our own. (74)

Welmers' studies of African languages led him to a fair

conclusion: there are grammatical means of rendering verb

meanings other than those associated with longer-studied

languages, languages which have become so familiar and com-

fortable to us that they are often taken tacitly to be superior

or "language-defining".

2. SERIALIZATION

A characterization of emphasis on aspect as opposed to tense among the creoles is one shared with some African languages. Both creole and West African languages effect this particular "aspect" flavor through the syntactic juxtaposition of verb forms without intervening prepositions as would be found in, e.g., French or English. In the literature, the phenomenon is commonly referred to as "verb compounding" and "serial verbs". Additionally, the verbs of such strings are often identical in shape with their appearances as independent verbs, although they may also be reduced in length, evidence for the possibility of grammaticization, a process of "lexical reanalysis" (Givon. 1975:47) whereby a form is reduced to encompass a more circumscribed semantic range and grammatical function (to be discussed and exemplified in detail in Chapter D).

Fine nuances about and within the Haitian Creole domain of time are possible: future departing from a specific present, future within the future or past, "have just"-ness, recentness of past, completedness of past, partial completion of a state or action, "beginningness" of an action, action or state not yet commenced; an action/state almost but not yet accomplished, probability, capability, permission, obligation or will.

Ewe, according to Westermann, also displays a more
aspect-oriented than tense-marked structure. Although
"past", "present" and "future" tenses are possible readings,
modificatory verbs (aspectual) are more frequent, indicating
qualifications of progressivity, duration, reiteration,
prohibition, etc. Westermann's explanation for the aspect-
emphacized character of Ewe lies at the level of cognition
or "world view", one which has found expression in the very
grammar of the language. In reference to verb-strings,
whose function is to maintain a finely detailed sense of
activity, Westermann says:

> The explanation of this is that the Ewe people
> describe every detail of an action or happening
> from beginning to end, and each detail has to be
> expressed by a special verb, while subordinate
> events are either not considered or rendered by
> means of a preposition, adverb, conjuntion, or
> a prefix of the verb (1930:74).

An exemplification of the verb string pattern lifted
from Suzanne Sylvain (1936:41) and Westermann (26) follows
(with their respective orthographies intact).

Ewe: Eyí ɖagve yevúne vé ɲaɱ meɖu difo:
     He went reached picked coconut came gave me I ate had
                                                  enough.

Literal French: Il alla arriva cueillit noix de coco vint
     donna moi je mangeai devins rassassié.

French: Il me cueillit une noix que je mangeai et dont je
         fus rassassié.

Haitian Creole: L'fek-sot-rivé-kéyi- ɲu kòk vin bâ mwê
                 m'pézé-majé, vat-mwe vin-plê-plê.

                 he'just-leave-arrive-pick - coconut come give
                 me I'begin-eat, stomach-I come-full-full.

The Ewe sentence utilizes seven verbs as does the literal

version of French, one which would be considered not grammatical in spoken French. The acceptable French rendition utilizes only three verbs. In the Haitian Creole equivalent, nine verbs serve to express what has happened: "he picked me a coconut which I ate until full".

Such verb strings show up even in the very sparse Haitian Creole record made in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. But, it is not a thing of the past. At a conference held in Haiti in 1979 on the use of Creole in the schools, invited papers were delivered in either French or Haitian Creole and have been recently published in Creole et Enseignement Primaire en Haiti (Valdman 1980). In one, Kisa Sa Vle Di: Moun Konn Li? ("What does it mean to know how to read?") (131-7), the author, Nirvah J.J. Saint-Hubert, discusses exactly what is meant by the ability of a person to read:

1. Li kapab
   . . .
   4. Fè zié-li maché sòti agoch al adouat sou yon liy.
   (133)

The word-for-word gloss is:

He can/able...
4. make eye-he walk leave left go right over a line.

Further similarities shared by Haitian Creole, and not French, with Ewe (and many West African languages) are the use of the invariant, pronoun-less verb for imperative; use of verbs both transitively and intransitively with no morphological marking; no structural passive.

D. WIDER DISCUSSION OF VERB SERIALIZATION

The topic of verb serialization has been popular enough in linguistic discussions of some dialects of Chinese as well as the African and Creole languages that it warrants fuller discussion here. The phenomenon of verb strings has been argued and debated by the theories of many linguistic schools and cited as evidence for substratum influence in the development of the grammars of creole languages. Neither issue: analysis of serial verbs themselves or the genesis of serial verbs in the Creoles has achieved concensus. Subsequently, verb serialization continues to be problematic as evidence of language change, specifically the diachronic movement of verb to preposition status, the long range effect of which may be a realignment of word order from SOV to SVO.

According to Talmy Givon, the primary concerns in the early 1970's were:

> (a) Whether serial verbs are synchronically verbs or prepositions;
> (b) whether -- if they are analysed as verbs -- they represent synchronically a coordinate or subordinate structure;
> (c) whether diachronically serialization arises from conjunction or subordination.
> (1975:66)

Givon's article is focused on those verb forms which have come to mark accusative, locative, dative, benefactive, instrumental, associative and conjunctive grammatical functions. The criteria for diagnosing change in grammatical function correlative with the switch from SVO to SOV are:

semantic:

> The shift from verb to preposition usually involves the depletion of some semantic material out of the erstwhile verb. (82)

morphological:

> One of the first things that may happen to erstwhile serial verbs, ...is loss of ability to take normal verb affixes, such as modalities, subject agreement or object pronouns. This process is obviously gradual, so that a verb may lose its ability to take some affixes but not all at the same time. (84)

syntactic:

> When a verb is semantically reanalysed as a preposition or a conjunction, quite often it remains, for a long time afterwards, as its original serial-verb position. (84)

The above is presented because the very same phenomenon: both the existence of "serial verbs" and the possibility of "grammaticization" over time have been cited as characteristic of many Creole languages as they are of the West African, a feature not found in the Indo-European languages.

Chart A compares and exemplifies with Haitian Creole and another Creole, the English-based Sierra Leone Krio, the West African Yoruba and Twi plus French equivalents, these particular serial verb structures, the "verbs" of which may apparently function as aspect markers in addition to prepositional case markers.

SERIAL VERBS: A.

1. <u>Yoruba</u>
    Olù lé ọmọ náà ja.de
    Olu drove child the go out
    "Olu drove out the child"   (Bamgbose:26)

    <u>Haitian Creole</u>
    N'ap pusɛ'l
    We'PROG*push he leave   (*PROG: non-completive,
    "We are pushing him out"   progressive "aspect".)

    <u>French</u>
    Nous le poussons dehors.

2. <u>Twi</u>
    Òdè sìká nó màà mè
    he take money that give me
    "He gave me the money."   (Bamgbose:17)

    <u>Haitian Creole</u>
    Li prɔ̀ kɔb sa a bâ mwɛ̂
    He take money that give me
    "He gave the money to me."

    <u>French</u>
    Il m'a donné l'argent.

3. <u>Yoruba</u>
    Olú sáré wá ilé
    Olu ran race come home
    "Olu came home quickly."   (Bamgbose:34)

    <u>Haitian Creole</u>
    Ti-Zak kəri vin lakay
    Ti-Zak run come house
    "Ti-Zak ran/came running home."

    <u>French</u>
    Ti-Zak a couru chez lui.
    Ti-Zak est venu chez lui en courant.

4. <u>Yoruba</u>
    Mo mú gbogbo àwon omodè lo Èkó
    I took all pl children went Lagos
    "I took all the children to Lagos." (Stahlke.1970:62)

    <u>Haitian Creole</u>
    M mɛ̂nɛ̂ pɔ̀tit l'al lekol
    I lead child the go school.
    "I took the child to school."

<u>French</u>
Nous menons l'enfant à l'école.

5. <u>Yoruba</u>

Ayò ní ọgbòn jù mí lọ
Ayo has cleverness surpass me go
"Ayo is more intelligent than I."   (Stahlke: 64)

<u>Haitian Creole</u>
Ti-Zak pi ɛtɛliźŝ pasɛ'm
Ti-Zak more intelligent surpass me
"Ti-Zak is more intelligent than I."

<u>French</u>
Ti-Zak est plus intelligent que moi.

6. <u>Sierra Leone Krio</u>

kɛri dɪs kɔpɔ go gi am
take money that the give him
"Take that money to him."   (Williams. 1971:48)

<u>Haitian Creole</u>
Prâ kɔb sa a bâ li.
take money that the give him
"Take that money to him."

<u>French</u>
Prend cet argent a lui.

7. <u>Sierra Leone Krio</u>

wi de kɔl di dɔkta kam
we PROG request the doctor come
"We are sending for the doctor."   (Williams:48)

<u>Haitian Creole</u>
n'ap rɛle dɔktɔ a vini
we PROG call doctor the come
"We're sending for the doctor."

<u>French</u>
On envoie chercher le medecin.

8. <u>Sierra Leone Krio</u>

Tɛl di man go
Tell the man go
"Send the man away."   (Williams:48)

<u>Haitian Creole</u>
Vɔye msyɔ a ale
Send man the go
"send the man away."

<u>French</u>
   Envoie l'homme partir.

  Diedrich Westermann describes one very common pattern:
(#2, #6):

> Many actions which we express by one verb are
> expressed in Ewe by two or more; should there be
> two objects, the first is attached to the former
> verb, the second to the latter. In this case the
> second verb is frequently <u>na</u>, to give, in that,
> what one does to another is often done for him and
> is, as it were, given to him, e.g. ...
> éƒlè sɔ̀ <u>nám</u> he bought a horse (and) gave (it)
> to me, i.e. he bought me a horse. From this it
> follows that the verb <u>nà</u> is often employed to
> render an English dative; however, it remains
> a verb ... (50)

The Haitian Creole parallel is in the verb form <u>bay</u> and its

variants <u>ba</u>, <u>bâ</u>, <u>b'</u>. There are other African languages

that use this device: the Yoruba, Wolof, Hausa <u>ba</u>, Ashanti

<u>ma</u> and Ga <u>ha</u> are all the verb "give" whose grammatical

functions have been interpreted to be multiple, in that the

forms appear in the prepositional roles of "to" and "for".

  In addition to this phenomenon of a verb (or its homonym)

functioning also as a case marking preposition, there is

yet another not uncommon construction in which a verb is

used to signal comparison, <u>i.e.</u>, the English "than" or

French "que". (#5). Haitian Creole, Ewe, Twi and Yoruba

all use the verb "to surpass" in order to compare substan-

tives, qualities, etc., while Indo-European languages have

separate grammatical markers to serve the need: Haitian

Creole: <u>pasé</u>, Ewe: <u>wú</u>, Yoruba: <u>ju</u>, Twi: <u>sén</u>.

It is definitely the case that a grammatical translation of such structures in Haitian Creole and the West African languages must functionally refine the reading of verbs as prepositions, comparatives and, in other cases as mentioned earlier, as markers of aspect and modality. But, Talmy Givon's thesis is essentially diachronic: i.e., it is predicated on a correlation to language change, specifically, the movement of these languages from SOV to SVO syntax. In the instance of Haitian Creole, there is no evidence that the language has ever been SOV. In fact, data from the late 18th century, when Haitian Creole was a young language, deviate little from the implicational pattern set forth by Joseph Greenberg for an SVO language. As for the African languages, the question is also moot. Western-trained linguists whose native language is Yoruba take opposite stances on the status of verbs as multi-functional grammatical elements or as grammaticizing units. (cf. Bamgbose and Awobuluyi).

In sum, in all aspects but phonetic shape, the Haitian Creole verb has very little in common with its French etymon. Invariance of shape, nonagreement in number and gender; emphasis on aspect, minimal tense-marking frequency; juxtaposed verbal strings, grammatically multiple functionality: these characterisitics are shared only with such African languages as Ewe, Yoruba, Wolof, etc. It is suggested that the correspondence of the verb systems is one of the most

significant Creole-West African similarities.

E. "TO BE" VERB

The morphological realization of the crucial sense of "to be" as the concept of existence and/or the grammatical linking function is treated in Chapter IV H in detail. The literature is so disparate in its appraisal of the West African languages that they will not be discussed here. The Haitian Creole "to be"'s have been traditionally relegated to the status of "simplified", a label stemming from the fact that they tend to be morphologically absent whereas their counterparts in French are omnipresent.

Because our data do not bear out the analytic conclusions of other research on Haitian Creole, a description of the copular and existential domain will be presented later.

F. COMPARATIVE SYNTAX

The syntax of Haitian Creole will be contrasted to that of French because of its label as one of the French Creoles, its misnomer as a "bastardized" form of French, and because some researches have even classified it as a Romance language. Granting the probable heterogeneity of dialectal 17th and 18th century and subsequent impossibility of delineating the Indo-European model, finding a (West) African prototype would be an even more futile exercise, in light of the extremely heterogeneous and obscured initial input from African sources. The traditionally accepted African "roots", the Kwa languages, are generally characterized as SVO. But, it is no longer certain that these languages were the only African antecedents. Secondly, the relative detail associated with the syntactic implicational scale requires firmer and more substantial data than the one yielding the simple, vague validity of a subject-verb-object generalization.

Using Joseph Greenberg's implicational word order study as a frame, the fit of Haitian Creole is quite neat and faithful to the model posited for a VO (verb-object) language. Although the category of "verb" for Haitian Creole is a problem which will be discussed later in the presentation of the research data, taking "verb" as "head of the predicate", the SVO order is essentially never violated. Even within "noun phrase" and "verb phrase", there are but few exceptions to the predictions made by Greenberg's implicational range

of SVO syntax. This stands in significant contrast with the
more mixed VO character of French. Chart B on the following
pages demonstrates the fit. Non-fit is designated with an
asterisk (*).

CHART B: SYNTAX as a fit to Greenberg's VO implicational
          universals

1. V O: li kwit viɔ̃n nɔ̂.
          she cooked meat the.

2. V adverbial: li sɔti dežа. (There are some exceptions)
                  He left already.

3. Aux Main Verb: Li te fin wε'l.
                    He ANT just see'he.

4. Modal-Main verb: U mεt wε'l.
                      You might see he.

5. Int. verb-Main verb:
                    Li pral wε'l.
                    He going see he.

6. Noun adj.: yɔ̂ rad blɔ̂š   (There are some exceptions.
                a dress white

7. Noun-Relative clause: mûn k'ap mâže
                           person who'PROG eat.

8. Noun-No. marker: fam-yo
                      woman-they (plural)

9. Noun-genitive: papa mwɛ̂ (papɔ-m)   tɛt-mwɛ̂
                    father I:"my father" head I: "myself"

10.*Noun-numeral: *twa bɛt
                   three animal

11. Noun determiner: bɛt la   bɛt sa a
                      animal the   animal that the

                      yɔ̂ bɛt
                      an animal

12.*DO - IO: *Li bay mama'l kɛk kɔb
              He give mother he some money
              "He gave his mother some money".

              Li ba'l yo.
              He give it they.
              "He gave it to them".

13. Question particle first:
    Propositional: by intonation, or:
        Eskə u kɔ̂tɔ̂? "Are you happy?".
        INT you happy
    Constituent:
        Ki sa u gɛ̂?   Ki lɛ u vini?
        What that you have? What hour you come?

        ki mun rɛ̂mɛ̂ u?   Ki kote u sɔti?
        What person like you? What place you leave?

        Kiza u ye? "How are you?"
        What manner you be?

14. Comparative: Adj. marker-Standard:
    Li pi zɛ̌n pase u.
    He more young surpass you.

1. 18TH CENTURY HAITIAN CREOLE AND FRENCH DIALOGUES AS "DATA"

Because our research has been conducted with contemporary speech data, which could have evolved far from the origins of Haitian Creole, it is instructive to use an older "data" source to compare French and Haitian Creole syntax. An S.J. Ducouerjoly published a compendious tome entitled Manuel des Habitans de Saint Domingue in 1802. After hundreds of pages devoted to geography, native flora and fauna, climate, demography, history, detailed descriptions of slave life, cuisine, folk medicines, diseases, crop cultivation, Ducouerjoly appends a last 33 pages entitled "Conversation Entre un Capitaine de Navire, arrivé d'Europe, et un Maître Acconier". It is to be inferred that he recorded their dialogues, also inferrably conducted in Haitian Creole, as they are paired with a French translation. The authenticity of the Creole has to be doubted; nonetheless, it accords structurally with the little left written from those times. The orthography is as close to French as possible, which is to say, non-phonemic; therefore, it cannot be assumed these are certain phonetic and morphological representations whose changes both toward and away from the French forms have resulted in contemporary Haitian Creole.

Nevertheless, a comparison of syntactic constructions is interesting and thought-provoking.

a. Personal pronouns and possessive constructions:

French		Ducouerjoly's Creole	Contemporary Haitian Creole
je	"I"	mo	mwê
moi	"me"	moué	mwê
mon livre	"my book"	liv a moué	liv-mwê
tu	"you"	to	
il, elle	"he, she"	ly	li
lui, elle	"him, her"	ly	li
nous	"we"	nou	nu
nous	"us"	nou	nu
notre livre	"our book"	liv a nou	liv-nu
vous	"you"	vou	u
vous	"you"	vou	u
votre livre	"your book"	liv a vou	liv-u
ils, elles	"they"	yo	yo
eux, elles	"them"	yo	yo
leur livre	"their book"	liv a yo	liv-yo

In the domain of the morphology of personal pronouns, it is obvious that Haitian Creole chose objective case models to serve all case roles, a generalization which is not breached today. Possessive constructions could have been modeled on the French and, over the intervening 200 years, dropped the preposition "a".

These dialogues were charted in their entirety in order to discover syntactic rules operative, to contrast them with their contemporarily co-existing French and to look for possible differences with the syntax evidenced by our more recent data. The following is a brief summary of our contrastive graph of DuCouerjoly's conversations, in his own orthography, with approximate translations into English.

b. Auxilliary-Verb:

<u>French</u>   <u>Haitian</u> <u>Creole</u>

je traiterai   mo va traité
            "I am going to treat"
on a été obligé de lever toute.yo té bligé lévé tour
            "All had to be lifted"
je viens d'apprendre   mo sorti apprend
            "I just learned"

        Already, verbs were invariant in shape and tense and

aspect marking occurred with particles and verbs pre-posi-

tioned to the main verb.

c. Copula:

je suis très satisfait   mo ben content
            "I am very happy"
qui sont à la purgerie   qui dan purgerie
            "who are at the cleanser"
c'est là mon but   cé but à moue
            "that's my goal"

        The absence of the French être and the appearance of

the Haitian 'se' was in evidence.

d. Reflexive verbs:

je ne me sens pa bien   mo pa senti ben
            "I don't feel good"

        In most of the cases recorded by DuCouerjoly in which

the French translation required a reflexive verb construction,

there was no repetition in Haitian Creole of the subject in

pro-form, although where it did appear, the pronoun followed

the SVO pattern, <u>i.e</u>., after, not before the verb:

vous ne pouvez pas <u>vous</u> plaindre   vou pa save plaindre <u>vou</u>
            "you can't complain"

e. Imperative:

French		Haitian Creole
Continuons	"Let's continue"	Anou nou continué
Goutez-le	"Taste it"	Guté ly

These are the viable imperative forms found today in Haitian Creole, not far different from the French.

f. Impersonal constructions

On a pris note	"The note was taken"	Yo prend lanote.
On me demande	"I was asked"	Yo mandé moué

There is now and apparently was, in the context of the "Conversation", no etymological equivalent to the impersonal "on" of French. Corresponding to a practice in the Kwa languages, though, is the use of the third person plural pronoun as impersonal subject.

In contrast to French constructions in which no mor-phological agent appears, Haitian Creole still must surface-(morphologically) express the agent as impersonal yo:

French: Vous me ferez prévenir: you will have me advised
Creole: Vou va fair yo verti moué: you POS make they advise me

g. Verb - object:

Comme je vous ai dit	"As I told you"	Com mo dir vou
Combién me le louerez-vous?	"For how much will you rent me it?"	Comben vou va loué mo ly?

Compared to Haitian Creole, French would appear to have a slightly more flexible syntactic system in the expression

of verbs and objects, both direct and indirect. Direct and
indirect noun objects follow the French verb in the order of:

Direct object:a:indirect object.

But, should the objects be pronominal, they may occur before
the verb in the reverse order, indirect then direct with no
intervening particles.

Haitian Creole, no matter the nominal or pronominal
nature of its object, strictly follows an indirect-direct
object rule after the verb. There are no exceptions to this
post-positioned occurrence nor to the sequence of objects,
in the data of DuCouerjoly as well as in contemporary Haitian
Creole.

h. Negative Constructions:

vous n'observez pas   vou pa prin gard
            "you don't pay attention"

Simple negation is not, in Haitian Creole, the struc-
tural double-morph construction depicted in DuCouerjoly's
French translations. The negator pa/p' of Haitian Creole
precedes the predicate, i.e., occurs before all of the tense,
aspect and mode markers.

On the other hand, there are double-morph negative
constructions: they are not structurally (positionally)
identical. Ne Aux jamais V finds equivalent meaning in the
Haitian Creole expression pa žame followed by the verb
predicate.

i. Propositional Questions:

<u>French</u>   <u>Haitian Creole</u>

La terre est-elle bién mouillée?   Terre-la ben mouillée?
            "Is the earth very wet?"
A-t-on preparé la terre?   Yo preparé terre-la?
            "Is the land prepared?"

In the "Conversation", of 29 propositional questions,
23 of the French ones are effected syntactically by inversion
of subject and verb. It is presumed that the remaining
six carry a characterizing intonational contour. In stark
contrast, the Haitian Creole questions are neither morpho-
logically nor syntactically marked. They are exactly as if
they were declarative utterances. This is also the case
today, intonation being the only significant mark, although
there is a gallicized version which includes
<u>εskε</u> as the sentence-initial element.

j. Constituent Questions:

Combién me prendrez-vous   Comben vou va prendre moué?
            "For how much will you contract me?"
De quoi est composée votre cargaison? Qui cargaison vous gagné?
            "What is your cargo composed of?"

Although there are few constituent questions in the
Conversation, those that are there demonstrate a pattern
unchanged in contemporary Haitian Creole. Both languages
begin with the questioned constituent. But, the French then
inverts verb or auxiliary and subject while Haitian Creole
retains the declarative order. <u>Qui</u> <u>cargaison</u> in Haitian Creole
exemplifies a common constituent-question mechanism: <u>Qui</u>
<u>moun</u> - "what person/who", <u>Qui</u> <u>bo</u> - "what place", "where",

<u>Qui</u> <u>leu</u> - "what hour/what time?" or "when".

k. Numerals, definite marker, plural

<u>French</u>   <u>Haitian</u> <u>Creole</u>

le proverbe   proverbe-la
            "the proverb"
tous ces objets   tou baggage-la-yo
            "all these things"
vos armateurs   zarmateur a vou-yo
            "your boat-owners"

Whereas French requires obligatorily an article of
some sort for all nouns, the Haitian Creole use is much
less frequent. The indefinite Haitian Creole article,
written in the "Conversation" as <u>nion</u>, also signaling the
numeral "one", occurs rarely. Syntactically, it is an ex-
ception to the Creole pattern as <u>nion</u> occurs before the noun,
as in French. All French articles: indefinite, definite
and demonstrative occur before the nominal modified, whereas
in Haitian Creole the markers follow the nominal. There is
of course no grammatical agreement of number and gender in
Haitian Creole. Whether modifiers precede or follow the
noun, the definite marker of Haitian Creole follows the
entire construction. All numerals in both French and Haitian
Creole precede the noun.

French indicates plurality with a noun suffix, a
grammatical category that also occurs on the accompanying
determiners and modifiers. Plurality is not always
marked in Haitian Creole, but when it is, the third person
plural pronoun <u>yo</u> follows the noun or noun phrase. In the

data of the "Conversation", yo follows even the definite la.
Today la and yo do not co-occur. It is inferred that they
occupy the same syntactic locus.

1. Possession

French		Haitian Creole
leur batiment	"their ship"	batiment à yo
à votre santé	"to your health"	a sante à vou

As in the case of the verb-object order, if DuCouerjoly
translated the possessive constructions most commonly in
use, the diametric opposition of the two possessive con-
structions is significant. There are more than fifty in-
stances in the "Conversation"; the syntactic structures of
both languages never vary. There is a French possessive
construction Noun à Personal Pronoun, but it does not appear
in these data. If it were a possible model for Haitian
Creole, it may have been reinforced by the general Kwa
pattern of juxtaposing personal pronoun post-positional to
the possessed noun. Today, there is no a in the more widely
spoken dialects of Haitian Creole, although its occurrence in
the Northern dialect is suggestive of an earlier practice.

French possessive forms are morphologically marked for
number and gender agreement with the possessed. In Haitian
Creole, simply syntactic juxtaposition indicates possession.

The case of:

à la votre   "to yours"   à quien à vou

demonstrates a French nominalized possessive; DuCouerjoly's
translation of Haitian Creole <u>à</u> <u>quien</u> <u>à</u> <u>vou</u> suggests a gram-
matical structure indicating possession of the nonspecific
<u>quien</u>. In contemporary Haitian Creole, the <u>quien</u> has been
replaced by <u>pa</u>, so that the above meaning of "yours" is
realized by the structure <u>pa-vou</u>: "part-you".

m. Co-ordination of nouns

<u>French</u>   <u>Haitian Creole</u>

des meches et de l'huile   meche acque lhuile
       "some wicks and oil"
les moulins et les cabrouets   moulins acque cabrouets-
       "the mills and the ?"   yo

     Although both French and Haitian Creole conjoin nouns
in the "conversation" with <u>et</u>, more often <u>acque</u> is the chosen
form in Haitian Creole.

n. Relational Markers:

un couple de galettes de   nion couple galette
    biscuit blanc   biscuit blanc
       "a couple of white sea biscuits"
nous avons fini de sarcler   nou fini sarcler
     "we finished weeding"
je leur ai dit de se coucher   mo dir yo couché bonheur
    de bonne heure
      I told them to go to bed early.
qui sont à la purgerie   qui dan purgerie
     which are at the purgery
vous n'êtes pas donc habitué   vou pas coutume boir
   a boir du punch   dupunch
    you are not used to drinking punch

     In French, the grammatical markers <u>de</u> and <u>a</u> are almost
everywhere. Both French forms have many prepositional-
type translations, depending on which of the several various
possible relationships is signaled. Some occurrences are

simply idiomatic. There were and are no such markers in
Haitian Creole except in the few cases of incorporation in
the morphological structure of more substantive forms; in
those cases, they are never separable.

Grammatical markers which effect locational readings in
French do not necessarily have Haitian Creole analogues.
There is, though, one locational marker in these data,
occurring in the form dan; today, depending on phonological
context, it takes the shapes of nâ and â.

Que in French marks both relative and subordinate
clauses.

French	Haitian Creole

du premier accueil que vous   premié accueil vou fair
    nous ayez fait   nou
       "the first welcome you gave us"
une grande chaloupe qui peut   nion grand chaloupe que
    faire des voyages   capable faire voyage
      "a huge ship which can make voyages"

In the French data, the que is never optional. In
the equivalent Haitian Creole, qui occurs only in utterances
where the subject of the relative clause verb is not expressed.

o. Serial Verbs:

There are few instances in these particular data:

Si le chaux fournier ne nous   si chaufornié pas voyé
    envoie pas de la chaux   kachau bay nou
     "if the lime supplier doesn't send us any lime"

Where French indicates benefactive by positioning the
indirect object pronoun before the verb, Haitian Creole
adds another VO construction, bay nou: "give us". This

<u>bay</u> has become a target of "grammaticizing" theory and will
be discussed more fully in Chapter IV G1.

Tu n'en as pas fait couper   To pa fair yo coupé passé
    plus que pour 24 heures   pour 24 heures.
        "You didn't cut them for more than 24 hours."

<u>Que</u> does not occur in Haitian Creole, especially not
in comparatives. Comparison is effected in the "Conversation"
and still today with the verb /pase/ "to surpass", a
construction grammatically identical with that of many Kwa
languages.

In sum, if the syntactic record evidenced in the
"Conversation" recorded by DuCoeurjoly be credible, it is
clear that a very strict VO order had been firmly estab-
lished close to 200 years ago in Haitian Creole. Having
avoided grammatically redundant forms and constructions and
eschewed processes of conjugation and declension, Haitian
Creole meaning, in the early 19th century, was dependent
on the syntactic arrangement of non-grammatically marked
forms, multi-positionality being one of their key character-
istics. Development and evolution of the language in some
few grammatical areas has continued to tend away from the
probable French model and toward a more complete realization
of analytic mechanisms.

III. INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

A. REFERENCE MODEL

1. LINGUISTIC AND LANGUAGE STATUS

As a linguistic entity, Haitian Creole, is, typological-
ly, a language and not a "dialect" of some other. It
should not be inferred from the label "creole" that it is
anything less than a language, despite the negative flavor
often intended in the term's usage. Although "creole" has
been both defined and equated with "dialect" and "patois",
both of which refer to dependent versions of a standard,
the creoles function in many areas of the world as the first
and oftentimes only language of their speakers. Additionally,
many have histories already several hundred years old.
Proof of their viable and independent linguistic status
lies in the fact that ten and more generations of such speech
communities have a Creole as their mother tongue.

The "creole" label is testimony to the social and his-
torical circumstances surrounding the abrupt emergence of
these languages. Although the transparency of lexical
heritage makes them no less vital, dynamic and complex than
their Indo-European ancestors, it is that feature which has
provoked the negative social judgment inherent in the "creole"
label.

The Creoles cannot be adequately or appropriately des-
cribed within the parameters of other-language grammars, nor
do their vocabularies indicate semantic configurations iden-

tical with their European etyma. Creoles should not be
lumped into "branches" or "daughter"-lines of Romance, Ger-
manic, Niger-Congo, etc., on cursory appraisal. Although
their explosive and rapid birth drew upon the available lin-
guistic resources, directionally shaped or influenced by the
social pressures of a colonizing situation, these Creoles are
so distinct from those resources that they are not mutually
intelligible with their European models.

As a native speaker of English with a fair competence
in Spanish and a smattering of French, I attempted to learn
Haitian Creole. Immediately, it was obvious that the lan-
guage is structurally (phonetically, morphologically, gram-
matically, intonationally) far different from its alleged
roots, French. Knowledge of French, in fact, set up tacit
assumptions which led to erroneous, confusing and, sometimes,
embarassing errors. It seemed that efforts to learn Haitian
Creole from the vantage point of any of the Romance languages,
even from a general repertoire of "Indo-European" features,
in fact, retarded the process of language acquisition.

How easy it would be to judge a language so far dif-
ferent from one's own as "worse", as "inferior". And, with
the complicating factor that associates a people's perceived
identity and social status, not to mention citizenship, with
the language they speak, judgments become historical, power-
ful stereotypes.

These observations are based on having begun to learn

Haitian Creole in its proper, native context. How striking, again, the recognition that languages are products of a social environment, that to learn the language involves more than grammar and vocabulary; it is also a matter of substance, of new ways of conceptualizing - all the intricacies and com- plexities of a culture.

Otto Jesperson pleads for a certain open-mindedness in approaching the analysis of any language not our own: if we fail to recognize our own preconceptions and preju- dices, we may subsequently fail to appreciate the actual range and variety of linguistic expression:

> ...language is everywhere socially conditioned:
> even those things which to a superficial observer
> would seem to be absolutely indispensible in any
> language used to express human thought are not
> found everywhere in the same way. The more the
> so-called primitive or "exotic" languages are
> studied, the more we have come to realize that much
> of what we are accustomed from our schooldays and
> from the best-known languages to consider inherent
> in all human languages is totally foreign to other
> types of language, which nevertheless are wonderful
> instruments to express the ideas and feelings of the
> peoples brought up in them (1969:3-4).

Extant, traditional analyses of Haitian Creole are testimony to this common human foible: that we rather un- consciously tend to look for the known in the unknown, to make the new yield a sense with which we are already comfor- table, to fit new facts into old, acceptable patterns. Thus, Haitian Creole grammars are essentially the imposition of French ones, the effect of which has been not only non- illuminating, but confusing.

Recent interest in many creole societies to standardize and codify the languages, with the express applied purpose of utilizing them in the educational system, has led even the most staid of conservative linguists to this very revelation. To wit, Pradel Pompilus, a Haitian linguist, whose first language was Haitian Creole, conceded, at the Creole et Enseignement Primaire en Haiti conférence held in Port-au-Prince in 1979, that:

> Les grammaires, surtout, calquent les catégories
> grammaticales du français qui ne sont pas celles
> du créole. Il faudra'les améliorer. (in Valdman.
> 1980:210).

Unconsciously programmed by my first-language knowledge (English) and readings of available works on Haitian Creole, initial efforts at learning and dissecting the grammar were within the preconceived categories of the word classes: noun, pronoun, verb, auxilliary, adjective, adverb, determiner, etc., and of the grammatical categories subject, object; transitive, intransitive; active, passive, etc. Expected patterns of conjugation and declension were sought.

Soon it became apparent that the traditional load of labels would not fairly represent the data and to use them would be to cheat the reality of the data and thwart any effort to "discover" grammatical mechanics proper to the language. Traditional labeling devices tend to be either part and parcel of specific linguistic theories into which a language under investigation is manipulated to fit or they are too often based on analogy with the labels and lexemes

of differently coded languages. The labels of "preposition",
"adverb", etc., are assigned in the metalingual terms and
grammatical framework of languages long so categorized.
They may be more the artifact of the linguist's preconceptions
molded by his own schooling, than reflective of the cul-
turally shaped perceptions encoded, in this case, by Haitian
Creole.

Immersion in the Haitian culture is an experience as
novel to one brought up in "western civilization" as is
attempting to speak Haitian Creole after speaking English all
one's life and being exposed only to various Romance languages
in didactic contexts. As a culture shapes itself about
the satisfying of biological and social needs and comes to
assume an identity, a name with which certain patterns and
stereotypes are associated, so a language shapes itself to
the expression of content, also, finally, acquiring an
identity, name and citable characteristics.

But, at the level of individual development, cultures
and languages vary greatly. In the instance of this experi-
ence, it could only be expected that Haitian Creole had, at
least, to be able to express the patterns of a cultural sub-
stance far different from my own, its semantic structure
undergirded by the psychology of cultural cognition to reflect
the Haitian "ethos" (world view). Why shouldn't its grammar
also have utilized different modes of achieving those ends?

Although traditional word class and grammatical category

labels are relatively handy and not to be thrown out en-
tirely, when they are taken in their most specific senses,
they will misrepresent the Haitian Creole data, especially
among that group of morphs which might be called "functives"
as opposed to "contentives". In fact, what has emerged as
most intriguing about Haitian Creole is that it achieves the
expression and communication of meaning non-ambiguously by
utilizing a large percentage of highly semantic content
forms whose explicit meaning and grammatical function are
determined within the syntactical frame. Even within the
grammatical role signaled by a specific syntactic locus,
meaning is further modified by the inter-play of semantic
features with co-occurring forms. Haitian Creole is,
necessarily, very rigorously, "analytic". With absolutely
no formal change (declension, conjugation), a given, meaning-
ful unit may act as both "noun" and "verb"; "pronoun" and
"possessive adjective", verb, preposition and auxiliary,
etc. Granted, there are forms of more strictly delimited,
invariable meaning and grammatical function, but almost
any given unit is, without syntactic context, semantically
refinable and a candidate to play more than one grammatical
role.

This is not a unique observation. Many have noted the
possibility of the phenomenon but have failed to follow
through with a systematic investigation at grammatical and
semantic levels, nor have any adjustments to linguistic ter-

minology been undertaken. In earlier works, such omission
may have been due to a characteristic appraisal of Creole
languages in general: that they are in fact <u>simplified</u>
versions of a standard European language and that shortening
forms, dispensing with conjugational and declensional opera-
tions and allowing lexemes to occur in various loci within
any syntactic structure were functions of uneducated minds
incapable of achieving the complexity of a "civilized"
language. Haitian Creole has been described as:

> what becomes of a great language of civilization,
> such as French, as it is filtered through black
> brains and throats. (quoted by Valdman in Rubin.
> 1975:76).

And Elodie Jourdain called the French Creoles, of which
Haitian is a member, "a linguistic cocktail", the result of
French colonizers and merchants attempting to communicate
with African slaves who spoke a variety of "pidgins" ...

> ...de sorte que, dans chaque colonie, il s'est
> constitué un français, créole particulier.
> (1956:xviii)

Alfred Métraux adds further to the stereotype by claiming:

> In order to underline the affinity between Creole
> and French, the Haitians spell their tongue in a
> capricious manner which tends to corrupt its
> pronunciation, giving it a false air of childish
> jargon. (1960:7)

That Haitian Creole has enough linguistic status to be
accorded a spot in Webster's as a Romance language should
come as a surprise! It is certainly the case that the analytic
models for the language have been both English and French,

more specifically the latter.

Henri Tinelli, in his thesis <u>Generative Phonology of Haitian Creole</u>, 1970, exemplified Robert Hall's imposition of French grammatical categories and word classes on Haitian Creole, noted their obvious misfit and concluded:

> Sylvain labels Haitian "an Ewe language with a French vocabulary". Whether this is correct or not, it is a fact that Haitian syntax does not fit well in the framework of French grammar. (1970:41).

In further accord with such observation, Alain Bentolila, in a very recent article, claims that the vast majority of Indo-European languages have lexicons who members are relatively clear-cut in terms of their syntactic identity, which may undergo change of grammatical status by virtue of morpho-syntactic marking (affixes):

> Le français témoigne d'une intime liaison entre spécificité formelle et spécificité syntaxique, identité monématique et utilization syntaxique, morphologie et classe syntaxique. (1978:67)

To contrast, Bentolila continues by remarking on the absence of grammatical marking mechanics in Haitian Creole and, after illustrating the extraordinary "word class" range of possible predicate heads, concludes that:

> la détermination de classes syntaxiques est une tache autrement difficile qu'en francais et que la morphologie est bien loin de jouer le rôle d' aiguilleur syntaxique que est le sien de notre langue. (<u>Ibid</u>)

Agian, Tinelli briefly describes Haitian Creole in refutation of Robert Hall's clear-cut distinction among "substantives", "verbs" and "adjectives" and implied func-

tional viability of French affixes in Haitian Creole:

> The grammatical constructions of Haitian are
> almost exclusively analytic ...
>
> Derivation by affixation seldom occurs ... (4)
>
> Most French derivational affixes can ... be found
> in the language, but they have typically become
> meaningless, and therefore non-productive. (10)

Tinelli would rather we recognize the primacy of "derivation impropre", i.e., "functional change without formal modification (13). He has found it virtually impossible to define verbs as a class morphologically distinct from nouns and even adjectives, all non-differentiated 'content morphemes', which could be labeled substantives", (39-40) any one of which has the grammatically functional potential of the traditional "noun", "verb" and "adjective".

Alain Bentolila indirectly asserts the grammatical malleability of a lexeme's semantic composition:

> L'absence de classes syntaxiques bien
> définies ... la distribution syntaxique dans les
> langues créoles se fait essentiellement sur des
> critères de compatibilité ou d'incompatibilité
> entre le signifié de telle ou telle unité signi-
> ficative et le contenu de telle ou telle fonction.
> (72)

Although he finds the already mentioned noun/verb/adjective interchangeability prolific, similarly adjectives with adverbs, an interesting example of what is usually taken as a "pronoun" follows in which the form demonstrates five grammatical functions and five different meanings:

1. m'ap vini: j'arrive
2. pa vin bat mwen: ne viens pas me battre
3. pote sa pu mwen: porte cela pour moi
4. li achte machin mwen an: il a achete ma voiture
5. sa a se pa mwen: c'est le mien. (74) *

This ability of Haitian Creole to utilize forms with
clear semantic content in many grammatical roles has proven
highly adaptable and amenable to culture change. Incor-
poration of foreign words and meanings has not weakened the
structural integrity of the language, has not led to the
process of "decreolization". In fact, it has provided for
the survival of both the language and the cultural identity
of Haitians no matter whether they remain in Haiti or have
chosen to live in many of the growing exile communities
(Paris, Montreal, New York, Miami). Gerard Alphonse Férère
has documented examples from the New York City Haitian
Creole in which English lexemes are incorporated after
phonological and morphological characteristics are
creolized, their meaning made grammatically manipulable.
To wit:

> (jo dim nu brote)
> (jo dim nu muv)
> They told me you people moved.

---

*1. I'PROG come: I arrive
 2. NEG come beat I: don't come (to) beat me
 3. carry that for I: carry that for me
 4. he buy car I the: he bought my car
 5. that the it-is part I: that's mine

(Mãmã <u>brote</u>)
(Mãmã <u>muv</u>)
Mother <u>moved</u>.

(Mãmãw <u>brote</u> li pa relem)
(Mãmãw <u>muv</u> li pa kol mwe)
Your mother <u>moved</u> and she didn't call me.

(nu poko <u>brote</u>)
(nu poko <u>muv</u>)
You have not <u>moved</u> yet.

(bõ nu <u>brote</u>)
(bõ nu <u>muv</u>)
Well, you moved.   (19-20)*

---

*It is apparent that there is not a lot of modifi-
cation required of many English lexemes for utiliz-
eable incorporation in Haitian Creole. English is
already much more analytic than French and perhaps
much more "a Creole", to boot.

