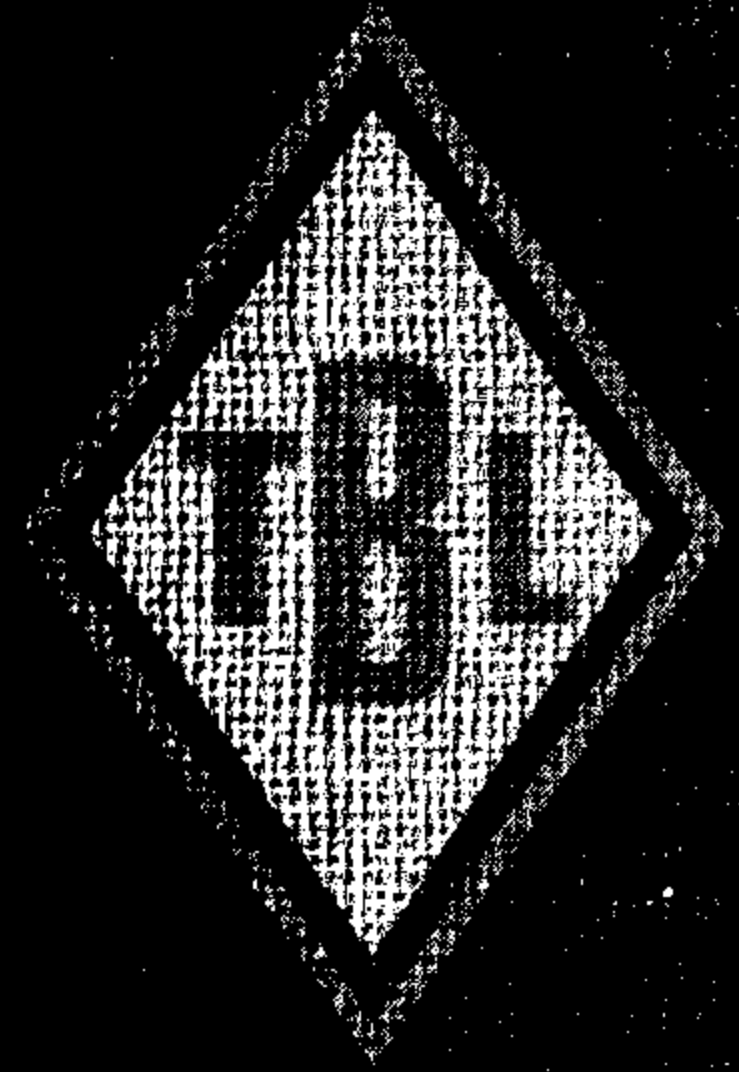


CHRIS CORNE



Seychelles
Creole
Grammar



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CHRIS CORNE

Seychelles Creole Grammar

**Elements for Indian Ocean Proto-Creole
Reconstruction**



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INTRODUCTION

The Seychelles Creole syntax presented here does not claim to be in any way a definitive statement about the language. This work is rather a contribution to an on-going study not only of Seychelles Creole French (SC) but also of Indian Ocean Creole French (IOC) generally. While it is basically descriptive in orientation, it is intended to be used ultimately as one of the stepping-stones in the task of reconstructing the proto-Creole from which derive all the modern Indian Ocean dialects, namely Reunion Creole (RC), Mauritian Creole (MC), Rodrigues Creole (RoC) and Seychelles Creole.

This study consists of a grammatical sketch of SC, supplemented in parts with material from the other dialects. Such material is introduced where it appears to throw light on otherwise more-or-less intractable SC data, but no attempt is made to establish consistently the parallels or the differences among the four dialects involved: in the present state of our knowledge (particularly where RoC is concerned), such an enterprise would be premature, to say the least. Some aspects of SC are dealt with in considerably more detail than others, simply because more is known about them. The relative inadequacy of much of the rest of the description is, in a sense, the very *raison-d'être* of this work, in that it is a pointer to the vast amount of research which remains to be done. It is hoped that the analysis offered here will facilitate future work, not only on SC but on all the dialects of the region. Incomplete though this description is, it nonetheless complements usefully the grammars written by R. Papen and A. Bollée¹ (from which works it has in any case benefited considerably, see below).

The socio-linguistic situation in Seychelles is such that a short descriptive sketch cannot hope to cover all the variations in use in the community. Where such variations have been noted, they are duly recorded here, but no attempt has been made to give a systematic statement about them.

This book is both a progress report and a field manual. I have attempted to put down on paper what I do, and do not, know about SC, and to make a few tentative steps towards what I see as a major aim of Creole studies. This aim, broadly stated, is the comparison of, ultimately, all the Creole French dialects of both the New World and the Indian Ocean. Such a comparison is not of course a new idea, but earlier efforts, such as Goodman 1964, have been limited by the inadequate data available. Chaudenson 1974 is an invaluable contribution, and will undoubtedly serve as a model for future studies of Creole French lexicon. The comparison of syntax is another matter, in that

¹ Papen, in press; Bollée, in press.

while there is now an abundant body of descriptive material available, it is not always possible to compare one language with another, simply because the descriptions themselves are not comparable. Questions of the "genesis" of the Creole languages, their genetic relations with each other and with their source language(s), the processes of creolisation (and pidginisation), cannot be approached seriously unless we know something about the object being talked about, and that we shall not know (in sufficient detail) until a lot more of the unglamorous drudgery of careful descriptive work has been completed. This study, for all its limitations, goes a long way towards this goal; I have no doubt that some SC structures have been overlooked, and that many generalisations that could have been made have escaped me, and that is precisely why I have chosen a somewhat informal mode of presentation. Most science, as Morris Halle (1975) has recently reminded us, has a public and a private side, only the former appearing, as a rule, in print. This gives rise to the formal statement of results in definitive terms, and effectively hides the writer's own doubts and uncertainties from public display. Now I *think* that most of what I have written in these pages is accurate, factually, but I am not *certain* that it is; I also think that some of my analyses of the facts are correct, but will be the last to be surprised if they are wrong. In fact, my analysis of the MC preverbal markers (Corne 1973) contains errors of both fact and analysis, which were mostly corrected in Corne 1974-5 (on SC and RC preverbal markers). In this latter study, I was certain I had the facts right about the SC preverbal markers; it turned out that while the facts were indeed accurate enough, my analysis of them was not, and so this has been rectified here (in Chapter 4). Whence my statement above that this book is also a field manual. It is a field manual in two, or possibly three, ways. Firstly, the data it contains can be checked out in the field with an ever-widening range of informants, or compared with what we may hope will be an increasing number of publications (such as Accouche 1976) in SC. Secondly, it can be used in other Creole-speaking countries, for the collection of data and the analysis thereof, thus providing strictly comparable descriptions (bearing in mind of course that the analysis of SC given here will be modified and refined by further investigation). Thirdly, assuming steps one and two, it can be used as a source-book for comparative work; some elements of proto-IOC reconstruction are included here, and further study is in progress, but a start has yet to be made on detailed syntactic comparison of IOC with New World Creole French dialects.

As a field manual and progress report, this book does not require quite the same degree of formality in presentation that one would expect in a definitive (or *prétendu tel*) work. Following the maxim of Boileau, to wit: "Ce qui se conçoit bien s'énonce clairement", I have tried to say what I have to say as clearly as possible (with, no doubt, varying degrees of success), without worrying too much about polishing my sentences into jewels of English: I am confident enough of the value of this work (while remaining conscious, I hasten to add, of its --

and my own -- limitations) that I do not require a shield of linguistic orthodoxy to protect myself from whatever criticisms may be forthcoming.

So much for the vaguely aggressive justificatory comments. Let us turn now to a very brief overview of Seychelles population and language use.

The total population of Seychelles is around 60,000, of whom over 80% are concentrated on the island of Mahé. The sole town, Victoria, on Mahé, is both the capital and the main port of the archipelago. About 5,000 people live on Praslin and 2,000 or so on La Digue, two islands situated about 30 miles North-East of Mahé, and linked to it by a regular maritime service. A British Crown Colony since 1903, with Independence granted in June 1976, the official language of Seychelles is English; apart from a few English-speaking (usually expatriate) families, English is not used in day-to-day life. Since 1944 English has been the language used in all State schools; in 1971, 3% of the population had English as their home language, while 37.7% were able to speak the language (Chaudenson, in press). Approximately 82% of the population under 15 years old were able to read English.

French was used as the home language by 1.9% of the population in 1971. French is taught in the schools from the fourth year of studies onwards (29.4% of Seychellois were able to speak French). Amongst older people, French is frequently known and used in formal situations, as well as in correspondence. French is also the main language used by the Catholic church, which claims the allegiance of 90% or more of the population, although the role of Creole is increasing.

Creole is today the language of almost all Seychellois in private and informal situations (with, curiously, English, in tender and loving conversations; see Chaudenson, in press, paragraph 7.4.3). It is used regularly in radio broadcasts (between 15% and 20% of total broadcasting time), in most public speeches (electioneering, for example), in some churches and in one or two newspapers (*Echo des Iles*, a Catholic mission paper, sometimes has dialogues and interviews in Creole; *Vie et Action*, a monthly of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, is entirely in Creole). The Anglican church has begun the job of translating the Bible into Creole.

SC is not considered as having the prestige of French or English, but is not subject to invidious value-judgements (by the vast majority of Seychellois at least, although there are exceptions) to anything like the same extent as in Mauritius, for example.²

² Cf. Moorghen 1973: 64-7, and Stein 1976. Also Chaudenson, in press.

This study is based on a fairly broad range of data, the collection and analysis of which is still under way. Chronologically, this material is:

- (a) work with SC speakers, all with a knowledge of French (and English) in New Zealand (including the transcription of a number of commercially-recorded songs);
- (b) a preliminary statement about SC syntax based on this work, organised along very similar lines to Corne 1970, 1971;
- (c) material collected from informants in 1974 in Mahé, including tapes recorded by Danielle d'Offay as part of a projected sociolinguistic survey of Seychelles; these tapes contained a wide sampling of speakers of various ages and (mainly non-urban) background;
- (d) a typescript pre-print version of R.A. Papen, *A Short Grammar of Seychellois Creole*, to appear as a special issue of the *Journal of the Seychelles Society*; I was able to consult this work in Seychelles thanks to the friendly co-operation of Anna Bollée, who was there at that time (April 1974). Bob Papen had spent some time in Seychelles, and his grammar includes his own field data as well as some of the material mentioned directly below in (e). Fundamentally similar in organisation to my own preliminary statement, the *Short Grammar* is the first serious attempt to describe SC. I have used a considerable number of examples and definitions taken from it, without however specifically acknowledging each one. The mention "Papen" (with no date following) refers to the *Short Grammar*, and my debt to it is herewith gratefully acknowledged;
- (e) material collected by A. Bollée; the sheer quantity of Anna Bollée's work on SC is impressive, and I am happy to thank her publicly for her generous help and collaboration in making all of her texts and other material available to me in pre-publication form. Out of chronological order, I must cite Alsdorf-Bollée and Chaudenson 1973, which contains two SC stories in sub-phonemic transcription, as the first publication of a large body of SC data. Throughout 1974 and 1975, Dr Bollée made available to me an early version of Accouche 1976 (edited by herself) and a complete copy of her book, *Le créole français des Seychelles. Esquisse d'une grammaire -- textes -- vocabulaire*, currently in press, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Tübingen, Niemeyer Verlag. This work is a thorough statement based on the texts mentioned in the title and on the SC spoken by her informants. As its title states, it is a descriptive sketch of SC syntax, with the major emphasis on the kernel sentence and its constituents, although some attention is given to derived structures. I have availed myself liberally of the examples quoted in the *Esquisse*, again without specific acknowledgement in each and every case; I have similarly made wide use of the texts. The mention "Bollée" (with no date) refers to the *Esquisse*, without which I would not have been able to undertake this study; my debt to Dr Bollée is

quite simply immense. Apart from the above, Dr Bollée also provided me with a copy of an unpublished play by Antoine Abel, and various other documents in SC;

(f) my own analysis of the temporal and aspectual system of SC, and of the question of reprise (Corne 1974-5); this study used data from all the above sources, as well as other material obtained from informants in Seychelles (by letter) and from personal communications from Bob Papen, Anna Bollée and Pierre Moorghen (cf. Moorghen 1975);

(g) the analysis of "e-deletion verbs" in Papen 1975; I am indebted to Bob Papen for making this available to me;

(h) the analysis of the "passive" in IOC (Corne 1976), where again data was obtained from informants in Seychelles;

(i) the collection of Creole stories in Accouche 1976, edited and translated by Dr Bollée; the text shows minor variations from the earlier preprint version (including retranscription into the rational orthography mentioned below in Chapter 1), and both versions have been used here. Some sentences have been reproduced *in toto* here, but, as with other examples taken from written texts, no specific source is given.

The primary aim of this study is to give as clear a picture as possible of SC structure. The emphasis is on basilectal SC, but some indication is given of variants which are, or which appear to be, a function of sociolinguistic factors (insofar as these are known). At the same time, we wish to establish as clearly as possible those areas where further research is essential. To do so, it seems desirable to adopt a framework which is both adequate enough to allow the definition of the syntactic categories of SC, and which is broad enough, or simple enough, to accommodate the relatively restricted data at present available (with the obvious implication that some of the statements made will turn out to be too general, if not just plain wrong).

The approach used is fundamentally that adopted for French by Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970, modified by an eclectic sampling of more recent work (e.g. Ruwet 1972, Freidin 1975, Gee 1974). The picture of SC which emerges is, I hope, comprehensible to linguists of all persuasions, and should be translatable into the reader's favourite idiom. To this end, a very liberal amount of exemplification has been provided; that is, I have attempted to present the data such that it is quite clear what the data *are*, and exactly what I am claiming about them, so that if my claims turn out to be incorrect, at least we still have the raw material handily classified and available for re-analysis (in all cases, when the data are insufficient for analysis, this is pointed out by the use of such formulae as "it appears", "perhaps", etc.). Our basic aim is to say something about SC, not to illustrate any particular linguistic dogma. Having no theoretical axe to grind, I hope thus to avoid the

CHAPTER I

THE TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription used in this work requires some comment. The alphabet used is that described in "Notes on Seychelles Creole Phonology" (paper No 1 in the informal series *Seychelles Creole Workbook*, July 1976, stencilled, 22 pp., available from the author; this paper is a revised version of Corne, in press [1973]). The alphabet is *a, â, b, d, e, ê, f, g, i, k, l, m, n, ng, o, ô, p, r, s, t, u, û, v, y, ÿ, z*. Capitals are used as in French, except that the circumflex accent is retained; the full stop, the comma, the colon, the question and exclamation marks correspond in general to specific intonation patterns and mark the boundaries of contour groups.

The allophone [h] of *s* is not marked. This allophone occurs in normal speech in such items as *sa* 'this, that, the', *sô* 'his, her, its', sometimes also in *sen* 'person' (*ki sen-la?* 'who'), but never in slow speech or citation forms, except with pre-literate children (mainly from monolingual SC-speaking environments) for whom *h* appears to have phonemic status.

Predictable (combinatory) nasalisation is not marked. Thus *tang*, not *tâg* 'tandrack, *Ericaneus setosus*'; *zâpon*, not *zâpôd* 'base of the petiole of certain trees (coconut, palm, etc.)'; *lame*, not *lamê* 'hand'.¹

Where a lexical item has more than one shape, the form

¹ Bollée (in press) uses an "etymological" spelling for nasals (*grâmamâ* for *gramama* 'grandmother', *demê* for *deme* 'tomorrow') on the grounds that this will "faciliter la lecture des textes aux lecteurs francophones" (inconsistently in this perspective, she distinguishes graphically *u* and *w* while at the same time recognising their status as combinatory variants of the phoneme *u*). This etymological spelling of nasals is unfortunate, in that the SC orthography being used by D. d'Offay de Rieux and G. Lionnet for their SC dictionary project, and used by Bollée in her edition of *Accouche* 1976, contains similarly marked non-phonemic nasals; in that orthography, a nasal vowel is marked by a following *n*: thus *en* for *ê* 'a, an, one', *zans* for *zâs* 'people', and also *anan* for *ana* 'to have'. While there is some measure of justification for marking nasality in an item such as *deme* (French "demain") for SC bilinguals, there is none as far as monolingual SC speakers are concerned, and such a transcription can only hinder acquisition of literacy in the long term. Even if for "political" purposes it is necessary to mark etymological nasals, there is no reason to mark non-etymological combinatory nasals as in the case of *ana* 'to have', *kone* 'to know', etc.

actually occurring in any given utterance is recorded here (but see below). Such cases include the following:

(a) *v* varies with zero: *(v)uar* 'to see', *la(v)ua* 'voice', *dray(v)* 'to drive';

(b) basilectal *ÿ* "reconstituted" by SC-French bilinguals as *ni*: *kôtiÿe/kôtinie* 'to continue';

(c) lenition of *r* is disregarded in all cases except for *k(r)uar* 'to believe'; thus *frer* 'brother' not *fuer*; *r* deletion is discussed briefly in 4.213;

(d) *i* varies with *e* (the former appears to be basilectal): *dilo/delo* 'water', *bizauê/bezuê* 'to need, have to', *sime/semi* 'path',² *dibut/debut* '(to be) standing', *divâ/devâ* 'in front (of), before';

(e) *u* varies with *o* (the former appears to be basilectal): *kum/kom* 'like', *dimun/dimon* 'person, someone';

(f) *o* varies with zero in *koma/kma* 'like, as, when';

(g) for maintenance of voiced stop (vs. homorganic nasal consonant), see 4.211(b), 4.212(d); cf. the discussion on this point in *Seychelles Creole Workbook*, 1;

(h) *a* in a non-final open syllable preceding a syllable with a nasal(ised) vowel is frequently nasalised; e.g. some speakers have *asome* 'to hit', others have *âsome*;

(g) Exceptions (i) only the transcription *lor* 'on' is used here; it is spelled *lo* by Bollée, who points out that her informants consistently reject the form with *-r* (although it does occur in written texts); while a pronunciation [lo] is frequent, [lo:] is also widespread, and this variation does not appear to be governed by phonological or syntactic environment, nor by socio-linguistic factors;

(ii) *pu* is written for the preverbal marker 'Future', while *pur* is written for the preposition; both are phonetically identical (cf. Corne 1969: 59n.19) but the orthographic distinction is made for clarity.

Problems of transcription arise with compound words, one

² *semi* 'path' contrasts for most speakers with *semi* 'to sow', *-e-* being non-nasal in the former, nasal in the latter. In *semi* 'to sow', the non-final *e* undergoes the usual combinatory nasalisation (Corne, in press [1973], and *Seychelles Creole Workbook*, 1). Therefore, *semi* 'path' should be represented as *sime* (it is *simê* in MC), with a late vowel-lowering rule (applying after nasalisation rules) producing the *e*.

or more of whose constituent units often does not occur as a free form. The usage of the hyphen to handle such cases follows broadly that of Bollée, but is nonetheless arbitrary to a large degree. There may be occasional inconsistencies in the use made here of the hyphen; while a firm decision on this matter, for each and every lexical item, is essential before any literacy programmes or the like are attempted in Seychelles, the question of hyphen use is of minor import for our immediate purposes. The following is therefore an approximate guide only.

Compound nouns are written with a hyphen: *nuvel-lin* 'new moon' (*nuvelin* for some speakers), *nuvel-marie* 'bride', *fiy-d-oner* 'bridesmaid', *fri-a-pê* 'breadfruit', *zen-tâ* 'youth, younger days'. Most "grammatical" words and adverbs have no hyphen: *a-pepre* 'nearly, approximately', *olie* 'instead (of)', *ditu* '(not) at all', *andâ* 'inside', *ubiê*, *usua* 'or', *kamem*, *kâtmem* 'although', *ladâ* 'therein', *keksoz*, *ketsoz* 'something'.³

Compound verbs such as *fermal* 'to hurt, be painful', *vedir* 'to mean, signify', *suadizâ* 'to pretend' (also an Adverb of Doubt, 5.45) are not written with a hyphen, as it is not clear that they are in fact compound except in an etymological sense. Similarly in the case of compound nouns including bound variants of *bô* and *grâ*: *bonaniverser* 'Happy Birthday', *bonom* 'fellow', *bonane* 'New Year', *gramun* 'old people, grandparents'.

Reduplicated words have no hyphen, in the case of verbs: *blagblage* 'to chatter'; in the case of adjectives and adverbs, these are written as two separate words or as a single unit, according to the intonation contour (cf. Corne 1970: 54-5).

The hyphen is also used in items which show morphological variation inherited from French sandhi phenomena: *kat* 'four' but *katr-â* 'four years', *de* 'two' but *dez-er* 'two o'clock'; also with compound numbers: *suasan-de* 'sixty-two', *vêt-e-ê* 'twenty-one'.

Bollée uses an apostrophe in a few cases: *pa + âkor* 'not yet' (*p'âkor*), *u + ule* 'you wish' (*u'le*), *mô* (or other item with final vowel) + (*f*)*in* 'Completive aspect' (*mô'n*). Here, the apostrophe is not used, and the above are written as: *pâkor*; *u ule* or *u le* depending on which actually occurs; *mô n*, the question of "elision" of the Completive *fin* being discussed in some detail in 4.36.

³ The major difficulty occurs with items containing *a-* and *â-*, and the transcriptions used here are arbitrary: thus I write *â-koler* 'angry', but *âba* 'underneath', and *a-pie* 'on foot', but *asuar* 'tonight'.

For our purposes, we postulate that the SC sentence is made up of two constituents, a Sentence Constituent and a kernel sentence, S. The kernel sentence is made up of an obligatory Noun Phrase (NP) and an obligatory Verb Phrase (VP), with one or more optional Prepositional Phrases (PP), the PP including Adverbs. The Sentence Constituent contains at least the following constituents: Affirmative, Interrogative, Imperative, Negative, Emphasis (cf. Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970: 133-44).

Here, we shall consider S as basic, with Affirmative being subsumed, and other sentences (negative, emphatic, etc.) will be dealt with separately (7.0). We have, then, as our starting point:

$$S \rightarrow NP + VP + (PP)^n$$

(where $(PP)^n$ means that more than one PP may occur). We consider firstly NP (3.0), then VP (4.0) and PP (5.0). The Adjective Phrase (AP), which is dominated by VP, is dealt with in 6.0. In 7.0, we consider those sentences which are the result of transformations that apply obligatorily once a given Sentence Constituent has been chosen, while in 8.0 the various embeddings and processes not dealt with elsewhere are described (noun clauses, infinitives, impersonal structures, subject-raising, co-ordination).

CHAPTER III

THE NOUN PHRASE

Surface NPs contain determinants, possessives, adjectives (both anteposed and postposed to the noun), nouns (and pronouns) and relative clauses, and are singular or plural.

NP → No + NG
 No → {singular
 plural}

(A restricted use of the dual in SC suggests also:

Plural → {dual
 plural}

but since the dual is accounted for by other rules, we shall not retain this rule.)

NG → D + N

In surface NPs, D is often zero and the order D + N is reversed under certain conditions.

3.1 The Determinant

Tentatively,

D → (PreArt) + (Dem) + Art + (PostArt) + (DetA)

3.11 The Article

The article may be indefinite or definite:

Art → {Ind
 Def}

3.12 The Indefinite Article

Ind + singular is usually *ê*:

ê pom-d-amur 'a tomato'
ê nô gate 'a pet name'

Some speakers (older?) have a variant *en* (becomes *em* before *pti* 'little'):

en zom 'a man'
em ptî peî 'a little country'

Most speakers consider *en* as a Mauritianism.

Ind + singular also has a zero form (\emptyset) in Complex NPs

(before the NP complement):

ê ver baka 'a glass of *bacca*' (fermented sugar-cane juice)

and in NP constituent of VP:

mô ana bô ketsoz pur don u 'I have a nice something for you'
fakter i n amen let isi? 'did the postman bring a letter (here)?'

ê may be used before a cardinal to indicate an approximate quantity:

sâ rupi '100 rupees' vs. *ê sâ rupi* 'about a hundred rupees'

Ind + plural is \emptyset :

nu napa banan ozordi 'we have no bananas today'
nu pu al pret zuti 'we shall go and borrow some tools'

3.13 The Definite Article and the Demonstrative

SC semantics are such that Dem and Def need to be considered together. Dem includes *sa* and *ki*, this latter usually called the relative pronoun. The choice of Dem has as a consequence Art → Def, with a rule in the morphophonemic component

Dem + Def → *sa*

Dem cannot be analysed as an obligatory constituent on the same level as Def. In surface NPs the demonstrative value of *sa* is often weak and it corresponds to the definite article. In the plural the semantics of Def contrast with those of Dem + Def. Various embeddings, such as relative clauses, require our rewrite (Dem) + Def.

3.131 Lexical rewrites of Def

Def has several lexical rewrites, \emptyset , *sa*, *ban*, *le*.

Def + singular is usually *sa*:

sa kazo 'the hen-house'

In dates, it is *le*:

ier ti le uit avril 'yesterday was the eighth of April'

Def + plural is usually *ban*:

ban pirog 'the canoes'
ban zâs Ladig 'the people of La Digue'

When no ambiguity is possible (from linguistic or extra-linguistic context), Def may occur as \emptyset :

banan i n mir 'the bananas are ripe'
i pe vir katkat banan dâ marmit 'he is pouring the
cooked mashed banana into the pot'
mô a âvoy u reset lêfizio 'I shall send you the recipe
of the infusion'

and *ban* is used optionally to distinguish singular and plural.

Def \emptyset is very frequent following a preposition:

dâ lakur 'in the yard (house)'
avek lakoklis 'with the whooping-cough'

Def + plural is *le* in very restricted contexts:

(a) before cardinals:

le set frer, i met zot pare 'the three brothers get
(themselves) ready'
ât le de 'between the two'

(b) following the prearticle *tu* before cardinals:

tu le de lakaz 'both houses'

(c) in temporal expressions:

tu le suar 'every evening'
tu le bomatê 'every morning'
tu le sur 'every day'

and (d) in the expression:

â tu le ka 'in any case'

3.132 Dem + Def

Dem + Def + singular is always *sa*:

get sa bug! 'look at that fellow!'
sa kituz i tro ser 'that salted turtle-meat is too
expensive'

Dem + Def + plural is always *sa ban*:

get sa ban zuazo lor sa pie koko! 'look at those birds
on that/the coconut palm!'

Compare:

- (a) *nu pu al pret zuti* 'we shall go and borrow some tools'
(or 'the tools' if no contextual ambiguity)
(b) *nu pu al pret ban zuti* 'we shall go and borrow the tools'
(c) *nu pu al pret sa ban zuti* 'we shall go and borrow those
tools'

Note that in all cases, the use of *sa* may correspond semantically to either the definite or the demonstrative.

3.133 tu/sa/possessive + ban

On the surface *tu*, *sa* or a possessive may occur before *ban*:

tu (sa) ban zako 'all the (these/those) monkeys'
tu mô ban zami 'all my good friends'

Bollée notes a few cases where *ban* follows the postarticle, as in:

mô kon plizier ban peser 'I know several fishermen'

Here, two analyses are possible: (i) *ban* is a noun, 'group', that is, *plizier ban + peser*; (ii) *ban* is a plural marker, that is, *plizier + ban peser*, correct gloss 'several of the fishermen'. See Noun Complements, 3.5 below.

3.14 The Prearticle

PreArt \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AQuant} \\ \text{RQuant} \end{array} \right\}$ (AQuant = absolute quantitative)
(RQuant = relative quantitative)

3.141 AQuant

AQuant is *tu*. Its choice has as a consequence Art \rightarrow Def, although Def is not necessarily present on the surface. NP is obligatorily plural, if N is a count noun.

tu pom 'all the apples'
tu sa ban solda 'all those soldiers'
i n buar tu dimiel 'he drank all the honey'

tu le has been dealt with above. Bollée notes that *tu* may follow the noun:

lezot lera tu i repon 'the other rats all reply'

When NP plural is pronominalised, *tu* follows the pronoun (also personal nouns):

zot tu a vini 'they all/you all will come'
nu tu 'we all, all of us'

A homophone *tu* occurs as an adverb (see 5.0):

sô pti larzâ ki reste pe fini tu 'the little money
remaining to him is all/quite running out'

3.142 RQuant

RQuant has several lexical representations:

kek 'some (or other)'

sa i bezuê kek voler 'that must be some thief (or other)'
i a fer kek betiz 'he will do something stupid'
mô sâti kek ti loder par la 'I can smell some little
smell around here'

In Jones 1952 there is a string *sa kek zur* 'those few days';
this is rejected by informants (= *sa de-trua zur*).

sak 'each, every'

sak vakabô 'each lazy bum'
sak zur 'each day, every day'

oken 'no'

oken tapaz 'no noise'

See Negative sentences, and the discussion in 3.631 below.

ki 'which, what'

i ti ape dir mua ki kalite luvraz i pu kôtâ 'he was
telling me which/what kind of work he would like'
See Interrogative sentences, also for *lekel*.

lekel 'which, what (choice of specific number)'

lekel larpâter? 'which surveyor(s)?'

It may be possible to include in the category RQuant the
traditional adverbs of quantity, which include:

(tro) boku, plê, pa mal 'much, many' (tro boku 'too much, too
many')

me u kon plê ketsoz! } 'Gosh, you know a lot of things!'
me u kon pa mal ketsoz! }
nu ti buar tro boku kalu laba 'we used to drink too much
toddy over there'

ase, dekua 'enough'

nu a gaÿ dekua larzâ pur nu aste lot keksoz 'we shall
earn enough money for us to buy other things'

dekua, but apparently not *ase*, occurs also as a noun:
i bat zot sô dekua 'he beats them to his heart's content'

plis 'more'

zot ana plis larzâ ki âfo 'they have more money than
enough'

plis ki 'more than'

zot ti n plât plis ki set arpâ maÿok 'they had planted
more than seven arpents of manioc'

pli boku 'more'

mô napa pli boku larzâ ki u 'I do not have more money
than you'

muês 'less'

mô ana muês larzâ ki u 'I have less money than you'

The above two sentences are comparatives of inferiority; some
speakers use *muês*, others prefer *plis* + negation (comparatives
are dealt with in the Adjective Phrase, below).

kôbiê 'how much, how many'

kôbiê dimun ti ana? 'how many people were there?'

See Interrogative sentences.

âkor 'another, more'

i gut âkor ê pti kaful 'he tastes another little bowlful'
i deman âkor kestiô 'he asks another question, more
questions'

aepre 'about, approximately'

i n atrap aepre sis puasô 'he has caught about six fish'

There are however a large number of NPs which function as
"adverbs of quantity", such as:

ê pe 'some, a few'

ê pe fey banan 'a few banana leaves, some (part of)
banana leaf'

ê pti pe 'a little'

ê pti pe delo so 'a little hot water'

(ê) morso, ê ti morso, pli pti morso 'some, a little, etc.'

i buar morso dite 'he drinks a little tea'
mô ana pli pti morso labier ki u 'I have less beer than
you'

ê ban 'a few, several, a number/quantity of'

ê ban lame banan 'several, many, a number of, hands of
bananas'

ê (p)ti gin, ê (p)ti git '(a) few, some'

ê ti gin fam 'a few women'

ê/sa (grâ) kâtite 'many, much, a number/quantity of'

i ana ê kâtite gô dâ sa dipê 'there are a lot of weevils
in this bread'

ê bô pe 'many, much'

m ava aste ê bô pe lapire 'I shall buy a lot of home-brew'

ê pake, ê ta 'many, much' (ê pake also 'a packet', ê ta 'a heap')

The surface structure of these is (Art) + (Adj) + N. Their
existence and syntax suggest a possible analysis of *boku* (etc.)
as Art + N → ∅ + N. A consequence of considering *boku* etc. as

prearticles is that in sentences such as

mō ti lir boku }
mō ti lir ê kâtite } 'I used to read a lot'

it is necessary to suppose an NP constituent of VP where the constituent N (a proform of N) has been deleted: *mō ti lir boku* N (N is *ketsoz* 'something'). This seems unsatisfactory in view of the more likely Ns (*liv* 'book(s)', etc.) that are suggested by the semantics (but which are "unrecoverable". Cf. 4.125.). Cf. also:

mō kôtâ u ê kâtite 'I love you a lot'

where the only N that fits semantically is *lamur* 'love'; if *ê kâtite lamur* is considered as the underlying PP, then we require a preceding underlying preposition which is subsequently deleted. We return to this question in 5.0 below.

The use of *ê ban* as above may be contrasted with Def + plural → *ban*. We have already noted the sequence *plizier ban* (3.133). Compare:

de piti parmi/ât sa ban deor 'two children in that group outside' (= two of those children...)
oken (dâ) sa ban piti 'none of those children'

Plurality then may be considered as being marked by an NP (→ No + NG as above) followed by an NP complement; that is, if No → plural, then NG → D + N where N is *ban*, and a second underlying sentence will be relativised (and various elements deleted; NP complement will be described below in its surface manifestations in 3.5).

Some nouns which appear in translation to be singular semantically are in fact plural, and occur preceded by *ban*:

sa ban loder trâspirasiô 'that stink of sweat' (those sweat smells)
u pu bezuê fini sie sa ban dibua 'you will have to finish sawing that wood' (those pieces of wood)
sa ban baka i n sek sek sek 'that bacca is very strong' (brews of bacca made in several *damzan* 'demijohns')

3.15 The Postarticle

PostArt → { Cardinal }
 { IndNum }

The cardinals are *ê/en, de, trua, kat, ...etc.* They are blocked by a contextual rule when certain RQuants have been chosen for PreArt, e.g. **boku trua som, *lekel de piti*:¹

¹ Cf. *lekel dâ sa de piti?* 'which of those two children?', see 3.5, 3.631.

sak dis zom 'each ten men'²

Cardinals show morphological variation inherited from French liaison. Forms are: *de* (but *dez-er* 'two o'clock'), *trua* (but *truaz-er* '3 o'clock'), *kat* (but *katr-â* 'four years' (old, ago, etc.)), *sêk* '5', *sis* (but *siz-â*) '6', *set* '7', *uit* '8', *nef* (*nev-â* does occur, but appears to be a French influence) '9', *dis* (but *diz-er*) '10'. *en* 'one' is slightly more complex. It occurs as *en* when no noun appears on the surface, and in "liaison": *en-â, en-er*. In complex NPs it also appears as *en* when it is the sole surface constituent of its own particular NP. Otherwise, it occurs as *ê*, identical to Ind *ê*. The other cardinals are: *ôz, duz, trez, katorz, kêz, sez, diset, dizuit, diznef, vê; vêt-e-ê, ven-de, ...vêt-uit, vêt-nef, trât; trât-e-ê, tran-de, ...trât-uit, trât-nef, karât; karât-e-ê, karan-de, ...karât-uit, karât-nef, sêkât; sêkât-e-ê, sêkan-de, ...sêkât-uit, sêkât-nef, suasât; suasât-e-ê, suasan-de, ...suasât-uit, suasât-nef, suasan-dis; suasât-e-ôz, suasan-duz, ...katrevê/katrovê; katrovêt-e-ê, katroven-de, ...sâ.*

The indefinite numerals (IndNum) include:

en-de 'a few'
en-de barik 'a few barrels'
de-trua 'a few, several'
de-trua bef 'a few cows/oxen'
plizier 'several'
plizier pie lafus 'several lafouche trees'³
nêport(ki) 'any (at all)'
nêportki katiolo 'any dinghy'
nêport(ki) lâdrua (ki) u a pase 'anywhere you (will) go'
ê nêport dimâs 'any Sunday'

Contextual rules block the rewrite of IndNum under certain conditions: only Ind (\emptyset, \hat{e}) may precede *nêport(ki)*; Ind \emptyset or Def/Dem (and the possessive) may precede *en-de, de-trua, plizier*.

3.16 The Determinative Adjective (DetA)

Further research may show that some of the items listed here in the category DetA in fact belong to the preposed adjective class. By and large, the determinative adjectives fall into two semantic groups, of identity (*mem*) and non-identity

² Example from Papen; *sak* precedes cardinals in MC also.

³ Lafouche bâtarde (blanc), *Ficus terebrata* L., and Lafouche rouge, *Ficus rubra* var. *sechellensis* L.

with an agglutinated article (SC initial syllable *di-*, *de-*, *li-*, *le-*, *la-*; initial consonant *l-*) or the final consonant of the French article (in liaison; SC initial consonant *z-*, and also *liz-*, *lez-*; there are perhaps others too, a full study has not been made):

<i>dipê</i> 'bread'	<i>lipie</i> 'foot (anatomy)'	<i>lakaz</i> 'house'
<i>delo</i> 'water'	<i>lebra</i> 'arm'	<i>lotel</i> 'hotel'
<i>lizie</i> 'eye'	<i>lezel</i> 'wing'	<i>sofisie</i> 'officer'

Occasionally, variants lacking the agglutinated etymological article occur: *ed/led* 'help', *sâs/lasâs* 'luck', *parol/laparol* 'word', *arpâter/larpâter* 'surveyor'...

These variants are of two kinds. Some (such as *arpâter*) are the direct result of interference from French in individual speakers, and generally concern only words which are rare or technical (but cf. the variant *ot* of *lot* noted above). Bollée notes that for rare words, some speakers use a form with an agglutinated etymological article, while others use a form without this; she cites (*la*)*reÿ* 'reign' as an example. Until a complete study has been made, it is not possible to evaluate the rôle of SC-French bilingualism in this kind of variation. The case of nouns with an initial *l-* (from French *l'*) which may occur without the *l-* but with an initial *n-* after a preceding word-final nasal vowel:

sa ê bô lide } 'that is a good idea'
sa ê bô nide }

seems to be in this category also.

Compare now *lespes* 'species':

ê lespes sed 'a species of sheoke (*Casuarina equisetifolia* L.)'

and *ê nespes* 'some kind of a':

u ê nespes sovaz 'you are some kind of a bumpkin/boor'

Here, the same type of variation is lexicalised; similarly, two nouns with the same etymon plus or minus the etymological article can occur, each one with a meaning (or meanings) common to the etymon but not shared by the other: *lipie* 'foot (anatomy)', *pie* 1: 'tree', 2: 'foot (measure of length)'.

In a somewhat different category are those nouns which have a free form and a bound form. An example is *lasâs* 'luck' (free form) and the bound form *sâs* in the expression *gaÿ sâs* 'to have the luck of':

mô pa kruar ki u pu gaÿ sâs gut li 'I don't think you will have the luck of eating it'

The term "bound" is here used loosely to refer both to more-or-less fixed expressions, as *prâ laparol* 'to begin to speak' (*parol* 'thing said'), and proverbial expressions, as *koma ê puasô dâ lo* 'like a fish in water' (*delo* 'water'), and *strictu sensu* to bound forms in composed nouns, etc.: *lame* 'hand', *ku-d-me* 'helping hand'; *letâ* 'time', *ler* 'hour', *en-er-d-tâ* 'one hour's time'.

In all cases morphophonemic rules produce the surface forms, a full study of which remains to be done.

3.22 Gender

Gender does not exist in SC (i.e. nouns do not in general have the lexical feature [+masculine]). Nouns which have the feature [+animate] also have [+male], that is, natural (as opposed to grammatical) gender. Natural gender is usually not marked, but if it is necessary to do so, *zom* [+male] and *fam* [-male] may follow a noun [+animate, +human]:

ban aviater zom alma ... ban aviater fam 'German pilots ... women pilots'

Grammatical gender does occur in a few nouns [+animate, +human]:

zom 'man' vs. *fam* 'woman'
bonom 'man' vs. *bonfam* 'woman'
papa 'father' vs. *mama* 'mother'
tôtô 'uncle' vs. *tâtin* 'aunt'
garsô 'son; boy' vs. *fiy* 'daughter', *tifiy* 'girl'
nuvo-marie vs. *nuvel-marie* 'newly-weds'

(non-exhaustive list). Occasionally, the same lexeme shows morphological variation:

Seselua vs. *Seseluaz* 'inhabitant of Seychelles'
Digua vs. *Diguaz* 'inhabitant of La Digue'
vuazê vs. *vuazin* 'neighbour'

but, with the possible exception of the first example, this appears to be French-influenced SC, basilectal *zâs Ladig*, *vuazê* respectively.

Grammatical gender affects proper nouns also (given names):

Albertê vs. *Albertin* 'Albertin(e)'
Marseliê vs. *Marselien* 'Marcelien(ne)'
Zistê vs. *Zistin* 'Justin(e)'

In the case of nouns which are [+animate, -human], there are very few pairs which are distinguished for gender. While the contrast *kok* 'rooster' vs. *pul* 'hen' (if poultry of both genders are referred to, *pul* is used) occurs in basilectal SC, such pairs as *seval* 'horse' vs. *zima* 'mare' (not a perfect pair, as *zima* is [-masculine, -male] while *seval* is [+masculine, +male]) seem to be due to French influence. Cf. *sat* 'feline', *lisiê* 'dog, bitch', *bef* 'bovine' (but also *toro* 'bull', *vas* 'cow').

Grammatical gender affects some adjectives as well. While the pair *fu*, *fol* 'mad, crazy' is used by most speakers, morphological variation of adjectives is generally restricted to French-influenced SC; examples are: *ere*, *erez* 'happy', *vie*, *viey* 'old'.

3.23 Lexical features of Nouns

Nouns are defined by lexical features; the fundamental ones are [+common, +animate, +human, +concrete, +count, +definite, +masculine]. The feature [-common] implies [+definite], whence

Art → Def / ___ N[-common]

The feature [+animate] is responsible for the *sa/sen* contrast in Interrogative sentences. The feature [-count] excludes Cardinal in the rewrite of the postarticle. The feature [+definite] distinguishes proper nouns from those with the feature [+definite] (redundant with [+common]). Some of these features are syntactic, the others are semantic. Contextual rules handle compatibilities between various constituents of S: for example, *ēsīyifiā* 'intolerable, stupid', [+Adjective, +animate] does not co-occur with *loyo* 'fruit-stone', [+N, -animate], compatibilities being governed by the "head" noun of any NP.

3.24 Proper Nouns and Personal Nouns

Both proper and personal nouns have the feature [-common], which implies [+definite].

Although the syntax of personal nouns and personal pronouns is different, both are dealt with together below, 3.25, 3.6, as they share a number of similarities.

Personal nouns never have a surface determinant, but a determinant does appear under certain conditions with proper nouns:

mō pov Flora 'my poor Flora'
sa Mae ki nu ti kone lōtā 'the Mahé we knew in the old days'
sa vie Dokter X 'old Doctor X'

Various determinants may occur; examples:

ē Sesel ini 'a united Seychelles'
ē lot Payet 'another, a different Payet'
i ana trua Waro ki mō kone isi Orklan 'there are three Hoareaus that I know here in Auckland'
naŋa oken Diniēvil isi 'there is no d'Unienville here'
ban Savi 'the Savy family'

Preposed adjectives may occur, *mō pov Flora*, above.

The presence of [+definite] gives Art → Def; the other determinants above derive from an underlying structure containing an N which is subsequently deleted, the proper noun being NP complement (along the lines of *ē lot dimun + sa dimun i* {*Copula*} *Payet* (?)).

As part of proper nouns, *ti* 'little', *gro* 'big', *grā* 'big':

Tizā ek Grādiab 'Tijeau and Grand-Diable'
Grozā 'Grosjean'

(cf. also *tilizie* 'Chinese'). *Ti* is very common, *Gro*, *Grā* much less so.

Honorifics include: *Msie*, *Imsie* 'Mr', *Madam* 'Mrs', *Mamzel* 'Miss', *Bonom*, *Bom* 'Mr' (*Bom* often with given names, corresponds roughly to 'Old', affectionate not pejorative: *Bom Sadek i n bez li!* 'Old Sadek really gave it to him!'), *Bonfam* 'Mrs', *Tō* 'Uncle', *Kōper* 'Br'er' (as in *Kōper Lapē* 'Br'er Rabbit'), *Dokter* 'Dr', *Sē* 'Saint' (*Sē Pier* 'St. Peter').

3.25 Personal Nouns and Pronouns

Personal pronouns derive transformationally from an underlying NP. They are *i* 'he, she, it' (subject form), *li* 'him, her, it' (non-subject form), *zot* 'they, them'.

Personal nouns are *mō* 'I' (subject), *mua* 'me' (non-subject), *u* 'you (singular)', *nu* 'we, us', *zot* 'you (plural)'. Note that *u* may also be used to refer to a "general" indefinite 'you':

eski u kapab dir sa ā kreol? 'can you say that in Creole?'

For usage, see 3.6 below.

3.26 Nominal Proforms

Nominal proforms (like all proforms) are dictionary entries which have in their definition a set of fundamental lexical features, in particular those noted in 3.23 above, but no semantic features. Abstract entities, morphophonemic rules produce their surface forms, which vary according to the structure in which the proform occurs.

The proform [+human] occurs on the surface as *dimun* 'someone' in NP subjects:

dimun i dir kum sa osi 'that is said too, people say that too'

dimun i respekt u 'people respect you, you are respected'

It may also occur after prearticle *kek*:

i ana kek dimun isi? 'is there anybody here?'

After prearticle *sak*, the proform appears as *en*, giving *saken* 'each one':

saken i a vini 'each one will come'

(Alternatively, *saken* may be analysed as a sequence of PreArt *sak* + Ind \emptyset + PostArt *en*. See now the discussion in 3.631.)

dimun is also a noun, 'person', and as such may occur with Ind \emptyset :

ē dimun i n tap laport 'someone knocked on the door'

Compare this with

sa dimun i n tap laport 'that person knocked on the door'
We may postulate that the singular proform appears as *ê dimun*, the plural being *dimun* (i.e. Ind ϕ + Proform). A form *kelkê* is also used occasionally (French).

In the string Dem + Def + N, the proform [+human] is *ki* (relative clauses, interrogation). The proform [-human] is also *ki*, but *kua* appears also in certain contexts.

The proform [+common, -animate] occurs as *-soz* (always as a bound form in basilectal SC, occasionally as a free form in French-influenced SC): *ketsoz, keksoz* 'something':

i n aste ketsoz 'he has bought something'
ketsoz i n tôbe 'something has fallen'

Like *dimun*, *ketsoz* is also a noun: *ê ketsoz* 'a thing'. Bollée notes that her informants prefer *keksoz*; mine prefer *ketsoz*.

The negative proforms *person* 'no-one' and *nariê* 'nothing' are dealt with in 3.631, along with other surface manifestations of nominal proforms and other "pronominal" items.

3.3 The Possessives

The possessives are transformationally derived from an underlying structure which we may represent lexically as follows: *sa kalu i* Copula *pur mua* 'that toddy is mine (for me)' + *mô kalu* 'my toddy'. We present the SC data as a surface description.

The possessives are:

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>mô</i> 'my'	<i>nu</i> 'our'
2.	<i>u</i> 'your'	<i>zot</i> 'your'
3.	<i>sô</i> 'his, her, its'	<i>zot</i> 'their'

Examples:

mô nô barok 'my nick-name'
get u, maÿer u lalang! 'hey, that's a fib!' (look at you, way your tongue)
sô kargo 'its cargo'
nu vie pus 'our old car'
zot zepeng 'your/their pin'

Occasionally, in Vocatives, French forms occur:

ma fiy 'my daughter' *mesie, medam* 'Gentlemen, Ladies'
me zami 'my friends' *not Seÿer* 'our Lord'

In the surface NP, the possessive follows the prearticle *tu*, but

precedes all those other determinants with which it may co-occur. Bollée notes as rare *sa* + possessive:

tu le zur sa u bonfam i dir... 'every day that wife of yours says...'

sa mô but later 'this piece of land of mine'

Cf. French *ce mien livre*. Note that the NP following *sa* is appositive. These appear to be derived structures, as is

tu le de sô pti garsô 'both his little sons' (see 3.5).

The possessive is used in temporal expressions (the possessive "agrees in number" with the subject of the sentence):

alor, sat sô lanme, i lev biê gramatê 'so the next day, the cat gets up very early'

and in PPs with *dâ*:

Frâki, dâ sô lager, ... 'Franky, while fighting, ...'

including PPs with an embedded sentence:

dâ sô pe desan Lapas, i n uar sô kanot lor sek 'while going down to La Passe, he saw his boat high and dry'
alors, dâ mô pa rekonet sa de dimun, mô ti dir ek zot ...
'so, while/by not recognising the two people, I said to them ...'

(of the preverbal markers, only *(a)pe* may occur).

Cf. *dâ tu sô* + Adjective 'even though':

dâ tu sô êbesil 'even though he is stupid'

and *dâ sô* + reduplicated adjective:

dâ mô meg meg 'even though I am very thin'

(Use of the possessive in these structures is usual but not obligatory: *lerua dâ sâ kone* 'the king, without knowing'.)

In complex NPs (below, 3.5), the usage of the possessive requires further investigation. Some examples:

Sûgula sô vât ti n plê 'Sougoula's belly was full'
(equivalent to *vât Sûgula*; in MC *lakaz mo papa* and *mo papa so lakaz* 'my father's house' both occur, but are indicative of socio-cultural factors, cf. Moorghen 1973)

al dâ lakur, dir ek sô met lakur 'go into the house, say to the owner of the house'

(*lakur* is strictly speaking the plot of land on which the house stands)

zot prâ sô nô sa solda 'they take the/that soldier's name'

sô pos palto 'the pocket of his coat, his coat-pocket'
Nikol i n desir mô paz liv 'Nicole ripped the page of my book'

mô larzâ legim 'the money for my vegetables, my vegetable-money'

3.4 The Adjective

Like possessives, adjectives are transformationally derived. Again, we give here only a surface description. The Adjective Phrase (etc.) will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

The descriptive adjective in some cases precedes the noun it qualifies, and in others it follows the noun.

3.41 Preposed adjectives

A relatively small number of preposed adjectives occur; the most common include:

bel 'big (and strong)'

ê bel lisiê 'a big/strong/imposing dog'

(Bollée notes also 'handsome': *sô pli bel fotey* 'her best armchair, finest armchair'; *ê bel tifiy* would be approximately 'a fine big girl'.)

bô 'good'

ê bô larâzma 'a good arrangement'

Bound form *bon-* in *bonane* 'Happy New Year':

nu a zuen âsam pur nu suet bonane 'we shall get together to celebrate the New Year' (to wish Happy New Year)

and in *bonaniverser* 'Happy Birthday', *bonnuî* 'Good night' (cf. *bôzur* 'Good day'), *bonom*, *bonfam*, *bon-volôte* 'goodwill', ... (problem of use of hyphens in transcription here). Cf. *lane* 'year', *laniverser* 'birthday, anniversary', *lanuit* 'night', *zom*, *fam*, *zur*, *lavolôte* 'wish, will'.

grâ 'big'

ê grâ kazie 'a big fish trap'

Bound form *gra-* in *gramun* 'old person', *gramatê* 'early in the morning', *gramama* 'grandmother', *granuar* 'man, adult, father', ... (only before a nasal consonant; problem of hyphens again).

gro 'big'

gaÿ gro latet 'to be ashamed' (get big head)

ler i fini mâze, i larg ê gro divâ 'when he finishes eating, he belches loudly' (lets go a big wind)

long 'long, tall'

ê long batô 'a long stick'

ê long bug 'a tall fellow'

move 'bad'

Zako i n lafê move kalite 'Monkey is really hungry'

u move labitid 'your bad habits'

nuvo 'new'

mô nuvo kazo pul 'my new hen-house'

Bound form *nuvel-* in *nuvel-marie* 'bride' (cf. *nuvo-marie* 'groom'), *nuvel-lin*, *nuvelin* 'new moon', *nuvel-â* 'new year', ... As a noun, *nuvel* 'news'.

pov 'poor' (to be pitied)

pov diab! 'poor devil!, the poor chap!'

pti, ti 'little'

nu pti pei 'our little country'

ê pti moma apre 'a wee while later'

ti occurs with proper nouns (above) and as a bound(?) form in *tilizie* 'Chinese' (little-eyes): *ê Tilizie*, *ê zom tilizie* 'a Chinese' (pejorative; cf. *sinua* 'Chinese'), *tipapiyô* 'species of fish', *tifiy* 'little girl, unmarried girl'. However, not all speakers agree on whether there is in fact a contrast *pti/ti*. For *tilizie*, no form *ptilizie* has been noted so far. For some (perhaps most) speakers, *pti fiy* and *ti(-)fiy* are simply free variants ('girl' and 'little girl' not being distinguished): *Nikol, ê pti fiy, i mô bô zami, e i ê tifiy biê saz* 'Nicole, a (little) girl, is my good friend, and she is a very good girl'; other speakers make a clear distinction: *Nikol, ê pti fiy mô bô zami, i ê tifiy biê saz* 'Nicole (is) the little daughter of my good friend, she is a very good girl'.

vie 'old'

u pu apel mua u vie susuri pli tar? 'will you be calling me your old bat later on?'

nu vie buat sereng 'our old car' (syringe box; a somewhat dated SC neologism, unknown to many speakers, recorded from a Praslin ex-policeman)

Used often in hypocoristic expressions: *mô vie gate* 'darling' (spoiled one), *mô vie zuzu* 'id.' (toy), *mô vie leker* 'id.' (heart).

Variant *viey* (French), and bound form *viey-* in *viey-fiy* 'aged spinster', ...

zâti 'nice'

ê zâti kado 'a nice gift'

zen 'young'

zen-zâ 'young men'

ê zen lisiê 'a young dog, a puppy'

nu zen-tâ 'our younger days, our youth'

(Cf. *ê zenes* 'an adolescent'.)

zoli 'pretty, beautiful, handsome'

dâ zot zoli rob 'in their pretty dresses'

ê zoli garsô 'a handsome boy'

Bollée notes also a few other preposed adjectives, in the main less frequently occurring:

defê 'late, recently dead'

u defê frer 'your late brother'

fay 'bad'

ê fay bug 'a ratbag, someone who is "bad news", a nasty piece of work'

fo 'false'
ban fo mesi e ban fo profet pu paret 'For false Christs
and false prophets shall rise' (Mark 13:22)

for 'strong'
for rezistās 'strong resistance'

ser 'dear'
mō ser zami 'my dear friend'

tris 'sad'
sa tris nuvel 'that sad news'

vilē 'bad, ugly, unpleasant'
ē vilē zom 'an ugly man'
pa komās u vilē mani 'don't start misbehaving' (your
nasty little idiosyncrasies)

vre 'real, veritable'
sa-mem ki apel vre lamur 'that's what true love is
(called)'

malē-, as a bound form only in malē-bug 'cunning fellow', other-
wise postposed: zis ban zom malē ki servi sa 'only intelligent
men use this'.

We may also note that other preposed adjectives occur; like
some of the list above (defē, fo, maybe for), this seems to be
French influence:

lene 'older'
lene fiy 'the older daughter'

baz-, bound form in bazaz 'childhood'
mō ti ākor ā bazaz 'I was still a baby'

In any collocation of preposed adjectives, pti and grā
immediately precede the noun:

ē zoli pti zil 'a beautiful little island'

With a preceding adverb of degree (biē, tre 'very', ase 'rather',
tro 'too', ē pe 'a little', etc.) these adjectives are generally
postposed:

ē bō kari 'a good curry' →
ē kari { biē 'very good'
tre 'very good'
tro 'too good, overwhelmingly good'
ase 'passably good'
ē pe 'somewhat good, rather good'
plito 'somewhat good, rather good'

e fam bie zen 'a very young woman'

With tre and pli, postposition is optional:

sa ē tre bō lide 'that's a very good idea'
sa pli grā garsō 'the biggest boy'

Preposed adjectives may be intensified by ek bō-ker, ek
laraz, kom(a) pa posib, and similar expressions (as may post-
posed adjectives). In such cases, they are postposed:

ē tifiy zoli ek bō-ker 'an extremely beautiful girl'
ē bug ris ek laraz 'a filthy-rich fellow'
i vilē/vilen kom pa posib 'he is indescribably ugly'

Reduplication of preposed adjectives intensifies:

ē zoli zoli tifiy 'a very pretty girl'
get sa bel bel mang 'look at those extra-big mangoes'

3.42 Postposed adjectives

Whereas the preposed adjectives appear to form a closed
class, the postposed adjectives form an open one:

ē lakaz ruz 'a red house'

Adverbs of degree may precede:

ē kestiō biēbiē serie 'a very serious question'

Postposed, pov means 'poor, not rich'; none of the other pre-
posed adjectives appear to undergo a meaning change in this
manner:

lamās long 'long sleeves'
u long vizit 'your long visit'

Reduplication of postposed adjectives attenuates (contrary
to reduplication of preposed adjectives):

ē rob ver ver 'a greenish dress'

Reduplication of adjectives appears then to follow exactly MC
usage as described by Baker 1972: 84-7; however, a detailed
study is necessary to define exactly the constraints on
reduplication as well as the exact semantics involved. For
example, defē defē seems highly unlikely. The relation between
reduplication and "triplication" also remains to be studied:

tu pur mua i n roz(-)roz(-)roz! 'all of mine are as
ripe as can be!'
sa baka i n sek(-)sek(-)sek! 'the bacca is really strong!'

Vowel lengthening also intensifies (marked here by :::):

sa bug i lo:::ng! 'that chap is really tall!'

In collocations of pre- and postposed adjectives, the tend-
ency is for the normal positions:

ē vie grā rob nuar 'a big, old, black dress'

but adjectives may be co-ordinated with e; co-ordinated adjec-
tives are usually postposed:

ē dezer tris e terib 'a sad/gloomy and terrible desert'

although Bollée also notes:

dâ ê grâ e zoli bato kom sa 'in a big, fine boat like that (one)'

3.5 Noun complements

Surface NPs may consist of a head noun and a further NP complement:

latet torti 'the turtle's head'
ê zom ê bô laz 'a man of middle-age'

Semantically, these structures indicate a wide variety of relations between the head noun and the NP complement; these relations correspond to the different origins of the NP complement in the underlying structure.

Subject - object:

voler legim 'vegetable thief'

Derived noun subject - object:

netuayaz lasam 'cleaning of the room'
ban mâzer kari zako ek sateni tang 'eaters of monkey curry and tandrack "chutney"'

We may note here a curious use of the adverb:

i ê vrema kaser lakaz 'he is a real house (home) destroyer'

If we suppose an underlying *i kas vrema lakaz* (?), the derived form we would expect to be *ê vre kaser lakaz*. To be further investigated.

Possession:

sa lisiê Zonas 'Jonas' dog'

Type:

kari zurit vov 'squid curry'

Matter:

lakaz â pay 'house constructed of vegetable matter'

Goal:

ê kanot puasô 'a fishing boat'

⁴ *sateni* is a culinary preparation. The expression here refers (pejoratively) to Mauritians in a spirit of friendly (?) rivalry. While *kari zako* is indeed eaten (and greatly appreciated) by Mauritians, *sateni tang* appears to be a mythical invention. But *tang* is indeed eaten: Philip Baker (pers. comm.) informs me that he has been served *tang* in a Mauritian Creole household; the reason that many regard it as inedible is that the meat has an unpleasant smell unless cooked in a particular way.

quantity, measure, etc. (including the expressions of quantity noted above, 3.142):

ê lon letof 'an ell of cloth'
ê ban mâdiâ 'a number/group of beggars'

Quality:

boku dimun mô laz 'many people of my age'

Provenience:

zâs lamôtaÿ 'hill-folk'

Cause:

ê sok zaluzi 'a shock of jealousy'

More than one NP complement may occur:

zur lafet sakreker '(on) the day of the celebration of the Sacred Heart'
laport lakaz lerua dâ sa pei 'that country's king's house's door'

There is a wide variety of possible surface structures of these surface NPs. We shall refer to them as Complex NPs, since the complement of the head NP may be a surface NP complement (as illustrated by most of the examples above), a surface PP complement (as in *lakaz â pay*, above), a nominalised VP. For simplicity's sake, we shall refer to Complex NPs as having a Head and an NP complement.

