



THREE AFFIXATIONS IN GUADELOUPEAN CREOLE INHERITED FROM FRENCH: MORPHOLOGICAL REANALYSIS OR GRAMMATICALIZATIONS?

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○ Data

► Creation of the *-asyon* suffixation in Guadeloupean Creole: $X_v \rightarrow X_{asyon_N}$

- (1) KONPÒRTASYON_N 'negative behavior' ← KONPÒRTÉ_v 'to behave'
PWOFITASYON_N 'profit' ← PWOFITÉ_v 'to enjoy'
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► Creation of the *-é* suffixation in Guadeloupean Creole: $X_N \rightarrow Xé_v$

- (2) BWANNÉ_v 'to move' ← BWANN_N 'movement'
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► Creation of the *dé-X-é* circumfix in Guadeloupean Creole: **$X_N \rightarrow déXé_v$**

- (3) DÉCHOUKÉ_v 'to uproot' ← CHOUK_N 'stump'
DÉTABLÉ_v 'to remove cutlery from a table' ← TAB_N 'table'
DÉPYÉTÉ_v 'to remove the legs (of a crab)' ← PYÈT_N 'leg'

○ Hypothesis

- ▶ Created by reanalysis mechanisms of French morphological schemas rather than from a process of grammaticalization.
- ▶ Mechanisms known from work on morphological change.

○ Issue

- ▶ How do these mechanisms of reanalysis work?
- ▶ Who are they ?

OUTLINE

1. Presentation of the Guadeloupean Creole Language and its lexical morphology
2. Corpus & Data
3. –*asyon* suffixation
4. –*é* suffixation
5. dé-X-*é* circumfix

○ Presentation of the Guadeloupean Creole Language and its lexical morphology

▶ Guadeloupean Creole = full-fledged language with 90% of the vocabulary inherited from its superstratum language, French.

▶ French morphological schemas are also inherited with the vocabulary.

▶ These schemas become productive in Creole to form new lexemes, either on French bases or non-French bases.

(cf. for other French-based Creoles: DeGraff 2001, Lefebvre 2003, Brousseau 2011).

- (4) a. **Nominal Suffixation** *V-aj*_N [from the French *-age* suffix]
MAKRÉLAJ ‘observation’ ← MAKRÉLÉ ‘to survey’
WOUKLAJ ‘protest’ ← WOUKLÉ ‘to protest’
- b. **Nominal Suffixation** *V-è/-èz*_N [from the French *-eur/euse* suffix]
CHIKANNÈ/ÈZ ‘dispute’ ← CHIKANNÉ ‘to contest’
DRIVÈ/ÈZ ‘stroller’ ← DRIVÉ ‘to stroll’
- c. **Adverbial Suffixation** *Adj-man*_{ADV} [from the French *-ment* suffix]
BÒNMAN ‘good faith’ ← BON ‘good’
VITMAN ‘quickly’ ← VIT ‘quick’
- d. **Verbal Prefixation** *dé-V*_V [from the French *dé-* prefix]
DÉBONDATÉ ‘to stand up’ ← BONDATÉ ‘to sit down’
DÉRÈSPÈKTÉ ‘to disrespect’ ← RÈSPEKTÉ ‘to respect’
- e. **Verbal Prefixation** *wou-V*_V [from the French *re-* prefix]
WOUKENBÉ ‘to hold again’ ← KENBÉ ‘to hold’
WOUVIRÉ ‘to come back again’ ← VIRÉ ‘to come back’

○ Presentation of the Guadeloupean Creole Language and its lexical morphology

▶ French morphological schemas are not fully inherited:
many changes

- phonological
- semantic
- syntactic

▶ Creole reanalyzed some morphological schemas.

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○ Corpus: difficulties

▶ Guadeloupean Creole

- language without a long-standing written tradition: very few dictionaries
- always in contact with French and code-switching between the two is common

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- always in contact with French and code-switching between the two is common

○ **Corpus: constitution**

▶ Collected by a native speaker, Maxime Deglas.

▶ 2 supports:

- Creole dictionaries (Ludwig et al. 2012, Pouillet et al. 1984, Tourneux & Barbotin, 1990).
 - But: don't contain enough entries
 - But: lexicographic treatment= incomplete and doubtful authenticity of lexemes.
- Field surveys of native speakers: 40 native speakers (45-80 yrs) from all the islands who work in different professions.