2. STRUCTURE

Evidence of the data proved out what was a saliently inferrable fixed order syntactic position scheme. None-the less, grammatical roles are not absolutely determined by syntax; the semantic content of co-occurring forms contributes just as crucially to the final grammatical and meaningful understanding of any utterance.

In Haitian Creole, two similar phenomena pose a problem for "basic" sentence structure composition, i.e., the S -> NP VP, VP ->V (NP) paradigm. These phenomena are 1) the morphological non-existence of both copular and existential verbs in utterances with semantic readings of linking and "being"; and 2) many forms not traditionally classified as "verbs" acting as verbs, essentially as heads of predicates. With the aim of achieving the most simple, all-encompassing descriptive account of Haitian Creole, i.e., one syntactic frame for declarative utterances, it appeared that the concept of word-class and use of those labels would not be particularly "natural" to the system.

Both a tri-partite schema (subject, verb, object) and the NP VP labels were tried as descriptive tools. Both were found inadequate to the Haitian Creole data, the former for its basic grammatical inconsistency and lack of generality, the latter for its use of inappropriate word-class designations (specifically: "verb").

The third approach was to search for functional cate-

gories operative in a syntactic frame. The most simple formula of Subject-Predicate was adequate and accurate to the Haitian Creole data. Its greatest advantages over the other two schema are 1) that it obviates the need for two separate structures to account for verb and non-verb predicates, because 2) by avoiding the use of traditional word class or grammatical category labels, it allows for the possibility of any form to <u>function</u> as a "verb".

Functional categories were sought to describe the increasing detail of complete utterance configurations. The subsequent functional labels are not meant to suggest that there are no word classes or grammatical markers, rather that a functional description of the data demonstrates best the central role of syntax in Haitian Creole without obscuring possible grammaticizing trends in the language.

B. METHOD

In the course of an anthropological work situation in Miami, in 1973, among inner-city Caribbean nationals, I heard Haitian Creole spoken. Although my domain until then had been with Spanish-speakers, my new interest encouraged expansion of my duties into the Haitian community. It was at that point that I determined to learn the language: I was at a complete loss to communicate with the Haitians.

Returning to school in the Fall of 1973, I sought and read published works on Haitian Creole, ultimately discovering the availability of a taped instructional program. Thus, in the Spring of 1974, on a more serious level, I was able to begin with Albert Valdman's Basic Creole test and tapes. The Critical Languages Department at SUNY at Buffalo ordered the program at that time for their own resource library. Additionally, their language-learning regimen entails a native speaking tutor. Because no Haitian was available for such a task in Buffalo in the spring of 1974, the Critical Languages Department contacted a Haitian woman in New York City. She turned out to be not just willing, but quite enthusiastic, to act as tutor by phone three nights a week. Although I had embarked on the program simply with the thirst to learn, it was during this initial period that the wish to do structural research on Haitian Creole solidified, as the tutor repeatedly offered unsolicited critical comments on the accuracy of the content of the text.

Idealistically, I hoped to reach a point where such research could be carried out exclusively in Haitian Creole with monolingual speakers and data. Believing in the virtues of an unbiased discovery procedure, I planned to begin the eventual research with raw (spontaneous speech) data, using it as a base from which to draw initial hypotheses about the grammar of the language, testable in the context of the data itself. Methodologically, I wanted to avoid the testing of pre-conceived notions and paradigms as well as all of the interferences and miscommunications possible with bi-lingual respondents. A realistic means to that end was to learn the language while achieving a feel for, or at least exposure to, the culture in which it had arisen.

Therefore, during the spring, I pursued the possibility of finding a summer room-and-board situation in Haiti whereby I might learn the language by use and in context. Wishing to remain apart from daily exposure to French and gallicized Creole, I avoided sending inquiries to the Port-au-Prince area. Finally, it was the Conservative Baptist Mission Society of Haiti, in Fermathe, in the mountains above Port-au-Prince and Petionville, who agreed to house and feed me, in exchange for secretarial tasks and assistance in the medical clinic.

Although that summer's situation turned out to be not exclusively creole-speaking, nor were all the Haitians with whom I came in contact monolinguals, the necessity of living

and working in the language on the Mission and during a
month's unaccompanied travel provided me with an initially
sufficient base of communication.

It was not until the summer of 1975 that I was again
able to "learn by use", this time as a clinical social worker
for the Haitian Unit on a Community Mental Health program
administered under the University of Miami Medical School's
Department of Psychiatry. The Haitian population utilizing
the Unit's services were somewhat acculturated to American
life; they represented the full range of educational expo-
sure; many were somewhat bi- and tri-lingual. Language-
learning was not so full-time a proposition as it had
been in Haiti, but it was much more intense.

Unable to return, for financial reasons, to Haiti to
obtain a solid data base for description and analysis, I
went to Miami in the early Fall of 1976 and remained through
the summer of 1977, working this time in the population
context of refugees just arrived from Haiti. I planned to
seek out "monolinguals" to record. Unfortunately, language
exposure for many Haitians had been to some French and,
obviously, English.

On the other hand, the sociolinguistic situation of co-
extant and co-functional French and Haitian Creole in Haiti,
one marked by the extreme prestige of French, is such that
non-French influenced Haitian Creole, even among monolinguals,
may be virtually impossible to obtain. It may also be a

myth. According to Yves Dejean, the monolingual "gros créole"
is distinguished not by virtue of some "pure" morpho-syntactic
characteristics or lexical inventory, but rather by its
phonology. In fact, <u>gros</u> <u>créole</u> appears to be a socio-
linguistic label affixed to the "low class" speech of rural,
unschooled Haitians. In the context of a chapter on "stan-
dardization" in his thesis <u>Comment Ecrire le Créole d'Haïti</u>,
Dejean writes:

> L'expression "gros créole", dont se sert Pressoir
> (1947:66) et que reprend Férère (1974:28) appelle
> un comentaire. Elle n'existe pas chez les créolo-
> phones monolingues, et n'y a pas d'equivalent
> parceque le concept qu'elle exprime n'est pas dans
> le champ de leurs preoccupations. Elle reflète
> un préjugé de classe. Son emploi, qui est péjoratif,
> se restraint d'ailleurs chez les bilingues à cer-
> taines pronunciations comme:

(<u>gros</u> <u>créole</u>): (1) bõdzé vakabõ ségrè séktãm désam,

s'opposant à

(<u>créole</u>)   (2) bõdyé vagabõ sékrè séptãm désãm.

> Une expression campagnarde inconnue ou peu familiere
> au citadin bilingue, loin de provoquer son mépris,
> suscite souvent chez lui un étonnement admiratif.
> On remarquera qu'aucun créolophone bilingue ne
> nourrit pas la prétention d'en remontrer aux con-
> teurs monolingues de nos campagnes. (1977:437-8).

It is also the case that, in Haiti, isolated pockets of
monolinguals may exist, but they do experience exposure to
French by virtue of their market trade lifeline and the huge
numbers of proselytizing missionaries. Subsequently, "mono-
lingual" speakers tend to have stolen at least a few French
lexical items, the use of which does not appear to have

altered the structural patterns of the grammar, but does serve

the vital social purpose of enhancing the prestige of the

speaker, if not to others, at least to himself.

Other linguists have been faced with the same dilemma:

defining monolingual speech, separating out the dialects,

choosing one as a focus of study. Albert Valdman claims

to have used monolingual speech as the basis of his <u>Basic</u>

<u>Course</u>:

> ...we have selected as norm the speech of mono-
> lingual speakers in the Port-au-Prince area. It
> is the dialect which appears to have the greatest
> prestige and which speakers in other parts of the
> country imitate. The Port-au-Prince area contains
> the highest percentage of diglossic Haitians, and
> it is the Creole dialect of that area which is
> most influenced by French today. For that reason,
> we have chosen for this text a somewhat Frenchified
> pronunciation norm and we have not hesitated to
> include many words which have recently been
> borrowed from French and which some specialists
> of Creole would choose to exclude from the language.
> (1970:8).

Gerard Ferère (<u>Haitian Creole Sound-System, Form-</u>

<u>classes</u>, <u>Texts</u>, 1974) chose the "dialect" of Haitian Creole

spoken in the same area from which Robert Hall claims to have

collected his data. But, Ferere levels strong criticism

at Hall:

> ...his system is too simple to fit my data...
> Hall has isolated, above all in phonology, an
> artificially ideal, clear-cut, simplified dialect,
> not found as such in the Port-au-Prince-Jacmel
> area, and wrongly refers to it as <u>becoming the</u>
> <u>standard language</u>. (Hall. 1953:12). Based on
> my data and observations, I can state that at the
> most, Hall's dialect could be considered as the
> least prestigious and the least conservative of
> the rural subdialects of the West, one often called

> "Gros-Créole". Hall and I thus are not
> analyzing the same dialect. Hall's "Gros
> Créole" is is not becoming the standard language.
> I intend to present here the dialect which I and
> others believe is really becoming the standard
> Creole, the dialect spoken by most people in the
> Port-au-Prince-Jacmel area and regarded as the
> model to imitate by speakers of other dialects.
> (27).

On the other hand, neither Hall nor Férère has offered sub-

stantial criterial evidence on the basis of which they

have established the existence of the alleged dialects of

Haitian Creole whose boundaries could be, inferrably, so

positively identified with geographical ones. In fact,

this is not accomplished by any of the cited researchers.

When "dialects" are mentioned, the reference is actually to

phonological traits, or more specifically, the presence or

absence of the full range of the inventory of French phonemes.

This, as a characterizing feature, might be more cor-

relative with degree of education and economic status, than

exclusively with geography. Labels are often very socially-

motivated, readily ascribed in stereotypical fashion to

geographical areas and to socio-economic classes. Therefore,

in order to insure an initial data base representative of the

desired monolinguality, I have chosen to focus on signi-

ficant social features of recorded respondents and to select

for investigation tapes of those demonstrating:

1. lack of, or minimal, formal education (i.e., no
   exposure to orthography; no prescriptive education
   in French)

2. lack of skilled or trained profession

3. birthplace other than Port-au-Prince, and

4. lack of mastery of French, aural as well as oral.

Out of 20 speakers whose tapes include affidavits
specifying details documenting fear of persecution if
returned to Haiti, histories, personal and folk stories,
five speakers were found to be characterizeable in the above
frame. Tapes of speakers who had some control of French or
who had attended school conducted in French for longer than
a few fragmentary primary years were not utilized, although
transcripts of their speech do not show significant struc-
tural differences from those of the "monolinguals". The
most apparent differences are lexical and phonological.

Personality-wise, the entire Miami population of
Haitians may not be representative; these are the ones who
not only desired, but were able, to flee Haiti, in search
of either political and/or economic freedom and opportunities.
Nonetheless, their speech is not discrepant - except for
some phonological characteristics and lexical repertoires -
with that of recordings made in Haiti, summer 1974, among
monolinguals in the mountains above Port-au-Prince. Addi-
tionally, an ideal sample would surely include a wider range
of ages and more women than could be chosen here. For factors
described below having to do with the political status of
the Haitian refugees in the United States, this was not
possible to achieve. Because of the nature of the context
of much of the speech data and the precarious legal status

of the speakers, i.e., illegal aliens in the United States,

a complete inventory of respondents' identifying features

will not be made:

> LB - about 24 years of age; F; domestic, house
>   cook, street vendor; born in Port de Paix;
>   3 years as adolescent in Port-au-Prince;
>   4 years as refugee in Nassau; no formal
>   education.
>
> AJ - about 40 years of age; M; shoe repairman,
>   laborer; born in Saint Louis du Nord;
>   16 years as rebel refugee in Santo Domingo;
>   a "few years" of primary school.
>
> PA - about 41 years of age; M; fisherman; born
>   in Grand Goaves; lived off and on in Carrefour,
>   Port-au-Prince.
>
> GD - about 30 years of age; M; fisherman; born
>   in Petit Goaves; lived off and on in Port-
>   au-Prince; a "few years" of primary school.
> JA - about 45 years of age; M; fisherman;
>   born in Jeremie; lived off and on in Port-
>   au-Prince.

The ages of the speakers are all approximate as none

had official identity papers and none knew his exact birth-

date. Men outnumber women in our list only by virtue of

the nature of the population in Miami: the least educated

and most newly arrived refugees were men; they were more

readily accessible than the women who tended to be hied off

by family, friends and male protectors ; men were simply

more gregarious and talkative.

"Fisherman", is not to be construed as a profit-making

occupation; rather, it indicates a subsistence livelihood.

The fishermen all lived "off and on" in Port-au-Prince

because they were mainly on the water, also because they

could only live in the burgeoning ".shanty-towns" filled
with like migrants to the city, shanty-towns of ephemeral
existence, vulnerable to fire and political whim.

None of the speakers came directly from an isolated
mountain population and, in all likelihood, although mono-
lingual, does not speak "gros créole". All have shown a
not unrepresentative mobility which obviously has exposed them
to many of the variations in Haitian Creole and to French.
On the other hand, none received formal training in (either)
French (or Creole) and for the most part, essentially no
schooling. The state of the school system in Haiti, more-
over, has been one of almost complete dysfunction. Al-
though education is compulsory, it is not consistently
available in most parts of the country, outside of the
larger towns and Port-au-Prince; attendance is not enforced;
teachers are scarce and have traditionally and by law conduc-
ted their courses with French as the medium of instruction,
but never French as a course in itself, thus ensuring an
early, high attrition rate.

For purposes of data base comparison, below are cited
similar respondent (informant) descriptions, the speech of
which was taken as data base by other linguists in earlier
works.

Albert Valdman, cited above on page 71, has allowed
for a form of Creole that is somewhat gallicized and, al-
though his grammar is not intended as an analysis of the

language, the data on which his instructional book has been
based are not screened for the possibilities of interference.
In his Preface to Basic Course, he cites two Haitian academics
as collaborators, Michelson P. Hyppolyte and Dr. Pradel
Pompilus, two research assistants and acknowledges the par-
ticipation of "Haitian friends and colleagues".

Robert A. Hall's classic study lists "Informants,
native speakers of Creole, including the numerous Haitians
to whose speech I listened in casual contact in public
places and the following individuals:

> AB - head of the Creole division of the Bureau
> des Adultes of the Haitian Department of
> Education.
>
> CS - @25-6, a vaudoun priest, originally from
> the North but living in Port-au-Prince since
> the age of 9.
>
> H - @25, chambermaid, of Port-au-Prince.
>
> I - @35-40, cook, of Marbial.
>
> JB - @25, of Marbial.
>
> JSR - @30 - anthropologist, of Cap-Haitien
> (later Port-au-Prince).
>
> T - @40-45, child nurse, of Port-au-Prince.

It is clear that the professionals among Hall's speakers
are bi-lingual and the majority, if not all, heavily exposed
to French.

Gerald A. Férère, as a Haitian, was able to conduct his
research with Haitian informants without a bi-lingual
interpreter. In addition, he attempted to avoid collecting
artificially produced speech data:

Except at the very early stages of the search for minimal pairs and basic phonemic contrast, I have not used word-by-word elicitation. I think naturalness and accuracy have benefited since I have observed and analyzed samples of casual conversations and have looked for informants who like to talk about themselves, or who know anecdotes, proverbs and folkloric tales of Haiti. This approach allows the study of spontaneous speech and puts the linguist in a good position to observe language in context, not in isolation. By conducting the elicitation all the time in my native creole, I hope to have escaped an important problem brought up by Labov:

> ...Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate one, linguistic forms produced by a speaker of the subordinate dialect in formal context will shift in an unsystematic manner towards the superordinate. (in Hymes ed. 1971:450).

I also think that I have succeeded in keeping the elicitation meetings at the highest level of informality due to my personal acquaintance with most of the informants and to our cultural affinity. (1974:40-1).

There is one sociolinguistic factor that Ferere doesn't mention, which seemed highly influential in my own observed interactions of Haitian Creole speakers, and that is that "shifting" as well as linguistic intimidation were obvious on the part of a less educated speaker in the presence of one whose background included at least an obvious degree of formal education.

Ferère's list of respondents is consistent in that all have lived most of their lives in Port-au-Prince; all but two are described by such social/economic roles as to indicate a generous, if not unrepresentative, amount of formal education:

All my informants are native speakers of the
selected dialect, with various social and educa-
tional backgrounds. I have tried to expand their
number as much as necessary in order to make sure
that I have examined a significant enough cross-
section of the population of the area.

    AB ...., accountant, age 45, born in Miragoane,
        lived in Port-au-Prince from age 9.
    EB ..., library technician, age 43, born and
        raised in Port-au-Prince.
    CF ...., age 27, no profession, born in Jacmel,
        lived in Jacmel and Port-au-Prince.
    JF ...., housewife, age 24, born in Jeremie, lived
        in Port-au-Prince from age 7.
    BL ...., student, age 17, born in Dessalines,
        lived in Port-au-Prince from age 2.
    IL ...., court-assistant, age 58, born in Dessalines,
        lived in Port-au-Prince from age 7.
    ER ...., student, age 18, born and raised in Port-
        au-Prince.
    MS ...., retired newspaper editor, teacher, and
        diplomat, age 53, born in Gonaives, lived in
        Port-au-Prince from age 9, ...
    JCT...., garage manager, age 33, born and raised
        in Port-au-Prince.   (1974:39-40)

Although Henri Tinelli did not write a grammar of

Haitian Creole (1970), he includes a generous chapter on the

grammar in

        neither a generative nor a pure 'item-and-arrange-
        ment' presentation. It is intended as a sketch
        of the types of utterances which occur in Port-au-
        prince Haitian ... the syntactic analysis has
        been restricted to some aspects of the phrase,
        word, and morpheme levels. (2) ... The speech
        reported here is the French creole spoken in the
        capital of Haiti, and henceforth referred to as
        Haitian, as opposed to Haitian French - the
        French dialect spoken by bilinguals... (1)

Although he doesn't list his respondents in detail, he says

of them:

        Five adult native speakers (of three dif-
        ferent families) were used as informants. What-
        ever Haitian French interferences occurred in

> their speech was eliminated from the description
> through the use of recordings by monolinguals.
> The corpus ... resulted from analytical elicita-
> tion, connected discourse, and traditional tales.
> The main informant received an elementary education,
> in Port-au-Prince Haitian, which to all appearances
> is the future standard idiom of the country.
> (...) One informant has travelled extensively
> throughout Haiti, and lived for a while in the
> northern department, where a different dialect
> is spoken. (3)

Again, it is implied that the "informants" are at least

somewhat educated, not monolinguals, and are members of a

Port-au-Prince area speaking community. Those "Haitian

French interferences" which Tinelli was able to eliminate

from their speech were phonological ones, that aspect of

the language being the focus of Tinelli's research.

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain's grammatical description of

Haitian Creole is based on her own native-speaker knowledge:

By her account:

> Le langage analysé est le mien et celui de mon
> entourage (parents, amis et serviteurs), c'est
> a dire d'individus nés dans la capitale ou dans
> le sud du pays (régions de Nippes et de Jacmel
> principalment). Les tournures attribuées au
> créole du Nord ont été fourniés par des gens du
> Sud. (1936:12).

Jules Faine, in <u>Philologie Créole</u> (1937: Port-au-

Prince), cites no respondents for his study. Although the

work is aimed at the etymological relationship of Haitian

Creole to French, it is also a sort of descriptive grammar,

written in a quasi-French orthography. He does not mention,

directly, any structured approach (<u>e</u>.<u>g</u>., recording sessions,

elicitations, even introspection...). It is to be inferred

that Faine himself and his friends and family were his sources
of data. There is also no reference to a delimited "dialect"
which he intends to describe, rather a list of morphological
shapes and definitions with their etymological sources and
form classes based on, and with scarcely a deviation from,
the French grammatical model.

Marie Racine-Buteau used herself as respondent, in
addition to the literature, as the research intended to make
lexical comparisons between Haitian Creole and French, not
to write a grammar. Her sources of information are as
follows:

> The existing literature, linguistic studies, as
> well as Creole word lists available were consulted;
> among the latter, Roc J. Raymond's Du Créole au
> Français, Petit-Guide Pratique, which establishes
> equivalences between Creole and French words and
> expressions, was found to be of interest. ...
> French dictionaries which were checked in order
> to differentiate the range of meanings of French
> words in relation to Creole cognates. One work
> was particularly useful to me, Pradel Pompilus'
> unpublished glossary of Creole words which pro-
> vided valuable information. I consulted many
> informants to check on the various meanings and
> usage of the words studied. Ultimately, I de-
> pended on my own intuition as a native speaker
> in resolving doubtful cases. (1970:10).

1. SYMBOLS USED FOR TRANSCRIBING AND DESCRIBING DATA.

The claim cannot be made that grammatical generalizations drawn from these "monolingual" data, although they gibe with even bi-lingual morphosyntactic speech patterns, are necessarily representative of Haitian Creole as spoken by every community, every speaker. It is assumed, though, that these data and generalizations are neither discrepant with, nor unfaithful to, the tacit laws of the language.

Although the purpose of the research is morphosyntactic and not primarily phonological, of the 20 tapes collected, those of respondents adjudged monolingual by their own speech community were transcribed with a system and symbols described below. There are several competing orthographies available, but they are not so revealing of actual speech sounds and patterns as they are of alleged etymological relationships.[1] The several which are more phonetic than gallicized still utilize unnecessary diacritics to discriminate between open and closed vowels. The only diacritic used for the present data is Λ to signal nasality, chosen somewhat arbitrarily over the ~. In transcription, forms are never reduced to what could be a phonemic basic structure, forms and the significance of their variants being the very target of this research. Transcripts were not

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[1]The reader may want to refer to the graphic system recently approved and officially sanctioned as the Haitian Creole standard. See _Etudes Créoles_. April, 1981: 102-5).

edited; i.e., false starts, admitted speech errors, non-meaning-bearing pause and hesitation sounds were all faithfully included. Utterance finals are signaled with the standard period, exclamation and question marks. Commas indicate both phonologically long pauses or breaks in a contiguous utterance as well as the syntactic composition of series not internally distinguished by markers of co-ordination or sequence.

In normal, informal discourse, Haitian Creole forms often occur in a shortened form integrated into the syllable structure of the following forms. The spot of the elision is noted with an apostrophe (ʼ), (e.g.: mwɛ́ ale - m'ale). The traditional mode of recording, using hyphens between forms seen to stand in a phrasal relationship (e.g.: papa-mwɛ̂-a: father-I-the - "my father"), will not be followed here as it would not be based on speaker judgment.

All data herein are accompanied by word for form gloss, with the aim of depicting inherent meaning, not necessarily indicative of grammatical status. A more intelligible English "translation" follows.

Below is the phonetic system utilized for transcription and illustration of the data, based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. The purpose of this research being primarily syntactic, this is to be taken as an inventory of those sounds found to occur in the data and is not intended to take issue with extant phonemic analyses (see p. 19).

Consonants:

/p/ - pa - NEG
/b/ - bɛl - "beautiful"
/t/ - ti - "little"
/d/ - duvê - "wine"
/k/ - kâpe - "stand"
/g/ - grâgu - "hungry", "hunger"
/f/ - fašе - "mad"
/v/ - vodû - "voodoo"
/s/ - sik - "sugar"
/z/ - zo - "bone"
/š/ - šitą - "sit"
/ž/ - laža - "money"
/č/ - kabiča - "doze"
/j/ - jab - "devil"
/l/ - laru - "street"
/r/ - rad - "clothes"   (The "r" sound is neither that of
                          French or English; it often assimi-
                          lates to the semi-vowel "w"; it
                          seems to be an articulatory confi-
                          guration of the mouth rather than
                          the actual meeting of articulators:
                          it can be pulled from velar to palatal
                          to alveolar to labial positions,
                          depending on phonological environment.)
/m/ - mâmâ - "mother"
/n/ - nɛf - "new"
/ń/ - anɛ̂ - "nothing"
/w/ - wɛ - "see"
/y/ - yo - "they"; plural

Vowels

/i/ - ti mun - "children"
/e/ - pale - "speak"
/ɛ/ - bɛt - "animal"
/a/ - maži - "magic"
/u/ - fu - "crazy"
/o/ - bo - "kiss"
/ɔ/ - kɔ - "body"
/u/ - vodu - "voodoo"
/ɛ̂/ - plê - "full"
/â/ - mâmâ - "mother"
/ɔ̂/ - bɔ̂ - "good"

A nasalized shwa will occur to replace nasal vowels in
unstressed positions.

2. MANIPULATION OF TRANSCRIBED DATA: PREDICATE FOCUS

Once all the tapes were transcribed, they were then rewritten by being broken up into major syntactic categories and all the utterances were charted. The original charting formula, basically "subject-Verb-Object", was due to the very obvious and compelling fixed-order structural pattern. In declarative utterances there were no exceptions to this generalization except in ones marked by exclamation. Exclamatory utterances are often marked by the syntactic extraposition of predicate categories. Although interrogative utterances were not included as objects of study, the constituent question structure, with questioned element first, is parallel to the declarative exclamatory.

In the majority of utterances with either copular or existential meaning, there was no morphological verb; the subject and predicate were simply syntactically juxtaposed. Those forms which had been intuited to be verbs in the majority of declarative structures were not necessarily obligatory elements of a meaningful utterance. The initially chosen basic syntactic frame of S-V-O had thus revealed its weaknesses: those of inconsistency and of lack of generality, discussed above (p. 65) in detail.

"Subject" and "object" are categories of grammatical function. "Verb" is a word class. What one could label as "verb", "adjective", "noun", "adverb", even "prepositional phrase" could operate in Haitian Creole as the head

of a predicate, constrained only by the semantics of co-oc-
currence as to which tense, aspect and mode markers directly
modified them. In the least marked of marked predicates,
the NEG pa is initial and immediately precedes whatever is
acting as Predicate head, no matter the "verb" or "non-
verb" nature of the form.

Therefore, the functional labels of "Subject" and
"Predicate" were chosen as initial descriptors of the de-
clarative data. They are accountable to the Haitian Creole
data in both the grammatical consistency of terminology and
increased simplicity, in that the Subject-Predicate frame
accomodates the morphologically "verb"-less predicate as a
standard declarative pattern.

Because the domain of investigation was the declarative
core utterance (S-P) proper with a specific focus on predicate
"verb"-type mechanics and syntactics, residual utterance-
initial and utterance-final elements were recorded as "X"
categories on the chart. Their general function tends to
be discourse-related, serving adverbially as connectives
between utterances, as graphic indicators of time, as em-
phatic or repetitive constructions.

X	Subject	Predicate	X

The subject slot is syntactically composed of a core
subject (pro/nominal) and accompanying modifying elements.
The Haitian Creole predicate, in a normal declarative ut-
terance, begins immediately after the last of any forms

modifying the subject. Before the Predicate head ("verb" or other) is a (relatively) fixed-order arrangement of particles signifying negation, possibly "tense", "aspect" and "mode".

In order to describe in detail the syntactic structure of the "verbal" Predicate, i.e., that area following the NEG marker up to and including the Predicate Head, a file was designed. Every element that occurred was given a separate entry and all its uses in all of its variant shapes for each speaker were listed in their utterance context.

The purposes of these files were: (1) to determine what lexemic units regularly occurred as predicate-modifiers,

(a) if their positions were indicative of grammatical role;

(b) if any of their allomorphic shapes were indicative of grammatical role or of position,

(2) to look for patterns of distribution that might be shared by a possible class of forms that could be designated as word classes or grammatical categories, and

(3) to determine if forms occurring in both pre-predicate and Predicate Head positions were multi-functional units or homonyms

(a) and if there were empirical evidence for such determination on the basis of shape variant by position.

Grammaticizing trends were to be inferred from the evidence of frequency counts by shape and position.

Forms to be investigated were initially taken from the pre-predicate and Predicate Head positions. But it is a not uncommon phenomenon for a number of them to occur outside that prescribed position. In our data, for all forms recorded in the file found to occur in other syntactic positions, the utterances containing them were also listed. On the initial charts, non-predicate Head (P_1) occurrences of these forms are labeled as P_2, or Predicate Head$_2$.

The Predicate Head is followed tightly by a syntactic "Object" slot. With no intervening elements or markers, the order for objects is Indirect, then Direct. Another construction may be used to realize those grammatical roles: i.e., when direct object precedes, a "verb" must occur before the indirect object (see Chapter IV G 1: Bay).

Following the Object slots are the ones for various complements, usually in the order of "locative nominals", then "prepositional phrases" (signaled by a small class of grammatical markers). This area is not the primary focus of the present research and will not be discussed in detail.

Each possible position on the syntactic grid is labeled to represent grammatical function rather than word class membership. It has been argued above (cf. 65) that the use of pre-conceived word class labels imposes on the Haitian Creole data a categorization that is an artifice of linguistic

theory and which does not arise from the data itself.
Because forms of identical shape and at least identically
abstract semantic configurations occur in many syntactic
environments, crossing the traditional boundaries of nouns/
verbs, auxiliaries/verbs/adjectives/adverbs, traditional
word class labels are not relevant to the description of
Haitian Creole. To arrive at a structure reflecting the
language as it is, we need a non-arbitrary, empirical des-
cription for determining the relation of words and grammatical
roles.

Haitian Creole forms are characterized by the absence
of morphological marking indicative of either word class
membership or grammatical category. There are no declen-
sional or conjugational processes to cue sentential concor-
dances. But, these attributes do not imply the necessity of
semantic ambiguity. The immutable syntactic frame clearly
avoids the possibility of such confusion. Syntactic posi-
tions, in fact, represent grammatical functions. Only the
semantics of co-occurrence tempers grammatical role. Meaning
is shaped in the semantic context on the basis of the gramma-
tical function pertinent to a particular position.

On the other hand, these observations do not deny the
possibility that there are or could be identifiable word
classes and/or grammatical categorizations in Haitian Creole.
A functional approach for descriptive labeling was chosen
because it can account for all the data, whereas a tradi-

tional approach simply has a more limited application.

Grammaticizing trends may well be inherent in language change. In fact, there are indications that such may be happening now in Haitian Creole. One domain which has been suggested to be a likely candidate for this development is that of the Predicate Head modifiers. A multitude of allomorphs provides a ready field for grammatical exploitation and it is inferrable from frequency counts that while many forms are in free variation, some are almost completely differentiated in association with distinct grammatical roles.

The syntactic grid headings ultimately used to describe the data are below, followed by the chart showing their positional arrangement.

<u>List</u> <u>of</u> <u>Symbols</u>:

S - subject
NEG - negation marker
TNS - ANTerior and POSterior (tense) markers
ASP - aspect markers
Pre-pred - Predicate modifiers which are also capable of
           Predicate Head role.
P - Predicate Head
O - object
    I - indirect
    D - direct
PA - predicate adjectival (attributive)
PN - predicate nominal (equational)
LOC - place name
pp - prepositional phrase
P_2* - second Predicate Head

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*P_2 will be discussed in detail and exemplification in Chapters IV E., F., and G. See also pp. 32-41 on "serial verbs".

Chart of Functional Positions:

X	Subject					Predicate						X
X	S	P										
		NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred	P	O/PA/PN IO DO	LOC	pp	P_2	0	

C. DESCRIPTION OF FORMS TO BE DETAILED IN IV.

The syntactic positions and functions which are the actual target of this research are those occurring prior to the Predicate Head of utterances. Forms found to fill these grammatically functional positions as well as more clearly verb-type forms acting as prepositions, adverbials and case markers: i.e., "P$_2$" (see p. 87) are also foci of this research.

The actual meaningful forms serving as critical data base, to be detailed in Section IV, were selected for reasons of:

1) position and multipositionality
2) possible status as verbs with criterial (class-defining) features
3) apparent grammatical multifunctionality
4) display of variant formal shapes
5) lexical etymological similarity to French verbs.

The forms studied do not encompass the full repertory of elements displaying the above criteria. Others simply were found so infrequently in these particular data that they didn't warrant study.

Forms selected fall into six categories. First are the small closed classes of "tense" and "aspect" markers that are never found to play a Predicate Head role; i.e., they are never autonomous nor candidates for verb status, but they are fillers of the pre-predicate positions modifying the predicate proper; they fill definite, specific slots with both grammatical and discourse function; they have

several shapes dependent on phonological context and discourse
style; their shape is traceable to a French heritage.

    I.   te/t'   ANTerior
        av/a/ava   Posterior
        ap/apr/pe/ape   PROGressive
        fɛk   COMPletive

The second group is composed of forms which fall into
two positions, those of both a pre-predicate modifier and
predicate head proper. Half have variant shapes; all
reflect French etyma.

    II.   kapab/kap/kab/ka   "able"
         kɔ̃nɛ̃/kɔ̃n/kɔ̃   "know"
         fini/fin   "finish"
         rɛ̃mɛ̃/rɛm   "like"
         mãke   "lack, miss"
         bɛzwɛ̃   "need"
         vle   "want"

Members of the third group have been found in three
syntactic positions with three grammatical functions:
pre-predicate modifier, Predicate Head, and second Predicate
Head. They all have several allomorphs and are related in
general meaningand shape to French etyma. The fifth member,
prale, is included because of its proximity to and possible
mutually exclusive relationship with ale. Prale is not
found in the P_2 slot.

    III.   vini/vin   "come"
         rɛte/rɛt   "stay, live"
         sɔti/sot   "leave, go out"
         ale/al/ay   "go"
         prale/pral   "going"

The fourth group has one member whose unique display of
behaviors and plethora of forms merit attention, gɛ̃yɛ̃, which
is a bi-positional form. One position is sentence-initial

and functionally expositive or existential, i.e., it tran -
slates as "there is/are". In its second position, gêyê
with the meaning of "have", is Predicate Head for an explicit
subject. It is characterized by its number of allomorphs.

IV. gêyê/gêy/gê'ê/gê/g'   "have"

Only two not quite similar forms compose the fifth
group. They are so often found in serial constructions
(P_1 and P_2) that they will be treated together. They meet
the criteria of multi-positionality, multi-grammaticality
and functionality, and display several variants reflecting
a French heritage.

V. bay/ba/bâ/b'   "give"
    vɔye/vɔy   "send"

The sixth group of forms are the copular and existential
triplet of zero, se and ye with the general gloss of "be".
They are taken as a unit because they function in mutually
exclusive syntactic positions.

There has been previous research done on the problematic
domain of verbs and tense/aspect/mode in creoles and
Haitian Creole, with different conclusions. The above forms
were found in the grammars of other authors, specifically,
Valdman, Hall, Ferere, Faine, Comhaire-Sylvain, Racine-
Buteau, Tinelli. None of the grammars segregates this domain
from other grammatical areas nor does it approach it from a
functional perspective. Additionally, although several dif-
ferent labeling systems were used, all of the analyses

are tacitly of cognate French forms and grammatical categories.
Nonetheless, there is little accord among the extant works;
even a composite of them does not yield a consistent, overall
analysis. The meanings and structural/positional mechanics
of their grammatical behaviors remain obscured. It is sug-
gested here that a functional approach to the data provides
a more adequate format for the description and explanation
of Haitian Creole.

D. TARGET FORMS

S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	pp	P₂

S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	pp	P_2
I.	ANT	POS	PROG	COMP					
	te	a	ap	fɛk					
	't'	av'	apre						
		t'a	apr						
			ape						
			pe						
II.				kapab	V·				
				kap	V				
				kaɒ	V				
				ka.	V				
				k'	V				
				kap	PA.				
				ka	PA.				
				kapab.					
				kap.					
				kaɒ.					
				ka.					
					kɔ́nɛ̂.				
					kɔ̂n.				
					kɔ́nɛ̂	O			
					kɔ̂n	O			
					kɔ̂	O			
					kɔ́nɛ̂	CL.			
					kɔ̂n	Cl.			
			kɔ̂nɛ́		V				
			kɔ̂n		V				
					fini.				
					fin.				
					fin	O			
			fin		V				
					rêmɛ̂				
					rêmɛ̂	O			
					rɛ́m	O			
					rêmɛ̂	CL.			
			rɛ̂m		V				
					rɛ́mɛ̂		PN		
					mâke	O			
			mâke		V				
					bêzwê	O			
					bɛwê	Cl.			
			bêzwɛ̂		V·				

S	NEG	TNS	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	pp	P₂
II.				vle.				
				vle	O			
			vle	V				
				vle	CL.			
				vle	PA			
				vle	PN			
III.				vini.				
				vin.				
			vini	V				
			vin	V				
				vini		LOC		
				vin		LOC		
				vini			pp	
				vin			pp	
								vini
								vin
				rɛte.				
				rɛte		LOC		
				rɛt		LOC		
				rɛte			pp	
				rɛt			pp	
			rɛte	V				
			rɛt	V				
				rɛte	PA			
				rɛt	PA			
				sɔti.				
				sɔt.				
				sɔti		LOC		
				sɔt		LOC		
			sɔti	V				
			sɔt	V				
								sɔti
								sɔt
				ale.				
				al.				
			ale	V				
			al	V				
			ay	V				
				ale		LOC		
				al		LOC		
				ay		LOC		
				ale			pp	
				al			pp	
				ay			pp	
								ale
								al

S NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	pp	P₂
				prale.				
				prale		LOC		
				pral		LOC		
				prale			pp	
				pral			pp	
			prale	V				
			pral	V				
				pral	PN			
IV.				gêyê̂.				
				gé'ê̂.				
				gê̂.				
				gêy	0			
				gê'	0			
				gêy'	0			
				gê̂	0			
				g'	0			
				Gêyê̂	NP			
				Gê'ê̂	NP			
				Gê̂	NP			
				G'	NP			
				bay	DO			
				ba	DO			
				bay	IO			
				ba	IO			
				bâ	IO			
				b'	IO			
				bay	IO DO			
				ba	IO DO			
				bâ	IO DO			
				b'	IO DO			
				V	DO		bay IO	
				V	DO		ba IO	
				V	DO		b' IO	
				V			bay DO	
				V			ba DO	
				V			bâ DO	
				V			bay IO	
				V			ba IO	
				V			bâ IO	
				V	DO/S		ba IO DO	
				vɔye	DO			
				vɔy	DO			
				vɔye				P₂
				vɔy				P₂
				vɔye	0			P₂ (0/LOC)

IV. RESEARCH EVIDENCE

A. RECAPITULATION

The major problems addressed by description and analysis
of these Haitian Creole data, are 1) how best to demonstrate
the systematicity of the language and 2) what the systemati-
city means within the framework of the language itself. It
is apparent from the foregoing that the traditional word class
and grammatical category classifications and labels are not
morphologically salient features of any Haitian Creole form.
As already noted (see pp. 71-2), to utilize such traditional
devices is to impose a linguistic model and theory not derived
from the data themselves.

Identical and similar forms may occur in many positions
within a relatively immutable, fixed-order syntactic frame.
That forms may be "similar" indicates variability of formal
configuration. The significant determinant of such formal
variation would appear to be more a coupling of informal
speech style with phonological features based on principles
of consonant-vowel alternation and vowel/nasal harmony, than
a morphological designation of class membership. Concomitantly,
intonation patterns of minor and major pauses effect formal
variation, specifically the lengthening and shortening of
forms. Although beyond the scope of this analysis, no less
important are variables of discourse style, including a range
of domains: from recognition of participants'/audience
knowledge and social status to degrees of interpersonal

(formality) relationships to personal excitability and decisions to emphasize. Furthermore, the most accountable description of Haitian Creole, a non-written language which happens for the most part in face-to-face encounters, must include a detailed analysis of accompanying kinesic patterns.

On the other hand, it is a perfectly viable and testable hypothesis that variation is indicative of identifiable grammatical function and/or word class status. In fact, because languages are as characterizable by change as by stasis, it is crucial to look for mechanisms and tendencies inherently and readily available in Haitian Creole which could be taken advantage of with respect to patterns and directions of development. The most obvious clues to grammaticization and categorization of forms are the phonologically and discourse-motivated formal variants.

These variants, although explicable in terms of the phonological reflections of speech styles, also show significant preferences for specific syntactic positions. It is the latter phenomenon which teases at grammatical category designation. Because the fixed-order syntactic frame is so immutable, as will be demonstrated in the data, with loci indicative of grammatical function, forms which occur exclusively or frequently in certain positions may become so identified with the grammatical function performed there that they may, indeed, be the confirmatory evidence needed to prove out a grammaticizing process. In these data, it is

possible to profile some such patterns; complete realization
is rare and moot.

"Word class" membership may be even more elusive. Forms
are flexible with respect to grammatical function, while
retaining a core semantic configuration. The identity of
a lexeme lies more importantly in abstract meaning than in
morphology or grammatical role. Alain Bentolila gives
several good illustrations of this:

What has been classed to be a "verb" is also a "noun":

    8. li pa <u>dòmi</u> mem pou nuit la.
        il n'a pas dormi de la nuit.
        ("He didn't even sleep at night".)

        m'rete anpil anvan <u>dòmi</u> pran m.
        je suis reste longtemps avant que vienne le sommeil.
                                              (68)
        ("I rested a long time before sleep overcame me".)

What has been classed to be an "adjective" is also an
"adverb":

    26. yo ap mache tou <u>dousman</u>.
        ils marchent tres <u>lentement</u>.
        ("They're walking very slowly".)

        li <u>dousman</u> tankou papa l.
        il est paisible comme son père. (70)
        ("He is gentle like his father".)