The head NP may occur with no surface noun (less often, the NP complement also). The following examples illustrate some of the possible surface forms of Complex NPs. A colon is used to mark the boundary between the head NP and its complement.

oken : (*dâ*) *sa ban piti* 'none of these children'
nêportki ban : *piti* 'any (group of) children (at all)'
nêportki : *ât/parmi sa trua piti* 'any of those three children'
lekel : *dâ sa ban zen-zâ?* 'which of those youths?'
lekel : *sa de piti?* 'which (one) of those two children?'
en : *sô piti* 'one of his children'
ban : *koma u* 'people like you'
plizier : *sô ban travayer* : *diferâ metie* 'several of his workers with different professions/trades'
plizier : *ban peser* 'several fishermen'
plizier ban : *peser* 'several (groups of) fishermen'
tu le de : *sô pti garsô* 'both of his little boys'
tu le trua : *sô dô* 'all his three gifts, all three of his gifts'
i pu gaÿ lâdrua : *dormi* 'he will get a place to sleep'
ê polisi : *larg tu koloni* 'a policy of decolonisation'
plizier : *lezot* 'several of the others'

In some of these cases (*oken*, *plizier*, ...), traditional analysis considers constituents of D as pronouns, since they may also

occur alone: *nēportki kapab fer sa* 'anyone can do that'. We list them as such in section 3.63.

3.6 Pronouns

3.61 Usage of personal nouns and personal pronouns

Let us recapitulate the forms in the traditional table (Table 1):

Table 1 : Personal nouns and pronouns

	Number	Person	Subject	Non-subject
Singular	First		<i>mō</i>	<i>mua</i>
	Second		<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
	Third		<i>i</i>	<i>li</i>
Plural	First		<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>
	Second		<i>zot</i>	<i>zot</i>
	Third		<i>zot</i>	<i>zot</i>

u and *zot* are often used as indefinite subjects (= 'one, you' in English):

ki u a fer? 'what do you expect? what can you do?'
koma u dir sa ā kreol? 'how does one say that in Creole?'

The subject forms of personal nouns may occur in a reduplicated form in emphatic sentences:

mō mō tu sel ki n fer sa 'I alone did it'

(similarly, *u u tu sel*, *nu nu tu sel*, *zot zot tu sel*) whereas for the personal pronouns, reduplication for emphasis is *i li tu sel* for the singular, while for the plural *zot zot tu sel* is identical to the above.

In the plural, the prearticle *tu* follows, and there is usually reprise of the subject:

nu tu, nu pu ale 'we shall all go'

zot tu, zot... 'you/they all...'

In the "duel sylleptique" (3.17 above), there is also reprise.

zot! and *u* (in the expression *e u la!*) occur as exclamations or attention-getters:

ayoyo, zot, mō ledâ! 'oooh, my teeth!' (are hurting)

e u la, mō a fu u taler! 'hey you, I'll hit/slap you in a minute!'

Some speakers have *e u zot!* (attention-getter), and *e u la!* may refer to more than one person. See Exclamative sentences.

The non-subject forms occur as NP constituent of VP

("direct and indirect objects"):

u kon mua 'you know me'

la mua, mō dudu 'here I am, dear'

as NP constituent of PP:

kot li 'at his/her place'

as reflexive pronouns:

mō sâti mua pli bō ozordi 'I feel better today'

degaz u! 'hurry up!'

(often with *-mem* 'self': *i dir dâ li-mem* 'he says to himself');

as subject (i.e. as NP constituent of S) in S2 embedded in PP with *pur*:

i fer sa pur mua kapab kōprâ 'he does it that I may understand'

as emphatic forms (often with *-mem*):

mō pu fer sa mua-mem 'I shall do it myself'

mua tu sel ki n fer sa 'I alone did it'

(some informants insist on the reduplicated subject form *mō mō* in this last context);

as subject in copulative sentences under certain (transformational) conditions:

i a kone ki mua taler! 'he will know who I am in a minute!' (i.e., I am going to assault him physically)

i pli grâ ki mua 'he is bigger than I (am)'

3.62 Reprise of NP subject

We have seen that the singular personal pronoun subject is *i*. It also occurs as a "predicate marker" (or "impersonal" subject):

i uar pur-dir i vre sa ē sūgula 'he sees that it is true that that is a sounoula'⁵

In sentences such as:

marmay i koz ek li 'the children talk with him'

dimiel i bō 'the honey is good'

mō al kot sa ban trip i ete 'I go to where those entrails are'

i occurs as a repetition, or "reprise", of the subject. This topic is discussed in Bollée's grammar (section 5.2) and is dealt with in some detail in Corne 1974-5; what follows is not essentially different from the presentation therein.

⁵ Often, like other animal names, *sūgula* is used as a proper noun in SC stories, cf. Accouche 1976, the texts in Bollée and in Alsdorf-Bollée and Chaudenson 1973. Sounoula is the animal trickster hero/villain of numerous folk-tales, and is usually reputed to be a type of monkey (he has a long tail in many stories). Some Seychellois consider him to be a hare- or rabbit-like creature.

Let us for the moment postulate an insertion rule along the following lines:

$$\text{NP+Pres} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} a(va) \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + (\text{AuxAdv}) + \left\{ \begin{matrix} ape \\ fek \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{VG} \rightarrow \text{NP+i+Pres} \dots (\text{etc.})$$

here, Pres(ent Tense), *a(va)*, *n*, Aux(iliary)Adv(erb), *ape*, *fek* are "preverbal markers" (see 4.3 for full details); Number is singular or plural, and NP may be a pronoun (but not a personal noun). This rule is obligatory in some cases, optional in others, and must be considered as a tentative statement where pronouns are concerned; the term "pronouns" is used here to include the items listed in 3.631 below.

Since *zot* is both a pronoun and a personal noun, it seems reasonable to ascribe occurrences of reprise with *zot* 'you (plural)' to an analogical extension of the *i*-insertion rule; alternatively, if the hypothesis advanced below as to the origin of *i* is correct, such occurrences could conceivably be viewed as historical survivals.

We are concerned here only with sentences with unbroken intonation contours, that is, sentences where *i* occurs as if it were a preverbal marker.

3.621 Reprise with plural subjects

A relatively large body of data is presented in Corne 1974-5, so we shall here give only a few examples of each case.

(a) Reprise appears to be obligatory with a plural noun subject. Plurality may be marked or not on the surface:

tu dimun i ape dāse 'everyone is dancing'

(b) Reprise is blocked when the subject is *zot*, but it applies obligatorily to a surface string *zot* + *n* + Consonant, optionally to *zot* + *n* + Vowel:

zot tap laport 'they knock on the door'

zot i n bezuē arete 'they had to stop'

zot (i) n arive 'they have arrived'

zot (i) n ale, koma mō dir zot? 'did you go like I told you?'

(c) Since all other "pronouns" are in fact constituents of D appearing alone on the surface, they require obligatory reprise as in (a) above:

en-de i lager 'one or two are fighting'

kot lezot i ete komela? 'where are the others now?'

tu i a n fini mir 'all will be (completely) ripe'

Generally, then, with the partial exception of *zot*, plural subjects require reprise.

Note that our *i*-insertion rule is in fact a rather crude statement. Bollée notes occasional occurrences of *i* + *fin* (*fin*

is an obsolete variant of *n*, used by older speakers; younger ones consider it as a Mauritianism). Often *a(va)*, and even more frequently *fek*, occur without *i*.

Bollée notes the possibility of *zot* occurring as reprise of a plural subject: *nenen ek msie zot al...* 'the maid and Monsieur go...'. My feeling is that there is either a pause or the intonation contour equivalent thereof, and that such sentences should be written "NP, *zot*". This is important as far as the concept of reprise is concerned. A sentence

$$\text{NP1} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} (i) \\ ti \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{Cop} + \text{NP2}$$

may be transformed (interrogation bearing on NP2) to

$$ki + \text{NP1} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ ti \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{Cop} + ? \text{ (NP1 singular or plural)}$$

but not to

$$ki + \text{NP1} + *zot + \text{Cop} + ?$$

when NP1 is plural. Examples:

(a) singular

sō papa (i) ē met lekol 'his father is a school-master' →

ki sō papa i ete? 'what is his father?'

Zā ti sarpātie 'John was a carpenter' →

ki Zā ti ete? 'what did John used to be?'

(b) plural

sa ban zom i travayer 'those men are workers' →

ki sa ban zom i ete? 'what are those men?'

**ki sa ban zom zot ete?*

3.622 Reprise with singular subjects

With singular subjects, the nature of VG seems to influence reprise.

(a) VG contains a Verb, that is, not the Copula. Reprise is obligatory in all cases except where it would precede *fek*, *a(va)*, or *n* with a following vowel - in these cases its occurrence is optional.

sa i fer li boku plezir pur sâte 'it gives him great pleasure to sing'

sō buldu i ākor pe dormi 'his/her sweetheart is still sleeping'

Zā (i) a(va) zis māze 'John will only eat'

Zonas (i) fek māze 'Jonas has just eaten'

ketsoz i n tōbe 'something has fallen'

ki maŷer sa n arive? 'how did that happen?'

Note however that *ki sa vedir?* 'what does that mean?' and perhaps other more-or-less fixed expressions do not have reprise.

(b) VG → Copula + PP. Reprise is obligatory.

torti i koma ros 'Turtle is like a rock' (i.e. very still)

sa lakaz i pur van 'that house is for sale'

This includes Adverbs:

be, sa i biē 'But/well, that's fine'

as well as those contexts where Copula appears on the surface:

kot u fam i ete komela? 'where is your wife now/these days?'

(c) VG → Copula + AP. Reprise is obligatory, although there are occasional, apparently random, exceptions.

māze i n pare 'the food is ready'

(d) VG → Copula + NP. Reprise is optional. While acceptable with *sa* (and *tu sa-la*) as subject, it usually does not apply:

sa (i) ē sūgula 'that is a soungoula'

otherwise, it usually does apply:

sa garsō i mō pītī 'that boy is my son'

In the foregoing, the pronoun subject *i* is never itself subject to reprise (although the emphatic subject *li* requires reprise: *li, i n ale* 'he has gone', cf. 7.51).

3.623 Reprise in Relative clauses

Some SC sentences have the surface form NP + Aux + V + NP + Aux + VG

mō tī uar Pier ape dāse 'I saw Peter dancing'

We shall return to these below (3.8), but meanwhile we may note that reprise occurs (under conditions which are not clear):

i ana Bom Lulu i dāse deor 'there is Old Wolf (who is) dancing outside'

zot truv sa pov drayver i ākor pe atā mem 'they see the poor driver (who is) still waiting' (written text)

i uar bef i n mor 'he sees Cow (who is) dead'

These appear to be relative clauses with the relative *ki* deleted. The last sentence cited may also be a noun clause (the subordinator *ki* is often omitted in noun clauses). Now if reprise may apply to the underlying subordinate sentence, the surface forms of our three examples are thereby accounted for. A problem is that the conditions under which *ki* may/must be deleted are not clear (semantic features of the main verb may be the decisive factor), but they do not appear to be connected with reprise.

In relative clauses where *ki* may not be deleted, reprise is blocked:

sa zom kī (a)pe māze 'that man who is eating'

3.624 Distribution of *i*

Synchronically, the distribution of *i* seems completely arbitrary. Our insertion rule accounts for the facts of reprise, but it does not do very much to explain the non-occurrence of *i* (as reprise; as subject, it does of course occur) before *tī*, *pa*, *pu*, *pe* or the fact that reprise is optional in some cases. In her texts, Bollée notes a few cases of *i* before *tī* and *pa* (rarely), and before *fin*, *pe*, *fek* (more frequently). My informants reject such sequences, except with *fek* (since none of my informants use the form *fin*, rejection of *i fin* means nothing as far as reprise is concerned, of course).

A possible approach is to postulate a phonetic/phonemic

rule stating that in the context Aux the presence of a stop prevents *i*-insertion. Indeed, while *i ape* is acceptable, **i pe* is not, yet in all other contexts *ape* and *pe* seem to be in free variation; **i pu* is systematically rejected by informants; **i pa* similarly; also **i tī*. It is the mutual incompatibility of *i* with *tī* 'Past' that led Papen to postulate that *i* is a present tense marker (there were other reasons as well; this may not represent his current views on the matter, as in Papen 1975 he mentions only an *i*-insertion rule).

Note now the cases where *i* is optional with plural subjects. It is obligatory in all contexts (ignoring *zot* for the moment) except when *a(va)*, *fek* and *fin* are present. In Bollée's texts, *i fin* occurs occasionally; *a(va)* often occurs without *i*; *fek* occurs frequently without *i*. However, *i n* is the norm. Except for *zot i n*, *zot* blocks reprise.

The problem then is to account for the distribution of *i*, its optionality and its origin or origins.

3.625 The Origins of *i* reprise

It hardly seems necessary to say that reprise in SC has an obvious parallel in French: *le chien il vient; les chiens ils viennent*. In popular spoken French, *il(s)* is phonetically [i] when the following verb has an initial consonant. Chaudenson 1974: 966-968 attempts to derive RC *i* and SC *i* from this source alone, but the presence in RC of *i* with persons other than the third invalidates this hypothesis, at least for RC. We have seen that in SC, reprise occurs almost exclusively with the third person, and that the sole exception is constituted by *zot* which is both second and third person plural. Thus, Chaudenson's hypothesis seems more likely as an explanation for SC *i* than for RC *i*, and there can be little doubt that the pattern of reprise in SC does indeed derive from reprise in the variety or varieties of Seventeenth Century French from which SC evolved.

But that this is not the whole truth is evident, since the distribution in modern SC is not accounted for. Our "rule" above which says that *i* (reprise) does not occur before stops in the context ___+Aux accounts for the distribution, but it does not explain it. Implicitly, this rule invokes some vague kind of analogical extension of a reprise originally restricted in some way. For example, if we take the case of *i ape* vs. **i pe*, we may suppose either that *i pe* was at some time acceptable but is not so nowadays because of the analogy of **i pu* (both having an initial *p*) - which in turn supposes that **i pu* was never acceptable -, or that *i ape* was once not acceptable but has become so on the model of *i a(va)*. Alternatively, if we suppose that reprise was originally unrestricted in its application, then the modern SC distribution is inexplicable. Most importantly, our rule does not account for the optionality of reprise. Now in fact it seems likely that analogical forces have to be invoked at some point, at least at the present stage

of our knowledge, but it is possible to go some little way towards explaining the distribution of reprise.

This topic has been treated in some detail in Corne 1974-5, and a brief outline is given below. The material we are about to discuss is also relevant to another area of SC syntax as well, Negative Emphatic sentences.

In RC, there is an element *i* which occurs immediately before the Verb, in all persons. Further, there is a complementary distribution of the morphological variants of personal nouns which is most clearly illustrated in the first person singular. As *m*, it occurs before the indefinite future marker *a* and before *i*. Elsewhere, it appears as *muê* (as subject). Where *m i* occurs in the present tense, *muê te i* will occur in the past tense. The Copula 'to be' occurs as *et(e)* in what may be loosely characterised as "infinitival" constructions, and as *le* in the present tense, *(le)te* in the past tense, *s(o)ra* in the future, *s(o)re* in the conditional. The form *muê* occurs when *le*, *(le)te* are present, but *m i* occurs with *s(o)ra/e*.

Table 2 illustrates the essential features of the RC temporal and aspectual system and shows clearly the distribution of *m*, *muê*, *i* (for details, see Chaudenson 1974, Moorghen 1975, Corne 1974-5). The orthography used here is not to be taken as making any claims about RC phonology. The table omits many variations which appear to characterise different levels and regions, and all data are regularised. For V, read *mâz lavian* 'eat meat', representing all VGs except those containing Copula; for A read *malad* '(be) sick', representing all VGs containing Copula.

Table 2: Tense and Aspect in RC

Tense/Aspect	<i>mâz lavian</i>	<i>malad</i>
Present	<i>m i V</i>	<i>muê le A</i>
Past	<i>muê (le)te i V</i>	<i>muê (le)te A</i>
Future, indefinite	<i>m a V</i>	---
Future, definite	<i>m i sa(va) V</i>	<i>m i s(o)ra A</i>
Future in past, Conditional	<i>muê te i sa V</i>	<i>m i s(o)re A</i>
Imminent future, present	<i>muê (le) pur V</i>	---
Imminent future, past	<i>muê (ie)te pur V</i>	---
Completive, present	<i>muê la V</i>	---
	<i>muê fin V</i>	---
	<i>muê la fin(i) V</i>	<i>muê la fini et A</i>
Completive, past	<i>muê te (i) fin V</i>	---
	<i>muê te fini V</i>	---
Completive, future	<i>m i sa fin V</i>	---
Progressive, present	<i>muê l apre V</i>	---
Progressive, past	<i>muê (le)te apre V</i>	---
Progressive, future	<i>m i sra apre V</i>	---
Immediate past, present	<i>m i vien V</i>	<i>m i vien et A</i>
Immediate past, past	<i>muê te i vien V</i>	<i>muê te i vien et A</i>

Given that *le* and *(le)te* are the present and past forms respectively of the Copula, and given an optional *le*-deletion rule, the forms of the Imminent Future and the Progressive may be accounted for as sequences of Copula + PP, where PP dominates a sentence (with equi-NP deletion, etc.). *la* and *fin* may be considered as forms of "auxiliary" verbs (i.e. dominated by Aux), whose function is to mark the Completive (but note that in a sentence such as *m i fini mâz lavian*, literally 'I finish eat meat', used as an alternative to the forms listed above, *fini* is a verb, not a marker). Similarly, *a* (which has variants *va*, *ava*) is also a constituent of Aux (restrictions are that *a* may not co-occur with the constituent Past, or with Copula). Thus far, the constituent Aux in RC contains Present, Past, Future (indefinite) and Completive. To account for the other cases, it may be postulated that Aux contains one other item, Copula itself, with all other verbs being embedded. Thus, a sentence such as:

nu lete ki dâs biê 'we had a great dance'
as well as the earliest recorded text for RC (cited by Chaudenson 1974: 444, 1147):

"Moin la parti marron parcequ'Alexis l'homme de jardin l'était qui fait à moin trop l'amour"
reflect this fact, and provide an explanation for the distribution of *i* in RC.

The sentence *m i mâz lavian* derives from an underlying sentence which we may represent as *muê le ki mâz lavian*. *le*-deletion applies obligatorily, and *ki* is reduced to *i* by a morphophonemic rule. Similarly, underlying *muê lete ki mâz lavian* → *muê (le)te i mâz lavian* (*le*-deletion is optional here). Note that the underlying sentence (as represented graphically here) may occur on the surface (in the past tense): it does so in the two sentences above (the first of which was recorded about 1971 by T. Raymond) and in written RC. Chaudenson 1974: 336 notes that "*te ki*, *teki* apparaît surtout dans les formes écrites du créole et témoigne d'un effort de normalisation dans le cadre du système français ("était qui") du tour *te i* de la langue parlée". While the second half of this statement may indeed be correct, *te ki* may also be ascribed, just as convincingly in my view, to a survival of an earlier form.

Figure 1 represents the postulated derivation of *m i mâz lavian*:

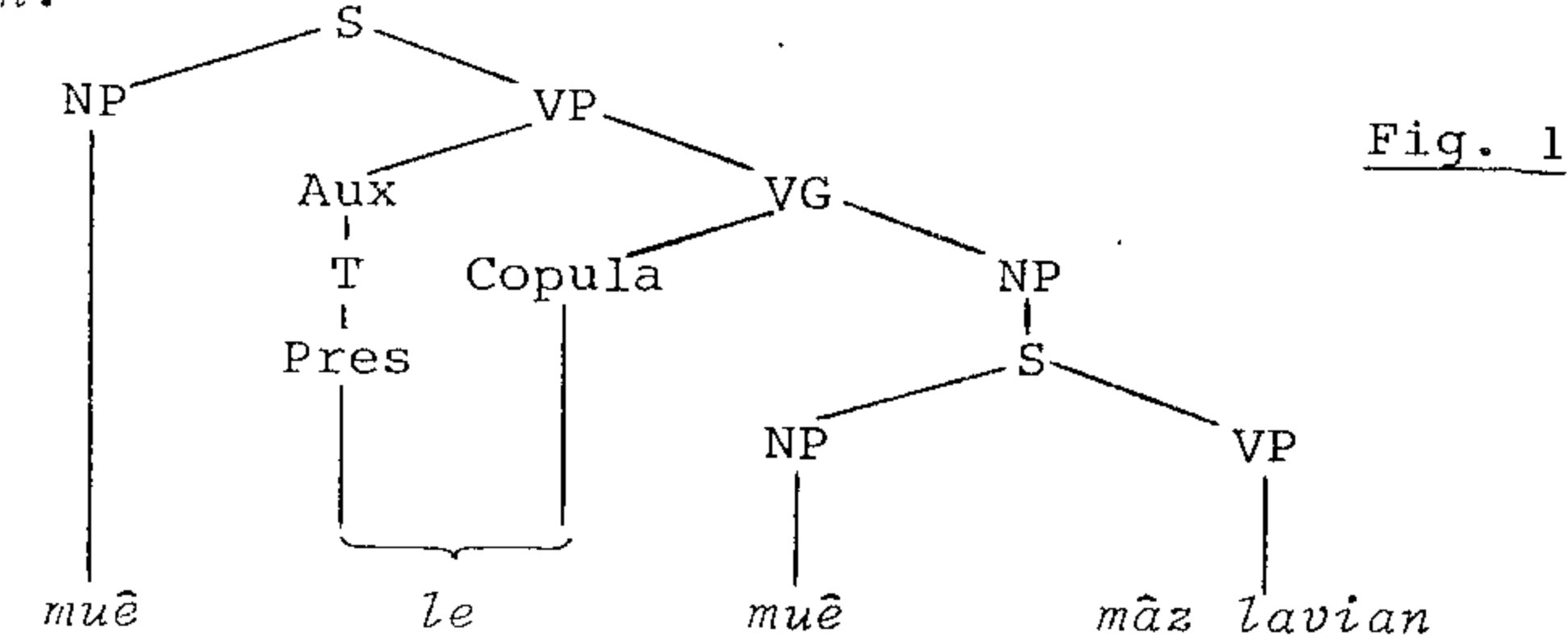


Fig. 1

Thus, all the RC forms are accounted for, although there are obvious objections. One is that the conditions under which equi-NP deletion will produce *ki* have to be specified. While *sava* in this analysis is an embedded verb, *a(va)* is not, and there is no immediately obvious (historical) reason why this should be so. Note also that *s(o)ra/e* must be considered as a verb glossed 'Future Copula', which causes problems in formulating the appropriate constraints; that is, *m i sra* (from *muê le ki sra*) occurs in just those contexts where *le*, *(le)te* (as Copula) occurs (apart from the obvious difference that one is Future and the others are not). On the other hand, the erratic occurrence of *te* or *te i* with *fin(i)* is explained by the double status of the latter as both preverbal marker (constituent of Aux) and verb. Also accounted for is the non-occurrence of *i* with adjectival predicates (ignoring *sra/e*) and its occurrence elsewhere. For a detailed discussion, see now Corne 1974-5.

Now, where does this get us in our quest to explain the SC facts? Firstly, we may postulate a common origin for SC and at least part of modern RC. This putative proto-Creole we shall call "Bourbonnais" (B). In this B system underlying modern RC and SC, it seems at least possible that there is a close link between the *i* deriving from Copula + *ki* + V, and the *i* deriving from what we may confidently assume to be genuine third person reprise. A sentence such as (RC) *le bug i m̄z* illustrates this: 'le bougre, i(l) mange' on the one hand, and *le bug le ki m̄z* on the other. Such a link, if it in fact exists, would go some way towards explaining the restriction of SC *i* to third person as well as its non-occurrence before *ti* and *pu*. The optional use of *i* with *fin* in written SC texts is explained by the double status of *fin* which we observe in RC and which we may assume to have existed in B. Although **i pe* is not acceptable in SC (cf. RC *l apre*), *i ape* is; the optionality of reprise with SC *a(va)* is to be noted: RC *a(va)* is not embedded by *le ki*; note also (*i*) *fek*, *fek* being derived from an analogous form in B (as shown by the evidence of MC, RoC and SC). For the moment, no explanation other than "analogy" can be offered for reprise in SC with *ape*, *a(va)*.

Non-reprise with *pa* in SC is however explainable. In RC, negation of the predicate is marked by *pa*, which is placed after the first verb encountered in a given derivation:

muê te i kone pa sa 'I didn't know that'
m i sa pa buar 'I will not drink'
muê (le) pa pur m̄z lavian 'I am not about to eat the meat'
muê le pa malad 'I am not sick'
muê (le)te pa malad 'I was not sick'
m i m̄z pa 'I don't eat'

Synchronically, this implies that *te i* has a different status from *te* - preverbal marker in the former case, Copula in the latter.

The position of *pa* in SC, MC and RoC shows that this could

not have been the case in B. For B, after *le*-deletion, \emptyset and *te* undergo the same categorial change from Copula to marker (i.e. Aux) as do *le ki* and *(le)te ki* alone in RC. This change is caused by a generalisation of the patterns exemplified by such sequences as *pa pur*, *p apre* and (by generalisation of *le*-deletion in the - minimal - context 'Negation of Predicate') *pa malad*. That is, a rule of *pa*-placement before markers, thus including *te* in such cases as *muê pa te malad* (postulated B sentence, cf. SC *mô pa ti malad*). Since there is no longer any reason to maintain a distinction such as the RC one between *te* Copula and *te i* marker, these forms merge and *te* is used with following verbs: (B) *muê pa te m̄z lavian*, cf. (SC) *mô pa ti m̄z lavian*. Since *pa* now appears before the (historically underlying) *le ki*, we have a plausible explanation of the non-occurrence of **i pa* in SC reprise.

We shall return to the question of negation in B in due course, à propos the Negative Emphatic sentences in SC.

3.63 Other pronouns

3.631 Most of the items listed here derive from the constituent D of NP and are pronouns only in a surface sense.

sa 'this, that, it; these, those, them'. Usually [-animate]. The prearticle *tu* may precede.

sa i biê 'that is good/well'

mô a get sa! 'let me see that!' (I will see that)

When a relative clause is present:

pa kas sa ki mir, zis sa ki ver 'don't pick the ripe ones, just the green ones' (those which are ripe/green)
tu sa ki u mazine dâ u lavi 'everything you can think of (in your life)'

i don m̄ze zis sa ki la 'he gives food only to those who are there' ([+animate])

sa ki koz derier mua, i fer loner mô derier 'he who/they who talk behind my back (about me), do honour unto my backside' ([+animate])

The animate demonstrative often occurs as *sa* + N: *sa bug*, *sa zom*, etc.

mô n uar sa bug lor ki u ti pe koze 'I saw the one you were talking about'

Emphatic forms of the demonstrative are *sa-mem*, *tu sa-la*:

ki sa vedir, tu sa-la? 'what does all this mean?'

sa-mem ki mô ti bezuê! 'that's exactly what I needed!'

tu sa-la u lafot 'it's all your fault'

tu sa-la i bô marse 'all these (goods) are cheap' (radio advertisement)

sa-mem often has reprise by *sa*:

sa-mem sa, mô plas 'that is indeed my spot'

and *sa-mem* may also be used alone as an affirmative 'yes, that's right' and to mean 'that is why':

napa lavian, sa-mem nu oblize m̄z puasô ozordi 'there is no meat, that's why we have to eat fish today'

ki kalite puasô? burzua? - sa-mem 'what sort of fish?
bourgeois? - that's right'

In interrogative sentences, there are two forms *ki si-sa* and *ki sa-sa* 'what?':

ki si-/sa-sa (ki) u n dir mua? 'what did you say to me?'
u uar sa, Torti? - be ki si-sa, mô dalô? 'do you see
that, Turtle? - huh? what's that, my friend?'

These appear to be best considered as fixed, unanalysable wholes. *sa* may also be used animately, replacing the personal pronouns *i*, *li* (and *zot* (?)):

be sa i n buar plis ki mua, sa? 'has that so-and-so
drunk more than me, then?'

Its value is pejorative, but the reverse is not true; the personal pronouns "replacing" an inanimate NP do not have any special connotation:

tu sa ban barik ... , zot va plê 'all those barrels will
be full'

We have noted above (3.622) that reprise of *sa* and *tu sa-la* by *i* is optional when VG → Copula + NP, but that it usually does not apply, while with other rewrites of VG, *sa*, *tu sa-la* regularly have reprise; VG → Copula + NP usually allows reprise with subjects other than *sa*, *tu sa-la*. To account for this, we may tentatively suggest a double origin for *sa*: French *ça* as in "ça, c'est bien" (cf. *sa i biê*) on the one hand, and French *ce* as in "c'est un N" (cf. *sa ê N*); but there are difficulties, and we leave the question open.

sen-la (and a less-frequent form *sel-la*) occurs only in interrogative sentences (direct and indirect interrogation) or qualified by a relative clause. [+human]. 'the one (who)':

sen-la ki n pete âtre nu } 'the one amongst us who farted'
sen-la âtre nu ki n pete }
ki sen-la ki n fer sa? 'who (is the one who) has done
this?'

mô n uar sen-la ki n fer sa } 'I saw the one who did it'
sen-la ki n fer sa, mô n uar li }
i gete ki sen-la 'he looks (to see) who it is'

The distinction between *sa (ki)* and *sen-la (ki)* appears to be [+choice]; *sen-la* implies a restricted choice among a given number of individuals. Moorghen 1972 notes for MC the same criterion for *sen-la*, *san-la* vs. *sa-la*. *sen+N+la* "un individu [+def] par rapport aux autres individus de la même classe", *sa+N+la* "un individu [+def] sans référence aux autres individus de la même classe", where "individu" is [+common], not solely [+common, +human]. (I do not have the precise page reference for these citations.) Not all MC speakers allow the string *san/sen + N + la*, but as pronouns the distinction as described by Moorghen 1972 seems valid:

(MC) *sa de garsô, san-la en ti makro* 'of those two
boys, that one is a little horror'

(MC) *ena de kiksoz laba, sa en sez, san-la la en tabure*
'there are two things there, that's a chair,
(but) that one is a stool'

Note that in SC *sen-la* is always [+human].

It may be postulated that *sen* derives from the string Dem + Def

+N (where N is the nominal proform) → *sa + en* (see the discussion below on *oken*, and also the examples under *en*).

dimun, *dimon* ("refined") 'someone' (v. 3.26 above), also *kelkê* (French), *kek dimun*, *ê dimun* (also 'a person').
tu dimun 'everybody'

Since *dimun* is a noun with semantic features as well as lexical ones (v. 3.23 above), its rôle as a nominal proform (i.e. as the surface manifestation of the nominal proform in certain contexts) may be seen as a categorial change. MC has a form *kiken* 'someone' which is the surface form of the prearticle *kik* + nominal proform *en*. This form parallels MC *kiksoz* 'something' (variant *kitsoz*), surface form of *kik* prearticle + *soz*. In MC, *soz* is a surface form of the nominal proform [+N, +common, +animate, +human, ...]. Baker 1972: 143-4 lists four separate uses for *soz* in MC. They are: (i) attention-getter, (ii) appellation-tag, (iii) "'slot filler', a term to replace any NP, V, Adj, Adv which cannot at that moment be recalled", (iv) warning that a non-Creole term is about to follow. To these, we may add its appearance in *kiksoz*.

(MC) *li pe atan kiken* 'he is waiting for someone'

(MC) *to bizê mât kitsoz* 'you must eat something'

(SC) *i ape esper kek dimun* 'he is waiting for someone'

(SC) *u bezuê mât ketsoz* 'you must eat something'

ketsoz, *keksoz* 'something' (prearticle *kek* + *-soz*, a bound form only in basilectal SC; in French-influenced SC *soz* occurs, 'thing'). Also *ê ketsoz*, *ê keksoz* 'something, a thing'.

tu ketsoz i ser 'everything is expensive'

person 'nobody' and *nariê* 'nothing' are the negative proforms, although *ketsoz* also occurs in negative sentences:

mô pa ti don li ketsoz/nariê 'I gave him nothing'

oken 'none'; this prearticle may appear alone on the surface only in complex NPs:

oken (dâ) sa ban piti 'none of those children'

The semantics of *oken* (roughly, 'no one thing/person') suggest a possible analysis *ok + en*, where *ok-* is a prearticle and *en* a postarticle, the cardinal *en*. However, *en* is better considered as the nominal proform. This points up the parallel with *saken* 'each one' + *sak + en* (below), and with (MC) *kiken + kik + en* (SC **keken?*), as well as with the postulated derivation of *sen + sa + en*.

In this analysis, an NP such as *sak fey* 'each leaf' is made up of:

PreArt + Ind + N
sak \emptyset *fey*

whence *saken*, from *sak + \emptyset + N*, where N is the nominal proform, realised as *en*. The incompatibility of *oken* with cardinals is thus accounted for, since *en* has the feature [+singular], and a

contextual rule blocks the rewrite Cardinal of PostArt. Note also that if *en* is taken to be a cardinal, as its semantics suggest it might be (and also its form, of course), then *saken* would be derived from a sequence:

PreArt + Ind + PostArt + ProformN				
<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; width: 25%;">sak</td> <td style="text-align: center; width: 25%;">∅</td> <td style="text-align: center; width: 25%;">en</td> <td style="text-align: center; width: 25%;">en (?)</td> </tr> </table>	sak	∅	en	en (?)
sak	∅	en	en (?)	
<hr style="width: 80%; margin: 0 auto;"/>				
→ <i>saken</i>				

This would then justify our inclusion of *sak*, *kek* as prearticles (rather than as postarticles). The prearticle *oken* is a good example; it should perhaps be written simply as *ok-*, so that the surface form *oken* N would then derive from PreArt (*ok-*) + Ind (∅) + PostArt (*en*) + N. If so, then the surface form *oken* (without N) derives from PreArt + Ind + PostArt + ProformN (as above for *saken*).

saken 'each one' [+animate], usually [+human]:
mō don ē kuto saken } 'I give each one a knife'
mō don saken ē kuto }
saken i a don u en 'each one (person) will give you one'
nu al saken se nu 'we go each to his home'

In this last example, the "pronoun" *saken* is an example of rightward quantifier floating; cf. Napoli 1975.

tu, tu ketsoz 'all, everything'
tu i a fini 'everything will be finished'
u le fer tu ketsoz dā u-mem 'you want to do everything your own way'

We have thus far seen as "pronouns" *sa*, *sen*, *dimun* (and *kek dimun*, *tu dimun*), *keksoz* (and *tu keksoz*), MC *kiken*, *oken*, *saken*, *tu*. From the discussion so far, it is possible to propose a modification to our rewrite of PreArt:

PreArt →	{	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 5px;"><i>tu</i> /</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">-singular</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 5px;"><i>sak</i></td> <td rowspan="3" style="padding: 0 5px;">/ +singular</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 5px;"><i>kek</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 5px;"><i>ok-</i></td> </tr> </table>	<i>tu</i> /	-singular	<i>sak</i>	/ +singular	<i>kek</i>	<i>ok-</i>
<i>tu</i> /	-singular							
<i>sak</i>	/ +singular							
<i>kek</i>								
<i>ok-</i>								

(leaving aside for the moment *ki?*, *lekel?*, and the "expressions of quantity" *boku*, etc.). The implications will require further study.

ban 'people' (considered by speaker as being a unit or group):
ban koma u 'people like you, people of your sort'
 Papen notes also *ban-la*, which does not occur in Bollée's corpus; if this form in fact occurs, it is not a lexicalised unit as in MC.

ē ban, en-de, de-trua 'some, a few'
plizier 'several'
parmi zot, ti ana de-trua ki ... 'amongst them, there were some who ...'

en 'one' (and the other cardinals)
mō don u zis en 'I give you just one'
ti napa en ki ti pli su ki li 'there was not one who was more inebriated than him'
sa en pli gro 'that bigger one'
i don Sūgula ē blēket ruz, i don Torti en ver 'he gives Soungoula a red blanket, he gives Turtle a green one'
bonfam ti n al aste ē frīlez, parski sō en avā, kākrela
ti n komās beke 'Missus had gone to buy a shawl, because the cockroaches had begun to eat the previous one'

Note that whereas *sa* usually requires a relative clause when the underlying NP contains an adjective (*sa ki mir* 'the ripe ones, those which are ripe'), *en* does not (*en ver* 'a green one').

en ... lot 'the one ... the other'
en lor u druat, e lot lor u gos 'one on your right, the other on your left'

ē ban ... lezot, ē ban ... ē ban 'the ones ... the others, some ... others'
ē ban, zot bate, lezot, zot tuye 'they beat the ones, they killed the others'
ē ban i fuy tru, ē ban i plâte 'some dig, others plant'

(ē) *lot* 'the other, another'
lot i a vini tātō 'the other will come this afternoon'
ē lot osi i n mor 'another one died, too'

(*tu*) *lezot* '(all) the others' (*zot* following a numeral)
i ti sov lezot 'he saved the others'
ti ana trua zot 'there were three others'

nēportki 'any person at all'
nēportki kapab fer sa 'anybody can do that'
 A form *nēportkua* is used for [-animate] by some speakers (French?), but the more usual form is *nēportki ketsoz* 'anything at all'
sa bug i buar nēportki ketsoz, pur li kapab vin su 'that fellow will drink anything, so as to (be able to) get drunk'

ki (interrogative, relative) 'who, which, that, etc.' See Interrogative sentences. Note that for [+animate, +human] *ki sen-la (ki)?* and for [+animate] *ki sa (ki)?* may replace *ki?* (note that our rewrite of D has Dem + Def). A form *kua?* also occurs (French?):
avek kua u ti tuf pur u? 'what did you cover yours with?'

lekel? 'which one?' [+choice]. See Interrogative sentences.
lekel ki u ape rode? 'which one are you looking for?'

setaki 'each one' [+human]
setaki ek sō lisiē 'each one with his dog'
setaki i dir 'each one says'

mō ti truv setaki pe travay 'I saw each one working'
mō pu don setaki ē kuto 'I shall give a knife to each'
 Some speakers will not allow *setaki* to replace *saken* except in complex NPs (*setaki/saken ek sō lisiē*). *Setaki* is not noted in Bollée nor (as far as I am aware) in Papen. In MC *setaki* is subject to restrictions: it may occur as subject, but not, apparently, as non-subject:

(MC) *setaki va amen so mâze* 'each will bring his (own) food'

(MC) ?* *mo pu don setaki en kuto* I shall give a knife to each'

(MC) ?* *mo n truv setaki pe travay* 'I saw each one working'

More data needed here.

boku 'many, much'

mō n bliye boku sa ban zistuar lōtā 'I have forgotten a lot of those olden-day stories'

(Similarly the other RQuant's, with the possible exception of *dekua* for which I have no data.)⁶

3.632 leres and kamarad

There are two other items which, semantically at least, belong here.

(*tu*) *leres* 'the others, the rest':

leres sō ban frer 'his other brothers'

e leres ki u kapab don mua 'and whatever else you can give me'

kamarad 'eachother' (reciprocal pronoun)

de dimun ki kōtā kamarad 'two people who love eachother'

zot i n atrap lame kamarad 'they held eachother's hand'

tu metie i biē ēportā, napa ki pli ēportā ki kamarad 'all professions/trades are very important, there is none which is more important than another'

get sa kātite lisiē ki pe vini derier kamarad 'look at all those dogs coming one behind the other'

pa pu reste ē sel ros lor kamarad 'not a single stone will remain on another'

saken may also be used thus:

zot pa ti kapab apel saken zot prop nō, zot ti bezuē rod

saken ē nō gate pur zot apel kamarad 'they were incapable of calling eachother by their real (own) name, they had each to look for a pet-name to call eachother by'

As a noun, *kamarad* 'friend'.

⁶ Note also: *i tuzur dā sō en-mem, sa voler la!* 'he is still just the same, that thief (there)!'

3.633 Pronominal possession

Pronominal possession is marked by *pur* + NP. NP is a personal noun or pronoun (non-subject form):

mō lakaz i vo plis ki pur u 'my house is worth more than yours'

tu pur mua i ākor ver 'mine are still all green'
lev pur u! 'lift yours up!'

Frequently, a relative clause is used:

tu sa ki pur li 'all his' (all those which are his)

For emphasis, pronominal possession and the possessive may co-occur (similarly in RoC, but not in MC):

mō n uar mō ser ier asuar, eski u n uar u ser pur u? 'I saw my sister last night, did you see yours?'

NP may be *kamarad*:

saken ti pe pretan ki sō metie i pli ēportā ki pur sō kamarad 'each was claiming that his trade was more important than the others' (trade)'

Other pronouns similarly:

lasās i n port pur en, deme i a pur lot 'luck has favoured one, tomorrow it will be the other's'

3.7 Three postposed items

mem (variant *em*) is an emphasiser or intensifier, and must be listed in the lexicon separately from the determinative adjective *mem*. Examples:

Zā-mem ki n gaŷe 'it is John who won, John himself won'
mua-mem, u-mem, li-mem, nu-mem, zot-mem, sa-mem 'myself, etc.'

sa-mem (,) ki mō ti ape rode! 'that's (exactly) what I was looking for!'

mō ti napa ase larzā pur aste labier, sa-mem mō ti al rod kalu 'I didn't have enough money to buy beer, that's why I went looking for toddy'

mō pu fer sa mua-mem 'I'll do it myself'

i nek zet sa pti valiz la-mem devā laport 'he just threw the little suit-case down there before the door'

The variant *em* occurs often with *sa*, less frequently following a preceding word-final vowel, and may be indicative of only some (socio-linguistically defined) groups of speakers.

la is a variant of the adverb *laba* 'there'. It may usually be

replaced by *laba*:

get sa kuyô la(ba)! 'look at that fool there!'
but there are a few cases where *laba* does not commute with *la*, including: *sa ler-la, sa moma-la* 'at that time, then'. *sa ler(-la)* often has the sense 'but in fact (contrary to what has been said), whereas':

mô ti kruar mô n vin isi ek ê bô travayer, sa ler(-la)
mô n vin ek ê bô voler 'I thought I came here with a good worker, but in fact I came with a good thief'
sa fua-la 'that time' (*sa voyaz* is generally preferred).
sa-la, sen-la, already noted.
komela 'now'
la also functions as a "pronoun" in certain relative clauses, see below, 3.83.

In MC, *la* is regularly postposed to NP, as the surface realisation of Def:

- (MC) *tu zot zafer la* 'all their things/gear'
(MC) *sa lulu ki fin kokê li la* 'that wolf who stole it'
(MC) *en laru sa loto la* 'a wheel of that car'
(MC) *sa zoli lakaz sa grâ lerua la* 'that beautiful house of the great king'

It seems unnecessary to postulate that *-la* in SC in the few cases where it appears postposed to a noun is similarly Def. In *komela*, it is devoid of any independent meaning of its own. While *tu sa-la* contrasts with *sa* (in that *tu sa-la* is [+emphatic] and also plural - although it often translates as singular in English: *tu sa-la u lafot* 'it's all your fault'), *sen-la, sel-la* do not have a corresponding **sen*, *-la* is perhaps best considered as an integral part of the "word", rather than as a "proximity clitic" (Papen) or an adverb. In *sa ler-la, sa moma-la*, we may best class *-la* as an adverb (?) in the underlying structure.

There is another occurrence of *-la*, where *la* is undoubtedly an adverb. 'There is/are, here is/are' is (*a*)*la* (equivalent in most respects to *voici, voilà* in French), but also occurs as (*a*)*la-la*.

o may be postposed to proper nouns, to the given name of the person who is being addressed, and to vocatives, to attract attention:

Rut-o! kot u ete? 'Hey Ruth! Where are you?'
Rober-o! vini! 'Hey Robert! Come (here)!'
mô vie zuzu-o! 'Hey, darling!'

As an exclamation, *zot!* expresses a variety of emotions (annoyance, surprise, joy, ...), and may also occur as *zot-o!*. It is not clear that *-o* here is the "same" *-o* that is postposed

to given names; while the exact meaning of *zot-o!* remains to be determined (in some cases it seems to be used simply as a variant of *zot!*, and is perhaps always so), it is used also as an expostulation, a protest. For example, during an informant session with a young lady, a youth appeared, spoke briefly to her, and then left. Asked if he was her current *buldu*⁷ 'sweetheart', her reply was *zot-o!*, i.e. 'no, how could you think such a thing?'

3.8 Relative Clauses

Within NP, relative clauses function as postposed adjectives. The relative clause is a sentence S2 embedded in a matrix S1 in a manner to be defined. We may postulate that for relativisation there is between S1 and S2 a referential relation, an identical NP in each. There appear to be two types of relative clause, a descriptive and an appositive, although this distinction may turn out to be unnecessary. Tentatively, appositive relative clauses are "unnecessary" additions to the sentence, they add supplementary, non-essential information; they appear to be embedded differently from the descriptive relative clauses, and, unlike these latter, they may occur with no relative pronoun in certain contexts.

The relative pronoun is *ki*, which "replaces" the NP in S2 which is identical to an NP in S1.

Investigation of this area of syntax in SC is on-going, and the following descriptive statement is therefore non-definitive.

3.81 NP subject in S2

ki is obligatory:

i ana dimun ki ule gardiê basê 'there is somebody who wishes to be the pond watchman/guard'
ban piti ki reste dâ mô lakaz 'the children who stay at my house'
lakaz ki ana laport ver 'the house which has a/the green door'

The above are descriptive relative clauses. In appositive ones (only?), the subject of S2 may be expressed pronominally:

ban piti (,) ki zot reste ... 'the children, who stay ...'

We have mentioned above (3.623) the existence of sentences whose

⁷ Originally, *buldu* refers to a type of small, sweet cake. Interestingly, in the sense of 'sweetheart', *buldu* is one of the very few SC words adopted by the expatriate English-speaking community in Seychelles.

surface form is NP + Aux + V + NP + Aux + VG:

(i) (a)pe occurs as the second Aux:

mô ti uar Pier ape dâse 'I saw Peter dancing'
ti ana ê zoli bef pe dormi 'there was a pretty cow sleeping'
zot rekonet Sûgula pe vini 'they recognised Soungoula coming'
i sâti loder ketsoz pe dekôpoze 'he can smell the odour of something (which is) rotting'
zame mô n rasazie tan li pe akôte 'never do I tire of listening to him story-telling'
i zuen Frer Zako lor stand pe esper li 'he meets Br'er Monkey at the stand waiting for him' ("stand": the taxi stand and bus terminal in the centre of Victoria)
ban dimun i a âtan u pe etone kom sa 'people will hear you exclaiming (expressing surprise) like that'

(ii) n occurs as the second Aux:

i uar bef i n mor 'he sees Cow (who is) dead' or 'he sees that Cow is dead'
i uar banan i n mir komela 'he sees the bananas (which) are now ripe' or 'he sees that the bananas are now ripe'

(iii) the second Aux is \emptyset , i occurs as reprise:

i ana Lulu i dâse deor 'there is Wolf dancing outside'
i uar sa de lakok birgo i klate 'he sees those two birgo shells sparkling/shining' (birgo: 'sp. abalone')

All of the above may be considered as appositive relative clauses, with *ki* deleted. A sentence such as:

sô mama ek sô papa i dâ bitasiô pe plâte 'his mother and father are planting in the garden'

is more complex, but is another example ('his mother and father are in the garden', supplementary information: 'they are planting'). In the case of the sentences with *uar*; 'to see', an alternative possibility is that the subordinate clause is in fact a noun clause, as indicated by the alternative glosses given (in (ii); in (i) a noun clause seems less likely, in (iii) also). If so, we are left with only two surface forms ((i) and (iii)). We note that there is a very limited number of verbs involved: *uar* (and also *truv*) 'to see', *rekonet* 'to recognise', *sâti* 'to (be able to) smell', *tan* and *âtan* 'to hear' (*âtan* is "refined"); these are all verbs of perception. Also *zuen* 'to meet', and *ana* used impersonally 'there is/was'. There are no doubt others, but it seems clear that if these sentences are indeed appositive relative clauses, then the deletion of *ki* has to be accounted for in some way. Since it appears to be the case that only a limited number of verbs allow this construction, our analysis should also include this fact.

3.82 NP constituent of VP in S2

ki appears to be optional for some speakers, obligatory for others. This variation may turn out to be a function of the type (descriptive or appositive) of relative clause.

premie nuvel ki mô tâde 'the first news I heard'
sa zoli zil ki mô kôtâ 'that beautiful island that I love'
gut sa dimiel ki mô famiy i n âvoy mua 'taste this honey that my family sent to me'
u n deza gut sa dimiel mô famiy i n âvoy mua? 'have you (already) tasted this honey my family sent me?'
(This last sentence is corrected by insertion of *ki* by some informants, others accept it without *ki*; the difference appears to be the contrast descriptive/appositive.)
laru ki mô n kokê dâ sa loto 'the wheel that I stole from the car'
sa pti ser ki u apel Zilien 'the little sister that you call Julienne'

NP in S2 may appear as a pronoun, but does not co-occur with *ki*; again, this appears to be characteristic of appositives:

sa pti ser u apel li Zilien 'the little sister, whom you call Julienne, ...'

Some speakers allow both *ki* and the pronoun to appear:

sel abitâ ki mô kapab al trôp li, i zis sa vie tôtô 'the only farmer that I can go and fool is (only) that old man'

but note that this is a descriptive relative clause, not an appositive one.

3.83 NP in PP in S2

PPs occur on the surface in S as (Prep) + NP. Various NPs occur as adverbials of time or place with no preposition:

i n al lames, ler i a sorti lames... 'he has gone to Mass, when he will come out from Mass...'
ê zur, i a biê move pur mua 'one day, it will be the worse for me'

and also as manner adverbs:

u pu mor lafê, u 'you are going to die of hunger'

while other PPs have the surface form with both Prep and NP:

i sorti dâ lakaz 'he comes out of the house' (place)
i al kot lerua 'he goes to the king's place' (place)
i a vin isi dâ pti minui 'he will come here towards midnight' (time)

dimun i komās tay avek li 'people begin running after him' (manner)

We shall describe the surface manifestations of PP in the appropriate chapter.

When PP is present in S2, various surface structures occur in relativisation depending on the PP involved and on whether the relative clause is descriptive or appositive, although the exact hierarchy is not clear.

With locative PPs which have no surface preposition, the descriptive/appositive contrast is clearly marked. Let us take S1 *sa lakaz i n brile* 'the house burned down' and S2 *mō ti sa lakaz ier* 'I was at/in the house yesterday':

sa lakaz ki mō ti la ier, i n brile 'the house I was in (there) yesterday has burned down' (descriptive)
(note use of *ki*, and adverb *la* "replacing" NP *sa lakaz* in S2)
sa lakaz kot mō ti ete ier, i n brile 'the house, where I was yesterday, has burned down' (appositive)
(note use of *kot* 'where', absence of *la*, Copula *ete* appearing on the surface)

mō n al sa lādrua ki u n dir mua 'I went where you told me'
mō n al kot u n dir mua 'I went where you told me'
Here, S2 has NP *sa lādrua: u n dir mua al sa lādrua* 'you told me to go to that spot', but the descriptive/appositive contrast is not (semantically) quite the same as in the first two examples;⁸ the sentence with *sa lādrua ki* emphasises the particular place designated. In both sentences, the underlying verb *al(e)* in S2 has been deleted in the derived sentence.

PPs with *lor* 'on, in, about', the NP in S2 is frequently "replaced" by *la*:

i aste premie keksoz ki sō lizie i frap lor la 'he buys the first thing that his eyes fall upon'
tu sa-la i zis tapaz parey sa masin ki zot mōt lor la 'all that is just (so much) noise, like that machine (a motor-bike) that you are mounted upon'
me lekel dā mō de fiy ki u ana lide lor la? 'but which of my two daughters have you in mind?' (have you an idea about)
tu kameleō, zot sās kuler lor sak keksoz ki zot mars lor la 'all cameleons change colour with (on) each thing that they walk on'
(note use of *lor* in S1 *zot sās kuler lor sak keksoz*; an appositive S2 is then embedded, S2 *zot mars lor sa keksoz*).

⁸ In many cases, *kot* may be considered as introducing an indirect interrogation (variant *kote (ki)*): *mō kone kote ki stor i ete* 'I know where the store is'.

It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that all the above examples are appositives. If so, we can neatly account for the following:

mō n uar sa bug lor ki u ti ape koze 'I saw the fellow you were talking about'
Here, *lor ki* rather than *ki ... lor la*; *lor ki* marks a descriptive relative clause. Compare now PPs with *dā* 'in':

i ti al dā lasam ki zā ti pe dormi 'he went into the room that John was sleeping (in)'
(descriptive; the appositive would have *kot: i ti al dā lasam kot zā ti pe dormi*)
mō n aste ē tāt ki nu a kapab met nu zafer ladā 'I have bought a bag that we can put our gear in'
(appositive; *ladā* is an adverb, but could conceivably be derived from *dā + la*, cf. *lor la* above (?)).

It must be emphasised that our distinction descriptive/appositive in these cases is set up tentatively; it allows us to assign the different surface sentences to different types of embedding, but much more data is needed to establish whether the distinction is semantically valid in all cases.

The example of *lor ki* above may be suspect; indeed, there is a considerable influence of French structures in the SC of bilinguals. For example, the following sentence was noted:

sa kamarad sā ki mō pa pu kapab ale, i n tom malad ier 'the friend without whom I shall be unable to go, fell sick yesterday'

In basilectal SC, this sentence would not occur, and relativisation would be avoided; the concepts would be expressed along the lines of:

mō kamarad i n tom malad ier, mō pa pu nobu ale (sā li) 'my friend fell sick yesterday, I shall be unable to go (without him)'

It seems likely that *lor ki* falls into the same category of French-influenced forms, and that the usual SC relativisation of underlying PPs in S2 leaves the preposition in the subordinate clause; this preposition is then "adverbialised" in at least three ways: it remains in the same form (e.g. *avek*, below) while the NP governed by it is deleted and *ki* appears as the relative pronoun; it remains in the same form (e.g. *lor*, above), NP is "replaced" by the adverb *la*, *ki* is the relative pronoun; if there is a corresponding adverb in SC, the preposition is "replaced" by that adverb (e.g. *ladā*, above). There are further details, too: NP may be pronominalised and appear in S2 (see example with *ek*, below), or the preposition may simply be deleted (e.g. *ki zā ti pe dormi*, above). Note that we still require our descriptive/appositive distinction, if only to account for the *ki/kot* distinction in locatives; elsewhere (in PPs in S2), the distinction

may in fact be neutralised.

PPs with *avek*, *ek* 'with (etc.)':

lerua i atrap sa batō ki liev ti bruy dilo avek 'the king seizes the stick with which the hare had stirred the water'

sa tifiy ki mō n dormi avek 'the girl I slept with'
mō a rod ē fiy ki mō kōtā marie ek li 'I shall look for a girl that I (would) like to marry'

PPs of time:

pādā sa de-trua zur ki mō pa ti la 'during the few days that I was absent'

Here, the preposition in S2 is deleted. This occurs also in other PPs:

sa loto ki mō ti ape dir u, mō n fek aste(li) 'I have just bought the car I was telling you about'
u a don mua sa pti larzā ki nu n travay? 'will you give me the small (sum of) money that we have worked for?'

3.84 Relative clauses involving Complex NPs

(a) The NP complement of a complex NP in S2: S2 *mō n vol laru loto* 'I stole the wheel of the car' embedded in S1 *loto ti fre* 'the car was broken down'

loto ki mō n vol (sō) laru, i te fre 'the car I stole the wheel from was broken down'

Similarly:

papa sa piti ki mō n kas sō labus, i nepli koz avek mua 'the father of the boy whose face I pushed in no longer speaks to me'
mō n aste lakaz ki sō laport i ver 'I bought the house of which the door is green'

Such sentences are common but may be rephrased in other ways (e.g. *mō n aste sa lakaz ki ana laport ver* 'I bought the house which has the green door'). The presence of the possessive is the usual pattern, corresponding to the function of the NP complement in the complex NP. This is perhaps more clearly shown if we represent the embedding as follows:

mō pli kōtā ē lasam [netuayaz lasam pa tro difisil]
→ *mō pli kōtā ē lasam ki sō netuayaz pa tro difisil* 'I prefer a room the cleaning of which is not too hard'

(b) The referential identity is between an NP in S2 and the NP complement of a complex NP in S1: S2 *mō n uar sa loto ier* 'I saw the car yesterday' embedded in S1 *met sa loto i malad* 'the

owner of the car is sick'. Let us represent this as in (a) above:

met sa loto [mō n uar sa loto ier] i malad
→ *met sa loto ki mō n uar ier, i malad* 'the owner of the car I saw yesterday is sick'

Similarly:

frer sa zoli tifiy ki mō n uar li 'the brother of the pretty girl I saw'
bug sa fam ki mō n ēsilte, i le fu mua ē bō dās 'the husband (man) of the woman I insulted wants to beat me up'

(c) Complex NP in S2: S2 *mō n tap laport biro* 'I knocked on the door of the office' embedded in S1 *laport biro ti ferme* 'the office door was shut'.

laport biro [mō n tap laport biro] ti ferme
→ *laport biro ki mō n tape, ti ferme* 'the office door at which I knocked was shut'

Similarly:

laru loto ki mō n kokē, i n gaŷ ē fit 'the car wheel I stole has got a puncture'

Note that the sentences in (b) and (c) are often ambiguous, according to whether the NP in S2 is complex or not:

met sa loto ki mō n uar ier, i malad 'the car-owner I saw yesterday is sick'
(from *met sa loto [mō n uar met sa loto ier] i malad*)
met sa loto ki mō n uar ier, i malad 'the owner of the car I saw yesterday is sick'
(from *met sa loto [mō n uar sa loto ier] i malad*).

Further research may show that these sentences may be (or must be) disambiguated in some way.

3.85 NP is tu + ProformN [-animate] 'everything'

NP has the prearticle *tu* in both S1 and S2; *ki* is obligatory, *sa* occurs optionally: S2 *u kapab mazin tu ketsoz* 'you can think of everything' embedded in S1 *mō kon tu ketsoz* 'I know everything':

mō kon tu (sa) ki u kapab mazine 'I know everything you can think of'

Similarly:

u kon tu (sa) ki pe pas laba 'you know everything that is going on there'

tu (sa) ki u n dir mua, mō n ekrir li 'I have written down everything that you have said to me'

3.86 Two co-ordinate relative clauses

When two relative clauses are co-ordinated, *ki* may be omitted in the second.

mō n don zot ē lēfiziō, ki mō ti fer e tutsuit ti kalme zot 'I have them an infusion (i.e. of medicinal herbs), which I made and which calmed them immediately'

3.9 Co-ordination of NPs; Vocatives; the prefix *la-*

3.91 Co-ordination of NPs

We have noted above (3.17) the "duel sylleptique" (*nu de Pol* 'Paul and I'), which may be considered as a special case of co-ordination of NP subjects. The usual form of co-ordination is with *ek*, *avek*:

li ek mua 'he and I, him and me'
Zorz ek sō madam 'George and his wife'
Msie ek Madam Zā 'Mr and Mrs Jean'
sō lebra ek lipie 'his arms and legs'

(note that clauses are co-ordinated by *e*, not (*av*)*ek*; conversely, *e* is not usually used for co-ordination of NPs.)