○ Corpus: constitution

▶ 7045 lexemes of Guadeloupe Creole (including 1731 verbs)

unités lexicales	Phonétique	Cat gramr	sens unités lexicales	Etymologie/racine
a	[a]	Nom	a, de	à
a 2	[a]	présentatif	c'est	a
abandoné cf bandoné	[abãdone]	Nom	abandonner, laisser, quitter	abandonner
abazoudi	[abazudi]	Adjectif	stupéfait	abasourdir
abityé	[abitje]	Verbe	s'habituer	habituer
abiyé	[abije]	Verbe	s'habiller	habit > habiller
abizan	[abizã]	Adjectif	abusant	abuser > abusant
abizé	[abize]	Verbe	abuser	abuser
abò	[abo]		au bord	bord
aboli	[aboli]	Verbe	annuler, abroger	abolir
aboné	[abone]	Verbe	être abonné	abonner
abònman	[abonmã]	Nom	habitudes !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!	abonner > abonnement
abonné	[abõne]	Adjectif	matinal	bonne-heure
about	[abut]	Adverbe	à bout de....	bout
abouti	[abuti]	Verbe	aboutir	bout > aboutir
about-souf	[abutsuf]	Adverbe	à bout de souffle	à bout de souffle
abréjé	[abreʒe]	Verbe	faire plus court	bref > abrégé
abriti 1	[abiti]	Nom	abruti (désigne qqn qui est stupide)	abruti

○ Theoretical framework

▶ Lexematic morphology

(cf. for example, Aronoff 1994, Anderson 1992, Booij 2010, Fradin 2003).

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○ $X_V \rightarrow X_{asyon}_N$

(5) KONPÒRTASYON_N 'negative behavior' ← KONPÒRTÉ_V 'to behave'

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⇒ How this creole suffixation emerged?

▶ Hypothesis :

- Creole *-asyon* suffixation phonologically reanalyses the French *-ion* suffix,
- It extends the French *-ion* suffix by incorporating a root element: **-as-**.
- French : X_V -*ion*_N ⇒ Creole : X_V -**asyon**_N

○ $X_V \rightarrow X_{asyon}_N$

▶ Shift in creole suffix : the majority of *-yon* derivatives inherited from French *-ion* suffixations are based on verbal bases ending in *-as* : **Xas-yon**

▶ The final *-as* in French belongs to the verbal stem.

▶ the *-as-* stem is itself inherited from the supin form of the Latin verbs.

French inherited suffixed LEXEME	LEXEME Base	Stem	Suffix
ADMIRASYON 'admiration'	ADMIRÉ 'to admire'	/admiras/	-yon
DÉKORASYON 'decoration'	DÉKORÉ 'to decorate'	/dekoras/	-yon
ESPLIKASYON 'explanation'	ESPLIKÉ 'to explain'	/esplikas/	-yon
VAKSINASYON 'vaccination'	VAKSINÉ 'to vaccinate'	/vaksinas/	-yon

Tab. 2 French morphological inherited pairs

○ $X_V \rightarrow X_{asyon}_N$

► The final *-as-* in French verbal stem does not belong to the affix because it appears in many other derivations.

(cf. Bonami, Boyé, Kerleroux 2009)

LEXEME Base	Stem	Noms dérivés en -ion	Noms dérivé en -eur	Adjectifs dérivés en -if
ADMIRER	admirat-	ADMIRAT-ION	ADMIRAT-EUR	ADMIRAT-IF
DECORER	décorat-	DECORAT-ION	DECORAT-EUR	DECORAT-IF
FORMER	format-	FORMAT-ION	FORMAT-EUR	FORMAT-IF
INTERROGE R	interrogat-	INTERROGAT-ION	INTERROGAT-EUR	INTERROGAT-IF
MODIFIER	modificat-	MODIFICAT-ION	MODIFICAT-EUR	MODIFICAT-IF
JUSTIFIER	justificat-	JUSTIFICAT-ION	JUSTIFICAT-EUR	JUSTIFICAT-IF

Tab. 3 French morphological derivatives on the same base

○ $X_V \rightarrow X_{asyon}_N$

► The verbal stem in Guadeloupean derivatives does not contain the French final *-as-* which appears only with the suffix *-yon*.

Lexeme base	Stem	-asyon derivatives	Other derivatives (- è;-an;-man)
ANMERDÉ	anmerd-	ANMERD-ASYON	ANMERD-AN
KONPORTÉ	konport-	KONPORT-ASYON	KONPORT-EMAN
PWOFITÉ	pwofit-	PWOFIT-ASYON	PWOFIT-È PWOFIT-AN
POURSUIV	poursuiv-	POURSUIV-ASYON	POURSUIV-È

Tabl. 4 Guadeloupean word formations

- ▶ French **Xas-yon** ⇒ Creole **X-asyon**
- ▶ reanalysis rather than grammaticalization
- ▶ known from works on morphological change:

⇒ "secretion" by Haspelmath (1995)

“affix extensions by incorporation of a root element”
(Haspelmath 1995: 8-10)

OR

⇒ “juncter shift” by Rainer (2015)

“the shift of the morpheme boundary” : “ Latin *Roma-nus* > *Romanus*”

(Rainer 2015: 1764)