What has been classed as "noun" (or most any "part of
speech") is also a "verb":

    38. ou <u>bourik</u> trop.   (<u>bourik</u> - donkey)
        tu es trop bête.
        ("You are too stupid".)

Bentolila carries this example further, citing the
need for socio-cultural understanding as well:

> ... "bef": boeuf. "kabrit" ...semblent avoir un
> signifié tout à fait incompatible avec une utili-
> sation predicative et, cepandant, dans un contexte
> vaudou "vo bef li" signifiant "il a été transformé
> en boeuf" est, sur le plan linguistique du moins,
> parfaitement acceptable.   (72)

It is clear that morphologically invariant and unmarked
forms may jump"word class" status by functioning in gramma-
tical roles not traditionally associated with labels such
as "noun", "verb", "adjective", "adverb", etc. While Bento-
lila does not expressly argue for grammatical multifunction-
ality nor for multiple lexical homonymous listings, those
choices suggest themselves as means of appraising the syste-
maticity of such data: forms which may be variant in shape,
found to function in two or more syntactic positions with
differences in grammatical roles, but which, if not the same
form, are clearly related.

B. ORGANIZATION AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

The data are presented in the order and grouping shown
by Chart D, pp. 101-3 , with each form and its variants
being allotted a chapter.

The organization for each chapter is as follows:

> 1) utterance examples taken from the data to
> illustrate the usage of each form, with both
> a grammatical translation as well as a word-
> for-word gloss.

> 2) reiteration of the Chart, with the further
> detail of numerical counts indicating actual
> frequency of occurrence: a) as a total for
> each syntactic position in which the form and/
> or its variants were found in our data, and
> b) the number of occurrences per form at that
> position.

3) discussion.

The discussion is an elaboration of the charted picture of multifunctionality; i.e., how many syntactic positions a form occupied and what was the actual distribution of variants at each position in the speech data. Conditions of distribution for the variants are subsequently explicated in terms of position, phonology, morphosyntactic environment and possible discourse and semantic factors.

Interpretation of patterns of occurrence involves predictability of variant shape at specific syntactic positions as well as the subsequent possibility that a so-called variant is, instead, an independent form resulting from any grammaticizing trends or pressures in the language.

The interpretations, definitions and analyses of other authors on these forms are summarized for the sake of comparison with our findings.

It must be kept in mind from the start that, despite the current "legitimizing" activities to achieve a written, standardized creole, Haitian Creole is essentially an oral language whose forum is informal, everyday conversation among a relatively culturally homogeneous population. In that context, there are two common and obvious features of speech: reduction in the shape of forms to a phonological minimum, long shapes being retained in syntactic environments preceeding speech pauses.

G. GRAMMATICAL MARKERS: GROUP I

    1. ANTerior and POSterior "tense" markers

    In the process of charting declarative utterances and focusing on possible verb categories, a number of recurrent forms called for an analysis as to grammatical status. They are neither multi-functional nor multi-positional, nor are they autonomous verbal forms, but occur in fixed positions, syntactic loci not shared with other forms. They occur prior to the range of pre-predicatives, but directly after the fixed NEG position. They are not considered here to be prefixes as they may occur alone in the zero-copula environment, but they are never found in utterance-terminal positions.

    Each has its own variants, illustrated below. Those of the first position, te and ava, are explicable by reason of phonology, dialect, and the discourse factors of emphasis and introduction of new information.

    These two forms do not function as their French and English glosses might imply; i.e., they do not occur with every predicate locating an event in the "past" or "future". Rather, their presence and absence are functions of entire units of discourse; once a discourse topic is located in time, the markers are inferrably redundant and therefore unnecessary. Temporality is maintained by the high use of (descriptive) adverbials; the forms appear when the time locus or topic changes, when a point needs emphasis,

when a related parenthetical that occurred at a point in time different from that of the discourse is inserted. The tense markers are used to introduce new features/characters into the discourse. For those reasons, we will not label these markers as "past" and "future", but rather as "anterior" and "posterior", designating the relationship of a predicate to a time set. Discourse unfolds in the "timeless" (unmarked) mode once the tense markers have established a topic's anteriority or posteriority to the speaking present. It is an interesting coincidence that Bernard Comrie has chosen to characterize tense markers as deictics:

> Since tense locates the time of a situation
> relative to the situation of the utterance, we
> may describe tense as deictic. (1976:2).

His "situation of the utterance", for Haitian Creole, must be read as the discourse time, not necessarily the speaking-present time (event-time as opposed to utterance-time). Otherwise, deixis, as a pointing device, is more than just a temporal sign in Haitian Creole. Additionally, it focuses ("introduces") on new discourse elements within the narrated event, leaving the "old" or "given" unmarked. It is moot as to whether the discourse function of the posterior marker behaves quite so markedly as does the anterior, though.

Discourse factors also significantly influencing tense marking must include shared knowledge (cultural, historical, etc.), speaker intent, socio-cultural relationships which affect styles of formality and informality. Additionally,

pragmatics plays an important role in that there are many
unmarked temporal meanings inherent in face-to-face speaker-
audience discourse: e.g., "I am in Cuba" uttered in
Port-au-Prince or Miami implies "pastness".

Nonetheless, although actual presence of markers cannot
be accurately predicted, grammatical use is highly rule-
ordered. An attempt to discover those rules was made, the
results of which are described below.

Subject	NEG	TNS		ASPect	Pre-Pred.	Pred...
		ANT	POS			
	pa	te	ava	ap (PROG)		
	poko			fɛk (COMP)		
	žame					

a. <u>Te</u>

With regard to its shape, although <u>te</u> is acceptable in
all ANT-marked environments, its variant <u>t</u> is preferred
after the NEG <u>pa</u> and before vowel initial forms, e.g.:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

<u>ale</u> - "go   <u>prâ</u> - "take"
t'ale - ANT go   te prâ - ANT take
pa't'ale - NEG ANT go   pa't prâ - NEG ANT take

</div>

Even in emphatic utterances, it is most unusual to hear a
long <u>te</u> if a following verb form is vowel-initial or the
preceding form NEG.

In all of the data utilized for this study, i.e., six
hours of transcribed narrative, the content was for the most
part personal stories <u>cum</u> histories, only one a non-personal
contemporary folk tale. The subject matter, in other words,
is personal experience, which is necessarily "past".

Nonetheless, in a total of well over 3000 predicates, there are only 322 occurrences of the marker te and its variant t, proof positive that tense-marking in Haitian Creole, i.e., morphological indication of anteriority, is subject to rules quite different from those of French and English.

1. u t'ale lwê
    you ANT-go far
    You went far away.

2. M t'ap ɛksplikɛ'l pu ki sa'm te vini
    I ANT'PROG explain for what that'I ANT come
    I was explaining to her why I came.

3. Se kuba'm te rɛte
    It-is Cuba'I ANT stay
    It's Cuba where I stayed/was.

4. Me l'ale m pa't kɔnɛ
    But she'go I NEG'ANT know
    But she went away and I didn't know.

5. Yo te di nu fo maže
    They ANT say we necessary eat
    They told us it was necessary to eat.

6. li te fɛ rad-sa-a
    she ANT make dress-that-the.
    She made that dress.

7. kay li te gɛyɛ, o ...
    house she ANT have, oh
    The house she had, oh...

8. te gɛ'ɛ ã mũn Doktɛ Bɔ̃ Tã
    ANT have a person Doctor Bontemps
    There was a person Dr. Bontemps ...

86% of the te/t mark verbal predicates, the remaining non-verbal ones. Of the 278 verbal predicates, 67 (24%) of the te-occurrences are on the form gɛyɛ "have", half of which function as the introductory, sentence-initial "there is/was". (see #7 and #8 above). That is a te-marked

verb frequency representation disproportionately high among
the verbal predicate forms. Although a multitude of
predicate verbs are marked by te, it is only ale "go" (13),
vini "come" (12), rɨte "stay/live" (12), kɔ́nɛ̂ "know" (12),
di "say" (11) and fɛ "make/do" (11) which are preceded by
te/t more than ten times each and these are especially salient
forms (meanings) in the data. It is suggested that the high
occurrence of a te-marked gɛ̂yɛ̂ "have, there is" is one
effect of a scene-setting, topic-focus function of te.*

Non-verb Predicate

	-marked locative	+marked (pp) locative	Pnominative	Padjectival	pp
te	13	12	5	11	2

The te-marked non-verb predicate environment is osten-
sibly copular and/or existential. This will be elaborated
below under zero, se and ye "be" (pp.249-287.). The nature
and actual number of te-marked occurrences in the data are
charted above. Locative and adjectival predicates are the
most common, predicate nominatives and prepositional phrases(pp)
the least. With the 25 locative predicates, the variant t
occurs only four times, always in conjunction with the
NEG pa, as pa't. Those locative predicates which are not

* It is hypothesized that the existential semantics
  underlying the form gɛ̂yɛ̂ not only might necessitate
  temporal specification, but role in scene-setting
  itself would make predictable, in light of the
  discourse-related grammatical rules, its operation
  in tandem with a tense marker. This remains to
  be investigated.

prepositionally signaled tend to be true physical locations.

Marking with a preposition seems to indicate non-specificity,

non-properness, less frequent usage and metaphor:

-marked

9. mwɛ̂ te lekol
    I ANT school
    I was in school.   (3 <u>lekol</u> "school"

10. te gɛ̂ prɛzidâ'k te la
    ANT have president'which ANT there
    There was a president who was there.
                              (5 <u>la</u> "there")

11. kote o te kay
    place they ANT house
    Where they were at home   (1 <u>kay</u> "house")

12. ti-mɛdam-yo te Pɔtoprɛ̂s
    little-woman-they ANT Port-au-Prince
    The young women were in Port-au-Prince
                              (1 <u>pɔtoprɛ̂s</u> - "Port-au-Prince)

13. i te sâto domîŋ
    he ANT Santo Domingo
    He was in Santo Domingo (1 <u>sâto</u> <u>domîŋ</u> "Santo
                                                    Domingo")

14. sa'k te deža dɛvâ
    that'which ANT already in-front
    The one who was already in front (dɛva "infront)

15. sa'k te deyo
    that'which ANT behind
    The one who was behind (1 <u>deyo</u> "behind")

+marked

16. mwɛ̂ te nâ mɛtiye
    I ANT LOC profession
    I was in the occupation (of) ...

17. li te nâ gumɛ̂-sa-a
    he ANT LOC fight-that-the
    He was in that fight.

18. i te nâ batay
    he ANT LOC battle
    he was in battle

19. mwê te n̂a difikilte
    I ANT LOC difficulty
    I was in trouble

20. mari'pa't â travay
    husband'NEG'ANT LOC work
    My husband wasn't working/didn't have a job.
                    (2 travay - "work")

21. m te n̂a bulɔ̌žeri
    I ANT LOC bakery
    I was in the bakery/working in some capacity
                                in a bakery.

22. m te n̂a kay
    I ANT LOC house
    I was at home

23. m pa't poko n̂a mɛnaž
    I NEG'ANT not-yet LOC boyfriend
    I didn't have a boyfriend yet.

24. ki te n̂a mɛm ka
    which ANT LOC same case
    who was in the same circumstances

25. yo te deyɛ bwa
    they ANT behind tree/wood
    they were behind the trees.

26. li te n̂a pral-yɛ- a tu
    he ANT LOC going-be-the too
    He was also in the leaving going on.

27. m te ti-žâ â pɛ-a
    I ANT little manner LOC fear-the
    I was a little scared.

The non-verb predicate-nouns, adjectives and prepo-
sitional phrases are straightforward in that their semantic
readings include copular or existential senses, ones which do
not necessitate a morphological verb in the syntactic envi-
ronment in order to be considered grammatical. These pre-
dicates, because of the absence of a morphological "be",
or être, are here marked for ANTeriority:

predicate-nominative

28. duvalye te prɛzidã́-ã́
    Duvalier ANT president-the
    Duvalier was the president.

29. ki te prɛzidã́'kɔ̃́pani-a X
    which ANT president company-the call "X"
    who was president of the company called "X".

30. kay te lasǎčé
    house ANT Sanchez
    The house was the Sanchez'.

31. m te katolik
    I ANT Catholic.
    I was a Catholic.

32. mysɛ-a ki te lot zami-mwɛ̂
    guy-the which ANT other friend-I
    the guy who was my other friend

predicate-adjectives

33. li te debite
    he ANT debt
    he was in debt.

34. m pa't ražé
    I NEG'ANT settle
    I wasn't settled.

35. se mwɛ̂'k te rɛspɔ̂sab
    it'is I'which ANT responsible
    It's I who was responsible.

36. isit pa't bɔ̂
    here NEG'ANT good
    Here wasn't good.

37. mwɛ̂ te malad
    I ANT sick
    I was sick.

38. m te fašé
    I NEG mad
    I was mad/I got mad.

39. mwɛ̂ te malad kušé
    I ANT sick lie-down
    I was sick abed.

40. mwê t'ap malad plus
    I ANT'PROG sick more
    I was getting sicker

41. pye-a te mal
    foot-the ANT bad
    My foot was bad.

42. yo te mal pu mwê
    they ANT bad for I
    They were bad for me.

predicate-prepositional phrase

43. sa pa te su politik
    that NEG ANT on politic
    That didn't have anything to do with politics.

44. m te avɛk li
    I ANT with he
    I was with him.

45. nu te kɔt li
    we ANT against he
    We were against him.

The literature explicating te-marking will be summarized below and compared with the generalizations drawn from our data.

Albert Valdman labels te "the past completive article". Because a "timeless past", i.e., unmarked, is more usual in the language, te is utilized specifically to indicate "that the action or state of affairs is completely terminated..." (148).

Robert Hall calls te a "predicate prefix", or "past tense marker" in his glossary. In the text, he writes it as t(e) as the e is optionally elided before vowel or con-sonant. (33)

Gerard Férère says that the tense markers occur before
unmarked and aspect-marked forms. The past marker is /te/ /t/.
He claims that the full te is always acceptable but, given
the environment (before vowels and after the negator /'pa/)
speakers tend to opt for t.

Jules Faine cites te as the past auxiliary marker.
Etymologically, it reflects the angevin (é)té, past participle
of être, as well as the picard imperfect tais.

Henri Tinelli mentions that te reduces to t- before
vowels. The form indicates "anteriority of an event in
relation to a time of reference (present or past) specified
elsewhere in the discourse. te covers, but is not limited
to, the meanings of the English or French past tenses..." (45)

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain says that adding a te to a
verbal form serves to place an action in the past. There
is always an expressed subject when te is used. When te
occurs in a major clause, the marked verb indicates habitual
state or action, realized action or a state acquired in the
past. If te appears in a subordinate clause, the marked
verb expresses an action or state anterior to that of the
verb in the major clause which usually is already in the past.
(85-6).

Marie-Racine Buteau labels te as the past tense
particle. In her cognates list, te is considered a false
one, serving only to express the past.

Although implied, the complex rules governing the presence of te are nowhere investigated. Henri Tinelli is the only author to avoid the term "past"; his use of "anterior" is more apt: the behavior of te in our data is such that it is inappropriate to call it a simple past tense form without discussing its pastness as a relationship to many possible points in time, all of which are more determinable in discourse context. That te may also be a focusing device is not mentioned in the literature surveyed here.

Only Férère relates the short shape t to both a preceding NEG pa and following vowel-initial form. The others give t as a variant for te but explain the abbreviated shape only in relation to the following phonological environment, to such a degree in the case of Hall, that he says te may reduce to t before both vowel and consonant-initial forms. This is true in our data for consonant-initials only if pa precedes the te.

Lastly, Comhaire-Sylvain's claims that the presence of te makes mandatory an expressed subject could be refuted by citing the unusual te gêyê "there was" construction. (See Chapter IV F, Gêyê). In our data, there is no expressed subject preceding the verb form gêyê "have" when it is used impersonally with a "there-be" reading. ANT eriority is signaled with te as the utterance-initial form. On the other hand, the impersonal use of gêyê incorporates the notion of pronominal anaphora by setting up a subject-equals-predicate

construction: this may be adequate to conform to her defi-
nition of "expressed subject". Syntactically, it is a
unique construction.

b. POSterior a/va/ava/av

    45. n'a fɛ premie batay
        we 'POS make first battle
        We will wage the first battle.

    46. ana'n'a pral
        let's we'POS going
        Come on, let's go/we're going

    47. n'a gumê
        we'POS fight
        We will fight.

    48. n'a mɔtre yo tire
        we'POS show they shoot
        We will show them how to shoot.

    49. n'a mɔtre ɛtrêne
        we'POS show training
        We will train them...

    50. n'a pral ka mɛm
        we'POS going anyway
        We will go all the same.

    51. m'av'ay Nasau
        I'POS'go Nassau
        I will go to Nassau.

    52. m'a prale
        I'POS going
        I will go/will be going.

    53. m'a rɛl u nã telefɔn
        I'POS call you LOC telephone
        I'll call you on the phone.

    54. l'a fɛ lekol dɛswa
        she'POS make school evening
        She'll teach night classes.

    55. m'a di lot bagay
        I'POS say other thing
        I'll say something else.

In our data, the alleged "future" tense marker occurs
so rarely that it is startling. Out of eleven occurrences
ten were in personal histories. The histories were relating

experiences anterior to the speaking present but, for the
most part, remained morphologically unmarked (see p. 109.).
The marker a referred to a proximate future in the context
of the discourse proper, a future which, in relation to the
time of the utterance was, in fact, past. In the eleventh
case, uttered in the present of the recording, a referred
to intentions for a true-future act. (#53).

All of the uses of the marker bear a strong sense of
"intention", suggesting that the form is more of a modal than
a tense marker. Consonant with the label chosen to describe
te more realistically than as one of tense, i.e. ANT erior,
POSterior is used here to indicate the morphological presence
and function of a/va/ava/av.

All of the POS-marked verbs are active; pral "going" (3),
fε "make/do" (2), mɔ̂tre "show" (2), gumέ "fight" (1), ay "go"
(1), rεl "call" (1) and di "say" (1). The only verb-form
which is vowel-initial: ay "go", is preceded by the av
variant of POS. The more common and short a, marking POS,
would be too easily phonologically absorbed in everyday
speech and its significance completely lost if used before
forms beginning with /a/. Before forms that begin with vowel
sounds other than /a/, the short POS a is used: e.g.:

```
    m'a ekri - I'POS write
    n'a uvri pɔt-la - we POS open door-the
    l'a obliźέ'm pεy 'l - he'POS force'I pay'he
```

POSterior a/av, in our data, do not occur in the copular/
existential environment, i.e., before non-"verb" predicate

heads. The low frequency of its occurrence may be due to its competing for the same temporal range as the aspect marker ap, indicative of progressivity, whose primary sense is not one of intention. Ap is a more frequently found marker in the totality of our data than is the POS a/av; it may even be replacing a/av, except for instances in which the latter behaves as an intentional modal.

As earlier works on Haitian Creole have labeled te/t a "past tense" marker, so has a/av been assigned the status of the "future tense" marker. Such designation puts the forms into a pre-conceived grammatical framework that fails to include the significance of discourse context as temporal stage and fails to mention the language's avoidance of grammatical redundancy.

Albert Valdman lists three forms of a basic a, av and ava, glossed as "will", defined as particles which, with a a + verb, in his text, is "future action not related to present". (117).

Robert Hall includes a, ava, and va as predicate prefixes, signs of the future tense. Formally, their appearance is explicable on the basis of the shape of the subject, i.e., after a full-form personal pronoun: va and a after a contracted one or ava in the emphatic mode. Non-personal-pronoun subjects are followed by a if they are consonant-final, by va if vowel-final (33).

Gerard Férère also lists /'a/, /'va/ and /a'va'/ as

the future tense markers. The long /a'va/ is rare although accepted in all environments, perhaps limited to the speech of older people and of others for purposes of emphasis. The form /va/ may occur in any phonological environment. Speakers prefer the short /a/ when preceded by a consonant or semi-consonant, the /va/ form elsewhere (164-6).

Henri Tinelli cites av- as the basic form with a an optional variant; va- and ava are characteristic of "sophisticated speech" or "regional dialects". Its function, according to him, is to signal posteriority in relation to both the present andto the past, as the conditional, in combination with the anterior marker in the latter case.

Comhaire-Slyvain lists a, va and ava to be a particle which places an action or state in the future. A and ava are used with contracted pronouns, va with their long shapes. A is preferred after non-pronominal, consonant-final subjects, va vowel-final. Ava is always more emphatic. They are readily glossed as the simple future in major clauses. In subordinate clauses, the French equivalent is either the simple or anterior future. In negative sentences, ape replaces a to indicate future.

Racine-Buteau simply mentions /a/ - /ava/ - /va/ as being the future tense particle.

Our data, taken in their proper discourse contexts, do not support the "future tense" labeling. They would agree more with Tinelli's posterior" designation, if that can be

taken to mean posterior to any established "present".
Additionally, none of the authors mentions the modal flavor
of the marker, indicative of "intention". In isolation,
on the other hand, these utterances do not necessarily signal
intention.

Our data are so scanty that the full range of possible
variants may not be represented; only a and av occur, the
latter a variant mentioned only by Ferère.

2. CONDitional marker <u>ta</u>/<u>tav</u>

55. m ta rềmế se kɔ̃sa mwề ta rềmề aysyề ta ka
                                         al viv
   I COND like it'is like-that I COND like Haitian
                      COND able to live

   I'd like it like that; I'd like for Haitians
           to be able to live like that.

The combination of the ANT marker <u>te</u> and <u>POS</u> marker <u>a</u>

yields the fixed-position conditional (COND) modal marker

<u>t'a</u>. Whether or not the morphemic composition of this form

is recognized by speakers is not known, thus it is written

here as the unitary <u>ta</u>. In our data, only one variant of

the form occurs: <u>tav</u>:

56. pito'm tav'al bal o tue yo
    prefer'I COND go shoot or kill they
    Better I'd have gone shot or killed them.

The shape, <u>tav</u>, is phonologically explicable in relation to

a vowel-initial following verb form. The phonetic explicit-

ness insures modal comprehension; otherwise the more common

but non-modal ANT <u>te</u> would be the likely reading:

      pito'm te a al - pito'm t'a'al - pito'm t'al.

The conditional reading "would" issues from the time

of the narrated event of a given discourse; <u>i.e.</u>, it is not

necessarily related to the time of the utterance. It does

not appear to be a commonly used form, occurring only 28

times in our data. It shares with the POS <u>a</u>/<u>av</u> the gram-

matical preference for preceding active verbs, although, in

two cases, <u>ta</u> here marks non-verb Predicates, one locational,

one adjectival.

57. si'm ta žamayik
     if'I COND Jamaica
     if I were in Jamaica

58. m pa ta prɛt mɔri dežamayik
     I NEG COND ready die Jamaica
     I wouldn't be ready to die in Jamaica.

The fact that COND ta occurs in the above without a

following morphological verb is explainable by assuming a

zero copula (morphologically, not semantically, absent,

see Chapter IV H 1) which serves to link subjects with

these types of predicate complements.

The remaining 26 occurrences of ta are before more

traditional verb-like forms:

    4 ka - able   3 gê- have
    1 kap - able   3 zwên - find
    2 rɛ̂mɛ - like   3 vɔye - send
    1 vle - want/like   2 žâbe - cross
    1 kɔ̂nɛ - know   1 rive - come
    1 gɛ̂ dwa - able   1 vini - come
                           1 mɔri - die
                           1 šaše - seek
                           1 ale - go

In previous literature, ta is not segregated out from

the tense categories te and ava. All of the authors look

at the form primarily as the product of the union of "past"

and "future" markers. No one has labeled it a tense marker,

nor a modal. It is simply called a conditional, signaling a

future in the past. This may be the case, so long as it is

remembered that "present", "past" and "future" are temporal

distinctions established with reference to the time of the

narrated event and not to the time of the utterance.

3. PROGressive ap/apre/ape/pe

     59.   âpil mûn ap pati
          much person PROG leave
          Many people were leaving.

     60.   m'apre'ašte...
          I'PROG'buy...
          I am/will be buying...

     61.   m'ape sôže u âpil
          I'PROG remember you much.
          I'm going to remember you a lot.

     62.   u t'apre šɛše mwɛ̂
          You ANT'PROG seek I
          You were looking for me.

     63.   mwɛ̂ pe diz â avɛk mama'm.
          I PROG 10 year with mother'I
          I spent 10 years with my mother.

Charting the form ap and its variants in Haitian Creole shows that they occur in a fixed position directly following the loci of ANT te and POS a. The position is shared with another "aspect"-marker, the infrequent fɛk; they are mutually exclusive. Ap and fɛk are listed as aspectual grammatical markers because they not only do not compete with te and a(va) for syntactic position, but they may co-occur with the tense markers. They give a contour to a time set which they do not initially establish, therefore appear to have aspectual meaning. Bernard Comrie defines aspect as:

> ...not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point, but rather with the internal consistency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense). (1976:5)

The contrast of te and a(va) with ap and fɛk fits these

grammatical functions as described by Comrie.

The syntactic position of <u>ap</u> and <u>fɛk</u> precedes those for the semi-autonomous forms found in modificatory roles preceding the predicate head. <u>Ap</u> itself is not an autonomous verb form although it may occur in the zero "be" environment to modify a non-verbal predicate complement. <u>Ap</u> is not multi-positional, but its abstract meaning of progressivity or durativity makes it semantically quite flexible in relation to the meanings and senses of immediately juxtaposed forms and the discourse context. It will here be called the progressive aspect (PROG), as its function is to qualify the predicate for extension over time, not to assess modal functions or speaker attitude. An utterance in which this form occurs, taken out of its discourse context, can only be characterized for the feature of durativity; it may be past, present or proximate future but the form itself does not incorporate temporal locus. It may occur in combination with the ANT <u>te</u> as <u>t'ap(e)</u>. The literature claims it does so with POS as <u>av'ap</u>: there are no such examples in our data.

The form is not uncommon, found 208 times in our data, 22 times co-occurrent with the ANT <u>te</u>. In only 10 cases do variants of the preferred <u>ap</u> occur. These are <u>ape</u> (7), before consonant-initial verb forms, although <u>ap</u> is acceptable; <u>apr</u> (1), before <u>aşte</u> "buy", allegedly an etymological reflex now archaic; <u>apre</u> (1) before <u>şɛše</u> "seek", anomalous, and <u>pe</u> (1) before <u>diz a</u> "10 years", following the full form <u>mwê</u> (which

is more usually m̲). Examples of each of the variants occur
in #59-63.

The variants a̲p̲e̲, a̲p̲r̲, a̲p̲r̲e̲ and p̲e̲ are so rare in the
data that it would be difficult to determine definite rules
for their occurrence. From the experience of listening
and using the language, though, it is inferred that they
are partially a product of style (a̲p̲e̲ tends to be more em-
phatic than a̲p̲), partially dialectal (p̲e̲ is common in the
speech of those born and reared in Northern Haiti).

There are 10 instances of PROG-aspect marked non-verb
(zero-copula) predicate. They are:

<u>Nominal:</u>
64. m'ap grâ mûn
     I'PROG big person
     I'm an adult.

<u>Adverbial:</u>
63. mwê pe diz â avɛk mama'm.
     I PROG 10 year with mother'I.
     I spent 10 years with my mother.

<u>+marked</u>
65. w'ap pati; m'ap lâ šagrɛ̂
     you'PROG leave I'PROG LOC anguish
     You're leaving; I am in anguish.

66. kɔ̂mâ m'ap nâ šagrɛ̂
     how I'PROG LOC anguish
     How I'm in anguish"

<u>-marked locative</u>
67. ɛ̂ byɛ̂, Ayti, m p'ap problɛm
     well, Haiti, I NEG'PROG problem
     Well, in Haiti, I wasn't having problems.

68. Nu t'ap tekzas
     we ANT'PROG Texas
     We were in Texas.

adjectival

69. mwê t'ap malad plus
    I ANT PROG sick more
    I was becoming sicker.

70. l'ap kɔ̂tɔ̂
    she'PROG happy
    She'll be happy.

71. m'ap s̆ire
    I'PROG ripped up
    I was all in tatters

72. w'ap lib
    you'PROG free
    You're free?

The PROGressive aspect marker ap serves the descriptive function of stretching a state or action out over time, whatever the actual time set.

Albert Valdman defines ap as a continuative particle that indicates an action is begun but not complete. It occurs pre-verbally.

Robert Hall lists ap and its variants under his category of verbal prefixes as an "imperfect-durative". Formally, apr- occurs only before ale "go", ap(e) in all other environments. Ap- may occur before any verb, optionally before consonant-initial ones. These forms are utilized to indicate that an action continues, is not realized, or it may signal the future.

Gerard Ferère calls /ap/ /a'pe/ /'apr/ a bound aspect marker of progressivity. The /'ap/ form is the most commonly used. In addition to its "Progressive" marking function, frequent in the the affirmative, almost mandatory in the

negative, it may be utilized to express futurity, taking the place of /ava/.

Henri Tinelli says that ape, although carrying no inherent tense meaning, may co-occur with either te or ay or both. Normally, it does not occur with stative adjectives or verbs but in his data he found it before nominal predicates. Ape may also express the near future.

Sylvain-Comhaire lists ape, ap, pe, apr and apo as variants of a marker indicating the noncompletion of an act or the non-realization of a state. Pe she found to be characteristic of southern Haitian Creole, apo dialectal, apr only before ale, ape only before consonant-initial verbs, and ap most common, allowed everywhere but before ale.

Racine-Buteau labels /ap/ - /apr/ - /ape/ - /pe/ as the imperfective durative aspect indicating that an ongoing action is either not completed or is shortly to be commenced.

The description in the literature is not detailed and is limited to generalities. Our data for the most part do not contradict it. As to environments, only Tinelli even mentions the possibility of the marking of non-verbal predicates, an important context. None of the authors expressly recognizes the significance of discourse context for determining present and past durativity or proximate futurity. As our description shows, the PROG ap carries no inherent temporality but incorporates that of the discourse in which it

occurs. Although both actions and states are cited as aspect-markable, it would be worthy of further investigation to explore possible correlation of senses with predicate types.

4. COMPletive or PUNCtual f̲ɛ̲k

    73. se lɛ'm fɛk âtre,...
        it-is time'I punc enter ...
        It's when I'd just entered...

    74. lɛ'm te fɛk vini madam-mwê te ekri'm
        time'I ANT PUNC come wife-I ANT write'I
        When I'd just come, my wife wrote me.

The last fixed position, non-verb, non-autonomous form
is f̲ɛ̲k. It shares syntactic locus with the PROG-marker
a̲p; they never co-occur. In our data, only the above two
examples occurred, not enough to serve as basis for des-
cription or analysis. Previous literature has discussed
its function and sense and our two utterances agree generally
with those. F̲ɛ̲k marks for punctuality, immediacy of com-
pletion of the predicate: it may be justifiable to label
it a perfective aspect. The form will have to be left to
further study, dependent on the collection of sufficient
data.

Group II

The following forms classed as members of "Group II"
share in common:

1. traceable heritage to French etyma in shape and
    semantic composition

2. syntactic multi-positionality; i.e., in pre-
    predicate head (modificatory) and predicate
    head loci

3. variant shapes (four of the seven), sugges-
    tive of shape-position-function correlations.

The members are:

Haitian Creole	Gloss	French source
1. kapab/kap/kab/ka/k'	"able"	capable adj. able, fit, capable (Cassell's. 1968: 58)
2. kɔ̂nɛ̂/kɔ̂n/kɔ̂	"know"	connaître v.t.: to know, to perceive, to understand, to be acquainted with. v.i.: to have or take cognizance of; to deal with (a matter) (81)
3. fini/fin	"finish"	finir v.t.: to finish, to complete; to end, to conclude, to be over, to expire. fini adj. finished, ended (155)
4. rɛ́mɛ̂/rɛ̂m	"like"	aimer v.t.: to love, to be fond of, to be in love with, to like. (12)
5. mâke	"lack, miss"	manquer v.t.: to miss, to lose; to spoil. v.i.: to miss, to fail, to be wanting, to be deficient,... (210)

6.	bɛzwɛ̃	"need"	besoin n.m.: need, want; necessity; poverty, distress, emergency. (43).
7.	vle	"want"	vouloir v.t.: to want, to desire, to wish, to require; to consent, to please, to choose, to determine; to try, to attempt, to admit, to grant, to mean. (330)

These forms will be discussed below in greater detail in the order presented above.

Kapab/kap/kab/ka/k'

    1. al⊃'m pa kapab. Well, I wasn't able.
        then'I NEG able.

    2. sɛ'm-nâ kap pal av-i. My sister could talk with
                                                     him.
        sister'I able talk with-he.

    3. yo pa kab rɛt. They couldn't stay.
        they NEG able stay.

    4. u ka ɛde pɛp-la. You can help the people.
        you able help people-the.

    5. m pa't k'ale žamayik. I couldn't go to Jamaica.
        I NEG'ANT able'go Jamaica

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-Pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN LOC
S-final (7)						kapab (4)	
						kap (1)	
						kab (1)	
						ka (1)	
Pre-V pred. (78)					kapab (7)	V	
					kap (16)	V	
					kab (2)	V	
					ka (51)	V	
					k' (2)	V	
Pre-PA (2)						kap (1)	PA
						ka (1)	PA

Kapab and its four variants, kap, kab, ka and k',
clearly would prefer the pre-predicate head syntactic position,
having occurred 78 out of a recorded 87 times there in spon-
taneous speech. This is a modificatory position, giving
a modal complexion to the utterances, that of ability, pro-
bability, possibility.

    All forms but the shortest k' occur both at the end of
utterances and preceding another verb form. Nonetheless,
the long kapab is the most common at the utterance-terminal

locus, the short variant ka by far the most frequent as a modifier. Reinforcing position-preference is the fact that the short kap, kab and ka that occurred utterance-final are all (speaker-) self-interrupted; resumptions of the statements included no form whatsoever of kapab. Furthermore, the seven instances of the long kapab preceding the verb predicate head are found in statements delivered in an extra-ordinary mood: anger, emphasis, surprise.

There are in the data only seven markings for ANT tense, te, all on ka; six for conditional ta with five on ka, one on kap; four for the progressive ap: one on kap, three on ka; and ANT progressive t'ap marks ka once.

Readings for kapab and its variants all involve the modal concept of ability, extendable to the realm of probability in some cases, as can be seen in the examples and their glosses, #2, #3, #4, #5. Their function in the context of the utterances is modificatory, qualifying the meaning of the following form. The same role obtains for sentence-final kapab. Such an utterance as is #1 would not occur out of the blue. Kapab is used contextually, an anaphoric signal of a previously expressed Predicate. The long kapab, with no morphological change, also has been called an "adjective" in utterances such as the following:

> 6. s'ɔ̃ mûn kapab - He's a capable person.
>   it-is person able

thereby rendering grammatically ambiguous to the English speaker

7. li kapab - He is capable.
   he able   He can.

The preponderance of the short variants <u>ka</u> and <u>kap</u> occurring pre-verbally is possibly indicative of a grammaticizing modal. The process has not been completely realized in that all five variants occur in this position; there are two which are relatively frequent and they both occur, also, in other syntactic positions. The grammaticizing tendency may not result in fixation because of the role played by the long form in the same position: that of emphasis. It serves the very useful discourse function of style. At the same time, the long <u>kapab</u>, anaphoric for a discourse-antecedent, is motivated by a rule abstractable for sentence construction in Haitian Creole: while short forms occur utterance-internally in casual speech, long forms occur before pauses, <u>i.e.</u>, "commas" and "periods". They are concomitants of significant termini.

That these forms, <u>kapab</u> and its variants, share the modal concept of "ability" is clear. The plethora of forms, while tending to indicate separate grammatical roles, are better understood as products of sentence phonology and discourse.

These abstractions based on the speech data might be compared to that which the earlier cited authors have written. Valdman lists the form <u>kapab</u> in his glossary without a "part of speech designation"; of the possible variants, he mentions only <u>kapab</u> and <u>kab</u>, both with the "meanings" "can; to be able". Valdman's very short note on the auxiliary

status of the form is somewhat ambiguous as to its specific referent. He does cite the form ka as another possible variant. Valdman's unique specific reference to syntactic position is that kapab occurs before the verb.

Hall's glossary labels the long kapab as an adjective meaning "able, capable (of)" while the shorter kab is separately listed as a verb with the meaning "can, might". Hall has eschewed discussion of syntax and predicating environments.

For Ferère, /ka'pab/ and /'ka/, the only two forms he mentions, are cited as "auxiliaries".

Tinelli lists more of the variants than any of the other authors, but fails to specify their grammatical roles. Nor does he propose possible explanation for the several shpaes of kapab.

Comhaire-Sylvain writes more extensively to say that the long kapab is more emphatic than either of the short kap or kab (but never mentions ka), giving as motivation for their occurrences the phonological environment. She concludes that their meaning is indicative of ability, capacity, right, permission and adds that the form is sometimes utilized with the sense of probability.

There are salient discrepancies among the abbreviated definitions and discussions proposed for the form kapab and its variants by the above authors. It is inferrable that the majority have grouped the various shapes as one semantic unit

with the modal meaning of ableness, the grammatical role of "auxiliary". All but Hall consider _kapab_ a "verb" in word class terminology. Hall designates the long _kapab_ an "adjective", the short _kab_ a "verb". Only Comhaire-Sylvain discusses influences in the phonological environment which might serve as explanation of the various shapes.

Any possibilities of grammatical roles and ramifications of position correlated with shape in the light of language change are left undiscussed.

kɔ̂nɛ̂/kɔ̂n/kɔ̂

8. m kɔ̂nɛ̂ mâmâ-i papa-i
I know mother-she father-she
I know her mother and father

9. u fin kɔ̂n kreol-la nɛt.
you finish know creole-the completely
You know creole completely now.

10. lot-yo kɔ̂ kabɔ̂.
other-they know gun
The others know the gun.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-Pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN
Clause-final (8)						kɔ̂nɛ̂ (7)	
						kɔ̂n (1)	
Transitive w/O (25)						kɔ̂nɛ̂ (13)	O
						kɔ̂n	O
						kɔ̂ (2)	O
Transitive /clause (49)						kɔ̂nɛ̂ (13)	CL.
marked (30)						kɔ̂n (17)	CL.
unmarked (19)						kɔ̂nɛ̂ (19)	CL.
						kɔ̂n (0)	–
Pre-pred. V (32)					kɔ̂nɛ̂ (3)	V	
					kɔ̂n (29)	V	

The form kɔ̂nɛ̂ and its shorter variants kɔ̂n and kɔ̂ are generally glossed with the meaning "know", reflective of the presumed French etymon connaître. On the other hand, they are found in grammatical environments that would assign other than a verb-status to their readings and roles; i.e., the auxiliary or aspect signaling "habitual": e.g.:

11. m te kɔ̂n f'ɔ̂ ti-pal avɛ'l.
I ANT know make'a little-talk with'she
I used to talk to her.

and as an adjective indicating "knowledgeability":

12. s'ɔ̂ mûn kɔ̂nɛ̂.
     it-is'a person know
     It's a knowledgeable person.

The morphosyntactic tendencies characteristic of sentence construction in Haitian Creole are illustrated clearly in the data of the first category of clause-final or pre-pause position. The long k̲ɔ̂n̲ɛ̂ predominates, occurrence of the short k̲ɔ̂n̲ is explained by the fact that it is so tightly followed by a tag question that there is actually negligible speech pause. Sentence-internal occurrences of long k̲ɔ̂n̲ɛ̂ and short k̲ɔ̂n̲ appear to be in free variation as they are often found in identical phonological environments, specifically, also, with objects. Morphological length has been cited as a function of discourse style. Therefore, it is not unpredictable that more long than short forms were found in the data: the utterances in which they occurred tend to be topic-introductory, instructional, emphatic, or, acting as a check on listener knowledge and comprehension.

The syntactic environment in which long k̲ɔ̂n̲ɛ̂ and short k̲ɔ̂n̲ occur most frequently is one in which they are followed by a clausal object. Clauses may be introduced by a number of possible markers. Specific to the charted data were the following:

            ki - which
            se - it-is
            puki - why
            si - if
            (ki) kote - where
            (ki) sa - what
            kɔ̂mɔ̂ - how

Such clausal marking is not obligatory for the long kɔ́nɛ̂.
In our data, the short kɔ́n, whose object is a clause, is
followed immediately by one of the above markers. Neither the
long kɔ́nɛ̂ nor short kɔ́n is used exclusively with any one
clause-introductory marker. On the other hand, unmarked
clauses are preceded only by the long kɔ́nɛ̂.

The most striking differences in the positional and
frequency of occurrence patterns is in the syntactic envi-
ronment of a following verb-form which acts as the predicate-
head proper. In these data, the short kɔ́n is preferred,
representing almost 91% of the instances. It is in this very
environment that the short kɔ́n has been labeled as the aspec-
tual marker of "habituality", generally glossable as "used
to".

Problems with definitive and exclusive assignment of
"aspect" to the short kɔ́n are several:

  1. The following-predicate-head verb could often
     be interpreted as a nominal:

     m te kɔ́n travay abɔ batimâ.
     I ANT know work aboard boat
     I used to work aboard ship.
     I knew how to work aboard ship.
     I knew the work on a ship.