Another form of co-ordination opposes NPs:

usua, ubiē, occasionally *umem* 'or'

Mari usua Polet pu vini 'Marie or Paulette will come'
Zilbert ubiē Florās 'Gilberte or Florence'

sipa ... me 'if not ... then perhaps'

taler-mem, sipa Toma me sō madam i a ariv isi 'very soon, if not Thomas, then perhaps his wife, will arrive here'

In Negation, *ni ... ni* 'neither ... nor'

ni zom ni fam pa pu vini 'neither men nor women will come'

(see Negative sentences). This use of *ni* must be contrasted with its use as an adverb 'not even':

ni ē su napa ladā 'there is not even a *sou* in it'

In an appositive co-ordination, *ākōtā* 'as well as' is used:

Lafrik ākōtā ban zil obor Lafrik 'Africa, as well as the nearby islands'

Note that *ākōtā* is perhaps better analysed as a gerundive, *ā kōtā* 'counting'. See Gerundives, 5.6.

3.92 Vocatives

This term is used here in the traditional sense of constructions which are either parenthetical or exclamative and which are used to address someone directly. These include

proper nouns:

mō pov Flora, u pa ti bezuē fer sa 'my poor Flora, you did not need to do that'

proper nouns + *-o!* (3.7):

Dafne-o! 'Daphne!, Hey, Daphne!'

personal nouns *u* and *zot*, as follows:

e u la! 'hey, you!'
e u zot! 'hey, you lot!' (some speakers only)
(see 3.61; cf. also *zot-o!*, 3.7)

honorifics:

bōsur, Dokter! 'good day, Doctor'
Imsie! 'Hey, Mister!'
mō biē kōtā uar u isi, Tō Gi 'I am happy to see you here, Uncle Guy'

specific vocative NPs with particular forms of the possessive:

may fren 'my friend'
ma fiy 'my daughter'
me zami 'my friends'
not Sejer 'our Lord'

other vocative NPs with the regular possessive:

mō dalō/tom/nuar/frer 'my friend'
mō bō ziz, mō pa pu zame kapab remersi u 'my good judge, I shall never be able to thank you'

NPs with no possessive:

zāfā! 'children!'
nenen! 'domestic'

By the way, we should perhaps note that *dalō*, *frer*, *nuar*, etc. are not completely interchangeable as modes of address (cf. MC "appellation tags", Baker 1972: 114-5), but I do not have sufficiently explicit data to be able to define each term.

3.93 The prefix *la-*

It is not known whether the prefix *la-* is "productive" in SC, or whether it is a fossilised survival from (dialectal) French. We note it here (it could as well be listed under the heading of Emphatic sentences) mainly in order to raise the question for further research.

la- appears to have an intensifying function when affixed to certain nouns:

- i ti riye ek kōtātma* 'he was laughing with joy'
- i ti riye ek la-kōtātma* 'he was laughing for very joy'
- i ti plere ek sagrinasiō* 'he was crying with chagrin'
- i ti plere ek la-sagrinasiō* 'he was crying very bitterly'

At least some speakers contrast *zua* and *lazua*:

- ek zua* 'with joy'
- ek lazua* 'with much joy'

CHAPTER IV

THE VERB PHRASE

We may use the following rewrite of VP:

VP → Aux + VG

$$VG \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Copula} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{AP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{V} + (\text{NP}) + (\text{PP}) \end{array} \right\}$$

This formulation obliges us to postulate a low-level deletion of Copula in most contexts, and also does not account for the close semantic and syntactic relation between verbs and adjectives. Let us postulate that verbs and adjectives share a feature [+verbal], and that verbs are [+verb] while adjectives are [-verb], although strictly speaking the above rewrite does not account for this. Further, these phrase-structure rules are over-simplified as far as PPs are concerned. In fact, PP here subsumes Adverbials; Adverbials of place, time and manner occur at different hierarchical levels. Place and time adverbials appear to be (optional) constituents of S or of VP, place adverbials are also constituents of VG as are manner adverbials (and a small group of adverbials are constituents of Aux). However, until further research into Adverbials and PPs has been undertaken, our rewrite as above is sufficient to allow us to present a broad picture of the facts.¹

4.1 The Verbal Group

4.11 Copula

In the rewrite of VG containing Copula, NP, AP and PP have the function of "attribute" of the subject. Copulative sentences are by definition semantically stative. For SC, we must distinguish two sorts of stative, those which are "generally" true, and those which have come to be true. Let us then postulate that Copula has the features [+stative, ±durative], such that statives which are generally true are [+durative], those which have come to be true are [-durative]. These latter require the presence of the constituent Com (*n*, Completive) of Aux.

4.111 VG → Copula + NP

Semantically, the copulative sentences are usually purely

¹ Adverbial constituents of Aux include *tuzur*, *ākor*, *deza*, ... (see Aux, 4.3 below, and also AuxAdv, 4.37).

descriptive (a state which is generally true), i.e. NP as the attribute is [+durative]:

lerua i ê bô dimun 'the king is a good person'
lapes ti sô pli grâ pas-tâ 'fishing was his favorite pastime'

but [-durative] also occurs:

Liô i dir li, i n ler pur li âtre 'Lion says to him (that) it is time (the hour) for him to go in' (this appears to be the exception rather than the rule).

4.112 VG + Copula + AP

APs are [+durative]. Some adjectives, such as *bet* 'stupid' tend to be usually [+durative], others, such as *su* 'drunk' are usually [-durative], while yet others (*pare* 'ready', *ere* 'happy', ...) may be either.

States which are generally true:

lerua i bet 'the king is stupid'
tu le zur, mâze i pare ver midi 'every day the food is ready about midday'
sô lipie i âkor tase dâ koltar 'his feet are still stuck in the tar'
sô basê pa ti kuver 'his pond was not covered'
normalma, loto i kuver asuar 'usually, the car is covered at night'

States which have become true:

banan i n mir komela 'the bananas are ripe now'
nu mâze i n pare 'our food is ready'
loto i n kuver, koma u n dir mua 'the car is covered, like you told me (to do)'
sa tapaz ti n sitâ terib 'the noise was so terrible...'

Note that PP may occur following the adjective:

i n dekuyone par u lodas 'he is disconcerted by your audacity'

The MC equivalent of this sentence is characterised by Moorghen (pers. comm.) as a transcription from French or English, and this seems likely to be the case in SC as well.

miray pu pen â blâ 'the wall will be painted (in) white'
ban brâs i n kase ek divâ 'the branches are/have been broken by the wind'

Such PPs appear to be constituents of AP. This is important for our treatment of "passives" in SC.

4.113 VG + Copula + PP

These appear to be generally [+durative] (i.e. purely descriptive), but [-durative] also occurs -- to be further investigated. Examples are:

torti i koma ros 'the turtle is like a rock (i.e. he doesn't move)'
sa, uî, i n lor la! 'yes, THAT is perfect!' (cf. American "right on!")
mô let deman i dâ pos mô boper 'my letter asking for her hand is in my father-in-law-to-be's pocket'
ler mô ti lekol 'when I was at school'

In the following sentence, *ase* 'enough' could be considered as an adjective 'satiated' or as a verb 'to have enough' (?):

ler i n ase 'when he has had enough'

Note that PP is frequently locative.

4.114 Surface copulas

In the above examples, the verb 'to be' is used to illustrate Copula. Its surface form is \emptyset , but in certain contexts (Interrogative sentences, Comparatives, in locative Relative clauses with *kot*) it appears as *ete*:

kot u liv i ete? 'where is your book?'
ki zâ ti ete? 'what was John?, what did John used to be?'

A further surface form of Copula appears in *oli?* 'where is?', which may replace *kot?* (in the present tense only):

oli u liv? 'where is your book?'

Note that **oli u liv i ete?*, **oli u liv ti ete?*, **oli ti u liv?* are ungrammatical. In modern SC *oli?* is a unit (**o ti li*), but there can be no doubt of its historical derivation from *o* (corresponding to French *où* 'where') + *li* (\leftarrow *le*, Copula + Present, cf. the RC data given in 3.625).² For *se*, see 4.116, 7.523.

The Copula has other apparent surface forms as well:

vini 'to become'

mô pu vin ris ê zur 'I shall be(come) rich one day'
i n vin larpâter 'he became a surveyor'

² Cf. also Old MC *u li* (Baissac 1888: 103, 379, *passim*), Old RC *o le* (Laray 1888-92(b): 149).

arive 'to become'

telma ki sa lager ti n ariv efreyâ 'that war had become so frightening'

komâse 'to begin to be'

i kapab pe komâs fol? 'is it possible that she is becoming mad?'
lerua i komâs â-koler 'the king gets angry, begins to be/get angry'

reste 'to remain' (durative)

i reste trâkil 'he remains quiet/still'

paret 'to seem, appear'

lêdepâdâs i paret inevitab 'independence seems inevitable'

All of the above sentences may be derived in other ways, with the possible exception of *reste*. In the case of *vini*, *arive*, *komâse*, we may postulate an "infinitivalisation" of an embedded S2, along the lines indicated in Figure 1:

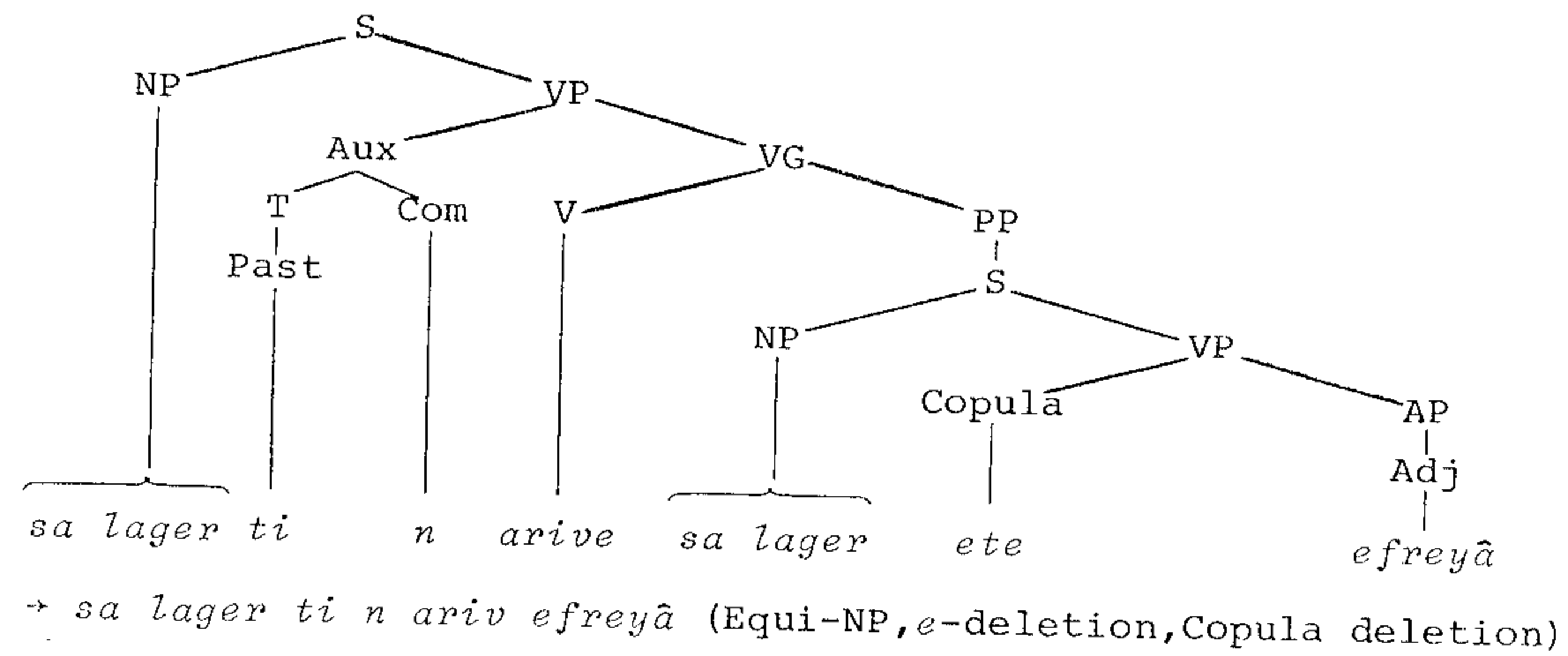


Fig. 1

In the case of *paret*, we have an impersonal verb:

i paret $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kom si} \\ \textit{ki} \end{array} \right\}$ *lêdepâdâs i inevitab* 'it appears that Independence is inevitable'

The apparent use of *paret* as Copula is in fact the result of a transformation (see 8.4).

reste seems to be a specific Copula [+durative], but only in a few restricted contexts; the distribution of *reste* remains to be determined.

i reste trâkil 'he remains still, quiet'

but cf.:

i âkor malad 'he is still sick' (**i reste malad*)
i tuzur ê peser, kâtmem i ti gaÿ boku diplom skoler 'he is still a fisherman, even though he obtained many school diplomas' (**i reste ê peser*)

4.115 *ape* + Copula

We have seen above that adjectives may be [+durative], and we have further postulated that adjectives are [+verbal, -verb, +stative]. Let us now look at the marker of the Progressive aspect in SC, the form of which is (*a*)*pe*. With verbs ([+verbal, +verb, -stative]), (*a*)*pe* denotes on-going action:

mô pe mâze 'I am eating'
mô ti ape sâte 'I was singing'

But (*a*)*pe* does not generally occur with a Copula:

**i pe anda* 'inside' } (both PPs)
**i pe âler* 'up there' }
**i pe azê* 'having not eaten/drank (esp. alcohol)' (AP?)
**i pe âfame* 'avid, hungry' (AP)
**i pe bet* 'stupid' (AP)
**i pe sarpâtie* 'carpenter' (NP)

The attributes in these sentences are all [+durative]. Compare now:

i pe malad 'he is getting sick'
mô pe kôtâ li 'I am beginning to love him'
mô pe â-koler 'I am getting angry' (*mô â-koler* 'I am angry')
mô pe lafê 'I am getting hungry' (*mô lafê* 'I am hungry')
mô pe dakor ek li 'I am beginning to agree with him'
nu pe biê ek kamarad 'we are getting on well together' (with the implication that this is a new state of affairs)
mô pe fatigue tap u laport 'I am getting tired of knocking on your door'

The attributes here are all [-durative], and (*a*)*pe* occurs with an inchoative value.

We may therefore tentatively suppose that (*a*)*pe* has the features [+progressive, +verbal, +stative, -durative, ...]. The inchoative value of (*a*)*pe* is then the result of [+stative, -durative]; since a state cannot by definition be "progressing",

the use of the Progressive marks the inception of the state, the process leading up to the state.

A large number of adjectives are derived from verbs, as we shall see; *fatige* in the example above is one such. In some cases, as with *oblize* 'obliged', the presence of (*a*)*pe* produces a predominantly progressive sense:

mô pe oblize fer sa 'I am being obliged/forced to do that'
zot ava pe peye 'they will be being paid'

It seems likely that other lexical features ([+action]?) of the verb from which the adjective derives are involved here.

With adjectives which are [+durative], such as *ere* 'happy', the progressive may not occur, and other (lexical) means of expressing the inchoative are used:

mô pe komâs vin ere 'I am beginning to become happy'

One informant gave *mô pe malere* as the equivalent of *mô malere komela* 'I am unhappy now' ([-durative], (*a*)*pe* marking inception of the state), but would not accept **mô pe ere*.

4.116 Presentative sentences

The term "presentative sentences" is used here rather narrowly to designate copulative sentences with an "impersonal" subject *i* (i.e. the subject has no extra-linguistic reference and its function is deictic, simply marking what follows as the predicate). The sentence in 4.111 above: *i n ler (pur li ale)* is an example. The subject *i* appears to be optional in the Present tense (affirmative) except with clock-times, but is deleted (obligatorily?) with Negation, Focussing, Past, *nek*, ...

Examples:

ti dez-er e demi 'it was two-thirty'
u kone i truaz-er e dmi? 'do you realise it is three-thirty?'
i fasil pur koz ek Mari 'it is easy to talk to Mary, Mary is easy to talk to'
pa fasil pur koz ek Mari 'it is hard to talk to Mary'
 (7.12)
ozordi i mô laniverser, ier ti le uit 'today (it) is my birthday, yesterday (it) was the eighth'
nek li ki koze 'he alone talks, it is he alone who talks'
 (7.22)
ti zis akoz sa lokaziô 'it was only because of that occasion'
i kuar ki vre mô ti malad 'he thinks it is true that I was sick'
i uar pur-dir i vre mô ti malad 'he sees that it is true that I was sick'

In Focussed sentences (7.52), the NP attribute of the presentative main clause often occurs with the determinant *sa*:

(*sa*) *divâ ki n kas ban brâs* 'it is the/that wind which has broken the branches'

In some styles (Frenchified?), *se* represents Subject + Copula (7.52):

se u natir ki kom sa 'it is your nature which is like that'

4.12 VG containing Verbs

In our rewrite of VG as V + (NP) + (PP), NP functions as the complement of V, while PP functions as the secondary complement of V. NP we may refer to as the "direct object" of V with little fear of confusion, but PP covers more than the traditional "indirect object" (although it includes this).

4.121 VG → V + NP + PP

V is [+transitive, +attributive].

Moris i n don sô kuto Teof 'Maurice has given his knife to Téoph'
mô kapab nom u de-trua lâdrua 'I can name you several places'
rakôt u madam zistuar sa zako 'tell your wife the story of that monkey'

Note that in these examples, PP appears on the surface with no preposition.

Verbs which are [+transitive, +attributive] fall generally into two semantic groups, communications and transactions. They may appear on the surface with either NP or PP or both:

mô papa i a rakôt ê zistuar 'my father will tell a tale'
i a rakôt mua 'he will tell me'
i n dir mua sa 'he said that to me'

If one of the two complements is a pronoun or a personal noun, constituent of either PP or NP, it will precede the other complement (although there are occasional exceptions):

ran mua mô larzâ 'give me back my money'
don sa Mari 'give it to Mary'

If both complements are pronouns (or if one is a pronoun and the other a personal noun), the order is always PP + NP:

mô a don li sa 'I shall give him that, it to him'
mô pu avoy u sa 'I shall send you that, it to you'

Otherwise, either order may appear (apparently freely; Bollée notes that PP + NP is perhaps more frequent):

mô pu deman mô papa morso larzâ } 'I shall ask Dad for a
mô pu deman morso larzâ mô papa } little money'
mô n don sa laru flak ê ku-d-pie } 'I kicked that flat
mô n don ê ku-d-pie sa laru flak } tyre' (gave it a kick)

That there are constraints on the order is apparent; compare:

sa ki koz derier mua, i fer loner mô derier 'he who talks
behind my back is honouring my backside'
i fer mô derier ê grâ loner '... is doing a great honour'

In the second example, the order may be reversed, while in the first example it may not (?**i fer mô derier loner*).

With some, perhaps all (?), of these verbs, PP often occurs as (av)ek + NP (infrequently when NP is a personal noun):

sa fam i dir avek sô bonom 'the woman says to her husband'

With *dir*, Bollée notes that (av)ek is almost obligatory with a following noun. Some examples of (av)ek:

i deman avek Torti ki zot pu fer 'he asks Turtle what they are going to do'
Frer Zako i dir ek zot: 'Br'er Monkey says to them:'
i dir (avek) li: 'he says to him:' (Bollée notes *avek li* as more frequent than *li* alone. With *zot* also?)
pa koz sa ek person 'don't speak of that to anyone'
i n akôt zistuar Sûgula avek sô ser 'he told the Soungoula story to his sister'
i n tiôbo sa fizi ek sa solda bâkal 'he grabbed the rifle from the pigeon-toed soldier'
me si u ti a van li avek mua 'but if you would sell it to me'
i balâs sô lame avek Msie Mardigra 'he waves to Mr Mardigras'
al don avek manazer lotel 'go and give it to the hotel manager'

4.122 VG + V + PP

V is [-transitive, +attributive]:

zot ava al lekol 'they will go to school'
i n sorti lames 'he came out of Mass'
Zâ i return dâ lakuizin 'John goes back into the kitchen'
be u dormi ek pei, u! 'well, YOU are a country bumpkin! (you sleep with the country)'
ler zot ti ariv dâ bal 'when they arrived at the dance'
koma Torti i sorti dâ lakaz 'as Turtle comes out of the house'
mô sorti lor mô lili 'I get up out of bed'

i tom a-ter 'he falls on the ground'

Note that many surface PPs, unlike these ones, are dominated by S and not by VG; we return to this below.

4.123 VG + V + NP

V is [+transitive, -attributive]:

i komâs sô luvraz 'he begins his work'.
u n suiy latab? 'have you wiped the table?'
mô bezuê al gat delo 'I need to go and urinate'
i a uar sô buldu 'he will see his sweetheart'

Note that there are cases where a sentence appears to be derived according to this rewrite of VG:

mô kôtâ li 'I love her'

Observe however the semantics of *ape* with *kôtâ* (cf. 4.115 above):

mô pe kôtâ li
mô (pe) komâs kôtâ li } 'I am beginning to love her'

To account for this we must suppose that in *mô pe kôtâ li*, VG is rewritten as Copula + AP (where AP → AG(*kôtâ*) + PP(*li*)).

4.124 VG + V

V is [-transitive, -attributive]:

i ape rôfle 'he is snoring'
mô ti ape sifle 'I was whistling'

4.125 Surface deletions

A large number of verbs which are [+transitive] or [+attributive] may appear with no following NP or PP:

i ti ana labitid lir asuar 'he used to read at night'
nu a dâse 'we shall dance'
solda i ale 'the soldier goes'
i komâs beÿe 'he begins to bathe'

The conditions under which this may occur need to be studied. For example, while *lir* and *dâse* can have only a limited number of possible direct objects (thing read, dance danced, etc.), a verb such as *ale* allows a large number of possible PPs and *beÿe* is in the sentence above reflexive (*beÿ sô lekor*, *beÿ li-mem* 'washes himself'). In the case of transitive verbs, as a general rule the more restricted the range of possible direct objects, the more likely the verb is to appear in this "absolute" construction. In the case of *fer* 'to do' (*fer* is in many instances a verbal proform), the direct object is usually

specified, but not always:

pa fer dā mō sak 'don't defecate in my bag'

A complete study of the SC "absolute" construction will no doubt reveal some at least of the criteria involved. Cf. Boagey 1974-5 for a discussion of the problem in English.

4.126 The "attribute of the complement"

In sentences such as:

u apel li Zonas? 'do you call him Jonas?'
les u seve trākil 'leave your hair alone'
pa dir mua kuyō 'don't call me stupid/a dope'
sa garsō pe prā nu pur ē ēbesil 'that boy is taking us for dopes'
i uver sō zorey biē grā 'he opens his ears wide'
i lav lasiet biē prop 'he washes the plates very clean'
i n elekte minis 'he is/has been elected Minister'
u pu fer mō fiy erez 'you will make my daughter happy'

we have what is traditionally called an attribute of the (direct or indirect) complement. We postulate that these attributes are derived from underlying copulative sentences dominated by PP, but a full investigation remains to be done.

4.127 Transitive verbs used intransitively

Some transitive verbs may be used intransitively, and many may also be used as adjectives. Let us compare two sentences:

(a) *sō lipie i n tase dā koltar* 'his feet are stuck (=have become stuck) in the tar'

Here, *tase* is an adjective (it has not undergone *-e* deletion, v. 4.22 below, and its status as a stative is shown by the use of the Completive marker *n*, v. 4.112 above and 4.34 below). Our sentence (a) is a passive sentence (v. Corne 1976), with a goal-subject.

(b) *sō lipie i n tas dā koltar* 'his feet have stuck in the tar'

In (b) the verb *tas(e)* is a transitive verb used intransitively and the subject *sō lipie* is not a goal-subject, since intransitive verbs by definition do not have "goals".

These verbs may be compared with the class of verbs called "symétriques" in French (Lagane 1967, and cf. Dubois 1967: 80-126, especially 107-13). In French, these verbs allow the inversion of subject and object without modification of the verb nor addition of any auxiliary, the actor being marked by a variety of prepositions (*à, de, par*, etc.). Thus, *le soleil jaunît les papiers* versus *les papiers jaunissent au soleil*. Being both transitive as well as intransitive, these verbs also

allow the traditional passive, *les papiers sont jaunis par le soleil*, and they also occur as pronominal verbs. Note also that there is a further procedure in French whereby a passive sentence or a sentence with an actor-subject and an intransitive verb may be transformed using the verb *faire*: *elle soupire de soulagement + son soulagement la fait soupirer*. Let us illustrate this with the verb *casser* 'to break'.

- (a) *le vent a cassé les branches* - active, transitive verb
- (b) *les branches ont été cassées par le vent* - passive
- (c) *les branches se sont cassées (sous l'action du vent)* - pronominal verb
- (d) *les branches ont cassé sous l'action du vent* - active, intransitive verb
- (e) *le vent a fait casser les branches* - with *faire*; *casser* is intransitive

In SC the verb *kase* appears in the same structures, with the exception of (c) since pronominal verbs ("reflexive" verbs) in SC are subject to certain conditions (see Reflexive verbs, below):

- (a) *divā i n kas ban brās* 'the wind broke the branches'
- (b) *ban brās i n kase ek divā* 'the branches are/have been broken by the wind'
- (d) *ban brās i n kas ek/dā divā* 'the branches broke with/in/because of the wind'
- (e) *divā i n fer ban brās kase* 'the wind caused the branches to break'

4.128 Reflexive verbs

There are two ways of expressing the reflexivity of an action.

(a) The non-subject form of personal nouns and personal pronouns (3.61) may be used, either alone or with the addition of *-mem* 'self':

i asize, i beŷ li partu 'he sits down and washes (bathes) himself all over'
i vol li ē kanot 'he steals a boat for himself'
kī maŷer u sātī u, mō frer? 'how do you feel, brother?'
i sorti dā lapay kot i ti n maske li 'he comes out of the hay in which he had hidden himself'
u rād u kōt ki u fin fer? 'do you realise what you have done?'
i uar ē palto, i met lor li 'he sees a jacket, he puts it on'
i gaŷ li ē sok 'he got (himself) a shock'
u n nobu gaŷ u ē mari 'you have been able to get yourself a husband'
i dir (dā) li-mem 'he says to himself'
mō deman mua si ... 'I wonder if ...'

As these examples show, the identity of reference is between the NP subject and NP constituent of VP (direct object, indirect object, or governed by a preposition).

(b) The formula *V + mō lekor, u lekor, etc.*:

koze pur sulaz u lekor 'talk (away) to relieve your mind (yourself)'
mō pa kone ki maŷer pur esplik mō lekor 'I don't know how to explain myself'
i pa ti kone ki i pu fer avek sō lekor 'he didn't know what to do with himself'
anu frā ek nu lekor 'let us be frank with ourselves'

Referential identity is as for (a) above.

With *dir*, a frequent variant of *i dir dā li-mem* 'he says to himself' is:

i dir dā sō leker 'he says to himself, he says in his heart'

We may note that 'to talk to oneself' is expressed using *tu sel* 'all alone':

i koz (li) tu sel 'he talks to himself'

4.129 Reciprocal verbs

Lexical means of expressing reciprocity are:

(a) *kamarad* (v. 3.632)

de dimun ki kōtā kamarad 'two people who love each other'

(b) *saken* (v. 3.632)

zot pa ti kapab apel saken zot prop nō 'they were incapable of calling each other by their real (proper) name'

(c) *āsam*

zot ti ape koz āsam 'they were talking together/to each other'

(d) *en-a-lot*

zot ti a detruī en-a-lot parey zanimō 'you would destroy each other like animals'

4.2 The Verb

4.21 Verb morphology

SC verbs fall into two morphological classes, those which have two contextually conditioned forms (a "short" form and a "long" form with final *-e* or *-i*), and those which have a single, invariable form.

4.211 Class I Verbs

A large sub-class of verbs, all ending in *-e* (with the single exception of *vini* 'to come, become'), are subject to deletion of their final vowel (see 4.213 below).

(a) Class Ia. Examples of Class Ia verbs are:

<i>al(e)</i> 'to go'	<i>kit(e)</i> 'to leave, separate'
<i>vey(e)</i> 'to watch (over)'	<i>kon(e)</i> 'to know'
<i>fan(e)</i> 'to spread'	<i>bat(e)</i> 'to hit, beat'
<i>larg(e)</i> 'to let go (of)'	<i>regard(e)</i> 'to look at'
<i>return(e)</i> 'to return, go back, come back'	
<i>kōtiŷ(e)</i> 'to continue' (basilectal; some speakers have an invariable Class II form <i>kōtinie</i>)	

The verb 'to see, find' occurs usually as *trur*, but also as *truv*. The long form is *truve*. We may note in passing that lenition of word-final *-v* is not restricted to SC: in Baissac 1888 for MC the preposition *avek* 'with (etc.)' has a variant form *av*, while in modern MC the form is *ar* (phonetically a low back vowel, long -- see Rule 1 in 4.213 below); in RoC, the form *ar* occurs phonetically (for at least some speakers) as a low front vowel, also long. A Class II(c) verb (below) also displays lenition of *-v*: *drayv* 'to drive' (from English) occurs usually as *dray* (all speakers have *drayver* 'driver'); the form **drayve* has not so far been observed: *sa ē loto ki zame mō n deza dray* 'that is a (type of) car that I have never driven'.

(b) Class Ib. This class includes those verbs where the long form has a nasal vowel + voiced stop + *e*, and where the short form has an oral vowel + nasal consonant (v. Corne, in press [1973], and *Seychelles Creole Workbook*, 1). This class includes:

<i>deman/demāde</i> 'to ask (for)'
<i>tom/tōbe</i> 'to fall'
<i>koman/komāde</i> 'to order'
<i>repriman/reprimāde</i> 'to reprimand'
<i>tan/tāde</i> 'to hear'

The verb *tan/tāde* has a "refined" variant *ātan* which is invariable.

When the following item is *u*, a majority of speakers maintain the voiced stop:

mō demād u 'I ask you'

Some speakers do not (*mô deman u*), but this is considered by most speakers to be characteristic of "gros créole". When the following item (apart from *u*) has an initial vowel, most speakers do not maintain the stop:

karabi i tom âba zorey 'the sideburns come below the ears'

but in "refined" Creole, the stop may be retained by some speakers:

i tôb a-ter 'he falls on the ground'

This (historical) assimilation whereby a voiced stop merges with the homorganic nasal, occurs throughout SC (*lanme*<French *lâdmê* 'the next day', *ansu*<French *âdsu* 'underneath', *lazam*<French *lažâb* 'leg', *âsam*<French *âsâb(l)* 'together', etc.)

4.212 Class II Verbs

These verbs are invariable.

(a) Verbs in *-e*. The Class I verbs all have the shape (X)(C)V(r)Ce, but not all verbs of this shape are subject to *-e* deletion: *pare* 'to prepare', *tarde* 'to loiter, be late', (*u*)*le* 'to wish, want', *fode* 'to be necessary' (also *fodre*), ... Other Class II verbs in *-e* include those with *-CCe*:

<i>aste</i> 'to buy'	<i>môtire</i> 'to show'
<i>sivre</i> 'to follow' (variant <i>suiv</i> , (c) below)	
<i>reste</i> 'to remain' (variant <i>res</i> for some speakers)	
<i>promne</i> 'to walk' (Class I for some speakers: <i>promen(e)</i>)	
...	

those with *-Cie*:

<i>kôtinie</i> 'to continue' (refined; basilectal <i>kôtiy(e)</i>)	
<i>sie</i> 'to saw'	<i>marie</i> 'to marry'
<i>parie</i> 'to bet'	<i>etidie</i> 'to study'
<i>abitie</i> 'to accustom'	
...	

those with *-Cue*:

zue 'to play'
...

(b) Verbs in *-i* (excepting *vin(i)* 'to come, become'):

<i>dormi</i> 'to sleep'	<i>remersi</i> 'to thank'
<i>sâti</i> 'to smell'	<i>perdi</i> 'to lose'
<i>pi</i> 'to stink'	...

or in other vowels:

<i>prâ</i> 'to take'	<i>kôprâ</i> 'to understand'
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dua 'to owe'
tiôbo 'to seize, grab'
nobu/nabu 'to be able'

fu 'to hit, give'
bezuê/bizuê 'to need, have to'
...

(c) Verbs in *-C*:

<i>uar</i> 'to see'	<i>buar</i> 'to drink'
<i>kuar/kruar</i> 'to believe'	<i>dir</i> 'to say, tell'
<i>ekrir</i> 'to write'	<i>kôstrir</i> 'to construct'
<i>fer</i> 'to make, do'	<i>kuver</i> 'to cover'
<i>uver</i> 'to open'	<i>sufér</i> 'to suffer'
<i>kapab</i> 'to be able'	<i>kud</i> 'to sew'
<i>suiv</i> 'to follow'	<i>viv</i> 'to live'
<i>twis</i> 'to twist (dance)'	<i>lapes</i> 'to fish'
<i>lager</i> 'to fight'	<i>travay</i> 'to work'
<i>paret</i> 'to appear, seem'	<i>disparet</i> 'to disappear'
<i>debat</i> 'to struggle'	<i>rekonet</i> 'to recognise'
<i>permet</i> 'to permit, allow'	<i>kasiet</i> 'to hide'
<i>dispit</i> 'to argue, fight'	...

mor 'to die' is probably better analysed as an adjective 'be dead':

i n mor 'he is dead'

Similarly *debut* 'to be standing' (rather than 'to stand').

Bollée notes that for *promet* 'to promise' she found it impossible to determine if there is a form *promete*, since the verb is always followed by a pronoun or a personal noun: *mô promet u, i n promet mua*, etc. My informants similarly could not be induced to produce a sentence **sa ketsoz ki i n promete* 'that thing that he promised', the secondary complement indicated by the sense always being added. (Similarly for *permet* and *remersi*.)

(d) Verbs in *-n*:

<i>defan</i> 'to forbid, defend'	<i>desan</i> 'to come/go down'
<i>fan</i> 'to split'	<i>pon</i> 'to lay'
<i>ran</i> 'to give back'	<i>van</i> 'to sell'
<i>zuen</i> 'to meet (up with), join'	<i>fon</i> 'to melt'
...	

As for the verbs of Class Ib, the homorganic stop occurs:

mô a zuêd u 'I'll meet you'
mô ti defâd u 'I forbade you'

(the same socio-linguistic variation occurs.)

4.213 The phonological rule of *-e* deletion

Class I verbs, as stated above, are subject to the truncation of their final vowel. Truncation occurs only when the verb has the phonetic shape (X)(C)VCE. This shape includes

those verbs which phonemically have the shape (X)(C)V(r)Ce, since SC has a rule of *r*-deletion; phonetic detail for *r* aside, this rule may be stated thus:

$$(1) \quad r \rightarrow : / _ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ C \end{array} \right\}$$

(where the symbol *:* represents vowel length, diphthongization, etc., cf. Corne, in press [1973]). A verb such as *large* 'to let go' is phonetically [la:ge], and it undergoes *-e* deletion in the same way as *ale* 'to go'. A statement such as: "Verbs with the shape (X)(C)V(r)Ce may be truncated", is simply equivalent to an exhaustive listing of those verbs which do, or do not, undergo this truncation; it thus overlooks a significant generalisation about SC, namely the fact that truncation occurs only when the phonetic shape is vowel + consonant + vowel, and that consonant clusters (except *rC*) block truncation (Class II verbs).

Now the *r*-deletion rule is interesting, in that in the case of, for example, *tire* 'to pull' (Class I), *-e* deletion must apply before *r* deletion:

tire → (*-e* deletion) *tir*
tir → (*r* deletion) *ti:*

(for phonetic detail, see Corne, in press [1973]). In the case of verbs like *large*, however, there are two possibilities. The first is to complicate the rule whereby a consonant cluster blocks *-e* deletion by making *rC* an exception. The second is to apply the *r* deletion rule, reducing *rC* to *C*, thus producing the correct VCV string to which *-e* deletion may then apply. This second solution produces a rule-ordering paradox, in that in the case of *tire* the rules of *r* and *-e* deletion have to apply in a different order from that necessary in the case of *large*. But it is not in fact necessary to order these two rules with respect to each other, if we simply allow each rule to apply to all possible representations that meet its structural description. Rule 1 is stated above. Rule 2 can be (rather crudely) represented as:

$$(2) \quad e \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{VC} _ \# \\ \text{verb} + X \text{ (where } X \text{ is specified in syntactic terms, 4.22 below)}$$

Thus	l	a	r	g	e		t	i	r	e
			1		2				1	2
			↓		↓				↓	↓
	l	a	:	g	∅		t	i	:	∅

See now Koutsoudas *et al.* 1974 for the application of phonological rules, and Papen 1975 for a detailed discussion of this problem in IOC generally. Papen's solution is to retain ordered rules, by considering *r* to be an underlying glide which forms a "natural" class with *y* and *w* (as in MC *taype* 'to type', *braybe* 'to bribe' - he gives no examples of *VwC* for verbs, and none

have been noted for SC verbs). In all cases, the items concerned are relatively recent borrowings (from English); Papen notes (1975: n.14) that verbs such as (MC) *fayle* 'to file' vary as to *-e* deletion from speaker to speaker: some speakers with a knowledge of English consider such verbs as invariable Class II verbs (*tayp*, *fayl*, *brayb*), while others consider them as Class I. In this analysis, the surface (phonetic) manifestations of *r* are derived by a rule of *r*-formation. It is hard to see what kind of natural class is made up of etymological (French) *rC* on the one hand, and borrowed English *yC* and *wC* on the other, and this solution appears to be a way of retaining rule ordering.

4.22 The problem of *-e*-deletion verbs

The distribution of the short and long forms of Class I verbs has been described by both Bollée and Papen. A more detailed statement of the phenomenon of *-e* deletion in SC, MC and RC has been made by Papen 1975, on the basis of both published and unpublished written texts, as well as oral texts from each dialect collected by him in 1972-3.

While a broad general statement can be made for SC, a complete description does not seem possible as yet, for reasons which will be discussed in 4.224 below. Investigation of the phenomenon with informants has produced data which are not significantly different from those in the works cited above.

4.221 The long form

In some syntactic contexts, only the long form of the verb occurs. These are:

(a) Prepausally:

koma i uar sa lulu arive, i taye 'when he sees the wolf coming, he runs (away)'

(b) Clause-finally, when the clause is the subject of the sentence:

dimun ki pa vini pa pu gay nariê 'people who don't come won't get anything'

or when the clause is followed by a co-ordinate clause or a subordinating conjunction:

ler i a vini e i a uar nu pe fer sa 'when he comes and sees us doing that'
i ti n koze avâ mô ti kapab âpes li 'he had spoken before I could prevent him'
i pe plere aköz sô pies i n ale 'he is crying because his girl-friend has left/gone away'
sove pâgar u gay dimal 'run away in case you get hurt'

(Cf. 4.222 below.)

(c) The emphatic adverb *mem* following the verb:

i ti pe sâte mem 'he was really singing'
i marse mem 'he keeps right on walking'

(d) The presence of a feature [+emphasis], the exact nature of which is not entirely clear. Compare:

i a mâz sa ki u a don li 'he will eat what you (will) give him' ([-emphasis])
i a mâze sa ki u a don li 'he will really get stuck in to eating what you (will) give him' ([+emphasis])

In Negative Emphatic (Rhetorical) Questions in SC, some informants reject sentences with the short form of the verb. Thus, while some speakers allow:

u pa i kon sa?! 'don't you (even, really) know that?!'
(short form of verb *kon(e)* followed by direct object *sa*, see 4.223 (a) below), other speakers reject this in favour of a sentence with the verb used absolutely (cf. 4.125 Surface deletions above):

u pa i kone?! 'don't you (even, really) know?!'

While [+emphasis] always prevents *-e* deletion in MC, it is not clear that all cases where the long form occurs in SC (i.e. in contexts where the short form is more usual) are due to this feature:

u n suiy(e) latab ki mō n dir u? 'have you wiped the table as I told you?'
mō pa dir u ki zur mō pu ariv(e) dā nu pti pei 'I'm not saying which day I shall arrive in our little country'

(Cf. 4.223 below)

(e) The gerundive following the verb:

i pe vini â sâtâ 'he is coming, and singing while so doing'

(f) A nominalised verb:

mâze i n pare 'the food is ready'
sa bate ki i n gaŋe avek larul 'that beating he got from the ocean swell'

We may include here cases where an infinitive is the subject of the sentence:

mâze i ê ketsoz ki u kon fer! 'eating is something you sure know how to do!'

but when the infinitive has an object, *-e* deletion applies in the usual way (4.223):

lav lêz i ê travay bonfam 'washing clothes is a woman's work'

(g) Two verbs juxtaposed to express (i) simultaneous action, (ii) the two phases of an action (this juxtaposition is marked here orthographically by a hyphen):

sa bef i komâs kriye-turne 'the ox begins to bellow and turn'
gete, sa en pli gro pe môte-desan lor sa ban brâs 'look, that largest one (a monkey) is going up and down in the branches'
i uar ê ban dimun pe mâze-buar dâ lotel 'he sees a lot of people eating and drinking in the hotel'
zot ti ale-vini 'they were coming and going'

This particular construction is generally considered (cf. Bollée, paragraph 2.1.4 *Remarque*) as being "typical" of Creole generally; Chaudenson 1974: 880-1 notes a French dialectal origin for (RC) *turne-vire* 'to come and go, move about in the vicinity of' (French 'tourner autour'); SC has *vire-turne* rather than *turne-vire*.

(h) Reduplication of verbs. The exact semantics of reduplication in SC have yet to be studied in detail. The process appears to be highly individualised (varying from speaker to speaker). For Class I verbs, there are two possibilities: short form + long form, and long form + long form (in both cases, the second long form is subject to *-e* deletion in the appropriate contexts, except that the long form + long form usually indicates emphasis which prevents *-e* deletion). The short form + long form appears to indicate repetition and/or a diminution of the activity:

marsharse 'to walk back and forth', *kozkoze* 'to chat, gossip', *naznaze* 'to swim back and forth', *getgete* 'to look all around', *blagblage* 'to chatter on (about minor matters)'.
The long form + long form, which indicates emphasis as already mentioned, occurs only infrequently and is rejected by some speakers:

kolekole 'to stick fast', *getegete* 'to stare at'.

(i) Adjectives derived from verbs (see the discussion on Passives):

mō ti oblize fer sa 'I was obliged to do that'

4.222 Verb + a sentential complement

In this context, there is a clear tendency for the long

form of the verb to be used. The sentential complement may be of three kinds: (a) a noun clause derived from a statement (a Noun Clause), with the subordinating conjunctions *ki*, *si*, *pur-dir*, \emptyset ;

(b) a noun clause derived from a question (an Indirect Question), with various subordinators, *si* 'if, whether', *ki* 'who, whom, which, to whom (etc.)', *kot(e)* 'where', *ki maÿer* 'how', ...;

(c) a clause or infinitive phrase introduced by *pur*.

(a) Noun Clauses. When there is no surface subordinator, the long form is usual:

mô ti mazine i â Norvez 'I thought he was in Norway'
mô kone u âfame 'I know you are greedy'

but the short form occurs occasionally (but cf. 8.33):

si i ariv en-de i lager 'if it happens that some (of them) fight'
ê zur ti truv ana ê Sûgula 'once upon a time it (so) happened that there was a Soungoula'

With the subordinators *ki* and *si*, only the long form occurs:

i remarke ki ti ana trua pul blâ 'he notices that there were three white hens'
zot kone ki nu famiy... 'you know that our family...'
zame mô ti mazine si ê zur u pu kôtâ mua 'I never thought that one day you would love me'
zame mô ti pâse si ê zur nu pu fase 'I never thought that one day we would get angry with each other'
Sûgula pa n uar si Torti i n kas sa ki mir, li osi
 'Soungoula has not seen that Turtle has picked those which are ripe, too'
u a kone pur-dir u ban lulu pe dâse deor 'you'll know that your wolves are dancing outside'

(b) Indirect Questions. The subordinate clause may be derived from a Yes/No question, subordinator *si*:

i demâde si mô a kapab vini 'he asks if/whether I will be able to come'

or it may be derived from a WH-question, introduced by interrogative elements (cf. Interrogative sentences). In all cases, the preceding verb generally has the long form:

i demâde ki n arive 'he asks what has happened'
mô kone ki mô pu fer 'I know what I'll do'
gete sa ki i n arive fer nu 'look at what he has managed to do to us, what he's gone and done to us'
u a kone ki mua taler 'you'll soon know who I am' (a threat of impending - vigorous - action)

u kone kot(e) sa labutik i ete 'you know where the shop is'
mô pa kone kel-er nu burzua pu arive 'I don't know what time our boss will get here'
i ti rakôte ki maÿer i n arive 'he told how he had got here/there'
i al gete ki pozisiô baka i n arive 'he goes to see what state (position) the *baacca* has got to'

The short form occurs occasionally:

get ki lera i n arive fer nu 'look at what the rats have gone and done to us'
get ki maÿer lavi i dir komela 'look how hard life is nowadays'
kâ sô fam ti a deman ki i ti pe riye 'if (when) his wife were to ask at what he was laughing'
papa i va deman ki u ule 'Dad will ask what you want'

(c) *pur*. The preposition *pur* following the verb almost always gives rise to the long form. It introduces PPs of benefit, adverbial clauses of purpose, and sentential complements.

mô deman li ki mô pu amene pur li 'I ask him what shall I bring for him'
zot zafer ki zot i n arâze pur dimâs prosê 'your gear that you have arranged/organised for next Sunday'
i vini pur li vin beÿe 'he comes so as/in order to (come and) bathe'
laklos i sone pur dine 'the bell rings for dinner'
u n bliye pur mâsion torti-d-ter 'you have forgotten to mention the tortoise'
nu ava arâze pur nu don ê bal 'we shall arrange to give a ball'

4.223 The short form

The short form occurs in the following contexts, bearing in mind that the presence of [+emphasis] blocks the application of -e deletion.

(a) Verb + direct/indirect object NP:

mô a gayê ê dalô 'I shall get a work-mate'
mô ti a kôtâ si u kôtiÿ sa luvraz 'I would be pleased if you (would) continue the job'
mô pa ti kup sa 'I didn't cut that'
i pe okip sô lakur 'he is looking after his place'
i n don mua sa liv 'he has given me that book'

In general, the short form occurs, although the long form is not absolutely excluded (the example of *suiy(e) latab*, in 4.221 (d) above):

mua osi, mô ti mazine ban plâter 'me too, I thought of the planters'

mô kuar i pâkor tâde sa nuvel 'I think he has not yet heard the news'

(b) Verb + predicate nominal/adjective (cf. Surface copulas, 4.114, and attributes of complements, 4.126). Only the short form occurs:

i n tom malad 'he has fallen ill'
ê zako ki ti apel M. 'a monkey who was called M.'
mô pu vin ris ê zur 'I'll be(come) rich one day'
sa lager ti n ariv efreyâ 'the war had become/had gotten to be so frightening'
i komâs â-koler 'he begins to be/get angry'

Where there is an underlying copula, this context is in effect identical to the following one (c).

The case of *apel(e)* 'to be called/named, to have as a name' is interesting. While *koma u apele?* 'what is your name?' is usual, the reply is *mô apel X* 'I am called X':

i vin dir u i apel Dokter 'he comes and tells you he is called "Doctor".'
en ti apel Sesil, e lot ti apel Fiy 'one was called Cécile, and the other was called Fille'

Here, *apel(e)* appears to be a verb (it cannot be an adjective since it is subject to *-e* deletion), so that in the sentence given above, *ê zako ki ti apel M.*, we have what appears to be an example of a clause with no subject; this is discussed below, see 6.5). The verb *apel(e)* occurs frequently in this structure, many stories beginning with *ti ana ê NP ki ti apel X* 'there was a NP who was called X'. Note the contrast with the adjective *nome* '(to be) named':

ê garsô nome Msie Lezen 'a young man named Mr Lejeune'

(c) Verb + verb. The underlying subject of the second verb has been deleted under various conditions of co-referentiality (Equi-NP), i.e. it is an "infinitive":

i obliz mua vini 'he obliges me to come'
i âpes u ale 'he stops you going'
ler i al get kok 'when he goes to look at the rooster'

In the vast majority of cases, the short form appears, but the long form is found in this context with two verbs in particular, *kôtiy(e)* 'to continue' and *ariv(e)* 'to arrive', and occasionally with other verbs. In the case of *kôtiy(e)*, the refined form *kôtinie* is presumably responsible for the non-application of *-e* deletion, although it may in fact be pronounced *kôtiye* (basilectal) by some speakers:

zot kôtiye dispit mem 'they continue/go right on fighting'

In basilectal SC:

zot kôtiy mâze mem 'they go right on eating'

The case of *ariv(e)* is less easily explained. I suspect that different speakers categorise *ariv(e)* differently, and that it is often used adjectivally (i.e. as a stative):

get ki lera i n arive fer nu ozordi 'look at what the rats have gone and done to us today'
{cf. French "sont arrivés à nous faire", where "arrivés" is used statively.} In the other contexts where they occur, *kôtiy(e)* and *ariv(e)* are also responsible for many of the "exceptions" to the *-e* deletion rule:

be ki n arive âkor? 'well now what's happened?'

Papen 1975: 22 notes that *kriy(e)* 'to yell, call (out to)' is also a frequent exception (because of its inherently emphatic nature?), and that exceptions seem to occur more frequently when the verb is preceded by the Completive marker (*fi*)*n*.

(d) Verb + *âkor* (note that *âkor* may be either an adverb or a constituent of D in this context).

u pa pu riy âkor ditu 'you won't laugh again at all'
i vey âkor ê smen 'he watches (over, out) for another week'

The only examples to hand of the long form are with the Completive marker + *arive*:

be ki n arive âkor? 'well now what's happened?'

(e) Verb + PP. In this context in particular there is a wide range of optionality.

(i) PP of location. The short form is clearly preferred by most speakers:

zot ti n ariv pre avek lakur 'they had arrived close to home'
môt lor mô ledô 'hop up on my back'
i mars obor larivier 'he walks beside the river'
i get dâ delo 'he looks into the water'
zot i n al se zot 'they went home'
i al kot sô frer 'he goes to his brother's place'
met derier lakuizin 'put (it) behind the kitchen'
zot return â-vil 'they go back to town'
i met âba latab 'he puts it under the table'

In PPs of location, there is not always a surface preposition, and the short form of the verb is almost always used:

zot ariv lamuatie seme 'they get half-way along the path'

i n al labutik 'he has gone to the shop'

The long form may occur when there is a preposition:

zot pe gete lor zot môt 'they are looking at their watches'
zot asize obor seme 'they sit down beside the path'

and in particular when the PP has *pur* (4.222 (c) above):

i bate pur lavil 'he heads for town'

In the case of an Adverb of location, the short form of the verb is almost always used:

zot ariv laba 'they get there'
i pa vir derier 'he doesn't turn around'
i sot deor 'he jumps out(side)'
i met andâ 'he puts (it) inside'
mô n vin isi 'I have come here'

but:

bonom lulu i dâse deor 'Mr Wolf dances outside'
zot komâs rode partu 'they begin looking everywhere'
([+emphasis]?)

Many adverbs of location are composed of an etymological preposition + noun:

i glis a-gos, i glis a-druat 'he slips to the left, he slips to the right'
i n ariv â-ler 'he gets up in the air'
i sot a-ter 'he jumps down, to the ground'
i tay â-ler lor pie 'he runs away up into the tree'

(ii) PP of time, including adverbials of time. The short form is generally preferred before clock times and week-days:

nu a lev truaz-er bomatê 'we shall get up at 3 a.m.'
bal pu komâs uit-er disuar 'the ball will begin at 8 p.m.'

Before Adverbs of time, the long form is slightly more frequent than the short form:

i lev biê gramatê 'he gets up really early'
nu pu komâs biê boner 'we'll start really early in the morning'
i pu vini gramatê 'he will come early in the morning'
ki fodre mete ozordi? 'what should we put on today?'
ban dimun ki nu truve komela 'the people we see nowadays'

Informants apparently consider an NP following *pase* 'to pass,

spend' as a direct object:

ler ti n pas kêz zur 'when 15 days had passed (it had passed 15 days)' (cf. 8.42)
u âvi vin pas lanuit kot nu? 'do you want to come and spend the night at our place?'

Papen 1975: 26 notes that (in MC) the adverbs *dimê* 'tomorrow', *zordi* 'today', *ier* 'yesterday', *asuar* 'tonight', *gramatê* 'morning' do not favour -e deletion; *desuit* 'right away', *boner* 'early', *tar* 'late', *taler* 'in a while', *aster* 'nowadays, now', *biêto* 'soon' do favour -e deletion; the time prepositions *avâ* 'before', *apre* 'after', *ziska* 'until', *dâ* 'in', *depi* 'since' are neutral towards -e deletion. Not enough data are available for a similar statement to be made about SC.

(iii) PPs and Adverbials of manner. The short form is almost always used:

i pe viv kom ê prês 'he is living like a prince'
zot a partaz â trua 'they will share (it) in three'
mô a fer li pas parey Zorz 'I'll do to him as I did to George' (make him pass like G.)
nu a buz âsam gramatê 'we shall move (off) together early in the morning'
tu zafer i mars biê 'everything is going well'
zot mars tro lâtma 'they walk too slowly'
nu a tap dusma dusma 'we'll go along nice and slowly'
i met druat tu sô zafer 'he puts all his gear in order'

(iv) Adverbials of quantity (adverbs and NPs) require the short form; this is a further reason (albeit not a strong reason) for considering these as pre-articles (RQuant, 3.14).

(v) The "general" PP, with *avek, ek*. There seems to be a slight preference for the short form of the verb:

i deman avek sa sef 'he asks the chief'
vin desen(e) avek nu! 'come and lunch with us!'
i gel (avek) lafê ek lakoler 'he bellows with hunger and anger'
i a vini ek sô vielô 'he will come with his violin'

It is not clear whether the expression *âsam (av)ek* NP should be classed here, or as a PP of manner:

i ale âsam ek zot 'he goes with them'

although the use of the long form suggests that *âsam (av)ek* is simply a variant of *(av)ek*.³

³ In MC, one of my informants offered the following:

(f) Verb + relative clause. This construction is not particularly frequent, and appears to be neutral towards *-e* deletion:

tu sa ki n âvoy(e) ki tro sal 'everything that we send that is too dirty'

but investigation of pause is needed; my informants tend to prefer the long form *âvoye/âvuaye* + pause.

(g) Miscellaneous cases.

(i) *pa ... osi* 'not ... either'. The long form occurs in the only example to hand:

S. i n fini â-koler, i pa mâze osi 'S. has become very angry, he does not eat, either (nor does he eat)'

(ii) The construction *fer* + Verb causes problems. In basilectal SC, the structure is *fer* + NP + Verb:

mô pu fer sa bonom sâte 'I shall make the fellow sing'

The infinitive following *fer* undergoes *-e* deletion in the usual way. However, some speakers (French influence?) have *fer* + Verb + NP:

mô pu fer sât(e) sa bonom 'I shall make the fellow sing'

although not all such speakers accept the short form here.

(iii) One extremely odd example has been noted in one of Bollée's texts:

eski nu va met zot tu melâz âsam? 'are we going to put them all mixed up together?'

This appears to be an instance of *-e* deletion applying to an adjective (*melâze*), in contradiction to the statement in 4.221 (i). A possible explanation is suggested in 8.2.

4.224 The *-e*-deletion "rule" in SC

The conclusions drawn by Papen 1975 (pp. 28 ff.) from his study of the phenomenon of *-e* deletion in IOC appear to account for the SC data.

li n vini asam mua 'he came with me'
 (the informant claimed that he would not himself use this)
li n vini avek mua 'he came with me'
li n vini âsam avek mua 'he came together with me'

Firstly, it is clear that *-e* deletion is primarily a phonological rule, but that it requires a lot of syntactic information to allow it to operate correctly, since it is the constituent following the verb that determines whether there will be deletion of the thematic vowel or not.

Clauses generally block the application of the rule, and this reflects a major division of sentence structure. Co-ordinate clauses and sentential complement clauses represent major branchings in the derivational tree structures, as do adverbial clauses.

Object NPs and most PPs are not major constituents, however, the difference being that in the first case there is an embedding of one sentence into another, while in the second case only one sentence is involved in the derivation.

Different structures are involved in sentences such as:

- (a) *mô kon dâse* 'I know how to dance'
- (b) *mô kone (ki) mô dâse* 'I know (that) I dance'

In (a), the underlying subject of *dâse* has been deleted under identity (Equi-NP), so that the embedded sentence no longer branches. Compare the two trees (Figure 2):

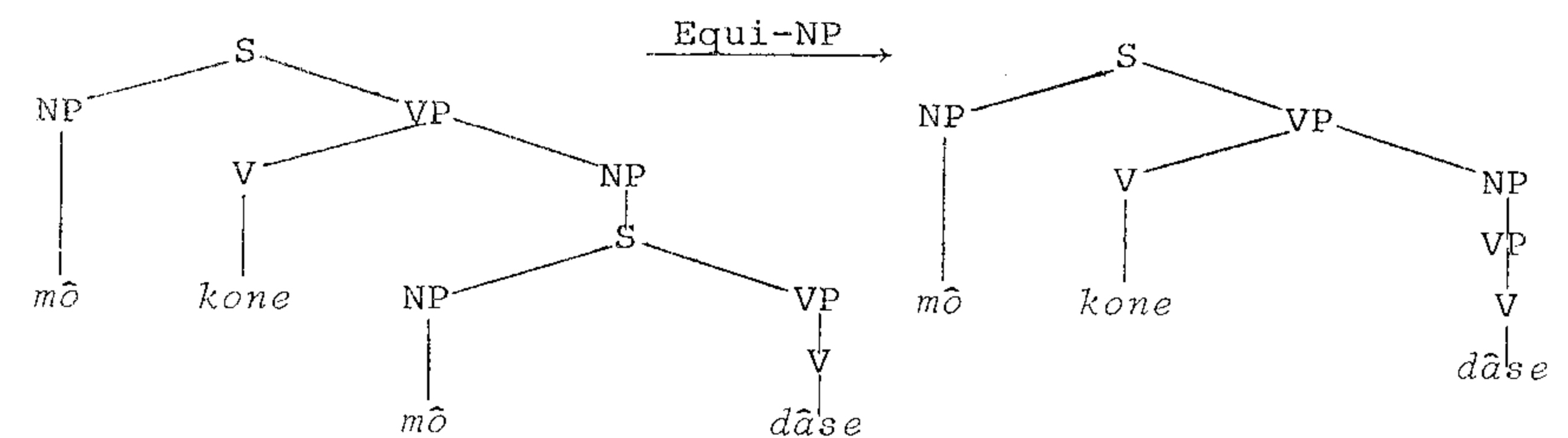


Fig. 2

In the second tree, *dâse* is dominated by the same node as *kone*, thus allowing *-e* deletion.