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○ Data

▶ Creation of the -é suffixation in Guadeloupean Creole: $X_N \rightarrow Xé_V$

- (6) BWANNÉ_V ‘to move’ ← BWANN_N ‘movement’
 CHIKTAYÉ_V ‘to crumble’ ← CHIKTAY_N ‘crumbling’
 FAKÉ_V ‘to dig’ ← FAK_N ‘spade’
 GRAJÉ_V ‘to grate’ ← GRAJ_N ‘grate’
 MIGANNÉ_V ‘to mix’ ← MIGAN_N ‘purée’

○ Hypothesis

- ▶ Created by analogy with converted N/V pairs inherited from French
▶ Morphological change by reanalysis of French morphological schemas

- (7) ANONSÉ_V ‘to announce’ / ANONS_N ‘announcement’
 BLAGÉ_V ‘to joke’ / BLAG_N ‘joke’
 BROSÉ_V ‘to brush’ / BRÒS_N ‘brush’
 GOMÉ_V ‘to erase’ / GÒM_N ‘eraser’
 KARÉSÉ_V ‘to stroke’ / KARÈS_N ‘stroke’
 SAVONNÉ_V ‘to soap’ / SAVON_N ‘soap’

○ Issue

- ▶ How does this mechanism of reanalysis work?

○ Morphological analysis: creation of the –é suffix

► Guadeloupean Creole schema created by a reanalysis of French inherited Noun / Verb conversion pairs.

(8)	V	N		V	N
a.G.creole	ANONSÉ	ANONS	a. G.Creole	GOMÉ	GÒM
b.French	ANNONCER	ANNONCE	b. French	GOMMER	GOMME
	'to announce'	'announcement'		'to erase'	'eraser'
a.G.creole	BLAGÉ	BLAG	a. G.Creole	KARÉSÉ	KARÈS
b.French	BLAGUER	BLAGUE	b. French	CARESSER	CARESSE
	'to joke'	'joke'		'to stroke'	'stroke'
a.G.creole	BROSÉ	BRÒS	a. G.Creole	SAVONNÉ	SAVON
b.French	BROSSER	BROSSE	b. French	SAVONNER	SAVON
	'to brush'	'brush'		'to soap'	'soap'

○ French V/N pairs:

▶ French word formation: **N → V and V → N conversion schemas**
 (Corbin 2004, Kerleroux 1996, Fradin 2003, Tribout 2010)

Lexeme Base: V.	V. Stem	V→N conversion	Converted Noun	Noun Stem
ANNONCER 'to announce'	annonc-	⇒	ANNONCE 'announcement'	annonc-
BLAGUER 'to joke'	blagu-	⇒	BLAGUE 'joke'	blagu-
CARESSER 'to stroke'	caress-	⇒	CARESSE 'stroke'	caress-

Table 5 French Conversion $X_V \rightarrow X_N$

Lexeme Base: N.	N. Stem	N → V conversion	Converted Verb	Verbal Stem
BROSSE 'brush'	bross-	⇒	BROSSER 'to brush'	bross-
SAVON 'soap'	savonn-	⇒	SAVONNER 'to soap'	savonn-
GOMME 'eraser'	gomm-	⇒	GOMMER 'to erase'	gomm-

Table 6 French Conversion $X_N \rightarrow X_V$

- French V/N pairs:

- ▶ French word formation: **N → V and V → N conversion schemas** (Corbin 2004, Kerleroux 1996, Fradin 2003, Tribout 2010)

- Creole V/N pairs inherited from French pairs: ~~conversion~~

- ▶ the verb contains a final –é

	V	N
G. Creole	BROSÉ	BRÒS
French	BROSSER	BROSSE
	'to brush'	'brush'

- ▶ this form of the verb is the only one in Creole (Hazaël-Massieux 2002)

► Creole verbs Creole verbs do not inflect

- (9) An \emptyset **chiktayé** mori-la
1SG crumble cod DET
I crumbled the cod.
- (10) Sé timoun-la ka **chiktayé** mori
PL child DET IMP crumble cod
The children are crumbling cod.
- (11) Sé fanm-la té ka **chiktayé** mori
PL woman DET ANT IMP crumble cod
The women were crumbling cod.
- (12) nou ké **chiktayé** mori-la
1PL FUT crumble mori DET
We will crumble the cod.

► Creole verbs do not inflect

- (13) I ka **brosé** chivé a'y
3SG IMP brush hair to 3SG
He brushes his hair.
- (14) Nou té ka **brosé** chivé an nou
1PL ANT IMP brush hair to 1PL
We brushed our hair.
- (15) An ké **brosé** chivé an mwen
1SG FUT brush hair to 1SG
I'll brush my hair.
- (16) Zò Ø **brosé** chivé a zòt
2PL brush hair to 2PL
You've brushed your hair.