  2. There can be no guarantee that only the short
     form indicates "used-to"; informants accept
     for both:

     m kɔ̂nɛ̂ žwɛ̂n li   and   m kɔ́n žwɛ̂n li,
                    I know find he

     to be understood as both "I knew/know how to
     find him" and "I used to find him", depending
     on context and, in analogous cases, depending

on the juxtaposition of relevant semantic features.

3. Haitian Creole rarely, redundantly, marks for ANT tense once a discourse has been located in time. Therefore, what is glossed as "used to" from the vantage point of the spoken present is actually still, semantically, "know" in the discourse present. It is remarkable that the content of the recorded speech data is, for the most part, personal histories, which are necessarily accounts of the "past", but that out of 113 instances of kɔ̃nɛ̃ and kɔ̃n, only 14 are marked with ANT te/t! 8 of those being on the short kɔ̃n.

4. A short kɔ̃n is found not uncommonly in other syntactic environments, i.e., as predicate head taking both simple objects and clausal complements. If the two positions are indeed filled by distinct forms, are they not related semantically?

There is definite evidence, frequency of occurrence, for the possible grammaticizing of the short kɔ̃n as the aspect marker of habituality. Although the tendency is almost to the exclusion of the long kɔ̃nɛ̃ in that syntactic environment, it would be premature to label the forms as completely separate. They are semantically and conceptually similar, if not, identical. A discourse style which proceeds in a "present" after initial time-marking and the use of morphological length as indicator of emphasis or formality may well thwart a complete realization of this grammaticization.

Albert Valdman has listed both the long konnen (kɔ̃nɛ̃) and the short konn (kɔ̃n) in the glossary of Basic Course in Haitian Creole with the verb meaning of "to know". The short konn (kɔ̃n) is entered again, separately, as "to be used to; to be in the habit of". He labels the latter as a modal

auxiliary indicative of habituality whose occurrence is
often accompanied by the "past particle _te_". (231)

In _A_ _Grammar_ _of_ _Haitian_ _Creole_, Robert Hall has listed
in his glossary one form with an optional second syllable,
_i.e._, _kon_(_é_) (kɔ̂nê) with two possible meanings: the verb
"know" and "be in the habit of". In the text, _kon_(_é_) falls
into two characterizeable classes: one of verbs which occur
in an optional short form and one of verbs which in terms
of grammar, may take a verbal complement. The possible
significance of shape and/or frequency distribution is not
mentioned.

Gerard Férère cites kɔ̂nế only once as a "marker" of
"aspect" and says that, as such, speakers prefer its short
form. Nonetheless, the form is not restricted to that
role as it is also a viable autonomous (free) unit.

The abbreviated _conne_ (kɔ̂n), from _connain_ (kɔ̂nế), is,
according to its listing in Jules Faine's glossary, a
"demi-auxiliare" whose meaning is equivalent to the English
"used to" and the French "avoir coutume de". He implies,
by virtue of example, that the longer _connain_ is the verb
"know".

For Suzanne Comhaire, _kõn_ (kɔ̂n) has the sense of
"habituality", possibly of "capability" or "know-how". She
adds that that shape is not exclusive for the auxiliary gram-
matical role but must be recognized also as a "contracted"
variant of the _kõnẽ_ (kɔ̂nế) meaning "savoir" and "connaitre".

The short form may occur in any syntactic environment except
when it would be followed by a pronominal object.

Marie Racine-Buteau has listed, together, kõné-kõn in
a category relating to French etyma, that of Partial Cognates
which are distinguished by having meanings "extended"
from their cognates proper. All three senses of Buteau's
entry, none of which is associated exclusively with either
long or short form, are considered to be grammatical verbs.
The meanings are a) "to know, to know how", b) "to be used
to" and c) "it sometimes happens that". (232-3).

The above authors concur, implicitly, in their analyses
of the long and short kɔ̂nɛ̂ and kɔ̂n, although formal labeling
and listing systems differ. None gives detailed, explicit
evidence or reasoning for the separation of the forms although
it is inferred that the distinction is based on their
intuited semantic dissimilarities/disparities. The authors
call the forms a verb although it is generally implied that
the shorter one performs auxiliary grammaticalfunctions which
Valdman labels "modal" and the others "aspectual".

Our actual speech data collected and described here do
not confirm the suggested mutual exclusivity of grammatical
role per form, nor of semantics. On the other hand, the
behavior of these forms demonstrates a clear and strong
tendency, evidenced in frequency of occurrence per position,
toward a possible grammaticization of the short kɔ̂n as an
aspect marker of habituality.

Fini/fin

13. yo pal avɛk nu epi lɛ yo fini, yo mênê'm
                                            nâ prizɔ̃
    they speak with we then when they finish, they
        lead'I LOC prison
    They talked with us then when they finished,
        they took me to prison.

14. lɛ yo fin tire li mwê- mɛm yo tirɛ'm tu
    when they finish shoot he I-self they shoot'I too
    After they had shot him they shot (at) me too.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN
Pre-pause (5)						fini (2)	
						fin (3)	
Transitive w/O (2)						fini (0)	−
						fin (2)	O
pre-Pred. V (21)					fini (0)	ᴦ	
					fin (21)	V	

The form _fini_ and its shorter variant _fin_ are included
in this study, despite a relative scarcity of instances,
because they share the grammatical behaviors of other members
of this category and so raise the same questions as to shape,
syntactic position and grammatical function. Moreover, the
short _fin_ has been definitively assigned a perfective aspect
role and label in some previous analyses (see below).

One serious complication, while also a good illustration
of the difficulty if not impossibility of assigning word class
status to forms, in that many of the utterances in which
fini and _fin_ occurred in our data are ambiguous, because of
the potential semantic readings of other forms in their syn-
tactic environment. For example, the members of the category
of the above charted "transitive with object", of which

there are two instances, have been included in a separate
category, pre-predicate head (verb-proper):

    lε nu fin travay - when we had worked
    when we finish work when we finished the work
                            when we finished working

    aprε'm fin travay   after I had worked
    after'I finish work   after I finished the work/
                                  working

(travay: This word proves its "noun-ness" by accepting the
    definite determiner: travay-la   "the work"
                         work-the
    possessive adjective: travay-nu   "our work"
                         work-we
    adjectival modifiers: travay difisil "hard work"
                         work hard

    and its "verb-ness" by accepting the range of tense-
    aspect-mode modifiers:

    ANT   nu te travay   we (had) worked
    POS   n'a travay   we will work
    PROG   n'ap travay   we're (will be) working
    capability: nu ka travay we can work
    etc.)

    In the above examples, certainly the possible readings
of "had worked", "finished working" and "finished (the)
work" are conceptually not different. If grammatical cate-
gories were established on the basis of translation, a
plausible argument could reasonably be offered for the semantic
viability of the three glosses and, thus, for the aspectual
and verbal grammatical status of the short fin.

    Nonetheless, in this particular corpus of data, the long
fini occurs so rarely, even in the expected pre-pause environ-
ment, that it could be hypothesized that the long form itself
is becoming extinct.

On the other hand, length is still a relevant indicator
of emphasis: in an increasingly excited repetition of a
sentence, one speaker used the long _fini_ three out of four
times before a transitive verb.

Without question, the preferred syntactic environment
for the short _fin_ is pre-predicate head. In that locus, it
is marked by the ANT tense _te_ only twice.

If any of the forms discussed so far (Group II: _kapab_,
_kɔ̂nɛ̂_, _fini_, _rɛ̂mɛ̂_, _mâke_, _vle_) is grammaticizing a shorter
variant, there should be no question regarding the candi-
dacy of the short _fin._. At the same time, though, in our
data, there are more instances of the short _fin_ occurring
before a speech pause than of the more readily predicted long
form _fini_, an anomaly in the light of the general pattern of
sentence-construction. And, the long _fini_ occurred preceding
a predicate head in the context of discourse excitability.
That _fin_ appeared pre-pause and _fini_ pre-verb somewhat
weakens a good argument for realizing a grammaticizing
tendency.

Although our own data on _fini_ and _fin_ are not generously
represented in the speech corpus and therefore put in doubt
the tentative conclusions, earlier literature has attended
to the forms with greater certainty.

Albert Valdman enters both together in his glossary:
fin, _fini_ mean "to have just, to finish". They are apparently
members of the group of "modal auxiliaries", as was _kɔ̂nɛ̂_, _kɔ̂n_

(see p.144). As a modal, according to Valdman, <u>fini</u> is said to "convey a meaning similar to" its "base meaning". For Valdman, it is the short <u>fin</u> which is normally associated with the modal function of indicating the specific completion of an action.

In contrast, <u>fini</u> and <u>fin</u> are separate entries in Robert Hall's glossary. The long <u>fini</u> he classifies a verb with the meaning "finish, end, complete", while the short <u>fin</u> is categorized as an adverb with the meaning of "completely". In the text of his grammar, he mentions only the long <u>fini</u> in that it may optionally lose its final vowel, thus appearing as <u>fin</u>, before non-pronominal complements. <u>Fini</u> is also able to take a verbal complement. It is inferred, then, that there are two separate meaningful grammatical forms, one a verb (<u>fini</u>) and one (<u>fin</u>) an adverb, but that the long <u>fini</u> verb has the allomorph <u>fin</u> in specific morphophonemic environments and may also appear to occur in the same syntactic position as the adverb <u>fin</u> in that it can take a verbal complement. There is no dat-centered evidence for the two word class designations.

Gerard Férère mentions /fi'ni/ /'fin/ as one form with two allomorphs that is/are an autonomous verb as well as an auxiliary one in the common verb + verb construction.

<u>Fin</u> and <u>fini</u> are separate entries in Jules Faine's glossary. The first he claims is used in only two creole idioms with the meaning "l'excellence, l'extrémité". The

latter, the long _fini_, he accords the status of adverb whose

meaning is "very", the same as its angevin "parent". A

contracted, short form _fine_ Faine claims is used as

a "demi-auxiliare", derived from the angevin verb _finir_.

In a separate glossary labeled Demi-Auxiliares, Faine describes

its function as similar to that of the Spanish _quedar_ "to

remain". Faine observes:

> Noter que notre fini ou _fine_, avant que d'être
> devenu verbe dans le créole, avait été adverbe
> dans le dialecte angevin avec le sens de: très,
> extrêmement, pareil à l'adverbe fin du normand.
> (160)

For Henri Tinelli, the short _fin_ is the perfective aspect,

that, in combination with the past and future tense markers

it forms past and future perfectives. This is apparently

Valdman's "modal auxiliary" function for the short form.

Additionally, Tinelli explicitly writes that the perfective

fin is not simply a short _fini_, as his informants would accept

only the short form as an indicator of perfective. Nonetheless,

he claims that the two forms share a common origin and that

they are semantically close.

Suzanne Comhaire treats the short _fin_ as a prefix to

any following form it modifies with the meaning of "tout-

à-fait". In using _fin_, a speaker emphasizes the completion

of an action or total realization of a state. The short shape,

fin, itself, in addition to its function as an auxiliary,

may be the allomorph of the long _fini_ as well as an independent

adverb. In a section of her book treating verbs, Comhaire

implies that the length difference between <u>fini</u> and <u>fin</u> indicates separate grammatical functions, not divisible semantic content.

Marie Racine-Buteau accords the short <u>fin</u> the label of aspect marker without specifying the aspect nor relating it to the long <u>fini</u>.

Our own data, though not definitive, strongly indicate a real difference in grammatical function associated with the morphological shapes of <u>fini</u> and <u>fin</u>, a meaningful difference which agrees with the vaguer interpretations of other authors, but weakened by the fact that the long <u>fini</u> simply occurs rarely and that both forms occur in each other's syntactic environments. Because of thediscourse use of length for emphasis, this may reflect a grammaticizing tendency which will not be able to be completely realized.

Rêmê/rêm

    15. M rêmê pal avɛk u. I like to talk with you.
        I like talk with you

    16. Mwɛ̂ rɛm'iɔm âpil! I like Morrison a lot!
        I like'Morrison much!

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC
Clause-final (2)						rêmê (2)		
						rêm (0)		
pre-Object (14)						rêmê (13)	O	
						rɛm' (1)	O	
pre-Clause (2)						rêmê (2)	CL.	
pre-Pred. (2)					rêm (2)	V		
pre-PN (1)						rêmê (1)	PN	

Rêmê and rêm illustrate the etymological, syntactic,

morphological, functional and semantic characteristics of the

Group II category of forms. That is, these forms meaning

"like" are alleged descendants of the French aimer "to like,

love". Although it does not constitute a large sample, the

form(s) are found to occur both as Predicate Head (verb)

and pre-predicate head (modificatory) syntactic positions.

The shape variation might appear moot as these data evidence

only one short rêm. But, in unrecorded, everyday conversation,

it was heard often, especially before vowel-initial objects.

The one case in this corpus is somewhat unusual in that the

following morph is consonant, but nasal-, initial. The func-

tional question, that of two grammatical roles, is valid for

rêmê: although it occurs much more frequently as a predicate

head, there are five instances of its being pre-Head. Addi-

tionally, the semantics of rêmê are inherently modal, a pro-

perty it shares with <u>vle</u> "to want", which displays similar
grammatical behavior, and makes them both likely candidates
for grammaticization as auxiliaries.

> 17. I pa't tuše, mê i rêmê.
> He NEG'ANT earn, but he like.
> He didn't earn anything, but he would like to.

> 18. M pa rêmê žamayik, ê'm pa rêmê.
> I NEG like Jamaica, well'I NEG like
> I didn't like Jamaica, well, I (sure!) didn't
>   like it.

The two clause-final <u>rêmê</u>, above, are predictably the
long shape. Their objects have been extraposed from the normal
declarative order.

Out of 24 instances of <u>rêmê</u>, <u>rêm</u>, well over half (19)
occur as Predicate Head, 14 of those with a following pro-/
nominal object. Two, of course, are clause final. Two take
clausal complements, one clause so marked by the introductory
<u>se</u> "it-is", the other not. <u>Rêmê</u> once takes a predicate
nominative complement:

> 19. Aysyê- yo rêmê šɛf.
> Haitian-they want boss.
> Haitians like/want to be boss.

Here, <u>rêmê</u> is potentially functioning as a modal to qualify
an unmarked existential construction. The meaning of the
utterance is not that "Haitians like or want bosses".

> 20. i rêmê di'm.
> he like say'I
> He like to say to me

> 21. Aysyiê rêmê mɛt'o â kɔt.
> Haitians like put you LOC fight
> Haitians like to get you in a bad spot.

22. M pa rêmê tâde yo.
    I NEG like listen they
    I don't like to listen to them .
    I wouldn't listen to them.

In the pre-predicate Head position, rêmê is found three
times. This is the province of possible grammaticization -
as a modal - preceding another verb. There is no (allo)-
morphological indication on the part of rêmê or the following
verb to indicate grammatical status, thus, some might list
rêmê simply as one of those verbs which takes a verbal com-
plement. It is possible to translate grammatically and
acceptably these utterances with rêmê as modal and predicate
head with a verbal complement.

Consequently, there is not even the provocative corre-
lation of shape-frequency-distribution by position to draw
on for a tentative generalization for rêmê. It is nonetheless
suggested, for semantic reasons (i.e., inherent modality)
that differentiation of grammatical roles may occur, signaled
or not by a change in morphological shape.

Rêmê and rêm are almost absent in earlier literature;
no mention at all of the form was found in the works of
Ferere, Tinelli, Comhaire and Racine-Biteau.

Albert Valdman, without a textual discussion, enters
renmen (rêmê) in his glossary with the meaning of "to like".
Robert A. Hall has the form classified as a "VB" which means
"love".

Jules Faine lists rainmin (rémê) in a glossary labeled

AUXILIARE DE SENS, with the meaning "l'habitude", "used to", akin to that of the aforementioned _conne_. The derivation he cites from the French "aimer" which means "avoir coutume de". In illustration, his examples of _raimin_ occur before another verb. Although the sense of customariness is not salient or even glossable in our own data, the syntactic position signaling a possible modificatory function is. And, whereas Faine's _rainmin_ can be inferred to be aspectual, that found in our data is more modal.

Mâke

23. Li mâke kraze tᴐ̂be su maŝin-nâ.
    It lack break fall on car-the
    It almost broke-fell on the car.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC
pre-Object (4)						mâke	O	
pre-V (2)					mâke	V		

Mâke, with the meanings "lack, miss" is included in this study and in Group II because of its dual syntactic positioning, with corresponding grammatical roles: pre-predicate head and as the predicate head proper, its etymological relationship to the French manquer "to lack" and its inferrably aspectual semantic properties, i.e., as a qualifier of action. Mâke differs from the other members of Group II in that it did not occur in our data in a short and long form. One variant that did, mâkle, was judged erroneous by other native speakers:

24. y'arɛte li vin di madam-mwɛ̂ ap mâkle dega
    they'arrest her come say wife-I PROG lack manners
    They arrested her, came and told me my wife lacks
                        a sense of propriety.

25. se te St. Dik, li-mɛm, lɛ'l vin arɛte madam-mwɛ̂,
    it-is ANT (name), he'self, when'he come arrest
                        wife-I,

    li di'm se dega madam-mwɛ̂ ap mâkle
    he say'I it-is manners wife-I PROG lack

    It was X, himself, when he came to arrest my wife,
        he said to me it's manners my wife lacks.

26. li di madam-mwɛ̂ ap mâkle dega
    he say wife-I PROG lack manner
    He said my wife lacks manners.

Nonetheless, these utterances were understood. The same speaker also used mâke at other times.

Mâke was not at all common in our data, although it did occur spontaneously. When it appeared in a modificatory position, the tenor of the entire discourse had been extremely agitated and excited and presentation of the statement itself almost dramatic, accompanied by very emotionally-motivated kinesics.

The four instances of mâke as Predicate Head with direct object are reduced to three from a syntactic standpoint: the fourth has its object extraposed. To wit: #24, 25, 26 above and

27. sa'k m mâke kɔb-la tro pitit
    that'which I lack money-the money too small
    That which I'm lacking is money; my money is
                                        too little.

In the cases of pre-predicate head positon, the semantic effect of mâke is to qualify an ongoing action/process that itself was just on the point of realization. Otherwise, the adverbial "almost" as a gloss depicts the factual sense of a modificatory mâke.

In: 28. Li mâke žɛte u
        He lack throw you
        He almost threw you.

the speaker is referring to the fact that I was leaning on a door which was abruptly opened, and would have fallen out of the building if I'd not grabbed the door.

In: 29. Li mâke kraze tɔ̂be su mašin-nâ
        it lack break fall on car-the
        It almost broke and fell on the car.

The speaker is describing the car accident he had had the previous night. After having sailed into a utility pole and caused it to fall, the driver walked away unscathed only because the damaged pole listed only menacingly toward, not on, the car. It "almost" broke, the result of which would have been for the pole to fall on the car. Mâke used in this pre-verb context, with auxiliary function, is thus aspectual: it depicts an event as one in process but aborted just shortly before disastrous completion.

Although mâke is not cited by Ferère, Faine, Tinelli or Racine-Buteau, Valdman defines it in his glossary as "to fail". Robert Hall's glossary entry categorizes mâke as a "VB" with the senses of "miss" and "lack". Hall adds that it commonly takes a verb complement, a context in which the reading will be "fail to, not quite ... almost" (54). Suzanne Comhaire mentions this special function (modificatory) of mâke. She says that its use indicates "que l'action sur le point de s'accomplir n'a pas abouti..." (97).

Neither Hall nor Comhaire explicitly recognizes mâke as two separately meaningful forms but it is implicit that it may play two grammatical roles. The semantic compositon of mâke at a non-grammatically categorized level is flexible and malleable enough that it may perform both predicate head (verb) and auxiliary (aspectual) functions.

__Vle__

> 30. nu pa vle rɛtirɛ'l.
>   we NEG want fire'she
>   We didn't want to fire her.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC
Clause-final (3)						vle.		
pre-Object (6)						vle	O	
pre-Verb (10)					vle	V		
pre-Sentence unmarked (6)						vle	S	
pre-PA (1)						vle	PA	
pre-PN (1)						vle	PN	

__Vle__, "want", whose supposed source is the French __vouloir__, has no other morphological shapes in our data. The form is included in this research because of the several syntactic positions in which it is found, correlated with possible multi-grammaticality. Its meaning is modal and similar to that of the aforementioned __rɛ̂mɛ̃/rɛ̂m__, making it a predictable candidate for auxiliary status. In the pre-predicate head position, __vle__ serves to express speaker attitude toward the predicate. It is , in fact found in that syntactic position more than in any other, composing approximately 1/3 of the __vle__-utterances.

Clause final __vle__ occurs only three times, all three with volitional sense whose modified predicate is either extraposed or ellipsed:

> 31 pu n'aviyɔ̂ m ta vle.
>   by plane I COND want
>   By plane I'd like to go.

32. yo bat mûn lɛ yo vle
they beat person time they want
They beat people when they wanted.

33. nu pa vle nu bɛzwɛ libɛte.
we NEG want we need freedom
We didn't want (to stay), we wanted freedom.

In those cases where <u>vle</u> takes a pro- or nominal object,
they are straight-forward, <u>e.g.</u>:

34. yo vle R̂am Bo.
they want Juan Bosch
They want Juan Bosch.

35. pɛp aviasyiɔ-ɔ e pati aviasyiɔ pa vle R̂am Bp
people aviation-the and party aviation NEG want
Juan Bosch.
The aviation people and the aviation party
didn't want Juan Bosch.

36. m pa vle sa.
I NEG want that
I don't want that.

37. li pa vle ɛgzile.
he NEG want exile
He didn't want exiles.

38. m pa vle bɔ̂.
I NEG want good.
I didn't want what's good.

except for:

39. o vle žɛnɛral aviasyɔ̂ prɛzidâ.
they want General aviation president
They want the General of Aviation to be president.

because <u>žɛnɛral aviasyɔ̂ prɛzidâ</u> is essentially a clause with

a non-morphologically expressed copula. (cf. Chapter IV H).

This particular utterance is therefore listed under both pre-

object and pre-clause categories.

Pre-predicate head, <u>vle</u> occurs 10 times with verbs, most

of which are non-statives, <u>i.e.</u>: <u>sǐta</u> "sit", <u>mǎse</u> "walk", <u>rɛt</u>

"stay/remain", <u>tie</u> "kill", <u>wε</u> "see", <u>εde</u> "help", <u>rεtire</u>
"fire", <u>di</u> "say", <u>vɔye</u> "send".

This context is what Hall deems that of a verbal comple-
ment. There are no intervening markers, no morphological
indication on the predicate head (verb) of its alleged change
in role. Neither analysis is indisputable without detailed
semantic and cognitive research.

<u>Vle</u> takes a sentential complement six times, one being
#39 above, the other five, while not morphologically marked,
are complete sentences, the subject of the first utterance
"wanting" a pronominal object to perform or not a specified
action:

   40. li te vlε'm être ladâ-n.
        he NEG want'I enter inside - it
        He wanted me to enter.

   41. kuba vle nu rεte.
        Cuba want we stay
        Cuba wanted us to stay.

   42. frε-m te vlε'm te vini isi.
        brother'I ANT want'I ANT come here
        My brother wanted me to come here.

   43. madam-li pa vle i vini
        wife-he NEG want he come
        His wife didn't want him to come.

   44. pasε'm pa't vle yo t'a vɔyε'm pu rεtûnε'm
        because'I NEG'ANT want they COND send'I for
                             return'I
           si'm'a di lot bagay.
           if'I'POS say other thing.

        Because I didn't want that they would return
          me if I said anything else.

Before a predicate adjective, <u>vle</u> occurs once:

45. yo wɛ'm pa vle dakɔ sa-yo-di-a
    they see'I NEG want agree that-they-say-the
    They saw I didn't agree with what they said.

It is possible that <u>dakɔ</u> "agree(d)" might be categorized as

a verb. On the other hand, in this construction, it may

imply the non-expressed "be" to indicate "to be in a state

of agreement".

<u>Vle</u> occurs once before a predicate nominative. Again

the issue of a non-expressed "be" is relevant: (See Chap. IV H1).

46. zɛnɛral aviasyɔ ap vle prɛzidâ...
    General Aviation PROG want president...
    The General of Aviation wants to be president

although <u>prɛzidâ</u>, as an identity, is a state of being and

therefore semantically incorporates that concept, thus the

morphological expression of "be" would be redundant.

<u>Vle di</u> is an idiom meaning "mean", essentially equivalent

to <u>veut dire</u> in French. This occurs three times:

47. sa vle di mûn solda.
    that want say person soldier
    That means soldiers.

48. alɔ. sa vle di se mwa-mɛm ki te ti msyi
    well. that want say it'is I'self which ANT
                                        kill mister.
    Well. That means that it was I who killed
                                        the guy.

49. sa vle di gɛ sâgle nâ fɛ sa vle di figi mâstre
    that want say have blood LOC face that want say
                                        face monster
    That means there was blood on his face; that
                        means he had the face of a monster.

Attention given to <u>vle</u> by the previously cited linguists

is somewhat inconsistent. Ferere, Tinelli and Racine-Buteau

do not mention the form at all. Albert Valdman enters it in

his glossary with the meaning "to want; to wish",
implying that vle is a verb. Hall's classification is iden-
tical, but he adds, in his text, that vle is one of the large
list of verbs which frequently takes a verbal complement.
Neither author even alludes to the possibility of auxiliary
grammatical role or status.

Jules Faine dedicates a long paragraph to vler, under
VERBES CONTRACTES, which he translates as "vouloir", "desirer".
His treatment has specifically to do with its shape; ver in
the negative, vler in the affirmative depending on context,
not on its grammatical function. According to Faine, these
shapes are simply reflections of etymological provenance, vler
having come from Normand and Angevin, ver from French.
Faine concludes only that the double form is a phenomenon
uncharacteristic of the otherwise simple and regular proper-
ties of Haitian Creole.

Our data do not evidence the same phenomenon.

Suzanne Comhaire is the only author whose definitions
even suggest the possibility of a modal function. She defines
the form to be indicative of will, determination, wish and
adds thatit may sometimes signify the fulfillment of a pro-
ject. Structurally, in order to express a command, two juxta-
posed propositions are needed - which is precisely the case
in our data.

Bɛzwê

50. i bɛzwê prâ kɔb-l'al; i bɛzwê prâ kɔb lâ mê-mun
     he need take money-the'go;he need take money LOC
                                                hand-person
     He needed to take the money away; he needed
               to take the money from people.

51. nu pa vle (rɛte) nu bɛzwê libɛte
     we NEG want (stay) we need freedom
     We didn't want to stay; we needed freedom.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC
pre-Verb (7)					bɛzwê	V		
pre-object (4)						bɛzwê	O	
pre-clause (1)						bɛzwê	CL.	

Bɛzwê, "want" or "need", demonstrates the multiposi-
tional grammatical characteristic of the Group II forms and
is particularly similar both in distribution and semantic
composition to vle "want" and rɛmê/rɛm "like", "want", whose
meanings are inherently modal. They make likely candidates
for auxiliary grammatical roles, readily available to express
speaker attitude toward the predicate proper. Bɛzwê, in our
data, in only 12 utterances, shows no variant shapes although
it occurs in a pre-predicate position, preceding a verb, as
well as the predicate head itself, taking both a simple object
and a following clause as complement. Bɛzwê is also clearly
related to the French besoin in shape and meaning, although the
etymon is a nominal.

Bɛzwê occurs in over half of the data in a pre-verb
position where it qualifies an active verb meaning: prâ
"take", fɛ "make", al "go", tûn "return". Neither bɛzwê nor
any of the following verb forms is morphologically marked to

indicate grammatical role; simple juxtaposition suffices.

The four cases in which bɛzwê takes an object are all
clear: kola "Coca-Cola", ti-valiz "suitcase", sa "that",
libɛte "freedom". One of those objects, the demonstrative
pronoun sa "that", is extraposed; two objects are clearly
nominals by virtue of the articles "a" and libɛte "feedom" is
semantically nominal although it carries no morphological
indicators.

Bɛzwê may also take a sentence as an object:

> 52. pasɛ mwê-m m bêzwê pu yo...refuẑie ap ɛde mwê
>   because I self need for they..refugees PROG
>   help I
>   Because I need the refugee group to help me.

In our data, this one instance utilizes the preposition
pu "for/that" as introducer, but there is a hesitation, then
the sentence. The hesitation is related to making clear
the referent of the pronominal yo "they", the refuẑie "refugees",
not necessarily to deleting the pu.

A search in earlier literature found glossary entries by
Albert Valdman and Robert Hall for bɛzwê. Valdman defines
the form as meaning "to need"; Hall as both a noun and verb
with the meaning of "need, want". There is no discussion as
to its possible double role status.

Our data, in contrast, do not show the nominal use
indicated by Hall, but demonstrate two verbal roles, those
of a main verb and of a modal auxiliary.

E.   Group III

Members of the Group III forms are characterized by

the following distinguishing criteria:

1.   superficial resemblence with French etyma in
     shape and semantic composition, although
     <u>prale</u> is somewhat of an exception;

2.   syntactic multi-positionality: <u>i.e.</u>, in
     pre-predicate head (modificatory), predicate
     head and second predicate head (P_2) loci.   It
     is by the last position that Group III differs
     from Group II.

3.   All have at least two allomorphic shapes,
     long (two-syllable) and short (one-syllable).

<u>Prale</u> does not fit these criteria perfectly as it was

never found in the P_2 locus.   It is included, nonetheless,

because of its semantic proximity to and possibly complementary

grammatical relationship with <u>ale.</u>

The members of Group II are:

<u>Haitian Creole</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>French Source</u>
1. vini/vin	"come"	<u>venir</u>, v.i., to come/be coming, to arrive, reach, occur, happen, grow, thrive. venir de + inf.: to have just + inf. (Cassell's. 1968:325)
2. rɛte/rɛt	"stay, live"	<u>arreter</u>, v.t. to check, stop movement of, delay, detain. s'<u>arreter</u>, v.i., to stop. pause, hesitate, remain. (<u>Ibid</u>. 26).
3. sɔti/sɔt	"leave, go out"	<u>sortir</u>, v.t. to bring out, pull out. v.i. to go out, come out, emerge, leave, depart. (<u>Ibid</u>. 299).

4. ale/al/ay   "go"   <u>aller</u>, v.i. to go, to proceed. to be going to. (<u>Ibid</u>. 14)

5. prale   "going"   <u>pour</u> <u>aller</u> (?)
                    <u>après</u> <u>aller</u> (?)

These will be discussed in further detail in the following pages.

Vini/vin

1. madam-li pa vle i vini.
   woman-he NEG want he come
   His wife didn't want him to come.

2. mwê- mɛm vin wɛ makut-yo makɛ.'m.
   I-self come see macoutes-they mark'I
   I came to see the tontons macoutes mark me.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	PRE-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	pp	P2
Cl.final (63)						vini. (57)				
						vin. (6)				
Pre-pred. (134)					vini (7)	V				
					vin (127)	V				
pre-ap Pred. (9)					vini (0)	–				
					vin (9)	V				
Pre-LOC (31)						vini (12)		LOC		
						vin (19)		LOC		
Pre-pp (14) (adverbial)						vini (7)			pp	
						vin (7)			pp	
P2 (4)										(2)vini
										(2)vin

Vini/vin clearly illustrate the criterial characteristics of Group III: 1) in shape, it is reminiscent of the French venir; so it is in the general meaning of "come"; 2) the chart above profiles its multi-positionality, both prior to and filling the Predicate Head locus, and 3) it has both a two-syllable (long) and one-syllable (short) variant, both of which occur, albeit in disparate frequencies, in both grammatical positions.

Clause-final vini and vin constitute 63 out of its 251 occurrences in our data, or 25%, a frequency high compared to that of other verb-forms studied, perhaps a voucher of its

independent status. Additionally, the fidelity with which the
"long form clause-final" rule holds for <u>vini</u> is particularly
striking: 53 times for the long <u>vini</u>, only 6 for the short
<u>vin</u>. In fact, none of the short <u>vin</u> does actually terminate
an intonational utterance. Two precede the brief pause of
a comma; the remaining four are followed with no pause by
the onset of another clause. The short form, in those four
utterances, is attending to the "short form utterance-
internal" rule. On the other hand, virtually all of the
clause-final long <u>vini</u> precede definite comma, period or
hesitation pauses.

    3. yo vin yo tire. They came. They shot (us).
        they come they shoot

    4. se isi'm vini. It's her I (should) come.
        it-is here'I come

All of the clause-final <u>vini</u> and <u>vin</u> clearly signify "come".

The most frequent position of occurrence is that before
another verbal form, the latter being one which is, infre-
quently, ambiguous with the possibility of a predicate adjec-
tive reading. Pre-verbally, vini/vin occurs in over half (143),
approximately 57%, of the total number of utterances of the
form. The pre-dominance of the short <u>vin</u> in this position
is blatant; <u>vini</u> only occurs seven times. At least five of
the long form appearances are in topic-introductory or change-
of-discourse-content utterances, predictable positions for
the more emphatic, attention drawing (deictic) form. A
somewhat unusual construction occurs in the pre-Predicate

environment: short <u>vin</u> before the progressive aspect <u>ap</u> and

a following verbal Predicate Head:

    5. lɛ yo vin ap kraze lasalin
        time they come (PROG) break La Saline (a barrio
                                                of Port-au-Prince)..
        When they came to break up LaSaline...
                  began breaking

Glosses off the possible posited verbal and aspectual gram-

matical roles, <u>i.e.</u>, "come", "begin", both render acceptable

readings, thus providing convincing semantic arguments for

neither an aspectual (auxiliary) nor a fully verbal categor-

ization. Additionally there is no clue as to separable gram-

matical functions signaled by utterance-internal long or

short forms, as illustrated by the following examples, whose

"modified" or "complementary" verb is the same:

    6. alɔ'm vini di oke
        then'I come say okay

    7. yo vin di mwê, "pa desân"
        they come say I, NEG descend

    8. yo vin di âba batɔ̂
        they come say below stick

    9. zami'm vini d'"u pa ka desân atɛ"
        friend'I come say'"you NEG able disembark land"

    10. m vin žwên li
        I come find he

    11. yo vini žwên, ki mûn ki tue nɛg-la
        they come find which person kill guy-the

Additionally, the means by which emphasis is effected,

use of the long form, applies even in the pre-dominant <u>vin</u>

environment before another verb:

    12. dɔktɛ te kɔ̂n vini d 'm
        doctor ANT know come help'I

13. dɔktɛ te kɔ̂n vini ɛdɛ'm!
   doctor ANT know come help'I!

Both <u>vini</u> and <u>vin</u> occur before unmarked locative names, <u>vin</u> more often than <u>vini</u> in these data. The two locatives that occur most prevalently, <u>isi</u> "here" and <u>Nasau</u> "Nassau", are preceded by both long and short <u>vini</u> and <u>vin</u>. Whether this is a case of free variation or is motivated by discourse factors of style is moot. The same holds for the pre-prepositional phrase environments: although <u>vini</u> outnumbers <u>vin</u>, both occur before <u>avɛk</u> "with" and <u>kɔ̂</u> "like, as".

There are only four cases in which <u>vini/vin</u> functions as a second predicate head. Two are the short <u>vin</u> and two, sentence-final, the long <u>vini</u>. Only the utterance

14. Li sɔt Ayti vin Nasau
   He leave Haiti come Nassau

contains an example of what has been called a grammaticization to the status of preposition of <u>vin</u>, i.<u>e</u>., "to". The transfer of grammatical status is necessary in translation to good English or French; that should not be taken as evidence of grammaticization. The other three cases involve an unmarked dual role for the object of the first predicate, to that of subject of the second.

1. madam-li pa vle i vini.   His wife didn't want
   woman-he NEG want he come   him to come.

15. li rɛle yo vini.   He called them to come.
   he call they come

16. m prâ mûn vin avɛ'm.
   I take person come with'I
   I took people to come with me.

Translations necessitate an infinitival reading on the verb,
a reading in Haitian Creole which is not indicated morpho-
logically. Conceptually, the meaning is the same; semanti-
cally, the rendering is more dynamic, descriptive and graphic
than if vini/vin were diluted by grammaticization.

Pradel Pompilus, Haitian linguist, has recognized this
image-creating possibility in relation to the formation of
new words:

> ...les usagers créent des mots nouveaux non pas,
> comme on dit, suivant les tendances de la langue,
> mais suivant les habitudes qu'ils ont prises; les
> créolophones, ..., formeront peu de mots par déri-
> vation suffixale, mais enrichiront leur vocabulaire
> plutôt par composition et par images. (1980:211).

If grammaticization to aspectual and prepositional forms
is a natural development within Haitian Creole, the tendency
is firmly entrenched already. As with the previously discus-
sed verbs, though, the stylistics of emphasis may well thwart
a complete realization of the process as may the rules guiding
sentence phonology, e.g., clause-final but not utterance-
final vini will tend to occur in short form.

A comparison of these data with statements made in
earlier studies is particularly interesting in the case of
vini and vin because of the extreme disparity of their labels:

Valdman enters both vin and vini together in his glossary
with the meaning "to come". In addition to their roles as
main verbs, they are also considered "modal auxiliaries"
which "modify the meanings of predicates". (217). As a modal
auxiliary, the meaning is allegedly similar to the base

meaning, illustrated by:

> M vin lakay-ou - I came to your house.
> M vin manjé - I'm coming to eat.
> M a vin manjé - I'll be coming to eat. (218)

> As a modal, the form normally is short and often
> has the meaning 'to become':

> Li vin fatigé. He became tired.
> versus
> Yo te vin achté ronm. They finally bought rum.
> (i.e., they came to buy rum)
> (218)

Hall only cites the long vini in his glossary as a verb
meaning "come, become". It is a member of the long list of
verbs which commonly takes a verbal complement. At the same
time, as a verb of motion, when itself used as a verbal com-
plement, it assumes the "special meaning" of coming to' (cf. 30).

Jules Faine includes vini under the category of VERBES
CONTRACTES. Although it means "venir" "to come", in the
contracted or short (vine) form, it may have the sense of
"devenir" or "to become". His example is with a predicate
adjective signaling state.

Henri Tinelli simply labels vin as the inchoative (INCH)
aspect and states that "the verb vini 'to come' cannot be
used to replace the Inchoative particle." (52)

Comhaire-Sylvain calls vini a verb meaning "to come"
that should in some cases be translated by "here":
her example:

> M mèné pitit yo vini = j'ai amené ici les enfants
> (135)

is analogous to ones in our speech data (see #15, #16).

The only reference to a short _vin_ is that it is an optional variant for the verb _vini_.

Racine-Buteau simply lists _vini_ as a verb and as a true cognate with the French _venir_ meaning 'to come'.

None of the above authors mentions all the possible functions variously attributed to _vini_ and _vin_. While Tinelli calls _vin_ an aspect, Valdman labels it a modal auxiliary and neither mentions its prepositional nor adverbial potentials, which is only implied by Hall, but expressed by Comhaire-Sylvain, although these latter two do not mention auxiliary function. Faine never indicates more than that a contracted form of _vini_, or _vin_, is possible.

In all positions, looking at meaning at an abstract, conceptual level, the semantic composition of "come" is transparent. Whether or not _vin_ is a (completely) gram-maticized form separate from _vini_ is moot; their shared origin and semantic proximity are not.

Rɛte/rɛt

17. mwɛ̃ te rɛte lwɛ̂ - I lived far away.
     I ANT live far

18. m'obliže rɛt atɛ isi. I was obliged to stay
     I'must stay land here   land here.

	S NEG TNS ASP Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	pp	P_2
Cl. final (18)		rɛte (18)				
pre-LOC (30)						
unmarked (22)		·rɛte (12)		LOC		
		rɛt (10)		LOC		
marked (8)		rɛte (4)		LOC		
		rɛt (4)		LOC		
pre-pp (3)		rɛte (1)			pp	
		rɛt (2)			pp	
pre-Adv. (4)		rɛte (4)		ADV		
pre-Pred. (3)	rɛte (2)	V				
	rɛt (1)	V				
as P_2 (1)						rɛte
pre-PA (3)		rɛte (2)	PA			
		rɛt (1)	PA			

Rɛte and its short variant rɛt exemplify Group III cri-
teria 1) etymologically, i.e., reflecting the French arreter
in shape and vague, abstract sense. Haitian Creole rɛte is
used with meanings of "live" and "stay", not the more specific,
active French "stop". 2) Grammatically, rɛte is multi-po-
sitional, occurring in all of pre-predicate, Predicate Head
and second Predicate Head loci. 3) There are both the re-
quisite two-syllable long form (rɛte) and the short one-
syllable one (rɛt). Rɛte and rɛt are not highly salient in
these data as uttered forms, but their distribution is none-

theless provocative. What is unique about rɛte/ rɛt is the high incidence (25/62), about 40%, with which it is preceded by another verbal form (tense, aspect, mode) as compared to the previously discussed forms.

In clause final position, with no exceptions, the long rɛte is the only form to appear. In four out of the 18 cases of clause-final position, onset of the following clause is immediate, not even indicated by a pause. Nonetheless, the long form prevails.