In (b), *ki* may be optionally deleted, but this does not affect the derivation of the sentence (Figure 3):

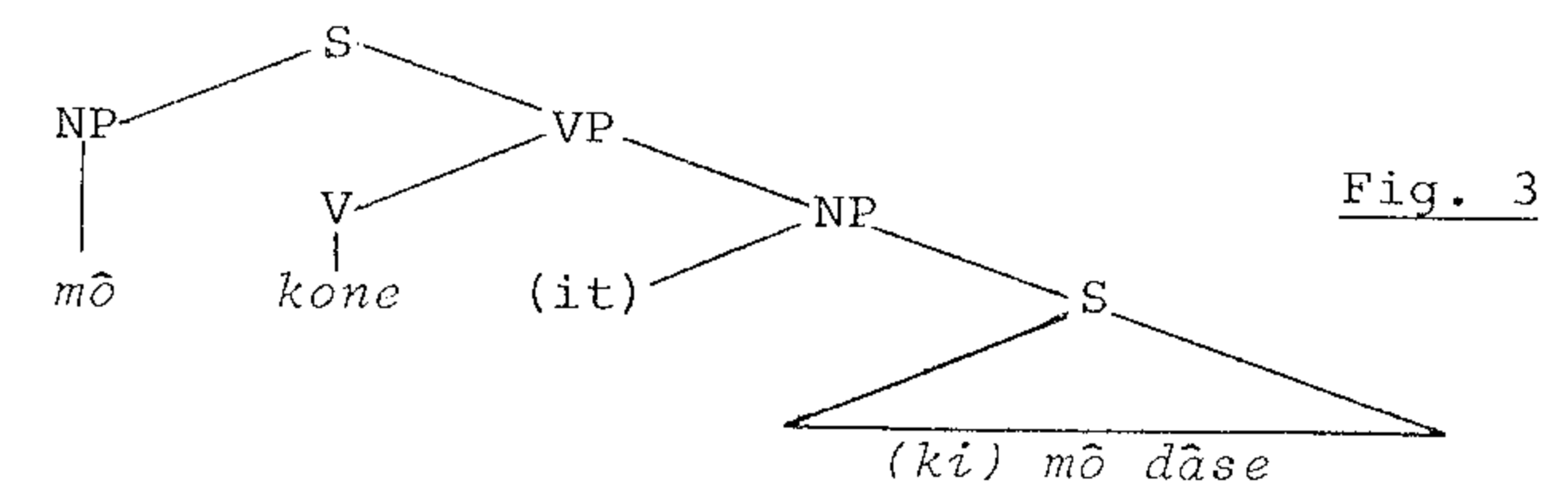


Fig. 3

Similar derivations allow (c) and (d) to be distinguished:

- (c) *mô tan ê loto (pe) vini* 'I hear a car coming'
(d) *mô tâde ê loto (pe) vini* 'I hear a car is coming'

The problem arises in particular with PPs. Adverbial subordinate clauses generally block *-e* deletion, with the notable exception of locative clauses:

- i al kot pe sue bingo* 'he goes to where they are playing bingo'

We have seen that PPs of location entail the short form, although the long form also occurs; the short form is clearly preferred before an adverb of location. Manner prefers the short form. Time and "General" (with *(av)ek*) allow both short and long forms.

It is the parsing of such constituents that is the problem: are they constituents of VP or of S? If the facts of *-e* deletion are considered, Papen (1975: 33) concludes that (a) subordinate adverbial clauses (and I think we should include Gerundives as well here) are constituents of S;

(b) locative, manner (and quantity, if we do not consider them as being constituents of D) adverbs are constituents of VG;

(c) time adverbials, clock times, week-days, and general PPs do allow *-e* deletion, although variably, and thus the *-e*-deletion rule does not allow us to draw any conclusions as to their parsing.

By the same token, these latter show that constituent structure alone does not condition *-e* deletion, and the general effect of constituent structure does not account for the "exceptions" that occur in other contexts. Nor is the question of emphasis accounted for. We have seen that [+emphasis] blocks the rule, and we have noted that emphasis may be overtly marked by *mem*, by verb reduplication, by specific syntactic structures such as the Negative Emphatic (Rhetorical) Question. These are not obligatory, and emphasis may also be marked by the non-application of *-e* deletion in contexts where the rule would normally apply. We have also pointed out that in SC the presence of the thematic vowel alone in such contexts is not necessarily indicative of emphasis (in fact, Emphasis appears to be less well defined than in MC, although this may well turn out to be simply a question of inadequate data).

We shall leave aside the interesting problems of how a rule of *-e* deletion should be formally stated, and simply refer the reader to Papen 1975. Instead, we shall concentrate on the question of the optionality of the rule, and attempt to suggest a few possibilities that may go some way towards explaining both the optionality of the rule (in the appropriate contexts) and its origins.

4.225 Optionality and origins of *-e* deletion

The RC data given in Papen 1975 (an admittedly restricted amount of data was available to him) shows the thematic vowels *e* and *i* occurring only with *la*, *fin*, *a*, *anô*, *(le) pur*, *vien*, *apre*, and *sa(va)*:

- muê la sâte* 'I have sung, I sang'
muê fin ale 'I went, I have gone'
m a riske 'I shall risk'
anô dâse 'let's dance'
muê (le) pur dormir 'I am about to sleep'
m i vien sâtir 'I have just smelt'
muê l apre mâze 'I am eating'
m i sa(va) dormir 'I shall sleep'

(Cf. the RC temporal/aspectual system table in 3.625.)

That is, the thematic vowel does not occur with the Present:

- m i dâs* 'I dance'

with the Imperfect:

- muê te i dâs* 'I danced'

although in the variety of RC spoken by the "Petits Blancs des Hauts" the thematic vowel is present:

- m i dâse* 'I danced'

with the Future Negative:

- m i dâsra pa* 'I shall not dance'

With certain classes of verbs (see Papen 1975: 2 for details), the thematic vowel deletes in approximately the same environments as for MC and SC. Thus:

- nu la asepte* 'we accepted'
nu la asepte sô ed 'we accepted his help'
m i vien mâze 'I have just eaten'
m i vien mâz lavian 'I have just eaten the meat'

From the above, we may note (a) RC retains in a vestigial form the French conjugation system, in that the Present and the Negative Future - and the Imperfect in the Petits Blancs variety - are opposed to all other tenses/aspects where the verb (form if not function) corresponds to the French past participle or the French infinitive, and secondly (b) there is an extension of the short form to (i) the Imperfect in the non-Petits Blancs variety of RC, and to (ii) the "past participle" and the "infinitive" in similar environments to those which require the short form in MC, SC and RoC.

The limited data available to me for Old RC (Chaudenson

1974: 1147-55, Laray 1888-92(b)) suggest that the present system was established early in the formation of RC.

Papen 1975 (cf. also Baker 1972: 98-99, Corne 1970: 17-18) shows that modern MC usage is essentially identical to that of SC, including optionality (especially with PPs), socio- and idio-dialectal variations, etc. The main difference between MC and SC usage appears to lie in the *valeur d'insistance* (Pudaruth 1972, cited Papen 1975: 23), i.e. the emphatic value, of *-e* when the long form "replaces" the short form: in MC this is always due to [+emphasis], whereas in SC this is seemingly not always the case. Let us return briefly to SC. In SC, the verb *dispit* 'to argue' is an invariable (Class II) verb for most speakers. However, an 83-year old woman (recorded on tape by D. d'Offay) produced the following utterance:

mô zâfâ i dispit ek mua, i dispit, i dispit, i dispit
'my children argue with me, argue, argue, argue'

The appearance of *-e* here may be a question of [+emphasis]; that is, following Moorghen 1972 (for MC) we could consider *-e* as an accentual morpheme added to the verb. It is unlikely that this is the case, since *dispit* is then used three times (and each time it is prepausal), manifestly for reasons of emphasis. For our 83-year old, it seems more plausible to consider that *dispit* is both a Class I and a Class II verb, since she also uses the verb *gaÿe* twice followed by a direct object:

mô va gaÿe baba 'I was going to have a baby' (the context of the sentence is Past!)
mô rar gaÿe lafiév, mua 'it is rare for me to get a fever'

These instances of retention of *-e* may be compared with the sentence noted in 4.221(d) above:

u n sui(y)e latab? 'have you wiped the table?'
where the long form does not appear to have an emphatic value. Although the evidence is far from being strong, we may tentatively suppose that the optionality of *-e* deletion with PPs in modern SC is indicative of similar optionality in other contexts at an earlier stage in the development of the dialect.

Old MC. Baissac 1880 (quoted in Papen 1975: 38) notes such verbs as *fini* 'to finish' and *tini* 'to hold' (as well as *vini*) allowing deletion of the final vowel. Some verbs ending with Consonant + *l/r* + *e* also allow deletion: *suf(le)* 'to blow', *môt(re)* 'to show', *rât(re)* 'to enter' (similar variation occurs in RC verbs), while others (e.g. *rôfle* 'to beat up') do not. At least some speakers of modern MC have *res(te)* 'to stay, remain' (also in SC for some speakers), *môt(re)* 'to show', *sif(le)* or *suf(le)* 'to blow, whistle', *trâble/tram* 'to tremble'; modern basilectal MC has *sort(i)* 'to go out' (Papen 1975: 3, 8, 37n.8). In the folk tales in Baissac 1888, *-e* deletion appears to agree with modern MC, but in the songs (pp. 425-64) there are numerous

examples where *-e* deletion has not applied; examples:

"*Li va casser to lèreins*" (p. 438)
"*to quittê moi*" (p. 438)
"*mo napas conê personne ici*" (p. 441)
"*Et laissê moi ômi*" (p. 448)

The evidence of songs is of course subject to caution, since considerations of meter and rhyme may sometimes outweigh those of syntax, but on the other hand, folk songs often embody obsolete elements (as do proverbs). In this particular case, the evidence of the songs reported in Baissac 1888 is confirmed by Laray 1888-92(a), which reproduces an MC catechism of 1828.

Laray's text shows a number of what appear to be instances of French influence, particularly in the Questions, less so in the Replies. Its internal consistency, its consistency with Baissac's material, and its consistency with what may be deduced by comparing present-day MC, SC and RoC, all suggest that we can admit it as a relatively uncontaminated body of data. We shall nonetheless be very cautious in our handling of it.

A noteworthy feature in the catechism is the high incidence of non-application of *-e* deletion, and the correspondingly low incidence of the application of that rule. Five clear examples of the short form occur, all in the Replies:

- (1) "*si nous dimande li*" (indirect object follows verb)
- (2) "*li gouverne tout qui que chose*" (direct object)
- (3) "*pass qui mo trouve quique chose*" (direct object)
- (4) "*respec ton papa*" (direct object; imperative of verb)
- (5) "*mo devrêz demande li pour quique chose*" (V + V + indirect object)

A sixth sentence may be a further example, but we cannot be certain of the morphology of "respêe" (*respe(k)/respekte?*):

- (6) "*mo devrê écoutê et respêe touts sa qui plus qui moi*"

A seventh sentence, which seems to be Frenchified, we shall simply note in passing:

- (7) "*sê quand moi oblie Bon-Dieû*"

In all other cases, the long form of the verb occurs. Bearing in mind the RC data noted above, we have organised the 1828 MC material in the following Table 1, "Incidence of *Ve* and *V*". Phonemic transcriptions are used to avoid the confusing variety of spellings used in the text; the orthography used here is not intended to make any claims about Old MC phonology. Only those contexts where *-e* deletion is regular in modern MC are included (for example, all PPs have been excluded).

Table 1: Incidence of *Ve* and *V* in 1828 MC

	+Ve	+V	+other forms and Notes
<i>va</i> (Future)	15	-	1 (<i>râdi</i> 'to render, give')
<i>ete</i> (Past)	16	-	1 (<i>defâdi</i> 'to forbid')
<i>te</i> (Past)	1	-	
<i>fini</i> (Completive)	3	-	
<i>kapab</i> 'to be able'	6	-	
<i>devre</i> 'should, ought to'	8	1	Sentence (5), perhaps (6)
<i>pur</i> 'in order to'	14	-	
Imperative	2	1	Sentence (4)
<i>napa</i> (Negative)	2	-	
<i>kâ</i> 'when, if' + Clause	5	1	Sentence (7)
∅ (Present)	9	3	Sentences (1), (2), (3)

Now it is clear from Table 1 that the Old MC represented in Laray's text tends to use forms analogous to the French past participle and/or infinitive, but that there is at least an incipient rule of *-e* deletion. We cannot know to what extent the author of the catechism is responsible for the high incidence of long forms, but even if we admit (i) that French influence is at least partly the cause of the long forms following *va*, *ete*, *te*, *fini*, *kapab*, *devre*, *pur*, *napa* (contexts which in French would require a past participle or an infinitive), and (ii) that the influence of the French present tense (or the singular imperative in the case of sentence (4)) is the cause of the short forms in sentences (1) - with subject *nu* however -, (2), (3), (7), there are still two facts which stand out:

(a) the occurrence of long forms in the present (a total of 14 sentences, 5 with *kâ* and 9 others);

(b) the occurrence of a short form as an "infinitive" in sentence (5) and perhaps in (6).

The only other evidence to hand on this matter is from RoC (tape recordings, July 1975, supplied by Peter Stein). One story contains a song where we note:

lese li vini gra 'let him become fat'

(*les li vin gra* in the narrative itself). Like MC, RoC has such forms as *surt(i)/sort(i)* 'to go out', *res(te)* 'to remain'. In other respects, *-e* deletion in RoC seems to apply as in MC and SC.

Our discussion has been of necessity somewhat fragmented, and it will be no doubt possible to draw firmer conclusions as more evidence of earlier states of IOC comes to hand. Meanwhile, our survey of the facts suggests that in SC the domain of the *-e* deletion rule is expanding. That is, if we can admit the evidence of Laray 1888-92(a), we may suppose that contexts such as verb + direct/indirect object once allowed (in B?) either the short or the long form of the verb. This variation may have been free, for at least some speakers at some time(s), but it

seems more likely that it was in fact rule-governed. The evidence of RC and of the Old MC material suggests the sort of rule(s) involved: Present tense - short form; all other constructions - long form. With the modification of the temporal/aspectual system (from synthetic to analytic, with pre-posed particles), the variation comes progressively to be conditioned by the syntactic structures in which the verb occurs. In RC we have a system which represents one tendency towards regularisation of the primitive system: the short form is extended to include the Imperfect, and thematic vowel deletion operates (on certain classes of verbs) in similar environments to those in MC, SC and RoC. In SC (MC, RoC) we have another tendency, where variable verbs are subject to thematic vowel deletion solely on the basis of the constituent structure of the sentence. This is an on-going phenomenon, as evidenced by the variation from speaker to speaker as to which verbs undergo *-e* deletion, by the fact that some verbs (*tarde*, *pare*, ...) are exceptions to the rule, by the different status (Class I or Class II) of such verbs as *res(te)*. It is possible to postulate that constituent-structure-conditioned deletion was a feature of B, since the RC long forms are subject to it with a following NP (*muê la mâz lavian*), and all three other dialects have a basically similar system.

It seems to be the case that in SC *-e* deletion is always rule-governed, but that the rule applies differently for different speakers. The fact that in some contexts the rule is indeed optional for all speakers suggests that the regularisation of the distribution is not yet complete.

4.23 Lexical features of Verbs

The subcategories of verbs are defined by lexical features, some of which are inherent to the verb, and some of which are contextual (governing the selection of NPs etc. as subject, as complement, as attribute, ...; cf. 3.23). Some basic features are: [+transitive, +attributive, +stative, +durative, ...]. To these, we may add selectional features, such as [+human subject, +animate complement, ...]. A complete study of verb features has not been made (cf. 4.1, and also Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970: 85-91).

4.24 The verbal proform

The verbal proform has in its definition a set of basic lexical features, but no semantic ones. The SC proform is *fer* (*fer* is also a "full" verb in the sense of 'to make', and as a factitive). Examples of *fer* as the proform:

ki u pe fer? mō pe galer ek masin 'what are you doing?
I am planing/smoothing (the wood) with the "machine"
(tool)'
u pa bezuê detrir tu bonavini dâ maŷer u ti fer ier 'you
shouldn't smash everything up any old way as you did
yesterday'

Some verbs have a feature ([-action]? Cf. Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970: 92) which excludes the proform:

**ki u pe fer? mō resâble/kone/Copula...* '*what are you doing? I resemble/know/am...'

4.3 The Auxiliary

The temporal and aspectual system of Creole French dialects is perhaps the area of syntax where these languages differ most markedly from modern or classical forms of French, in that tense and aspect are marked by elements which are preposed to the verbal theme. We shall designate these elements by the neutral term of "preverbal markers", without prejudice to their actual hierarchical level (often, the "same" element is dominated by a different node from dialect to dialect).

For the Indian Ocean, studies concerning the temporal/aspectual system are:

Chaudenson 1974: 330-48, 1123-6, *passim*. Mainly concerned with RC, but covers the IOC dialects generally, with data from RC, SC, MC, RoC.

Moorghen 1975. IOC generally, with data principally from RC and MC, some SC data; close semantic analysis.

Baker 1972: 106-11. MC only, but restricted attention given to combinations of markers; surface description.

Corne 1970: 13-15, MC only; surface description with several gaps in the data; severely but erroneously criticised in Baker 1973: 506(iii).

Corne 1973. MC, surface description and postulated phrase-structure rules; contains minor errors of observation and analysis.

For SC, detailed descriptive statements are made by Papen and by Bollée. Corne 1974-5 contains a descriptive statement for both SC and RC, and postulates phrase-structure rules for both; some MC data are also discussed, and a revision of the phrase-structure rules in Corne 1973 is suggested (this is discussed briefly below).

A close study of SC preverbal markers has been made by Bollée, by Papen, and by myself, and the results of our efforts do not always coincide. The inconsistencies have at least two possible origins. Firstly, our informants are not always consistent in their acceptance or rejection of various combinations of markers; that is, one informant will reject a combination accepted by another, or will reject today a combination which yesterday was entirely acceptable. This inconsistency most frequently concerns complex combinations of more than one preverbal marker, since the more complex combinations of markers

are not in fact very common in actual usage. Secondly, the socio-linguistic background of our informants is to some extent different, and this alone is quite possibly the major source of conflicting data. It seems likely that some speakers categorise given markers differently from other speakers. The description of the surface facts which follows is, at least in part, a synthesis of our joint efforts (and a revision of Corne 1974-5), which is not to say that either Bollée or Papen necessarily agree with all of it. Doubtful cases are included, marked by a preceding "?" where the described combination of markers occurs also in MC. Various other anomalies are noted in passing.

4.31 The SC preverbal markers

These are, with their approximate glosses which will be defined more closely below:

∅	- Present (Pres)
<i>ti</i>	- Past (Pas)
<i>a(va)</i>	- Future (Fut), and an obsolescent variant <i>va</i>
<i>pu</i>	- Future (Fut)
<i>n</i>	- Completive (Com), obsolescent variant <i>fin</i>
<i>fek</i>	- Immediate Past (PasIm)
<i>(a)pe</i>	- Progressive (Prog)

To these, we may add

<i>pa</i>	- Negative (Neg)
<i>anu</i>	- Imperative (Imp)

and a small group of adverbs (AuxAdv) such as *tultā* 'all the time, always' (v. 4.37 below).

In the surface transcriptions, Pres ∅ is not shown. The combinations that occur are given in Table 2 below, although not all speakers will accept all combinations, and the table omits one or two extremely rare combinations of doubtful acceptability such as *ti pu n fek pe*. Where both *a(va)* and *pu* may occur, I note Fut, where only one or the other of them may occur, that item is noted. The table excludes Neg which precedes all the other markers except *anu*; Imp is also excluded, as it is dealt with separately (Imperative sentences); AuxAdv is similarly excluded from the table, and is considered in 4.37 below. In the table, "?" indicates that informants disagree for SC, but that the combination occurs in MC, while "?*" indicates that the combination occurs only in SC but informants disagree.

Table 2: Combinations of Pre-Verbal Markers in SC

Pres + Fut	Pas + Fut
Pres + Prog	Pas + Prog
Pres + Fut + Prog	Pas + Fut + Prog
Pres + Com	Pas + Com
Pres + Fut + Com	Pas + Fut + Com
Pres + PasIm	Pas + PasIm
Pres + <i>pu</i> + PasIm	Pas + Fut + PasIm
? Pres + Prog + PasIm	? Pas + Prog + PasIm
Pres + PasIm + Prog	Pas + PasIm + Prog
Pres + <i>a(va)</i> + PasIm + Prog	---
?* Pres + <i>pu</i> + PasIm + Prog	---
Pres + Com + PasIm	Pas + Com + PasIm
Pres + Fut + Com + PasIm	Pas + Fut + Com + PasIm
?* Pres + Fut + Com + Prog	Pas + <i>a</i> + Com + Prog

4.32 The rewrite of Aux

The preverbal markers and their combinations may be analysed as follows. These phrase-structure rules are considerably different from those postulated for SC in Corne 1974-5, to which we shall return in a moment.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Aux} &\rightarrow \text{T} + (\text{Com}) + (\text{AuxAdv}) \\ \text{T} &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Fut}) \end{aligned}$$

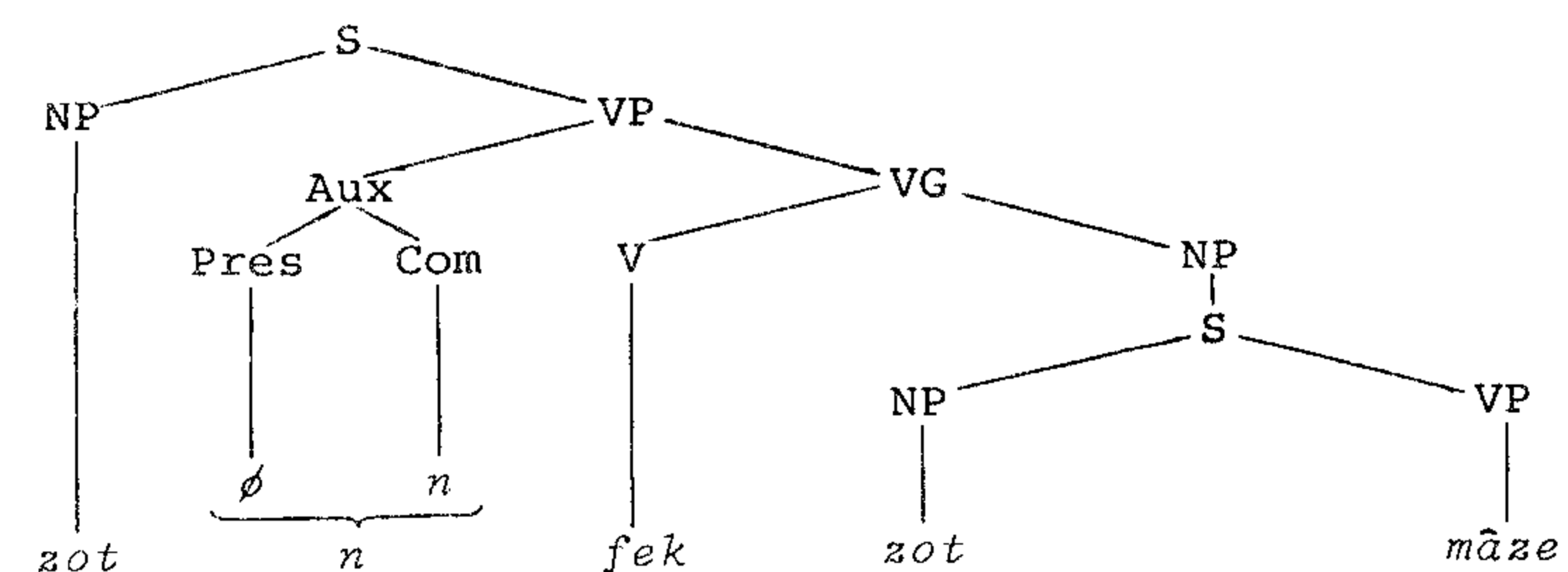
This rewrite postulates that Com is a constituent of Aux (in Corne 1974-5, Com is considered as a constituent of A (Aspect) along with PasIm and Prog). As our table of the combinations of markers clearly shows, Com always precedes Prog and PasIm (although it does not do so in MC). Secondly, AuxAdv follows Com, just as it follows Pres, Pas or Fut, but precedes PasIm and Prog:

Zâ ti a n deza fer sa 'John would already have done that'
i n zis fek sorti 'he has only just this second gone out'

These PS rules imply that the choice of *pu* and *a(va)* for Fut is free, whereas this is not in fact the case: the nature of the constraints involved is not entirely clear, as we shall see.

In this formulation, Prog and PasIm are not included, and are analysed as "higher" verbs. Their derivations would therefore be along the lines of Figure 4 and Figure 5.

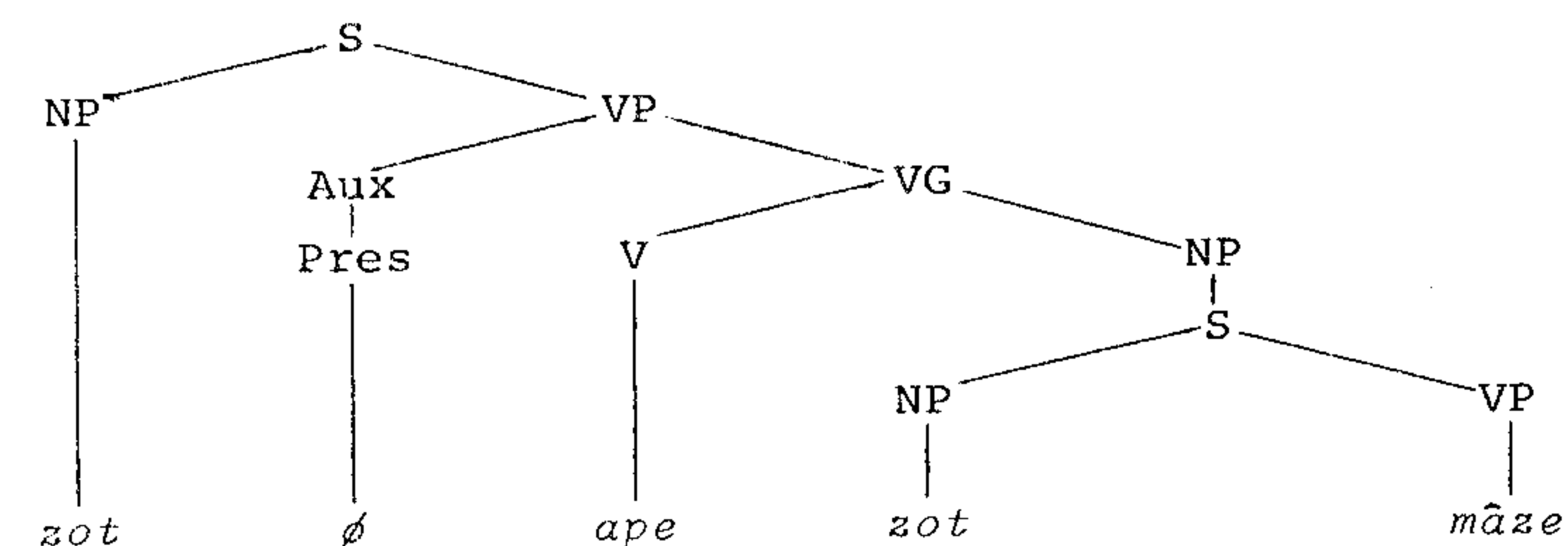
PasIm: *zot i n fek mâze* 'they have just eaten'



Equi-NP and *i*-insertion then apply.

Fig. 4

Prog: *zot pe mâze* 'they are eating'

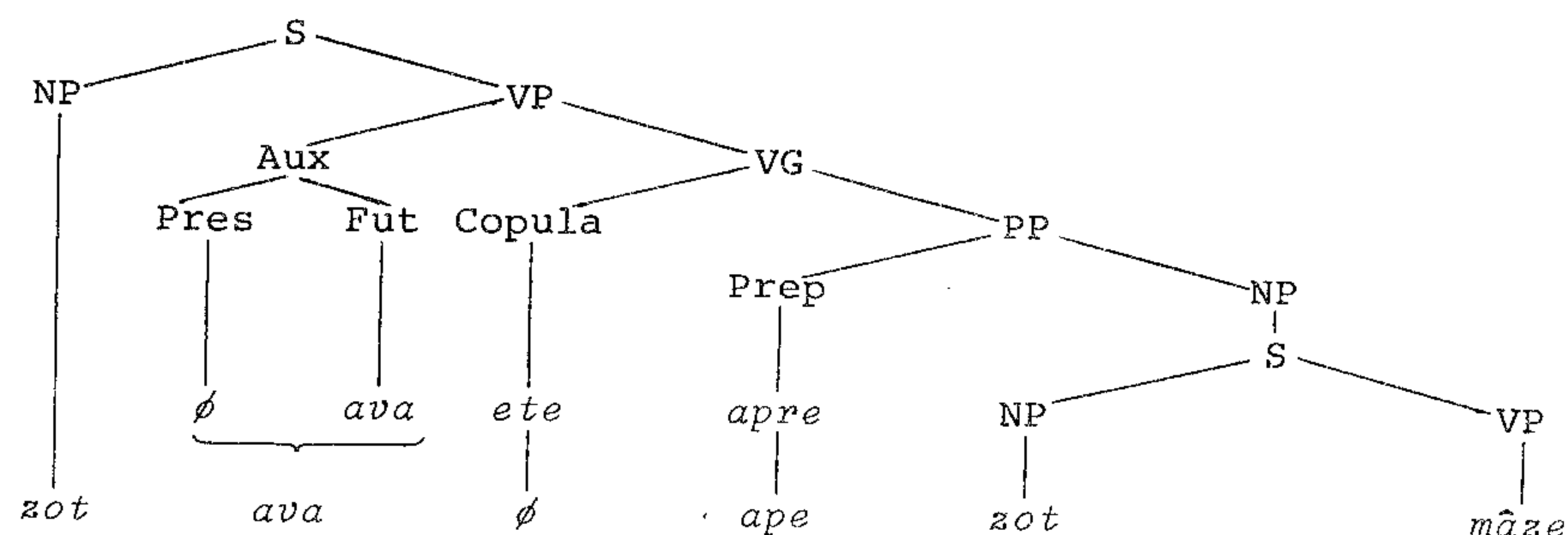


Equi-NP applies, and optional reduction of *ape* to *pe*.

Fig. 5

However, there is another possible derivation for Prog (Figure 6).

Prog: *zot ava pe mâze* 'they will have been eating'

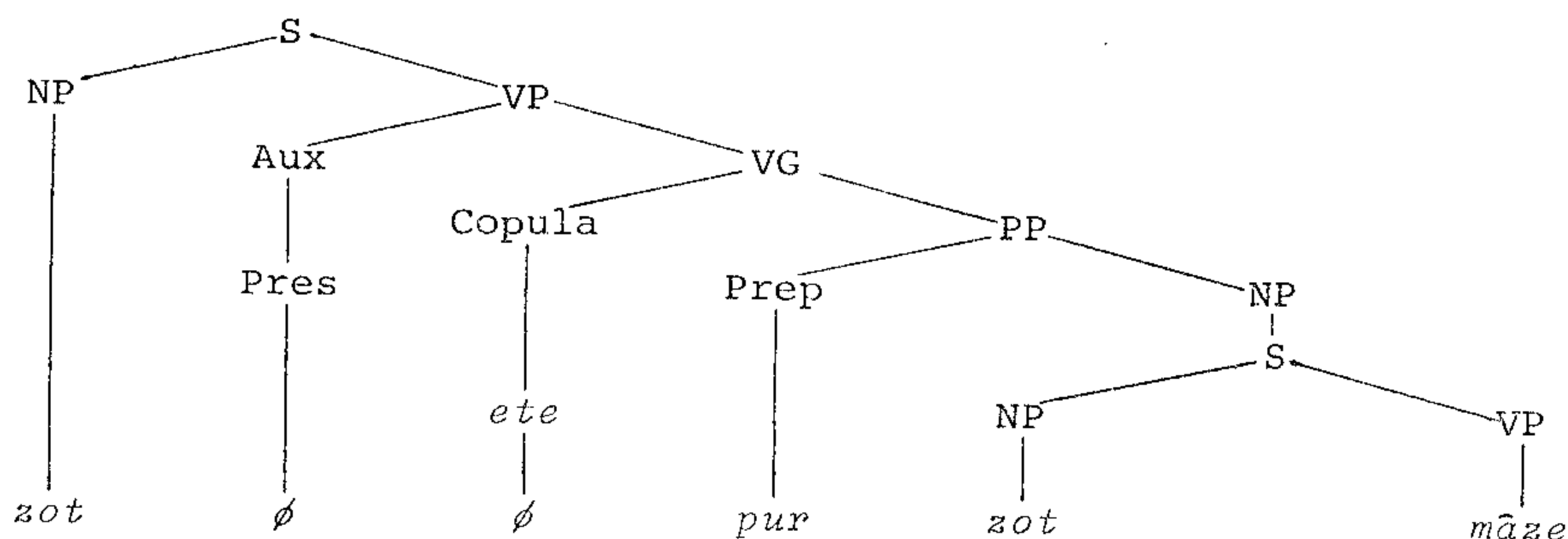


Equi-NP, Copula deletion, *apre*-reduction apply.

Fig. 6

This derivation corresponds to the historical facts (*être après* + Infinitive), and something along these lines appears to be necessary to account for RC *le apre*. Compare now the (historical) derivation of *pu* (Figure 7).

Future: *pu. zot pu mâze* 'they will eat'



Equi-NP, Copula deletion, *pur* reduction (to *pu*) apply.

Fig. 7

Again, this accounts for the historical facts (*être pour* + Infinitive), and for the RC *le pur*, (*le*)*te pur*.

That is, while *fek* may be considered as a "higher" verb

(along with (*u*)*le* 'to wish, want', *kapab* 'to be able', *bezuê* 'to have to', ...), *apre*/*(a)pe* may be considered either as a verb 'to be in the process of' or as the surface manifestation of Copula + PP. Synchronically, the former solution must be retained.

Thus, for SC, we have:

Constituents of T: Pres \emptyset , Pas *ti*, Fut *pu/a(va)*.

Constituents of Aux: Com *n*, T, AuxAdv.

Higher verbs: PasIm *fek*, Prog *(a)pe*.

Note that (unless there is a gap in the data, of course) when Pas is chosen, a sequence Fut + PasIm + Prog must be blocked in some way.

Let us return now to the postulated PS rules for SC in Corne 1974-5. These were:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Aux} &\rightarrow \text{T} + (\text{A}) \\ \text{T} &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Fut}) \\ \text{A} &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Com} \\ \text{Prog} \\ \text{PasIm} \end{array} \right\} + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PasIm} \\ \text{Prog} \end{array} \right\} \right) \end{aligned}$$

It was suggested in this earlier study that the small subset of adverbs (AuxAdv) might turn out to be important for the analysis of Aux in SC, as indeed has proved to be the case. AuxAdv aside, these PS rules do account for all the combinations of markers, but a general constraint needs to be specified: the same constituent of A may be chosen only once.

These rules make a clear distinction between tense (T) and aspect (A), and it is not at all certain that such a dichotomy, if it is in fact an accurate representation of the semantics of the SC preverbal markers, should be set up along these lines. This, and the facts to be adduced below, have led to the analysis used in this study. We have already mentioned that while *a(va)* and *pu* are frequently interchangeable, they are not always so: evidence from MC (Corne 1973) and RC (cf. above, 3.625) suggests that originally (in B?) *ava* and *pu* belonged in different categories (*ava* being Tense and *pu* being Aspect - this is not quite accurate, but will do for the moment).⁴ In SC both

⁴ In November 1976 (after this study had reached its present form), I was at last able to consult Baissac 1880, in the Library of the University of Cologne. On p. 34, the form *va pu* occurs:

"*Mo va dire vous, lhère mo va pour sourti*" 'Je vous dirai quand je

items belong conceptually in the same category, which seems to be more temporal than aspectual.

In my 1973 analysis of MC preverbal markers, *va* and *pu* were put into an aspectual category, and the PS rules given allowed for an incorrect **apu*, alongside the correct forms *a*, *va*, *ava* and *pu*. These rules were:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Fut} &\rightarrow \{a, \emptyset\} \\ \text{A} &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FutAsp} \\ \text{Asp} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Asp}) \\ \text{FutAsp} &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FutDef} \\ \text{FutInd} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} pu \\ va \end{array} \right\} \end{aligned} \quad \text{Whence } *a \text{ pu.}$$

This of course can be amended in an *ad hoc* fashion by a contextual restraint on *a*, or by the addition of a deletion rule:

$$a + pu \rightarrow \emptyset + pu$$

Alternatively, Fut could be written as *ava*, with FutDef then being the sole constituent of FutAsp (a rule reducing *ava* + *pu* to *pu*, or a contextual restraint on *pu*, are still necessary). This is unsatisfactory in that there is in MC a clear-cut aspectual opposition between *pu* (certainty) and *a*, *va*, *ava* (uncertainty), and this semantic opposition should be accounted for. On the other hand, a categorial distinction between the two does make sense, on distributional grounds, in that the following combinations (amongst others) occur in MC:

Pres + <i>a</i> , (<i>a</i>) <i>va</i> + PasIm + Prog	Pas + <i>a</i> + PasIm + Prog
Pres + <i>a</i> , (<i>a</i>) <i>va</i> + Com + PasIm	Pas + <i>a</i> + Com + PasIm
Pres + <i>pu</i> + Com + PasIm	*Pas + <i>pu</i> + Com + PasIm
*Pres + <i>a</i> /(<i>a</i>) <i>va</i> / <i>pu</i> + Com + Prog	Pas + <i>a</i> + Com + Prog

In these combinations, Fut is manifestly $\rightarrow a, va, ava$ (but note also the exclusion of (*a*)*va* when Pas is chosen). The sole example of *pu* appears to be simply an instance of (erroneous?) analogical extension, whereby *pu* has been transferred categorially from FutAsp to Fut. Unless such a transfer is admitted, this gives a combination of three aspect markers, which are extremely rare (and which, when they do occur, always include *pu*, and always lead to disagreement amongst informants). Furthermore, it is just such a transfer which must be postulated for SC. In RC, *ava* and *pur* are indeed in different categories.

In our discussion of reprise (3.625), we noted that *fin(i)* has a double status historically, being both a marker (Com) and a verb 'to finish'. It is obvious also that all the preverbal

devrai sortir'
"Lhère li va pour vini" 'Quand elle devra venir'

markers in IOC derive historically from verbs or verbal constructions containing Copula + Preposition, but have undergone categorial changes. In the case of *pu(r)*, in RC it is a verb (or, more precisely, Copula + Preposition), in SC (and apparently in RoC) it is a constituent of T, while in MC it is somewhere between T and A. In the case of the Past marker, in RC we have seen that *te*, *lete* is Copula, whereas (*le*)*te i*, synchronically a constituent of Aux, is historically Copula + *ki*. In MC and SC (also RoC), the categorial change is complete, and *ti* (Old MC (*e*)*te*, sometimes *ti*) is a constituent of T (therefore of Aux). In all IOC dialects (with the possible exception of RoC, where *a* occurs rarely, and is generally replaced by *pu*), *a(va)* is similarly a constituent of T. *Fin(i)* has a double status in RC (verb and Aux); in SC (*fin*) is a constituent of Aux only and *fini* is a verb, while in MC the combinability of *fin* with PasIm (*fin fek*, *fek fin*) suggests that it belongs in the same category as *fek*. Now for SC, we have seen that *fek* and *ape* may be considered as "higher" verbs; for MC, on the contrary, we may postulate that *fek*, *fin* and *ape* belong in the same category as constituents of Aux (i.e. where SC has only Com, MC will have Aspect (A) containing Com, Prog and PasIm, cf. Corne 1973: 46). This accounts for the fact that in MC at least some AuxAdv occur following these constituents (cf. SC, where they occur before Prog and PasIm).

In SC then, *ape* and *fek* are not constituents of Aux. In the table of combinations of markers above, note that the combination Prog + PasIm is marked "?" (it is acceptable in MC, this being further evidence for grouping *ape* and *fek* in the same category and perhaps evidence of on-going change). Note also that the sequence PasIm + Prog is acceptable: this suggests the possibility of considering *fek* as an AuxAdv (Baker 1972: 110 in fact classes it as such for MC; the question of the placing of AuxAdv in MC requires further research, as does the question of compatibilities between *fek* and AuxAdv in SC).

We shall leave open the question of the exact status of *fek* and *ape*, and consign them meanwhile to a sub-group of V. However, in view of (a) their semantics, (b) their status as constituents of Aux in MC and the possibility that they are at present undergoing a categorial change in SC (e.g. ?*zā ti pu n fek pe māze* 'John has probably just been eating'⁵), we shall treat them together here with the other preverbal markers. It is emphasized that this is for convenience only, and that their status remains to be definitively established.

⁵ Reported by Bob Papen (pers. comm.), qualified as "a hesitant [combination]"; see 4.35(f).

To recapitulate, our rewrite is:

Aux → T + (Com) + (AuxAdv)

T → {Pres
Pas} + (Fut)

Our special subgroup of V contains *fek* 'to have just' (PasIm) and *(a)pe* 'to be in the process of' (Prog). We shall label this subgroup Va:

Va → {PasIm + (Prog)
Prog}, or possibly → {PasIm + (Prog)
Prog + (PasIm)}

The choice of Com precludes *fek* + *ape*. The choice of Pas seems to preclude the choice of Fut + *fek* + *ape*.

4.33 The constituent T

Given then the rewrite of T as above:

T → {Pres
Pas} + (Fut)

it is here postulated that the temporal system of SC includes the Present tense, the Past tense, the Future tense (Pres + Fut), and the Future-in-the-Past tense (Pas + Fut).

4.331 The Present tense

A zero particle generally marks the Present tense, which is usually the permanent (i.e. universal, habitual) present:

mō ana ê zoli masin 'I have a beautiful car'
larivier i kul dā lamer 'the river flows into the sea'

but which may also be on-going:

zā i apran sâte 'John learns (is learning) to sing'

In such cases, the Progressive is also used:

zā pe apran sâte 'John is learning to sing'

4.332 The Past tense

The marker *ti* defines the Past, both simple and habitual:

i ti telma gu ki mō ti riye ek lakōtātma 'it was so pleasant that I laughed for joy'
mō ti malad 'I was sick'
mō ti māze 'I ate'

However, once past time has been established in a given

situation, *ti* is frequently omitted. This is particularly true of narrative material where, after an initial use (or uses) of *ti*, much of the remainder of the story may be told with verb forms unmarked for Past (i.e. a sort of "historical present"). It appears also to be true of subordinate clauses:

lōtā, mō ti plere, ler mō pu al dormi 'in the past, I would (used to) cry when I was going to sleep'
mō ti pe māze ler mō uar lapli pe vini 'I was eating when I saw the rain coming'
mō ti kuar i pu al a-pie 'I thought he was going/would go on foot'

but the whole topic of "sequence of tenses" in subordinate clauses requires further investigation. For example, in:

i pa ti kone ki i pu fer 'he didn't know what he would do'

informants reject *a(va)* in the subordinate clause.

4.333 The Future

In our rewrite of Aux, the Future is obligatorily constructed of Pres + Fut. Until more data become available, it is postulated that in SC Fut → *a*, *ava*, *pu*. A form *va* also occurs, mainly in written texts (see Bollée, and Accouche 1976) but occasionally in the speech of older people; most speakers reject *va*, considering it to be French rather than Creole.

Before considering the semantics of *a(va)* vs. *pu*, it is to be noted that *ava* rather than *a* tends to occur when the next item begins with *a-*: *sot ava aste* 'they will buy', although *a* may also occur here: *u a aste* 'you will buy'. There do not appear to be any other contextual constraints: *i a(va) la* 'he will be there', *pa nu a(va) uar li tātō?* 'won't we be seeing him this afternoon?' Note also that a contracted form of *mō* 'I' and *nu* 'we' occurs frequently before *a*: *m a(va) aste* 'I will buy', *n a kas tu pake dā lakaz* 'we will smash all the furniture in the house'.

In MC, there is, as we have noted above, a distinction between certainty (*pu*) and uncertainty (*a(va)*), but this distinction, if it exists in SC, appears to be reversed, although not always. Nor are my informants completely consistent among themselves.

Bollée estimates that in approximately 80% of cases, any distinction between *a(va)* and *pu* is neutralised, and either may be employed to indicate a "neutral" (as to [±certainty]) future. This agrees with my own data, where I have such non-contrasting sets as the following:

(a) Near vs. distant:

i a/pu vini tātō 'he will come this afternoon'

i a/pu vini desuit 'he will come immediately'
i a/pu vini lane prosen 'he will come next year'

(b) Certainty vs. uncertainty:

ketfua mō a/pu fer sa 'perhaps I shall do that'
mō biē sir (ki) mō a/pu fer sa 'I am positive that I shall do it'
mō a/pu trur u deme 'I'll see you tomorrow' (as just arranged)
i a/pu malad si i mās sa 'he will be sick if he eats that' (it is poison, it may be poison)

However, there are some cases where a temporal distinction seems to be made (near vs. distant future). Compare the following:

m ava aste sa 'I shall buy it' (there is one there, I'll do it now)
mō pu aste sa 'I shall buy it' (there is one there, but I'll have to go home and get my money first)
mō a tieke 'I'll check' (right now)
mō pu tieke 'I'll check' (sometime later on)

There are also cases where an aspectual opposition of certainty vs. uncertainty is made, as in the following:

i a gaŷ ē baba 'she will have a baby' (if she is not careful)
i pu gaŷ ē baba 'she will have a baby' (if she is not careful, OR: she is already pregnant)

Here, *pu* is indicating certainty, whereas the examples given by Bollée indicate that it is *a* which denotes certainty:

mō pu vin ris ē sur 'I shall be rich one day' (hopefully)
mō a vin ris ē sur 'I shall be rich one day' (no doubt about it, because my business is booming)

This corresponds to the almost invariable response of informants that *i a māze* is "more definite" than *i pu māze*:

u a māze, kamem u pa ule 'thou shalt eat, even if/though you don't want to'

(this is almost the equivalent of 'you will have to eat it'). It may (or may not) be significant that *a* may be given an emphatic stress to indicate certainty (of intention?):

nu a fer sa! 'we will do it!'

When *pa* (Negation) precedes, some informants will not allow *a* at all, while others insist that *a* is indeed acceptable. For example, one informant gave:

Bob pa a kōtā 'Bob will not be happy (about that)'

as the equivalent of:

Bob pa pu kōtā 'Bob will not be happy (about that)'

Another informant, refusing to accept a following *pa*, produced the following non-negative sentence:

mō a don u mō nuvel 'I shall give you news of myself'

and then transformed it to:

mō pa pu don u mō nuvel 'I shall not give you my news'
(**mō pa a don* ...)

(the reason advanced by this informant, as well as by others for whom *pa + a* was unacceptable, was "lack of euphony").

Yet another informant, in Negative Emphatic (Rhetorical) Questions, gave both *a(va)* and *pu*:

i pa i a(va)/pu māze tātō? 'will he (really) not eat tonight?'

but professed a strong preference for the sentence with *pu*. A sentence in one of Bollée's texts:

ē lot fua, u pa a tuy dimun ākor 'another time, you will not kill anyone any more'

is addressed to the villain, who is dead; here we have *pa + a*, and possibly *a* marking certainty.

Further research may help to clear the picture up a little, but the fundamental fact is, I think, that there is only a vestigial opposition between the two forms of the future in SC.

To conclude, let us note two fixed expressions, *ki u a fer?* 'what can you do?, what can you expect?', and *u a k(r)uar* 'it is as if':

sak fua ki i akōt ē ketsoz, u a kruar premie fua u tade
'each time that he tells a story, it is as if it is the first time you hear it'

4.334 The Future in the Past (Conditional)

The underlying sequence Pas + Fut gives rise to *ti pu, ti a(va)*, which have both a temporal (Future in the Past) and a "modal" (Conditional) value.

(a) Future in the Past:

mō ti a(va) fer li, me mō ti okipe 'I was going to do it, but I was busy'

mō pa ti kuar si mō ti pu uar li 'I didn't think I was going to/would see him'
rakōt mua sa ki u ti pu dir mua ier 'tell me what you were going to say to me yesterday'

Papen and Bollée (pers. comm.) note that the temporal value of Pas + Fut is usually marked by *ti pu*, as is indeed the case. The example given here with *ti a(va)* was elicited from informants; in MC, either *ti pu* or *ti a(va)* may be used with the temporal value. This suggests on-going change in SC, if the example with *ti a(va)* turns out to be acceptable to at least some speakers. I would suggest that the use of *ti pu* (rather than *ti a(va)*) is significant here, in that it appears to reflect an historical (*le)te pur* for the Future-in-the-Past (note that in RC the combination Pas + *ava* may not occur - cf. 3.625, and Corne 1974-5, para. 8.3 and n.60 - and that (*le)te pur* + V has only the meaning 'was on the point of V-ing', i.e. Future in the Past). The distinction between *ti pu* Future in the Past and *ti a(va)* Conditional is largely retained in SC, but the contrast is neutralised in MC.

(b) Conditional:

mō ti a(va) fer li, me mō okipe pur lēstā 'I would do it, but I'm busy right now'
si u ti aste lavian, i ti a māze 'if you bought some meat, he would eat it'
pa ti a bō nu ti a vin ē lot zur? 'would it not be good (i.e. better) (if) we were to come another day?'

Cf. also the examples at 4.332 above. The following example illustrates the *a* vs. *pu* opposition (note that the main clause is negative):

kātmem u ti a tap li ē ku-d-kuto, disā pa ti pu kule
 'even if you were to knife her, blood would not flow'
 (she is so white with shock)

but I do not know to what extent this is typical.

4.34 The Aspectual preverbal markers

Aspect may be seen as a modification of a temporal framework, as is implied by our rewrite of Com as a constituent of Aux, and of Prog and PasIm as constituents of Va.

We begin by examining combinations of T + Com, then T + Va is described, as well as T + Com + Va.

4.341 The Completive

An action may be marked as completed (*accompli*) with respect to a given time. SC uses basically *n* for the Completive.

mō māze 'I eat' versus *mō n māze* 'I have eaten'
mō ti māze 'I ate' versus *mō ti n māze* 'I had eaten'

n is thus opposed to *ti*:

mō n vin isi pur eksplik zot sa ki guvernma pu fer 'I have come here to explain to you what the Government will do' (I am still here)
mō ti vin isi pur eksplik zot ... 'I have come/I came (and then went away again) to explain to you ...'
eski u n sorti avek li ier asuar? Ui, mō n sorti ek li
 'did you go out with him last night? Yes I went out with him'
mō ti sorti ek li ier asuar 'I went out with him last night' (implying that I do not know whether I shall go out with him again)

The adverb (AuxAdv) *deza* 'already' is frequently used to emphasize the Completive:

sa ē loto ki zame mō n deza dray 'that is a (make of) car that I have never driven'
mō n deza sorti ek li 'I have been out with him'
larivier i n deza kul dā tamer 'the river flowed into the sea' (once upon a time, but now it has dried up)
u a dir mua si u n deza gut dimiel kum sa 'you'll let me know if you have ever tasted such honey'

It may also occur with other tenses, of course:

u rapel ē pe lōtā u ti deza dir mua ki ... 'you recall (that) a good while back you (already) told me that ...'

The use of Com with Statives has been seen in 4.11 above. A state which is "generally" true:

lerua i bet 'the king is stupid'

does not require the presence of Com, while a state which has come to be true does:

i n mir 'it is (has become) ripe'

n has a variant *fin* (but not, in my view, a variant *in*, for reasons to be discussed later). The form *fin* appears frequently in contemporary written SC texts, and while most informants reject *fin* (as being a Mauritianism), some speakers do use it. For example, the following sentences from our 83-year old rural speaker mentioned in 4.225:

kautsu prezā fin detrir boku 'rubber (planting) nowadays has destroyed much'
sa, mō fin fer, mō n amas kanel 'what I did, I picked cinnamon'

mō fin bliye 'I have forgotten'
mō ti fin tōbe 'I had fallen'

Interestingly, this same speaker had a sentence with *va* (and non-application of *-e* deletion as well):

mō va gaŷe baba 'I was going to have a baby' (context is Past)

Mrs d'Offay affirms (pers. comm.) that *fin* is used frequently by people over 50-60 years old. It is obvious then that this variant is now obsolete, although it does occur in more-or-less fixed expressions in the speech of younger people:

ki maŷer fin ariv sa? 'how did that happen/come about?'

The verb *fini* 'to finish' may also be used to emphasize the Completive aspect:

i n fini mās banan 'he has finished eating the bananas'
i a fini mās sō banan taler 'he will finish eating his banana soon'

The following combinations of T + Com occur:

(a) Pres + Com → \emptyset + *n*

Bom Sadek i n bez li! 'Old Sadek really gave/has really given it to him!' (has given him Hell)
lapli i n tōbe 'it has rained'
i n gaŷ puse 'he has been pushed, he got pushed'

(b) Pas + Com → *ti* + *n*. This corresponds to the pluperfect in English.

mō ti n tōbe 'I had fallen'
gramersi, mō ti n arive a-tā 'thank God, I had arrived in time'
letā mō ti ātre dā lasam, i ti n fini mās sō banan 'when I entered the room, he had finished eating his banana'

(c) Pres + Fut + Com → *a(va)/pu* + *n*

kā i a/pu n gaŷ sō piti, i pu don u li 'when she will have had her baby, she will give it to you'
ler u a(va) n repar u loto 'when you will have repaired your car'

(d) Pas + Fut + Com → *ti* + *a(va)/pu* + *n*

mō ti a n bez li, si i ti n dir mua kuyō 'I would have hit him, if he had called me an idiot'
si sō papa pa ti aret mua, mō ti pu n bez li 'if his father had not stopped me, I would have hit him'

With *ti pu n*, the verb *fini* is frequently used:

..., *mō ti pu n fini bez li* 'I would have hit him'

There is some kind of restriction on *ti pu n*, the exact nature of which is not clear, but which may be linked to the certainty vs. uncertainty opposition of *a(va)* and *pu*; in the following two sentences, informants reject *pu*:

mō ti a(va) n marie, si mō pa ti mizer 'I would have gotten married, if I were not poor'
mō ti a n marie ek li, si sō papa pa ti kas mō lagel 'I would have married her, if her father had not beaten me up'

In negative sentences (negation of predicate by *pa*), *pa* + *ākor* (+ *pākor*) is used in just those cases where the semantic notion of Completive does not exist. This needs to be stated, as some speakers insist that *mō pa n māze* is identical to, and should be replaced by, *mō pākor māze*; that this is so, appears to me to be on account of the first-person subject. Indeed, we may contrast:

i pākor māze 'he has not eaten (yet)' (perhaps he will soon)

with:

i pa n māze 'he has not eaten' (maybe he didn't want to)

Examples:

lōtā mō pākor gut ketsoz kum sa 'it's ages since I have tasted something like that'
i ana set zur i pākor beŷe 'he has not bathed for seven days'
zot pākor uar li ziska ozordi 'they have not seen him since'

4.342 The Progressive

The modification of tense marked by *(a)pe* corresponds to (i) on-going action, (ii) habitual action, (iii) inchoative, depending on the context. With VG → V + (NP) + (PP), *(a)pe* is progressive:

lapli pe tōbe 'it is raining'
i ape māze 'he is eating'

When *(a)pe* co-occurs with, for example, the AuxAdv *tultā* 'always' or with the AuxAdv *nek* 'only (= do nothing but)', the

progressive sense is modified to habitual on-going action:

i nek pe mâze
i tultâ pe mâze
tultâ i pe mâze mem } 'he is always eating/nibbling'

For the inchoative sense of (a)pe with Copula, v. 4.115 above:

i pe malad 'he is getting sick'

Both forms of Prog, *ape* and *pe*, may occur indifferently, and although there are undoubtedly preferences for one form or the other in different contexts, a complete study of such variation remains to be done. Bollée claims that *pe* is more frequent (in her texts? or on the basis of field-work?). We may suppose that the frequency will vary from context to context, and perhaps from speaker to speaker.

The following combinations of T + Prog occur:

(a) Pres + Prog → \emptyset + (a)pe. All the sentences cited above exemplify this combination.

(b) Pas + Prog → *ti* + (a)pe

i ti ape sâte 'he was singing'
i ti tultâ pe zue 'he always used to be playing'

This sequence does not appear to be used inchoatively with Copula + AP, *komâse* 'to begin' being used instead:

i ti ape komâs malad 'he was beginning to get sick'
 (cf. 4.115)

(c) Pres + Fut + Prog → \emptyset + a/pu + (a)pe. This combination is not very common in practice, and can often be avoided. For example, while a sentence like

Zâ pu deza pe mâze 'John will already be eating'

is quite possible, it would more usually be rephrased as something like:

Zâ i a n deza komâs mâze 'John will have (already) begun eating'

However, the sequence does occur:

Zâ pu âkor pe mâze 'John will still be eating'
Zâ pu pe mâz âkor 'John will be eating again'
ler mō pu âtre dâ lakaz, i pu (a)pe sâte 'when I (shall) enter the house, he will be singing'

(d) Pas + Fut + Prog → *ti* + a(va)/pu + (a)pe

si sō labus pa ti plê, i ti pu (a)pe sâte 'if his mouth wasn't/hadn't been full, he would have been singing'
si mō ti al kot li a-lêprovis, petet i ti pu ape kaka 'if I had gone to his place unexpectedly, maybe he would have been defecating'
i ti ava pe mâze 'he would be eating'

Again, this combination is uncommon, and is generally avoided. In the second sentence, for example, *i ti a kaka* would suffice.

The combinations of T + Com + Prog are very limited:

(a) Pres + Fut + Com + Prog → ?* \emptyset + a/pu + n + ape

i a/pu n ape mâze 'he will have been eating'

Informants disagree, and this sequence does not occur in MC.

(b) Pas + Fut + Com + Prog → *ti* + a + n + ape

Zâ ti a n tultâ pe mâze 'John would have always been eating'

4.343 The Immediate Past

The Immediate Past marker is *fek*. This constituent of Va (always assuming that my data are accurate and reasonably complete) has some curious gaps in its distribution.

The following combinations of T + PasIm occur:

(a) Pres + PasIm → \emptyset + *fek*

i fek al labutik, i pâkor returne 'he has just gone to the shop, he has not come back yet'

Now it is useful to anticipate here, and to contrast this with Pres + Com + PasIm → \emptyset + n + *fek*:

i n fek al labutik, u âvi i al âkor? 'he has just been to the shop (and has since returned), do you want him to go again?'

This contrast, like the one between *pâkor* and *pa n* discussed in 4.341 above, depends on the presence or absence of the semantic notion of Completive. For some informants (cf. Bollée), *fek* and *n fek* are completely interchangeable:

Bertrâ (i) fek mâze } 'Bertrand has just eaten'
Bertrâ i n fek mâze }
i (n) fek sorti âkor 'he has just gone out again'

Further checking will be necessary to elucidate this matter.

Baker 1972: 110 n.4 notes that in MC, *in fek* is more usual than *fek*. My own informants for MC (cf. Corne 1973: 54) contrast *fin/in/n fek* with *fek* (but the distinction is the other way around from SC), and also with *fek fin* (which does not occur in SC). The exact interpretation for MC remains open to debate. To return to SC, in all the other combinations that I have observed where one has *fek* and the other *n fek*, there does not appear to be an easily grasped distinction. I suspect that closer observation will reveal that in at least some cases, there is a distinction similar to the one described above. In the rest of this section, combinations of T + (Com) + PasIm are dealt with together.

(b) Pas + PasIm → *ti* + *fek*

i ti fek al labutik, mō pa kone kot i n ale apre 'he had just gone to the shop, I don't know where he went to afterwards'

Pas + Com + PasIm → *ti* + *n* + *fek*

i ti n fek buar sō dite, letā Zorz ti apel li 'he had just drunk, finished drinking his tea, when George called him'

ē zur, ti ana de zen dimun ki ti n fek marie 'one day there were two young people who had just gotten married'

(c) Pres + Fut + PasIm → ∅ + *pu* + *fek*. The combination *a(va) fek* is rejected by my informants (this is also the case in MC, v. Corne 1973: 52).

mō pu fek fini 'I will have just finished'

Pres + Fut + Com + PasIm → ∅ + *a(va)/pu* + *n* + *fek*

si u al uar li komela, i pu n fek ferm sō laport 'if you go to see him now, he will have just closed his door'
mō a(va) n fek ale 'I will have just left'

(d) Pas + Fut + PasIm → *ti* + *a(va)/pu* + *fek*

i ti a(va)/pu fek fini māze, si laklos pa ti sone 'he would have just finished eating, if the bell hadn't rung'

Pas + Fut + Com + PasIm → *ti* + *a(va)/pu* + *n* + *fek*

i ti a(va)/pu n fek fini māze, si laklos pa ti sone 'he would have just finished eating, if the bell hadn't rung'

4.35 Combination of *fek* and *ape* (Va)

There remain to be considered the combinations which

include both constituents of Va.

(a) Pres + Prog + PasIm → ?∅ + *ape* + *fek*. My informants disagree as to the acceptability of this combination.

?*nu ape fek koz lor Zorz* 'we have just been talking about George'

(b) Pres + (Com) + PasIm + Prog → ∅ + *fek* + (*a*)*pe*. My informants disagree as to the acceptability of *ape* here, but *pe* seems uncontroversial.

lor ki zot fek pe koze? 'who have you just been talking about?'

?*nu fek ape koz lor Zorz* 'we have just been talking about George'

Zā i n fek pe māze 'John has just been eating'

(c) Pas + Prog + PasIm → ?*ti* + *ape* + *fek*. Informants disagree as to the acceptability of this combination also.

?*lor ki zot ti ape fek koze?* 'who were you talking about just now?'

(d) Pas + PasIm + Prog → *ti* + *fek* + (*a*)*pe*. Disagreement over *ape* (vs. *pe*).

nu ti fek (a)pe koz lor Zorz 'we were talking about George just now'

(e) Pres + Fut + PasIm + Prog → ∅ + *a(va)/pu* + *fek* + *pe*. Informants disagree as to acceptability of *pu* here.

letā u pu rātre, i a(va)/pu fek pe sorti 'when you (will) come in, he will have just been going out' (?)

(f) Pas + Fut + (Com) + PasIm + Prog → ?**ti* + *a(va)/pu* + *n* + *fek* + *pe*. Informants disagree as to acceptability of these combinations.

?*Zā ti a(va)/pu (n) fek pe māze* 'John had probably just been eating'

This combination occurs in MC as *ti a fek pe* only (**ti ava fek pe*, **ti pu fek pe*).

4.36 The form [in]

The data concerning reprise of NP subject by *i* (3.62) are sufficient to account for all cases of [in] that occur in SC. It is significant that only the form *n* of the Completive occurs following *mō*, *u*, *nu*: since **mō i fer sa* is incorrect, **mō i n fer sa* is equally incorrect, and it is not necessary to postulate an "elision" of *in* to account for this fact, as does Bollée. Only *n* follows *pa* 'Negation', *ti* 'Past', *a(va)* and *pu*

'Future' because the form of the Completive is *n*, not **in*, and also because reprise (which does not occur with *pa*, *ti* and *pu* in any case) places/would place *i* before such morphemes, not after them: *Zâ i a n fer sa* 'John will have done it', not **Zâ a i n fer sa*.

This analysis accounts for almost all the occurrences of [in] in SC. Let us now examine those cases which remain unaccounted for. Firstly, a sentence such as:

i n ale 'he has gone'

is invariably analysed by informants when requested to do so, as being "the same as":

i i n ale 'he has gone'

(not equivalent to *li*, *i n ale* 'HE has gone'). There are two possibilities: (a) that there is indeed a form *in*, the distribution of which is restricted to third person subjects; (b) the response of informants shows, contrary to our statement (3.622) that the pronoun *i* is never subject to reprise, that in an extreme situation such as a linguistic field enquiry the pronoun *i* may indeed be subject to reprise by itself.

Secondly, we have discussed above (3.623 and 3.81) sentences where reprise occurs in Relative clauses with the relative *ki* deleted. This produces sentences such as:

i uar banan i n mir komela 'he sees the bananas (which) are now ripe'

We have already suggested that it is possible to consider the subordinate clause as a Noun clause, 'he sees that the bananas are now ripe' (3.81). However they are analysed, our statement as to reprise by *i* is adequate to account for the occurrence of a phonetic form [in], and such sentences are not very convincing evidence for a form *in* of the Completive.

Thirdly, in written texts, we find a few examples of *in*:

u bizuê in tan sa zafer 'you must have heard of this matter'

i a sirprâ pur truv u in ariv dâ lakur 'he will be surprised to see you have arrived at home'

Our rule of reprise cannot account for such cases, and if such sentences turn out, on further investigation, to be acceptable to at least some speakers, our statement about the Completive will require modification.

An examination of the other IOC dialects does not allow us to come to a definite decision on this matter, but it does throw some light, however dim, on the SC facts.

In MC, *fin*, *in* and *n* are indeed variants, although they are not in free variation. The base form in MC is *fin*, which also occurs in RC, RoC and (as an obsolescent form) in SC. In MC, *in* may replace *fin* optionally after ALL 3RD PERSON (singular or plural) SUBJECTS except *li* 'he, she, it'. However, my MC informants hesitate to accept *in* following *a*, *va*, *ava*, *pu*, *ti*, and frequently reject such sequences categorically. All are acceptable to P. Moorghen (pers. comm.), and there is a sequence *ti a va in* in Corne 1970: 15. Baker 1972: 108 lists *in* as a free variant of *fin*. Significantly, in the context of this discussion, one of my MC informants allows:

<i>ti a va fin</i>	<i>ti a va in</i>	<i>ti a va n</i>
<i>ti a fin</i>		<i>ti a n</i>

but hesitates to accept *ti a in*. The variant *n* may optionally replace *fin* (and does so frequently) after *pa*, *ti*, *a*, *li*, *mo*, *to* 'you (singular, informal)', *u*, *nu*, *ki*, and (less frequently?) *va*, *pu* and *zo* (short form of *zot*).

Modern MC also has traces of a subject *i* (although this could also conceivably be a later phonetic development), and I have recorded one instance of the now archaic form *iena* of *ena* 'there is/are' (Baker 1972: 61 n.2; *iena* 'to have' is the form used in Laray 1888-92(a)); this form is used occasionally by one of my informants, but only as the impersonal 'there is/are'. The subject *i* occurs in MC as follows: (i) before any sequence of preverbal markers beginning with *a-*: *kâ i a n repar so loto* 'when he will have repaired his car', *si letâ bô, i a kapav vini* 'if the weather is fine, he will/might be able to come', *ki to piti ape fer? i ape mâze* 'what is your child doing? he is eating'; (ii) the sequence *li + pa* may be replaced by *i apa*: *i apa kapav vini* 'he is unable to come'. To return briefly to Old MC, the only form of the Completive used in Laray 1888-92(a) and in Baissac 1888 is *fini*, *fin*.

It therefore seems reasonable to assume that *in* in MC has the same origins (i.e. reprise) as [in] in SC, but that the form *in* is completely lexicalised and has therefore been able to expand its domain to occur following *a*, *pu*, etc.⁶

In RoC, all three variants occur. There is not enough data available to enable us to describe exactly the RoC situation, but we can go a little beyond the brief statement in Chaudenson

⁶ In Corne 1974-5, I stated that "Old MC has traces of an element *i*: 'Quand zaut y appelle moi zane' (for this and other examples, see Chaudenson 1974: 967-8)." The examples given by Chaudenson are in error. In F. Chrestien, 1831, *Les essais d'un bobre africain*, 2e éd., augmentée (...), Ile Maurice, Impr. de G. Deroullède & Cie, there is no trace of "y". The examples are from the poem "Monsieur et Madame Denis" (pp. 17-19); line 15 is "Zi pon amar' dans lé-rein", line 25 is "Quand zaut' appell' moi Zanot". I am indebted to

1974: 965, 1115. More than half of the total number of occurrences of the Completive in the taped material provided by P. Stein (40 occurrences in a total of 59) were produced by a 93-year old speaker, the two other speakers using Com 11 and 8 times each. The first speaker we shall label A, the other two we shall put together as B. The occurrences of Com may now be tabulated as follows (Table 3):

Table 3: The occurrence of Com in RoC

Subject	<i>fini</i>		<i>fin</i>		<i>in</i>		<i>n</i>	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
<i>mo</i>	1		5					
<i>li</i>	2	1	1				4	1
<i>nu</i>			2		+		+	
<i>zot</i>				1				
Noun (singular)	1		5	3	6*	4		1
Noun (plural)						1		
<i>se ki</i>				1				1
<i>ti</i> 'Past'							1	1
Zero	1		1		8*	2f		

+ Tape quality does not permit decision: *nu (i)n zuen en bato* 'we met a boat'

* Tape quality does not permit decision as to pause: *simiz(,) in debrabayé* 'the shirt is unbuttoned'

f Plus a third sentence, *ki li kapav in fer?* 'what can he have done?' (some question as to gloss here, as preceding context is inaudible on the tape)

Table 3 omits one sentence of our small corpus:

lulu i fin âtre 'the wolf came in'

Philip Baker for pointing this out to me, and for providing photocopies of pp. 16-19 of the 1831 edition of Chrestien's work.

(sentence produced by B). This is the sole example of *i* preceding *fin*, but speaker(s) B also have:

ki i ape rode, la? 'what is he looking for there?'
i dir: ... 'he says: ...'

These suggest that perhaps something akin to SC reprise operates (in the first sentence) and that there is a subject form *li* with a variant *i*.

Of the ten sentences with an apparent zero subject, most seem to be analysable as sentences with deletion of an indefinite or "general" subject (see 6.5):

ler in fini met sa lor latab 'when it had been put on the table'
âo in met tom, âba in fer en lakaz 'on top they put a tombstone, underneath they put a house'

For at least two, and perhaps four sentences, this does not appear to be the case:

lanes in pez laport, in sud laport 'the snow weighed against the door, it blocked the door'
bonom lulu, in ale, li 'Mr Wolf went away'
ler in dormi ki lulu pu vini, li 'it is when she is asleep that the wolf will come'
abe, sa, nu fin bliye, in vie 'ah well, that we have forgotten, it is old'

We may thus tentatively postulate that, as in MC, RoC has the form *in*, perhaps fully lexicalised (as in *ki li kapav in fer?*), but deriving from reprise (or from a subject *i*) + Completive *n*. Note that *n* occurs mainly following *li*, *ti*, *ki*; note also that *in* occurs only (with one possible exception) with a third person subject.

To return to SC [*in*], it is not impossible that for some speakers there is an at least partial lexicalisation along lines similar to MC (and perhaps RoC). The implication of this statement of course is that historically there were two forms of Com, *fin* and *n*, and that *in* is an independent development in all three dialects. This seems highly unlikely, for two reasons. Firstly, the existence of the same form with the same value (and similar distribution) in MC, SC and RoC points strongly at the existence of that form in proto-IOC (i.e. in B). Secondly, it is clear that *fin* derives from the French periphrastic *finir de* + infinitive (Chaudenson 1974: 965-6) marking completed action; the only apparent source of *n* is a two-step reduction of *fin* + *in* + *n* (and the RoC data suggests the crucial role of *li*, *ti*, *ki* for the second step). We are therefore forced to conclude that the (rare) occurrences of *in* in SC represent a survival rather than an innovation, and that in all three dialects the form *in* is connected with the presence of a preceding *i* (subject forms *i* and *li* in particular, whence the tendency for it to occur with

third person subjects - the link with SC reprise is clear).

This position represents a slight weakening of the stand taken in Corne 1974-5, in which the possibility of accepting a form *in* for the SC Com was rejected. However, we remain convinced that for contemporary SC there is nothing to be gained by postulating an "elision" of *in* to account for the form *n*, and that our rules for reprise reflect a linguistic reality. At most, we are prepared to concede the validity of a transcription *in* in those contexts where the reprise rule does not apply (*i in ale, u bizuê in tan sa zafer, etc.*).

4.37 The constituent AuxAdv

The "auxiliary" adverbs pose a delicate problem of analysis, and the following statement simply presents what data we have. It is not clear that all the adverbs listed here belong in fact in the same category, as some of them may also occur elsewhere on the surface with no apparent change in meaning. The list may be incomplete. Where informants disagree as to acceptability, this is noted.

nepli 'no ... longer'

i ti nepli pe zue 'he was no longer playing'
i nepli pe fer sa 'he is no longer doing that'
ler sa maladi pu nepli egziste 'when that disease will no longer exist'

The position of *nepli* is obligatory.

âkor 'always, still (and expected to terminate soon)'. This gloss is modeled on that given for MC *âkor* by Baker 1972: 110 (as is the gloss for *tuzur* below) and may require modification for SC.

i ti âkor pe koze 'he was still talking'
Zâ pu âkor pe mâze 'John will still be eating'
gardiê i âkor pe dormi 'the guard is still sleeping'

Neg + *âkor* + *pâkor*, see 4.341 above.

After the verb, *âkor* means 'again, once more':

u pa a tuy dimun âkor 'you won't be killing anyone again'
i desan âkor â-vil 'he goes down to town again'
Zâ pu pe mâz âkor 'John will be eating again'

With Neg, *âkor* following the verb corresponds to *nepli*:

i pa koz avek mua âkor 'he no longer speaks to me; he hasn't spoken to me since; he is not speaking to me yet'

tuzur, tultâ, tu letâ 'still (and expected to continue), always,

the whole time'

i ti tuzur ape dir mua ki ... 'he always used to tell me that ...'
i pu tultâ pe zue 'he will always/still be playing'
Zâ ti a n tuzur/tultâ pe mâze 'John would always have been eating'

These adverbs may also occur elsewhere. After the verb, *tuzur* sometimes corresponds to 'anyhow, nevertheless':

drayver i desan tuzur kot sô loto 'the driver nevertheless goes down to his car'

zame 'never'. This adverb may occur in three different positions:

i pa zame vin kot nu
i pa vin zame kot nu } 'he never comes to our place'
zame i vin kot nu
i pa n zame returne } 'he never returned'
i pa n returne zame
zame i n returne

(note that *pa* is obligatory unless *zame* precedes the subject; for at least some speakers, *pa* may optionally occur here, *zame i (pa) returne*, but most informants reject this.)

i pa ti zame pe zue 'he was never playing'
Zâ pa ti a n zame fer sa 'John would never have done that'

zame may co-occur with *deza*:

zame mô n deza tan zot fer sâsô lor ê ti zil 'never have I (ever) heard them make (up) songs about a little island'

There appears to be a restriction on the use of *zame* in some contexts, but the nature of this is not clear; for example, one of my informants considers

i pa zame dormi lôtâ 'he never sleeps a long time'

as being preferable to

zame i dormi lôtâ 'he never sleeps a long time'

Similarly, one of Bollée's informants distinguishes:

u pa pu zame truv li 'you will never see him (again)'
(if he is dead, for example), whereas in:

zame u pu truv li } 'you will never see him (again)'
u pa pu truv li zame

(in that particular bar, for example), *same* does not necessarily mean "not ever".

deza 'already'. With *Com*, see 4.341.

Zâ ti a n deza pe mâze 'John would have already been eating'
u a dir mua si u n deza gut dimiel kum sa 'you will tell me if you have ever tasted honey like this'
Zâ pu deza pe mâze } 'John will already be eating,
Zâ i a n deza komâs mâze } have begun eating'

Note that the combination **ti deza pe* is not acceptable to some speakers, only *ti pe deza*:

i ti pe deza zue 'he was already playing'

With *Neg + Com*, *deza* has the meaning of 'never':

mô pa n deza uar dimun tupe koma X 'I have never seen (yet) people as snobbish as X'

nek 'only, always, merely, immediately'. This item, and also *zis* and *selma* 'only, etc.', occur in several positions. Their function is to "restrict" a given constituent of a sentence. When the predicate is restricted, *nek/zis/selma* precede the verb:

i nek/zis/selma pe marse 'he is only walking'
divâ i n nek/zis/selma kas ban brâs 'the wind has only broken the branches' (it has not hurled them to the ground, for example)
Zâ i n zis fek sorti 'John has only just gone out'
i ti a zis/nek fer sa 'that is the only thing he would do'
i nek pe koze tu letâ 'all he ever does is talk'

These adverbs may also precede the sentence; thus, the last example given may be rephrased as:

nek/zis/selma i pe koze tu letâ 'all he ever does is talk' (see now Restrictive sentences).

The combination *ti zis pe* provokes disagreement among informants:

i ti zis/nek pe zue 'all he ever did was play'

and some speakers prefer *ti pe zis*:

i ti pe zis zue 'all he ever did was play'

Note in this connection that *zis* may also follow *Va*:

Zâ i zis/nek pe mâze 'all John ever does is eat'
Zâ pe zis mâze 'John is merely eating'

The label "restrictive" used here is syntactic, not semantic:

Zâ i nek pe mâze } 'John is never doing anything but
tultâ, Zâ pe mâze mem } eating'

Further investigation is required to establish the exact semantics of *zis/nek/selma* in their various distributions.

mem 'Emphasizer'. Bollée notes a clear tendency: *mem* before the verb with *Neg*, otherwise after the verb:

mô pa n mem pâse 'I haven't even thought about it, I didn't even think of it'
i pe marse mem 'he went right on walking'

but this does not appear to be a rigid rule:

i a mem kapab mâze 'he will even be able to eat'

The distribution of *mem* with *Va* remains puzzling:

?*Zâ i mem pe mâze*
?*Zâ pe mem mâze*
Zâ pu mem pe mâze 'John will even be eating'
Zâ i n mem fek mâze 'John has even just eaten'

and further research is required.

Various other adverbs (*sitâ* 'so well', *biê* 'well, really', *osi* 'also', ...) may also precede the verb, but do not appear to belong in the category *AuxAdv*. Some examples:

i sitâ kon zue sô rol ki ... 'he knows so well how to play his rôle that ...'
nu a osi don zot ... 'we shall also give you ...'
i pa mâze osi 'nor does he eat'
i ti pe biê zue 'he was playing well' (also *ti biê pe*)
i biê resâble ê peser 'he really looks like a fisherman'
nu preski fini 'we are/have(?) almost finished'

CHAPTER V

THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Surface PPs contain prepositions, NPs and adverbs. While many adverbs (of time, place, manner, affirmation) are derived from PPs, others (negation, restriction -- with the possible exception of *selma* 'only' --, degree, doubt, ...) do not appear to be so derived.

5.1 The rewrite of PP

We postulate the following rewrite of PP:

$$PP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} DE + (Prep) + (Adv) + NP \\ AdvDbt \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule states that PP is composed of (i) an underlying preposition DE, almost always deleted on the surface; (ii) an optional constituent Prep, with various surface manifestations; (iii) an optional constituent Adv, also with various surface forms; (iv) an NP which is obligatory, but which may include nominal proforms; (v) a constituent AdvDbt to account for adverbs of doubt, which do not appear to be derivable from the other rewrites of PP. (Other items, such as adverbs of negation, will be discussed in due course.)

There are restrictions on which PPs may occur as constituents of VG (for example, manner adverbs may not occur as constituents of VG with Copula), but in view of the problems of analysis posed by our somewhat limited data, no attempt is made here to distinguish PP constituent of VG from PP constituent of S. (Cf. the discussion in 4.224 concerning the evidence of the *-e* deletion rule for the parsing of different sorts of PP.)

Our rewrite is very similar to that proposed for French by Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970: 113-6, but has been set up for slightly different reasons. These are discussed in 5.2 below.

5.2 DE and *d(e)*

5.21 Underlying DE

Many PPs occur on the surface with no preposition preceding NP; a large number of these are accounted for by the rule $PP \rightarrow DE + NP$, with subsequent deletion of DE.

(a) Most surface NP complements are derived from a PP with underlying DE -- see 3.5 for discussion and examples (all the examples listed at 3.5, with the exception of Goal -- and perhaps Matter --, illustrate this). A few further examples:

sa ban trip zanimu 'those animal entrails'

lavey mariaz 'the day before the marriage'
ê po lapêtir blâ 'a can of white paint'
lazam u fiy 'your daughter's leg'

(b) Underlying DE + NP also accounts for some PPs of location, 'the place from whence':

i n sorti lames 'he came out of Mass'

and some PPs of manner or cause:

u pu mor lafê 'you will die of hunger'
i gel lafê ek lakoler 'he bellows with/because of hunger and anger'

5.22 Surface manifestations of DE

We stated above that DE is almost always deleted; let us now examine those cases where it is not, and where an element *d(e)* (sometimes *n*, occasionally *di*) occurs on the surface.

(a) In bound forms such as *en-er-d-tâ* 'one hour's time', *ku-d-kuto* 'blow with knife', *ku-d-puê* 'blow with fist', *fiy-d-oner* 'bridesmaid', *taba-di-pei* 'locally-produced tobacco', ...

(b) In series such as *depi* 'since', *derier* 'behind', *devâ* 'in front of', *desuit* 'immediately', ... and in such items as *dâ* 'in, etc.', *bradsu-bradsu* 'arm in arm', *ladâ* 'inside, in there', ...

(c) In series such as *ansu* 'underneath' (surface transcription of "deep" *â-d-su*; cf. the discussion 4.211(b)), *andâ* 'inside' ("deep" *â-d-dâ*), ...

From the point of view of a descriptive statement, it may be argued that these forms should be considered as unanalysable units. Such an approach overlooks significant patterns, some of which are obvious even from the above data: (i) there are elements which recur in the above, such as *-dsu*, *-dâ*; (ii) the item *d* or *de* is common to all forms; (iii) the forms in (a) contain *d* + NP complement.

A comparison with the forms in 5.32 below reveals other recurrent elements, such as *-vâ*, *-rier*. There is also a preposition *â*, which occurs as a free form in gerundives: *â môtâ* 'while/when/in going up' as well as with the names of countries: *â Frâs* 'to/in France', and as a bound form: *â-koler* 'angry', *â-vil* 'in/to town'. Thus, *dâ* may be seen as *d-â*, i.e. as a preposition followed by another preposition.

5.23 Discussion

We have then a preposition *â*; we have seen that it may combine with such bound elements as *-dsu*, *-dâ* (these latter both

being derived forms themselves, but we can perhaps consider them as being here adverbial elements in their own right). Thus, a preposition such as *âba* 'underneath' may be analysed as *â* + *-ba*, i.e. as a sequence of Prep *â* + a bound adverbial element *-ba* (cf. *laba* 'over there', also containing *-ba*). These items in *â*- (surface prepositions and/or adverbs) have then an underlying structure Prep + Adv.

Now in the case of *dâ* (and also *dapre* 'according to', v. 5.32) we have a preposition (*d-*) + Prep (*â*). We require then a rewrite of PP which will allow for both *dâ* and *âba*, and we thus arrive at (ignoring AdvDbt for the moment):

PP → DE + (Prep) + (Adv(erbial element)) + NP

This rule leaves us with the problem of stating a deletion rule for DE. If we state that it does not delete before *â* (whence *dâ*), but does delete in all other contexts, we must then postulate that there is a second preposition *d(e)*, constituent of Prep, to account for the data in 5.22. An approach which does not have *d(e)* and which in consequence attempts to specify rules for DE-deletion appears to be impracticable.

Note that this rewrite allows us to account for such sentences as:

i sorti âba later 'it comes out from under the ground'
where PP consists of DE + *â* + *-ba* + NP *later*.

Now it is not essential to consider *âba*, etc. as being derived forms (from Prep + Adv). If we consider them as being constituents of Prep alone, then our sentence *i sorti âba later* has a PP consisting of DE + Prep *âba* + NP *later*. However, we still need the constituent Adv to account for such adverbs as *isi* 'here' (see below, 5.4). It is in fact this approach that we propose to adopt here, mainly for convenience of presentation of the SC data. Thus, *âba* is treated here as being in the category Prep (and not as being derived from a sequence Prep *â* + Adv *-ba*). This does not cause any problems of presentation, and its major drawback appears to be that items which are both prepositions and adverbs (e.g. *devâ* 'before (place)') have to be listed twice, whereas in fact our rewrite -- if *de-* and *-vâ* are treated as constituents of Prep and Adv respectively -- shows clearly the relation between the prepositional and the adverbial uses; in *devâ laport* 'in front of the door', the underlying structure is DE + Prep *de* + Adv *vâ* + NP *laport* (with subsequent deletion of DE); in *pas devâ* 'go in front', the underlying structure is DE + Prep *de* + Adv *vâ* + NP, where NP is a nominal proform with the feature [+place] (again, DE is deleted). If *devâ* is considered as being a unit (as it is in our presentation of SC prepositions and adverbs), the underlying structures are, respectively, DE + Prep *devâ* + NP *laport*, and DE + Adv *devâ* + NP proform.

There are sentences which at first glance appear to be

exceptions to our rewrite of PP, but which in fact are easily accounted for. For instance, the sentence:

lerua dâ sâ kone, ... 'the king, without knowing, ...'
(this sentence has been cited at 3.3) has two prepositions on the surface, *dâ* + *sâ* (adopting now our convention of considering *dâ* as a non-derived unit). The underlying structure of this sentence is DE + Prep *dâ* + NP, where NP dominates a sentence S.

5.3 The constituent Prep

The category Prep contains prepositions, including *d(e)* (distinct from DE) which we ignore here since it never occurs as a free form. Most prepositions occur on the surface, but one usually does not, and it is this one that we shall consider first.

5.31 Underlying \tilde{A}

This underlying preposition is almost always deleted on the surface, giving rise to surface PPs with no preposition preceding NP. These are accounted for by the rule PP → DE + \tilde{A} + NP, where the choice of \tilde{A} entails deletion of DE, \tilde{A} then being deleted in turn.

(a) Indirect objects are derived from a PP with underlying \tilde{A} -- see 4.12.

ran mua mō larzâ 'give me back my money'

(b) Underlying \tilde{A} + NP also accounts for many locative PPs:

i môt Lamizer 'he goes up to La Misère'
ler zot ariv lamuatie seme 'when they get half-way along
the path' (at half of path)
ler mō ti lekol 'when I was at school'
mō ti al depoz lapolis 'I went and made a statement to
the police'

(c) PPs of time similarly:

bal pu komâs uit-er disuar 'the ball will begin at 8 p.m.'
nu a lev truaz-er bomatê 'we shall get up at 3 a.m.'
sô lanme, biê gramatê, i lev sô dalô 'the next day,
bright and early, he gets his mate up'
sa ler, dokima i dâ mō pos 'at that moment, the document
is in my pocket'
tu le zur 'every day'
sa zur suar 'that evening'

(d) Some surface NP complements (3.5) are in fact derived from DE + \tilde{A} + NP, not from DE + NP (5.21(a) above):

ê kanot puasô 'a fishing boat' (Goal)

5.32 Surface ã

The Prep ã is not always deleted on the surface, in that it appears as *a* in bound forms such as *fri-a-pê* 'breadfruit', *a-ter* 'on the ground', *a-tã* 'in (the nick of) time', ... It also occurs as a completely integrated part of such items as *apre* 'after', *avã* 'before (time)', *avek* 'with, etc.', *dapre* 'according to', ... Although we are treating them here as single units (Prep or Adv as the case may be, a noun in such cases as *fri-a-pê*), it is clear that our rewrite of PP also accounts for their historical derivation. Note that *dapre* ("deep" *d-a-pre*) is another case where the obligatory constituent DE is not deleted, cf. 5.23.

5.33 Surface prepositions

We give here a non-exhaustive list of surface prepositions, grouped in approximate semantic categories. These prepositions are those which are followed on the surface by an NP (e.g. *kot* 'at' + *mua* 'me': 'at my place'). In the deep structure, *kot* has two elements, Prep + Adv, as is shown by the interrogative adverb *kot?* (*kot u ete?* 'where are you?'). When NP dominates S, the string Prep + Adv gives rise to a surface subordinating conjunction, as in *al kot sa ban dimun i ete* 'go where those people are'. Adverbs and conjunctions are listed separately, below.

5.331 Prepositions of location

dã 'in, towards, to, from'

i tir sô sulie dã sô lipie 'he takes his shoes off'
i sorti dã lakaz 'he comes out of the house'
i n met sa dã sô pos 'he put it in his pocket'
i reveye dã sô sulezô 'he awakes from his drunken stupor'
tir mua dã sa tru 'pull me out of this hole'

ã 'in, to'

ã Frãs 'in France'

The names of countries lose the agglutinated article after *ã* (*Lafrãs* 'France').

ã Kanada 'in/to Canada'

kot 'at the house/home of, to, in, towards, at the side of'

i al kot lerua 'he goes to the king's place'
koste kot mua 'come up close to/alongside of me'
i ti ariv kot kazo pul 'he came up to the hen-house'

se 'at the house/home of' (less frequent than *kot*)

i n al se li 'he went home'

lor 'on, in, to, from'

lor papie i n mete ... 'in the paper they put ...'
mô sorti lor mô lili 'I get up out of bed'

The adverb *la* may "replace" a previously mentioned noun:

i uar pie dibua, i mô t lor la 'he sees the tree, he climbs up there (into it)'

ãba 'under(neath)'

lisiê ti ãba sez 'the dog was under the chair'

a-kote 'beside, by'

a-kote tuk dife 'beside the fire-stones'

-bor, in *obor* 'near, beside', *lor bor*, *dã bor* 'id.' (alternatively, we could list *o-* as Prep, cf. *olie* below)

zot asize obor/dã bor seme 'they sit down beside the path'
pas mua sa kuto ki la lor bor mô tâ t 'pass me the knife which is there, beside my tante'¹

a-bor 'on board'

mô ti pe pen a-bor ê yot 'I was painting on board a yacht'

pre, *pre (av)ek*, *pre kot* 'near', *luê (av)ek* 'far from': although *pre* may be used alone as a preposition, it is an adverb, as is *luê*.

devã 'in front of', *derier* 'behind'

par kote 'to/on one side', *par lao* 'on top of', *par la* 'approximately'

i n met fey par lao sô ban banan 'he put leaves on top of, over his bananas'

pur 'towards'

i bate pur lavil 'he rushes off towards town'

ziska (kot) 'up to, until'

nu ava avãs ziska kot zot 'we shall advance right up to them'

¹ *tât* 'bag made of woven pandanus'. The word, common to all the IOC dialects, is from Malagasy (Chaudenson 1974: 527).

letur 'around, about'

i fer seval tren li letur propriete 'he makes the horse drag him around the property'

natur 'around, surrounding'

i uar solda natur sô lasam 'he sees the soldiers around his room'

olie 'instead of'

olie zorz, i n vin dir u i apel Pier 'instead of George, he came and told you his name was Peter'

adeor 'outside of'

sô lake i sorti ê pti but adeor sô kansô 'his tail sticks out a little bit from his pants'²

A PP with *dâ* often occurs in Complex noun phrases (3.5):

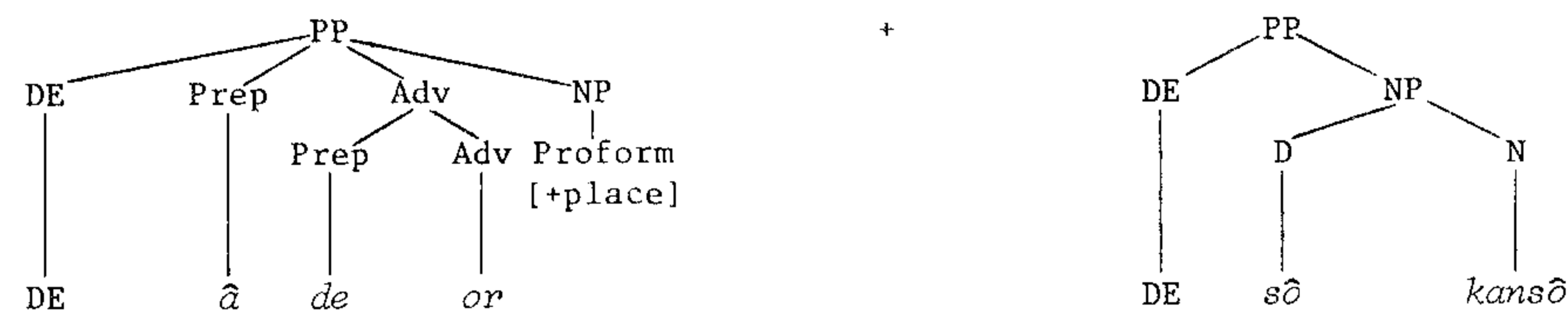
i rod li dâ bua dâ sa pei 'he looks for him in that country's forest'
sa pa ê dimun dâ sô pei 'that is not one of his compatriots'

5.332 Prepositions of time

dâ 'in, about, at'

dâ de mua 'in two months'
dâ pti katr-er mô a arive 'I shall arrive about 4 o'clock'
dâ pti minui 'about midnight'

² Note that in terms of our PS rule for PP, *adeor sô kansô* is a complex structure, along the lines of:



Similarly, such surface prepositions as *a-bor*, which are made up of an underlying Prep (*a*) + NP (*bor*): the NP following the surface preposition *a-bor*, as in *a-bor ê yot* 'on board a yacht', may be seen as the NP complement of *bor*.

avâ 'before', *apre* 'after', *depi* 'since', *ziska* 'until'

ziska ozordi 'until today'
ziskâ also occurs: *ziskâ ler* 'until when, until the moment'
eskâ is a variant of *ziska*:

eskâ kel-er? 'until what time?'

pur 'for'

i n reste isi pur diz-â 'he has been here for 10 years'
lêdepâdâs i n fikse pur ut 'Independence is/has been fixed for August'
zot zafer ki zot ti n arâze pur dimâs prosê 'their gear that they had organised for the following Sunday'

pâdâ, dirâ 'during'

pâdâ en-de mua 'for, during a few months'
dirâ sa dernie grâ lager 'during the last World War'

pre 'nearly, approximately'

i ana pre trua smen mô pe rod u 'I have been looking for you for almost 3 weeks'

5.333 Prepositions of manner

k(o)ma 'like, as', variant *kom/kum* with *sa*

i ti abiye koma ê prês 'he was dressed like a prince'
anu pa fer kum sa 'let's not do it that way'
kum sa-em 'just like that, just so'

parey (koma) 'like, as'

mô a fer li pas parey (koma) Zako 'I'll do to him as I did to Monkey'
mô a prâ ê bato parey Ero 'I'll take a boat such as "Hero"'

â 'in, like, as'

i zue â fupamal 'he plays as one who doesn't care'
nu a partaz â de 'we shall share (it) in two'

âver 'towards' (emotion)

sa ki mô resâti âver u 'what I feel towards you'

5.334 Other prepositions (benefit, cause, etc.)

(av)ek is the "general" preposition of SC, with a wide variety

of meanings:

i ti riye ek lakôtâtma 'he laughed for very joy'
nu napa lord pur prâ ek person lor sa size 'we don't
have to take orders from anyone on that subject'

mô koz ek u 'I speak to you'
mô n vin ek ê bô voler 'I came with a good thief'
i ti mars avek sô kaful 'he walked with his coconut-shell
cup'
Zako i arive avek sô latizan 'Monkey comes up with his
infusion'
zot pa kapab reziste avek sô kalbas baka 'they cannot
resist his calabash (full of) bacca'
solda i komâs tay derier Sûgula, i tay ek li, i atrap sô
lake 'the soldier begins running after Soungoula, he
runs after him and catches his tail'
zot êterese ek lapes 'they are interested in fishing'
i ti prese ek zot parey ê zom ki ana lotorite 'he taught
them as one that had authority' (Mark 1, 22)
ban sûgula i komâs kriye avek zot pti lavua 'the
soungoulas begin crying with their little voices'

akoz 'because of'

tu sa-la i n arive akoz sa ban zom politik 'it has all
happened because of those politicians'

apre 'for', in the expression *sers apre* 'to look for'

pur 'for, concerning'

mô deman li ki mô pu amene pur li 'I ask him what shall I
bring for him'
sa i a bô pur mua 'that will be good for me'
zot i n biê dakor pur zot zafer 'they were quite agreed
on their arrangement'

tâka 'as for'

tâka lapes tu le zur, sa pa va afekte mua dâ nariê 'as
for fishing every day, that won't affect me in any way'

lor, lor size, osize 'about, concerning'

i ti koz lor size lapes 'he spoke about fishing'

par 'by' (Manner, Distribution, Agent/Instrument)

i pu kit Sesel par aviô 'he will leave Seychelles by
plane'
zot pu gaÿ peye par guvernma 'they will get paid by the
government'

âsam (av)ek 'together with, with'

i ale âsam ek zot 'he goes with them'

dapre 'according to'

dapre nu kôstitisiô 'according to our Constitution'

parmi 'among'

parmi zot trua 'amongst you three'

ât, âtre 'between' (*ât* seems to be more frequently used than
âtre)

lekel ât zot de ki n pete? 'which of you two broke
wind?'

sâ 'without'

kôt 'against'

eksepte 'except, apart from', *â kôtâ* 'including'

apar 'besides, not counting'

apar sa de pli gro 'besides those two larger ones'

5.4 Adverbs

The category Adv contains the adverbial elements which are part of the underlying structure of prepositions, as we have seen. We postulate that all surface adverbs are in fact derived from PP, with the exception of the adverbs of doubt, although it is not always clear that this is the case. For example, we have set up a constituent AuxAdv (4.37) to account for a small subset of adverbs, and we shall require a constituent AdvDeg (adverbs of degree) in our rewrite of the Adjective phrase (6.0).

Adverbs of time, manner and place are derived from PPs by the rewrite DE + (Prep) + (Adv) + NP, where NP is a nominal proform with the appropriate features. For example, the location adverb *isi* has the underlying structure DE + \bar{A} + *isi* + ProformN [+place]. Manner adverbs in *-ma* '-ly' have an underlying structure which includes an AP embedded in NP (nominal proform with the features [+affix] and perhaps [-masculine]) (to account for the morphological change in for example *malere* 'unhappy', *malerezma* 'unhappily, unfortunately'). Cf. the discussion in Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970: 122-4.

Adverbs of doubt (AdvDbt) are accounted for in an admittedly *ad hoc* manner by the rewrite PP → AdvDbt.

Adverbs of negation and restriction appear to have diverse derivations. For example, *zame* 'never' is clearly an adverb of

(negative) time 'at no time', and can be derived by our rewrite. We have classed it (in one of its distributions at least) as AuxAdv, but when it appears at the beginning of a sentence, it clearly belongs in the category PP. There are similar difficulties with *zis* and the other restrictive elements.

Adverbs of degree and quantity are also awkward: the adverb *biê* can be an adverb of manner (PP) or an adverb of degree (AP), while *tro* (*boku*) can be RQuant (3.142), AdvDeg (6.0) or perhaps PP.

Our analysis is obviously a very tentative one and no attempt is made here to justify it. We present below a brief descriptive statement of the SC adverbs (again, the list is not exhaustive).

5.41 Adverbs of location

<i>isi</i> 'here'	<i>isi derier</i> 'here'	<i>la</i> 'there'
<i>andâ</i> 'inside'	<i>ladâ</i> 'inside, in there'	<i>deor</i> 'outside'
<i>âdeor</i> 'outside'	<i>devâ, divâ</i> 'in front of'	<i>derier</i> 'behind'
<i>anavâ</i> 'forwards'	<i>anarier</i> 'backwards'	<i>âler</i> 'up there,
<i>âba</i> 'down there'	<i>laba</i> 'there'	'topside'
<i>lao</i> 'up there'	<i>pre</i> 'near(by)'	<i>luê</i> 'far (away)'
<i>âfas</i> 'opposite'	<i>vizavi</i> 'vis-à-vis'	<i>a-kote</i> 'beside'
<i>partu</i> 'everywhere'	<i>kelkepar</i> 'somewhere'	<i>okenpar</i> 'nowhere'
<i>kot(e)?</i> 'where?'

Examples:

kot(e) u dormi, u? 'where do you sleep?'
mô dormi âler 'I sleep on the first floor' (i.e. the one above the ground floor)
mô pa pe al oken par 'I'm not going anywhere'

Neither *oken par* nor *kelke par* are very common, and may be due to French influence.

To the above list, we may add such adverbials as *â-vil* 'in town', *a-ter* 'on the ground', *a-par* 'besides', *a-bor* 'on board'. The PP *lor la* has been noted at 5.331.

5.42 Adverbs of time

<i>alor(s)</i> 'then, and so'	<i>deza</i> 'already'	<i>âkor</i> 'again'
<i>alafê</i> 'finally'	<i>âfê</i> 'lastly; in fact,	<i>avâ</i> 'before'
<i>boner</i> 'early'	'in a word; at	<i>apre</i> 'afterwards'
<i>tar</i> 'late'	'last!; well	<i>desuit</i> 'immediately'
<i>komela</i> 'now'	'well'	<i>taler</i> 'just now;
<i>biêto</i> 'soon'	<i>(a)prezâ</i> 'now'	'shortly'
<i>parfua</i> 'sometimes'	<i>tâz-â-tâ</i> 'from time	<i>tuzur</i> 'always'
<i>ketfua, kekfua</i> 'some-	'to time'	<i>tultâ</i> 'always'
'times'	<i>suvâ</i> 'often'	<i>same</i> 'never'
<i>(ê ku) â-grâ</i> 'sud-	<i>ozordi</i> 'today'	<i>ier</i> 'yesterday'
'denly'	<i>deme</i> 'tomorrow'	<i>tâto</i> 'this afternoon,
		'this evening'

<i>bomatê</i> 'in the	<i>gramatê</i> 'early in the
'morning'	'morning'
<i>âkuri</i> 'always'	<i>ê pe lôtâ de sa</i> 'a good while ago'
<i>asuar</i> 'tonight'	<i>lôtâ</i> 'in the past, in former times,
<i>kâ?</i> 'when?'	'a long time ago'
	...

Examples:

zot pa ti gaŷ zen fiy pur marie, lôtâ 'they didn't used to get girls with whom to marry, in the old days'
lôtâ mô pâkor gut ketsoz kum sa 'it is ages since I tasted anything like that'
n a uar sa taler 'we'll see about that shortly'
kâ u pu vini? 'when will you come?'

The use of the possessive with expressions of time has been noted (3.3):

alor, sat sô lanme, i lev biê gramatê 'and so the next day the cat gets up very early in the morning'

lôtâ has an adjectival use (deriving from an underlying PP constituent of VG with Copula):

i pe sât ê vie sâsô lôtâ 'he is singing an old song of former times'

Various PPs often substitute for *kâ*: *ki ler?* 'what time?', *kel-er?* '(at) what time?'; note the expression *depi kâ*, which is accounted for by our rewrite only if we admit that *kâ* is here "functioning as" a noun:

depi kâ u n ariv Sesel? 'how long have you been in Seychelles?' (literally: since when are you arrived...)

To the above list, we may add such adverbials as *â-retar* 'late, behind schedule', *â-mem-tâ* 'at the same time', and the PPs like *uit-er disuar* '8 p.m.', *en-er dimatê* '1 a.m.', *ê zur suar* 'one evening', *ozordi/ier/deme suar* 'this/yesterday/tomorrow evening'.

5.43 Adverbs of manner

<i>biê</i> 'well'	<i>mal</i> 'badly'	<i>mie</i> 'better'
<i>parey</i> 'likewise'	<i>koma?</i> 'how?'	<i>plito</i> 'rather'
<i>âkuri</i> 'over and over'	<i>âsam</i> 'together'	<i>ekspre</i> 'on purpose,
<i>bonavini</i> 'any old way'	<i>direk</i> 'directly'	'deliberately'
<i>druat</i> 'straight'	<i>vit(ma)</i> 'quickly'	<i>dusma</i> 'gently, slowly'
<i>lâtma</i> 'slowly'	<i>klerma</i> 'clearly'	...

Some of the adverbs classified as time adverbs could conceivably be included here: *â-grâ* 'suddenly'. To this list may be added such adverbials as *a-labôdâs* 'abundantly, in abundance', *kom sa* 'thus', *a-lêprovis* 'unexpectedly', *a-pie* 'on foot', ...

Examples:

zot koz âsam 'they talk to eachother'
zot koz tu sel 'they talk to themselves'
koma u dir sa? 'how do you say that?'
i met druat tu sô zafer 'he straightens up all his gear'
i pey biê 'he pays well'
i vini biê gayar 'he comes along, very cheerily'
maÿok i vin pli biê ki lezot viv 'manioc grows better than the other foods'
alor, zot dezen biê trâkil 'and so, they eat very much in peace'

Some specific PPs of manner may be noted: *move kalite* 'devastatingly':

zot i n depuy stor move kalite 'they really stripped the store (of its contents)'
i n lafê move kalite 'he is extremely hungry'

koma? 'how' is often replaced by PPs *ki maÿer?*, *ki fasô?*:

ki maÿer fin ariv sa? 'how did that happen?'

The PP *ê ku*, *ê pti ku* is often used with imperatives to emphasize or to attenuate the value of the order:

anu pas ê ku âler la 'let's just pop up there a moment'

The PP *sâ sa* (variants *sâ sô*, *sâ kua*) is used for 'otherwise':

sâ sa Umar i a sove 'otherwise Lobster will run away'
sâ sô u pa kapab tuy mua 'otherwise, you can't kill me'
sâ kua i a kone ki mua taler! 'otherwise, he'll know who I am in a moment!' (I am about to assault him)

In such sentences as:

sô pti larzâ ki reste pe fini tu 'the little money remaining to him is running out'

nu al tu 'we're all set, ready to proceed'

tu can perhaps be classed as an adverb of manner.

5.44 Other adverbs

5.441 Adverbs of affirmation

<i>osi</i> 'therefore'	<i>mem</i> 'even'	<i>biê</i> 'indeed'
<i>sirtu</i> 'especially'	<i>sirma</i> 'surely'	<i>asire</i> 'assuredly'
<i>sertenma</i> 'certainly'	<i>vrema</i> 'truly'	<i>reelma</i> 'really, indeed'
...

5.442 Adverbs of degree/quantity

<i>ase</i> 'enough'	<i>tro (boku)</i> 'too much, too many'
<i>dekua</i> 'enough'	<i>(tro) boku</i> 'much, many'
<i>tre</i> 'very'	<i>biê</i> 'very'
<i>for</i> 'much, many, a lot'	<i>pa mal</i> 'much, many, a lot'
<i>ê kâtite</i> 'much, many, a lot'	<i>ê pe</i> 'some, a few'
<i>tu</i> 'quite'	<i>âkor</i> 'another, more'
<i>brit</i> 'in large quantity'	<i>pli, plis</i> 'more'
<i>muês</i> 'less'	<i>osi</i> 'also'
<i>telma</i> 'so'	<i>sitâ</i> 'so'
<i>preski</i> 'almost'	<i>apepre</i> 'approximately'
<i>plito</i> 'rather'	<i>kôbiê?</i> 'how many, how much?'
	...

Examples:

i ti n tu dekuraze 'he was quite discouraged'
pli nu a plât pli boku, pli i a bô pur nu-mem 'the more we plant, the better for us'
i ti n telma sezi ki ... 'he was so surprised'

Cf. now 3.142, and the chapter on Adjective phrases (6.0).

5.443 Adverbs of negation and restriction

<i>nepli</i> 'no longer'	<i>pa ... âkor</i> 'no longer'
<i>pâkor</i> 'not yet'	<i>pa ... mem</i> 'not even'
<i>pa ... ditu</i> 'not at all'	<i>zame</i> 'never'
<i>pa ... osi/nô pli</i> 'not either'	...
<i>zis/nek/selma</i> 'only'	

Cf. now 4.37 and the chapter on Negative sentences, Restrictive sentences.

5.444 Interrogative adverbs

We have seen above the interrogative adverbs of location (*kot(e)?*), time (*kâ?*) and manner (*koma?*). For cause, the adverb is *akoz?* 'why?':

akoz u fer sa? 'why do you do that?'

There is a variant, *akoz ki?*; the form *purkua?* also occurs, but is considered as a French form; *ki fer?* and *ak-fer?* are also common substitutes for *akoz?*, and *ferkua?* occurs sometimes.

ak-fer u vin avek mua? 'why are you coming with me?'
ki fer u fer sa? 'why do you do that?'

See now Interrogative sentences.

5.45 Adverbs of doubt (AdvDbt)

This category contains *petet* 'perhaps, maybe', *kekfua*,

ketfua 'perhaps', *suadzâ* 'supposedly', ...

petet i a don u plis 'maybe he will give you more'
ketfua nu a returne 'perhaps we shall return'
suaazâ u n repar mô loto 'supposedly you have fixed my car'

We introduce these adverbs as a separate constituent of PP, since they appear to have a different derivation. Compare French "il peut être" and "peut-être", "il doit être", "soi-disant"; *ketfua*, *kekfua* in the sense of 'perhaps' appear to be an extension of the basic temporal sense.

Let us briefly examine the verbs *bezuê* (variant *bizuê*), *duatet* and *kapab*. These verbs have each two meanings (not always clearly distinguished in certain tenses), a "full" meaning and a "modal" one. In both senses, they may be followed by an infinitive. In the full sense, preverbal markers may precede the verb, but not the infinitive:

i pu kapab fer sa 'he will be able to do it'
nu ti bezuê desan â-vil 'we had to go to town'
sa ki nu duatet fer 'what we must do'

The "full" sense is: *kapab* 'to be able', *bezuê*, *duatet* 'to have to, to be under the obligation to' (*bezuê* also 'to need to'). Now in the "modal" sense, *kapab* may be glossed as 'possibility', while *bezuê*, *duatet* are 'probability'; here preverbal markers may follow *kapab*, *bezuê*, *duatet* (i.e. they may precede the infinitive following), but with the exception of *n* Completive, they may not precede them:³

i kapab pe mâze 'he may be eating'
i n kapab ariv kek aksidâ 'there may have been an accident'
i bezuê pe ale 'he is probably leaving'
i duatet in fre 'it must have got cold, it probably got cold' (written text)

These verbs appear also in impersonal constructions with an optional subject *i*, again with the modal sense:

(*i*) *kapab (ki) i pu vini* 'it is possible that he will come, perhaps he will come'
(*i*) *bezuê (ki)* 'it is probable that'

(this last is cited by Bollée; I have observed only *i bezuê u vini* 'it is necessary that you come', with *i* obligatory; more data needed)

duatet Zilbert, sa 'that must be Gilberte, it is probably Gilberte'

³ This statement is tentative and further checking is required. Cf. Corne 1973: 55-8 for some MC data.

(the sentence above *i duatet in fre* could also correspond of course to *i duatet (ki) i n fre*). Note that very similar structures and semantics occur in MC as well.

Although further study is manifestly required here, we may tentatively postulate for AdvDbt a transformation of an impersonal sentence; *kapab* and *bezuê* in their modal sense may perhaps be similarly derived, and can perhaps be included in the category AuxAdv. Whatever the ultimate decisions may turn out to be, it seems clear that adverbs of doubt must be categorised differently from other adverbs.

5.46 Distribution of adverbials

Although a full study has not been made, we can nonetheless make a few observations.

Adverbs and PPs of time, place, etc., tend to occur after the VP. In the case of locative and manner adverbials, this is not surprising, since they are in fact constituents of VG (on the evidence of the *-e* deletion rule, 4.224). Similarly for adverbs of quantity. Adverbials of time are much freer, and may precede the sentence (usually separated from it by an intonation contour) or follow the VP; this, like the evidence of the *-e* deletion rule, tends to confirm their status as constituents of S (semantically, "time" affects the whole sentence, not just the predicate).

Adverbs of degree precede the adjective or the adverb and follow the verb that they modify, although at least some of them may also precede the verb (see 4.37, *sitâ*, *biê*, ...)

Adverbs of quantity precede the noun: see the discussion at 3.142 above.

Some adverbs (time, affirmation, negation, doubt) may occur between the subject and the predicate:

Msie desuit i al uar 'Monsieur immediately goes to take a look'
Parti Demokratik alor i siport totalma ... 'the Democratic Party then supports totally ...'
si ban voler deme i a vin vol tu sa-la 'if the thieves come tomorrow to steal all that'
sa blâ kekfua pu napa larzâ pur pey nu 'that Blanc⁴ will perhaps not have (enough) money to pay us'

⁴ *Blanc* is roughly equivalent to "boss" or "owner" (of a farming or agricultural-type property), whence "employer". See the article by R. Chaudenson, "Le noir et le blanc : la classification raciale dans les parlers créoles de l'Océan indien", *Revue de linguistique romane*, 38 (1974) 75-94.

letâ i ape prâ sô bê, nenen osi pe servi mâze 'while he is taking his bath, the maid is, as it happens (French: "précisément"), serving the food'

We noted above (3.5) a curious use of *vrema*:

i ê vrema kaser lakaz 'he is truly a home destroyer'

Finally, we may note that adverbs are often subject to a "focussing" transformation (semantic effect is emphasis) which places them at the head of the sentence:

deme mem nu a môte 'we shall go up (there) tomorrow, it is tomorrow that we'll go up'
(this transform is dealt with in 7.52).

5.47 Adjectives used adverbially

5.471 The "attribute of the complement"

In 4.126, we mentioned the "attribute of the complement"; examples:

zot apel li Zonas 'they call him Jonas'
i uver sô zorey biê grâ 'he opens his ears wide'
i lav lasiet biê prop 'he washes the plates very clean'

Here the attribute of the complement is a manner adverbial, as is shown by the interrogative transformation, where the interrogative adverb *koma?* is the only possible interrogative substitute for the attribute. Note that nouns may also be used as attributes of the complement:

i fer sô figir pitie 'he pulls a pitiful face' (he makes his face pity)

We have suggested that these attributes are derived from underlying copulative sentences, dominated by PP (i.e. the verbs involved have the features [+transitive, +attributive], and the underlying S contains Copula).

5.472 Verbs with the features [-transitive, +attributive]

Some verbs with these features (4.122) allow an adjective used adverbially as the attribute:

nu pu travay serie 'we shall work seriously'
sa liv i kut biêbiê ser 'that book costs a great deal'
travay dir pa ê kalite ban badi 'working hard is not a trait of layabouts'

Nouns may also occur:

sa puasô ti pez trua liv e dmi 'that fish weighed 3½ lbs'

5.5 Adverbial clauses

More than one derivation seems to be necessary to account for the traditional adverbial subordinate clauses. However, with the exception of conditional clauses in particular and perhaps one or two other types, all adverbial clauses involve the embedding of a sentence (here: S2) in the place of the N in the NP constituent of PP in the main (matrix) clause (here: S1). We shall return to the derivational procedures involved in due course, but we may note here concerning the conditional subordinating conjunctions (hereinafter called "subjunctives") *si*, *kâtmem*, ..., that there is no PP with a hypothetical meaning (i.e. no PP with the rewrite DE + (Prep) + (Adv) + NP [+hypothesis]). Thus, conditional subjunctives (and perhaps some others) could possibly be treated as conjunctions of the same order as *me* 'but', *e* 'and', ...

In the following brief description of SC adverbial clauses, traditional semantic categories are used.

5.51 Adverbial clauses of location

The subjunctive is *kot* 'the place where'

i n al kot pe zue bingo 'he goes where bingo is being played'

The subordinate clause may be considered as a relative clause or as indirect interrogation:

i n demâde kot(e) Zâ i ete 'he asked where John is'

olie 'instead of' is classed here as "opposition", 5.56 below.

5.52 Adverbial clauses of time

Various subjunctives are used:

ler, *kâ* 'when'

ler minu i n sone, i ti âkor pe koze 'when midnight came (rang out), he was still talking'
kâ u kui li ek divê, i biê bô 'when you cook it with wine, it is very good'

Occasionally, *kâ ler*:

kâ ler blâ i n fini mâze 'when the Blanc has finished eating'

letâ (ki) 'when, while, during'

letâ mō koze, u pa ni ekut mua 'when I am talking you don't even listen to me'

don zot buar letâ ki zot pe plâte 'give them something to drink while they are planting'

koma 'as, when'

koma i sorti lekol, mō pu kas sō labus 'when he comes out of school, I shall beat him up' (break his mouth)

avâ (ki), avâ ler (ki) 'before'

avâ gardiê gaÿ letâ lev sō fizi 'before the guard has time to raise his rifle'

apre (ki) 'after'

apre ki i n ale, mō n desan â-vil 'after he went, I went down to town'

depi (ki) 'since', *de ki, osito ki* 'as soon as' (also *koma* in this sense), *ziska (ki), ziska ler (ki), eskâ* 'until'

res(te) isi, ziska mō pu returne 'wait here until I get back'

tâ ki, tu letâ ki 'as long as' (could also be classed as conditional perhaps?)

tâ ki u pâkor deman pardô, mō pa pu dir u nariê ditu osi 'as long as you haven't said you're sorry, I won't speak to you ever again either'

As some of the above indicate, subordinations may be built up using adverbs and/or PPs (with or without a surface preposition):

sak fua (ki) 'every time that, whenever'

sak fua (ki) mō uar li, fer mua â-koler 'every time I see it/him, it makes me angry'⁵

â-pen 'scarcely, hardly' (also *a-pen si*):

puasô i morde â-pen u n fil u laliÿ 'the fish bite as soon as you have, scarcely/hardly have you, dropped your line'

zur (ki) 'when', *omoma (ki)* 'at the instant when', *nêport ler ki, nêportki ler* 'any time at all' (cf. 3.63, *nêport-*), *â-mem-tâ ki* 'at the same time as', ...

Some speakers reject some of the above as being French. In

⁵ Note omission of indefinite (?) subject here (cf. 6.5).

basilectal SC, the tendency appears to be to omit *ki*.

5.53 Adverbial clauses of cause

akoz (ki), parski 'because'

i pe plere parski/akoz (ki) sō pies i n ale 'she is crying because her boyfriend has gone away'

puiski 'because, since' is also sometimes used (French?).

koma, kom si 'since, as'

koma lavian torti i bō pur mâze, u pu nobu fer ê bō kari mem! 'since/as turtle-meat is good to eat, you will be able to make a really good curry!'

kom si mō pli lafê, mō pa pu kapab les u ale, mō pu mâz u 'since I am more hungry, I can't let you go, I'll eat you'

etâ ki, (â) kôtâ 'since, given that' (French?)

e ban vie plâter, etâ ki zot osi, zot kôtâ plâte, alor zot tu, zot i n biê dakor 'and the old planters, given that/since they too like planting, are therefore all in agreement'

de-(v)uar ki, vi ki 'since, seeing that' (French)

de-vuar ki i kôtâ kâkâ, i tuzur pe gaÿ traka 'since she enjoys gossip, she is always having hassles'

5.54 Adverbial clauses of purpose (goal)

5.541 The subjunction *pur*

Meaning 'for, in order to, so that', *pur* occurs in several structures.

(a) The subjects of S1 and S2 are co-referential, and Equi-NP deletion may apply optionally (no preverbal markers may precede the infinitive). When the (expressed) subject of the embedded sentence is a pronoun or a personal noun, the non-subject form is used (*mua, li*).

u ki n uar sâ, u ana pur (u) don mua ê leksplikasiô 'you who saw it, you must give me an explanation'

mō ti pe sâte pur (mua) fer u plezir 'I was singing in order to please you'

mō pre pur (mua) mor 'I am close to dying'

mō pare pur (mua) mor 'I am ready to die'

zot pros pur (zot) ale 'they are on the point of leaving'

i bezuê seye pur (li) sov sō lavi 'he must try to save his (own) life'

Certain [+verbal] elements require the presence of the preposition *pur*, as illustrated by some of the above examples: *ana pur* 'to have to, be obliged to', *pre pur* 'close to', *pare pur* 'ready to', *pros pur* 'on the point of, near to'.

(b) The subjects are not coreferential; the subordinate subject (of S2) is not deleted. Again, non-subject forms (*mua*, *li*) are used.

zot pu fer tu sa ki zot kapab pur nu kite 'they will do everything they can in order that we separate'
mô n fer sa pur li les mua trâkil 'I did it so he would leave me alone'

(c) The object (direct/indirect) of S1 is coreferential with the subject of S2, and Equi-NP applies (optionally?).

sa i fer li boku plezir pur sâte 'it pleases him a lot to sing'

(d) The subject of S2 is indefinite and is not expressed:

ê lakaz pur van 'a house for sale'
sa lakaz i pur van 'that house is for sale'
sa zuazo pa pur van 'that bird is not for sale'
lavian torti i bô pur mâze 'turtle meat is good to eat'

Here, *a* may replace *pur* in French-influenced styles (*ê lakaz a van*), but informants are unanimous in rejecting this as "not Creole".