The most frequent position of occurrence, almost one-half, 30/62, is that preceding a non-marked locative (no preposition as in #17 and #18 above) (22) and a marked (prepositionally) locative (8):

19. m pa vle rɛt nâ kɔ́munis-la.
   I NEG want stay LOC communism-the
   I didn't want to stay in a Communist country.

There is no significant difference in frequency of long or short form: in the unmarked cases, both precede the name Pɔto prɛ̂s; both occur before l-and a- forms. (See above, #17 and #18). But, the long rɛte precedes a consonant initial names; there are six short form occurrences before vowel-initial and four before consonant. Preceding the variants of the locative marker (LOC), both long and short forms occur before the most common LOC nâ, both before an âbɔ "aboard" and the long rɛ̂te before LOC la and si "on". If this is not free variation, its motivation is yet obscure.

Before a non-locative prepositional phrase, the short

r̨ɛt precedes vowel-initial forms, the long rɛ̨te consonant:

> 20. nu te rɛte sâ mama, sâ papa
>   we ANT stay without mother, without father
>   We had no parents.

> 21. M rɛ̂mɛ̂ rɛt a u, wi?
>   I like live/stay with you, okay?
>   I'd like to live with you, okay?

> 22. yo pa kab rɛt ak mwɛ̂
>   they NEG able stay with I
>   They can't stay with me.

Only the long rɛ̨te occurs before consonant-initial adverbials: lwɛ̂ "far", pre "near" and kɔ̂- sa "like that".

There are only three instances in which rɛ̨te, rɛt occurs before another verb-form or Predicate Head. It is in this position that the possibility of rɛ̨te's role as an aspect marker arises. Semantically, rɛ̨te includes a sense of "continuativeness", making it a feasible aspectual candidate:

> 23. se pu "X" rɛ̨te travay avɛk nu
>   it-is for "X" stay work with we
>   "X" should remain working with us.

> 24. yo rɛ̨te travay
>   they stay work
>   They continued working.

> 25. mûn kapab rɛt tân li
>   person able stay wait he
>   People can wait for him.

The sense of "live", on the other hand, is not at all apparent in the above examples.

It has been suggested in analogous cases in other language "serial verb" constructions that this is a non-marked conjoined series, i.e., although the sense is "and", it is not morphologically marked. #23 and #24, in context, put

such an interpretation in doubt: the people were all already working at the time of the utterance. #23 is not so clear; a third possibility, that r̴t-t̂an is emerging as a compound verb, should be entertained.

Clearly, three examples do not constitute adequate data for generalizations regarding possible aspectuality.

As a second predicate head, a clause-final r̴te occurs once in:

26.   kuba vle nu r̴te - Cuba wanted us to stay.
      Cuba want we stay

This is the same pattern as exemplified with the forms sɔti and vini. The "verb" is morphologically invariant, no matter its translation equivalent (i.e. "conjugated" or "infinitive"). In keeping with both Comhaire-Sylvain's observation as to the language's recognition of the dynamic aspects of an action and Pompilus' imagery-characterization, it is justifiable to analyze the above utterance as doubly-predicated with the second predicate taking as subject the object of the first predicate.

Three times, r̴te occurs with a copular function, serving as a "remaining" sense link between the subject and a predicate adjective/adverb (see Bentolila above p.106 for the difficulty with which exclusive categories of adjective and adverb can be established).

27.   u tuẓu r̴te dosil
      you always stay gentle
      you are always calm/gentle.

28. m wɛt kɔm
    I stay calm
    I'm staying calm.

29. alɔ'l rɛte dusmà pu li tân
    well'he stay calmly for he wait
    Well, he stays calmly in order to wait.

Both long and short forms occur before consonant-initial forms.

The high incidence of modification of rɛte is worth noting. The form is found to be preceded by vin "come", ka "able", mɛt "may", rɛmɛ "like", oblize "should", vle "want", te ANT and ap "PROG. Both long and short forms are modified equally, 12 and 13 times, although only the long rɛte is preceded by vin, only the short rɛt by rɛmɛ, oblize and vle. Rɛte and rɛt would appear in all contexts to be in more or less free variation, with a slightly marked tendency of the short rɛt to occur before vowel-initial forms, the longer one before consonant-initial. The co-occurrence of verbal modifiers as well can only be justifiably attributed to the vicissitudes of discourse style, i.e., being somewhat copular in "sense", the static nuance of rɛte might require more specification than do active, event ones.

The literature does not treat these forms: rɛte, rɛt in so great a detail as it has many of the others. To wit:

Albert Valdman enters rɛte in his glossary with the meanings "to live; to stop; to remain". There is no specific mention of it in his text.

Robert Hall lists ret(é) as a verb with the senses of

"remain, stay, stop, attributing the shape of the short
rεt to optional loss of the final vowel in all but pronominal
complement environments. Rete is also one of the many verbs
which can take a verbal complement.

Férère mentions only that there are two forms of rεte,
but not the motivation.

Jules Faine is the only author to write on dual-senses
of rεte/rεt, although he translates it as the French rester.
It is implied that the short form is simply an optional shape
in that he lists it under VERBES CONTRACTES. Additionally,
Faine labels it a "demi-auxiliare" because of its employment
as a "substantif" or linking verb with a sense equivalent to
the Spanish quedar: "stay, remain".

Comhaire-Sylvain only includes rεte in a group of verbs
which lose their final vowel optionally before all but pronoun
objects.

Racine-Buteau places rεte in her category of Partial
Cognates "with extended meanings", as a verb with the meaning
'habiter' or 'to live at'.

The semantic composition of rεte, inherently continuative,
is a likely candidate for aspectual grammaticization. It
could well be considered a marker of "durativity", a sense
it does make use of in the few examples of its pre-predicate
occurrence. Perhaps if rεte, rεt is utilized so infrequent-
ly as our data suggest and is not a particularly common form,
previous analyses have chosen not to speculate on its potential.

4. Sɔti/sɔt

30. ná nwit-lá m sɔti
    LOC night-the I leave
    In the night I left

31. yo sɔt di'm
    they leave say'I
    They "just" said to me.

	S NEG TNS ASP Pre-Pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC	P₂
Cl.-final (11)		sɔti (10)			
		sɔt (1)			
Pre-LOC (25)					
unmarked (21)		sɔti (5)		LOC	
		sɔt (16)		LOC	
marked (4)		sɔti (2)		LOC	
		sɔt (2)		LOC	
Pre-V (5)	sɔti (3)	V			
	sɔt (2)	V			
as P₂					sɔti (1)
					sɔt (3)

The contradictory and inconclusive nature of a very disparate literature classifying and categorizing the forms sɔti and sɔt would be reason enough to investigate them. But, sɔti and the short sɔt are not uncommon in our data. Additionally, both long and short variants are multi-positional: pre-predicate head, Predicate Head and second Predicate Head. They are considered here to be members of Group III because of the above cited 1) multipositionality, 2) the existence of both a long (two-syllable) and short (one-syllable) variant and 3) their clear linguistic origins. Etymologically, the Haitian Creole sɔti/sɔt, in both shape and general semantic composition, is related to the French sortir.

In our data, though, it is never, semantically, a transitive.
That's to say that the abstract nominal _lamize_ "misery",
is used in the following example as a metaphorical locative:

    32. pɛp la sɔt lamize
          people-the leave misery
          The people left "misery".

Moreover, it is found in syntactic positions not characteristic
of its French etymon.

    In over half the occurrences of _sɔti_, _sɔt_: 25/45, it
occurs in Predicate Head position, with a following locative,
more often unmarked than marked with the LOC _nâ_. As Predi-
cate Head, the short _sɔt_ is prevalent, having occurred in
72% of the recorded cases. The preferred pattern would appear
to be short _sɔt_ Predicate Head followed tightly by an unmarked
locative: _e.g._:

    33. i sɔt Nasau
          he leave Nassau
          He left Nassau.

That both long _sɔti_ and short _sɔt_ occur as the syntactic
Predicate Head, preceding place names which are both indi-
cated and not by the LOC marker would argue against any
firmly entrenched separation of them for form and function.
On the other hand, the short is saliently the preferred form.
There is scarce data to test the forms' acceptability per
specific phonological environment. Both do occur before the
vowel initial _Ayti_; both also precede consonant-initial
place names. Occurrence as a function of phonology is moot,
but indeterminate. It is hypothesized that the (free) variation

is rather motivated by the preferred normal, informal speech style, wherein forms appear to tend to be abbreviated utterance-internal.

Long s**ɔti** predominates in the clause-final environment, point of utterance-termination, 10 out of 11 times. The short s**ɔt** which occurs is motivated by phonological reasons: the immediately following form, al**ɔ**, "well", a pause-filler, not only is uttered without pause, but begins with a vowel. the short s**ɔt** thus adheres to the sentence-internal phonological pattern.

In the syntactic locus preceding Predicate Head, the long s**ɔti** and short s**ɔt** occur a total of five times, about 14% of the data. Unexpectedly, there are more long (3) than short (2) variants represented, but #35 and #36 occur in sequence at a dramatic point of a story: cause for form-lengthening:

34. tut mun sɔti bay katie
    all person leave give quarter
    Everyone left the barrio.

35. "sɔti bay katie-a"
    "leave give barrio-the"
    "Leave the barrio!"

36. aprɛ'm vin sɔti al travay na lot kote...
    after'I come leave go work LOC other place
    Afterwards I happened to leave and go work
                                        elsewhere
    Afterwards I came to just go work elsewhere...

37. m sɔt degazɛ'm
    I leave watch out for'I
    I just took care of myself.

31. Yo sɔt di'm
     they leave say'I
     They just said to me

In #34 and #35, the juxtaposition of sɔti "leave" and bay "give" yields several plausible readings. Because the story in which this occurred continues to climactic burning of the entire barrio, sɔti-bay might be read as "leave completely" or leave and give up"; although the semantic interpretation is clear, a grammatical one is much less so. Sɔti-bay could be a verb compound or two predicates not marked with a morphological "and".

On the other hand, other literature has looked at a pre-Predicate Head position for sɔti/sɔt as one indicative of aspectual function. In #37 and #31, short sɔt might be translated with an abrupt, recent sort of nuance modifying the Predicate Head verb. Referring to #34 and #35, with the possibility of "abrupt" and "immediate" as semantic features of "leave", basic meaning of the utterances remains the same but their drama is heightened.

In the last example, #36, the long sɔti occurs in the midst of many verb forms. While a reading that allows for unmarked sequential series of actions is possible, because the statement was uttered after a disgusted description of a work situation, the abrupt sense of throwing up one's hands, quitting and moving on is better captured with a "just" interpretation. This is not to say that sɔti is a grammatical aspect, but rather that pre-Predicate Head, it may function as such.

The last environment in which sɔti/sɔt occur is as the

second Predicate Head, P_2:

> 38. m'ap tan li sɔti
> I'PROG wait he leave
> I'm waiting for him to leave.

> 39. lɛ'm vin rɛtûnê sɔt nâ prizɔ̂
> time'I come return leave LOC prison
> When I came again to leave from prison.

> 40. lɛ yo gê nɛg sɔt lavil
> time they have guy leave village
> When they had the guy from the village

> 41. yo pote panye sɔti/sɔt nâ mun-yo
> they carry basket leave LOC mountain-they
> They carried the basket (leaving from the mountains).

#38-40 were spontaneous utterances but #41 was a test

model, designed to check for acceptability of both long

sɔti and short sɔt in utterance-internal, P_2 position. This

particular position, in other analyses, has provoked a pre-

positional categorization "from". When speakers were offered

the same utterance, with P_1 and P_2 reversed, it was still

accepted as grammatical and meaningful, i.e.:

> yo sɔti/sɔt nâ mun-yo (ap) pote panye
> they leave LOC mountain-they (PROG) carry basket
> They left the mountains carrying baskets.

"From" as a gloss of sɔti/sɔt is reasonable in the English

translation, but nâ is already a viable grammatical marker.

This possible juxtaposition of two grammatical markers in

Haitian Creole has no precedent. It is suggested that the

above use of sɔti/sɔt, with no loss of verb-features, illus-

trates the oft-cited image creating, descriptive style of

Haitian Creole (Pompilus, Sylvain-Comhaire).

#39 and #40 are analogous, but spontaneous cases of
the "prepositional" sɔt. Whereas #39 should be less prob-
lematic because it precedes an established LOC grammatical
marker; nâ, #40 does not. Nonetheless, the utterance refers
not to a plain, old village-resident, but to a guy who had
actually just left his village to go see what the city was
about. The description is more apt and true if sɔt is inter-
pretable as an active verb, much drier and only superficially
true when interpreted as the preposition "from".

In #38, P$_2$ cannot be interpreted as the preposition
"from". If anything, the translation is the infinitival
"to leave", but there is no morphological indication on any
of the forms that this is the case. P$_2$ here is the predicate
for its subject li "he", which is the object of the P$_1$. The
occurrence of long sɔti as P$_2$ explicable by virtue of its
utterance-terminal position, where long variants tend to be
preferred.

The concept of "leaving" or "going out" is transparent
in both aspectual and prepositional grammatical roles associa-
ted with the glosses "just" and "from". The syntactic posi-
tion of sɔti/sɔt in non-Predicate Head, the traditional pro-
vince of "the verb", locus is the basic cue to those readings.
In Indo-European languages, grammar dictates such categoriza-
tion. It is certainly possible that analogous word classes
and grammatical categories will evolve in Haitian Creole.
The language provides as intrinsic means the rich source of

phonologically and discourse-motivated long and short variants
of candidate forms on which grammaticization might capitalize.

Although tendencies, by virtue of frequency count, are
justifiable hypotheses, they are presently also characteris-
tic of a language which Haitian linguists (especially Sylvain-
Comhaire, Pompilus) have themselves recognized as one that
lays great emphasis on imagery, description and the sense
of activity.

There are many speculations but no decisive analyses
in previous works discussing sɔti/sɔt either. Nonetheless,
it is instructive to compare their conclusions, most of which
are plausible if grammatical categories are to be discovered
through translations into grammatically acceptable English
and French.

Only the long sɔti is included in Valdman's glossary,
meaning "to go out". But, there is a paragraph on modal
auxiliaries in the text of his Basic Course which includes
the verb sòti. His auxiliary verbs function to modify the
meanings of predicates without conveying a sense disimilar
to that of their base meaning. Valdman presents the following
in exemplification:

M sòti asouè-a.   'I'm going out this evening."
M sòt manjé.   'I've just eaten. (lit. I leave
                                   from eating)'.
M té sòt manjé.   'I had just eaten.'

As a modal auxiliary, according to Valdman, sot normally oc-
curs in its one-syllable short form. A rather ambiguous

statement of its meaning is made by comparison with two
other forms which are members of the modal auxiliary verb
class: "fèk implies more recent completion of an action
than sòt; as compared to sòti, fini indicates more speci-
fically completion of an action." (218)

Robert Hall also lists sòti only once as a verb with the
meaning 'to go out, have just...' but in his text he glosses
it as 'come from, have just...', one of the long list of
verbs commonly found to take a verbal complement. Addition-
ally, for Hall, sòt(i) is one of a number of verbs of motion
which may be used itself as a verbal complement and will,
by position, have a special meaning. For sòti that is 'out
from'. (55)

Gerard Férère calls /'sòt/ /sò'ti/ the recent perfective
aspect marker. He claims the shorter form, a reduction of
sòti, is preferred by speakers, although the same form is
also the free verb meaning "to go out".

Jules Faine calls sorte (sɔt) the VERBE CONTRACTE of
sortir (sɔti). Sorte (sɔt is also a kind of "demi-auxiliare"
with the same meaning as faique (fek: see above: Valdman).
He claims that it additionally manifests the sense of the
English "just". As a "demi-auxiliare" in some constructions
it compares with the Spanish salir used as an auxiliary:
explanation here is by example and quite opaque.

Henri Tinelli puts sot and fek together in the category
of "immediate anteriority", akin to the passe recent venir de

of French.

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain writes that $sòt$ gives to verbal forms a value of recent past and is thus like fek. But it differs from fek in that it is also the contracted form of the independent verb $sòti$. She writes that the verb $sòti$ indicates movement toward a place and that in French it would, in such positions, be translated as a preposition: "là où l'Européen ne voit qu'une action l'Haïtien distingue les différentes phases de cette action." (130.

Marie Racine-Buteau accords /sòt/ the function of an aspectual auxiliary when occurring before a main verb, although it is actually an independent verb by itself. The auxiliary sense which it imparts to the modified verb is of the recent past, $sòt$ thus being a false cognate with the French verb sortir.

Comparable to the analyses for vini and fini and their variants, $sɔti/sɔt$ is called by many labels and attributed various grammatical and word class characteristics. Although an auxiliary status is recognized, Valdman calls it modal; Racine-Buteau, Tinelli and Férère all cite its aspectual status; Faine leaves is as "demi-auxiliare" and Hall does not separate it from the verb proper at all, even in function. Sylvain-Comhaire is the only author to mention the "prepositional" potential, although Faine implies its possibility.

What is interesting is Sylvain-Comhaire's statement as to the morphological distinction Haitian Creole makes in

depicting an action: where French would "see" the action holistically, Creole "sees" the compositional parts of it. That is a possibility whose evidence is not to be proved on surface data, but calls for an investigation of semantic and cognitive meanings. Nonetheless, Comhaire-Sylvain's statement could be reinforced by a plethora of examples pertaining to more than the verbal domain. The fact that verbal forms occur in Haitian Creole that need to be translated as prepositions, adverbs, auxiliary markers, etc., in Germanic and Romance readings, is no proof that they must be grammaticized elements, i.e., members of boundaried grammatical categories. The discourse style of setting a time location, then proceeding without markers, is characteristic of a continual "present" which seems concomitantly to be associated with a high degree of description and semantic attention to the dynamics of states as well as to actions. Morphemes of Haitian Creole lend themselves with versatility to many grammatical functions by virtue of their syntactic position and subsequent semantic interaction with juxtaposed forms. Until there is more evidence, of segregable function per form, sɔt should appear to be an exception.

Ale/al/ay

42. yo vɔyɛ'm ale tu
they send'I go too
They sent me away too.

43. m bɛzwɛ̂ al travay
I need go work
I need to go work.

44. m'ay fɛ ɛgzɛsis
I'go do exercise
I went to do the exercises.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	PRE-PRED.	PRED.	O/LOC	PP	P₂
Cl./pause-final (36)						ale (33) al (3)			
Pre-verb (42)					ale (1,) al (32) ay (4)	V V V			
as P₂ (8)									ale (3) al (5)
ale Place (34)						ale (13) al (15) ay (6)	LOC LOC LOC		
ale na (10)						ale (3) al (6) ay (1)		pp pp pp	
ale kote (1)						al (1)		pp	
ale av k (9)						ale (2) al (7)		pp pp	
ale time advbl. (2)						ale (2)		pp	

Ale/al/ay, "go", fulfills all three criteria for inclusion as a member of the Group III forms. The long ale certainly resembles the French etymon aller in both shape and meaning. It is syntactically multi-positional, all three variants occurrent in both pre-predicate Head and Predicate Head posi-

tions. The long <u>ale</u> and short <u>al</u> are found as second predicate head. There are three variant shapes, one the two-syllable <u>ale</u>, two one-syllable <u>al</u> and <u>ay</u>. Because of the number·of positions and apparent functions this form demonstrates, it has been variously labeled in other literature as a verb, auxiliary, aspect marker of intention ("going to", adverb ("away") and preposition ("to"). The major cause of such a profusion of labels is that <u>ale/al</u> is one of that limited group of verb-forms which occur in serial verb (P_2) constructions, therefore a candidate for consideration of non-verb functions if not grammatical categories.

While long <u>ale</u> constitutes almost 43% of the total utterances, the short <u>al</u> is slightly more frequent with 49% and the unusual <u>ay</u> approximately 8%. The distribution of <u>ay</u> is limited to pre-predicate and non-clause final Predicate Head positions and, in fact occurred only in the speech of the two speakers born and reared in the north. It may, therefore, be a dialectal artefact. <u>Ale</u> and <u>al</u> appear superficially to be equivalent in grammatical function in that they share identical syntactic environments. Nonetheless, there are tendencies of position preference which could be taken as indication of grammaticizing trends. To wit:

The frequency with which <u>ale</u> and <u>al</u> occur in pre-predicate and Predicate Head positions is exactly opposite. That is, out of 36 instances of utterance-final "go", cases where <u>ale/al</u> occur at the end of a clause or before a speech

pause, approximately 94% are represented by the long al̲e̲, 6% by the short a̲l̲. There are no short a̲y̲ in this environment. This is a predictable pattern already evidenced in the previously discussed data. There is a definite sense of closure established by long-final forms. This might be further reinforced by the fact that one short a̲l̲-occurrence is before the immediate onset of another clause, not separated by a speech pause; another is prior to a very brief comma-pause. This skewed Predicate-Head frequency distribution should not be taken as indication that the short a̲l̲ may not function as an autonomous Predicate Head. There is counter-evidence for that supposition in the Predicate Head data followed by complements of location and prepositional phrases, to be elaborated below.

Long a̲l̲e̲ and the short a̲l̲ and a̲y̲ in pre-predicate position constitute 30% of all "go" occurrences, characterizing this as the slightly preferred syntactic environment. In contrast to the frequency with which long a̲l̲e̲ dominates utterance-final positions (94%), it occurs in the pre-predicate head position in only 14% of the record while the short a̲l̲ represents 76% and the short a̲y̲ the remaining almost 10%. A pattern of short forms utterance-internal in normal, informal discourse, already established, renders this skewing predictable. Nonetheless, the following chart was composed to explore the possibility of co-occurrence restrictions as explanation for the asymmetrical distribution:

Pre-Predicate			Predicate Head	
ale	al	ay		
	1		ap tân	"waiting"
	1		ap fɛ	"doing"
	2		aprân	"learn"
	·1		ašuže	"judge"
		1	ap vin	"coming"
	1		ašte	"buy"
	1		ɛsplike	"explain"
1			ba	"give"
1			desân	"come down"
1			di	"say"
	5	1	fɛ	"do"
	1		fini	"finish"
1			gade	"look"
1			gumɛ	"fight"
	4		kaše	"hide"
	1		parɛ	"prepare"
	1		pale	"speak"
	1		rakŝte	"tell"
	1		rɛpɛte	"repeat"
	3		šaše	"seek"
	1		sɛre	"hide"
	1		sɔt	"leave"
	1		swɛzi	"choose"
	1		ta šaše	"would seek"
	3		travay	"work"
2			žwɛn/žɛn	"find"

The short al takes all vowel-initial verb-predicates. It also occurs before almost all the consonant-initial forms, though in our data the long ale usurps pre- ba "give", di "say", gade "look", gumɛ "fight", zwɛn "find" and zɛn "find" environments. The record is too scant to come to conclusions regarding following phonological rules. Because the short al also precedes a d-initial verb, coincidence probably accounts for the disparity. The intuited general function of utterance-internal long-form,: for the stylistic purposes of emphasis or formality is the more likely explanation.

In the second Predicate Head position, only eight

recorded ale, al occurred, or 6% of the data. Because there
are two types of "serial" structure, one in which both pre-
dicate heads share the same subject, the other in which the
object of the first becomes the subject of the second, it
is instructive to illustrate with the data:

     45. lɛ nu fɛ l'ale
           time we make he'go
           When we make him go

     46. i bɛzwê prâ kɔb-l'al
           he need take money-the go
           He needs to take the money away

     47. kitɛ'm al parɛ'm
           let'I go prepare'I
           Let me go get ready.

     48. M'ap vɔye lɛt-sa-yo ale ba yo.
           I'PROG send letter-that they go give they
           I'm sending those letters to them/for them.

     49. m'ap mênê ti-mun al lekol
           I'PROG lead children go school
           I'm taking the children to school.

     50. Gonayiv prâ nu vɔye nu al pɔtoprês
           Gonaives take we send we go Port-au-Prince
           Gonaives took us and sent us to Port-au-Prince

     42. yo vɔyɛ'm ale tu
           they send'I go too
           They sent me away, too.

	S	P_1	O_1	S_2	prepred.	P_2	O	P_3	O
45.	S	fɛ	l'			ale			
46.	S	prâ	kɔb-l'			al			
47.	(s)	kitɛ'		S_2	al			parɛ'	m
48.	S	vɔye	lɛt-sa-yo			ale	ba		yo
49.	S	mênê	ti-mun			al (lekol)			
42.	S	vɔyɛ'		S_2		ale			
50.	S	prâ	nu			vɔye S_2 ale			

Both long ale and short al occur in the P_2 position, both
in same subject and different subject structures. Both occur

with the form/meaning vɔye "send" as P_1 to their P_2 role.
Ale and al, in the above, have been translated into acceptable,
grammatical English as all of "go" (45, 47 "infinitive"),
"away" (42, 46) and "to" (48, 49, 50). Imposing such gram-
matical categorization on the forms in the P_2 position depletes
them of the semantic features (i.e., "activity") which reflect
a viable verb-type relationship to their subjects, and de-
emphasizes the attention Haitian Creole pays to the semantic
imagery built up by several actions other languages might
coalesce and view holistically.

The most common environment in which ale, al and ay are
found is that preceding a locative or place name. This ca-
tegory represents 23% of the data, with ale occurring 17
times, al 21 and ay 7. The short al is, thus, slightly pre-
ferred, but not significantly over the longer ale, both of
them and the variant ay in this context acting as independent
predicates. A chart of the locatives in the data, their
distribution and frequency of co-occurrence with regard to
ale, al and ay follows:

ale (38%)	al (44%)	ay (18%)		LOC
	7		ayti	"Haiti"
5		1	žamayik	"Jamaica"
1	1		bahamas	"Bahamas"
	1		kuba	"Cuba"
	2	1	nasau	"Nassau"
1	1		pɔtoprɛs	"Port-au-Prince"
2			kay	"house"
1		1	lakay	"house"
1			la	"there"
	2		lavil	"town"
1	1		lekol	"school"

ale (38%)	al (44%)	ay (18%)	LOC	
		1	legliz	"church"
1		1	lopital	"hospital"

The distribution of ale and al is apparently not motivated by semantic characteristics intrinsic to the "place": both forms occur before both proper and common "nouns", whether countries, cities, buildings. The only vowel-initial and only nasal-initial locatives are preceded by short al; liquids are preceded by both ale and al. Except for the possibility, based on scant evidence, that only al precedes vowels, their occurrences areapparently attributable to (quasi-) free variation. Ay, presumably a dialectal (N. Haiti) shape, does not happen to occur in the vowel-initial environment, but does elsewhere. Those speakers who use ay also employ ale and al.

Ale, al and ay in 14% of the data, occur preceding a few prepositional phrases, signaled specifically by the prepositions na and variants la, a "LOC"; kote "at", "to" ("place", "where"), which is a sort of LOC marker; avɛk and variants av, avɪ: "with". Examples of each are as follows:

51. m te katolik m'al ná maži
    I ANT Catholic I'go LOC magic
    I was a Catholic (but) went to "magic".

52. Avá i vin prɛzidá l'al kote Duvalye avá.
    Before he come president he'go place Duvalye before
    Before he became president he'wnet to where
          Duvalier was before.

53. u pa kap ale avɛk pitit-la
    you NEG able go with child-the
    You couldn't go with the (your) child.

Distribution of ale, al, ay forms with LOC, kote and avɛk and their frequencies as occurred in our data are charted below:

	nà	la	kote	avɛk/avɛ'/avɛ	totals
ale	2	1		2	5
al	6		1	7	14
ay	1				1

Considering the short-form utterance-internal preference across Haitian Creole in general for normal, informal discourse, it is predictable that the short al is the most frequent to occur before prepositional phrases. Both long ale and short al occur with the markers nà and avɛk. Occurrence is inferrably related to speech style and not phonology or semantics.

The data do not indicate a unilateral choice of form correlating with grammatical role, although, in isolation, the pre-predicate slot is almost exclusive to the short form al. Factors weighing against that analysis, though, are the predominance of al in all of the data except at clause-terminus and before a perceptible pause, an environment filled almost exclusively by the long variant of all verb forms studied. The function of length in that environment is apparently one of closure. Both long and short forms are otherwise spontaneously spoken and found acceptable in elicited responses. If there is any tendency evident, it is that al may be becoming the preferred form in all phonological, syn-

tactic and semantic environments. It is readily identifiable
in its short shape and it is of high frequency. _Ale_, for rea-
sons of sentence stress, closure and intonation and for pur-
poses of emphatic and formal style would not, on the other
hand, be lost. The variant _ay_ is inferred to be dialectal, its
survival dependent on the integrity of the Northern dialect.
The form, then, is one, with three allomorphs, whose active
sense of "go" is evident no matter its syntactic position
or grammatical function.

In pre-predicate position correlative with a modificatory
grammatical role, "intentionality" seems to be the emphacized
feature. In a second predicate head locus, the sense of
directionality is more salient. But, neither aspect, prepo-
sitionality nor adverbiality has been grammaticized. None
is yet exclusively associated with a particular form.

To compare previous conclusions in the literature on
these forms:

Albert Valdman has entered _ale_ in his glossary with
the meaning "to go" but adds in text that it is akin to the
modal auxiliaries _sòt_, _fin_ and _vin_ and in performance of
such modificatory function, elides the final vowel.

Robert Hall lists _alé_ as a verb with the senses "go,
depart, go away" and parenthesizes its positional, verb com-
plement, meaning as "away". Before a non-pronominal com-
plement it optionally loses the _é_. Not only does it common-
ly take a verbal complement, but, as a verb of motion, acts

one itself with the subsequent meaning "away".

Ferère mentions ale long enough to cite its PROG shape not as ap ale but apr- or prale. (Discussion in the following chapter).

For Jules Faine, aller may function not only as "go" but with ingressive meaning. It commonly abbreviates to the shape alle, functioning as a "demi-auxiliare".

Tinelli's statement is similar to that of Ferère.

Comhaire-Sylvain says that the short al occurs only when followed by its object or a circumstantial complement, but never before pronouns. She says that the French language would translate ale as the prepositional "to", indicative of motion towards a place, because such a syntactic position would be correlative with morphological flexion. In addition, she writes that some occurrences of the ale are equivalent in meaning to the English "away".

Because of the nature of the above works, basically "grammars" as opposed to explication of research and actual data, there is virtually no discussion concerning allomorphy, homonymity or grammaticization. Instead, forms and both semantic and grammatical meaning are listed as givens. Our data would refute use of word class and grammatical category labels, similarly to that claimed to be occurring in analogous cases in other creoles. Nonetheless, it is a possibility that readily available long and short forms will be capitalized on to that end in the natural course of language change and development.

6. Prale/pral

54. u prale â nɔ ici
    you going LOC north here
    You're going to the north here.

55. m pral bwɛ kafe - I'm going to drink coffee.
    I going drink, coffee
    I'm going to drink coffee.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-pred.	Pred.	O/PA/PN	LOC
Cl. final (3)						prale. (3)		
pre-LOC (3) (-marked)						prale (1)		LOC
						pral (2)		LOC
pre-LOC (3) (+marked)						prale (1)	pp	LOC
						pral (2)	pp	LOC
pre-Pred. (7)					prale (2)	V		
					pral (5)	V		
pre-PN (1)					pral	(zero-"be")	PN	

Prale and the short form pral are included in Group III instead of the dual-position Group II because of its alleged semantic proximity to ale/al/ay. Additionally, its relationship to a French etymon is somewhat more obscure than are the other forms discussed until its probable composition is unraveled: i.e., ap/ape/apr/pr + ale/al = prale/pral. In contemporary Haitian Creole, the original morphs are never separated; prale/pral is an integral "going". Although it shares both pre-predicate and Predicate Head positions, but never P_2 in our data, with ale/al, it is the case that our data failed to catch a single ap + ale, i.e., ale modified with the aspectual sense of progressivity or durativity. Our

data do not dispute or make moot an interpretation of prale/
pral which says it is the progressive shape of ale. On the
other hand, prale/pral would appear to have become not only
an autonomous form in its own right, but also has assumed
the grammatical function of aspectually itself. As modifying
pre-predicates, ale has both inherently "intentional" as
well as future and "progressive" senses: prale is so strong-
ly progressive, that it indicates or even asserts an essenti-
ally, certain, very proximate future: as Predicate Head,
ale/al is simple fact of action, prale much more indicative of
ongoing movement.

There are only 17 instances of prale/pral in all of the
data used for this study. Compared to the 142 of ale/al/ay,
the difference is remarkable. Nonetheless, it falls into
a describable distribution pattern.

The long prale occurs in approximately 20% of the data
at the end of a clause or before a pause, a shape consonant
with previously discovered tendencies in Haitian Creole,
e.g.:

> 56. m pa prale
> I NEG going.
> I'm (definitely) not going.

Both long prale and short pral occur in the Predicate
Head position followed by both non-marked (LOC) and by LOC
(lâ, â)-marked complement. This position represents approx-
imately 35% of the data.

> 57. batimâ ka pral Nasau
> boat able going Nassau
> The boat could/can be going to Nassau.

#54 exemplifies the LOC-marked structure; %57 the unmarked.
The distribution of long <u>prale</u> and short <u>pral</u> with marked
and unmarked complements of place, and with the actual LOC-
markers, is charted below:

	-marked	+marked â	a
prale	1	1	
pral	2	1	1

That long <u>prale</u> occurs only half as often as the short
<u>pral</u> may indicate a stylistic preference for the short form.
They both happen to occur before marked (LOC) and unmarked
complements of place; both before the LOC-marker <u>a</u>; both
occur before vowel as well as consonant-initial forms. On
the other hand, it is interesting that only the short <u>pral</u>
precedes marked and unmarked names of actual places, <u>i.e.</u>,
proper "houns", whereas the long <u>prale</u> occur only in the
context of places that are more general and descriptive,
<u>i.e.</u>, common nouns. To wit:

<p style="padding-left:3em"><u>prale</u>: â nɔ - "going (to the) north"
laba - "going down there"</p>

<p style="padding-left:3em"><u>pral</u>: ayti - going to Haiti
â ayti - "going to Haiti"
a ayti - "going to Haiti"
nasau - "going to Nassau"</p>

This pattern was not returned to speakers and tested. The
data are so few, the generalization is quite possibly coin-
cidental.

In pre-predicate position, <u>prale/pral</u> occurrences re-
resent 40% of the total data, a substantial amount, conside-
ring it is a syntactic environment followed by a Predicate
Head/Verb. In the remaining 60% of the instances, <u>prale/pral</u>

occur as Predicate Head themselves but following environments
are any of pauses/closure, marked and unmarked complements
of place, and a predicate nominative complement.

    55. m pral bwε kafe
         I going drink coffee
         I'm going (right now) to drink coffee.

exemplifies pre-predicate position prale/pral. There were a
spontaneous five short pral occurrences, only two long prale
in our data. Distribution with the specific Predicate Head
verbs which long prale and short pral modify is charted below:

    prale (2):   mɔ́te - "go up.climb"
                 kite - "leave"

    pral (7):   f'   - "make"
                 aprãn - "learn"
                 maše - "walk"
                 bwε - "drink"
                 wε - "see"

The utterance-internal preference for the short pral
is the most likely cause for this distribution. In addition,
the discourse contexts of the long prale were emotional and
both statements uttered with excitement, the first climacti-
cally, the second with surprise. Discourse characteristics
include the feature of long form to mark for these types of
meaning, the long form, as the less usual in informal discourse,
serves here as a deictic.

There are some (cf. Robert Hall) who would consider
both the long prale and short pral, when immediately preceding
another verb form, as an autonomous predicate Head verb which
simply takes a verbal complement. Because there is no morpho-
logical indication on either verb form of its grammatical

status this is a moot speculation and fails to capture the
senses of imminence/urgency/certainty that a pre-predicate
prale/pral brings to the main verb in its function as a modi-
fier. A final hypothesis is one based on the theory of gram-
maticizing serial verbs. The second verb, in the cases of:

58. yo prale mɔ́te lâ provês
     they going climb LOC country
     They are going up/ascending to the country

59. u prale kitɛ'm
     you going leave'I
     You are going (away) from me.
          going to leave me.

could be suggested to have become members of non-verb gram-
matical categories. In the case of #58, mɔ́te would be the
preposition "up"; in #59 kite the adverbial "away" or pre-
positional "to". Such readings deplete those verbs of their
descriptive and active features - opposed to what both
Comhaire-Sylvain and Pompilus have claimed to be a salient
image-creating language style. There is no morphological
indication on the second verb to cue such an interpretation.
If the fact that it is the long form prale which precedes is
taken as a "marker", there remains the problem of explaining
short pral in exactly the same syntactic constructions,
as both forms have been found as Predicate Heads taking other
complements. Consonant with the characteristics of both
discourse and image-making styles, it is suggested that the
most simple and consistent explanation for the distribution
is that pral and prale serve to modify in an aspectual and/or
modal capacity, a fully semantic following Predicate Head-

verb.

The last syntactic environment is represented by only
one case:

> 60. se sa'k fɛ'm pral bɔs
> it-is that'which make'I going boss
> It's that which made me going to be the boss.

Pral is followed by a predicate nominative complement, not
an object, not a complement of location. The speaker was
explaining his determination to become the "boss" of an
organization. The intentional and proximate senses of pral
in #60 are used to qualify a non-morphologically expressed
"to be" verb (cf. Chapter IV H). The equative copula is
rarely expressed in an informal utterance juxtaposing a sub-
ject and its identifying predicate and rarely occurs in the
presence of the ANT te, POS ava and PROG ap. That is:

> m te bɔs - I was boss
> I ANT boss
>
> m'ava bɔs - I will be boss
> I POS boss
>
> m'ap bɔs - I am being boss
> I PROG Boss

are all grammatical and acceptable constructions. The
presence of a modificatory marker obviates the need for an
expressed copula. Pral, in this particular case, functions
analogously, as an intentional copula modifier that requires
no expressed copula.

Only the work of Racine-Buteau avoids discussion of
prale and pral. Albert Valdman lists it in his glossary as
pral(e)- "to be going". In the text he explains that before

ale "go" the "continuative particle" (ap) becomes pr.
Nonetheless, there is no discussion as to whether or not
prale is recognized by speakers as "ap ale" or as a clearly
separate word. In fact, none of the authors mentions this
point. Prale is included in Valdman's paragraph on verbs
used as modal auxiliaries. In form, they tend to drop their
final vowels so that the shape in this case, would be pral.

Robert Hall gives as the meaning of pral(é) "go" and
the word class status "verb" in the glossary. In text, he
says that pral "be going to, shall, will..." is one of the
many verbal forms which commonly takes a verbal complement.
In a footnote elsewhere he adds that its use before other
verbs is not prefixual, rather fully verbal as it may also
take non-verbal complements.

Gerard Férère gives as the meaning of "/'pral/ /pra'le/
/a'pral/ /apra'le/: intentive aspect. The variety of
forms /a'pe/ /'apr/ in combination with /a'le/ /'al/ "to
go". None the less, the smallest /'pral/ is preferred by
speakers. "To be going" is its meaning whether used as a
marker or a free form. He justifies a double classification
because of the very frequent occurrence of /pral/ for the
marking of immediate future. (162).

Jules Faine labels aller a "demi-auxiliare" and says
that it may combine with pre, same as the poitevin dialect
form for pour. The final e is dropped before a word begin-
ning with a vowel so that pr'aller actually means "pour aller"

("for to go").

Henri Tinelli explains the appearance of prale as
the result of the union of ale (al) with apr or pr.

Comhaire-Sylvain gives the significations of apr'al
to indicate an action or state not yet begun, apr'al +
a verb to indicate the preliminary period of an action or
state in its process of realization leaving from the present
or future t'apr'al + verb the same but beginning in the
past with the added connotation of non-fulfillment.

There is no consensus as to the classification of the
forms prale, pral in the literature. It is labeled as all
of verb, aspect and modal auxiliary. Whether it exists inde-
pendently from ale is not made clear, nor if it should be
considered as two separate lexical items or one with dual
grammatical function.

Our data suggest that the long prale and pral are not
separable forms, i.e., no matter the double morph origin,
the word is firmly welded in contemporary Haitian Creole.
Its verb sense of "goingness" is amenable to several gram-
matical functions, cause for the various traditional labels
attributed to it: i.e., ver, aspect, modal, preposition,
adverb. Taken as grammatical functions, they are applicable
to the adaptability of this form in syntactic and co-occurren-
tial context. There is no morphological or distributional
evidence that either the long prale or the short pral has
been grammaticized to the complete exclusion of the other.

The difference in their shapes is more indicative of discourse style than of grammatical function, much less grammatical category.

F. GROUP IV: G̃êyê/g̃êy/g̃ê'ê/g̃ê/g'

The fourth group is a group of one: it has only one
member with a plethora of variants. This form was inves-
tigated because of its extremely high incidence in our data
and its unique, bi-positional behavior. Although its
grammatical functions appear to differ from the previously
discussed groups, it, nonetheless, exemplifies the more ge-
neral properties of multi-positionality and multi-function-
ality.

The salient characteristics of this form are:

1. alleged etymological relationship of shape
    and meaning to the French (archaic) gagner;

2. syntactic multi-positionality; i.e., in
    Predicate Head position and sentence-initially;

3. variant shapes (5).