Note that *pur* clauses may often "replace" relative clauses (3.83). For example, the relative clause in:

nu napa nariê ki nu a kapab saroy⁶ delo ladâ 'we have nothing that we can (will be able to) carry water in'

may be replaced by:

nu napa nariê pur (nu) saroy delo ladâ 'we have nothing to carry water in'

Similarly:

eski u n gay dekua nesescr pur nu fer nu baka avek?
 'have you got enough doings for us to make our bacca with?'

⁶ Variant form: *savoy(e)*.

5.542 Other purpose subordinations

pâgar (ki) 'so that not, for fear that, in case'

sove(,) pâgar u gay dimal 'clear off so that you don't get hurt, in case you get hurt'
mô ti bezuê fer mô voyaz sâ ki person i kone, pâgar ki zot âpes mua 'I had to make my trip without anyone knowing, for fear they would stop me, in case they stopped me'

Note also the use of *pâgar* + clause, in the sense of 'be careful + Negative':

pâgar zot vol mô pagay 'be careful they don't steal my paddle'

âka (ki), âka si, oka (ki) 'in case'

nu ti dekros laport, âka si nu ti a bezuê sorti ê ku â-grâ 'we un-hooked the door in case we had to make a sudden exit'

(dâ) ê fasô (ki), ê maÿer (ki) 'so that'

i n arâz sô loto ê maÿer (ki) i pu kapab van li 'he has fixed his car so as to be able to sell it'
mô a fer kum sa, ê fasô, ler nu a sorti la, nu a pare 'I'll do it thus, so that when we come out of there, we'll be all set'

pur ê fasô ki 'so that'

i n arâz sô loto pur ê fasô ki i kapab van li 'he has fixed his car so that he can sell it'

5.55 Adverbial clauses of result

ki 'that'

i ti plere, ki mua-mem, mô ti bezuê suiy ê larm 'he was crying (so much) that even I had to wipe away a tear'

telma ki, sitâ ki 'to such an extent that, such that'

i pre pur li pa kapab koze, telma/sitâ ki sô leker ti n plê avek kamizri 'she was near to being unable to talk, so full was her heart with shame'
ti ana ê kâtite dimun, sitâ ki nu pa ti kapab pase 'there were a lot of people, such that we were unable to get past'

These two subordinations often occur as adverbs of degree:

i telma/sitâ kuyô ki i pa kapab fer sa 'he is so stupid that he can't do it'

i n arâz sô masin telma/sitâ biê ki i kapab van li 'he has fixed his car so well that he can sell it'
(Some speakers allow *si* to replace *sitâ*.)

As well as purpose, (*dâ*) *ê fasô/maÿer (ki)* may indicate result:

i ti n arâz sô loto dâ ê fasô ki i ti kapab van li 'he had fixed his car so that he was able to sell it'

Embedding with *pur* may be used with *telma/sitâ* in Comparative sentences; also with *ase*:

i pa telma/sitâ kuyô pur (li) fer sa } 'he is not so stupid as to do that'
i pa ase kuyô pur (li) fer sa }

5.56 Adverbial clauses of concession/opposition

kâ 'when, whereas'

i n prâ loto kâ mô ti kuar i pu al a-pie 'he has taken the car, whereas I thought he would go on foot'

mem ki 'even though, although'

mem ki i sitâ kuyô 'even though he is so stupid'

kamem, kâtmem 'even though, although' (sometimes *kâtmem ki*)

u a mâze, kamem u pa ule 'you will eat, even if/although you don't want to'

mô fupamal kâtmem zot pa le koz ek mua 'I don't care even if you don't want to talk to me'

pa fer nariê kâtmem i malad, i pu bezuê vini 'even if/although he is sick, he will have to come; it makes no difference even if he is sick, ...'

nêportki, nêport kua, sa ki 'whatever'

nêportki/sa ki u pu fer, u pa pu âpes mua 'whatever you (will)do, you won't prevent me'

dâ plas, olie 'instead'

dâ plas/olie u al lekol, u n al bazar 'instead of going to school, you went to the market'

malgre (ki) 'in spite of', *plito ki* 'rather than', *sâ ki* 'without'

mô n fer sa, sâ ki i n trur mua 'I did it without his seeing me'

(*sâ ki* is considered as French by some speakers, but seems in fact to be widespread.)

5.57 Adverbial clauses of condition

si, komela 'if'

si u fer sa, mô pu bez u 'if you do that, I shall clobber you'

si/komela mô ti ana ê bô laliÿ, mô ti ava al lapas 'if I had a good line, I'd go fishing'

ki u ti pu fer si/komela u ti ris? 'what would you do if you were rich?'

(last two examples from Papen)

kâtmem (concession, 5.56 above) could perhaps be classed here.⁷

a-muê ki 'unless', *ê fua ki* 'providing'

ê fua ki u gay letâ, vin ê ku kot mua 'if/providing you get the time, drop by my place'

5.58 par + infinitive

With at least three verbs, some speakers have *par + infinitive* (French?) as an alternative way of expressing time adverbials:

i komâs par sâte 'he begins by singing; firstly/at first he sings'

i kôtinie par sâte 'he continues by singing; next/then he sings'

i fini par sâte 'he finishes by singing; finally/at last he sings'

⁷ Cf. also *kâ*. In SC, many uses of *kâ* are ambiguous as to time or condition:

kâ u kui li ek divê, i biê bô 'when/if you cook it with wine, it is very good' (5.52 above)

kâ u biê ere dâ u travay e ki u al met u nene dâ zafer u kamarad ki pa kôsern u, sa-mem ki arive 'when/if you are happy in your work and (when/if) you go and stick your nose into your friends' business which does not concern you, that is what happens'

(note the use of *ki* "repeating" the subjunction in the co-ordinate subordinate clause -- influence of French?). The use of *kâ* 'if' instead of *si* is used in 16th Century French (Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. 2, notes that *quand* alone, not accompanied by *bien* or *même*, becomes rare in the conditional use during the 16th Century), and is very frequently so used in Old MC:

"lhère mo tourne dix heires, quand tout lamontagne napas fine fouillé, quand tout maïe napas fine poussé, mo pour manze toi!" (Baissac 1888: 83)
'when I return at 10 o'clock, if the whole mountain has not been tilled, if all the corn/wheat has not grown, I shall eat you'

"quand napas cadeau so fille, narien manqué" (Baissac 1888: 133)
'except for (=if not) the present for his daughter, nothing (was) missing'

Note that coreferentiality of subjects in S1 and S2 is a prerequisite here.

5.6 The "gerundive"

There are two constructions in SC which may be labelled "gerundive". One is constructed with the preposition *â* and the other with the preposition *dâ*. Both structures appear to be the result of productive syntactic procedures, but the data available at present do not allow more than a crude preliminary statement.

Neither structure is an innovation in SC. Both appear in Old MC (Baissac 1888: 109, 177, *et passim*), and RC and RoC have at least the *â* structure. MC appears to have a very limited use of both.

5.61 â + Vâ

No mention was made in the section devoted to verb morphology (4.21) of verb forms with a root + a final morpheme *-â*. Bollée states that the gerundive in *-â* is identical to the French gerundive (forms in *-ant*), and that it occurs fairly frequently in her corpus. However, two points need to be made. Firstly, in French the formation of the gerundive is completely regular. The rule is, crudely stated: "add *-ant* to the stem of the first person plural of the present indicative". Thus, for the verb *dire* 'to say', we have *disant*, from (*nous*) *dis-ons*. (This rule has only three exceptions: *nous savons* 'we know' but *sachant*, *nous sommes* 'we are' but *étant*, *nous avons* 'we have' but *ayant*.) No such "rule" can be formulated for SC, except diachronically (Bollée's statement); thus, we have for SC *dir* 'to say', a gerundive *dizâ* 'saying'. Secondly, it is not at all clear that all verbs (even if only those SC verbs which have a French verb etymon are considered) do in fact have a form in *-â* for all speakers (that is to say, the derivational procedure is not productive for all speakers).

For at least some speakers, the gerundive in *-â* tends to be avoided in actual use, except for highly recurrent expressions such as *â môtâ* 'in/while/by going up', *â arivâ* 'on arrival', *â kôtâ* 'including' (cf. 3.91 for this last item).⁸

The *Vâ* gerundive is used as a substitute for adverbial clauses of time (denoting simultaneity) under conditions of coreferentiality (subject of S1 and S2).

When *Vâ* has an initial vowel, the preposition *â* occurs

⁸ In MC, I have noted so far only *â arivâ*, *â sortâ*, while most of the other possibilities are rejected: **â môtâ*, **â desâdâ*, **â dizâ*, ...

phonetically as [än] (French liaison). Occasionally, *tu â* occurs (French?).

Examples:

â sortâ â-vil, i môt Lamizer 'on leaving town, he goes up to La Misère'
â môtâ Lamizer, i ti ape dir dâ sô leker ... 'while he was going up to La Misère, he was saying to himself ...'
i ti komâse â dizâ 'he began by saying' (cf. 5.58)
tu â kozâ 'while talking'
i sâte mem â desâdâ 'he sings away on his way down'
i pe vini â sâtâ 'he is coming along, singing the while'

Occasionally, other prepositions may be used:

depi â arivâ isi 'since arriving here'

5.62 With dâ

In the same way as for *â + Vâ*, the gerundive with *dâ* occurs only when there is coreference of subject in S1 and S2. There are two different constructions with *dâ*, which may be illustrated by the following sets of sentences (some of these have been given in 3.3 above, and most are taken from Papen):

- (a) *Zozefin, dâ sô â-koler, i kriye: ...* 'Joséphine, being angry/in her anger, cries out ...'
Frâki, dâ sô lager, i dir ... 'Franky, while fighting, says ...'
suvâ, dâ mō pe desan Lapas, mō uar Berto ek sô saret bef 'often, while going down to La Passe, I see Bertaud with his ox-cart'
dâ mō pa rekonet sa de dimun, mō ti dir ek zot ... 'not recognising the two people, I said to them ...'

In these sentences, the *dâ* construction is a substitute for an adverbial clause of time (simultaneity).⁹ In all cases, the items following the possessive are constituents of VP. Only (*a*)*pe* and *pa* precede the verb. The use of the possessive is

⁹ This structure occurs in Old MC (Baissac 1888: 109). In modern MC, only *dâ buar* 'in drinking' and *dâ zue* 'in playing' have been noted:

tu mo larzâ fini dâ buar (larak) 'all my money has gone in/through drinking (alcohol)'
tu to larzâ pu fini dâ zue kart 'all your money will be finished in/through card-playing'

(*pe*, *pa* are excluded).

usual, but not obligatory:

lerua dâ sâ kone, i dir ... 'the king, without knowing/in his ignorance, says ...'

- (b) *sa pti garsô, dâ tu sô êbesil, i dir li ...* 'that little boy, even though he is/was stupid, says to him ...'
dâ tu sô fatige, i ti bizuê ed pov balen 'even though he was tired, he had to help poor Whale'
dâ tu mô meg, u a kone sa ki mô kapab fer! 'even though I'm skinny, you'll find out what I can do!'

tu appears to be inserted for its emphatic value -- it may be deleted when the adjective is reduplicated:

dâ mô seksek, u a kone ki mua taler! 'even though I am weak/thin, you'll find out who I am in a minute!'

In this set of sentences, the *dâ* construction is a substitute for a concessive clause, although the denotation of simultaneity is nonetheless present. Again, the items following the possessive (which seems to be obligatory here) are constituents of VP (containing Copula).

In both cases (a) and (b), we may postulate that in S1 there is a PP of time (Prep is *dâ*), the NP of which dominates S2. The subject of S2 (coreferential with that of S1) is "possessivised".

THE ADJECTIVE PHRASE

Surface APs contain adjectives, adverbs (of degree), PPs and comparative structures.

AP → (AdvDeg) + AG + (PP)
AG → Adj + (PP)

A surface description of adjectives has been given in section 3.4. These PS rules account for the following facts:

(a) Adverbs of degree (AdvDeg, 5.442) optionally precede the adjective:

i ti pli grâ 'it was bigger'
sa en pli gro 'that biggest one'
ê kari plito bô 'a rather good curry'
zame i ti kuar si lavi i osi dir 'never did he think that life was so hard'

(b) The Adjective Group (AG) is made up of an Adjective (Adj) and an optional PP, which is the traditional "complement of the adjective", as in:

i biê kôtâ sô nuvo kaxie 'he is well pleased/very happy with, he really likes, his new fish-trap'
zot êterese ek lapas 'they are interested in fishing'
zot pros pur (zot) ale 'they are on the point of leaving'

The presence of this PP is dependent on a feature [+attributive] of the adjective. Adjectives with [-attributive], such as *êsiyifiâ* 'stupid, insupportable, intolerable (of a person)', do not have such complements. It is this PP which accounts for the "Passives" in SC.

(c) The Adjective Phrase may contain an optional PP which corresponds by and large to comparative structures:

zen-zâ Ladig, zot pli ôte ki sa ban Mae 'young men on La Digue are more modest than those on Mahé'
i pa ase êbesil pur fer sa 'he is not so stupid as to do that'

Here, the choice of PP depends on the nature of the adverb of degree (feature [+comparison]).

6.1 AdvDeg

The adverbs of degree have been listed above at 5.442, but some points of usage may be noted.

(a) With AdvDeg preceding, adjectives which are normally pre-

posed to the noun, are generally postposed (see 3.41):

<i>ê bô kari</i>	'a good curry' →														
<table border="0"> <tr><td rowspan="6" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td><i>biê</i></td> <td>'very good'</td> </tr> <tr><td><i>tre</i></td> <td>'very good'</td> </tr> <tr><td><i>tro</i></td> <td>'too, overwhelmingly good'</td> </tr> <tr><td><i>ase</i></td> <td>'passably good'</td> </tr> <tr><td><i>ê pe</i></td> <td>'somewhat, rather good'</td> </tr> <tr><td><i>plito</i></td> <td>'somewhat, rather good'</td> </tr> </table>	}	<i>biê</i>	'very good'	<i>tre</i>	'very good'	<i>tro</i>	'too, overwhelmingly good'	<i>ase</i>	'passably good'	<i>ê pe</i>	'somewhat, rather good'	<i>plito</i>	'somewhat, rather good'		
		}	<i>biê</i>	'very good'											
			<i>tre</i>	'very good'											
			<i>tro</i>	'too, overwhelmingly good'											
			<i>ase</i>	'passably good'											
			<i>ê pe</i>	'somewhat, rather good'											
<i>plito</i>	'somewhat, rather good'														
<i>ê kari</i>		<i>bô</i>													

With *tre* and *pli*, postposition is optional:

sa ê tre bô lide 'that's a very good idea'
sa pli grâ garsô 'the biggest boy'

(b) Adjectives may be intensified by *ek bô-ker*, *ek laraz*, *kom(a) pa posib* (in this case, preposed adjectives are postposed). These are PPs constituent of AG (not AP):

ê tifiy zoli ek bô-ker 'an extremely beautiful girl'
(see 3.41 also).

(c) The "restrictive" adverbs *nek*, *zis*, *selma*, and other adverbs of degree (*sitâ*, *biê*, *osi*, *preski*, ...) - see 4.37. In some uses, the restrictive adverbs may be classed with AdvDeg:

i zis malad 'he is only sick' (not dying)

(d) Some adverbs of degree may follow the adjective (under conditions which remain obscure):

i â-koler plis 'he is even more angry'

6.2 Comparative sentences

When AdvDeg has the feature [+comparative], the PP constituent of AP is chosen. We postulate that PP dominates a sentence S2, and that various deletion rules (deletion of identical constituents in S1 and S2) then apply, some optionally, others obligatorily. The resulting surface structures include PPs and clauses.

Semantically, comparatives may mark superiority, inferiority, correspondence (identity) and equality.

6.21 Superiority

Superiority is marked by *pli(s)* 'more': *pli* occurs before adjectives and *boku*, elsewhere *plis*.

sa zom ti pli grâ { *ki mua* } 'that man was bigger
{ *ki mō (ti) ete* } than me/than I was'
i pli kuyô ki u (ete) 'he is more stupid than you (are)'

mô lakaz i vo plis ki pur u 'my house is worth more than yours'
lerua i â-koler plis 'the king is even angrier'
mô ana plis larzâ ki âfo 'I have more than enough money'
ozordi, i n van plis ki de sâ puasô 'today he has sold more than 200 fish'
napa ê pli dernie zaimo ki lera 'there is no animal lower (literally, laster) than a rat'
mô ana pli boku larzâ ki u 'I have more money than you'
sa pu fer u madam pli malad âkor 'that will make your woman/wife even sicker'

The French comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs occur for some speakers:

Sesil ti pli mie/bô ki Fiy 'Cécile was better (looking) than Fille'
ê plâtasiô maÿok ti a meyer ki tu lezot plâtasiô 'a manioc plantation would be better than all (the) other (kinds of) plantation(s)'

6.22 Inferiority

Some speakers use *muês* 'less', while others prefer to use *pli(s)* in a negative sentence (or with inferiority marked lexically in some way, see examples below). Bollée lists also *muê*, and quotes from Papen, who claims that most Creole speakers avoid the use of *muê* as much as possible (Bollée notes that it does not occur at all in her corpus). Papen then points out that *muê* is considered Frenchified, and that a sentence like "John is less rich than Tom" is usually rendered as "T. is richer than J." (*Toma i pli ris ki Zâ*) or negatively as "J. is not as rich as T." (*pa osi ris ki*, see 6.23 below). My own informants do not use *muê*, and not all of them use *muês* (curiously, neither Papen nor Bollée appear to have come across this form, as neither mention it).

mô ana muês ki u 'I have less than you'
mô ana muês larzâ ki u } 'I have less money than you'
mô napa pli boku larzâ ki u }
i kôtâ u muês ki u kuar } 'he likes you less than you
i pa kôtâ u plis ki u kuar } think'
i muês kuyô ki u (ete) } 'he's less stupid than you
i pa pli kuyô ki u (ete) } (are)'
mô lakaz i pli pa-bô ki pur u 'my house is more no-good than yours, less good than yours'
mô travay pli pti morso ki u 'I work less than you do'
mô travay pli pti gin ki u 'I work less than you do'

6.23 Correspondence and identity

Correspondence is marked by *koma* (contextual variants *kum/kom*), *parey* (*koma*), sometimes by *ki*, *maÿer*, (*dâ maÿer*, *ki maÿer*), *degre*, *dâ fasô* (*ki*), *tel ki* (French?), ...

u nuar koma blakin 'you are as black as pitch'
mō kōtā Brizit, napa koma li 'I love Brigitte, there is
 no-one like her'
dimiel kum/kom sa 'honey like this'
ē bato parey Ledi Esmē 'a boat like Lady Esmēe'
sa (i) ē liv ki u kōtā 'that's a book like you like'
u n suiy(e) latab $\left. \begin{array}{l} dā ma\tilde{y}er \\ dā fasō \\ koma \\ ki (ma\tilde{y}er) \end{array} \right\} mō n dir u?$ 'have you
 wiped the
 table as I
 told you?'
i fer sa ē lot fasō/ē lot ma\tilde{y}er ki u n mōtre li 'he is
 doing it differently from how you showed him' (non-
 identity)
i pa n fer sa koma u n mōtre li 'he hasn't done it the
 way you showed him'
i fer sa parey i ti fer premie ku 'he does it the same
 way he did it the first time around'
parey zot i n tādē dā nuvel 'as you have heard on the
 news'
zot kapab fer sa ma\tilde{y}er zot ule 'you can do it the way
 you wish'
i ti sagrē uar degre zot ti ana leker dir 'he was sorry
 to see the extent to which they had hard hearts'
u lame pu reste so ek laliy, ki ma\tilde{y}er puasō i morde 'your
 hand will stay hot on the line, the way the fish bite'
zā pa ris koma/parey Tomas 'John is not rich like Thomas'
 (replaces Inferiority)
ti ana boku dimun, tel ki Zorz, Moris, ... 'there were a
 lot of people, such as George, Maurice, ...'

From the above, it is clear that these clauses are syntactically different from those of Superiority, Inferiority and Equality, in that (a) they do not depend on AdvDeg, (b) their derivation is as that of Adverbial clauses (5.4).

6.24 Equality

Equality is marked by *otā, osi* (free (?) variant *si* following *pa*). It may also be marked by *mem degre* (cf. 6.23 above).

i otā/osi kuyō ki u (ete) 'he is as stupid as you (are)
i pa si/otā/osi move ki u kuar 'he is not as bad as you
 think'
i pa osi grā ki mua 'he is not as big as me'
i ris mem degre ki nu (ete) 'he is as rich as us'

With *sitā, telma, ase*, the embedded sentence may be introduced by *pur* (under conditions of coreferentiality of subjects in S1 and S2):

i pa ase/telma/sitā kuyō pur (li) fer sa 'he is not so stupid as to do that'

6.3 The "passive" in SC

The question of "passive" sentences in IOC has been examined in some detail in Corne 1976. We recapitulate here the essential elements of that article, concentrating on SC, but with passing reference to MC.

A definition of "passive" must basically be concerned with the relationship of the (surface) subject to the rest of the sentence. An essential precondition for recognising passive versus active sentences in any given language is the existence of pairs of synonymous sentences, differing formally in some way, with the actor of the verb (the semantic agent) being the subject in one member of the pair, and the goal of the verb being the subject in the other. (The goal of the verb is essentially the object of a transitive verb.) But the existence of some sentences with actor-subjects and of others with goal-subjects, is not of itself a sufficient reason for deciding that a given language has a passive construction. What is important is that of the goal-subject sentences, some have semantically equivalent sentences with actor-subjects and containing the same lexical items (with morphological and/or syntactic changes).

In English, this may be illustrated by the following pair of sentences:

- (a) The girl sang the song
- (b) The song is sung by the girl

In sentence (b), the actor (or the semantic agent) is expressed in the prepositional phrase "by the girl". In (c):

- (c) The song is sung

we have only the goal subject, an actor (not necessarily "the girl" of (a) and (b), although "the girl" is one of many possible actors) remaining unexpressed. Here, sentences such as (b) will be referred to as the "full" passive, while sentences such as (c) will be called the "partial" or "truncated" passive.

A language which has only sentences like (a) and (c), but no sentences like (b), cannot be said to have a passive construction in the strict sense (cf. the discussion in Biggs 1974: 412-8, and in Clark 1974).¹

¹ I wish to thank K.J. Hollyman, Bruce Biggs and Ross Clark for their helpful comments and discussion on the topic of passives (while at the same time absolving them of all responsibility for the result as expressed here, of course).

6.31 The full passive in SC

In the Creole of my informants, there are pairs of sentences such as the following:

- (1) a. *ê dokter i n ekrir sa liv* 'a doctor wrote that book'
 b. *sa liv i n ekrir par ê dokter* 'that book is/has been written by a doctor'
- (2) a. *sa gard i n rekonet sa voler* 'that policeman recognised the thief'
 b. *sa voler i n rekonet par sa gard* 'the thief has been recognised by the policeman'
- (3) a. *pêter pu pen sa lakaz* 'the painter will paint the house'
 b. *sa lakaz pu (gaÿ) pen par pêter* 'the house will be (get) painted by the painter'
- (4) a. *gubernma pu pey zot* 'the government will pay them'
 b. *zot pu (gaÿ) peye par gubernma* 'they will be (get) paid by the government'

(In 3b, *gaÿ* is preferred, in 4b the sentence is acceptable with or without *gaÿ*; we return to the *gaÿ*-passive below, 6.4.)

Such sentences meet our definition of the "full" passive, but, where the agent is introduced by *par*, they are rather rare in actual use. In the vast majority of cases, a passive transformation along the lines of:

NP1 + Aux + V_{active} + NP2 → NP2 + Aux + V_{passive} + *par* + NP1

fails to produce acceptable SC sentences. Thus, a passive transformation (5b) of 5a is not acceptable (or is only marginally so):

- (5) a. *zot burzua pu obliz zot fer sa* 'their boss will oblige them to do it'
 b. *?*zot pu oblize fer sa par zot burzua* 'they will be obliged to do it by their boss'

Most such sentences are not acceptable in basilectal SC, where the actor is usually expressed as the subject of the sentence, but we may note that (a) for at least some speakers there is a rather limited availability and use of the full passive: and (b) the verb *gaÿ(e)* 'to get, incur, etc.' may be used in passive-type sentences.

6.32 Goal-subject sentences

Goal-subject sentences are nonetheless common, and many transitive verbs occur in them:

- (6) a. *nenen i n lav lasiet* 'the maid washed the dishes'
 b. *lasiet i n lave* 'the plates are/have been washed'

- (7) a. *lerua pa ti kuver sô basê* 'the king didn't (use to) cover his pond'
 b. *sô basê pa ti kuver* 'his pond was not covered' (habitually)
- (8) a. *zot burzua pu rekôpâs zot pli tar* 'their boss will reward them later'
 b. *zot pu (gaÿ) rekôpâse pli tar* 'they will be rewarded (get rewarded) later'

In section 4.127, we contrasted 9a with 9b:

- (9) a. *sô lipie i n tase dâ koltar* 'his feet are stuck in the tar'
 b. *sô lipie i n tas dâ koltar* 'his feet have stuck in the tar'

and we stated that in 9a *tase* is an adjective, whereas in 9b it is a transitive verb used intransitively. That items like *tase* in 9a are adjectives is shown by at least three sets of facts:

(i) The non-application of *-e* deletion. This is weak evidence, since *-e* deletion is optional with PPs of location (v. 4.223(e) (i) above). The presence or absence of *-e* is not, of course, a condition of our analysis of *tase* etc. as adjectives, but merely a pointer to it (cf. the discussion in Corne 1976).

(ii) The use of the Completive marker *n* (4.112, 4.34). Compare 10a and 10b:

- (10) a. *sô derier i n kole dâ koltar* 'his behind is stuck in the tar'
 b. *sô lame i kole* 'his hand sticks', 'his hand is stuck'

In 10b, *kole* is either an adjective or a verb. If the latter, it is to be glossed as 'sticks', if the former, as 'is stuck (a state which is generally true)' (cf. 13a below).

(iii) The inchoative value of *(a)pe* in such sentences (4.115); compare 11a and 11b:

- (11) a. *u pe fatig mua avek u ban zistuar* 'you are tiring me with your stories'
 b. *mô pe fatige tap u laport* 'I am getting tired of knocking at your door'

In 11a *fatig(e)* is a verb (progressive value of *(a)pe*, *-e* deletion has applied, *mua* direct object), whereas in 11b, *(a)pe* is inchoative (and *-e* deletion has not applied).

To these, we may tentatively add a fourth set of facts, the evidence for which is from MC (while I have no decisive SC data to hand on this matter, the MC facts are relevant to this discussion).

(iv) The incompatibility of certain constituents of Aux:

- (12) a. *so lipie fin fek tase dâ gudrô
 b. so lipie fin fek tas dâ gudrô 'his feet have just now stuck in the tar'
 (13) a. so lamê âkor kole dâ gudrô 'his hand is still stuck in the tar'
 b. *so lamê âkor kol dâ gudrô

Sentence 13b is equivalent to 14:

- (14) so lamê kol dâ gudrô âkor ê ku 'his hand sticks in the tar again'

In the (b) sentences above (6b to 11b), *lave*, *kuver*, *rekôpâse*, *tase*, *kole*, *fatige* are adjectives. That is, the passive is produced by the rewrite of AP, rather than being a transformation of the active sentence.

The passive predicate, like adjectives generally, directly governs only one surface argument - the others being directly governed by prepositions - whereas the active predicate usually governs two (since it contains a transitive verb). This approach appears to give an economical and satisfactory description of the facts, and accounts also for the (apparent) anomalies that occur (such as in the preverbal markers, as we have seen). This analysis may be compared with the discussion of the passive in modern French in Dubois and Dubois-Charlier 1970: 174-8. There remains the problem of the selectional restrictions, in that the selectional restrictions on the subject and object of an active sentence are the same as those for the subject and agent of a passive one. That is, where the active is impossible (e.g. in English *the lamp-post apprehends the pill), the corresponding passive is equally agrammatical (*the pill is apprehended by the lamp-post). Such selectional restrictions look as though they could be more economically handled by postulating a passive transformation of an active sentence, since without a passive transformation, the selectional restrictions for both the active verb and the passive verb must both be listed in the lexicon. However, as Freidin (1975: 395) points out, this need not be the case if a redundancy rule is used to handle such mirror-image selectional restrictions. The postulated passive transformation is of course one way of stating such a redundancy. Freidin rejects (on a number of grounds) the necessity for a passive transformation in English and postulates that the passive predicate may be better analysed as AP, as it is here, for somewhat different reasons, for Creole. The redundancy is then stateable as

Active Verb c Passive Verb

that is, if there is a passive verb in the lexicon, then there is also an active counterpart (but the reverse does not hold). This approach resolves the problem of such unacceptable sentences as *Daphne is resembled by Brigitte, *ê Sûgula i resâble

ek li '*a Sounoula is resembled by him' (cf. Brigitte resembles Daphne, i resâble ê Sûgula 'he resembles a Sounoula').

6.33 Verb classes and adjectives

Many of the adjectives in goal-subject sentences are morphologically identical to (the long form of) transitive verbs. Let us refer to them as adjectives derived from transitive verbs. Within the class of transitive verbs, there are several morphological classes (4.21 above).

The sub-class of transitive verbs which may be used as adjectives in goal-subject sentences includes a large number of those verbs which are subject to -e deletion (Class I verbs). There appear to be some Class I verbs which may not be used as adjectives (and there are dialectal differences with MC as well). For example, *vâde* 'to sell; (be) sold' occurs in MC (short form *van*) but not in SC (only *van* occurs, and it cannot be used adjectivally, only transitively or intransitively): *tâde* 'to hear; be heard' does not occur as an adjective in either dialect; *demâde* 'to ask; (be) asked' does (for at least some speakers) in SC, but the equivalent verb *dimâde* does not in MC. Thus, the following sentence is acceptable in SC, but not in MC:

taks pu demâde ek tu ban situayê 'the tax will be asked of all citizens'

Among the transitive verbs with invariable bases (Class II), many occur as adjectives in goal-subject sentences. The following non-exhaustive list illustrates most of the phonological shapes involved: *servi* 'to serve', *perdi* 'to lose', *fini* 'to finish', *pini* 'to punish'; *lue* 'to rent', *etidie* 'to study'; *aste* 'to buy', *elekte* 'to elect'; *fer* 'to make', *kuver* 'to cover', *uver* 'to open'; *kôstrir* 'to build', *ekrir* 'to write'; *kui* 'to cook'; *pen* 'to paint', *ten* 'to tint, colour'; *kud* 'to sew', *rekonet* 'to recognise'. As for the Class I verbs, some Class II verbs may not occur as adjectives, although there appear to be dialectal differences between SC and MC; some examples are: *môtre* 'to show', *sie* 'to saw', *kôprâ* 'to understand', *apran* 'to learn', *tiðbo* 'to catch, seize, hold tight, hang on to', *suiv* 'to follow', *kokê* 'to steal' (may be used as an adjective in SC but not in MC). In SC, the verb *prâ* 'to take', has an adjective *pri* 'taken, captured' (there may be other similar pairs), but these seem best considered as two separate items, i.e. as non derivationally-related items.

In section 4.127, we noted the intransitive use of certain transitive verbs: *kas(e)* 'to break', *tas(e)* 'to stick', *kol(e)* 'to stick', *ramas(e)* 'to pull in, pick up', *fan(e)* 'to spread', ... More research is required to establish whether all such verbs may also be used as adjectives: in Corne 1976, we noted that *buar* 'to drink', *fer* 'to make' caused problems of acceptability when used adjectivally in MC, although not apparently in SC: *tu nu kalu i n buar* 'all our toddy has been drunk'.

6.34 Non-subject actors

In 6.31 we have seen a number of sentences, with goal-subjects, where the agent is expressed in a PP introduced by *par*. While *par* occurs spontaneously, its use is rare, and the most usual preposition is *(av)ek*:

i n dekuyone par/ek u lodas 'he is disconcerted by your audacity'
sō persistās pu rekōpāse par/ek ban sikse 'his persistence will be rewarded with success(es)'
sa ban kestiō pu bezuē etidie par guvernma ek ban spesialis 'these questions will need to be studied by the government and the experts'
ban brās i n kase par/ek divā 'the branches have been broken by the wind'

In many cases, moreover, the PP is one of instrument rather than agent. A study of the SC data, as well as data from MC and RC (Corne 1976) allows us to conclude that the introduction of an agent by a PP is at best a marginal procedure, especially in view of the relative infrequency of this construction and the spontaneous tendency to use actor-subject (active) sentences when an agent is expressed.

6.4 The "gaŷ-passive"

This area of syntax has been dealt with in detail in Corne n.d.

A slightly modified version of the text of that paper follows, in which we examine the *gaŷ*-passive in SC, and also in RoC. We examine briefly some data from MC and RC, and suggest an analysis of the construction.

6.41 The Cop-passive in IOC

We have described above the basic type of goal-subject sentence, which occurs in all four dialects (MC, SC, RC, RoC), and we have noted that an agent may be expressed in a PP introduced by a preposition (*par*, *(av)ek* in SC, also *ar* in MC). We noted (6.34) that the PP is often one of instrument rather than agent: for example, in the sentence 1a:

(1) a. *Vadivel i tro gate par mō ban kōsey* 'Vadivel is too spoilt by my advice'

the PP *par mō ban kōsey* is instrumental, not agentive, as is shown by 1b:

b. *mō tro gat Vadivel par mō ban kōsey* 'I spoil Vadivel too much by my advice'

We noted that the introduction of an agent by a preposition is a

marginal procedure, and that the spontaneous tendency is to use actor-subject sentences. The basic IOC structure consisting of goal-subject + Copula + AP, we shall label the Cop-passive. We have postulated that the Cop-passive is not a transformation of an active sentence, but is derived by the rewrite of AP. For the purposes of our treatment of the *gaŷ*-passive, the analysis of the Cop-passive is in any case a side issue, and any of the various transformational treatments of the passive that have been proposed in the literature could equally well be used: the main points to be made here would be fundamentally unchanged.

6.42 The *gaŷ*-passive in SC

In SC there is a distinction between the Cop-passive we have just discussed and another construction which we may label the *gaŷ*-passive (although this label is something of a misnomer in fact, as we shall see). This structure is described briefly in Papen and in Corne 1976. Many details remain to be elucidated, but the following presentation covers at least the broad outline of the facts.

The following pair of sentences will serve to illustrate the Cop-passive and the *gaŷ*-passive:

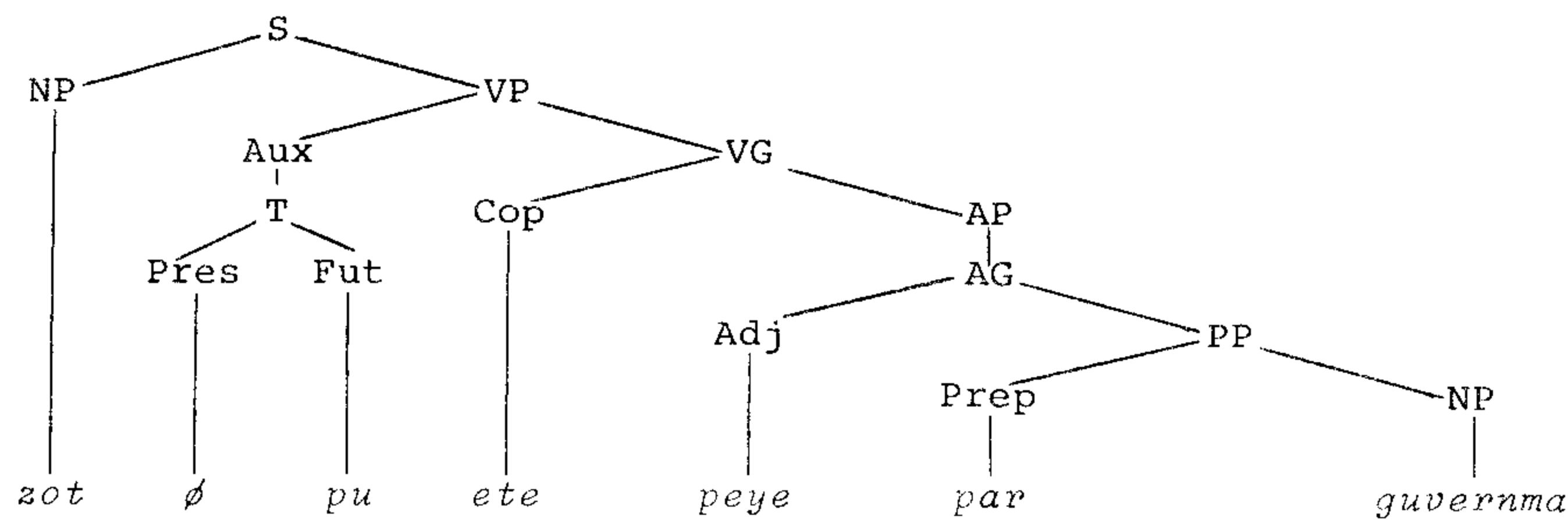
- (2) a. *zot pu peye par guvernma* 'they will be paid by the government'
 b. *zot pu gaŷ peye par guvernma* 'they will get paid by the government'

The glosses given for 2a and 2b show the *be*-passive and the *get*-passive in English (see Gee 1974, whose analysis of the *get*-passive has directly inspired our statement here). In English, the *get*-passive often implies some amount of sympathy for, agency of, intentionality or responsibility on the part of, or some more or less direct involvement on the part of the surface subject, which the *be*-passive does not: we shall see that this is to some extent true of the SC *gaŷ*-passive also. In the *gaŷ*-passive construction, the verb *gaŷe* may be glossed as 'to get, have inflicted on one, suffer, incur, receive as one's lot, be affected by' (followed by NP, *gaŷe* means 'to get, have, obtain, receive'). In all cases, the *gaŷ*-passive refers back to the surface subject (i.e. the subject is, at least in part, a goal, as we shall show below).

The derivation of the Cop-passives as in 2a may be represented as in Fig. 1, and this derivation may be compared with that of the *gaŷ*-passive in Fig. 2.

A number of SC sentences are given in 6.47. Apart from the presence of the element *gaŷ*, *gaŷ*-passives seem superficially identical to the Cop-passives (no apparent unusual restrictions on preverbal markers, often no significant difference of meaning). Sentences 3a and 3b illustrate this (note presence of *n* in both):

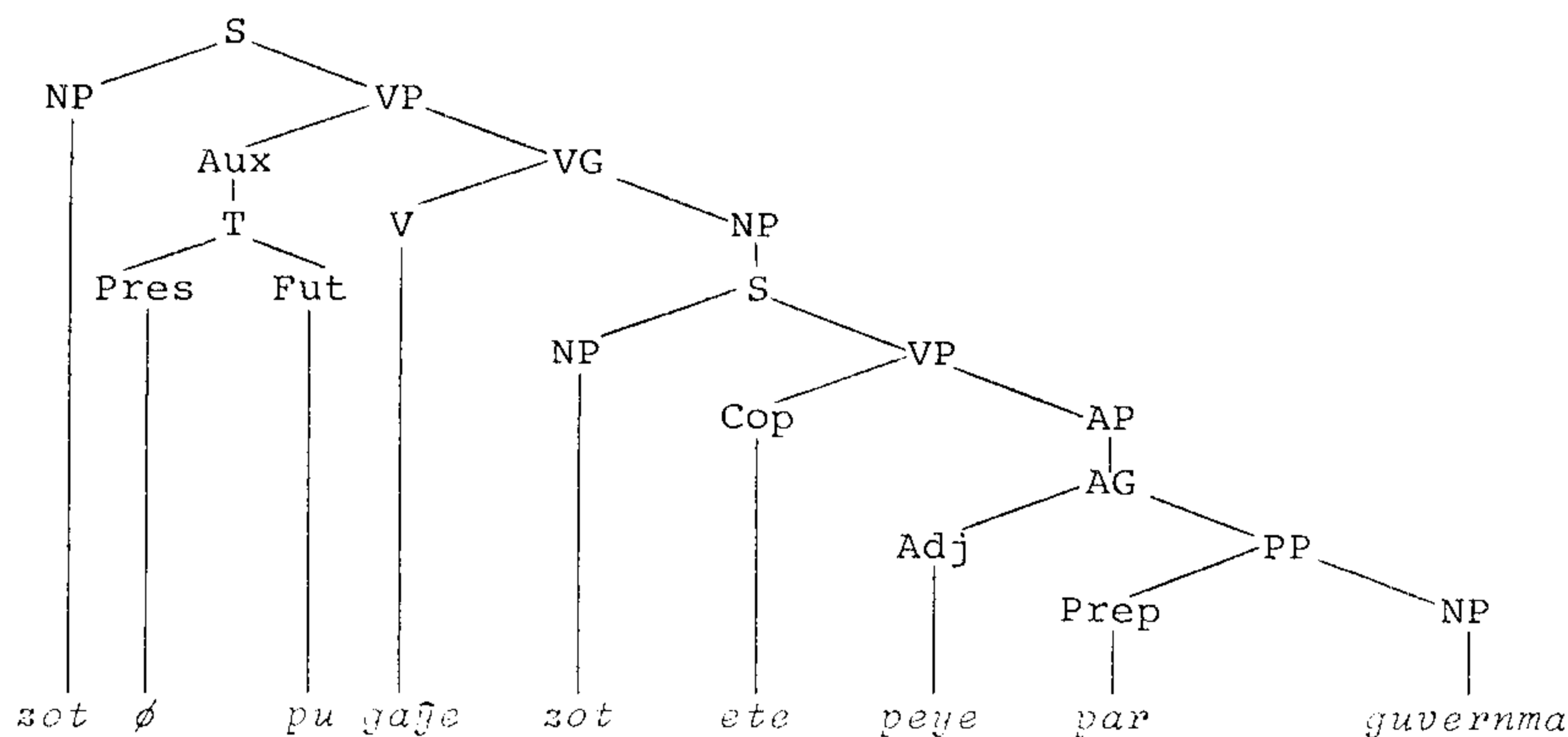
Figure 1



Copula deletion, morphophonemics → 2a

zot pu peye par guvernma 'they will be paid by the government'

Figure 2



Copula deletion, Equi-NP, -e deletion, morphophonemics → 2b

zot pu gaŋe peye par guvernma 'they will get paid by the government'

- (3) a. *mem ki i ti n gaŋe pardone* } 'even though he was,
 b. *mem ki i ti n pardone* } had got, had been, pardoned'

It must be admitted that the data to hand are somewhat restricted, and a closer examination will undoubtedly reveal differences between the two constructions beyond those that we shall be discussing here.

Most adjectives deriving from verbs may occur in both the Cop- and the *gaŋe*-passive:

- (4) a. *zot pa ti êvite dâ sa festê* 'they were not invited to that party'
 b. *zot pa ti gaŋe êvite dâ sa festê* 'they did not get invited to that party'

but some, such as *fatige* 'tired of, sick of', *âraze* 'very angry', *oblize* 'obliged to, forced to', *okipe* 'busy', ... tend to occur only in the Cop-passive construction:

- (5) *mô n fatige ek Sûgula* 'I am tired of, sick of, have lost patience with, Soungoula'

Subjects which are [+animate] occur more frequently in the *gaŋe*-passive construction than do [-animate] ones. In some cases, there is a definite implication of intentionality, responsibility or direct involvement on the part of the [+animate] subject in the *gaŋe*-passive, where the Cop-passive does not have this implication:

- (6) a. *Pier i n elekte minis* 'Peter has been elected Minister'
 b. *Pier i n gaŋe elekte minis* 'Peter has got elected Minister'

Now 6b has two readings; it is ambiguous between a reading where *Pier* is an agent, causing his own election, and one where he is simply the experiencer of the event (as he is in 6a). Our problem is to explain this ambiguity.

In sentences 2b, 4b, 6b above, an adjective follows *gaŋe*. Consider now 7 and 8:

- (7) *i n fek gaŋe met dâ prizô* 'he has just been imprisoned, has just got himself put in prison'
 (8) *nu a gaŋe pret zuti* 'we shall get lent (a loan of) the tools'

Here, *met*, *pret* are verbs (note that -e deletion has applied), not adjectives. These sentences quite clearly have a causative meaning, and to account for this we may postulate a derivation along the lines shown in Fig. 3 (in Fig. 3 we use a simpler version of 7 which omits *fek* 'to have just'; *fek* being a higher verb - see 4.32 - simply introduces an extra step in the

derivation). In 7 and 8, *gaÿe* belongs to the same (or to a similar) class as *fer* 'to cause' (in *i n fer mua plere* 'he made me cry', for example), and the sentences are roughly equivalent to 'he has just got them/someone to put him in prison', 'we shall get them/someone to lend us the tools'. The embedded sentence cannot be a Cop-passive, since otherwise the application of *-e* deletion cannot be accounted for, nor can the semantics, as we shall see.

The conditions under which the various processes involved (deletion of the nominal proform represented lexically here by *dimun*, deletion of the co-referential NP in the embedded sentence - it is dominated by VG in 7, but is dominated by PP in 8, i.e. direct object in 7, indirect in 8) may occur, are not clear and this derivation is advanced somewhat tentatively. Indefinite subject deletion is a rule that is needed elsewhere in the grammar (6.5). It is not clear what is involved in the operation(s) which delete co-referential NPs here: a deletion of a prior reflexivisation seems to be one possibility.

Note that the postulated derivation for the *gaÿ*-passive construction (sentence 2b and Fig. 2) is identical, except that the embedded sentence is passive.

Let us now briefly consider a paraphrase (9b) of sentence 9a:

- (9) a. *u liku pu gaÿ sote* 'your neck (i.e. head) will be/get cut off'
 b. *u pu gaÿ u liku sote* 'you will get your head cut off'²

The derivation of 9b is very similar to that of 2b and of 7, as shown in Figure 4. Here, the parallel with verbs like *fer* is more obvious, in that the subject of the embedded sentence appears on the surface. The differences to be noted between the derivation of 9b, 2b and 7, are that 2b and 9b have embedded Cop-passive sentences; co-referentiality of NPs is different for 2b and 9b - in 9b the subject *u* in S1 is coreferential with the NP underlying the possessive *u* in S2 (not shown in Fig. 4); similarly the coreferentiality in 9b and 7 is different, but this difference is less important than the fact that in neither is the coreferential NP in S2 the subject, as it is in 2b.

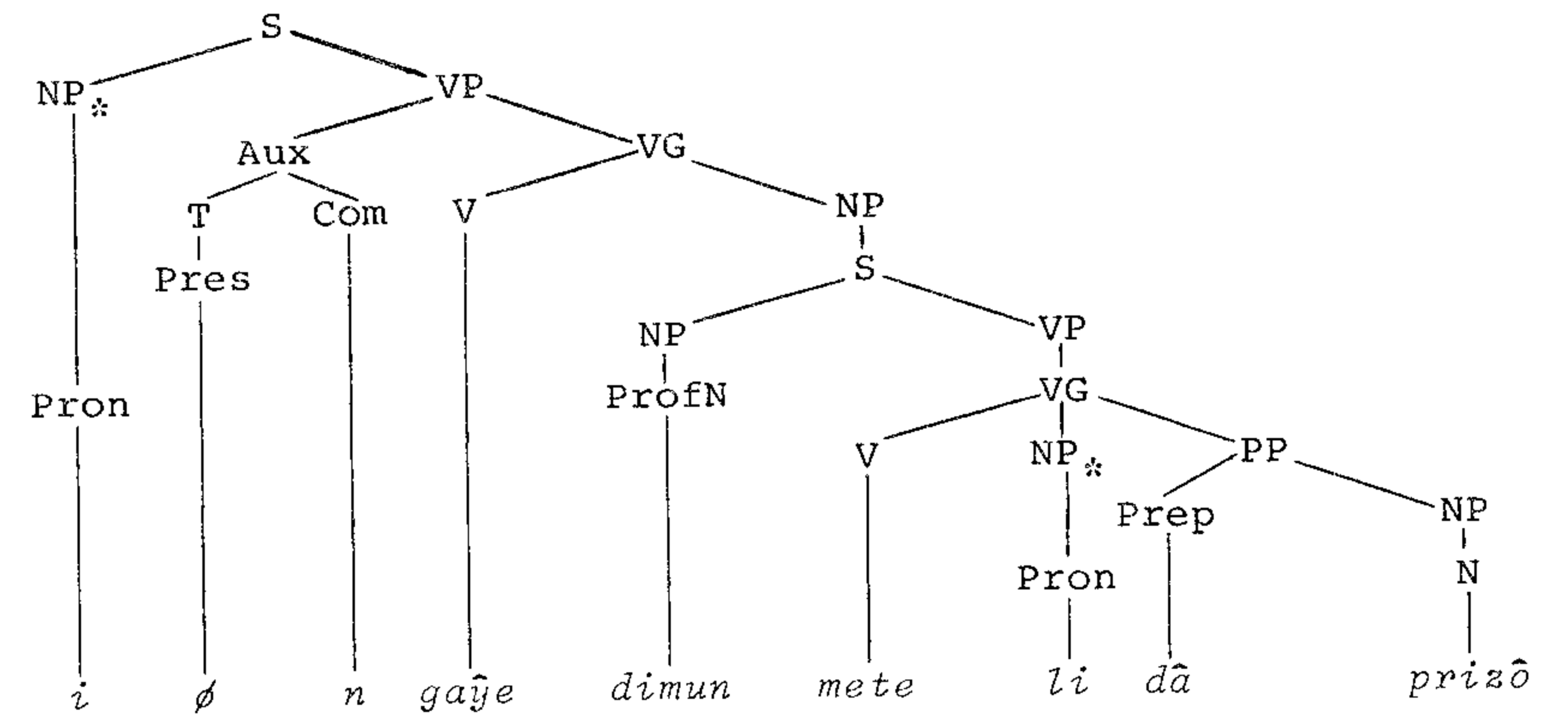
The ambiguity of sentences like 6b may be accounted for as follows. Let us use the notions of Agent (or Actor) and Goal

² A further paraphrase of 9a is 9c:

- (9) c. *u pu gaÿ kup u liku* 'you will get your head cut off'

The derivation of 9c is, of course, like that of 7 and 8, cf. Figure 3.

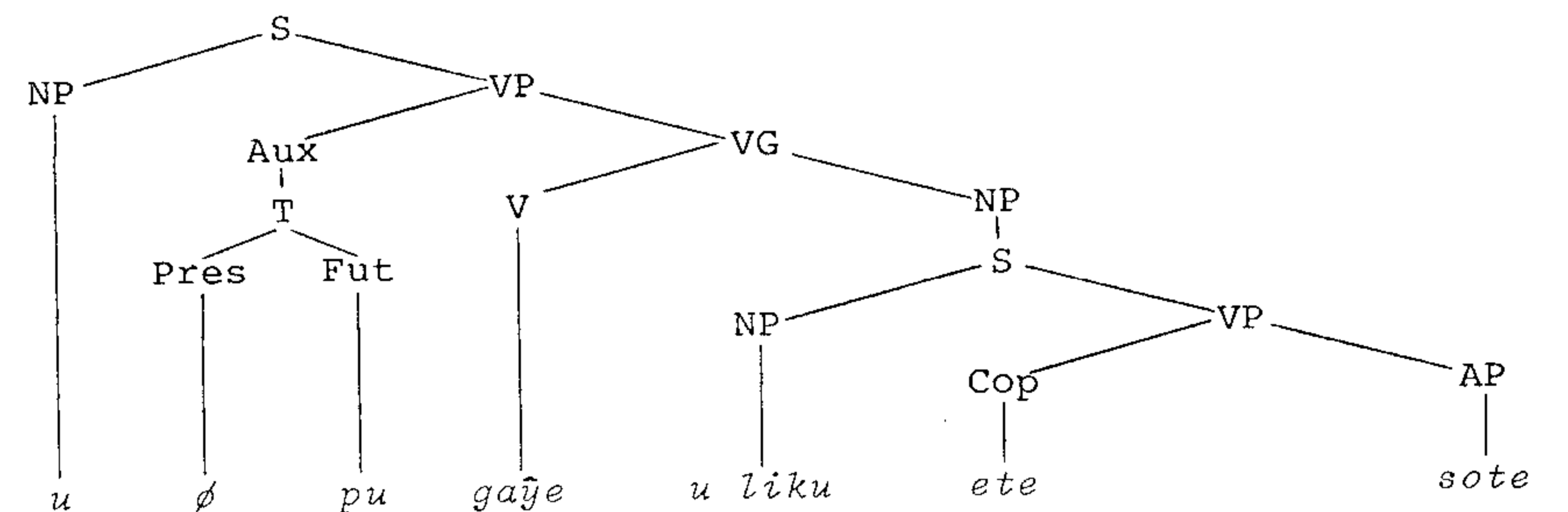
Figure 3



Nominal proform (ProfN) deletion, co-referential NP deletion (NP*), *-e* deletion, morphophonemics → 7 simplified

i n gaÿ met dâ prizô 'he has been put in prison'

Figure 4



Copula deletion, *-e* deletion, morphophonemics → 9b

u pu gaÿ u liku sote 'you will get your head cut off'

(or Experiencer) - the terminology is not important. In SC, this relation is usually expressed by the order: Subject (Agent) + Verb + Object (Goal); the Cop-passive shows the reverse order of Goal as subject, with Agents (if expressed) being introduced by prepositions. The derivation of the type given for 2b, if applied to 6b *Pier i n gaÿ elekte minis* gives the reading 'Peter got elected Minister', while the derivation of the type given for 7 gives us 'Peter got himself elected (by someone), Peter got them to elect him'. In both cases there is deletion of the co-referential NP. In 7, only the causative reading is possible: the complement is *dimun met li dâ prizô* where *dimun* is an Agent. The subject of 7 is *i*, also an Agent, since if it were a Goal, we would have the anomalous sequence of a Goal acting on an Agent, contradicting both the definition of these terms and the constructional meaning of the Subject-Verb-Object construction in SC. We therefore have the causative reading where one Agent acts on another Agent. It is clear then that the ambiguity of sentences like 6b is due to the role of the surface subject *Pier* as both Agent and Goal.

When the surface subject is not something that can (normally) be an Agent, only the Experiencer reading of *gaÿ*-passive sentences is possible, since in the embedded sentences such subjects can only occur as goal-subjects (whereas surface subjects which are Agents may also occur in the embedded sentences as the Goal of a transitive verb). Thus, the fact that [+animate] subjects are more common in *gaÿ*-passives than [-animate] subjects is accounted for.

6.43 The *gaÿ*-passive in RoC

From the little data there is at present on RoC, we can deduce that the *gaÿ*-passive described for SC also occurs in that dialect. In Chaudenson 1974: 688, we note:

- (10) *mo fin gaÿ morde ek zâgiy* 'I have been bitten by a sea-eel (Muraena)'

RoC is more closely related lexically and phonologically to MC than to SC, but 10 is not a grammatical sentence for MC. It is however acceptable in SC, cf. 11:

- (11) *lisiê i gaÿ morde ek pis* 'dogs get bitten by fleas'

A tape recording (made 26 July 1975 by Peter Stein in Rodrigues) of a 93 year old Rodriguais, contains 12:

- (12) *kâ kan gaÿ gro, nu kup li* 'when the cane gets (to be) big, we cut it'

Not acceptable in SC or MC, but cf. sentence 13 from SC:

- (13) *Pol i n gaÿ prezidâ* 'Paul got to be president' (has been elected as such)

RoC, as well as MC, SC and RC, has a common construction where *gaÿ* is followed by an NP object. Examples are:

- mo fin gaÿ sa avek li* 'I got it from him' (RoC, sentence from Chaudenson 1974: 688)
muê la gaÿ sa avek zili 'I got that from Julie' (RC, all RC data from Chaudenson 1974: 768-70)
mo a gaÿ en baba 'I will have a baby' (MC)
mô a gaÿ ê baba 'I will have a baby' (SC)

6.44 The MC evidence

In MC there are a few cases which appear at first sight to be identical to the SC *gaÿ*-passive construction. (Cf. Corne 1970: 23.) An active sentence 14 has what appears to be a passive form 15:

- (14) *Zâ fin bez li* 'John hit him'
 (15) *li fin gaÿ bene (ar zâ)* 'he was hit, beaten (up), (by John)'

On closer examination, this construction turns out not to be a productive syntactic procedure as it is in SC. That is, it is not possible to form 16b from 16a:

- (16) a. *dobi la fin lav lêz la* 'the washerwoman has washed the clothes'
 b. **lez la fin gaÿ lave (ar dobi la)*

In fact, the only examples so far obtained from informants contain either *beze* (qualified as "vulgar" by my informants) or *bate* which has the same meaning, including 'to beat in a competition' (fire-brigade *fin gaÿ bate ar lekîp lapolis* 'the fire-brigade (team) got beaten by the police team'), although there are probably others. In MC, when the sequence *gaÿ* + X occurs, X is NP (*en bate, en beze*), and as has been pointed out above, *gaÿ* + NP object is a frequently occurring IOC structure. Let us examine several MC and SC sentences:

- (17) *zot pu gaÿ en bô rekôpâs pli tar* 'you will get a good reward later' (MC)

Acceptable also in SC, this illustrates *gaÿ* + NP.

- (18) *zot pu biê rekôpâse pli tar* 'you will be well rewarded later' (MC, SC)

Illustrates the Cop-passive.

- (19) *zot pu gaÿ biê rekôpâse pli tar* 'you will get well rewarded later' (SC)

Illustrates the *gaÿ*-passive; agrammatical (although quite understandable) in MC. There are many similar sentences which show clearly that MC allows only *gaÿ* + NP. Note that SC and MC

share the nominal use of *bate*:

- (20) *sa bate ki i n gaŷe ek larul* 'that beating he got from the ocean swell'

Thus in the SC sentence *i n gaŷ bate ek larul*, the item *bate* could be either NP or AP, indifferently.

Finally, some data from Old MC. One sentence (still in the field of physical assault) contains a form *lêge*, which is a verb in RC, SC and RoC (Chaudenson 1974: 789-90):

- (21) "to va gagne lingué : tu seras battu" (quoted by Chaudenson, *loc. cit.*, from Baissac 1880: 180). A search of Baissac 1888 produced no further clear examples of the *gaŷ*-passive, but a large number of *gaŷ* + NP constructions, including two with *bate* (pp. 395, 420):

- (22) "ça qui ti manze li, napas li qui ti gagne baté; ça qui ti gagne baté, ..."
Baissac's translation: "celui qui l'a mangé n'est pas celui qui a été battu, celui qui a été battu ..."

It does not seem possible to affirm categorically that Old MC allowed the *gaŷ*-passive: at best, the available evidence suggests that it may have.

It is obvious that further research is required, not only on earlier states of IOC, but especially on RoC. Meanwhile, I propose to admit the RoC examples in sentences 10 and 12 as conclusive evidence for the existence of the *gaŷ*-passive in that dialect. These sentences are so far removed from what we observe in MC, and so exactly paralleled by the SC facts, that it seems safe to predict that a study of RoC will turn up many more examples of the *gaŷ*-passive.