Haitian Creole	Gloss	French source
1. g̃êyê/g̃êy/g̃ê'ê/g̃ê/g'	have	gagner: v.t. to gain, to earn; to win; to deserve; to prevail upon; to allure; to seize; to overtake. (Cassell's: 1968:163).
	there is/are	?

1. <u>Gêyê/gêy/gê/gê'ê/g'</u>

    1. M te vin gêyê sâ duz dola, ...
       I ANT come have 112 dollar
       I came to have 112 dollars...

    2. nu te gêy'ô trâtwit
       we ANT have'a 38
       We had a (group of) thirty-eight.

    3. mari-mwê gê pwoblem!
       husband-I have problem!
       My husband has trouble!

    4. fo'm gê'ê mil dola
       necessary'I have 1000 dollar
       It was necessary for me to have a thousand
                              dollars.

    5. li pa g'ôyê
       he NEG have'nothing
       He didn't have anything.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	PRE PRED.	PRED.	O/PA/PN	LOC
Cl. final (27)						gêyê (19)		
(OSV 13,						gê'ê (7)		
immediate referent 6)						gê (1)		
pre-Object (138)						gêyê (5)	O	
						gê'ê (12)	O	
						gêy' (4)	O	
						gê (103)	O	
						g' (14)	O	
Cl. initial (48)						Gêyê (1)	NP	
						Gê'ê (1)	NP	
						Gê (34)	NP	
						G' (12)	NP	

As the above chart demonstrates, <u>gêyê/gêy/gê/gê'ê/g'</u>
is remarkably common in the data, having occurred a total
of 213 times, as expositive, equative, impersonal "there is/
are" in 23% of the instances, as Predicate Head 77%. Its
etymological source is hypothesized as the French "gagner".
Only Jules Faine, early 20th century etymologist, traced its

roots. Although the form does not function with the same
meaning as contemporary French _gagner_, Faine claims that the
complex of Haitian Creole _gêyε_ forms is identical in both
shape and function to colonial French dialectal ones. The
five allomorphs are illustrated in examples #1-5 above.

With so many variant shapes and two positions of occur-
rence with seemingly very different grammatical roles, this
form offers the possibility of form/position/function cor-
relations. Its two positions do not include the pre-pre-
dicate where it would be a candidate for modal or aspect
function, if not grammatical categorization, as in the fore-
going chapters. Rather, the syntactic positions are 1) tran-
sitive predicate head and 2) clause-initial, the former with
a reading of "have, the latter a subjectless, impersonal
"there is/are". In the second role, _gêyε_ and its variant
shapes lend a sense of "existence", to its following predi-
cate nominal.

No matter its sentence-initial or Predicate Head posi-
tion, _gêyε_ or its variants, may occur with all of the NEGa-
tive and tense-aspect markers preceding it. If, therefore,
the two positions represent homonyms, it is not morpho-
logically indicated. The question of grammaticization of
the form and its status as both a "verb" and that of the
existential "pro-form" ("Thereis/are") and the relationship
of the variants to grammatical function will be discussed
in detail below.

First of all, gêyê is an unusual form in the language
by virtue of an extraordinary number of variant shapes. A
chart of their distribution, keeping in mind their particular
utterance-contexts, indicates that they are essentially phono-
logically and stylistically motivated. As previously stated
and exemplified in every case so far, sentence construction
tends, in informal discourse, to reduce all forms to their
smallest possible shape when they are clause-internal. Long
forms clearly are predominant clause-finally, significantly
so when the clause terminus is co-incident with a pause. Long
forms also occur to indicate speaker's emphasis. Otherwise,
sentence-internal rules more frequently apply. Although the
long gêyê is acceptable in all environments, it occurred in
only about 12% of the recorded cases. Slightly less formal,
a transitional status from one to two syllables, gê'ê occurred
in 10% of the data. The frequency of the form gêy' is so
low, 2%, that it might simply be anomalous, albeit identi-
fiable. The short gê occurred 64% of the time, never preceding
a pause or a clause terminus, behavior faithful to both the
sentence-internal, informal speech style rules. G' occurred
in 12% of the instances. This is the one form which is clearly
motivated by and restricted to its phonological environment.
It occurs prior to the definite article yô, "one, a", or
its variant -; âpil "a lot (of), much, many" and âyê "nothing".
The use of g' has the following effect:

gɛ̂ yə̂ - g'ɔ̂
gɛ̂ ɔ̂ - g'ɔ̂
gɛ̂ âpil - g'ɔ̂pil
gɛ̂ âyɛ - g'ɔ̂yɛ

These forms are semantically related in that they indicate quantity, suggesting the the restriction could be explainable on the basis of meaning. On the other hand, all the other variants of g̲ɛ̂y̲ɛ̂ may appear before y̲ə̂, ɔ̲̂, âpil and the short g̲' occurs before no other specific numbers or quantities.

S-final g̲ɛ̂y̲ɛ̂ occurs infrequently:

6. i poko gɛ̂yɛ̂
    he not-yet have
    He doesn't have yet. (a residence)

7. yo prâ tut sa u gɛ̂yɛ̂
    they take all that you have
    They steal all you own.

In almost half the cases (13/27), the object is extraposed, i.e., precedes the subject and "verb" g̲ɛ̂y̲ɛ̂. This is exemplified in #7 above, where t̲u̲t̲ s̲a̲ "all that" is the object of both y̲o̲ p̲r̲â "they take" and u̲ g̲ɛ̂y̲ɛ̂ (t̲u̲t̲ s̲a̲) "you have". The sentence can be read as "they take all that you have" or "they take all your things". In the latter reading u̲ g̲ɛ̂y̲ɛ̂ is "translated" as a possessive construction; morphologically, there is no indication either way. In six cases, the unexpressed object has its referent in proximate discourse context. #6 exemplifies this: the discourse context is centered about the topic of having a place to live. "Residence" is the antecedent. The remaining non-expressed objects are "understood" by virtue of socio-cultural knowledge of the topic.

8. Fo u gêyê
   Necessary you have
   You have to have.

Such statements are common and almost inevitably refer to having."means", i.e., money, generally equivalent with work.

There is one short gê listed on the chart for the clause-final category which is not actually clause final:

9. Se u sɛl m te gê isi
   It-is you only I ANT have here
   It's only you I had here

The object of the gê in #9 precedes the subject m "I" in a true, marked extraposition construction: the object u "you is introduced by Se or "it-is". Because the gê is followed by the adverbial isi "here", its shape is attributable to sentence-internal rules of phonological construction.

The second category occupies a transitive syntactic position, wherein the normal declarative order of grammatical functions "subject:predicate head:object:" is followed. With 138 out of the 213 occurrences of gêyɛ, gê'ɛ gɛy', gɛ, g', or 75% representation in the transitive predicate category, this is obviously the preferred syntactic position and grammatical role. All of the variants are illustrated above in #1-5. The variant gê so overwhelmingly occupies the position, 75% of the total, that the others appear almost exceptions. The long gêyɛ, almost 4%, and shorter gêy, almost 3%, are rare; gê'ɛ, 8% and g' 10% only slightly more common. It is to be expected, on the basis of the general rules of informal style, that short forms predominate, the infrequent

occurrence of long forms predicated on and indicative of dis-
course meanings. This is indeed the salient case. On the
other hand, even shorter than the preferred gᴇ̄ is g' with
a much lower frequency of occurrence. As described above,
the shape and its use are defined by a limited following
phonological environment, which explains the percentage of
its representation in the transitive role, 10%. The phono-
logically-motivated short g' occurs in our data only 16
times; the form composes, in other words, a meager 8% of
the total. It never appears in a clause-final position:
there is no following phonological environment there. One-
half of its occurrences are as the transitive predicate head
with an expressed, following object, one-half of these clause-
initial, a category to be discussed below.

That the long gᴇ̂yᴇ̂ occurs sentence-internal, in Predi-
cate Head position with a transitive grammatical function,
has been suggested to be as indicative of significant dis-
course features. It composes a small 4% of the total data
of the category:

    1. m te vin gᴇ̂yᴇ̂ sâ duz dola...
        I ANT come have 100 - 12 dollar
        I eventually had $112.00.

    10. si mwᴇ̂ gᴇ̂yᴇ̂ sa, mwᴇ̂ gᴇ̂ dᴇ...
         if I have that, I have two
         If I had that; I have two...

    11. M gᴇ̂ kunyea'm gᴇ̂yᴇ̂ relasyiɔ̂
         I have now'I have relation
         Now I have a relationship.

    12. Mwᴇ̂ te gᴇ̂yᴇ̂ trᴇz duz â...
         I ANT have 13, 12 years
         I was 13, 12 years (in Santo Domingo)

13. Mwɛ̃ gɛ̃yɛ̃ te gɛ̃'ɛ̃ lafyev
    I have ANT have fever
    I ... was sick (with a fever).

These are the only instances of long gɛ̃yɛ̃ as a transitive predicate head recorded from spontaneous speech out of a total 138 utterances in this category. Appearance of the form in each of the above sentences related to discourse meaning; in #1) a climactic point in a story: the long formal gɛ̃yɛ̃ serves to focus attention; in #10) in a conditional clause, the speaker talking slowly being pensive, creating a hypothetical situation and setting the scene; in #11) correction of a false start that used the short gɛ̃; in #12) a deliberate, pensive calculation of how many years the speaker had spent in Santo Domingo, not presented as a fact, but as a topic opener, introducing a narrative about life in Santo Domingo; in #13) situational scene-setting: establishing the fact of having a fever, but forgetting the temporal set and having to insert ANT te.

In both of the first two charted categories, i.e., clause-final position and Predicate Head, the gɛ̃yɛ̃, gɛ̃'ɛ̃, gɛ̃y', gɛ̃, g' complex function as a transitive "verb" with the meaning of "have", where the object immediately follows, is unexpressed but understood or extraposed precedes the subject). Factors determining choice of form that account for their distribution and frequency are 1) syntax, 2) phonological environment and 3) discourse style. Because they are all transitives, they are not signals of separate grammatical roles.

The remaining 23% of the data compose the third charted category, labeled as "clause-initial". Clause-initial position indicates a subjectless utterance but does not deny the existence of the pre-predicate modifiers, including NEG. The category is dominated by the short gê (71%)and g' (25%) with only one case each of the two-syllable gêyê and gê'ê, the latter marked with the ANT te.

> 14. te gêyê dɛsod
>   ANT have a disorder
>   There was a disorder (upheaval).

> 15. te gê'ê mûn "X"
>   ANT have a person "X"
>   There was a person named "X".

These are presumably cases motivated by the communicative intentions of discourse: #14 sets a scene, a dramatic one at that, while #15 introduces a new character in a story, name of "x". Respondents were asked if the long gêyê were an acceptable replacement for the preferred short gê (71%). Although the answer is grammatically "yes", it was qualified with the assessment of the long gêyê as a form to be used in more formal, deliberative, slow, emphatic, stressed or reiterative contexts.

The high, predominant percentage of the one-syllable form gê is to be expected as it is apparently the preferred variant in all but clause-final position. It is further distinguished by the fact that, in this position, it is found to be marked with all of:

NEG:　　　16.　pa gê mûn la
　　　　　　　　NEG have person there
　　　　　　　　There were no people there.

ANT:　　　17.　te gê prɛzidá'k te la
　　　　　　　　ANT have president'which ANT there
　　　　　　　　There was a president who was there

ka　　　　18.　ka gê ariɛ̂ avɛk yo
　　　　　　　　able have none with they
　　　　　　　　There may be none with them.

The shortest g' composes 25% of the "clause-initial"
cases, compared to its 10% representation in the transitive
predicate head category.　Numerically, g' occurred approximate-
ly 50% of its total in each of the two.　Clearly, it is not
a viable candidate for clause-final position, considering
its need for a conditioning following environment.

　　　　　19.　g'ɔ̂pil ki gê̂yɛ̂ (apran)
　　　　　　　　have'many which have (learn)
　　　　　　　　There are lots who have (knowledge).

　　　　　20.　te g'ɔ̂ fi
　　　　　　　　ANT have'a girl
　　　　　　　　There was a girl.

That an existential, expository, impersonal pro-form "there"
introduces some quantifiable nominal phrase makes predictable
a relatively high frequency of the shortest g'.　The phono-
logical shape of yə̂, ə̂ "a", âyɛ̂ "nothing" and âpil "many,
much" assures its occurrence.

It is a plausible hypothesis that the form gê̂yɛ̂ is
actually a set of homonyms with very different grammatical
functions, one of which relates an object to a commanding
subject, the other a proform whose purpose is to express/
assert the existence of the predicate nominal.　It is also

plausible to hypothesize that the plethora of variant shapes
might have been separated so that some specific ones indicate
one role, the rest the other.

In the case of the latter hypothesis of form signaling
a position and grammatical function, all evidence is quite
to the contrary. Respondents accept as both grammatically
correct and appropriately meaningful, the long gèyê in both
transitive predicate head and subjectless clause-initial
syntactic positions. Its use, though, would represent a
degree of formality that does not characterize normal dis-
course. The most frequent form to occur in all of the data,
the short gê, absolutely dominates our data in the Predicate
Head position and is, by far, the preferred form for the clause-
initial role. Certainly, evidence of this spontaneous record
refutes the assumption of a consistent form: function asso-
ciation.

Consequently, gèyê/gè'ê/gèy'/gê/g' is either a group
of multiply-functioning allomorphs, or two separate meaningful
forms completely, morphologically indistinguishable to the
extent even of being eligible for modification by the seman-
tically compatible range of pre-predicate modifiers. In
both cases, clause-internal with a subject and clause-initial,
the markers precede gèyê. The former interpretive option is
more likely, in this case, considering the semantic proximity
of "have-ness" and "existence" and the ease with which this
is cued by virtue of syntactic position. A third reason
rests with the apparent grammatical multifunctionality

already established as a salient characteristic of Haitian Creole words.

It is interesting to compare the evidence of these data with the analyses proffered in other linguistic studies.

Albert Valdman lists both forms in his glossary, gen (our gê) being the short form of genyen (our gêyê), both of which mean "to have, there is".

Robert Hall's mention is also only in the glossary, but he strings four variants together: gêgnê, gêyê, gâgnê and gê as a verb meaning "have, get, win, gain, earn." Although our predicate head data gloss as "have" and perhaps "get", the latter three senses, if Faine's etymological research is correct (see below), would appear more archaic.

Ferère mentions the gêyê in passing as one of those dual-variant forms: gêyê and gê. Later, it is cited as one of the small groups of verbs which have an impersonal meaning when used without a subject, i.e., gêyê, gê - to have; there is, are. (171).

Jules Faine is more interested in the etymology and phonology of the form, saying it comes from gan meaning, in Normand, "gain" and "profit" as a substantive. But, Creole, according to Faine, made it into a verb meaning "have". Synonymous with gan is the creole gain, also the verb gangnin and gaignin which are twins of the normand and picarde forms. According to Faine, gaigner is a verb in both creole and angevin. Additionally, gaingnin is cited under VERBES

CONTRACTES as being the equivalent of the French <u>avoir</u>
"have". Gangnin is also realized in the forms <u>gan</u> and <u>gain</u>.

Tinelli does not mention <u>gêyê̂</u>.

Comhaire-Sylvain says that the contracted form, <u>gễ</u>, is
used only when the verb is followed by its object. <u>Gãnẽ</u>
may be employed impersonally with the sense of the French
"y avoir". Although our data evidences these two meanings,
they are not form:meaning restricted and we recorded many
more that her two variants.

Racine-Buteau lists the short <u>gẽ</u> under <u>False</u> <u>Cognates</u>
as the reduced form of <u>gẽjẽ</u>, which is a <u>Partial</u> <u>Cognate</u> <u>with</u>
extended meaning: 'to have', 'there is', 'to win'. The
last gloss is not at all obvious in our data; that would
appear to be a gallicism. <u>Gẽjẽ</u>, for Racine-Buteau, has the
variants <u>gãjẽ</u> and <u>gẽ</u>.

Our data do not quite jibe, although all authors cite
at least two forms of <u>gẽyẽ̂</u> and several mention the imper-
sonal "there is/are" role it may play in addition to its
subject-related, personal one. There are essentially no
points with which to compare, except that our data are direct-
ly opposed to Comhaire-Sylvain's statement that <u>gễ</u> is only
used when directly followed by its object. Our data find
that the short <u>gễ</u> may also act as the impersonal clause intro-
ducer which predicates the existence of a following NP. The
grammatical relationship then would be one of equation
and not transitivity.

G. GROUP V

The members of Group V are only two and are grouped as a unit for discussion because they share the characteristic of being found frequently in the so-called "serial construc- tions" as Predicate Head and Predicate Head$_2$ (P$_2$). Addi- tional criteria by which they compare with the previous groups studied are:

   1)   traceable French origins through shape and
        semantic configuration partially relatable to
        hypothetical etyma;

   2). syntactic multipositionality (in the case of
        bay/ba/bâ/b' correlatable with possibly se-
        parable grammatical roles): not in the roles
        of pre-predicate modifier and single Predicate
        Head, but only in the roles of two serially
        consecutive Predicate Heads. This phenomenon
        provokes hypotheses and arguments for the "gram-
        maticizing" of forms (see Givon, p. 37).
        Vɔye/vɔy in these data is not multipositional
        but occurs in many serial constructions and
        often with bay;

   3)   variant shapes suggestive of form:function
        associations.

The members are:

Haitian Creole	Gloss	French Source
1. bay/ba/ba/b'	"give"	bailler. v.a. donner, tenir, garder, gouverner, traiter. (Littre.1958: 827-9).
2. vɔye/vɔy	"send"	envoyer. v.t.: to send, to for- ward, to dispatch. (Cassell's. 1968: 139).

1. <u>Bay</u>/<u>ba</u>/<u>bâ</u>/<u>b'</u>

    1. l'ap bay mâti
        he'PROG give lie
        He is lying (giving lies).

    2. i te bâ'm piki
        he ANT give'I shot

    3. dwa amɛrikɛ̂ ba yo ɛd
        law americain give they help
        American law gave them help.

    4. bô Dye b'o fɔs
        good God give'you strength
        God gives you strength.

	S TNS ASP	PRE-Pred.	Pred.	IO DO	P₂	IO DO
1.	Transitive: 1 0 (26)					
	w/DO		(12)bay	DO		
			(2)ba	DO		
	w/IO		(6)bay	IO		
			(1)bâ	IO		
			(4)ba	IO		
			(1)b'	IO		
2.	Transitive: IO DO (33)		(7)bay	IO DO		
			(10)bâ	IO DO		
			(12)ba	IO DO		
			(4)b'	IO DO		
3.	as P₂ (8)		V	DO	(4)bay	IO
			V	DO	(3)ba	IO
			V	DO	(1)b'	IO
4.	S V bay 0 (9)					
	DO (4)		V		(1)bay	DO
			V		(1)bâ	DO
			V		(2)ba	DO
	IO (5)		V		(1)bay	IO
			V		(3)bâ	IO
			V		(1)ba	IO
5.	P₂: DO = S (1)		V	DO/S(1)ba	IO	DO

Because of the relative complexity of the chart, the possible syntactic composition of grammatical utterances will be described and illustrated:

1. A transitive sentence whose predicate head <u>bay</u> or variant is followed by either a direct object or an indirect one, but not both together: (which variants occurred with which types of object will be described in detail below.)

```
          S    P     0
    1. l'ap  bay   mâti
       he'PROG give lie
       He's lying.


          S     P  IQ
    5. yo pa ba mwê
       they NEG give I
       They don't give to me!   (there is an
                                 unexpressed referent in
                                 prior discourse)
```

2. A transitive sentence whose predicate Head <u>bay</u> or variant is immediately followed by the tight, un-interrupted sequence of indirect object:direct object:

```
          S      P IO DO
    2. i te bâ'm piki
       he ANT give'I shot
       He gave me a shot.
```

3. An utterance whose first predicate head is another full "verb", followed by a direct object, followed by <u>bay</u> or a variant, followed with an indirect object:

```
          S     P    EO  P₂  IO
    6. yo vɔye kɔb bay yo
       they send money give they
       They sent money to them.
```

4. An utterance whose first predicate head is another full "verb", followed immediately without interr-ruption by <u>bay</u> or a variant as second predicate Head, followed by either a direct or indirect object but not both together:

```
          S   ᵛ  P   P₂  IO
    7. m tuẑu vɔy bay o
       I always send give they
       I always send to them.
```

```
           S      P   P₂  DO
    8.  tut mun sɔti bay katie
        all person leave give barrio
        Everyone left the barrio, completely,
                                    forever.
```

5. Lastly, an utterance whose first predicate Head is another full "verb", followed by its direct object which acts simultaneously as the subject (DO/S) of the second predicate head <u>ba</u> followed by the un-interrupted sequence of indirect:direct object:

```
           S      P  DO/S     P₂ IO   DO
    9.  M pa kite zami ap ba mwɛ̃ laza
        I NEG leg friend PROG give I money
        I don't let my friend give me money!
```

(It is clearly arguable that <u>zami</u> ... is an incorporated clause acting as object of the verb <u>kite</u>. The charting is based on similarity to above structures as well as the fact that there is absolutely no morphological marking to indicate whether or not such clausal incorporation might have occurred).

<u>Bay/ba/bâ/b</u>' illustrates the familiar criteria for consideration as a form to be studied: 1) shape and meaning vaguely associable with a (dialectal, archaic) French etymon; 2) syntactic bi-positionality, in this case as a Predicate Head and as what will be labeled second Predicate Head, based on the fact that it functions "to predicate", although other literature assigns case marking labels, both benefactive and dative, to the form which is characterized as a "preposition", and 3) a multiple display of variant shapes provoking inquiry on the possibility for position:shape role correlations.

Some have hypothecized phonological motivation in explanation of the four variant shapes. None is more than a syllable in length. Out of a total 77 occurrences, the shortest <u>b</u>; is used only 5 times, composing 6% of the recorded data, and only preceding the indirect object '<u>o</u>, which is a

form of both u "you" and yo "they". There are other indirect objects in the data; it would appear that b' is indeed quite restricted by the phonological structure of a following form and possibly the grammatical role of the following form. On the other hand, both bay and ba are found preceding an indirect object o "you, they". This environment is not the exclusive province of b'.

The form bâ occurs before both indirect and direct objects m "I", mwê "I" and 'n "we, you" 15 times, representing almost 20% of the data. The most salient phonological feature of these proforms is that they are the nasal ones. Again "nasal" objects are not the exclusive province of bá. Ba, at least, occurred spontaneously followed by mwê "I".

Ba the third variant shape, represents approximately 31% of the total and occurs before both indirect (8 times) as well as direct objects (4 times) and before the unbroken sequence indirect object:direct object 13 times in both P_1 and P_2 positions.

The form bay is the most frequently occurring, although with 40% of the recorded data, it is scarcely significantly higher than the 31% of ba. On the other hand, bay composes 69% of the first structural category, i.e., transitive Predicate Head followed by either a direct object or an indirect object. This predominance does not continue consistently into the second structural category, transitive predicate head followed by the uninterrupted indirect:direct object

sequence. Both _bay_ and _ba_ occur equally in the P_2 position, followed by both indirect and direct objects. Nonetheless, _bay_ is unique in its capacity to take all following objects in a wider semantic and phonological range that are the other variants. _Bâ_ and _b'_ are limited almost exclusively to the indirect objects, whereas _bay_ and _ba_ may precede both indirect and direct. All four forms occur before the unin- terrupted indirect:direct objects. The character, though, of direct objects which follow _bay_ is predominantly nominal, although this variant is also found with pronominals. Direct objects most frequently co-occurring with _ba_ are pro- nominal in nature.

The phonological make-up of objects also affects choice of form. _B'_ is restricted to '_o_, _bâ_ to consonantal nasals, but _ba_ operates with more freedom and _bay_ is clearly permitted all of consonantal, vowel, and nasal environments.

By a slight edge, then, it would appear that _bay_ is the core form, the other three are limited to more restric- ted phonological and syntactic environments, specifically, in the case of the latter, whether it is a direct or indirect object which follows.

In terms of utterance syntax, though, all four forms may appear at both P_1 and P_2 positions. It is in the latter position, P_2 , that this form has variously been termed a grammatical preposition, a marker of both benefactive and dative cases with the glosses "to" and "for". If it is indeed

the case, that this form in the P_2 position has lost the verb-force of predication and become a less active, less descriptive form, there is no morphological indication that any one of the four possible forms has even begun to be preferred in that function.

The domain of the "serial verb constructions", province wherein verbs allegedly may have become grammaticized, i.e., assumed frozen, grammatically circumscribed, semantically depleted, morphologically simple forms (cf. Givon), is that depicted by the third, fourth and fifth sections of the chart. The third is illustrated by #6:

```
6.  yo vɔye kɔb bay yo
    they send money give they
    They sent money to them
```

This is characterized as a Subject:Predicate Head:Direct object:Bay:Indirect object structure. The direct object is essentially shared by both predicate "verbs": in the case of vɔye "send", it follows in normal declarative order; in the case of bay "give", it is extraposed. Similarly, yo "they" is the subject of both vɔye and bay. That:

```
        S   P  IO  DO
10.  yo bay yo kɔb
     they give they money
     They give them money
```

is a perfectly acceptable, grammatical, meaningful utterance would serve as argument against assigning prepositional func-tion to bay, although this functional potential is a likely reading in P_2 position.

There is the possibility that two predicate heads per
utterance which share both common subject and direct object,
are in the process of compounding, although the fact of an
interrupting DO weakens the plausibility of the hypothesis.
The P_1 which occur in these data are: ---

mênê - "lead"
vɔye - "send" (3 times)
pɔte - "carry"
bay - "give"
kite - "leave"

They all share features of motion and directionality that
serve to fill out the details of how DO was given to IO.

But, one of the examples might suggest that this struc-
ture is the result of tacking on forgotten information.
After all, the most straightforward syntax of Predicate Head:
Indirect Object: Direct Object calls for no extra forms.
But, if a speaker forgets the indirect object, it cannot   ...
simply be added at the end, since it would then be read as
a direct object. It is #11 below which uses bay forms twice,
that would hint at this possibility:

```
          S       P   DO  P2 IO
    11.   m pa't bay boku b'o
          I NEG ANT give much give'they
          I didn't give them much.
```

He could have said:

```
          S        P  IO DO
    12.   m pa't bay yo boku
          I NEG'ANT give they much
```

but it has somehow lost both image and discourse emphasis.
Those utterances which use the above short list of P_1 are

all very forcefully image-creating.

The case of the 4th section, in which P_1 and P_2 are not interrupted by the occurrence of a direct object and P_2 is followed by a direct object or indirect object but not both together, the participant P_1 are:

> vɔye - "send" (4 times)
> sɔti - "leave, go out" (1)
> vin - "come" (a non-significant 5 as the number
> represents some repetition)

In sentence 7 below, the Direct Object is a conceptual, culturally understood sense of money. That <u>vɔye</u> is a common P_1 whether there be an expressed or non-expressed DO before the P_2 <u>bay</u> argues against the possibility of any completed verb-compounding:

> I   P P_2 IO
> 7. m tuzu vɔy bay o
>   I always send give they
>   I always send them money.

And in the case of 8, the shared subject is in fact performing both actions in relation to the shared direct object. There is no marker of joinder between the P_1 and P_2, no indicating of compounding.

>   S   P P_2 DO
> 8. tut mûn sɔti bay katie
>   all person leave give barrio
>   Everyone left the barrio completely, forever.

The last section of the chart, #5, resembles the two above, but it is in fact quite distinct. The Direct Object of P_1 is the simultaneous subject of P_2. It is essentially two clauses merged as one without any mark of incorporation, no

morphological clue on the participant forms. The activity

of giving is further enhanced by the aspect marker PROG:

```
           S     P   DO       P2 IO   DO
     9.·   m pa kite zami ap bâ mwɛ   laza.
           I NEG let friend PROG give ·I money.
           I don't let my friend give me money.
```

In summary, all four "give" forms: bay, ba, bâ

and b' may occur as both a transitive predicate head ("verb")

(P) and as the second predicate head (P_2), also a transitive.

All four in the P_1 syntactic position may be both single

and double-place transitives, so long as it is the indirect

object which immediately follows the form; i.e., S:P:IO

and S:P:IO:DO. The short b' never takes a direct object

alone, in our data. All four forms also are found to function

as P_2 with exactly the same indirect:direct object co-occur-

rence restrictions pertinent. Bâ and b' are further subject

to contextual phonological restraints: ba precedes nasal-

initial pronominals, b' only o-initial ones. Although ba and

bay appear relatively free of co-occurrence restrictions,

ba is more often found with pronominal objects, bay with fully

named nominals. Bay, of the four forms, occurs with the

highest frequency, but ba and bâ are not scarce. Only b' is

rather uncommon.

These generalizations are based on completely spon-

taneous speech. No evidence was sought through forced elici-

tation or contrived paradigms. It is subsequently revealing

to compare our results with analyses by other research:

Albert Valdman's glossary lists the forms bay, ban (our bâ) meaning "to give". He adds in his text that some verbs, such as pòté "to bring" and vòyé "to send, because they cannot be followed by an indirect object, require the prepositional forms which, according to Valdman, are identical to the verb bay/ban/ba.)202)

Robert Hall lists only the form bay as a verb meaning "give" in his glossary. Further, when it acts as a complement to another verb, it means "for, to".

Gerard Férère gives three shapes to this verb: baj/ bâ/ba. With regard to rule-governed syntactic and/or phonological environments, bâ can occur only before mwè, nu and their variants; ba before u, li, yo and their variants, only baj before pause. Baj and ba occur elsewhere subject to non-phonologically motivated structures. Baj appears to him to be acceptable in all contexts, ba only before indirect objects. (158-60). Our results are somewhat discrepant. Ba occurs before direct as well as indirect objects; Ferere fails to mention b'.

Jules Faine lists baille under VERBES CONTRACTES. His focus being etymological, his paragraph is not greatly illuminating for our purposes. The origin of baille is the old French bailler meaning "to give". In Haitian Creole, according to Faine, it may abbreviate to ba, to ban before a nasal. The short forms are simply reflections of the Normand verbal irregularities.

Henri Tinelli does not mention bay.

For Comhaire-Sylvain, bay has the variants ba and bâ. She says that ba is used when followed by its object, bâ when followed by a nasal-initial pronominal object and bay when not followed by its object (104). Furthermore, bay is used as a signal of the grammatical function "dative case", corresponding to the French a ("to) and pour ("for") when the dative complement is a nominal. (130-1). Again, our data do not agree on all points.

Racine-Buteau labels bay-ba-bâ as false cognates, grammatically categorized as both verb and preposition. As a verb meaning "to give" it may also be realized as the shapes ba or ba depending on the consonantal environment. As a preposition, bay means "at, for".

None of these authors mentions the existence of the fourth variant b' found in our data. Ba and ban are the alleged "prepositional" forms recognized by Valdman; our data include all four forms in the P_2 position. Ferère hypothesizes that ba is allowed only prior to indirect objects. Although by occurrence frequency, that proclivity is evident in spontaneous speech, it is also the case that ba is followed by direct objects. Comhaire-Sylvain, in depicting occurrence environments for each of the three forms claims that only bay may have no following object. In our data, there are no instances of bay occuring clause terminally or before a pause.

Considering that all forms in our data occur in both

P_1 and P_2 positions, although with syntactic restrictions as to the nature of the following object (Indirect and Direct) and further phonological restrictions with greatly limiting effects on the occurrences of ba and b', there is no overwhelming evidence that the P_2 position should be considered even functionally prepositional in function. If Comhaire-Sylvain is correct in her above cited observation that Haitian Creole attends morphologically to the multiple verbal aspects of an action (p.189) which Indo-European languages have partially lexicalized and Pompilus claims the language focuses on the creation of descriptive images, it is all the more likely that bay, ba, bâ and b' are fully semantic indicators of the dynamics of "give". It is highly doubtful that there exist homonymous sets of four identical forms, one set to function as general predicate "verb", the other as a grammaticized prepositon. Rather, the syntactic position of the form in any given utterance is the cue to its grammatical function, while maintaining the semantic sense of "give".

2. **Vɔye/vɔy**

      13.   yo vɔyɛ'm ale tu
            they send I go too
            They sent me away too.

      14.   m vɔy adrɛs-mwé
            I send address-I
            I sent my address.

	S	NEG	TNS	ASP	Pre-Pred.	Pred.	O	P$_2$	O/LOC
Transitive (DO)	(22)					(18)vɔye	DO		
						(4)vɔy	DO		(LOC)
Serial (19)						(9)vɔye		P$_2$	
(extrapositional (3) v ye)					(10)vɔy		P$_2$	(O/LOC)
Serial w/O (6)						(6)vɔye	O	P$_2$	(O/LOC)

Vɔye/vɔy, "send", was chosen for study because of its conformity with the familiar criteria of transparent origins of shape and meaning in a French etymon _envoyer_ and its two shapes, the long _vɔye_ and the shorter, one-syllable _vɔy_, even though there is not one case of its being multipositional and a subsequent candidate for the degated grammaticization. Nonetheless, although it always occupies the Predicate Head or P$_1$ syntactic position, it actually occurs in the "serial construction", _i.e._, S:_vɔye_:(O):P$_2$:(O) more often in our data (57%) than as sole predicate Head (43%). If this is not indicative of grammatical role, it is of interest for the special relationship that must obtain between _vɔye/vɔy_ and P$_2$ forms.

    To reiterate: serial verb constructions are typically taken to be utterances in which there are two erstwhile

verbs in sequence which apparently share the "same structure
subject": meaning that one and the same subject could be
read as having two different, co-occurrent predicates. On
the other hand, it is commonly hypothesized that one of the
apparent verbs has become or is becoming "grammaticized";
in other owrds, assuming a non-verb grammatical role, typi-
cally that of aspect/mode marker, adverb or preposition.
(see Chart A). It needn't necessarily be the second verb.
The first in the series is quite as grammaticizeable. The
tests for this are semantic, morphological and syntactic.
Semantically, the form shows a weakening of meaning, what
Talmy Givon has called a "depletion". Morphologically, it no
longer behaves as a verb; i.e., it does not take the verb
markers typical of the language, whether they be signs of
subject-predicate concord, tense, aspect, mood ... and the
form, already relegated to a recognizeable single shape and
circumscribed meaning, also assumes a frozen syntactic po-
sition.

Serial constructions are allegedly "same structure
subject w/double-predicate". That is, the two serial verbs
are both "predicates" of a shared subject. On the other hand,
there are infrequent occurrences in our data of non-sequen-
tial series which are interrupted by a "same-structure" direct
object, or one which is shared by both predicates. In other
words, the DO is in normal declarative order for P_1, in extra-
positional order for P_2, e.g.:

27. yo vɔye kɔb bay yo
    they send money give they
    They send money to them.

These cases are charted separately from the "classic" (same structure subject) series category. Also, in rare instances, the DO of P_1 which occurs before P_2 acts simultaneously as the subject of that P_2. This is included as part of our non-classic series, e.g.:

26. yo vɔyɛ'm tunê
    they send'I return
    They sent me back.

That the form v_ɔye_ occurs in so many serial utterances is of interest for any insights the data might yield on the subject of grammaticizing predicates.

To complicate or obfuscate grammatical roles and relations, the possibility of a lexical-compounding process also must be considered as an explanation of the structural category describing an uninterrupted verb series; i.e., SP_1P_2. The v_ɔye_ occurrence data is composed in part by a large percentage (45%) of the P_1P_2 series. It demands ex-plication and comparison with the less frequent (12%) interrupted series: SP_1OP_2.

In terms of morphological structure, the longer, two-syllable v_ɔye_ is the more common form in these data, re-presenting 71% of the total occurrences. Both v_ɔye_ and v_ɔy_ occurred in two out of the three syntactic structures: 1) as transitive predicate head followed by a direct object and 2) as Predicate Head, followed immediately by a Predi-

cate Head$_2$. In the latter case occurrence frequency of both
is about equivalent: <u>vɔy</u> 10 out of 22 instances, <u>vɔye</u> 12 out
of 22. In the former, transitive position, the long <u>vɔye</u>
far outnumbers <u>vɔy</u>; 82% as opposed to 18%. In the third
structural category, only the long <u>vɔye</u> occurs before an
object followed by a P$_2$. This structure is a small 12%
of the total data.

In the first structural category: SPO (LOC), the object
of the one-place transitive <u>vɔye</u>/<u>vɔy</u> is always a direct object
as in:

<pre>
              S   P   DO
    15.   lot pei vɔye rad, dᵻsulye
          other country send clothes, shoes
          Other countries send clothes, shoes.
</pre>

and   16.
<pre>
          yo vɔy ti-ba'ay pu nu
          they send little-thing for we
          They send little things for us.
</pre>

The direct object locus is followed by an optional LOC: a
place name:

<pre>
            S   P'DO   LOC
    17.   li vɔyɛ'm Pɔt-o-Prɛ̂s
          he send'I port-au-prince
          He sent me to Port-su-Prince.
</pre>

The optional LOC may be indicated as well by the LOC marker,
<u>n̂a</u>, <u>â</u>, <u>l̂a</u>:

<pre>
    18.   yo voye nu n̂a provɛ̂s
          they send we LOC country
          They send us to the country.
</pre>

Half of the transitive <u>vɔye</u>/<u>vɔy</u> data includes a complement
of location, the intended destination of the direct object.
In those cases, the direct objects are all pronominals re-

presenting animates (people); all of the P_1 forms are the long v^ɔye. #17 and #18 illustrate the pattern. In the other half of the transitive data, where there is no locative complement, exemplified by #14, #15 and #16 above, both long vɔye and short vɔy precede nominal, inanimate objects. Thus, the possibility is raised that the long vɔye has more freedom of distribution in relation to the semantic composition of its following Direct Object, the short vɔy perhaps restricted to inanimates.

The second category is a serial arrangement of P_1 vɔye/vɔy, uninterruptedly followed by a P_2, subsequently followed by an optional object, indirect or direct, then, and/or an optional locative complement. P_2 also may be followed by nothing.

There are several sub-structures composing the P_1P_2 series category. Grounded basically in the nature of the object, i.e., whether it be indirect, direct, or both, they are charted and illustrated below:

S   P P_2 O/LOC:

    a. S P P_2 DO (6):   3 vɔye, 3 vɔy

        19. yo vɔye ale mari'm
            they send go husband'I
            They sent my husband away

The P_2 which occur are:

    šašē - "search"
    prã - "take, get"
    ba - "give"
    ale - "go"

b. S P P₂ IO (9): 3 <u>v ye</u>, 4 <u>v y</u>

    20. tɔ̂tɔ̂ vɔye di'm
         uncle send say'I
         My uncle sent to say to me/said to me/sent to me.

The P₂ which occur are:

        bay - "give"
        made - "ask"
        ekri - "write"
        di - "say"

c. S P P₂ IO DO (5): 2 <u>v ye</u>, 3 <u>v y</u>

    21. madam-mwɛ̂ vɔye di'm sa
         woman-I send say'I that
         My wife wrote/sent that to me.

The P₂ which occurs is exclusively:

        di - "say"

d. extrapositional: <u>i.e</u>., with the object moved to
                              pre-subject position

    O S P P₂ (O)

    22. yɔ̂ lɛt su nɔ̂ li, m vɔye Ayti ba tɔ̂tɔ̂-m-nâ
         a letter on name he, I send Haiti give uncle-
                                            I-the
         A letter in his name I sent to my uncle in Haiti.

    23. ɔ̂ ti-kɔb m vɔye ba
         a little-money I send give
         A little money I sent.

Marked by the introductory, impersonal <u>Se</u> "it-is",
this extrapositional is very emphatic:

    24. se mari'm yo vle vɔye ale
         It's husband'I they want send go
         It is my husband they want to send away.

e. conditional clause in which the object is not un-
    expressed but understood as the salient topic of
    the discourse: (2):

25. si S   P   P₂, clause ...

      si yo vɔye ale yo vɔyɛ'm ale tu
      If they send go they I go too
      If they send (him) away, they should send me, too.

In the final category, Serial with an interruptive object that may, in a few cases, act as the subject of P2, there are only six recorded utterances, all with the long vɔye. The pattern is illustrated by:

   S P O/S P₂ (O?LOC)

     26. yo vɔyɛ'm tun
        they send'I return
        They sent me back.

     27. yo vɔye kɔb bay yo
        they send money give they
        They sent money to them

The P₂ involved in this construction are:

     bay - "give"
     ale - "go"
     tunê - "return"
     alɛ- "go"
     vin šɛše - "come search"

Five out of the six objects are pronominal or nominal animates, indirect objects. In #27, the P and P₂ are interrupted by kɔb "money", a direct object.

The many examples show that the P₂ forms are not relegated to either interrupted or non-interrupted serial constructions, that many of the same objects may intervene as well as follow the P and P₂ . These behaviors support that fact that all P₂ are viable P₁ verb forms in single-predicate utterances. Both characteristics argue against lexical compounding and/or P₂ grammaticization as explanation for the

phenomenon. It is, rather, another example of the image creating, highly descriptive speech style of Haitian Creole.