6.45 The RC evidence

In RC, we find the same situation as in MC, with *gaŷ* being constructed with NP, not AP (sentence quoted in 6.43 above). However, there is in RC a construction where *gaŷ* is followed by an infinitive: here, *gaŷ* means 'to be able':

- (23) *m i gaŷ lir* 'I can (am physically able to) read'
(24) *bonom osi gaŷ pi koze* 'the fellow can no longer talk'

While the syntactic structure is not vastly different from that of the *gaŷ*-passive or of sentences 7 and 8, the semantics of *gaŷ* + Infinitive in RC are sufficiently different from those of the *gaŷ*-passive in SC and RoC (or from MC *gaŷ bate/beze*) that one hesitates to suggest any connection between them.

6.46 Innovation, extension or survival?

The four dialects of IOC all derive from a single source, namely the (or a) language spoken on Bourbon, now Reunion, at the beginning of the 18th Century; this is our proto-IOC which we are calling Bourbonnais (B).

The question which immediately comes to mind is whether the SC and RoC *gaŷ*-passive is an innovation, an extension of a process already partially begun in MC, or whether it is a survival of a construction once more widespread and now retained in a fossilised form in MC. At the present stage of research, no definite answer can be given. All four dialects have the pattern *gaŷ* + NP, and all have a number of verbs which may be used as nouns, for example in MC: *sâte* 'to sing' and 'song, singing', *mâze* 'to eat' and 'food, meal'. All four have the Cop-passive.

RC does not have the *gaŷ*-passive, but we should bear in mind that Old MC may have allowed it.

In MC, a surface string *gaŷ bate* could have represented initially either the *gaŷ*-passive or *gaŷ* + NP. If the former, then modern MC *bate* has here been reinterpreted as a noun, and the structure represents a fossilised version of the SC/RoC *gaŷ*-passive. That is to say, we must postulate that the *gaŷ*-passive is a syntactic procedure in B, which has been lost by RC (or which RC never adopted from B) but which has been preserved to differing degrees in the other daughter dialects. If the latter (initially *gaŷ* + NP), then *bate* has been reinterpreted as a verb/adjective in SC and RoC. This possibility seems less likely; since there is no known direct historical link between Seychelles and Rodrigues, this supposes an innovation occurring independently in both dialects (as opposed to a retention of an original *gaŷ*-passive construction).

If the *gaŷ*-passive is indeed a B pattern, its origin is a mystery (it is perhaps an innovation in B), as is the RC *gaŷ* + V pattern. It could conceivably be a later development occurring after the split between RC and SC. Chaudenson 1974: 770 does not mention any French dialectal antecedent for *gaŷe* in the sense 'to be able'. If we suppose that the *gaŷ*-passive is a B pattern, it is also conceivable that there has been a re-interpretation of it in its causative readings, such that 'to cause something to happen' becomes 'to be able to do something' (?). In the absence of more facts, however, it must be emphasized that this is no more than speculation.

6.47 Examples of Cop-passive and *gaŷ*-passive

The SC sentences listed here illustrate both the Cop-passive and the *gaŷ*-passive constructions.

I - Subject is [+animate] : (a) *gaŷ*-passive:

zot i n fek gaŷ peye par zot burzua 'they have just been paid by their boss'
zot pu gaŷ peye par guvernma 'they will be paid by the government'
zot ava pe gaŷ peye 'they will be getting paid'
zot pu gaŷ rekôpâse pli tar 'you will be rewarded later'
Zorz i n gaŷ blese ek ê ku-d-kuto 'George has been wounded by a knife thrust'
zot gaŷ êforme 'you/they are informed'
i ti n gaŷ pardone 'he was pardoned'
mô pu gaŷ pini 'I shall get punished'
i pe gaŷ servi par plizier serviter 'he is being served by several servants'
u âvi fer mua gaŷ devore ek sa serpâ? 'do you want to cause me to be devoured by that big snake?'
lisiê i gaŷ morde ek pis 'dogs get bitten by fleas'
pâgar u a gaŷ tape 'careful you don't get hurt'
u ti gaŷ klere avek diluil koko 'you used to get light from coconut oil' (literally: 'get illuminated')
sa pasiâ pa ti a mor kot i n gaŷ blese? 'was that patient (victim) not going to die where he got wounded?'
Pier i n gaŷ elekte minis 'Peter has been elected Minister'

(b) Cop-passive:

Pier i n elekte minis 'Peter has been elected Minister'
zot ava pe peye 'they will be being paid'
i ti n pardone 'he was pardoned'
sa voler i n rekonet par sa gard 'the thief is recognised by the policeman'
i n dekuyone par u lodas 'he is disconcerted by your audacity'
zot pu oblize fer sa par zot burzua 'you will be obliged to do that by your boss'
mô pe fatigue tap u laport 'I am getting sick of knocking on your door'

II - Subject is [-animate] : (a) *gaŷ*-passive; the Cop-passive is always possible, although *gaŷ* is preferred in some cases:

sa lakaz pu (gaŷ) pen par pêter 'the house will be painted by the painter'
divê pu (gaŷ) aste taler 'the wine will be bought later'
rob pu (gaŷ) kud tâto 'the dress will be sewn this afternoon'
sa ban kestiô pu bezuê (gaŷ) etidie par guvernma ek ban spesialis 'these questions will need to be studied by the government and the experts'
tu nu kalu i n (gaŷ) buar 'all our toddy has been drunk'
sez i n gaŷ repara 'the chair got repaired'
sô liku pu gaŷ kupe ek ê sab 'his head will get cut off with a sword'

(b) the Cop-passive is vastly more frequent than the *gaŷ*-passive. Three examples will suffice:

latab i n suiye? 'has the table been wiped?'
sa dizef i n kase 'the egg is broken'
tu kalu pu n fini 'all the toddy will be finished'

6.5 Indefinite subject deletion

The existence of sentences with no subject has been discussed in Corne 1976, and the main details are presented here, along with some SC data not available before. In MC, and to a lesser extent in SC, an indefinite or "general" semantic agent (*dimun, u, zot*) may be deleted. In MC, Indefinite Subject deletion occurs (optionally) in a wide variety of structures - in fact, it may occur whenever there is an indefinite or "general" agent. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this:

(MC) *kâ ti kui li ar divê, li ti biê bô* 'when it was (used to be) cooked with wine, it was really good'
 (MC) *kuma dir sa â kreol?* 'how is that said in Creole?'

In SC, however, there are constraints on Indefinite Subject deletion which are not clear. In the SC sentences equivalent to the two MC ones above, the actor must be expressed:

kâ u ti kui li, ... (dimun, zot)
koma u dir sa â kreol?

and this is so for most cases where MC allows the deletion. (At least, attempts to induce informants to produce SC sentences with no subject have so far been unsuccessful.)

Indefinite subject deletion does occur (all examples are from written texts, with the exception of the first one):

- (1) *u nuar koma ferm lizie* 'you are as black as when one shuts one's eyes'
- (2) *ê ta lezo ki ti n met la pur brile* 'a heap of bones that had been put there for burning, to be burnt'
- (3) *mô a met u dâ lasal ki pu don bal ladâ* 'I shall put you in the hall wherein the ball will be held'
- (4) *i lev sa tapi ki ti n kuver M. avek* 'he lifts the carpet with which M. was/had been covered'
- (5) *i al kot pe zue bingo* 'he goes to where bingo is being played'
- (6) *pu mâz lezo, pu marie ek fiy lerua* 'the one who eats the bones (is) the one who will get to marry the king's daughter'
- (7) *apre, nek ti âter zot* 'afterwards, they just/simply buried them'

Sentences 1 - 5 all have the deleted subject in a subordinate clause (and in section 7.21 below we suggest that *nek* is possibly a "higher" verb/clause in sentences like 7). Sentence 6 occurs in direct speech in the text, where the speaker is humming it over in happy anticipation of being the lucky man,

and may perhaps be considered as a *hapax leg.* (it does not appear to be characteristic of SC, in any case).

Note that in sentence 2, there are two deletions of an indefinite subject:

ê ta lezo ki DIMUN ti ne met la pur ZOT brile

We have seen other examples of non-expressed indefinite subject in *pur* clauses in 5.541 (d); see also with *fer*, 8.2 (c).

While the small amount of data available suggests that subordination is required in SC for the operation of Indefinite Subject deletion, further checking is needed to establish usage exactly.

In such MC and SC sentences, we can legitimately talk of deletion, since the deleted subject is always recoverable. By and large, an indefinite *u*, *zot*, *dimun* is obligatorily present in SC on the surface except in subordination, while in MC we may note that when asked "What does *ti degrad karo* mean?", MC informants unhesitatingly supply *dimun* as the subject.

Let us now consider the MC sentences 1 - 4 below:

- (1) *lôtâ, ban esklav ti degrad karo* 'in the past, slaves used to clear the fields (of stones)'
- (2) *lôtâ, ban karo ti degrade par ban esklav* 'in the past, (cane-)fields used to be cleared by slaves'
- (3) *lôtâ, karo ti degrad ar pios* 'in the past, fields were cleared with picks'
- (4) *lôtâ, ti degrad karo ar pios* 'in the past, they used to clear fields with picks'

Now 1 and 2 stand in an active-passive relation, i.e. they are synonymous; we need not consider them further. As for 3 and 4, although it is possible to make a semantic distinction between them, it is subtle enough that we may consider them fundamentally synonymous also, at least as a working hypothesis. The problem is to account for this synonymy (note that in 3 *degrad(e)* is a transitive verb being used intransitively). Tentatively, we may postulate that, for a certain category of verbs, there is a transformation of sentences which have already undergone Indefinite subject deletion, as in 4. Such a transformation would produce intransitive verbs, as in 3. The implications of this approach will require further study.

In this chapter, we consider those sentences which are the result of transformations that apply obligatorily once a given sentence constituent has been chosen. We deal here with Negation, Restriction, Imperatives, Interrogation, Emphasis, Focussing and Exclamation.

7.1 Negative sentences

We give here a brief surface description, leaving aside the question of the derivational relation of negative sentences to non-negative ones. Negation occurs in statements, questions, emphatic sentences, imperatives, with restrictives, in focussing, and so on.

7.1.1 Predicate negation

Predicate negation is marked by *pa*, which precedes pre-verbal markers:

mô pa pu don u mô bolpen 'I shall not give you my ball-point pen'
u pa ule larg mua? 'will you not release me?'
i pa la 'he is not there'
si mô pa n fini 'if I have not finished'
mô pa pe rod ê maÿer pur trakas u 'I'm not trying to annoy you (looking for a way of annoying you)'
sa pa ê rezô 'that's not a reason'
mô pa gaÿ letâ pur sa 'I haven't got the/any time for that'
i pa ti âkor arive 'he hadn't yet arrived'

The adverb *ditu* 'at all' may reinforce *pa*:

torti i marse mem, (i) pa repon li ditu 'Turtle keeps right on walking, doesn't answer him at all'

Used alone in answer to a question, *ditu* means 'not at all, certainly not'.

Apart from cases where a lexical negative (type *fasil* 'easy', *difisil* 'hard'; *posib* 'possible', *êposib* 'impossible') is used, there are cases where the negative sense is not overtly marked by *pa*. One such is that of imperative sentences where *ase* + Clause or *pâgar* + Clause are used as negative orders (see 7.33). In the same vein, note the negative sense of the non-negative subordinate clause following *fer serma* 'to swear not to':

mô fer serma (, mô) fer sa âkor 'I promise/swear that I shall never do it again'

(For some speakers, *pa* is required in the second clause.)

In answer to a total question (7.4), a possible reply is *mō* *k(r)uar-pa* 'I don't think so'. Two other cases of *pa* following the verb, both also fixed expressions, are *ve-pa* 'not to wish' (also in Old MC and in RoC):

i ve-pa repon 'he does not (wish to) reply'

(considered as French by some informants), and *se-pa* 'I don't know':

i n perdi sō lotelie, ... se-pa koma zot dir 'he has lost his hotel-keeper, ... I don't know how they say it'

(the "lost" word is *ratelie* 'denture'). In modern MC, *sipa* is used for 'whether' in indirect questions; in Old MC and in RoC, *sipa* has a meaning along the lines of 'something like': (RoC) *li zet sipa en ti ros* 'he throws something like a pebble'. This latter usage may be connected with the SC use of *se-pa*, but the question is left open meanwhile.

In our discussion of the distribution of reprise by *i* (3.624), we noted that it does not (with a few, apparently haphazard, exceptions) occur before *pa*. In 3.625, we suggested a plausible reason for this non-occurrence.

The distinction *pa n* versus *pākor* has been discussed in 4.341. The adverbs *nepli*, *pa + V + ākor*, *same*, *pa + deza* have been noted and exemplified in 4.37. In particular, note that *same* may co-occur with *deza*, and that when *same* precedes the subject, *pa* does not usually occur. With *nepli*, *pa* is not used.

7.12 Negation in impersonal and presentative sentences

In negation, the impersonal subject *i* is deleted, and *pa* precedes the predicate:

pa bezuē plere 'there's no need to cry'
pa fer nariē 'it doesn't matter'
pa nesaser aste tu sa puasō 'there's no need to buy all that fish'
pa selma ki zot i n ēvite 'it is not only that they were invited'
pa fasil pur koz ek Mari 'it is not easy to talk to Mary'
vin avek mua, si pa pur derāz u 'come with me, if you don't mind (if it is not to disturb you)'
pa Zorz; Pier '(it's) not George, (it's) Peter'
pa ti nu 'it wasn't us'

See also negative focussed sentences (7.522), and cf. the *pa +* sentence emphatic structure in 7.172 below.

7.121 The verb ana

The verb *ana* 'to have' (and the impersonal *i ana* 'there is/

are', *ti ana* 'there was/were', *pu ana* 'there will be', etc., v.7.524) occurs in negative sentences in two ways.

The most usual form is *napa*, which is preceded by preverbal markers.¹ Informants sometimes disagree (marked here by ?).

mō napa 'I have not'
mō ti napa 'I didn't have'
mō a napa 'I won't have' (?ava)
mō pu napa 'I won't have' (more common than a)
 ?*mō n napa* 'I have not had' (= *mō pākor gaŷe*)
 ?*mō fek napa* 'I have not just had'
 ?*mō ti fek napa, prezā mō n gaŷe* 'I had not just had, now I have (got)' (?)

Examples:

sa blā pu napa larzā pur pey nu 'that Blanc won't have the money to pay us'
lōtā, ler nu ti fek marie, ti napa sa ban zafer 'in the past, when we had just gotten married, there weren't all those doings'

The other possibility is *pa + ana*, which is less common than *napa*. Indeed, *pa + ana* can always be replaced by *napa*, but the reverse is not true. In all cases, there does not appear to be any difference in meaning. Again, there is disagreement among informants.

mō pa ana ē su lor mua ozordi 'I don't have a sou on me today'
si pa ti ana ners, si ti napa elektrisiē 'if there were no nurses, no electricians'
i pa ti ana sō buldu ek li? 'didn't he have his girlfriend with him?'
 ?*mō pa fek ana* 'I have not just had' (possible in questions for some informants, unacceptable for others)
 ?*mō pa ava ana* 'I won't have' (rarely used)
mō pa pu ana 'I won't have'

One informant stated that this last would be used referring to people, as in:

mō pa pu ana ē dimun pur kōsol mua 'I'll have no-one to console me'

and contrasted this sentence with the following:

ver le kēz, mō pu napa ē su ki reste 'towards the 15th, I won't have a penny left'

¹ Note that in MC, RoC, *napa* is a free variant of *pa*. The MC equivalent of *ana* is *ena*, and its negative is *pena*, (*na*)*pa ena*. The form *pena* occurs only when no preverbal markers are present (Corne 1970: 24).

Similarly with *pa n ana*:

tu sa letâ, mō pa n ana person pur kōsol mua 'all the time, I've had no-one to console me'
Further investigation required here.

7.13 Negation in NP

The negative nominal proforms are *person* 'nobody', *nariê* 'nothing' (3.631), while the negative prearticle is *oken* (3.142, 3.631). Note that *oken* may precede *person*. In all cases, *pa* is used.²

Examples:

person pa kōtâ mua 'nobody loves me'
mō pa n uar person 'I have seen no-one'
mō pa n dir person, selma Kris 'I told no-one, only Chris'
nariê pa buze 'nothing moves'
mō pa ule nariê a-par-d-sa 'I want nothing else apart from that'
pa dir mua nariê âkor 'don't tell me anything more' (note placing of *âkor*, which as an adverb of quantity precedes the noun - 3.142)
oken fam pa gay lasâs uar sa seremoni 'no woman gets the opportunity to see this ceremony'
mō pa n uar oken lisiê 'I saw no dog'
laba, napa oken tapaz 'there is no noise there'
napa oken person ki kon(e) sa ki mō n dir u 'there is no person who knows what I have said to you'

Note that *keksoz/ketsoz* may replace *nariê*:

mō pa ti don li ketsoz/nariê 'I gave him nothing'

The negative counterpart *oken par* 'nowhere' of *kelke par* has been noted in 5.41 (adverbs of place).

7.14 Negative co-ordination

The conjunction is *ni ... (e) ni*. Again, *pa* is obligatory:

ni zom ni fam pa pu vini 'neither men nor women will come'

² In MC, we may note that *pa* is optional with *zame* (in similar contexts as in SC). With *person* and *nariê*, (*na*)*pa* is optional when these are the subject, otherwise it is obligatory. According to my informants for MC, this optionality is characteristic of (but not exclusive to) the Creole of Indomauritians, or rural varieties of MC. In Baissac 1888, *pa* is occasionally omitted (p. 9, *et passim*).

u pa kapab fie person, ni u zami, ni u zenmi 'you can't trust anyone, neither your friends, nor your enemies'
i pa ni gay lavi pur li get ni agos ni adruat 'he doesn't even get the urge to look either to the left or to the right' (for the first *ni*, 7.171)
ni mua ni u, nu napa larzâ 'neither you nor I have any money'
mō pa pu don li ek person, ni ek u, e ni ek u ser 'I won't give it to anyone, neither to you, nor your sister'
pa deman sa avek u papa, e ni avek u mama nō pli 'don't ask your father that, nor your mother either'

The use of *nō pli* in this last example seems French. The more usual formula is *osi*:

i pa ti kōtâ, li osi 'he wasn't happy, either'

or *ni* + NP:

ni mua, mō pa ti ale 'I didn't go either'

Another structure is the use of *nō pa*, as in:

mō ti dir Zorz vini, me nō pa sō frer 'I told George to come, but not his brother'

7.15 Negative imperatives

In negative imperative sentences, *pa* precedes the verb:

pa dir mua kuyô! 'don't call me stupid'

When the 1st person plural imperative marker *anu* 'let's' is used, *pa* follows:

anu pa desan â-vil 'let's not go to town'

Occasionally, *nō pa* may negate an imperative (?):

zot ti a plere si i ti a n fer vilê, me nō pa plere kâ i pe al fer sa ki prop 'you could cry if she did something bad, but don't cry when she goes and does something good'

7.16 Negative restrictives

When Restrictive sentences (7.2) are negative, *pa* precedes *zis* (*selma* is rare, and *nek* appears to be excluded):

i pa zis sâte
i pa sâte selma } 'he doesn't only/merely sing'
**i pa nek sâte* }

7.17 Emphatic negative sentences

In section 4.37, we noted the use of *pa + mem + V*, where *mem* is an emphasizer:

mō pa n mem pāse 'I haven't even thought (about it)'
mō pa mem kone ki si-sa, ē bonom dibua 'I don't even know, I haven't a clue as to, what a *bonom dibua* (sorcerer) might be'

In many cases, an adverb *ni* may replace *mem*; however (as both Bollée and Papen note), *ni* has a different distribution. Occasionally, an element *i* may replace *ni* in one of its distributions, and *i* also occurs in negative emphatic (or rhetorical) questions.

7.171 Negative emphatic sentences with *ni*

The negator *pa* is always present, in its usual position. The adverb *ni* may precede any preverbal markers present:

u pa ni ti kone si Bob pu vini 'you didn't even know if/that Bob would come'
u pa ni pu kone si Bob pu vini 'you won't even know if Bob will come'
u pa ni ti a kone si Bob ti n vini 'you wouldn't even know if/that Bob had come'
i pa ni zoli nariē 'he is not even good-looking'

Informants are somewhat doubtful as to whether *a(va)* may follow *ni*:

?*u pa ni a(va) kone si Bob pu vini*

ni may also follow the preverbal markers, with no apparent change in meaning:

u pa ti ni kone si Bob pu vini 'you didn't even know ...'
u pa pu ni kone si Bob pu vini } 'you won't even know ...'
u pa a(va) ni kone si Bob pu vini }
u pa n ni vin uar mua 'you didn't even come to see me'
nu pākōr ni komās travay 'we haven't even begun working'

There is disagreement as to the acceptability of *ti a ni*.

An NP may also be preceded by *ni*:³

napa ē su ladā 'there is not a sou in it' →

³ Also in RoC: *me ni en fey u pa nādrua kase andā-ladā* 'but you don't have the/a right to break/pick even a leaf from off of it'. Not used in MC.

ni ē su napa ladā 'there is not even a sou in it'

Other examples:

mō pa pe demād u ni ē su pur sa ki mō n fer 'I am not asking you for even a (single) cent for what I have done'
zās lamōtaŷ i sitā sâ-kōprâ, ki ni ē simia zot pa mete, avā zot desan Lapas 'the hill-people are so uncouth that they don't even put on a shirt before going down to La Passe'

7.172 Negative emphatic (Rhetorical) questions

Negative emphatic (rhetorical) questions occur in two patterns.

(a) *pa + Sentence*

pa u ti ape māze? 'weren't you eating?' (I won't believe you if you tell me you weren't!)
pa nu ava uar li? 'won't we see him?' (you know as well as I do that we shall)
pa i a/pu bezuē māze tâto? 'won't he have to eat this evening?' (of course he will)
pa i ana ē karo banan la âler? 'isn't that a banana patch up there?' (you can see that it is)
pa i ana (dimun) ki kon koz frāse dā sa pei? 'is it not true that there are people who know how to speak French in this country?'
pa mō ti dir u sa? 'didn't I tell you so?'
pa sa ē zoli kastrol? 'isn't this a fine saucepan?'

This pattern occurs for some informants only when the subject is a personal noun or a pronoun. For such speakers, then,

**pa Zā pu vini asuar?* 'won't John come tonight?'

(pattern (b) below is used instead). It seems that pattern (a) sentences tend to expect the answer "Yes" (whereas pattern (b) expects "No"), but this distinction is neutralised in many cases (by some speakers? according to wider context?).

(b) *Subject + pa + i + Aux + VG*

u pa i ti ape māze? 'weren't you (even, really) eating?' (incredulous surprise)
 (this sentence was qualified by one informant as having the *mem mining* 'same meaning' as the (a) pattern sentence above, *pa u ti ape māze?*)
u pa i ti kone, Bob pu vini? 'didn't you even know that Bob was coming?'
Zā pa i n māze? 'has John not eaten?'
u pa i gay letā (pur) fer sa? 'haven't you even got the time to do that?'

nu pa i n deza tan sa? 'haven't we heard that before?'
nu pa i ava uar li? 'won't we even see him?'
i pa i pu m̄aze t̄ato? 'won't he even eat tonight?'
i pa i ana (dimun) ki kon koz fr̄ase d̄a sa pei? 'isn't
 there anyone who knows how to speak French in this
 country?' (expects the answer "No")

Some speakers extend the use of *i* to the (a) pattern:

pa nu i ava uar li? 'won't we see him?'

but in general this is rejected by informants.

The (b) pattern with *i* is sometimes used in negative emphatic statements as well:

k̄a u kapab gāy larz̄a, u pa i k̄opr̄a mizer! 'when you can
 earn money, you really don't understand poverty'

The *napa* forms of the verb *ana* do not occur in either pattern:

*pa i ana (*napa i) ê karo banan la âler?* 'isn't that a
 banana patch up there?'

7.173 Origins of the *pa i* construction

The use of *i* in negative emphatic sentences is undoubtedly connected with the *i* which derives from the underlying RC string Copula + *ki*, discussed in 3.625 (see also Corne 1974-5). In 3.625, we suggested a plausible reason for the non-occurrence of *i*-reprise before *pa* in SC. For clarity, we recapitulate here the arguments concerning **i pa* (reprise) already advanced in 3.625, before going on to the *pa i* construction.

In RC, there is a rule of *pa*-placement which puts *pa* after the first verb in a given derivation, as exemplified by the following RC sentences:

m i m̄az pa 'I don't eat'
muê (le)te i kone pa sa 'I didn't know that'
muê la pa fin(i) m̄az lavian 'I haven't eaten the meat'
muê (le) pa pur m̄az lavian 'I am not about to eat the
 meat'
muê (le) p apre m̄az lavian 'I am not eating the meat'
muê le pa malad 'I am not sick'
muê (le)te pa malad 'I wasn't sick'

We postulated that *i* is derived from an underlying *le ki* (= Present Copula + *ki*) and that *(le)te i* is from *lete ki* (= Past Copula + *ki*). The above negative sentences show that in RC, *le ki* and *lete ki* are preverbal markers, while *le* and *(le)te* are verbs (Copula). That is, *le ki* and *lete ki* have undergone a categorial change in RC, while *le* and *lete* have not.

The position of *pa* in the other three dialects MC, RoC and SC shows that this could not have been the case in their common ancestor, B, where, after *le*-deletion, \emptyset and *te* also undergo this categorial change (so that, in SC, we have *m̄o pa ti malad* 'I was not sick', not **m̄o ti pa malad*).

There appear to be two distinct processes involved, probably at different times, since MC does not have the negative emphatic sentences that exist in SC (of course, if it turns out that such sentences exist in RoC, this statement will require modification).

(a) The first process, pre-dating (b) below, consists of a generalisation of the patterns exemplified by such RC sequences as *pa fin*, *pa pur*, *p apre* and (by generalisation of *le*-deletion in the - minimal - context of 'Negation of Predicate') *pa malad*. That is, we are postulating a rule of *pa*-placement before markers, such that *te pa malad* is reordered as *pa te malad* (thus accounting for SC, MC, RoC *pa ti malad*, Old MC *pa te malad*). Since there is no longer any reason to maintain a distinction such as the RC one between *te* Copula and *te i* marker, these forms merge, and *te* is used with following verbs: (B) *pa te m̄az lavian*, (SC, MC, RoC) *pa ti m̄az lavian*. This first process, which includes *le*-deletion and categorial changes such that *te* becomes a marker and *i* "disappears", accounts for the non-occurrence of *i*-reprise with *pa* in SC, since *pa* now appears before the historically underlying *le ki*, *lete ki*.

(b) The second process consists of a contrary tendency, whereby there is a generalisation of *muê le ki* such that all tenses other than Present are relegated to the following verb (along the same lines that put RC Future + Copula *sra* on a different hierarchical level from Present + Copula *le*, Past + Copula *lete*). This generalisation occurs in the (minimal) context 'Emphatic Negative'. This produces something like *muê le pa ki m̄az lavian*, *muê le pa ki te m̄az lavian*, whence, by *le*-deletion, reduction of *ki* to *i*, etc., the SC Emphatic Negatives *m̄o pa i m̄az lavian?*, *m̄o pa i ti m̄az lavian?*.

It is not clear just what "part of speech" *i* might be, in a synchronic description of SC. It seems less "adverbial" than *ni*, and it occurs only in the one context.

7.2 Restrictive sentences

In 4.37, we noted the adverbs of restriction *zis*, *nek*, *selma* 'only, merely, simply'. These three adverbs are not always interchangeable, but the conditions under which one or the other is excluded are not clear. A brief sketch of usage follows.

7.21 Restriction of predicate

Here, the restrictive adverbs occur usually as AuxAdv, and

nek is more commonly used than *zis*, *selma*.

i nek/zis/selma pe marse 'he is only walking'
divã i n nek/zis/selma kas ban brãs 'the wind only
 breaks the branches'
selma, mõ zis pe maxine 'yes but, I am just wondering'
i nek prã sõ pti valiz 'he just takes his little
 suitcase'

Not all informants accept *nek/zis/selma* interchangeably in all sentences, and we have already noted (7.16) that *nek* appears to be excluded in negative restrictive sentences. Let us establish a distinction among the three forms; *nek* 'all he is doing is', *zis* 'just', *selma* 'only'. As we shall see below, *nek* may be postulated to have a different derivation from *zis*, *selma*. The correct categorisation of each may well turn out to be different for different speakers; for example, all of the following sentences were rejected by at least one informant while being acceptable to at least one other:

i nek pe marse 'he is only walking'
i ti nek pe zue 'he was only playing'
divã i n nek kas ban brãs 'the wind has only broken the
 branches'
i ti zis pe sãte 'he was only singing'

Further, in MC, *nek* appears to be categorised differently from SC (cf. Corne 1970: 26).

Note that *nek* and *zis* may also follow *pe* (and perhaps *fek* - no examples to hand):

i ti pe zis zue 'he was just/only playing'
mõ lipie druat ti ape nek grate 'my right foot was only
 itching'

An infinitive following the main verb is also subject to restriction:

i ule nek/zis/selma zue 'he wishes only/merely to play'

Restrictive adverbs may also precede the sentence: here *nek* is generally preferred (although *zis/selma* also occur).

tu le dimãs, nek zot al partu dã ban paruas 'on Sundays,
 all they do is go everywhere in the parishes'
zot ozordi, nek zot pez butõ 'you (folk) nowadays, you
 merely, all you do is, press on a switch'
kã sõ fam ti a deman li sa, nek i ti a prã sõ rotẽ moris
 'if his wife were to ask him that, all he would have to
 do (to shut her up) is take his cane'
mua, nek mõ la, zis vey li 'me, all I'm doing is sitting
 here, just keeping an eye on him'
nek nu a kup li 'all we'll do is cut it'
nek/zis/selma i pe koze tu letã 'all he does is talk non-
 stop'

(Preceding the sentence, *selma* (also *me selma*) usually means 'but', and occurs in a separate intonation contour.)

Note, with Indefinite Subject deletion (6.5):

apre, nek ti ater zot 'afterwards, they just buried them'

Now at 6.5, we noted that subordination seems to be involved as a necessary condition of Indefinite Subject deletion in SC. If the sentence cited turns out to be a usual SC construction (a fact which needs checking) we have an interesting possibility, and one which accounts for the (semantic) distinction made above between *nek* on the one hand, and *zis/selma* on the other, as well as the preference for *nek* beginning the sentence rather than *zis/selma*. If Indefinite Subject deletion in SC depends on subordination, then *nek* may be considered, in sentence-initial position at least, as a "higher" clause (thus reflecting, of course, its apparent French etymology "(il/ce) n'est que (de)"). Thus, when the restrictive adverbs precede the sentence, we may postulate that they are the surface representation of a presentative (4.116) restrictive sentence, as in Figure 1 (see Noun clauses, 8.1).

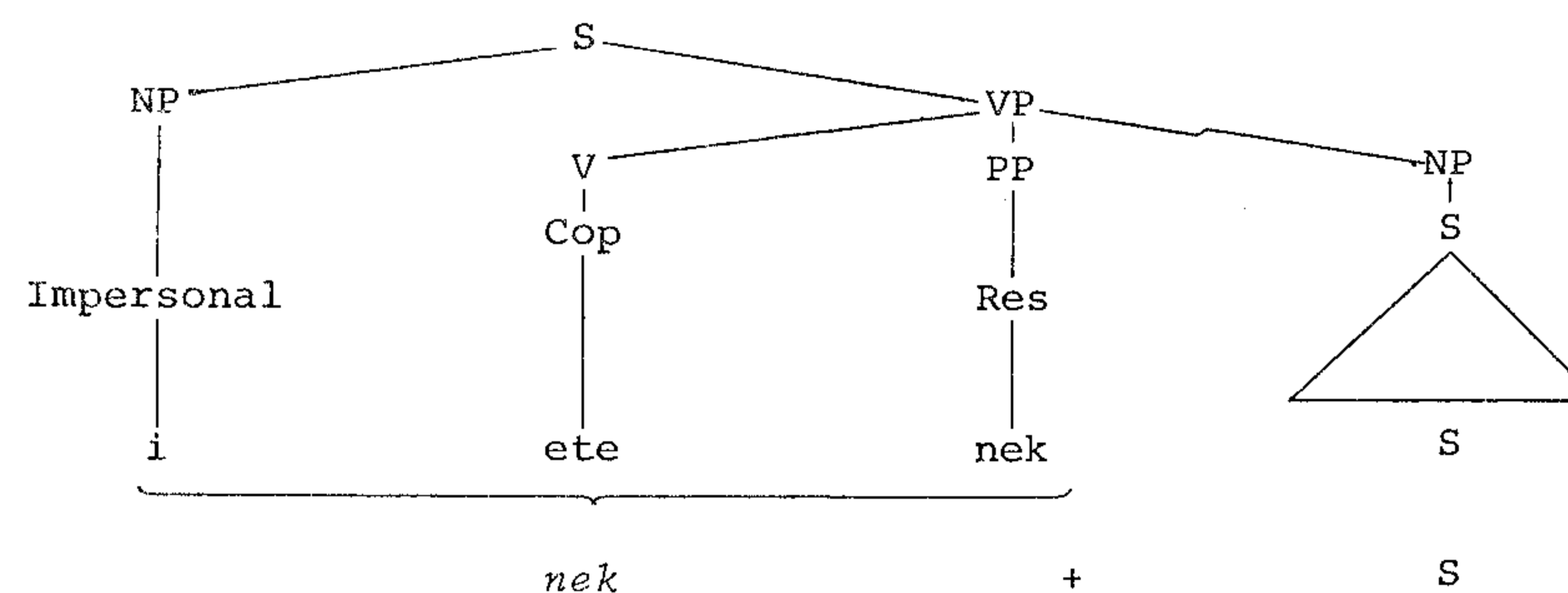


Figure 1

7.22 Restriction of NP and PP

Sentences in which an NP is restricted have *zis* more frequently than *nek/selma*. As subject, NP is often focussed (7.52). It may be preceded by *zis/selma* (and sometimes *nek*) and/or followed by *tu sel*.

zis Gabriel ki ti la 'only Gabrielle, G. alone, was
 there'
i n koz ê lâgaz ki zis zot de ki kõprã 'he spoke a
 language that only they two understood'
zis nu de tu sel ki kõprã 'only we two alone understand'

*zis/selma/*nek nu de (ki) kon sa parol ki mō n dir u*
 'only we two know, it is just the two of us who know,
 what I told you'
zis/selma/nek li ki kon sa 'he alone knows that'
zis/selma/nek Zā ki koze } 'only John is talking'
Zā tu sel ki koze }
*zis/selma/*nek lakaz ki n brile* } 'only the house has
lakaz tu sel ki n brile } burnt'

Some informants allow *selma* to follow (others reject this):

lakaz selma ti brile 'only the house burnt'

The rejection of *nek* (which, if allowed, is sentence initial) is presumably to avoid ambiguity: *nek nu de kon sa parol* means rather 'it is simply that we two know what was said', not 'we two alone'.

In emphatic restrictive sentences, note that there is a reduplication of the subject forms of personal nouns (3.61) - these occur reduplicated only with focussing:

mō mō tusel ki n fer sa 'I alone did it'

(similarly, *u u tu sel, nu nu tu sel, zot zot tu sel*). With *i*, the reduplication is *i li tu sel*. These reduplicated forms do not appear to contrast significantly with:

mua tu sel ki n fer sa 'I alone did it'

but not all speakers accept *mua tu sel*, replacing it with *mō tu sel* 'I am all alone':

mō tu sel(,) ki n fer sa 'I am all alone, (I) who did it'

Note that a clause may be restricted also:

zis ki i ti kapab fer, se tom dā fotey 'the only thing he could do was fall into his armchair'

(the *ki* clause is an indirect question; the use of *se* is dealt with in 7.523).

Like NP subject, NP non-subject is usually restricted by *zis*, occasionally by *selma* (preceding or following):

li, i ana zis ē fam, i les sō fam domin li 'he has merely a single wife, (and) he lets her dominate him'
u zis lerua sa pei 'you are only the king of this country' (not the Prime Minister)
ti reste zis ē zeyer 'there remained only an eye-tooth'

The usage of *nek* here requires checking; compare the following distinction, about which an informant was adamant:

*mō ti uar zis/selma/*nek ē lisiē* 'I saw only a dog'

mō ti uar nek lisiē 'I saw only the dogs'

Restriction of PPs is again usually marked by *zis*, less often by *selma*, and again, *nek* causes problems:

i reste zis pur nu esper nu drayver 'there remains only for us to wait for our driver'
sa pa vin zis par lasās 'that doesn't come about solely/only by luck/chance'
i kapab raz zis/selma divā laglas } 'he can shave only in
i kapab raz divā laglas selma } front of the/a mirror'
mō pa n dir person, selma kris 'I haven't told anyone, only Chris'
u lerua zis sa pei, pa sa lot (pei) 'you are the king of this country only, not that other one'
*i gay letā zis/selma/*nek pur li alōze obor basē* 'he has the time just to lie down beside the pond'
i pu return nek deme suar 'he won't be back before tomorrow night, it is only tomorrow night that he will return'
ti zis akoz sa lokaziō 'it was only because of that occasion'

7.3 Imperative sentences

7.31 Second person imperatives

The imperative consists of the deletion of a second person singular or plural subject. The imperative implies Aux + Pres, i.e. preverbal markers are excluded, and Completive (etc.) imperatives do not occur. Vocative elements may occur, in a separate intonation contour. Note that *-e* deletion applies in the usual way.

komās u luvraz asuar! 'begin your work tonight!'
plāt u derier a-ter! 'park your backside on the ground!'
les li ale! 'let him go!, allow him to leave!'
asize, Madam! 'sit down, Madam!'
koste kot mua, mō dudu! 'come close to me, darling'
tan mua, ki mō pe dir u! 'hear me, what I am saying to you!'

7.32 anu

When the underlying subject is the first person plural, the morpheme *anu* is used:

anu plis koko 'let's go and husk coconuts'⁴

⁴ *plis koko* 'to husk coconuts'. This is done by bringing the nut down

anu desan (â-vil)! 'let's go down to town'
anu ale! 'let's go!'

anu may be used alone as the 'let's'-imperative of the verb *ale* 'to go':

anu osi, e vit! 'let's go, and smartly!'
anu â-vil! 'let's go to town!'

and as an imperative meaning 'come':

anu avek mua, zot tu 'all of you, come with me; let's all go'

The morpheme *anu* appears also to be used in subordinate clauses. The following sentence was noted in a song, and further checking is necessary:

kum sa, pli vomie anu separe 'thus it is best that we separate; it is better that we go our separate ways' (?)

7.33 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives have been briefly described in 7.15. We may further note the use of *ase* + clause as a substitute for a negative imperative:

ase âbesil, u! 'stop being stupid, don't be stupid'
ase âraz mua! 'stop annoying me, don't annoy me'
ase fer mua trakase! 'stop worrying me'
ase bez mâze! 'stop stuffing yourself with food'

Similarly, *aret* + clause:

aret vol sitrô! 'stop stealing the limes'

Note also the use of *pâgar* + clause in the sense of 'be careful + negative' (5.542):

pâgar zot prâ mō pagay 'careful they don't steal my paddle'

Negative impersonal sentences may also be used with an imperative value:

pa nesesez aste tu sa puasô 'it is not necessary to buy, don't buy, all that fish'

sharply on to a pointed stake set in the ground at a slight angle from the vertical. Consequently, by extension, the injunction *anu plis koko!* is an invitation to make love with the girl on top.

pa bezuê les mua trur u âkor! 'it is not necessary to, don't, let me see you again!'

7.34 Attenuation or emphasis of imperatives

The use of the manner adverbials *ê ku*, *ê pti ku* in imperative sentences to emphasize or to attenuate the value of the order has been noted in 5.43:

anu marie ê ku! 'let's get married!'⁵

The personal noun *u* may be optionally added to imperatives, apparently for extra emphasis:

degaz u! 'hurry up!'
desâd u la! 'come down (from there)!'

(This usage occurs in RC as well, where it is also optional: *asper au! 'wait!'*, *degaz au! 'hurry up!'*)

7.35 Passive imperatives

Strictly speaking, there are none, since the SC Cop-passive cannot be made imperative. The *gaÿ*-passive (6.4) may however be made imperative:

pa gaÿ atrape! 'don't get caught'

7.4 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences have specific intonation contours, marked here by ?. There are two basic types, total questions (reply *ui* 'yes', *nô* 'no', or other formulae of the same type, such as *mô kuar-pa* 'I don't think so') and segmental (WH-) questions. An example of a total question is

u a vini? 'will you come?'

and of a segmental question

ki n arive? 'what happened?'

These are direct questions (a single base sentence in both deep and surface structure). Interrogative sentences may also be embedded in sentences containing verbs such as *demâde* 'to ask',

⁵ The expression *marie ê ku* 'to get married' is often heard, but its exact connotations elude me. A study of Seychelles "life and customs" has yet to be undertaken.

kone 'to know', etc.:

mō pa kone ki n arive 'I don't know what happened'

resulting in indirect questions.

7.41 Total questions

For the most part, total questions are marked solely by an ascending intonation, ?:

sa kuto i pur u? 'is this knife yours?'
u le fer laksiō ek mua? 'do you want to do it with me?'
u asiz dā fernuar kum sa? 'are you sitting in the dark
like this/that?'

In these examples, there is a single base sentence, as stated above, but total questions may of course include complex (derived) base sentences:

u pākor tādē si i laba dā Por Lone? 'haven't you heard
yet that he is there in Port Launay?'

Here, the base sentence results from embedding of a subordinate clause and negation, before interrogation has applied.

To the intonation, a particle *eski* may be added in sentence-initial position:

eski u kōtā li? 'do you love him?'

Bollée notes that *eski* does not occur frequently in her corpus; Papen notes that some speakers consider the use of *eski* as being rather Frenchified, while others feel that it should be restricted to situations where one is talking to a superior, but that it is in any case well attested in SC.

A statement (or even an imperative), may have *nō?* 'no?', *pa vre?* '(is it) not so?', *ē?* 'eh?' added to it; the addition carries the interrogative intonation contour (and the statement's intonation contour is also modified). Thus, to the statement *u kōtā* 'you are happy', *nō?* may be added:

u kōtā, nō? 'you're happy, aren't you?'

Similarly, *u pa kōtā, nō?* 'you are not happy, are you?'. In these sentences, the final syllable of *kōtā* now occurs before a non-final pause, and has a rising, not falling, intonation. (We therefore disagree with Bollée's statement that *nō?*, etc., are added to questions.) The addition of *nō?* etc. implies an affirmative response of the 'yes that is correct' variety. Some examples:

sa i gu, nō? 'that's super, isn't it?'
u ē pares, nō? 'you're a lazy fellow, aren't you?'

u sâz madam koma u sâz palto, pa vre? 'you change "wives"
like you change jackets, don't you?'
u ape vey zaksiō, ē? 'you're keeping an eye on things,
eh?'⁶

7.42 Negative emphatic (rhetorical) questions

These have been described and discussed in 7.172/3.

7.43 Segmental questions

We give here a very brief description of the facts, and a short discussion follows.

7.431 RQuant ki?, lekel?, kōbiē?

The interrogative relative quantitatives (3.142) are *ki?* 'which, what' and *lekel?* 'which, what (choice of specific number)' and the adverb of quantity *kōbiē?* 'how much, how many'.

ki kalite luvraz u pe rode? 'what kind of work are you looking for?'
ki nasiō u ete? 'what nationality are you?'
ki lāgaz u pe koze? 'which/what language are you speaking?'
lekel larpâter? 'which surveyor(s)?'
kōbiē dimun ti ana? 'how many people were there?'
dā ki lame? 'in which hand?'
ki kâtō u sorti? 'what/which district do you come from?'
ki maÿer sa n arive? } 'how (in what way) did it happen?'
ki maÿer n ariv sa? }

With *ler* 'hour', there are two possibilities, *ki ler?* and *kel-er?* 'at what time, when':

kel-er/ki ler i a māze? 'at what time (when) will he eat?'

In all cases, *ki* may be optionally used as follows:

lekel kuto (ki) u ule? 'which knife do you want?'
ki krim (ki) i n komet/komite? 'what crime has he committed?'

⁶ *vey zaksiō* is a noteworthy feature of life in any small community, and Seychelles is no exception. It means to watch what other people are doing or wearing, or with whom they are talking or walking, and so on, with a view to later gossip - *don nuvel* when women do it - or discussion - *don kuyō* when men do it. (These last two were observed on La Digue, but are presumably current elsewhere too; *don kuyō* 'to crack jokes'.)

kōbiē zurit vov (ki) u n aste ozordi? 'how many squid have you bought today?'

We return to this below.

7.432 Pronouns *ki?*, *ki sa ki?*, etc.

The interrogative pronouns (3.631) are *ki?* 'who, what', *ki sen-la (ki)?* 'who' ([+animate, +human] only), *ki sa (ki)?* 'what, who' ([+animate], usually [-human]), *ki si-sa (ki)?*, *ki sa-sa (ki)?* 'what' ([-animate]), *lekel (ki)?* 'which' ([+choice]), *kōbiē?* 'how much, how many'. There is also a form *kua?* 'what', used following a preposition (possibly French influence).

ki sen-la ki n vini? 'who came?'

ki n arive? 'what happened?'

ki sa ki n pase? 'what happened?'

ki fer u vini? 'what makes you come? why do you come?'

ki sa ki n fer u vini? 'why did you come?'

(some informants allow *ki n fer u vini?* here, others do not)

lekel āt sa de? 'which one of those two?'

lekel ki n fer u vini? 'which (person/thing) caused you to come?'

ki $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{si-sa} \\ \text{sa-sa} \end{array} \right\}$ *(ki) u ape rode?* 'what are you looking for?'

(*ki* appears to be obligatory for some informants)

ki si-sa? 'what's that?'

ki sen-la? 'who is that?'

ki u (ete)? 'who are you?'

ki zā ti ete? 'what did John used to be?'

ki u kuar u ete? 'who do you think you are?'

ki sō nuvel? 'what is his news? (how is he getting on?)'

ki u kapab fer avek sa larzā? 'what can you do with that money?'

ki u gaŷe, u pe plere? 'what's wrong, that you are crying?'

ki u a fer? 'what can you do? what do you expect?'

kōbiē zot van? 'how many/much do they sell?'

When the NP is a constituent of PP:

pur ki sa kuto? 'for whom is this knife? what is this knife used for?'

lor ki u pe koze? 'who are you talking about?'

ki sen-la ki u ape koze? 'who are you talking to?'

pur ki sen-la ki u ape fer sa? 'who are you doing that for?'

u lisiē pur ki, u? 'who the hell do you think you are? (you are whose dog?)'

avek kua u a fer sa? 'what will you do it with?'

Note the surface Copula *ete* in interrogative sentences (4.114).

7.433 Adverbs *koma?*, *kā?*, etc.

The interrogative adverbs (5.444) are *kot(e)?* 'where' (location), *kā?* 'when' (time), *koma?* 'how' (manner), *akoz (ki)?* 'why' (purpose). There are various substitutes available, using either the forms listed above with RQuant (*ki lādrua?* for *kot(e)?*, *ki ler?* or *kel-er?* for *ka?*, *ki maŷer?* or *ki fasō?* for *koma?*) or with pronoun (*ki fer?* - and also *ak-fer?* - for *akoz?*). There are also other substitutes, including *oli?* 'where', *ferkua?*, *purkua?* (French form) 'why'.

While the optional *ki* may be used with *akoz?* (*akoz* is more usual than *akoz ki*), it does not occur with *kā?* or *koma?*, and only rarely with *kot(e)?*. Note also *depi kā?* 'for how long' (5.42).

Examples:

kot(e) nu pu gaŷ sa? 'where will we get it?'

kot(e) u ti māze ozordi? 'where/at whose place did you eat today?'

(*kot* seems more usual than *kote*)

kā i a vini? 'when will he come?'

depi kā u n ariv Sesel? 'how long have you been in Seychelles?'

koma u dir sa? 'how do you say this?'

akoz (ki) u fer sa? 'why do you do it?'

Substitutes, examples:

ki lādrua n ava al pur nu piknik? 'where shall we go for our picnic?'

kel-er/ki ler n a māze? 'when do we eat?'

ki maŷer fin ariv sa? 'how did it happen?'

ki fer u fer sa? 'why do you do it?'

ak-fer u vin avek mua? 'why are you coming with me?'⁷

ak-fer gaspiy larzā? 'why waste money?'⁸

ferkua nu bezuē oken lezot temuē ākor? 'what need we any further witnesses?' (Mark 14:63)

The use of *oli?* replacing *kot(e)?* in the present tense only has been noted in 4.114; note that since *oli* already contains Copula, *ete* is excluded:

kot u madam i ete komela? } 'where is your wife now?'

oli u madam komela?

⁷ *ak-fer* 'why' is noted by Chaudenson 1974: 679 as being of French dialectal origin ("à quoi faire", FEW III, 352, b).

⁸ Indefinite Subject deletion (6.5)? Note that the condition of subordination is met if *ak-fer* is considered as the higher S.

7.434 Salutations

Common salutations are often composed of questions, used more or less as fixed expressions. These include *ki maŋer?* 'how are things?', *ki nuvel?* 'what news?', *koma u ale?* 'how are you going?', *koma sa-va?* 'how goes it?', *ki i dir?* 'what say?'. Non-question salutations include *bôzur* 'good-day', *alo* 'hello' (from English).

7.435 Segmental questions and relatives

Segmental questions are very similar to relative clauses, in that the procedures used (and the constraints involved) seem to be identical. Let us take a sentence:

sa tifiy i n met sa liv lor latab 'the girl put the book on the table'

Interrogation may bear on each NP:

- (1) a. *ki tifiy ki n met sa liv lor latab?* 'which girl (is it who) put the book on the table?'
 b. *ki tifiy i n met sa liv lor latab?* 'which girl put the book on the table?'

Here, the subject *sa tifiy* is questioned, there is no change of word-order, the second *ki* (in 1a) is optional and if it is omitted the *i*-reprise is maintained.

- (2) *ki liv (ki) sa tifiy i n met lor latab?* 'which book (is it that) the girl put on the table?'
 (3) *ki latab (ki) sa tifiy i n met sa liv lor la?* 'which table (is it that) the girl put the book on?'

In 2 and 3, the shifted NP has come from the predicate, the second *ki* is optional, and word-order has changed. In 3, the original position of the shifted NP *latab* is marked by the adverb *la*.

- (4) *lor ki latab (ki) sa tifiy i n met sa liv?* 'on which table (is it that) the girl put the book?'

Here, PP *lor latab* has been shifted, again the second *ki* is optional, and word-order has changed.

That is, whenever we have *ki* N standing before the subject, it has been shifted from the predicate, and what is left is embedded by a relative clause. In the case of 1a, the subject appears in fact to have been similarly shifted from the sentence, which is then similarly embedded.

The object of an embedded S2 may similarly be left-shifted.

Take a sentence such as 5:

- (5) *mô ti kuar (ki) Zorz ti ape lir sa liv* 'I thought that George was reading the book'

From 5, we may produce such sentences as 6 and 7:

- (6) a. *sa liv ki mô ti kuar Zorz ti ape lir, ti ê liv lor Sesel* 'the book that I thought George was reading, was a book on Seychelles'
 b. *sa liv mô ti kuar (ki) Zorz ti ape lir, i ê liv lor nu pei* 'the book, that I thought George was reading, is a book about our country'
 (7) *ki liv (ki) u ti kuar (ki) Zorz ti ape lir?* 'which book (is it that) you thought George was reading?'

When the subject of an embedded S2 is shifted, problems arise. From 8, the subject *zom* of S2 may be left-shifted:

- (8) *i dir ki sa zom pe lir sa liv* 'he says that the man is reading the book'
 (9) *ki zom ki i dir i/ki ape lir sa liv?* 'which man (is it that) he says who/that he is reading the book?' (i.e., in clear English: which man does he say is reading...)
 (10) *sa zom ki i dir i/ki ape lir sa liv* 'the man that he says is reading the book'

A problem that arises here is whether the *ki*-clause following *dir* is a relative clause or a noun clause; for a discussion of similar problems in French, see Moreau 1971. For an interesting analysis of constraints on movement rules similar to the ones involved here, see Cattell 1976. The subject is not pursued here on account of insufficient data; it appears at first glance that the constraints on shifting are less stringent in SC than in English, where "the hat which I believed the claim that Otto was wearing is red" (Cattell's NP Ecology Constraint (p. 27)). In SC, however, we find such sentences as:

- sa voler ki mô n tan nuvel lapolis i n atrap li, i ê vakabô ki sorti Mô Bikstô* '*the thief that I heard the news that the police caught (him) is a ruffian from Mount Buxton'
ki voler ki u n tan nuvel lapolis i n atrape/i n atrap li? '*which thief did you hear the news that the police caught (him)'

The acceptability of such sentences is sometimes doubtful, but the use of *li* replacing the shifted NP seems to have a rôle; also, the S2 is in apposition to *nuvel* in the above.

7.44 Indirect questions

These may be defined as the embedding of an S2 which is

interrogative, as well as the ability of the main verb to have a sentential object. For *-e* deletion of the main verb, see 4.222(b).

7.441 S2 total question

The subordinator *si* 'if, whether' is used:

mō demāde si sa pa ē bō lide 'I wonder if that is not a good idea'
i demāde si mō kapab vini 'he asks if I can come'
mō pa ni kone si Lina pu repon mua 'I don't even know whether Lina will reply to me'

As we shall see below, *si* is also used to introduce noun clauses when S1 is negative. Thus,

u pa ni ti kone si Bob pu vini

is ambiguous: 'you didn't even know if/that Bob would come'.

7.442 S2 segmental question

(a) RQuant *ki?*, etc.

i n demāde ki loto u kōtā 'he asked what car you like'
mō pa dir u ki zur mō pu arive 'I'm not saying what day I shall arrive'
i n demāde lekel kuto (ki ti ete) 'he asked which knife it was'
u pa ule dir mua kōbiē dimun ti ana? 'won't you tell me how many people there were?'
mō pa kone kel-er i pu arive 'I don't know at what time he will arrive'

(b) Pronouns *ki?*, etc. With [-human], *sa ki* is used. As object, *ki* is subject to elision of *-i*, before a following vowel.

les arive sa ki pu arive 'let happen what will happen'
repet sa k(i) u n dir 'say that again'
ubliy/bliy(e) sa ki n pase 'forget what has happened'
i n demāde ki ti arive 'he asked what had happened'
mō kone ki mō pu fer 'I know what I shall do'
i pa ti kone ki i pu fer 'he didn't know what he would/was going to do'
sa k(i) i pe fer, pa bō 'what he is doing is not good'
ala ki i arive 'that's what happens' (French "voilà ce qu'il arrive")

With [+human], *ki sen-la ki* is used as subject, but as non-subject *ki sen-la (ki)*:

i n demāde ki sen-la ki n vini 'he asked who came'

i pe demāde ki sen-la (ki) i bezuē don kuto 'he is asking who he is to give the knife to'
i n demāde ki sen-la (ki) i ete 'he asked who it is'

ki alone may be [+human] in copulative sentences:

u a kone ki mua taler! 'you'll soon know who I am!'
mō demāde ki u (ete) 'I ask who you are'

With [+choice], *lekel (ki)* is used:

mō demāde lekel ki u ape rode 'I ask which one you are looking for'
mō pa kone lekel i ete 'I don't know which one it is'
i pa kone lekel ki ule sa kuto 'he doesn't know which (person) wants the knife'
i esplik li lekel (RQuant) pie ki sō kalu i pli bō, e osi
lekel ki sō koko i pli epe 'he explains to him which tree (it is) whose toddy is best, and which one whose coconuts are thickest'

With preposition:

i n demāde pur ki sen-la sa kuto 'he asked who the knife is/was for'
mō demāde lor ki u ti pe koze 'I ask who you were talking about'
dapre ki radio i dir 'according to what the radio says'

(c) Adverbs *koma?*, etc.

u kone kot(e) sa labutik i ete 'you know where the shop is'
mō kone kote ki stor i ete 'I know where the store-house is'
u a kone ki kote sa latizan i ete 'you will know where (what place) the infusion (medicinal plant) is'
mō demād u kot u liv i ete } 'I ask you where your book
mō demād u oli u liv } is'
i ti rakōte ki māyer i n arive 'he told how he had got there/here'
i a dir nu kâ nu pu kapab sorti dâ lakaz 'he'll tell us when we can leave the house'
i pa kone akoz gard i apel li 'he doesn't know why the cop calls him'

With *koma*, S2 may be embedded as an indirect question:

Zā i mōtre Zan koma i pu sâte 'John shows Jeanne how he will sing' (subject S1 = subject S2)

or with *pur* (5.54):

Zā i motre Zan koma pur sâte 'John shows Jeanne how to sing' (object Zan S1 = subject S2)

Another possible gloss for this sentence is: 'John shows Jeanne how they both will sing'.

7.5 Emphatic, focussed and exclamative sentences

The question of "emphasis" has not been studied fully, but an initial statement can be made.

7.51 Emphasis

We have already seen a number of phenomena which may be included under the heading of Emphasis. These include:

Reduplication of a preposed adjective (3.41):

ê zoli zoli tifiy 'a very pretty girl'

Reduplication of post-posed adjectives (3.42) however is the exact opposite of Emphasis in that it attenuates:

ê rob ver ver 'a greenish dress'

Use of *ek bô-ker*, etc. with adjectives (3.41):

ê tifiy zoli ek bô-ker 'an extremely pretty girl'

"Triplification" of adjectives (3.42):

tu pur mua i n roz-roz-roz! 'all of mine are as ripe as can be'

In the *dâ-gerundive* (5.62), an adjective may be reduplicated:

dâ mō sek sek 'even though I am very thin/weak'

(note that *sek* is normally a postposed adjective, so that we would expect reduplication to attenuate, not emphasize), or *tu* may be used:

dâ tu mō meg 'even though I am skinny'

Reduplication of personal nouns and pronouns (3.61); these reduplications appear to occur only with focussed sentences:

mō mō tu sel ki n fer sa 'I alone did it'

Vowel lengthening of adjectives (3.42):

sa bug i lo:::ng! 'that chap is really tall!'

Non-subject forms of personal nouns and pronouns, often with *-mem* (3.61 and below):

mō pu fer sa mua-mem 'I'll do it myself'

mua, mō pa ule dir u sa! 'I don't want to tell you that!'

Emphatic forms of the inanimate demonstrative, *sa-mem, tu sa-la* (3.631):

ki sa vedir, tu sa-la? 'what does all this mean?'
sa-mem, sa, mō plas 'that is indeed my spot/place'
sa-mem mō metie ki mō gay mō lavi avek 'that indeed is my profession that I earn my living from'

The emphasizer *-(m)em* postposed to a noun, usually with focussing as well (3.7):

zâ-mem ki n gaye 'it is John who won'

with a verb (4.221(c)):

i a mem kapab mâze 'he will even be able to eat'
i marse mem 'he keeps right on walking'

and preceding a verb in Negation (4.37):

mō pa n mem pâse/mazine 'I haven't even thought about it'

Blocking of *-e* deletion (4.221(d)):

i a mâze sa ki u a don li 'he will really tuck in to what you give him'

Reduplication of verbs (4.221(h)):

kolekole 'to stick fast'

Negative emphatic *ni* (7.171):

mō pa ni kone 'I haven't a clue'
i pa ni zoli nariê 'she's not even pretty'

which also occurs with NPs:

ni ê su napa ladâ 'there is not even a sou in it'

The *pa i* construction (7.172):

mō pa i ti dir u sa? 'didn't I tell you that?'

To these we may add:

Reduplication of adverbs:

ê kestiô biêbiê serie 'a really serious question'
liev i apros dusma, dusma 'the hare comes up very softly'

Inversion of subject and predicate in copulative sentences,

with separate intonation contour:

sa (i) ê marto â fer → ê marto â fer, sa! 'it is a veritable iron hammer!'

Reprise of NP (subject, object) by a pronoun or personal noun, with separate intonation contour:

lerua i ê bô dimun → lerua i ê bô dimun, sa! 'the king is a really good person!'

lerua i bet → lerua i bet, li! 'the king is stupid, he is!'

Sûgula i biê malê → Sûgula, li, i biê malê 'Sougoula is very cunning'

mô pa bet → mua, mô pa bet, mua! 'I ain't stupid!'

sa loto i biê ser → sa loto i biê ser, sa! 'that car is very expensive'

sa (i) mô plas → sa-mem, sa, mô plas! 'that is indeed my place'

be sa i buar plis ki mua, sa! 'that rat-bag is drinking more than I am!'

mô rar mô gayê lafiév, mua! 'I rarely get a fever'

sa peser, mô biê bezuê koz êk li, mua! 'I really must talk to that fisherman'

Leaving aside the lexical means of representing Emphasis (*ek bô-ker, dâ tu mô meg*, addition of *mem*, use of *nî*), any statement about an Emphatic transformation needs to account at least for reduplication (and perhaps "triplication"), vowel lengthening in adjectives, blocking of *-e* deletion, pronominalisation of NP (with the accompanying placement and the "accent" and pause noted by the comma). The *pa i* construction is probably better considered as a separate procedure entirely.

What is common to Emphatic sentences is that a constituent is emphasized without any modification of the grammatical relations in S. When there is a reprise of an NP, there is indeed a surface reorganisation of word-order (as also in the case of *nî* + NP), but the relations of Subject-Verb-Object etc. are not altered.

7.52 Focussed sentences ("cleft" sentences)

Focussed sentences, unlike Emphatic ones, do entail a modification of the grammatical relations in the sentence, and there is a semantic difference as well. Thus, in an Emphatic (non-focussed) English sentence such as "I saw John yesterday" or "John I saw yesterday", John (the object of the sentence) is the topic of the comment consisting of the affirmative sentence "I saw John yesterday (and he is the guy we are talking about)". In the focussed English sentence "It was John (that/whom) I saw yesterday", the NP John has been shifted to the left (cf. 7.435 above) and the original S has been embedded as a relative clause. Here, John is contrasted with all the other people I could have seen yesterday; the sentence can therefore be negated

to mean that there is someone other than John who could have been seen yesterday: "No it wasn't, it was George you saw yesterday".

Focussed sentences always involve Emphasis, since a sentence such as "It is the house which is green" is ambiguous on the surface: it may be a focussed sentence ("It is the house that is green and not the garage"), or it may have the reading "This house is the house which is green". The use of emphasis is what separates the two, as only the first reading results when Emphasis is present.

Focussed sentences then are the result of relativisation and emphasis. The focussed element is the attribute of a presentative sentence which is usually in the present tense. The effect of Emphasis is to stress this attribute, and the focussed sentence has a specific intonation contour (unmarked in our transcription). In the case of NP, *sa* (determinant) is often used.

7.521 Focussing

Focussing may be seen as a procedure which "presents" a constituent of a sentence. To illustrate, let us take the sentence:

divâ i n kas ban brâs parey u n dir mua 'the wind has broken the branches, like you told me'

By focussing on NP subject *divâ*, we get:

(sa) divâ ki n kas ban brâs ... 'it is the wind which has broken the branches ...'

on NP object *ban brâs*:

(sa) ban brâs ki divâ i n kase ... 'it is the branches which the wind has broken ...'

on PP *parey u n dir mua*:

parey u n dir mua, ki divâ i n kas ban brâs 'it is like you told me that the wind has broken the branches'

Since focussing is the result not only of relativisation but also of Emphasis, the procedures mentioned in 7.51 are frequently present; for example, a sentence:

mô n fer sa 'I did it' → *mua(-mem) ki n fer sa!* 'I myself did it'

Examples:

mua ki lerua dâ sa pei 'I am the king of this country'
sa-mem ki mô ti bezuê 'that's exactly what I needed'

sa-mem ki pu sô luvraz 'that's exactly what his job will be'⁹

The separate contour typical of Emphatic sentences may be retained:

sa-mem, ki mō ti ape rode 'that's exactly what I was looking for'
sa-mem, sa, ki mō plas 'that is indeed my place'
u, sa, ki pu âpes dimun vini? 'it is you who will stop people coming?'

We have already noted the emphatic reduplication of personal nouns and pronouns (3.61 and above, 7.51), as well as the frequent use of focussing in Restrictive sentences (7.22):

mō mō tu sel ki n fer sa 'I alone did it'
zis li ki kon sa 'he is the only one who knows that'

Let us return briefly to the "reduplication" of the personal pronoun *i*, as in *i li tu sel*: while one informant felt that *i* meant 'he/she', it may be possible to consider *i* as the impersonal pronoun 'it', so that the reading is 'it is he alone'. To be investigated.

When adverbials are focussed, the emphasizer *mem* is frequently used:

ozordi mem ki zâ pu vini 'it is today that John is coming'
kot sô buldu mem, ki i dormi komela 'it is at his girl's place that he sleeps nowadays'
biê dusma mem, ki u bezuê aprose 'it is very softly that you must approach'

In the above examples, the focussed element occurs as the attribute of a presentative sentence in the Present tense. However, other tenses, mainly the Past, do occur:

ti zis akos sa lokaziô ki u ti n gaÿ sa sâs 'it was only because of that occasion that you got that chance'
pa ti ê katiolo ki n disparet, ti ê kanot lapas 'it wasn't a dinghy that had disappeared, it was a fishing boat'

⁹ In these two examples, focus is on *sa* (with [+emphasis] *mem*). Note that *sa-mem* is also used to mean 'that is why' (**ki*):

mō ti naya ase larsâ pur aste labier, sa-mem mō ti al rod kalu 'I didn't have enough money to buy beer, that's why I went looking for toddy' (3Rs as against 50 cents)

This use may be considered as a subjunction (cause), but it is equivalent to focussing on a PP; *akos* may also be used (impersonal *i* optional):

(*i*) *ti akos mō (ti) al rod kalu* 'it was why ...'

ti ê zom ki ti malad 'it was a man that was sick'

The relative clause in focussed sentences is clearly appositive (providing supplementary information). A more accurate gloss for the last example above would be 'it was a man, and he was sick'. The semantics of focussed sentences were discussed in 7.52 above: they can be negated in such a way that there is someone/thing else which would satisfy the sentence. In discourse, they are used in just those circumstances where the information conveyed by the relative clause is (or is presumed by the speaker to be) already known to the hearer; the information then has an identifying (recalling-to-mind) function, and the clause is clearly appositive, not descriptive.

7.522 Negation with focussing

The predicate of the presentative copulative sentence is negated by *pa* (cf. 7.12):

pa srê ki gazuye 'it is not the canary that is singing'
pa torti ki u pu mâze, me liev ki u a mâze 'it is not the turtle that you will eat, but the hare'
i vre pa li ki n dir sa 'it is true that it is not he who hassaid that'
pa kom sa ki u bezuê fer 'it is not like that that you should do it'

7.523 Use of se

The uses of *se* (corresponding to French "c'est") in focussed sentences are well attested in SC, but are considered as French structures by some informants.

(a) One pattern consists of *se ki* + Clause 'it is that' (French "c'est que" + clause):

zis ê sel keksoz ki ê pe difisil, se ki mō reste biê luê avek isi se u 'there is just one thing which causes a small problem, it is that I live very far away from your place here'

(the *se* in *se u* is a preposition equivalent to *kot*, irrelevant here, of course)

se ki mō ule fer u plezir 'it is that/because I want to please you'

(*i akos* is "more Creole" here).

There does not appear to be a negative equivalent **pa ki* 'it is not that'.

(b) A second pattern uses *se* + NP. In the examples above of focussing in copulative sentences, the focussing on the subject is of the usual form:

sa (i) mō plas + sa(-mem) ki mō plas

An alternative, if infrequent, pattern of focussing in copulative sentences is:

NP1 + Cop + NP2 → NP2 + *se* + NP1

There is always a pause after NP2, with *se* + NP1 being in a separate intonation contour. Thus:

lerua i ê bô dimun → ê bô dimun, se lerua 'it is the king who is a good person'

Examples:

premie keksoz ki sô lizie i frap lor la, se sa let 'that letter is the first thing that her eyes light upon'
sa, se u nene 'that is your nose'
sa ler-la, ki pake ki ana dâ lakaz, se zis lapusier 'in fact, what/the only furniture there is in the house, is simply/merely dust'
zis ki i ti kapab fer, se tom dâ fotey 'all he could do was fall into the chair'

(c) A third pattern, even less frequent than the above, is as follows (cf. also 4.116):¹⁰

NP1 + VP → *se* + NP1 + *ki* + VP

Examples:

u pa malad ditu, se u natir ki kom sa 'you're not sick at all, it is your nature which is like that'
sa voyaz, se Lina ki n plere 'that time, it's Lina who cried'

(d) Finally, there is a formula *se purkua* 'that is why':

se purkua mô n vini 'that's why I came'

The usual SC equivalent of this is *sa-mem(,) mô n vini*; cf. *se ki* above, and 7.521 *sa-mem*.

We may also note that *se* is used as Copula in certain cases (see 8.2(e)), and as Subject + Copula (as in (c) above, but without the *ki*-clause):

u napa nariê pur dir âkor? nô, se tu 'you have nothing further to say? No, that's all'

¹⁰ Cf. also in RoC (but not in MC):

pa so zenis ki n mor, se so toro ki n mor 'it is not his heifer that is dead, (but) his bull'

7.524 The impersonal verb *ana*

The "impersonal" verb *ana* 'to be' may also be used to focus a constituent. An impersonal subject *i* occurs in the Present (*i ana*), but not in other tenses (*ti ana*, *pu ana*, etc.). The negative forms (*napa*, *ti napa*, *pu napa*, etc., and *pa ti ana*, etc.) have been mentioned in 7.121.

Examples:

i ana ê zofisie ki vin dir li ... 'there is an officer who comes and tells him ...'
i ana pre trua smen mô pe rod u 'I've been looking for you for nearly three weeks'
i ana lôtâ mô pâkor uar u 'I haven't seen you for ages'
ti ana ê fua ê lerua ki ti ana ê grâ basê 'once upon a time, there was a king who had a big pond'
napa torti ki u pu kapab mâze 'there are no turtles that you will be able to eat'
napa ketsoz ki pli zoli ki sa 'there isn't a thing prettier than that'
lôtâ, ti napa sa ban zafer 'in the past, there weren't all these things'
pa ti ana zis ê lera, ti ana ê kâtite 'there wasn't just one rat, there were lots of them'

An indefinite *dimun* may be omitted when focussed by *i ana*:

i ana (dimun) ki kon koz frâse dâ sa pei 'there are people who know how to speak French in this country'

Similarly with the negative form *i pa ana*:

i pa ana (dimun) ki kon koz frâse? 'isn't there anyone who knows how to speak French?'

but not with the alternative negative form *napa*:

napa dimun ki kon koz frâse 'there are no people who ...'

With the Negative Emphatic (Rhetorical) Questions (7.172), *dimun* may also be omitted:

i pa i ana (dimun) ki kon koz frâse? 'isn't there anyone who ...?' (expects answer "No")
pa i ana (dimun) ki kon koz frâse? 'is it not true that there are people who ...?' (expects "Yes")

With verbs of the same class as *kapab* 'to be able; perhaps' (v. AdvDbt, 5.45), *komâse* 'to begin', the *i* subject of *i ana* may be "raised" when *ana* is the subordinate verb (we return to the question of subject raising in the following chapter); the impersonal *i* so raised is then subject to optional deletion (this is characteristic of the impersonal *i*):

(i) *kapab ana trua* 'there are perhaps three'

(i) *komâs ana ê pti loder par la* 'there is beginning to be a little smell around here'
ti komâs ana de-trua dutâs lor li 'there were beginning to be a few doubts about it'
 (i) *fek ana ê zafer sal* 'there has just been a bit of dirty work'
ê zur ti truv ana ê Sûgula 'once it so happened that there was a Soungoula'

7.525 The "presentative" (a)la

The two forms represented by (a)la correspond to French "voici/voilà", and may be labelled "presentatives":

kot u ete? la mua, mō dudu! 'where are you? Here I am, love!'
 (a)la *ozordi ki mō zuêd u, ki u dir?* 'now that I have met up with you today, what do you say?'

The adverb *la* may be postposed to (a)la:

ala-la Zorz ki komâs gele 'there is George who begins yelling'
la-la rezō akoz ki mō ti persiste 'that's the reason why I kept it up'

and may also follow the focussed element, as may *isi* 'here':

la mua, la/isi 'here I am'

In a sentence such as (a)la *mō mari (ki) pe vini*, there are two distinct structures involved. In the first, the subject of the sentence *mō mari pe vini* 'my husband is coming' is focussed (*ala mō mari*), and S is embedded (relative clause), whence:

(a)la *mō mari ki pe vini* 'there is my husband who is coming'

In the second, *ala* has an NP object which dominates S; we may represent this as *ala NP_S[mō mari pe vini]*, whence:

(a)la *mō mari pe vini* 'lo, my husband comes'
 (cf. French "voilà mon mari qui vient", "voilà que mon mari vient").

Thus, the sentences:

(a)la *mō la* 'here I am'
 (a)la *i la/isi* 'there/here he is'

correspond to the second derivation (cf. French "voilà que je suis là"). While *la mua* 'here I am', corresponding to the first derivation, is acceptable, *(a)la *li* appears to be excluded.

ala may also present clauses:

ala ki i arive, kâ nu pa fer sa ki nu duatet fer 'that's what happens when we don't do what we are supposed to do, should do'

The shortened form *la* has often a rather attenuated presentative force, as in:

Msie i deman li: "La kâ âkor?" 'Monsieur asks him, "When will you come again?"' (ala when again?)
la prezâ, i al kot lerua 'now, he goes to the king's place'

The French transliteration of the last example would be "voilà qu'à présent", roughly equivalent to 'NOW he goes ...', but the SC *la* does not always have this emphatic value.

7.53 Exclamative sentences

Exclamative sentences are presumably to be included as a type of Emphasis. We may suppose that any sentence may be made into an exclamation (i.e. given an expressive intonation, marked here by !):

mō pa fu, mua! 'I'm not crazy!' (emphatic sentence)
u pa kôtâ, nō!? 'what's your gripe!?' (interrogative nō?)
ki si-sa?! 'whazzat?!' (interrogative)
demerd u! 'that's your problem/look-out' (imperative)

By their nature, imperatives, emphatic and focussed sentences are often used in an exclamatory way. Syntactically, however, there are at least two procedures, the use of *koma* and *ki* (both optional) glossed here as 'how':

(koma) *mō kôtâ kon u!* 'how happy I am to know you!'
 (ki) *mō leker ti sere!* 'how my heart was grieved!' (squeezed)

We may also note the use of *kel*:

kel domaz ki i pa ti kapab vini! 'what a pity that he couldn't come!'

There are also a number of interjections and exclamatory expressions of surprise, hurt, shock, admiration, anger, etc. These include such items as: (me/be) *u zom!* 'admiration', *gramersi!* 'relief (thank God)', *e u la!* 'attention-getter (hey, you!)', *zot!* and *zot-o!* (v. 3.61, 3.7), certain vocatives (v. 3.92), *ayoyo!* 'surprise, pain', *lâget u mama!* 'obscene insult, anger', *sile!*, *roz!*, *keda!*, *asize!* 'approbation'.

CHAPTER VIII

FURTHER STRUCTURES

In this chapter we touch on Completives (Noun clauses, Infinitives) and Impersonal constructions. These lead us to a short discussion of the procedure of Subject-Raising. Finally, Coordination is briefly described.

8.1 Noun clauses

Noun clauses may be defined as the embedding of an S2 which is non-interrogative (cf. 7.44) as the complement¹ of the main verb. For *-e* deletion of the main verb, see 4.222(a). The subordinate clause is introduced optionally by *ki* (or by *pur-dir* principally although not exclusively when the main verb is a verb of saying; some speakers reject *pur-dir* as a subordinator, but it is well-attested in both texts and spontaneous, narrative material).

Examples:

- i biê kôtâ (ki) i n returne* 'he is very happy to be back'
mô ule u suiy latab 'I want you to wipe the table'
mô uar (ki) u pa kôtâ 'I (can) see that you are not happy'
i dir mua (ki) i pe lapas 'he tells me he is fishing'
i kuar (ki) i vre ki mô a vini 'he thinks it is true that I shall come'
mô ti kuar i pu al a-pie 'I thought he was going on foot'
i sagrê ki i ti vini 'he is sorry he came/to have come'
mô mazine (ki) sô lisiê ti malad 'I think that his dog was sick'
i rapel i n fer sa 'he remembers having done it'
mô remarke napa person ki kôtâ mua 'I notice that there is no-one who loves me'
i al dir li pur-dir sa pa ê dimun, sa ê sùgula 'he goes to tell him that it is not a person, but a sounjoula'
i uar pur-dir i vre sa ê lisiê 'he sees that it is true that that is a dog'

When the main clause is negative, embedding of S2 may be as an Indirect question (subordinator *si*):

- mô pa ti kone si i pu vini* 'I didn't know that/whether he would come'
zame mô ti pâse si ê sur nu pu fase 'never did I think that one day we would quarrel/be angry (with each other)'

¹ The French designation of such clauses as "complétives" underlines this relation with the NP complement of the verb.

pa bezuê mazine si u pu gay lavi âkor 'it's no use thinking that you'll get out of it alive'

8.2 Infinitive transformation of noun clauses

A rule such as Equi-NP deletion generates a sentence like:

Pier i ule ale 'Peter wants to go'

from an underlying structure which we may represent as

Pier₁ i ule [Pier₁ ale]

That is, under conditions of coreferentiality of the subject of S2 with an NP in the main clause, S2 is embedded as an infinitive. Such a transformation accounts for the following set of facts:

- (a) $mô\ ule\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (ki) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} u \\ i \\ *mô \end{array} \right\} \\ ale \end{array} \right\} ale$ 'I want you to go'
 'I want him to go'
 '*I want me to go'
 'I want to go'
- (b) $u\ ule\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (ki) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} *u \\ i \\ mô \end{array} \right\} \\ ale \end{array} \right\} ale$ '*you want you to go'
 'you want him to go'
 'you want me to go'
 'you want to go'
- (c) $i_1\ ule\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (ki) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} u \\ *i_1 \\ mô^1 \end{array} \right\} \\ ale \end{array} \right\} ale$ 'he wants you to go'
 '*he₁ wants him₁ to go'
 'he wants me to go'
 'he wants to go'

With a main verb such as *ule* 'to wish, want', it is impossible to have in the subordinate clause a subject which is coreferential with the subject in the main clause. Other verbs, such as *sagrê* 'to regret, be sorry', *rapel* 'to remember', on the other hand, are never subject to Equi-NP deletion (examples in 8.1 above). With the class of verbs represented by *ule*, Equi-NP applies if the subjects of S1 and S2 are coreferential. Other verbs, such as *oblize* 'to force, oblige' are subject to Equi-NP when the coreferentiality is between a non-subject NP in S1 and the subject in S2:

i obliz mua ale 'he obliges me to go'

A further class of verbs, such as *ale* 'to go', requires that the subjects in S1 and S2 be coreferential:

i al mâze 'he goes to eat'
 **i al (ki) u mâze*

We have already dealt with *pur* + infinitive in 5.541, where we classified all such constructions as adverbial clauses of purpose, Equi-NP being usually optional. Some verbs (e.g. *ana*

pur 'to have to') and adjectives (*pare pur* '(to be) ready to') require S2 to be so embedded when there is coreferentiality of the subject of S2 with an NP in S1:

u n biê deside pur ale 'you are firmly fixed on going'
i biê prese/dispoze pur (li) ed u 'he is in a big hurry/
 well disposed, to help you'
mô ezite pur fer sa 'I hesitate to do it'
zâ ed Poî pur fer sa 'John helps Paul to do it'

whereas others (e.g. *seye* 'to try') allow either *pur* or an infinitive:

i bezuê seye pur sov sô lavi 'he has to try to save his life'
i n sey sâte 'he tried to sing'

Research is on-going in this area of SC syntax, and the above remarks give only a broad outline. We shall see further details in 8.4 below. Some examples follow:

(a) Subject S1 is coreferential with subject S2:

mô oblize vini 'I am obliged to come'
i komâs â-koler 'he begins to be/get angry'
mô a vin uar u 'I shall come and see you'
i ule desan 'he wants to come down'
nek bezuê les li ale 'all we/they/one can do is let him go' (French "il n'y a qu'à le laisser aller")

S2 may also be an NP complement (3.5), as in:

mô ana lêtâsiô vini 'I intend to come' (have the intention of coming)
i n gaÿ letâ fer sa 'he had the time to do it'

There are verbs which have expressions of time (duration) + (*pur*) + infinitive:

Poî i n pas truaz-er-d-tâ (pur) lir sô liv 'Paul spent three hours reading his book'
mô n perdi en-er-d-tâ (pur) lir Biltê 'I wasted an hour reading the Bulletin'

while others appear to require *pur* + infinitive:

i n prâ dez-er-d-tâ pur fer sa 'he took two hours to do it'
mô n gaspiy en-er-d-tâ pur koz ek li 'I have wasted an hour talking to him'

(b) Object S1 is coreferential with subject S2:

i âpes mua ale 'he stops me going'
i obliz mua vini 'he forces me to come'

i dir mua vini 'he tells me to come'
les mua ale 'let me leave'

Compare now the case of certain verbs (*uar* 'to see', etc., see 3.81(i)) where preverbal markers may occur:

i uar mua (pe) vini 'he sees me coming'

We tentatively assigned such structures the status of appositive relative clauses, with *ki* deleted, but if (*a*)*pe* is indeed a "higher" verb (Va) as suggested in 4.32, we may perhaps consider these sentences as examples of the infinitive transformation. (The sentences in 3.81(ii) and (iii) would then have to be analysed as examples of Noun clauses.)

(c) The factitive verb *fer* also has object S1 = subject S2:

i fer li ekut sa sâsô 'he makes him listen to the song'
u a fer mua â-koler 'you will make me (be/get) angry'
 (cf. 4.126)
ki fer u koz avek mua kum sa? 'why do you speak to me thus?' (cf. 5.444)

but S2 may also have an Indefinite subject:

Zâ i n fer gaÿ dokter 'John sent for the doctor' (cause + get doctor)
lerua i fer son trôpet 'the king has the trumpets sounded'

In French-influenced SC, the infinitive may follow *fer* directly (the rules concerning thematic vowel deletion apply before the rule of "fer-shifting"):

Karl i n fer vini tu sô zami 'Carl had all his friends come'

(d) In sentences such as:

i don sat mâze

we have what at first glance appears to be the SC equivalent of the French "il donne à manger au chat" ('he gives the cat something to eat'). That this is not the case is shown by:

i don sat ketsoz pur mâze 'he gives the cat something to eat'
i pa don sat nariê pur mâze 'he gives the cat nothing to eat'

In our sentence *i don sat mâze*, *mâze* is perhaps best considered as a noun, 'food' (similarly in *i don li buar* 'he gives him drink').

(e) S2 may be the subject or the attribute in a copulative

sentence. Coreference of NPs is always present.

sô luvraz pu dray ê loto } 'his job will be to drive a
dray ê loto pu sô luvraz } car'
travay dir pa ê kalite ban bâdi } 'to work hard is not a
pa ê kalite ban bâdi, travay dir } characteristic of
layabouts'

Often, focussing and/or emphasis are used:

dray ê loto, sa-mem ki pu sô luvraz 'driving a car,
that's what his work will be'
dray ê loto ki pu sô luvraz 'it is to drive a car that
will be his job'

and a pattern with *se* (cf. 7.523) also occurs:

sô luvraz se pur marse 'its [the foot's] job is to walk'

(f) A curious sentence was noted at 4.223(g) (iii):

eski nu va met zot tu melâz âsam? 'are we going to put
them all mixed up together?'

With the gloss given, it appears as if *-e* deletion has applied to an adjective (*melâze*). If so, this would be the sole case known to me where an adjective is subject to *-e* deletion, and a more likely possibility is that we have here an example of an infinitive substituting for an adverbial clause. As a verb, *melâze* is of course subject to *-e* deletion before the manner adverb *âsam*; it is here a transitive verb used intransitively (4.127). A more accurate gloss is 'are we going to put them all, such that they mix up together?'

(g) The use of the "gaÿ-passive" has been described in 6.42:

zot pu gaÿ peye 'you will get paid'

as has the "causative" use of *gaÿe*:

i n fek gaÿ met dâ prizô 'he has just got (himself) put
in prison'
nu a gaÿ pret zuti 'we shall get lent the tools'
u pu gaÿ u liku sote 'you will get your head cut off'

8.3 Impersonal sentences

Impersonal sentences is a designation which covers a wide variety of structures. They have in common an impersonal subject *i* which is semantically empty and which marks what follows as the predicate.

The impersonal subject is often deleted, optionally in some contexts, obligatorily in others (in some contexts, such as the

present tense of *ana* 'to be' (7.524) it never deletes - except when "raised"). While a more detailed statement could be made concerning impersonal subject deletion on the basis of the data to hand, such a statement would undoubtedly be misleading (for example, no case of *i nek* + Clause (7.21) has been observed, but the phenomenon has not been systematically verified).

We have already seen a number of impersonal sentences: Presentative sentences (4.116) exemplify copulative sentences with an impersonal subject; some Restrictive sentences with *nek* (7.21); one of the "modal" uses of *kapab*, *bezuê* (5.45); Focussed sentences (7.52).

Two further broad types of impersonal sentence are considered here. Firstly, the impersonal use of *fer* (often in weather terms) and a surface reordering of subject and predicate are briefly described. Secondly, impersonal sentences involving embedding of an S2 are looked at (and some tentative remarks are made about the "hard to please" type of construction).

8.31 fer used impersonally

Used mainly but not exclusively in weather terms:²

pa fer nariê 'it doesn't matter'
i pu fer so/fre/bo-tâ deme 'it will be hot/cold/fine
tomorrow'
al kot i fer u plezir 'go where you please'
i fer de fua ki u n dir mua sa 'you have told me that
twice'

(this last could perhaps be classed as a further type of focussing).

8.32 Predicate + subject

A few cases (all in written texts) have been noted where NP + VP (VP usually represented on the surface as V or V + PP) has been reordered as (i) + VP + NP.

Examples:

sa zur, tu â kozâ, i n lev ê bagar 'that day, while they
were talking, a quarrel arose'

² In many cases, there is no SC impersonal equivalent to such weather terms as 'it is raining', 'it is getting dark', etc. Instead, periphrastic expressions are used: *lapli pe tôte* 'rain is falling', *fernuar pe fer* 'darkness is making'. Note also a sentence from Accouche 1976:57, a sensible analysis of which, in spite of much teeth-gnashing, I have been unable to make: *i kone kot i ana ê dasbin kot i fer zet salte* 'he knows where there is a dustbin where rubbish is thrown' (*i fer* seems utterly superfluous here).

â-mem-tâ, ti pe pas ê lisiê 'at the same time, a dog was going by'
i va ariv u 150 rupi laman 'it will cost you 150 rupees fine'
i n kapab ariv kek aksidâ avek loto 'some accident may have happened with the car'
me ti n pas mua lide 'but I had forgotten'
ti n pas kêz zur '15 days had passed'
ti reste sis ê zeyer 'there remained only an eye-tooth'

These may, on closer investigation, turn out to be Frenchified SC; whether they are or not, they pose an interesting problem of analysis. They may be considered simply as a transformation of the corresponding subject + predicate sentence, restricted (in all probability) to a small group of verbs. Or, they may be considered as sentences to which Subject-Raising has not applied (see 8.42 for discussion).

8.33 Impersonal verb + noun clause/infinite

A certain number of verbs occur often with an impersonal subject (frequently deleted) and followed by a noun clause and/or an infinitive phrase. These include *arive* 'it happens', *truve* 'it (so) happens', *paret* 'it appears', *bezuê* 'it is probable', *kapab* 'it is possible', *fodre*, *fode*, *fale*, *fo(t)* 'it is necessary', (*pa*) *bezuê* 'it is (not) necessary', *vomie* 'it is better' (also *vodre*, *vodra* for some speakers). Let us look at these in more detail.

We have already discussed the "modal" use of (*i*) *kapab* (*ki*) 'it is possible that' and (*i*) *bezuê* (*ki*) 'it is probable that' in 5.45:

be i kapab pa u? 'but is it possible that it is not you?'
(i) kapab ana trua 'there are perhaps three of them'

bezuê 'it is necessary' is usually used negatively:

pa bezuê (ki) u don mua sa 'there is no need for you to give me that'
pa bezuê plere 'there's no need to cry'

Bollée notes that only *pa bezuê* (*ki*) occurs in her corpus, but at least some speakers allow the positive *i bezuê*:

i bezuê u vini 'you must come'

For *i bezuê ki* 'it is probable', see 5.45.

(*i*) *fodre* (*ki*) 'it is necessary' (and the variants listed above) is usually positive, but the negative also occurs:

(*i*) *fodre* (*ki*) *u a vini* 'you will have to come'

fode zot ariv isi dâ sêk minit, sâ kua tu le de pu al dâ prizô 'you will have to be here in 5 minutes, otherwise you will both go to gaol'
fode amar u lipie avâ 'it is necessary to tie up your feet first'
pa fodre u lav u figir 'no need to wash your face'
fo u vini 'you must come'

The subject *i* is usually deleted. The form *fale* is rather rare, although it is an acceptable form for at least some speakers. The variant *fo* is also uncommon, while *fot* has been noted so far only in the expression *fo(t) espere* 'let's hope'.

(*i*) *vomie* 'it is better' has two variants (*i*) *vodra* (rejected by some informants) and (*i*) *vodre*. It has a superlative form (*i*) *pli vomie* 'it is best'.

(i) vomie u don mua sa 'you had better give that to me'
pli vomie anu separe 'it is best that we (go) separate'

(*i*) *paret* (*ki*) 'it appears'

i paret ki u a vini 'it appears that you will come'

(*i*) *arive* (*ki*) 'it happens'

ti ariv(e) ê zur, ki plizier sô ban zami ... 'it happened one day that several of his friends ...'
si i ariv(e) en-de i lager 'if it happens that some of them fight'³ (*arive* preferred to *ariv*)

The equivalent use of *truve* 'it (so) happens' usually occurs in the narrative introductory formula *ti truv ana*:

ê zur, ti truv ana ê pti garsô 'one day, it happened that there was a small boy, there happened to be a small boy'

Note that *-e* deletion has occurred here. Similarly with *arive* followed by the impersonal verb *ana* 'to be':

ê zur, ti ariv ana ê bagar 'one day, it happened there was a quarrel'

We return to *arive* and *truve* in section 8.42 below.

8.34 'It is true that Mary is hard to please'

Many impersonal sentences consist of a presentative

³ Cf. RoC, MC: *arive zenis la in mor* 'it happens that the heifer has died'

sentence (usually with an adjective as the attribute) with an S2 embedded in various ways. The S2 is the "logical" subject of a copulative sentence; thus, a sentence such as "It is true that John is sick" would, in this view, be derived from the structure underlying "That John is sick is true", while "It is hard to get along with John" and "John is hard to get along with" would both derive from the structure which underlies "To get along with John is hard".

Now in SC, the impersonal construction is the most common way of handling such sentences, and in some cases it is the only construction available. Thus:

- i êportâ/esâsiel pur ferm laport* 'it is important/essential to close the door'
**laport i êportâ/esâsiel pur ferme* '*the door is important/essential to close'
**pur ferm laport i êportâ/esâsiel* 'to close the door is important/essential'

(Some informants in fact do allow the starred sentences; most reject the first, and feel that the second is French rather than Creole.)

Tentatively, let us postulate that the underlying structure of such sentences is

S₁ [Δ Verbal [S₂]]

(Δ is an "empty" subject - see Subject-Raising, 8.42 below). The features of the [+Verbal] element will then determine the manner of embedding of S₂, as well as the possibility of other transformations. The empty subject Δ may be filled for some Verbals by a constituent of S₂; under Emphasis, it may be filled by S₂ itself, although this is not frequent.

This area of SC syntax is both crudely defined and poorly understood at present, but the following brief examination of some of the facts shows the broad outline.

S₂ may be embedded as a noun clause:

- (i) *vre i ê granuar* 'it is true that he is an important man'
i ti a pli bô ki u ki ti a vin kot nu 'it would be better that it were you who came to our place'
i ti a bô (pur Mari) ki i âseÿ sa klas 'it would be good (for Mary) that she teach that class'
i a bô pur nu ki nu gaÿ ê zâfâ 'it will be good for us to have a child'
i regretâ ki i pa ti kapab vini 'it is unfortunate that he was unable to come'

or as a conditional *si*-clause:

- i pa pu gu si ban voler a vin vol tu sa* 'it won't be pleasant if thieves (will) come and steal all this'
i ava tro boku si mô don li tu sa 'it will be too much if I give him all that'
i a regretâ si nu pa pu nobu vini 'it will be unfortunate if we are (will be) unable to come'

As we have seen in 5.54(a) and 8.2, a number of Verbals require/allow embedding of S₂ by the "complementizer" *pur*. The S₂ so embedded in impersonal sentences usually has an indefinite (deleted) subject:

- (i) *fasil pur koz ek Mari* 'it is easy to talk to Mary, Mary is easy to talk to'
 (i) *êposib pur tuy mua* 'it is impossible to kill me, I am impossible to kill'
 (i) *êportâ pur ferm sa laport* 'it is important to close that door'
 (i) *biê difisil pur kôtâ Mari* 'it is hard to like Mary, Mary is hard to like'

In some cases, such sentences may be transformed, as follows (the so-called "Tough-movement" transformation):

- (i) *biê difisil pur apran lâgaz ris* → *lâgaz ris i biê difisil pur apran* 'Russian is very difficult to learn' (and, by Emphasis: *pur apran lâgaz ris, i biê difisil(, sa)*).

Such a transformation depends on at least two conditions: (i) the adjective belongs to a sub-class of adjectives, including *fasil* 'easy', *difisil* 'hard, difficult', *êposib* 'impossible', *vilê/vilen* 'ugly, not nice', ... (exactly which adjectives are members of this class remains to be established):

- sa loto ti fasil pur dray* 'that car was easy to drive'
sa luvraz ti êposib pur fer ek zis ê marto 'that work was impossible to do with only a hammer'

However, some curious things happen semantically. A mother may say to her daughter:

- i biê vilê pur get sa garsô* 'it is not nice to look at that boy'

but when transformed:

- sa garsô i biê vilê pur gete* 'that boy is ugly to look at'

(ii) the second condition is that the verb in S₂ must be transitive; thus **Mari i biê difisil pur kôtâ* (since *kôtâ* is [-transitive, +attributive]). A further condition on S₂ is mentioned below.

S2 embedded by *pur* may occur with its (non-indefinite) subject:

- i pa rezonab pur u atan Zâ repon sa kestiô* 'it is unreasonable for you to expect John to reply to that question, that question is unreasonable for you to expect John to reply to'
- i difisil pur Zâ âvoy sô piti dâ sa lekol* 'it is difficult for John to send his child to that school'
- ti fasil pur mua dray sa loto* 'it was easy for me to drive that car'
- ti pu êposib pur Zâ lir sa liv* 'it would be impossible for John to read that book'

Sentences like these show that there are further constraints on the transformation, although the exact nature of these constraints is obscure. While the following is acceptable:

- (1) *sa loto ti difisil pur mua/Zâ dray* 'that car was hard for me/John to drive'

there appears to be some doubt about:

- (2) *sa laport ti êposib pur ?mua/?Zâ ferme* 'the door was impossible for me/John to close'

It must be stressed that further research is necessary to establish all the facts here, but meanwhile we may suggest that one of the constraints concerns the moving of the object of S2 across the subject of S2. Thus, a sentence such as:

- (3) *ti pu êposib pur Zâ lir sa liv* 'it would be impossible for John to read that book'

has two possible readings. In the first, the impossibility concerns John (he is too illiterate to read the book). In the second, the impossibility concerns the book (it has not yet arrived in the shops). Bracketing shows these two readings:

- (4) *ti pu êposib pur Zâ [lir sa liv] - i pa biê kon lir*
 (5) *ti pu êposib [pur Zâ lir sa liv] - liv pâkor arive*

(In 4, the subject *Zâ* of S2 has been deleted by Equi-NP.) The transformation ("Tough-movement") applied to 4 gives acceptable sentences like 1, but applied to 5 it gives the doubtful sentences like 2. The constraint then is that the object in S2 may not be moved across the subject in S2.

8.4 Subject-Raising

Consider two sentences:

- (1) *i paret ki lêdepâdâs i inevitab* 'it appears that Independence is inevitable'
- (2) *lêdepâdâs i paret inevitab* 'Independence appears (to be) inevitable'

Let us suppose that the underlying structure of both 1 and 2 is as in 3:

- (3) Δ paret [NP + VP]

where Δ represents an "empty" subject. Let us further suppose an optional transformation:

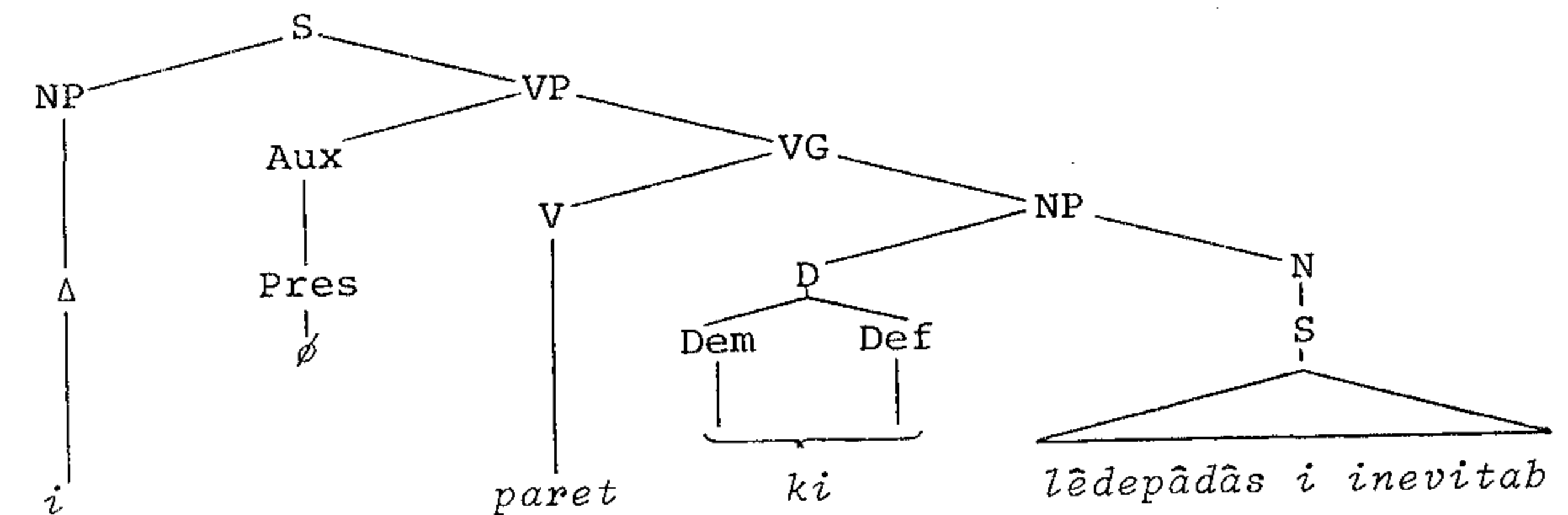
- (4) Δ - paret - [NP + VP] - Y
- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| → 3 | 2 | ∅ | 4 | 5 |

To get 2, we start from 5:

- (5) Δ paret [_{NP}[lêdepâdâs] vp[inevitab]]

Rule 4 will then produce 2. If 4 is not applied, a late rule will insert (usually optionally, as we have seen in 8.3 above) an "impersonal" subject *i* in the place of Δ , and other rules will introduce *ki* (the *ki* in fact will derive from the constituent Dem of the NP dominating S2 in sentence 5, as shown in Fig. 1) and the *i*-reprise.

Rule 4, which we shall call the Subject-Raising rule, has some immediate applications to SC data.



i paret ki lêdepâdâs i inevitab

Figure 1

8.41 Verbs with no selectional restrictions on their subject

Some verbs, like *komâse* 'to begin', do not impose any selectional restrictions on their subject (unlike most verbs); more precisely, the restrictions on the surface subject of

komāse are determined by the nature of the verb which is its complement:

**lapusier i mās lavian* '*the dust eats the meat'
Zorz i mās lavian 'George eats the meat'
 **lapusier i komās mās lavian* '*the dust begins to eat the meat'
Zorz i komās mās lavian 'George begins to eat the meat'

This is what is predicted if the deep structure of sentences with *komāse* is as in 6:

(6) Δ *komāse* [S]

The fact that any NP may be the subject of *komāse* is explained by the absence of restriction on Rule 4.

Other verbs to which Subject-Raising (hereinafter: SR) applies include: *kōtiŋe* 'to continue', *bezuē* 'to have to', *vini* 'to become', *fek* 'to have just', ...

*Zorz/*lapusier i kōtiŋ mās lavian* 'George/*the dust continues to eat the meat'
*Zorz/*lapusier i kapab mās lavian* 'G./*the dust is able to ...'
*Zorz/*lapusier i bezuē mās lavian* 'G./*the dust must ...'
*Zorz/*lapusier i fek mās lavian* 'G./*the dust has just ...'
*Zorz/*lapusier pu vin ris* 'G./*the dust will become rich'

8.42 Impersonals and Subject-Raising

When SR does not apply, we get the impersonal structures in 8.33 (*i kapab ki, i bezuē ki, ...*). The fact that **i komās ki* does not occur is a fact about the verb *komāse*, not about SR (when the embedded S has the impersonal verb *i ana*, the subject is indeed raised, see 7.524). Similarly, the fact that *foāre*, for example, is not subject to SR.

In section 8.34, we suggested that impersonal sentences consisting of a presentative sentence and an embedded S had the underlying structure

Δ Verbal [S]

We noted that in such sentences, SR does not apply, but that the embedded S may, under Emphasis, be raised to fill the subject slot. Further, when the embedded S has only one NP (non-subject), that NP may be raised (the "Tough-movement" transformation) with a certain class of Verbals (*đifisil, fasil, ...*).⁴

⁴ I am claiming here by implication, of course, that the underlying struc-

An interesting illustration of SR is provided by *arive* and *truve* 'it happens that'. We have seen impersonal uses of these two verbs (8.33), repeated here for convenience:

ti arive ē zur, ki plizier sō ban zami ... 'it happened one day that several of his friends ...'
si i arive en-de i lager 'if it happens that some of them fight'

Here, *arive* has S2 embedded as a noun clause. With the impersonal verb *i ana* in S2, we have:

ē zur, ti truv ana ē pti garsō 'one day, there was (happened to be) a small boy'
ē zur, ti ariv ana ē bagar 'one day, there was (happened to be) a quarrel'

In these sentences, the subject *i* of *i ana* has been raised, then deleted. Note that *-e* deletion has applied. Now, when S2 does NOT contain an impersonal verb, SR generally applies with *truve*:

Δ *n truve* [_{NP}Zan _{VP}marie]
 → *Zan i n truve marie* 'it happened that Jeanne got married'

Note that *-e* deletion has not applied.⁵ With *arive*, SR usually applies, although not (as the examples above show) obligatorily:

Δ *ti arive* [_{NP}Krispē _{VP}gaŋ lagal]
 → *Krispē ti arive gaŋ lagal* 'it happened that Crispin got scabies'

Examples:

ki betiz mō n al fer pur mua arive al pas tu sa ban martir? 'what stupidity did I commit that it happened that I went and passed through all those martyrdoms?'
si en-de i arive lager 'if some of them happen to fight'

Here, *-e* deletion does not apply. We have then an interesting problem posed by the *-e* deletion rule: when *arive* and *truve* have *i ana* in S2, *-e* deletion applies after SR; when S2 does not have an impersonal verb, *-e* deletion does not apply after SR, but may do so when S2 is embedded as a noun clause. Further

tures for "Tough-movement" in English and French are not those usually postulated: (1) "it is hard to convince the General" does not have as its source the structure underlying (2) "to convince the General is hard", but, on the contrary, (2) is derived from (1). Cf. Gaatone 1972 for a contrary view.
⁵ RoC: *en zur, bato truv arive* 'one day the boat happens to arrive' deriving from Δ *truv* [*bato arive*]. In this RoC example, *-e* deletion has applied.

study may throw more light on the matter.

Turning now to the impersonal structures in 8.32, such as:

ti n pas kêz zur '15 days had passed'

these could be considered as having an underlying structure

Δ *pase* [_{NP} *kêz zur*]

If SR does not apply, then *-e* deletion does; if SR does apply, *-e* deletion is blocked (since V appears pre-pausally):

ê lisiê ti pe pase 'a dog was passing by'

8.43 Equi-NP and Subject-Raising

In section 8.2 above, we have seen that Equi-NP deletion deletes a subordinate coreferential subject. We noted that verbs like *ule* 'to wish, want' require Equi-NP if subjects are coreferential. We further noted that other verbs, like *ale* 'to go', require coreferential subjects and therefore Equi-NP. Let us now return to verbs like *komâse* 'to begin', and ask whether similar constraints can be extended to them. It is clear that either Equi-NP or SR is adequate for observational adequacy.

Most verbs have selectional restrictions on subjects and objects, but *komâse* etc. do not. Verbs which require or allow Equi-NP generally have selectional restrictions on their subject, independently of the subordinate verb:

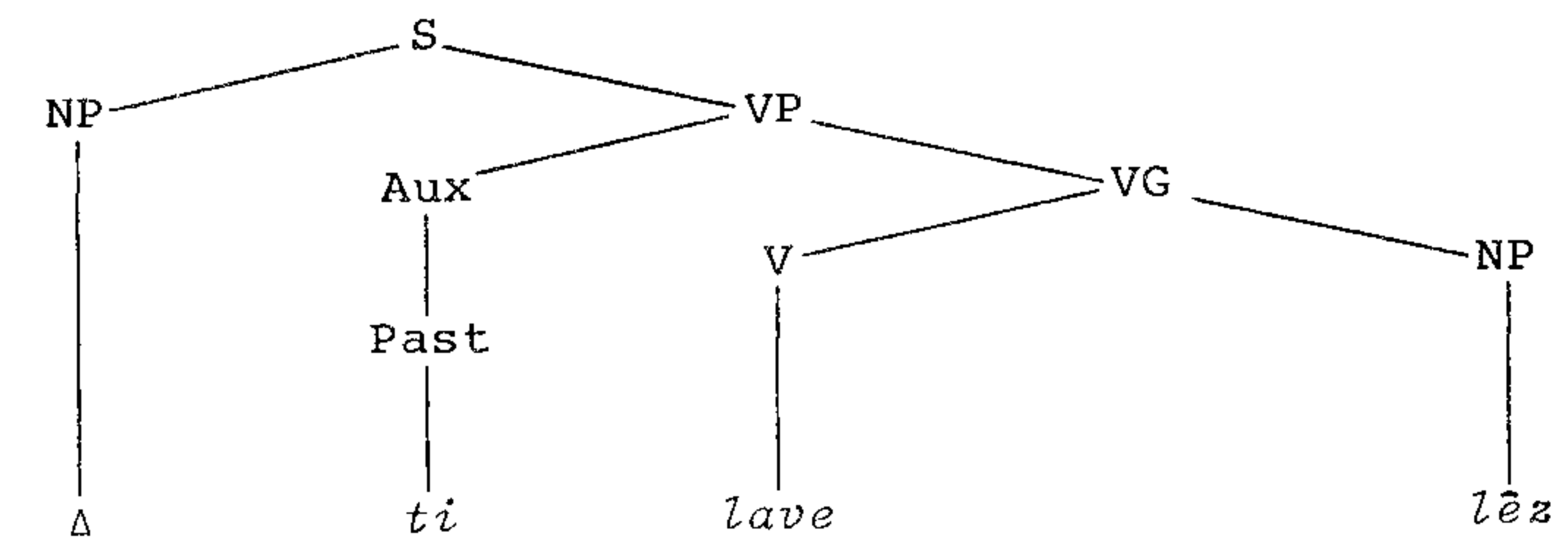
Pier i ule ki mō a vini 'Peter wants me to come'
**lapusier i ule ...* 'the dust wants ...'

The verb *ule* requires an animate (usually human) subject. Therefore, in a sentence whose noun clause has been subject to Equi-NP, the class of surface subjects of *ule* is the intersection of the set of the possible subjects of *ule* and the set of the possible subjects of the subordinate verb.

In the case of verbs like *ale*, the coreference restraint which they must have, means that it is impossible to determine independently selectional restrictions due to the main verb and those due to the subordinate verb. Now *ale* clearly imposes its own restrictions on its subject. Therefore, the analysis of a construction in terms of Equi-NP tends to predict, in the case of verbs like *komâse*, that the selectional restrictions on the subject are a function of the restrictions imposed by both the main and the subordinate verb, whereas the analysis in terms of SR predicts that only the subordinate verb's selectional restrictions come into play. That is, SR has a greater explanatory power than Equi-NP (Ruwet 1972, Gross 1968).

8.44 Empty subjects and Passives

In our discussion of the passive, we adopted a rewrite of AP to account for the partial passive in SC (6.32); further, in Corne 1976, it was concluded that it did not seem possible to derive the partial passive by transformational rule. Let us now re-examine the question in terms of our "empty" subject concept. This seems a promising avenue for retaining a transformational account of SC passives, which would be derived from underlying structures containing Δ , as in Figure 2.



ti lav lēz (dā larivier)

Figure 2

Δ triggers preposing of the object (goal) into subject position and passivization of the verb (cf. Freidin 1975). This operation (obligatory in English) is usual in SC, and optional in MC, insofar as the partial passive and sentences which have undergone Indefinite Subject deletion (see 6.5) may be considered as having the same underlying structures. So, following this analysis, the MC sentence:

lôtâ, ti lav lēz dā larivier 'in the past, they used to do the washing in the river'

represents on the surface the underlying structure of Figure 2 (with the addition of two PPs, of course). Here, Object Preposing has not applied, and *lave* has undergone *-e* deletion. With Object Preposing, we get the SC sentence:

lēz ti lave dā larivier 'washing was done in the river'

where *lave* is a passivized verb.

If we state that passivized verbs behave in all respects

like adjectives, this analysis is unobjectionable, but perhaps unnecessary: in particular, we note that full and partial passives now each require a different transformation, whereas our postulated rewrite rule in 6.32 accounts for both.

8.5 Coordination

Two or more Ss may be co-ordinated, either by apposition or by conjoining by means of conjunctive elements. In both cases, various identical elements are deleted, and various other operations apply.

For coordination of NPs, see 3.91. We may add that in Frenchified styles, *e* may replace *ek*:

fer zami âtre zot kom frer e ser 'make friends amongst yourselves like brothers and sisters'

In apposition, a coordinate NP is negated by *pa*:

mô uar ê zom, pa ê garsô 'I see a man, not a boy'

For coordination of adjectives, see 3.42; relative clauses, 3.86.

Negative coordination, 7.14.

Correspondence and identity in comparative sentences may be viewed as a type of coordination; 6.23.

"Serial" verbs (i.e. juxtaposed verbs, 4.221(g)) and perhaps reduplicated verbs (4.221(h)) could conceivably be similarly considered as special types of coordination.

Also under the heading of coordination, we may include *pli* ... *pli* and *pa selma* ... *me osi*:

pli ... *pli* 'the more ... the more'

pli i vie, pli sô lalang i bate 'the older he gets, the more his tongue wags'

pli nu a plât pli boku, pli i a bô pur nu-mem 'the more we plant, the better it will be for us'

Apposition with *pli* ... *pli* has the effect of placing S1 and S2 in a relation of cause and effect/result.

pa selma ... *me osi* 'not only ... but also'

pa selma ki zot i n êvite, me mô ana osi pur dir zot ki
... '(it is) not only (that) you are invited, but also
I have to tell you that ...'

Bollée notes a tendency in SC to use a "redundant" or

"superfluous" conjunction along with a subordinator:

kamem zot pe diskite, me les mua dir zot ki ... 'even though you are talking, (but) let me tell you that ...'
olie ki zot ofer li dezene, okôtrer Msie i dir ...
'instead of offering him lunch, (on the contrary) Monsieur says to him'
tudmem, si li ki n arive uit-er, sa sô zafer, okôtrer i a gaÿ plis luvraz 'even so, if it is he who arrives at 8 a.m., that is his business, on the contrary he will get more work'
akoz mô blêket i pli prop ki pur li, sa-mem i ule dir sa sô plas 'because my blanket is cleaner than his, that is why he wants to say that is his place'
malgre ki i ti malad, me i ti nobu al lapes 'in spite of being sick, he was able to go fishing'

PPs may be conjoined by *ek*:

al fer zot agogo partu, dâ bal ek dâ mariaz 'go and dress up everywhere, at dances and at weddings'

The subject of S2 is frequently omitted in coordination (including apposition):

sa ti n ran li â-koler, e gaÿ li ê latet fermal 'that had made him angry, and had gotten him a headache'
u lake ek u lekor ti n sâz kuler, e ti n vin ruz 'your tail and body had changed colour, and had become red'
torti i marse mem, pa repon li 'the turtle keeps right on walking, and does not answer him'

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It seems appropriate at this point to make a few "concluding remarks", rather than "conclusions" in the strict sense, since our treatment of SC has been more exploratory than definitive.

Firstly, what have we achieved? We have here a coherent description of the word-classes of SC, defined broadly but in a manner susceptible of further refinement; derivations have been suggested, and while our PS rules are admittedly rather crude hypotheses, they are formulated in terms that are both unambiguous and capable of future testing; our tentative probings into the syntactic procedures of SC are of particular significance: not all of those we have examined are indubitably "French", but they all seem to be typical of Indoeuropean (e.g. the *gay*-passive), and the implications for the problem of the genetic classification of SC, and for the (in my opinion) related question of the processes of "creolization", are clear. Further, we have demonstrated how SC, MC and RoC, and to a lesser extent RC, must be considered together, so that phenomena in one can be illuminated by what happens in the others. On another level, the fragmentary indications of social (etc.) variation in SC suggest a fruitful area for future study - the importance of such variation for any "language engineering" that may conceivably one day be undertaken in the Republic of Seychelles, is enormous.

Secondly, what has not been achieved in our description is nonetheless a positive gain, in that directions for research are thereby defined. A large number of syntactic procedures have been touched upon, but not pursued because of a paucity of data (the so-called "Tough-movement" transformation is a clear example). Some procedures have not been examined at all, and some of them are undoubtedly pertinent to questions of general theory (e.g. Neg-raising: *mō kruar i pa pu vini* 'I think he won't come', *mō pa kruar i pu vini* 'I don't think he will come'); again, the problem here, as elsewhere, is a lack of data.

Thirdly, a few thoughts prompted by our occasional use of explicit comparison of the IOC dialects. The elements which could serve as first steps towards the reconstruction of proto-IOC (-e deletion verbs, the variation *fin, in, n*, the "mysterious *i*", and so on) are perforce more suggestive than they are conclusive. The comparative method is predicated, basically, on the notion of a single genetic ancestor, and overlooks, notably, the question of subsequent contact amongst the four dialect areas on the one hand, as well as the possibility of influence from the New World Creole dialects (cf. Chaudenson's 1974 "vocabulaire des isles") on the other. The use of RC data to help explain the facts concerning the mysterious *i* (Corne 1974-5, and here, 3.62, 4.36, 7.17) is perhaps justified more in terms of the Indian Ocean as a conver-

gence area (ressemblances brought about by areal interaction) than it is by genetic considerations in the strict sense; although the role of Bourbon in the settlement of Seychelles is important, it is to be noted that the Ile de France (Mauritius) was also a source of colonists and slaves. It is clear that RC is, to quite a large degree, a different animal from MC, RoC and SC, even though it shares most of its lexicon with them. For example, its temporal/aspectual system both looks different and works differently; it has surface Copula; synthetic verb forms are used; the negative *pa* follows verbs rather than preceding them; and there are other differences that we have not had occasion to mention here specifically, such as the non-agglutination of (etymological French) articles in certain circumstances. And yet, everyone seems to agree that RC is indeed a "Creole". There can be no doubt that RC shares many features in common with MC, RoC and SC: its lexicon; its (segmental) phonology; its semantics, as illustrated by Moorghen's (1975) paper on IOC temporal/aspectual preverbal markers; grammatical gender plays a very reduced role, as in SC; the word-classes of RC appear to be very similar to those of SC; and so on. The usual explanation advanced to account for the fact that RC is in a group of its own, is that RC is a "decreolized" version of proto-IOC (that there are decreolized varieties of RC, due to on-going contact with various forms of French, is not in question - the problem is the "bottom" end of the RC continuum, of course, and that is what we are concerned with here). Another, and perhaps more plausible explanation, is that RC is, on the contrary a modified version of a variety of French taken to Bourbon by the early settlers (we may use the distinctive "higher" Copula *le(te) ki* (see above, 3.625) as a typological feature, and refer to this variety as *lete ki* French, cf. the discussion in Corne 1974-5: 79-80, where a parallel is drawn between RC and Carénage French in the Caribbean). The modification of this *lete ki* French may be seen in terms of convergence in the sense given above, such that the Creole features of RC would be ascribable to on-going contact (with an early form of MC, principally). Thus, our comparative method, while assuming a common ancestor for MC, RoC and SC (and while allowing for convergence phenomena), does not in fact make any serious claims as to the geographical location of our proto-IOC. History tells us that Bourbon was the jumping-off point for the peopling of the Indian Ocean islands, but it does not tell us, except by inference, that proto-IOC originated there (although we shall continue to use, as a convention, the term Bourbonnais to designate proto-IOC).

Detailed comparison of RC with MC, RoC and SC must await the completion of detailed and strictly comparable descriptions of each (and for RC and MC, such descriptions should, I believe, incorporate diachronic as well as synchronic material; for example, a purely synchronic description of MC will not reveal the Old MC *dā sō* VP construction, cf. 5.62 above). In the meantime, the data adduced here suggest that the inference from the historical and lexical evidence to the effect that B originated in Reunion (Bourbon), may be incorrect. The sentence cited in

"Moin la parti marron parcequ'Alexis l'homme de jardin
l'était qui fait à moin trop l'amour"

from early RC, can be dated ca. 1715 (Chaudenson 1974: 444, 1147). This sentence, as well as the variety of RC attested in the other early texts given by Chaudenson 1974 (cf. also Laray 1888-92(b)), is not, in any significant respect, different from modern RC. The syntactic facts all concur: early RC (= *lete ki* French?) cannot be the ancestor of MC, RoC and MC, and it seems unlikely, to say the least, that modern RC is a (direct) descendant of B. This leaves us with the problem of determining where (and, if possible, how) B came into being, and purely linguistic evidence alone is unlikely to provide an answer. Syntactic facts do however allow us to cast doubts on hypotheses drawn from historical and lexical facts, as we have just shown. Note in this connection that now that more grammatical evidence is available, it can be seen that the assumption of a syntactic "fonds bourbonnais" (ancestor of all IOC dialects, Corne 1974-5: 93 n.67, and especially 83-4), while containing some truth, may have been rather too simplistic, and in need of the slight revision provided by the convergence concept.

But let us leave the matter there. For Seychelles Creole, significant progress has been made towards delimiting those areas where future research is needed. The scope for future descriptive and comparative work is vast, and if this study proves to be of some use to future generations of creolists, my efforts will not have been wasted.

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