Previous literature is absolutely unilluminating on the _vɔye/vɔy_ form. There is no available research on its grammatical behavior:

Albert Valdman lists only the long _vòyé_ as "to send" in his glossary.

Robert Hall enters _vòyé_ with the meanings "send, throw, refer" and groups it with the verb class he claims commonly take a verbal complement.

Jules Faine traces the etymology of the form to _envoyer_ and implies that it retains the "to send" meaning.

H. GROUP VI: THE "BE" FORMS

The sense and morphology of "to be" is included as a
domain in this research, despite the fact that the member
forms, as well as their significant absence, are not obviously
related in grammatical and syntactic behavior or morphological
composition to the above discussed Groups I through V. The
domain does indirectly reinforce and add evidence for multi-
positionality and for multi-functionality. But, it offers no
solutions for the problematics of grammaticization, for homony-
mity, word class or grammatical categorization. The domain,
as "verbs", as "predicators" is unique.

Nonetheless, the forms themselves are etymologically
rooted in French in shape and sense, despite their quite
distinct grammatical behavior.

Lastly, they compose a domain at issue in almost all
creoles and are a characterizing feature of the majority of
Caribbean creoles: i.e., if these languages have an overt
"to be" (with both existential and linking roles) "verb",
it appears in very restricted environments. This conspicuous
characteristic has often been considered the crucial evidence
supporting the pidgin-creole "simplification" and "baby-talk"
theories of origin. The creoles contrast markedly with their
various superstrate (European) ancestors in that the latter
inevitably do have morphologically realized "to be" forms.
Many African languages, especially those postulated as sub -

stratal influence on patterns of the creoles' emergence and
development, suffer the same social judgment because they,
too, do not express an overt copula in familiar Indo-European
grammatical environments. Inexplicably, languages such as the
copula-less Russian (and Homeric Greek) escape the same unde-
served opprobrium. These criticisms, then, should be regar-
ded as the product of a Western attitude toward that which
is non-Western; they are negative expressions of social
prejudice having nothing to do with the linguistics of
language. Absence of, or restricted markedness, of the copula
and existential verbs is as rule-ordered, as linguistically
viable a feature of a language as is its presence even to
the extent of redundant over-use. As Mervyn Alleyne has writ-
ten:

> It has not been clarified, to my knowledge, which
> features of 'creoles' represent simplifications
> or reductions. The verbal system is perhaps, if
> anything an _expansion_ of the verbal systems of some
> Indo-European languages. I shall venture to
> guess at what is presumed to represent simplifica-
> tion. The frequently cited omission of the verb
> 'to be' is really, ..., a non-starter. The verb
> 'to be' is not omitted in 'creoles'. The predica-
> tive use of adjectives in expressions such as _mwÊ_
> _malad_, _mi sik_, can be shown to have West African
> models: Ewe _gli_ _la_ _keke_ 'the wall is broad'. There
> are in fact African models for the precise 'creole'
> dissection of 'to be' into (1) 'to be a quality',
> (ii) 'to be', as copula, (iii) 'to be' locational
> ... (173 in Hymes)

1. m pɛš ɛr
   I fisherman
   I was a fisherman.

2. se kuba'm rɛte
   it-is Cuba I stay
   It was in Cuba I stayed.

3. se šat twa-pye li ye
   it-is cat three-foot li ye
   It's a three-legged cat it is.

In Haitian Creole, "to be" occurs in three shapes:

se, ye and a complete absence of any morphological form in

specific semantico-syntactic environments to be discussed

in detail below.

Se, with alleged origins in the French c'est "this is",

is multi-positional in that it occurs with 1) an impersonal,

subjectless, introductory sense, whose apparent discourse

function is to focus attention on the predicate. It often

occurs in reiterative and/or emphatic constructions. To

wit:

4. se mwɛ'm obliže f'ɔ ti-batizmɔ
   it-is I'self must make'a little-hut
   It was I who had to build a little hut.

Its other position is as a syntactic link between an expressed

subject and predicate, the distinguishing criteria for which

will be discussed further below, e.g.:

5. me tɔtɔ makut se gwo
   but uncle-knopsack it-is big
   But tontons macoutes are important.

In some phonological environments, se reduces to a variant s'.

6. s'ɔ fi'k te rɛle u
   it-is'a girl'that ANT call you
   It's a girl who called you.

The second "to be" shape is ye. It is not a commonly occurrent form and in fact, even in its permitted, exclusive, environment, utterance-final, it is optionally realized. That environment is never filled by se, nor does ye occur in the se positions. The two forms do occur in tandem, with expository, emphatic, focusing effect:

> 7. se pè li ye
>   it-is Father he be
>   It is a Father he is.
>
> 8. m pa kɔn kote yà ye
>   I NEG know place one be
>   I don't know where one is.

The etymological source of ye, according to Jules Faine, is evident in his orthographical rendition: lle. He labels it the equivalent of the Poitevin (dialect of French) ll'est or il est "it is".

Ye, when it does occur, displays no reduced or allomorphic variants.

The third "to be" is its absolute absence between subject and non-verbal predicate, as in #1 above, a syntactic locus which may sometimes compete with se, which also may be filled by NEG and certain of the tense and aspect markers:

> 9. i poko egal
>   he not-yet legal
>   He's not yet legal.

There would seem to be no precedent in French for the absence of a predicate "verb" form.

Although declarative sentences are frequently "to be"-less, they are not unilaterally so characterized. Emphatic

and interrogative constructions from their verb-less declara-
tive, informal models do provoke the use of one or the other
formal "to be", sometimes both. As elsewhere, discourse
factors are relevant to the surface expression, occurrence,
position and shape of "be". Our explication of the data is
in an attempt to have discovered non-stylistic "rules" of
occurrence.

The three "to be" will be presented below in the order
of zero, se, se with ye and ye. Ye is so infrequent in
declarative utterances, where it is usually co-occurrent
with se, and optional in its proper domain, primarily in-
terrogative-final, that it is more edifying to discuss it
in combination with se as well as separately.

1. Zero

In Haitian Creole, utterances with no overt, i.e.,
morphological, "to be" are extremely common, although the
acceptably empty slot may be occupied by a marker functioning
to qualify the temporal set ("tense") or texture ("aspect-
mode") of the "to be" sense. This characteristic has made
what would elsewhere be classified as nouns, pronouns, ad-
jectives, adverbs and prepositional phrases function as
the structural predicate head, thus supporting the argument
for grammatically multi-functional semantic configurations,
whose lexical identities signify no fixed word class member-
or grammatical category (cf. Bentolila p.106).

The absence of a morphological "to be" characterizes
the following grammatical environments, defined as the
juxtaposition of subject and predicate functions. The
code is accompanied by the actual numerical distribution of
our data:

    1) N-N   nominal-nominal (11)
    2) pro-N pronominal-nominal (25)
    3) pro-pro pronominal-pronominal (1)
    4) N-LOC nominal-locative (5)
    5) pro-LOC pronominal-locative (35)
    6) N-pLOC nominal-marked locative (6)
    7) pro-pLOC pronominal-marked locative (17)
    8) pro-Advl pronominal-adverbial (13)
    9) N-Adj nominal-adjectival (20)
   10) pro-Adj pronominal-adjectival (39)
   11) pro-pu x pronominal-pu x (2)
   12) N-pp nominal-prepositional phrase (1)
   13) pro-pp pronominal-prepositional phrase (6)

Each of the following examples, described with the above
code, illustrates one of the "to be"-less grammatical environments:

ZERO

1)N-N   10. etazǔni ɔ̃ peyi sosialis
                  united states a country socialist
                  The United States is a socialist country.

2)pro-N   11) m p šɛr
                  I fisherman
                  I was a fisherman.

3)pro-pro   12. li pa't s'o mâde
                  it NEG'ANT that'you ask
                  It wasn't what you asked for.

4)N-LOC   13) mama'm nassau
                  mother'I nassau
                  My mother was in Nassau.

5)pro-LOC   14) nu la kɛk žu
                  we there several day
                  We were there several days.

6)N-pLOC   15) papa'm pa adâ'n
                  Father'I NEG within-it
                  My father wasn't in it.

7)pro-pLOC   16) mwê te nâ bulɔ̃žɛri kay lwi žâ
                  I ANT LOC bakery house Louis Jean
                  I was in the bakery of Louis Jean's house.

8)pro-Advl. 17) yo âsam
                  they together
                  They were together.

9)N-Adj   18) o žamayik ... tro pitsi
                  oh Jamaica too small
                  Oh, Jamaica is too small.

10)pro-Adj   19) kɔb tro pɛtit, u kɔ̃nê
                  money too small, you know
                  There wasn't enough money, you know.

11)pro-pu   20. yo te pu Duvalye, yo pu Duvalye, yo-mɛm
                  they ANT for Duvalier, they for Duvalier,
                                                they-self
                  They were for Duvalier, they were for Duvalier,
                                                themselves.

12)N-pp   21. madam-mwê ak ti-mûn-mwê
                  woman-I with children-I
                  My wife is with my children.

13)pro-pp   22. alɔ'm avɛ · li
                 well'I with he
                 Well, I was with him.

In these data, pronominal forms as subject are clearly preferred over nominals (137 vs 43 occurrences), representing approximately 75% of the actual subjects. This is not necessarily significant, being a reflection of the informal discourse utilized as the data source, a discourse which can afford to make heavy use of anaphoric forms (face to face, oral, shared cultural knowledge and experience). The only subjects found in this syntactic construction are nominals and pronominals. That is, there are no verb-like forms or prepositional phrases as may occur in the subject position.

The range of predicate types, in contrast, is relatively wide. To wit:

Subject   Predicate

	N	Pro	LOC	pLOC	Advl	Adj	pu x	pp
N	11	0	5	6	0	20	0	1
pro	25	1	35	17	13	39	2	6

Those predicates characterized as nominal and pronominal demonstrate functions of equation or identification with their subjects. There are no cases of a nominal subject juxtaposed to pronominal predicate. The one rare occurrence of pronominal subject-pronominal predicate is in fact not so bare as the label implies. In #2:

        li pa't s'o mâde
        it NEG'ANT that'you ask
        It wasn't what you asked for

sa "that" is indeed a pronominal but it is at the same time

the head of a phrase describing it: 'o mâde "you asked for".

Although pronominals compose 75% of the subjects in

the data, nominals only 25%, their distribution with predicate

types is not at all in the ratio of 3:4. Nominal-nominal

juxtapositions compared to pronominal-nominal ones are 1:2;

the same percentage obtains with adjectival predicates.

Nominal subjects are never found with pronominal, adverbial

or pu ("in order") phrases; pronominal subjects are found

with all charted predicate types. In all other cases the

distribution ratio follows no consistent pattern.

One of the most frequent predicates to occur in our

data, especially with pronominal subjects, is one which spe-

cifies the subject's location, be it physical or metaphori-

cal. There are two "verbless" subject-locational predicate

juxtapositions: one utilizes a grammatical marker, more

traditionally known as a preposition. The label which indi-

cates presence of such a marker, "p", should be taken to

refer specifically to one of the set lâ, nâ, â "in", and ones

belonging to a similar set, e.g.: adâ "within". There are

other locative markers, listed below. Because they are not

so common in the language as are lâ, nâ, â, they are listed

with appropriate glosses. Whether they are definitive members

of a closed grammatical class is moot; in these particular

utterances, they perform a LOC-marking function.

The chart is designed to depict the evidence of our data, i.e., which locational predicates occurred "marked" (pLOC), which unmarked (LOC) and which might be signaled by either construction; e.g., lakay-la "house-the" for which four occurrences were LOC, one pLOC. Co-occurrence of subjects with ±p-marked locational predicates is seen not as a function of subject type, but rather to be correlative with some semantic and pragmatic properties of the specified location.

p-marked	unmarked	Locational Predicates
1 dɛyɛ "behind"		bwa "trees"
1 adã "within		-n 'it'
1 bo "at"		lamɛ-a "the sea"
1 kote "at"		site Butey "Cite Buteille"
1 nã		kɔsey "council"
1 nã	1	kafu "Carrefour"
1 nã		sufrãs "misery"
1 nã	4	lakay-la "the house"
1 nã		batay "battle"
1 nã		tu sa ki pa bô
		"all that which not good"
1 nã		bulɔžɛri "bakery"
1 nã		kay "house"
1 nã		travay "work"
1 nã		mɛm ka "same case"
1 nã		mɛm problem "same problem"
1 nã		lavi "life"
1 nã		mɛ̂- u "your hand"
1 â	2	nasau "Nassau"
1 â		kapita-la "the capital"
1 â		ayti "Haiti"
1 â		prizɔ "prison"
	22	la, l' "there"
	3	lekol "school"
	1	ozetazuni "the U.S."
	1	nu yɔ "New York"
	1	sâto domîŋ "Santo Domingo"
	4	isi(·t) "here"
	1	pɔtoprɛs "Port-au-Prince"
	1	deyo-a "behind"
	1	tekzas "Texas"

Because there are so few cases in which locations are named more than once in the total data, and the fact that three of them: i.e., kafu "Carrefour", nasau "Nassau" and lakay-la "house-the" occur as both marked and unmarked locational predicates, suggests that it would be premature to conclude that there are definitive groups of predicate types which will occur as either unmarked or marked locatives. On the other hand, taking as tentative "groups" those predicates which occur marked as opposed to those which don't, the unmarked category evidences significant shared features. It is composed of forms which are highly used, whose referents are widely recognized, which includes a high percentage of actual "proper" place names, specifically "United States", "New York", "Santo Domingo", "Port-au-Prince:, "Texas" as well as the very familiar deictics la, l "there" and isit "here". Certainly frequent usage, familiarity of reference, obvious proper names and focusing forms plausibly obviate any com- municative need for locative marking, at least as compared to the slightly more obscure character of unfamiliar places or multifunctional forms: e.g....:

23. li travay
    he work
    he works/worked/is working

24. li nã travay
    he LOC work
    He's at work

or metaphorical locations: e.g.:

25. nã tu sa ki pa bɔ̂
     LOC all that which NEG good
     in all that which isn't good.

In our data, no nominal subjects occur with adverbial
predicates, but there are twelve pronominal subject:adverbial
predicate utterances. The status of "adverbial" is somewhat
problematic. The label is intended to be a functional one,
not categorial. The multifunctionality of lexical forms
complicates justifiable assignment of exclusive grammatical
groups. The forms used adverbially in our data refer to
location in space as well as association, state of being,
expenditure of time and identity achieved via comparisms.
That it is only pronominal subjects which occur with adver-
bial predicates is inferrably coincidental, a function of
informal style rather than of any restrictions operating on
nominal subjects.

On the other hand, both nominal and pronominal subjects
are found with adjectival predicates, nominals composing
33% of the cases recorded. Additionally, this particular
category is the fullest of all eight charted. It represents
approximately 33% of all "verbless" subject:predicate con-
structions. This compares to 22% for non-marked locational
predicates and 20% for subject with nominal predication.
The majority of the predicate adjectivals serves to describe
temporary or changing states of being although many signal
permanent states. In other words, using Jules Faine's tech-

nique of comparison, absence of a "copula" with an "adjective"
as predicate is indicative of both the temporary/locational
"be" of the Spanish _estar_ as well as the existential, per-
manent "be" _ser_.

Comparable to "adverbial", "prepositional", again, must
be taken as a grammatical function, not an immutable gramma-
tical category. The forms included in our chart as serving
this role signal location of association: avε/ak "with",
_su_ "under/on" and state of (attitudinal) being (k$\hat{\mathfrak{I}}$t "against",
_pu_ "for"). There are eight cases of pronominal subject,
one nominal with these prepositional predicates, the discre-
pancy presumably motivated by the discourse nature of the
data.

In these verbless "to be" constructions, the morphologi-
cally "verbless" predicate may be qualified by the non-verb
NEGatives as well as the non-verb ANTerior _te_ and POSterior
_a_ tenses, PROGressive ap/pe aspect, and pre-predicate, modally
functional _ka_ "can". To wit:

NEG: 26.   zafε'm pa b$\hat{\mathfrak{I}}$
                              affair'I NEG good
                              The course of my affairs wasn't good

                        27.   mûn solda ki poko šef
                              person soldier which not-yet chief
                              a soldier who isn't yet a chief

ANT: 28.   tut te la
                              all ANT there
                              Everyone was there.

POS: 29.   maks a la
                              Max POS there
                              Max'll be there.

ANT'POS:	30.	m pa ta prɛt muri
		I NEG ANT'POS ready die
		I wouldn't be ready to die.
PROG:	31.	m'ap grâ mûn
		I'PROG big person
		I am (being) an adult.
ANT'PROG	32.	m t'ap Tekzas
		I ANT'PROG Texas
		I was in Texas (for a while).
ka:	33.	u ka lib
		you able free
		You can be free.

The ANT te is by far the most common of the qualifiers
to occur, with a total 52 predicates so specified: 28% of
the utterances. The adjectival predicate category was the
most frequently marked for negation, tense and aspect: all
the possible forms occurred in our data.

The NEG pa "not" served to negate 30 predicates repre-
senting all categories. Both nominal and pronominal subjects
were involved.

In sum, absence of a morphological "to be" juxtaposes
nominal and pronominal subjects syntactically with non-verbal
predicates. This structure subsequently functions to predicate
of subjects any of: permanent and temporary states; equation;
professional, possessional, or attributive identity; location.
Therefore, in traditional parlance this particular construc-
tion cannot be said to exhibit, exclusively, either linking
or existential meaning. It serves to demonstrate the both.

The Haitian Creole grammars and literature surveyed as
background for our research display a surprising dearth

of information on the absence of a morphological "be". The
fact of the phenomenon rests rather as a contrast to discussions
on the presence and use of the two actual "be" forms, se and
ye. Any illuminating generalizations are only inferrable.
Nonetheless, such inferences will be compared with the
patterns evinced by our speech record.

Albert Valdman says: "in Creole, unlike English, ad-
jectives and complements of place may enter in the predicate
without any link (copula) verb..." (175). He further implies
that an adjectival predicate referring to inherent traits
may be juxtaposed to its subject, but states that one refer-
ring to non-inherent attributes needs an intervening copula.
Although non-emphatic constructions are inferrably often
copula-less, he does not detail the defining features of
subjects and predicates.

Robert Hall states in a footnote that equational and
locational predicates need no verb between them and their
subject. (66) Otherwise, he implies that due to the pre-
sence of a form in various anticipatory and expositional
constructions, there may be none in non-anticipatory and non-
expositional ones.

Gerard Ferere pointedly states that study of the
Haitian Creole copula is "limited to describing the specific
behavior of those two non-equivalent and mutually-exclusive
base-forms, each of which having its own rules of occurrence,

and its own conjugational system..." (175) (ye and se). He
implies that there is no verbal form present when predicates
are adjectival or adverbial, none following the relator
/ki/ "which" and presence or absence before predicates naming
"professions, trades, nationalities, and the like. This
might be explainable on the basis that the speaker is then,
assimilating such nouns to adjectives." (181-2) He adds
that any structural feature, such as definite and indefinite
determiners, confirming the nominal identity of those predi-
cates necessitates the presence of a verbal form. Further,
he says there is never an expressed copula in negative struc-
tures with pronominal subjects. For constituent question
constructions, Ferère claims the prevalent pattern is verbless.

Jules Faine, of course, is interested in the etymology
of the morphological se and ye used as "to be" in Haitian
Creole, although he is curious as to possible historical
models for the absence of copula. He cites the "etre"-less
carib (or other native American languages) as a possible
source, but puts more weight on the naturalness of elimi-
nating a "be" verb in the learning of a language. Faine
claims that Creole originally had no copula; it wasn't
until the domination by the French that two were "created" -
first ye, then se. According to Faine, there is no morpho-
logical copula between noun and determinative complement or
attribute. This gives to the tense and aspect markers a gram-

matical role equivalent to that of a linking verb. Despite his observation, he would not categorize the markers as independent verbs.

Tinelli's grammatical sketch of Haitian Creole briefly cites the existence of a formal copula, but that it is only optionally present in equative sentences.

Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain is also surprisingly brief on the subject of linking and existential forms. In her analysis, morphological absence is an option for interrogative constructions. On the other hand, declarative utterances are characteristically verb-less when attributes or qualifications are predicated of the subject.

Marie Racine-Buteau does not mention se, ye or their absence as copular and/or existential functors.

There are very few definitive rules even implied in the literature regarding the absence of a "be" form between syntactically juxtaposed subjects and non-verbal predicates. None of the authors has stated the possible grammatical and/or semantic characteristics of subjects and/or predicates, subsequently, none of the possible co-occurrences. Nonetheless, there are a few actual generalizations made with which the findings of our data can both agree and disagree. One pattern concurs with Valdman's rule that adjectives and complements of place may occur in a non-verbal predicate, although the rules evinced by our se data indicate that its presence is

an option. Our findings also agree with Valdman's claim that adjectival predicates which refer to inherent traits do not require a formal "be". On the other hand, his claim that adjectival predicates referring to such as professional status require a morphological "be" cannot be supported by our data.

Hall's mention of formal "be" absence is particularly brief and vague. His citation of the permissable zero-marked equational and locational predicate agrees with our findings although he fails to add that the same environment allows for the presence of se. Hall does not discuss other verbless predicate types.

The patterns displayed in our data argue against Ferrere's assertion that study of the Haitian Creole copulas should be limited to the forms se and ye. Morphological absence is quite as viable an indication of a linking function or existential meaning as is its presence. Non-occurrence is rule-ordered and significant.

Ferère's rules do not agree with those of Valdman: that a predicate referring to non-inherent traits requires a formal "to be". He specifically points to predicates naming professions, trades and nationalities as being either verbal or non-verbal. The explanation he posits is that those predicate "nominals" are probably rendered adjectival. If a feature such as a determiner, identifying them as nouns,

is added, a formal copula is then requisite. In our own data, at least two of the eleven nominal subject:nominal predicate constructions do have predicates with nominal marking (possession) ownership; definite article, indefinite article, but no intervening morphological "be". To wit:

> 34. Tusɛ̂ arɛte-a zami-m-nâ
> Toussaint arrest-the friend-I-the
> The arrested Toussaint was my friend.

> 35. etazuni ɔ̂ peyi sosialis
> united states a country socialist
> The United States is a socialist country.

The patterns displayed by our data agree with the vague generalizations made in the works of Faine and Sylvain-Comhaire, but fail to agree completely with the more specific claims of the others.

2. <u>Se</u>/<u>s</u>'

The form <u>se</u> is found to occur in two syntactic contexts:
1) utterance-initial with juxtaposed predicate and 2) utter-
ance-internal, between subject and predicate. Whether these
are two entirely different forms, related, or a single
multifunctional one is an issue to be explored within the
context of these data. The former will be called the im-
personal <u>se</u>, as there is no expressed subject, a grammatical
role, rather, seemingly incorporated by this <u>se</u> "it-is"
itself. The latter position will be labeled the personal
because it takes a more verb-like syntactic position and
functions to relate an expressed subject to a predicate in
normal declarative order.

The examples below, coded for the following predicate
categories, will illustrate the use of impersonal <u>se</u>:

```
N - nominal
pro - pronominal
LOC - locational (complement)
pLOC - marked locational (complement)
kɔ̂ sa - "like that"
pu - clause - "in order that'
```

36. se mama'm t'ape sašĕ   se:N
     it'is mother'I ANT'PROG seek
     It was my mother I was looking for.

37. se mwɛ̂'m obliže f'ɔ̃ ti-batimɔ̃   se:pro
     it'is I'self must make'a little-hut
     It was I who had to build a little hut.

38. se kuba'm rɛte.   se:LOC
     it-is Cuba'I stay
     It was in Cuba I stayed.

39. se nã pɔtoprès y'al, ...   se:pLOC
    it'is like that I CONT like Haitian COND able
                                  go live
    It's like that I wish Haitians could live.

41. se pu mûn kap fwɛt   se:pu
    it'is for people able cool
    It's in order that people keep cool.

The predicate types occurred in the numerical frequency charted below:

Predicate

	Nominal	Pronominal	Locational	pLocational	K sa	pu-
se	69	34	15	5	3	10

The se-initial utterances are structurally equative in that se is actually a pro-form that merges the concepts of "something" and "being". The function of such a form is then either to identify/name the more explicit, specified predicate (complement) and/or to point to the extraposed constituent of an (incorporated) utterance. The form operates more or less as a dummy element with little inherent semantic substance but important discourse function.

As an emphatic construction, the functions are: 1) to anticipate (extrapose) objects and predicate complements, 2) to emphacize subjects, and in conjunction with a pu-initial predicate, 3) to mean "it is necessary..., "it is in order..." "it is for the benefit of" ... or "it is because of...". When se is used as an anticipatory device, motivated by speaker style and intention, the resultant construction pulls the utterances off their normal declarative order (or "transforms" them), thus serving to draw attention to

the complement of <u>se</u>, be it subject or predicate of the resultant incorporated utterance. <u>E</u>.<u>g</u>.:

36.   m t'ape šaše mama'm
        I ANT'PROG seek mother'I
        I was looking for my mother

        mama'm t'ape šaše
        mother'I ANT'PROG seek
        My mother I was looking for.

        se mama'm t'ape šaše
        it-is mother'I (I) ANT'PROG seek
        It is my mother I was looking for.

The use of impersonal, sentence-initial <u>se</u> is a syntactic device for focusing, stressing or emoting over a specific constituent. Its function is clearly that of "topicalizing". But, whether or not "topicalizer" should be its singular grammatical status is moot, considering its other functions and possible positions of occurrence. The traditional treatment of <u>se</u> as a member of the class of "be" forms may be more a product of gloss and etymological derivation than a salient feature of the semantics of the form. It functions much more apparently as a topicalizing pro-form than as an existential "be" or linking verb.

This interpretation is somewhat reinforced by the fact that in all of the 136 <u>se</u> examples recorded, only 5 are marked for ANT (tense), <u>i</u>.<u>e</u>., <u>Se</u> <u>te</u> X, versus 25 ANT markings on the predicate of the incorporated utterances out of which the emphasized element is drawn, <u>e</u>.<u>g</u>.:

42.   Se te nã mwê žɛn m te sɔti
        It-is ANT LOC month june I ANT leave
        It was in the month of June I left.

The ANT marking occurs after se in both personal and impersonal position and function, a syntactic anomaly with the predicate verb forms. But, the phenomenon is possibly a reflection of its etymology (c'est "this is"; c'etait "this was") and not necessarily a mark of its unique grammatical status (function).

In the impersonal, emphatic construction, the NEGator pa "not" occurs only three times; this marker also follows se, again the opposite of its positional behavior with other verb forms: e.g.:

```
43.   se pa tut mün ki te gê  ti-šɔp la
      it-is NEG all person who ANT have little-
                                      shop there
      It wasn't everyone who had a little shop
                                        there.
```

As exemplified and tabulated above, most predicate complements of se are constituents which, for one discourse reason or another, require extra-normal prominence. Such constructions constitute 116 of the 136 total, se-initial utterances, the 20 remainder being statements of existence or identification: a function differing almost more in style than quality from the one it performs as topicalizer: e.g.,

```
44.   s'ɔ̂ koɔpɛrativ lapɛš
      it-is'a co-operative fish
      it was a fishing co-op.
```

These will be discussed in the following section of impersonal se. It is by virtue of the perceived exigencies of a particular discourse that constituents would receive

focus. Therefore, frequency of categorial emphasis should depend on factors of discourse mode and topic, shared knowledge, socio-cultural features of speaker and audience, etc. In our data, both subject and object nominals are the most frequently stressed, approximately 50% of the total se-initial utterances. Emphasized pronominals represent 25% of the data, only three of which are anticipated objects. Non-marked locative complements are third in frequency followed by marked (pLOC) locative complements, then k̂ɔ sa "like that".

Pu-clauses, which, in conjunction with se, yield senses of "in order that", "necessary", "because of", occur 10 times.

In our data, while impersonal, utterance-initial se does function as a vague, general marker of existence, it is more frequently utilized as a topicalizing dummy element whose primary function is to highlight its predicate complement.

45. se šat twa-pye li ye
     it-is cat three-foot it be
     It's a three legged cat it is.

44. s'ɔ̂ koɔpɛrativ lapɛš
     it-is'a co-operative fish
     It was a fishing co-operative.

The above two examples illustrate another use of the
impersonal se. It is syntactically sentence initial, subject
to the same tense and negation marking restrictions as the
topicalizing se and semantically, primarily existential.
#45 is characteristic of the basic pattern, i.e.,

     se: nominal:pronominal: ye

The pronominal is simply anaphoric for its immediate nominal
antecedent and is followed by the "be" form ye, thus exis-
tential. It is an emphatic or "stressed" version of the non-
marked, juxtaposed subject-predicate construction: šat
twa-pye focusing attention on the identity of the named nom-
inal rather than on its definig properties. 10 of the 12
utterances in the data are faithful to this pattern, the other
two being possible anomalies in that in:

46. se lekol li te ye
     it-is school he ANT be
     It's at school he was

the pronoun li "he" shows an inconsistency for not being ana-
phoric for lekol "school". This utterance, in discourse con-
text, is giving the location of a person li "he". Ye,
therefore, was intended to be read in relation to a person's
"being" at a place, i.e., school. This is not the normal

existential construction.

The other anomaly is:

> 47. bɔ̂ fɛ̂ laka mama-i te ye
>   very fine house mother-she ANT be
>   Elegant the house of her mother was

Here, the i represents both -i as a possessive "she" merged

with -i (li), the anaphoric it:

> bɔ̂ fɛ̂ laka mama-i i te ye
>   she it

bɔ̂ fɛ̂ is attributive, thus the ye linking, not existential.

> 44. s'ɔ̂ koɔpɛrativ lapɛ̌s
>   it-is'a co-operative fish
>   It was a fishing co-operative

is one of the twenty utterances included in the chart of

topicalizing se constructions above in which impersonal

se was seen to function primarily as an emphatic marker of

one constituent from a subsequently incorporated utterance.

The 20 exceptions in that structural category were the equa-

tion of se with simple (one-place) predicate nominals,

pronominals, marked locatives and the form kɔ̂ sa, not com-

plete utterances. They could well be a truncated version

of the pattern described here, the truncation of what is es-

sentially an anaphoric reiteration (li ye "it is") draining

the utterance of its formality and stress.

Another form of truncation is exemplified below:

> 48. sežâ li ye
>   a sargeant he be
>   A sargeant he was.

49. amerikê yo te dwɛ ye
    american they ANT must be
    Americans they must have been

The more normal syntactic pattern would include an utterance-initial se. An extended variation on this scheme is use of a "verb"-less identifying clause as the nominal element, emphasized by li te ye. Only two examples occur in the data:

50. li pa tɔtɔ makut li te ye
    he NEG tonton macoute he ANT be
    It wasn't a tonton macoute he was.

50. Masilis amɛdayti li te ye
    Marcellus army haiti he ANT be
    Marcellus was in the Haitian army he was.

The four remaining utterances are more locational in meaning than existential, although syntactically faithful to the above variation on the existential construction. The locational meaning is not a possibility for this construction according to analyses done by other linguists (see below, other authors).

52. Me fam-mwê riv ti-gwav li ye
    but woman-I arrive Ti-Goaves she be
    But my wife arrived to Ti-Goaves is where she
                                                is.

53. M pa kɔn kɔt ni yɔ li ye
    I NEG know place not one he be
    I don't know where even one is.

#52 and #53 demonstrate the use of an expressed, sentence final "be" ye with a reiterative, anaphoric li, a common emphatic device of the language.

b. "Personal" se

The following examples illustrate the sentence-internal environment of se, one which intersects with morphological absense. There are only 27 utterances, compared to the 136 above described utterance-initial instances of se, suggesting a less common, maybe more marked function:

54. grã gwav se peyi'm
    Grand Goaves it-is country-I
    Grand Goaves is my country

55. sa se frase, alɔ
    that it-is french, then
    That is French, then.

56. "mwa" se u-mɛm
    "I" it-is you-self
    "I" is you yourself.

57. Me tɔtɔ makut se gwo
    but tonton macoute it'is big
    But tontons macoutes are important.

58. problɛ'm te gɛ̃yɛ̃ se pu kay-la sɛlmã
    problem'I ANT have it'is for house-the only
    The problem I had was for the house alone

59. m pa d'u vi-mwɛ̃ se nã navigasyɔ̃
    I NEG say'you life-I it-is LOC navigation
    I didn't say to you that my life was in
                        navigation

As with the verbless ("zero") constructions first des-cribed, only nominals and pronominals occur spontaneously in subject position. Their allowed predicates and frequency of co-occurrence are charted below:

Subject	Predicate				
	Nominal	Pronominal	Adjectival	pu-clause	pLOC
nominal	10	0	2	1	1
pronominal	12	1	0	0	0

_Se_ occurs between subject and predicate almost exclusively (81%) with either nominal or pronominal subjects and nominal predicates. All of the examples in the data are cases of equative and/or identificatory meaning. This is inferrably the construction used for expressing timeless truths, (idioms):

60. bule lâ se move sâ
     burn tongue it-is bad blood
     To burn the tongue causes "bad blood".

Half of the pronominal subject:nominal predicate utterances begin with the demonstrative pronominal form _sa_ that: _e.g._:

61. sa se rešim duvalye
     that it-is regime duvalier
     That's the Duvalier regime.

62. sa s'ɔ bɔ mo frâse nɛg la di-a
     that it-is'a good word french guy the say-the
     That's a good French word the guy said.

63. alɔ, sa s'ɔ ɛgzâp
     well, that it-is a example
     Well, that's an example.

In contrast with the bare sentence-initial _se_ followed by predicate nominal complement, the _sa_ functions both deictically, to point more notably at its proper referent, as well as emphatically, multiplying the discourse force of an identificatory, naming _se_. The grammatical pattern represented by the first row of the above chart: nominal and pronominal subjects: nominal and pronominal predicates, is similar to that established by our data in charting characteristics of utterances with zero-"be"-form. Neither "zero" nor _se_ occurred between a nominal subject and pronominal predicate.

Pronominal subject with pronominal predicate, in both cases

("zero" and se) is a markedly infrequent construction.

The other two syntactic environments zero-be and se

share are between nominal and pronominal subjects with both

1) adjectival complements and 2) marked locative complements

(pLOC). There are simply no unmarked locative complements

(pLOC). There are simply no unmarked locative complements,

adverbials, or prepositional phrases in the se-occurrence

data. In the nominal/pronominal environments, it is plau-

sible that se functions predominantly as an existential.

On the other hand, that it occurs with locative and adjectival

predicates vitiates the hypothesis. The two adjectival cases

are attributive (57) and descriptive (64):

64. lε tut mûn se kɔ̂ sa
     time all person it-is like-that
     When everyone is like that (homeless...)

The one locative complement (59) is actually a metaphor used

to identify a profession.

In sum, there are no definitive conclusions to be had

from our data, only impressions of general behaviors. Se

and ye are less frequent in casual informal discourse than

is the zero-be. Se is usually existential in function and

ye-"linking", although there are instances of their sharing

those functions in the spontaneous speech data. Subject

and predicate may be structurally juxtaposed or morphologi-

cally interrupted with se. The latter occurs with a more

restricted group of predicates than does the former; an

utterance with se is more emphatic, stressed and pointed than when it is absent. The features of a discourse situation inferrably serve to motivate the realization or absence of a morphological "be".

Se as an impersonal, (topicalizing) functor occurs sentence-initial, is expository in function and indicative of "emphatic" meaning.

The third copular/existential syntactic position is utterance-final and is restricted, morphologically, to the ye form. Our own explicit data examples of its use are few. It is impossible to separate this form cleanly from discussions of se as well as of the zero-be. Ye occurs in constituent questions, always, but optionally, in the final position, e.g.:

```
65.  ki žǎ u ye
     what manner you be
     How are you?

66.  kote li ye
     place he be
     Where is he?
```

Non-emphatic, declarative replies to such questions rarely utilize ye. In addition to our meagre interrogative data which was not charted, there are only 20 instances of ye, exemplified above under the topic of impersonal se. This appears to be the preferred environment and function for ye, i.e., utterance-final, where it signals the unusual word order of an emphatic construction, unusual in that the predicate is extraposed, introduced or not by the impersonal

se-form. To illustrate the relationship of declarative and
emphatic constructions:

EMPH   41. amɛrikê yo te dwɛ ye
        american they ANT must be
        Americans they must have been.

DECL   yo te dwɛ amɛrikê
        they ANT must american
        They must have been Americans.

Although "beingness" is conceptually inherent in the declar-
ative when amɛrikê is extraposed, the sense of "be" is morpho-
logically formalized. The ye, then, is a functional element,
filling the syntactic hole left by an extraposed constituent.

The general behavioral patterns evinced by the data are
to be compared to analyses presented by the previous litera-
ture, all of which dealt at length with the "be" forms, al-
though not with their absence. Although se and ye are dif-
ferent forms operating in separate and mutually exclusive
syntactic environments, and with essentially distinct functions
and meanings, they are best described with reference to each
other as well as to the "be" environments in which they are
absent. For purposes of clarity, the presentation will treat
the forms individually.

Albert Valdman defines se in his glossary to mean"it is,
is it", whereas that ye is simply "be". He recognizes the
plethora of morphologically "be"-less utterances, but claims
that se fills the zero slot if the predicate is a noun,
adding the indefinite pronoun sa for purposes of emphasis.
Se also is used in utterances where an adjectival predicate

refers to non-inherent attributes of the subject. Valdman
admits to the presence and use of se in emphatic centences,
but gives no details. On the other hand, Valdman alleges
that ye is a mere insertion-form, the use of which is trig-
gered by a "dangling" subject. The predicate, in such cases,
has been moved forward, out of the normal declarative
order for purposes of emphasis or interrogation. Ye is
simply, for Valdman, a replacement element.

Robert Hall labels se as an "equational subject form",
indicative of the mutual identity of the preceding subject
with the following predicate. Its use, though, may serve,
additionally, to emphasize the predicate. When followed by
a pou "to" phrase, the implication is of near futurity or
obligation (33). Se precedes an exposed predicate, an ex-
pressively emphatic syntactic maneuver. When an adjectival
predicate is front-shifted, se precedes it as an "anticipa-
tory" device (67). Hall contrasts the presence of se with
that of ye which means "be located", equivalent to the Spa-
nish verb estar. The only instance in which ye may "take"
a predicate complement is when that complement is extra-
posed for purposes of emphasis or question formation. Other-
wise, the predicate is simply equational or locational.

Gerard Férère considers se and je to be (copular)
verbal base forms because they demonstrate verbal behavior,
have mutually exclusive roles of occurrence and character-
istic "conjugations" proper to each, i.e., they are positio-

nally mutually exclusive. Se demonstrates a dual conjugation
system, one "impersonal", marked by the absence of a morpho-
logically expressed, formal subject, the other "personal"
characterized by the presence of a named subject. The im-
personal se is not optional; for those environments for
which it is prescribed, it does not alternate with the zero-
copula. It may take tense and aspect markers, although
Ferere does concede that the latter might be rare. (PROG
ap: s'ap "it is being"). All such marking, including
NEG, occur syntactically after the se form. In contrast,
"personal" se is optional in allowed contexts: in Ferère's
terminology, the personal se is deleted", if tense or aspect
markers occur and if the predicate is adjectival or adverbial.
This se never occurs after the relator ki but is used in
affirmative constructions whose predicates are nominal.
It is often absent before such as professional, vocational
and nationality names (182).

For Ferère, je (our ye) is never impersonal. It always
occurs with an expressed subject. It may take all tense and
aspect markers. Syntactically, it only occurs at the end
of utterances. Je is not optional where predicates have been
shifted to precede their subjects for emphasis, with or with-
out the introductory se. It must occur "in subordinate
clauses introduced by the conjunctions /kũ/ /zã/ "as".
Examples:

$\qquad$ /m vlel kũ li'je/ "I want it as it is"

/mama reme pititli zã jo je/
"A mother loves her children as they are". (186)

Je is used in conjunction with interrogators when the predi-
cate is absent or precedes the subject. It is not obliga-
tory with /ki'les/ "who", /ko'te/ "where", /kõ'byẽ/ "how
much, many?" It is only mandated by interrogative con-
structions beginning with /ki'sa/ /'sa/ "what".

Faine, as noted above, is rather singularly interested
in etymology. He believes that ce is the second "substan-
tive" verb form created in Haitian Creole, that it is
derived from French or patois, probably the c'est of French.
It is unique among verb forms in that, in Faine's use of
the term "conjugation", all markers occur syntactically,
after, rather than prior, to it. Faine says that this is
plausibly explained in etymological terms. The French im-
perfect, c'était (se te) contains what might appear to be
the Creole past tense marker. That fact would have served
to reinforce the form's compatibility with the language and
subsequently been borrowed and pressed to use without modi-
fication. For Faine, ce in Haitian Creole is the existential
verb être. It does not appear in the syntactic environment
filled by ye, even when the latter is absent, nor does it
occur between subject and predicate if an auxiliary marker
fills the positionl Ce can be used impersonally in the sense
of "c'est" ("this is"). In both impersonal (subjectless)
and personal (with a subject) usage, ce, in contrast to ye,

reflects the difference encoded in Spanish by _ser_ and _estar_.
Faine believes, in fact, that the Spanish language may have
had an influence on the separate functions of _ce_ and _ye_; the
semantic analogies drawn between _ce_ and _ye_ with _ser_ and _estar_
are so tight as to be identical, i.e., _lle_ (_ye_) = _estar_;
_ce_ = _ser_. (158-9).

Faine writes _ye_ orthographically as _lle_ because it is the
"twin" of the Poitevin "ll'est" meaning "il est". It is
subject to the same conjugational patterns as other verbs
except that its existential meaning does not permit auxili-
ary marking. _lle_ functions more as a linking verb, though,
than as one of existence, serving to tie attribute to sub-
ject.

Comhaire-Sylvain says that, in the case of subject-
predicate inversion for emphasis, the demonstrative _se_
may be prefixed to the sentence, with _ye_ remaining in the
verb slot after its subject. _Se_ also occurs in affirmative
sentences between subject and attribute when the proposition
is subordinate or when the attribute agrees in the present
with a major proposition. There are no temporal markers
allowed. When the subject is _sa_ or _se_ (demonstratives),
particles of conjugation are permitted.

_Yé_, on the other hand, for Comhaire-Sylvain, is the
Creole _être_. It is morphologically expressed in questions
utilizing the forms _kote_ "where", _ki_ "what" or _kiles_ "which",

although it is obligatory in none of those contexts. It
will also be expressed in affirmative subordinate clauses
beginning with <u>ko</u>, "as", often idioms or proverbs. <u>Ye</u>
is only understood and never expressed when it would be func-
tioning as the predicative "verb" "be", <u>i.e.</u>, linking
nominal or adjectival complements to the subject, unless the
order of the sentence is inverted.

Our data do not agree with the exclusivity implied by
Valdman's claim that <u>se</u> is used if the predicate is a noun.
Rather, we find 36 cases of nominal predicates occurring
structurally juxtaposed (zero-"be") to nominal and pronominal
subjects. Neither do our data prove out his obligatory rule
for the presence of <u>se</u> before adjectival predicates referring
to non-inherent properties attributed to their subject.

Our data show exceptions to Férère's rule of obliga-
tory impersonal <u>se</u> in its prescribed environments. For
instance, all extraposed predicates are not necessarily
introduced by the <u>se</u>-form. That is a decision finalized
by discourse factors. Word order change is emphatic in and
of itself. Further, Férère claims that the personal <u>se</u>,
that which links an expressed subject and predicate, cannot
occur if any tense or aspect markers are present. In our
data, there are simply no examples of the PROG <u>ap</u> in the
<u>se</u> environment, but se <u>te</u> (ANT <u>te</u>) is not rare. To wit:

> 67. sa se t'ɔ̂ bɔ̂ bagay i te ye
>   that it'is ANT'a good thing it ANT be
>   That was a good thing it was.

68. bato-a se te bahamasta
    boat-the it-is ANT Bahamas Star
    The boat was the Bahamas Star.

Although our research did not focus on question struc-
tures, it is our experience that Férere's rules dealing with
the essentially preferred optional absence of utterance-final
ye are generally correct.

With Faine, the one detail of disagreement evinced by
our data is one shared with Férère, that the personal se
is absent should there be another verbal particle (tense,
aspect) to replace it. Examples #67 and 68 above in which
the personal se occurs with te were spontaneously spoken; the
rule may be optional.

But Faine, as would Sylvain-Comhaire, would like to
root the sharp morphological and syntactic differences in
shape and behavior between se and ye in the basic difference
of "to be" as existential and "to be" as a grammatically
functional copula, in other words se as theSpanish "ser"
and ye "estar". The division, if our data are credible, is
not so clean. Although both impersonal and personal se take
nominal and pronominal predicate complements ("ser") more
than ones indicative of location, temporary and/or non-
inherent attribution and qualification ("estar"), the fact
is that they show up in those allegedly proscribed non-
existential environments. Additionally, ye and se manda-
torily co-occur in many of the expository and anticipatory
constructions, whether their use is related to existentiality

or not. _Ye_ functions in those constructions as a reflex of
the shifted predicate. Consequently, it is inferred that
there must be some common ground between them, although this
problem awaits careful semantic analysis.

3. "Be" CONCLUSION

There are many problematic features involved in the semantic and grammatical nature of the Haitian Croele "be"-form, its/their morphological realizations or absences and syntactic behaviors. Subsequently, and to further complicate any understanding of the domain, there are, seemingly, very few points of accord among the various generalizations cum rules proffered by published grammars. Our own data display patterns yet more discrepant.

A narrative comparison of extant descriptions, definitions and laws, while feasibly instructive, is virtually incomprehensible. In the hopes that a graphic approach might more clearly depict the range of forms, their behaviors and environments, tentative charts were composed. Their pruposes are 1) to demonstrate the actual patterns revealed by our data as described in detail above and 2) to compare those with rules established in the writings of others. #2 aannot claim to absolute accuracy as allowable predicate complements per "be"-form could only be checked on the basis of the generalizations and implications of a given work. A summary narrative and comparison follows.

Subject	Be-form	N	Pron	LOC	pLOC	ADVL	ADJL	pu	pp
A.									
N ·181	zero	11	–	5	6	–	20	–	1
pro	zero	25	1	35	17	13	29	2	6
B. 136	Se	69	34	15	5	3	–	10	
(12	Se:Nom:Pron:ye)								
C. N 27	se	10	–	–	1	–	2	1	–
pro	se	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	–

D.		N	Pron	LOC	pLOC	ADVL	ADJL	pu	pp
Valdman	unspecified:zero			x	x		x		
Hall	unspecified:zero	x	x	x	x				
Ferère	unspecified:zero	x				x	x		ki
Faine	noun zero	x	x				x		
Tinelli	unspecified:zero	x	x						
Comhaire-Sylvain	unspecified:zero	x				x	x		

E.		N	Pron	LOC	pLOC	ADVL	ADJL	pu	pp
Valdman	Se	(?)							
sa	se	x					x		
Hall	Se						x		
	unspecified:se	x	x				x		
Ferère	Se	(?)							
	unspecified:se	x				x	x		
Faine	Se	x	x						
	unspecified:se	x	x						
Comhaire-Sylvain	Se	(?)for emphasis only							
	unspecified se						x		

F. ±Se		Extra-Positional Predicate	S		ye		
	N	LOC	ADJL				
+Se	9			pronoun	ye		
+Se		1		pronoun	ye		
-Se			1	pronoun	ye		
-Se	4			pronoun	ye		
-Se		4		pronoun	ye		

As the above should illustrate, there can be no defini-
tive grammatical rules written which will assure proper and/or
preferred use of the Be-forms in Haitian Creole until much
more extensive research is performed that includes semantic,
possibly cognitive and definitely discourse feature analy-
sis. Not only are the patterns displayed by our data at
odds with the vague explicit and implicit rules determined
in other grammars, but those latter are also discrepant
among themselves.

Our data do, on the other hand, suggest generalizable
patterns, tendencies and preferred environments per prefer-
red form. Although the "be" forms are so distinct in sense,
function and syntactic behavior from the earlier discussed
"verb" groups, that attempting to compare them would be a
contrived, futile and pruposeless exercise, there is one
characteristic shared by all: that grammatical behavior of
forms is a matter of tendencies as opposed to iron-clad,
prescribed rules which when breached are clearly grammatically
wrong. The final decisive factors as to what is correct
and incorrect usage may well lie in the social conventions
of discourse.

As with the "verb" forms charted in Chapters D-G, whose
multipositional and functional behaviors provoke the assign-
ment of various grammatical categorizations, the "analyses"
and descriptions of Haitian Creole "be"'s are replete with
assertions of equivalency between them and the French être,

Spanish _estar_ and _ser_. It is not only the Indo-European
languages which are taken as relevant models, but also Afri-
can ones, _e.g._,

> There are in fact African models for the precise
> 'creole' dissection of 'to be' into (i) 'to be
> a quality', (ii) 'to be', as copula, (iii) 'to be'
> locational... (_op. cit._: 173).

Our data would have to question such "precise" replication
of the model. The "be" domain does not display the neat,
exact boundaries indicated.

As in all other socio-cultural domains, there is no
reason to expect that Haitian Creole chose one explicit model
to copy, _i.e._, the superstrate or substrate. If it had, the
Creole itself would never have become a separate language.
The act of borrowing changes the borrowed element: conse-
quently, there are reflections of French and of various
African languages as well as similarities, possibly even equi-
valences if not the selfsame configurations, but the process
of creolization is basically innovative, operating in a
culture and society far different from those of its contribu-
ting sources. There is no reason, consequently, to expect
to find that the grammar replicates any other grammar. In
imposing such hypothetical structures, the real system becomes
obscured.

In reference to all of the Haitian Creole "be" and zero-
"be" forms, our spontaneous, informal, anecdotal speech data
demonstrate the following tendencies, based on percentage
representations per form per syntactic position (cf. above

charts).

Ye clearly claims its own domain, albeit an optional presence, especially in interrogative contexts. Without denying any conceptual reality, nonetheless, the only syntactic environment in which it may be morphologically realized is utterance-final and, then, only when the predicate complement is extraposed. Chart #F demonstrates, admittedly sparcely, that extraposed nominal complements are typical topicalized constituents, although locatives are not anomalous. Adjectival complements may be. Ye occurs in these extraposed structures whether or not the predicate is introduced with se.

Ye and impersonal se are co-occurrent be forms, the utterance initial, expository se serving to focus on and emphasize an extraposed constituent, while ye, utterance-final, functions both to fill the syntactic gap and mark the unusual word order.

Topicalizing se is found most frequently with nominal and pronominal predicate complements. This se, "it-is", incorporates notions of equation, identification, existence while simultaneously stressing the predicate. But, the content character of such predicates does not restrict them to co-occurrence with se. In fact, impersonal se, in our data, occurred, also, not infrequently with both marked and unmarked locationals.

In contrast, utterance-internal "personal" se, although

a low-usage form, occurs between an expressed subject and predicate complements whose nature is almost exclusively nominal, indicating its strong identificatory, equational function.

In sum, both impersonal and personal se-"be" forms suggest a predominant grammatical role of indicating some degree or feature of equivalence with the nominal complement. Se, on the one hand, though, anaphoric for its complement as well as existential and, on the other, is used in special grammatical constructions, presumably motivated by the con- tingencies of a given discourse to emphacize and/or topicalize its complement. Nonetheless, "personal", utterance-internal se carries a nuance, too, of discourse emphasis, because the syntactic environment in which it occurs intersects with that of the zero-be.

The absence of a morphological be and subsequent presence of what is sometimes called a "verbless predicate" is the predominant pattern evinced by our data. Although there are tendencies suggestive of preferred predicate comple- ment types in juxtaposition with their subjects, based on percentage distribution, none is exclusive to the zero-be environment. There are points of intersection with personal se.

Both marked and unmarked locative complements compose the complement constituent most frequent in our data. This contrasts with a not insignificant percentage of the same

with impersonal Se. The reverse tendency is apparent in the nominal/pronominal category. Here, while nominals and pronominals are the preferred complement with Se, essentially the singular permissible complement for se, they are only a small, albeit significant percentage of be-less complements. Of the three, it is only Se which readily takes a pronominal.

Zero-be also characterizes both adverbial and adjectival complements. After locatives, adjectivals outnumber nominal complements which, in turn, outnumber adverbials. Impersonal Se and personal se both show insignificant, possibly anomalous co-occurrence with adverbial or adjectival complements.

Consequently, zero-be is most predictable when complements are locative, adjectival or adverbial and is the predominant pattern of normal, informal discourse. It may be replaced by se in the category of nominal predicates, inferrably related to significant features inherent in a given discourse situation. Impersonal se displays unique syntactic behavior: utterance-initial, as well as grammatical function: topicalization plus discourse function: emphasis. Its complements are predominantly nominal and pronominal. The last shape ye is also remarkable for its unique syntactic behavior: utterance-final in extrapository utterances and constituent questions (although optional, a viable alternative, especially in question structures, being zero-be) and grammatical function: filling the syntactic hole left by consti-

tuent movement.

Thus, be-environments are perceptively associated with one or another form or non-form, but not in complete one-to-one relationships, not in absolute mutual exclusivity, a characteristic closely shared with other creoles (see Bickerton, p. 31.). There are distinct patterns of grammatical behavior but it is suggested that in the final analysis, discourse factors will be found to be significant and ultimately determinative.

CONCLUSION

The title of this thesis, "A Partial Grammar of the Haitian Creole Verb System: Forms, Function and Syntax", was chosen to indicate nothing more than the intention to make a simple statement of the morpho-syntactic facts, based on our experience with (learning and conversational use) and observations on (recordings) the language of Haitian Creole. The resultant description is a representative structure of generalizeable patterns revealed by spontaneous speech data. Although disclaiming analytic intentions, such a description could be considered a kind of analysis. The data are ultimately "groupable" (categorizeable) as meaningful forms with functional potentials that allow them to act versatilely as syntactic constituents with definite grammatical interrelationships. In the Introduction, it was proposed "to discover" the parts and their organization, their characterizing features, the systematicity of their relations. An analysis, subsequently, issues from the data proper.

In order to realize our aim of achieving system-based models, we utilized a descriptive approach that proposed to avoid premature imposition of established theoretical analytic apparatus with its accompanying assumptions about and labels for word classes and grammatical categories. We believe that well-described data will disclose their own templates. "Description" is, therefore, a discovery device.

The method chosen to realize these basic goals was that of a detailed expose; i.e., a record of casual, informal speech, charted and parceled: frequency counts of formal occurrence, distribution and co-occurrences in order that subtle as well as salient patterns and regularities of grammatical behavior be outlined, a frame of features that would serve to define, characterize and authenticate the integral and identifiable language status of Haitian Creole.

Although we originally proposed to restrict the data description to the actual grammar, in looking for causes and explanations of certain patterns, it became obvious that a description capable of making accountable behavioral predictions would have to include a myriad of non-linguistic but significant systemic factors, e.g.: discourse, dialect, diachrony, many of which are necessarily mentioned in the course of our work, due to the strong likelihood of their motivating roles.

A description, defined as a statement of the facts, neither proposes nor is qualified to produce conclusions in the same sense as would a theory-based analysis, the latter purporting to be an exercise more scientific and rigorous, whose express purpose is to lay bare the underlying structural organization of precise elements, which, in turn, will have been systematically classified and categorized. On the other hand, a thorough description is a necessary first step toward achieving an accurate and true picture of such a sys-

tem and should greatly facilitate the proposal of realistic and relevant hypotheses of a future, more scientific analysis.

Nonetheless, although a description must limit itself to surface data, it does offer conclusions in a non-rigorous, analytical sense. It yields impressions of generalizeable patterns. They are at the same time "conclusions" as well as hypotheses, hypotheses "discovered" in the course of description, to be taken back to the data and tested for possible theoretical veracity.

Our conclusion, in sum, is simply the body of behavioral tendencies established in the above chapters, of those forms chosen for description. The patterns evinced range from minimal vague suggestions characterized by a high degree of free variation to well defined molds, characterized by mutually exclusive formal occurrence behavior.

B. The actual forms chosen for study are only representa-
tive of a larger inventory of ostensible "verbs" and related
predicate forms. Those detailed herein simply were found
to have occurred often enough in the recorded data that they
suggested the possibility of profiling significant behavi-
oral and formal characteristics.

All, in shape and general semantic sense, often in
grammatical function, recall French (dialectal) etyma. All
demonstrate positional specificity in a syntactic frame,
the members of Groups II through V (except for v$\supset$ye) found
in at least two different positions, many in three, sugges-
tive and/or indicative of separate grammatical functions.
Almost all the forms, likewise, display at least two formal
shapes, not the picture of a conjugational paradigm, the
general pattern being two- and one-syllable variants.
Maximum brevity typicalizes normal, informal, everyday
speech, a context in which long- and short- variants (allo-
morphs) are otherwise products of utterance intonation
(e.g., closure); phonological environment, and discourse
needs (e.g., emphasis).

On the other hand, patterns of correlated shape-
position-function suggest investigation. The results are
far from conclusive; in no case (but for one - almost) was
there an exclusive 1:1:1 relationship. There are, nonetheless,
many cases in which intuited, apparent tendencies appear to

be becoming palpable, substantial rules. It would seem, at the same time, that such "rules" may be broken by the mechanisms used to satisfy the formalization needs of discourse meaning.

In sum: Group I forms are demonstrably grammatical markers of the tense-aspect variety characteristic of the Creole languages in general (cf. Bickerton: 30). That is, they are not autonomous, "verb"-like Predicate Heads; they serve to modify such verbal or non-verbal predicate roles for temporal set or contour. Neither can they be called affixes with conjugational marking function. They may occur as the first of a long series of auxiliaries before the Predicate Head proper. The Haitian "tense" markers signal relative as opposed to absolute time: anteriority (te) and posteriority (a), by virtue of their double role in discourse. These markers are contextual in that they relate to the time of a narrated event, not the the utterance time. Once they have performed their marking function, they are not used redundantly. Further occurrences within a discourse unit are instead indicative of another discourse function, the introduction of new material (information or characters) into a given narration.

The ANTerior marker in Haitian Creole occurs in the initial (fixed) position of possible auxiliaries. The occurrence of its variant, shorter shape is motivated by both the informal style of normal discourse and phonological (vowel)

environment.

The POSterior or irrealis marker is strikingly rare in
our data. It occurs in the fixed position following the ANT-
erior locus, although the two together create a form which
serves as the modal CONDitional. The POSterior marker is, in
fact, not so strongly POSterior as it is intentional. Both
senses are inherent; one or the other is magnified by the
co-occurrent forms.

The PROGressive aspect marker, signaling durativity,
occupies the third fixed position and may occur with both
ANT and POS "tense" markers. This form is extremely common
and not only indicates non-punctuality but realizes both pos-
terior and intentional senses.

The PROGressive marker shares its syntactic locus with
its opposite, i.e., COMPletive or punctual, sometimes indi-
cative of perfectivity. These are mutually exclusive forms
cum meanings, the latter almost non-existent in our data.

Among the members of Group II characterized as bi-po-
sitional, there is none which demonstrates a perfectly ex-
clusive shape-position-function correlation, but a few dis-
play extremely marked tendencies toward that end. All of
these forms are found in the syntactic positions of both
pre-Predicate Head and Predicate Head. In other words, they
display both modificatory ("auxiliary") and Predicate Head
grammatical functions.

Kapab: "can", "ability", clearly prefers the pre-Predicate Head position with a resultant modal grammatical role. Nonetheless, all four of its range of variants occurred spontaneously in our data in both loci, with the short ka clearly predominant in both. Therefore, position and grammatical function are more correlative than in any one specific shape, considering the language's preference for shortest understandable variant, in informal discourse, "saving" the longer forms for utterance-final positions and as markers of discourse-motivated stress, emphasis and focus.

Kɔnɛ̂: "know" occurs in our data predominantly as transitive Predicate Head, although the pre-predicate position is not uncommon to it. All long and short forms, again, occur in both loci, although the short kɔ̂n is almost the exclusive form found in the "modal" position. Superficially, this would appear as good evidence of a form-function merger, but it is as yet incomplete. Speakers accept both forms in both positions; the rules of discourse require that the interplay of long and short forms be tapped to mark for emphasis, stress and focus.

The short fin "finish" is the one form-meaning which not only prefers the pre-predicate position to function with perfective aspect meaning, but these shapes indicative of "finishedness" actually occur more often as pre-predicate than as Predicate Head. At the same time, the fini and fin are very viable Predicate Heads with the meaning of "finish". Despite the probability of coincidence of discourse rules for

long and short forms, of the short form _fin_'s occurrence in Predicate Head locus, if any of the forms under investigation could be cited as definitively relegated to one shape-one position-one function, it is uniquely this one.

_Rɛ̂mê_, "like", with modal marking potential, occurs much more frequently as Predicate Head than as auxiliary. Additionally, its one instance in short form is possibly a speech error.

Mâke "lack", "miss", offers few examples and no evidence of shape-position-function correlation although it "reads" as an adverbial "almost" in pre-predicate locus.

Vle "want" is semantically modal but found as both transitive Predicate Head and Pre-predicate. It displays no variant shapes and occurs more frequently with transitive function than auxiliary.

Bɛzwɛ̂, "need", "want", again with only one shape, functions as both modal and Predicate Head although it prefers the former.

For Group II, then, evidence of the data without taking into consideration any other factors, would suggest a very strong tendency for the separation of an habitual marker _kɔ̂n_ from _kɔ̂nɛ̂_ "know" and a completed separation of short, perfective _fin_ from long _fini_ "finish".

Such a conclusion is vitiated by three considerations: the short forms also occur in Predicate Head position; discourse rules dictate long form use of stress; shorter forms

are generally preferred in all but utterance-final positions.

Group III forms are similar to Group II ones in all cha-
racteristics but for their tri- as opposed to bi-positionality.
Such a position has resulted in other authors' proposing
prepositional, case marking and adverbial labels. None of
the members of this group displays an exclusive one-to-
one to one relationship of shape:syntactic position:grammatical
role.

Vini, "come", is a candidate for aspectual, prepositional
and adverbial grammatical roles, as well as for Predicate
Head. Our data show it to prefer the pre-predicate position
where it is almost exclusively in the short form vin.
Nonetheless, with an emphatic sense it occurs there in long
form; the short vin is the preferred shape in the other two
syntactic positons.

Rɛte "stay", occurs most usually as Predicate Head with
a locative complement. Although it demonstrates pre-predi-
cate and Predicate Head$_2$ positional potential, no locus is
signaled by frequency of occurrent shape. The long form,
not according to pattern, is, in fact, preferred at all
three loci.

Sɔti, "leave", occurs predominantly in its short form
sɔt in all three possible positions. Its syntactic preference
in our data is as Predicate Head with locative complement.
As a pre-predicate modifier in both long and short form, it

might function as a punctual aspect or as an adverbial
"finally". In both long and short form, it may function as
the grammatical preposition"from". Function and meaning can-
not be cued by shape.

Ale "go" demonstrates a preference for the pre-predicate
position with a grammatically "intentional" reading, suggesting
a modal function. While the short al is the most frequently
occurring variant, all three forms are utilized in this
context. While the short ay is clearly a restricted dialec-
tal allomorph, the short al fits the normal, informal discourse
pattern of utterance-internal short forms. The longer ale is
in free variation with al in all syntactic loci, presumably
influenced by the following phonological environment as well
as discourse meaning. The forms are equally distributed in
the Predicate Head position before locatives. As Predicate
Head$_2$, ale and al have been attributed with the prepositional
reading of "to", the adverbial one of "away". Both ale and
al are found to occur in our data with those possible P$_2$ gram-
matical functions and meanings. There is clearly not even
a significant tendency toward grammatical separation of
variants in this case, despite the claims of other literature.

Prale, "going", a form plausibly rooted in the union
of a PROG marker with ale, is only bi-positional, specifically
in pre-Predicate Head and Predicate Head loci. Both its long
and short variants occur more commonly in the former. As an
auxiliary, prale functions as a grammatical modal of inten-

tionality, imminence and certainty. Neither short nor long
variant suggests a tight correspondence with either syntac-
tic position or grammatical function.

Of the Group III forms, it is only vin which displays
a salient tendency not only to occur in short form, except in
utterance final position, but also to do so almost exclu-
sively in its preferred syntactic locus, as a pre-Predicate
Head modifier.

Group IV has one member with five allomorphs, namely
gềyề, gềy, gề'ề, gề, g'. It is syntactically bi-positional
and grammatically bi-functional. Its syntactic distribution
differs from those of Groups II and III in that, while it
is a common transitive Predicate Head with the meaning of
"have", it is also found sentence-initially, with a nominal
complement, acting as an introductory existential "there is".
Semantically, these senses are not unrelated. While the short
gề is the preferred shape in both syntactic positions, all five
variants also occur spontaneously in our data, both transitive
Predicate Head and sentence-initial pro-form. In addition,
morphologically, they take the very same auxiliary markers.
Clearly, there is no evidence here of shape-position - function
association.

The Group V forms are again distinct from those of
II and III as well as the IV gềyề, although they share the
general properties features of syntactic multipositionality
and function.

general provocative features of syntactic multipositionality,
apparent grammatical multi-functionality and are multi-
variant. It is actually only <u>bay</u> and its variants which is
multipositional; <u>vɔye</u> is found only in the P$_1$ position.
These two forms, though, are ample illustrators of the serial
verb province and its alleged concomitant grammatical tenden-
cies.

    <u>Bay</u> and all its variants are found in both P$_1$ and P$_2$ loci.
Its syntactic role in the P$_2$ position has led it to be cate-
gorized as both a dative case marker and a preposition.
There is absolutely no significant correlation of any of
the four shapes with either position: all four occur in both;
the root <u>bay</u> is the most common in both. The frequency of
occurrence of the other three is partially a product of both
phonological and syntactic factors. While <u>bay</u> and <u>ba</u>
may be followed by either the indirect or direct object or
both in sequence, <u>bâ</u> and <u>b'</u> are apparently restricted to a
following indirect object or the indirect-direct object se-
quence. Further, <u>bâ</u> is limited to indirect, objects whose
shape includes an initial nasal; <u>b'</u> may only precede indirect
objects characterized as vowel-shapes.

    While the grammaticization of <u>bay</u> in the P$_2$ position is
a realistic hypothesis, there is neither morphological nor
syntactic evidence of proof. The remaining domain of justi-
fication, that of semantics, requires a show of depletion,

of a narrowing of meaning and concomitant grammatical function. In translation, this has been claimed to be the case. In the context of the language itself, semantic depletion is moot, considering the salient sense of "givingness" in the action of passing something (DO) on and "to" someone (IO or dative). Both Pradel Pompilus (p.173) and Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain (p. 189) have been quoted to remark on the descriptively action-oriented focus of Haitian Creole. The use of fully semantic and functional "verb" - forms, in other than the expected Predicate Head position should not be unexpected.

A last hypothetical explanation for the phenomenon of serialization is one of verb-compounding: i.e., the morphological and semantic union of two syntactically serial verbs. The high incidence of v_ɔye bay "send-give" in the data suggest the possibility. Additionally, vɔye "send" itself actually occurs more frequently in tandem with a P_2 "verb" than alone in the P_1 position. On the other hand, three facts argue against an entrenched morphological compounding, although a flexible semantic one is realistic. 1) Vɔye does not occur exclusively with bay but rather entertains seriality with a number of other fully viable, multi-positional verb forms; 2) all instances of vɔye bay are not sequentially serial but may in fact be syntactically interrupted by an object and 3) there is no indication that either the cue of long vɔye or short vɔy, signals grammatical relations; both

occur whether the following form is an object or a P_2 "verb".

Again, there is no conclusive evidence for verb-compounding as explanation of the serial construction.

The Group VI "be" forms and meanings are an assortment quite different from any of the above. Nonetheless, they support the general morphological characteristic of multi-formality, syntactic multi-positionality and grammatical multi-functionality. Although their shapes and abstract sense recall French etyma, they are clearly distinct in terms of grammatical behavior. On the other hand, their behavior is suggestably relatable to that displayed in other creoles.

Each form has its own preferred syntactic domain, only ye exclusive to utterance final environments, only the impersonal Se exclusive to utterance-initial, extrapositionary ones. Presence of the se-internal form is strongly correlated with a following nominal or pronominal predicate. Nonetheless, in our data, the same environment is more often morphologically "empty", with subject and (nonverbal) predicate complement syntactically juxtaposed. (See chart, p. 284, sections A and C to compare numerical counts and graphic illustration). The actual morphological realization of the "be"-concept is predicated on discourse factors.

None of the forms or zero-form is solely "existential" or "linking". Those possibilities are product of the co-occurrence context.

A morphological "be" is not requisite in such semantic environment, the predominant pattern of normal, informal discourse being form-less. This behavioral features jibes with the characteristically non-redundant use of grammatical marker forms, leaving them free, rather, to signal discourse style (formality) and/or meanings (stress, emphasis, focus).

Therefore, the "be"-forms are not just grammatically multi-functional, but share with the Group I markers signicant discourse-related behavior.

As was demonstrated by the chapters of charts and was
summarized above in comparative conclusions, definite trends
correlating form-position-function do exist. They might
suggest an ongoing process of grammaticization, but only one
form realizes a strict 1:1:1 ratio (the pre-predicate "per-
fective" fin although even that is not so conclusive because
the short fin also occurs in Predicate Head position and
function). It was futher shown that discourse makes crucial
use of the plethora of variant shapes per form in order to
demonstrate stylistic, focusing and affectual meanings. These
mechanisms operate from the basic short-shape preference
characterizing normal, informal discourse. Further, long
variants were demonstrated to be predictable, even obligatory,
at utterance-final loci. Their purpose is to effect, by in-
tonation and syllabic rhythm, the proper note of closure.
All exceptions to such rule were shown to be explainable by
reason of phonological environment, sentence run-ons and
speech error.

In the cases of the multi-functional Gèyé and the "seri-
al" verbs, there is no data-derivable evidence of grammatici-
zation nor of homonymization. All evidence is, rather, to the
contrary: that all participant forms are viable "verb"
configurations whose variant shapes are related to speech
style, phonological environment and, rarely, syntactic co-
occurrents.

The last group of linking and existential forms also display rule-governed grammatical behavior in that their actual occurrences are non-redundantly minimal, as much a product of the vicissitudes of discourse as to serve grammatical ends.

There are theories eager to affix interpretations (e.g., "serialization: which results in "grammaticization:) and labels (e.g., verbs become "aspects", "modals", "pre-positions", "case markers", "adverbs") to the above suggested developmental tendencies and/or grammatical traits which so strikingly resenble analogous linguistic situations, often in languages that are accorded significant ancestral influence in the emergence of Haitian Creole (the West African Kwa family, specifically). "Interpretation", though, is a final facet of analysis. We believe in the face of this evidence that such conclusions do not account appropriately for the Haitian Creole grammar.

This description and conclusions can make another sort of analytic statement. The patterns traced depict a language whic is certainly no duplicate of alleged lexical (French) or grammatical (Kwa) ancestors, at almost any structural level: from its repertoire of phonemes through the syntax of utterance construction and all included interstices (e.g. morpho-syntactics) as well as categorial processes (e.g.,morphology). The lexicon may share shapes with the French, but it is apparent that underlying semantic configurations have been variously refigured. Mutual non-intelligi-

bility is further reinforced by significant differences in phonology; intonational patterns complicating a unique syntactic structure characterized by novel word order; morphological processes in Haitian Creole essentially absent compared to salient presence in French. Expectably, further differences are implied by features which characterize discourse units.

It is Ewe which is often purported to have been a strong influence in the development of Haitian Creole. But, again, no such unilateral assertion, or hypothesis, can be substantiated. Nor can claims which allege to affinity with a more "general" West African language pattern. Ewe, significantly, is characterized as being a tone language, a feature not at all unique in the region. Haitian Creole is not. West African verb paradigms, in terms of morphological processes realizing tense and aspect marking, are not always so a-processual as is claimed of them.   Nor is the West African "be"-pattern mentioned by Alleyne (p. 245) one shared cleanly by Haitian Creole. Additonally, the languages represented in the slave trade composed a varied, distincly heterogeneous group. It is therefore realistically moot that Haitian Creole would have managed to replicate even an inventory of "pan-African" structural features, much less one specific grammar. In conclusion, the patterns revealed by Haitian Creole are part and product of its own birth and

development. It is premature and presumptive to saddle it

with interpretive jargon.

C. The Haitian Creole lexicon and grammar differ in composition, structure and rules from those of its linguistic ancestors. Such characteristics, on the other hand, may find closer kin in other Creoles. As Bickerton says in summary of similarities among creole languages:

> ...the creole languages of Hawaii, Haiti, Jamaica, the lesser Antilles, Surinam, Guyana, Sao Thome, Annobon, Mauritius, Rodrigues, and the Seychelles show grammatical similarities not far short of identity in several crucial areas. These areas include:
>
>   A. <u>Articles</u>. In all those creoles that formed after only a brief period of pidginization (hereinafter referred to as 'early-creolized' creoles) there are three and only three articles, which cover identical semantic areas in each language:
>   (i) A so-called definite article (...) which in fact corresponds to the semantic category of 'existentially presupposed' NP (...).
>   (ii) A so-called indefinite article (...) which corresponds to the semantic category of 'existentially asserted' NP.
>   (iii) A 'generic' and/or 'non-specific' article (zero in all early-creolized creoles without exception), which corresponds to the semantic category of 'existentially hypothesized' NP. (...)
>
>   B. <u>Tense</u> <u>and</u> <u>aspect</u>. (Cited previously see p.   ).
>
>   C. <u>Focussing</u>. For all early-creolized creoles, focussing uniquely realized by left-dislocating the focussed NP. Everywhere except in Hawaii, where there is no equative copula, this copula precedes the focussed NP: (...)
>
> Outside Hawaii, the focussed NP leaves no pronoun copy; in Hawaii, a pronoun copy may be left if the object is focussed, and must be left if the subject is focussed (otherwise focussed and non-focussed sentences could not be distinguished): (...)

D. <u>Copulative</u> <u>constructions</u>. All
early-creolized creoles make a distinction between
attributive and locative-existential constructions.
Attributive constructions (handled by copula plus
adjective in English) are expressed by means of
stative verbs, ... Locative and existential con-
structions contain a distinctive locative copula
(...), which may be deleted (optionally in
locative contexts for some Anglo-Creoles, obliga-
torily in locative contexts for French creoles
unless it occurs clause-finally, but not in exis-
tential contexts, ..., but which cannot commute
with the equative copula (...) that occurs between
two coreferential NP. Hawaii is, apparently, alone
in that it makes no distinction between attributive
(...) and equative contexts. ...

E. <u>Negation</u>. In early-creolized creoles,
so-called multiple negation is standard, <u>i.e.</u>,
all nondefinite NP, as well as the verb, must be
individually negated (...).
                        (in Valdman. 1979:58-60).

Our data would argue against the adequacy of the tra-

ditional word classifications and grammatical explanations

utilized in standard descriptions of the ancestors of Haitian

Creole to most simply profile the system.

It is suggested that the majority of actual lexical

forms of the language are phonetic shapes representing gram-

matically malleable, versatile semantic configurations. Per-

haps they could be considered to be more "cognitive" or "con-

ceptual" categories than conventionally known surface struc-

tural words of "model" languages whose morphological shapes

cue grammatical classification and categorization, further

substantiated by the morphological processes (declension

and conjugation) to which they are subject. Haitian Creole

forms tend to be highly "contentive": there are not large
classes of grammatical markers or what are sometimes known
as "functives". In other words, there seem to be few forms
whose unique function is to signal grammatical relationship.
Such ends are accomplished, instead, in the context of a
relatively immutable syntactic frame and the allowable inter-
play of forms' semantic potentials.

The syntactic frame is an essentially fixed position
schema of grammatical functions. A syntactic locus can only
indicate grammatical potential, not rigid categorization.
As the interaction of co-occurring semantic (or conceptual)
configurations refines the sentential meaning of forms, so
does the interplay of semantic with grammatical potentials.

Subsequently, a structural organization of Haitian
Creole should realistically begin with conceptual categories,
as opposed to word classes, and functional categories for
grammatical roles. The backbone of the system may well be
the rigid syntactic frame, whose strict organization allows
for and takes advantage of the meaningful multipositionality
and multigrammaticality of formalized semantic (conceptual)
configurations.

Although the myriad variants per form of our data might
have indicated the presence of finely restricted shape-
meaning-function relationships, the actual evidence is the
opposite. Variants are basically the product of 1) preferred

phonological fit in utterance context and 2) discourse
meaning. This is not to deny the possibility of a future
development toward grammaticization. Languages are dynamic
and inevitably satisfy communicative needs by capitalizing
on internal potentials. The large number of variant shapes
may well be the future means of new grammatical ends.

D. In the beginning of this thesis, there were intentions
stated and questions raised, both direct and indirect. By
pursuing a description of those forms commonly occurrent in
the verbal Predicate, it was hoped that discoverable regu-
larities, processes and possible directions of developmental
change might disclose the systematicity of Haitian Creole.
It was suggested that an approach to data that did not
assume the language to be a deviant version of Indo-European
from the outset, might also shed light on the phonomenon
of language change, the process of creolization and perhaps
provide relevant substance for universals theory.

   We have shown that Haitian Creole is a language quite
distinct from its linguistic ancestors, despite the decep-
tive formal similarity of lexical elements with French etyma,
despite grammatical features more characteristic of many West
African languages (e.g., absence of morphological processes,
serialization, etc.). Haitian Creole appears to have bor-
rowed judiciously from available sources, in the context
of a unique social situation whose expectations and demands
acted as significant factors in the formation of the language.
The act of borrowing, though, involves change, to the extent,
in this case, that Haitian Creole is not even a dialect of
any other language but a separate, distinguishable language
in and of itself.

   While the lexicon is transparently French, it is clear

that underlying semantics have been restructured or reconcep-
tualized. While the grammatical characteristic of seriali-
zation is one that Haitian Creole shares with some African
and other Creole languages (cf. pp.310-), in actuality, it
replicates none perfectly. Additionally, it is doubtful
that serialization in Haitian Creole can yet be interpreted
as the process of grammaticization as theories such as Talmy
Givon's . would claim. Without detailed semantic re-
search, proof is particularly elusive.

Haitian Creole is shown to exemplify the tense-aspect
character of creoles described by Derek Bickerton (p. 31),
despite the fact that his analysis is based essentially on
English-based Creoles data. Whether this lends support to
theories of creolization or universals, it is further enhanced
by Alain Bentolila's description of Creole grammars: that
their syntactic distribution is a product of the accepta-
bility of meanings with grammatical roles. The analytic
nature of Haitian Creole, intuited as one shared with many
Creoles, accounts for its most salient characteristic, the
versatility of meaningful forms in terms of their syntactic
positions and grammatical functional potentials.

Lastly, it was shown that discourse factors add yet
another multifunctional role to forms: they are the final
determinant and explanation for the shape and structure of a
given utterance and its constituents. Style, focus and affect,

channeled through utterance structures, effect the ultimate choice between long and short forms, the presence or absence of topicalizing forms, extrapositional or declarative orders. Further, in this relatively homogeneous culture that, for the vast number of its monolingual citizenry, still depends on an oral, (practicably) unwritten language for communication, there are meaningful, not insignificant cues in non-linguistic kinesic patterns. It is therefore suggested that a full account of Haitian Creole will be not only culturally contextual, entailing world view and concomitant conceptualizations, but must include all of linguistic, discourse and sociolinguistic analyses.

E. For more than 200 years, Haitian Creole has remained a vital, dynamic oral language, spoken now by five and one-half to six million people, 85% of whom are illiterate and essentially uneducated. Almost every Haitian, including the educated elite, claims as his first language Haitian Creole. A fair literature testifies with the pride of nationalistic identity that even the approximately 15% who are bi-lingual (French) feel "more comfortable", "more natural" when speaking Haitian Creole. Discoverable models of language use bear witness to the complexities of rule-governed sociolinguistic behavior.

The matter of language, its rule and fit in any culture is always more complex than its grammar and lexicon. Since independence in 1804, French has been the official, legal standard language of Haiti, the sole language of print, the authoritative language of bureaucratic politics and international diplomacy, the school system's instructional medium. In the case of the latter, in fact, even the use of Haitian Creole in order to teach French was punishably unlawful until recently.

Despite these facts, the twentieth century has seen a number of orthographies and grammars written and suggested as viable codes. (For an absolutely comprehensive history, see Dejean 1977). These have, for the most part, been a

product of missionary residents whose religious goals include
the Biblical instruction of the "pagan" masses. There is
thus a relatively large religious literature written in one
orthography or another, which a good percentage of "students"
have learned to read. For the last thirty years, the politi-
cal climate of the island has been such as to result in the
explosive growth of both large exile and refugee communities
in Paris, Montreal, New York City and Miami. It is among
these populations that perhaps the most open, serious and
properly Haitian interests and efforts have been made to
standardize, save, teach and use their native language.
The consequence is an active exile press.

Additionally, the Haitian government legitimized Haitian
Creole on September 18, 1979, authorizing its legal and sanc-
tioned use in the school system. They have further agreed
to the adoption of an official orthography, one proposed by
l'Office National d'Alfabetisation et d'Action Communautaire
(ONAAC) on January 22, 1980. (Etudes Créoles. Abril, 1981:101).

Whether or not there are viable candidates being peti-
tioned or suggested as likely official grammars is unknown.
More importantly, adoption of an official, use-sanctioned
orthography does not insure that an education will be guaran-
teed the uneducated and illiterate. Formal education is an
affiliate of political doctrine and highly correlative with
if not directly related to the socio-economic situation.

An official orthography for Haitian Creole needs to be accompanied by many more reforms if the citizenry are to take advantage of such a powerful tool.

Until now, Haitian Creole, as a viable and vital language, has been left basically to its own directional, developmental devices. We believe that our data bear witness to the fact that this "Creole" has proven itself independent, creative and dynamic as a language in its own right, quite distinct from its forebears. If a grammar is written (by those who can already write) and made an official course of as well as medium of instruction, it is hoped that the "interpretation" ; i.e.: classifications, categorizations and rules, will be a product of the language's proper composition and structure, not the result of imported, a priori theory.

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