- French V/N pairs:

- ▶ French word formation: **N → V and V → N conversion schemas** (Corbin 2004, Kerleroux 1996, Fradin 2003, Tribout 2010)

- Creole V/N pairs inherited from French pairs: ~~conversion~~

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- ▶ this form of the verb is the only one in Creole (Hazaël-Massieux 2002)

- ▶ the final –é

- is inherited from an inflected mark (infinitive or past participle)

- has lost its French inflectional value in Creole (cf. Mufwene & Dijkhoff 1989).

- belongs to the verb lexeme.

○ Creole V/N pairs inherited from French pairs: ~~conversion~~

▶ the final *-é* it appears as additional phonological material relative to the phonological form of the noun base

(17) ANONS ‘announcement’ / ANONSÉ ‘to announce’

BLAG ‘joke’ / BLAGÉ ‘to joke’

BRÒS ‘brush’ / BROSE ‘to brush’

GÒM ‘eraser’ / GOMÉ ‘to erase’

KARÈS ‘stroke’ / KARÉSÉ ‘to stroke’

SAVON ‘soap’ / SAVONNÉ ‘to soap’

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SAVON ‘soap’ / SAVONNÉ ‘to soap’

▶ Different from Creole N/V conversion schema.

- (18) BABYÉ_N ‘quarrel’ / BABYÉ_V ‘to quarrel’
GOUMÉ_N ‘fighting’ / GOUMÉ_V ‘to fight’
BOBI_N ‘doze’ / BOBI_V ‘to doze’
KAKA_N ‘excrement’ / KAKA_V ‘defecate’
MÒ_N ‘death’ / MÒ_V ‘to die’
TRAVAY_N ‘job’ / TRAVAY_V ‘to work’

- Creole V/N pairs inherited from French pairs: ~~conversion~~
 - ▶ Final *-é*: associated with regular syntactic and semantic changes
 - ▶ Creole word formation: **N → V-é suffixation**
 - ▶ French inflected suffix *-er* ⇒ Creole derivational suffix *-é* : **X_N → X-é_V suffixation**

○ Creole V/N pairs inherited from French pairs: ~~conversion~~

▶ Final *-é*: associated with regular syntactic and semantic changes

▶ Creole word formation: **N** → **V-é** suffixation

▶ French inflected suffix *-er* ⇒ Creole derivational suffix *-é* : **X_N** → **X-é_V** suffixation

(19) DOUSIN ‘cuddle’ / DOUSINÉ ‘to cuddle’

DJÒB ‘odd job’ / DJOBÉ ‘to do an odd job’

GRAJ ‘grater’ / GRAJÉ ‘to grate’

KÒK ‘penis’ / koké ‘to make love’

MAKRÈL ‘someone meddlesome’ / MAKRELÉ ‘to observe’

○ Mechanisms of morphological change

The creation of –é suffixation:

- ▶ an inflectional suffix that becomes a derivational one

○ Mechanisms of morphological change

The creation of *-é* suffixation:

- ▶ an inflectional suffix that becomes a derivational one
- ▶ "deinflectionalization" or "degrammaticalization" (cf. Rainer 2015) "...inflectional endings that end up as derivational suffixes"

(20) FLUGS 'quickly' ← FLUG 'flight'
MITTAGS 'at midday' ← MITTAG 'midday'

- ▶ Dutch denominal verbs in *-eer* (inherited from inflectional French *-er*) (Booij 2002)

(21) ALARM 'alarm' → ALARM-EER 'to alarm'
CONDITIE 'condition' → CONDITION-EER 'to condition'
EXAMEN 'test' → EXAMIN-EER 'to test'
REGISTER 'register' → REGISTR-EER 'to register'
SHOCK 'shock' → SHOCK-EER 'to shock'

- Noun/verb pairs taken as a **derivational paradigm** = without distinguishing the categorical orientation of the rule.

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- **Evidence of the paradigmatic approach: semantic properties of the suffixation**
 - ▶ not typical just of a $N \rightarrow V$ morphological schema
 - ▶ also of a $N \rightarrow V$ morphological schema
 - ▶ French inherited converted Noun / Verb pairs are viewed as non-oriented.

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 - ▶ not typical just of a $N \rightarrow V$ morphological schema
 - ▶ also of a $N \rightarrow V$ morphological schema
 - ▶ French inherited converted Noun / Verb pairs are viewed as non-oriented.
- **Typical semantic relations in a $N \rightarrow V$ morphological schema**
 - ▶ N = concrete object
 - ▶ N = refers to certain arguments of the verb.

○ Typical semantic relations in a N → V morphological schema

(22) **N base**

a. **Instrument**

GRAJ 'grate' / GRAJÉ 'to grate'

LANG 'tongue' / LANGÉ 'to kiss'

b. **Agent**

MAKO 'fink' / MAKOTÉ 'to spy on'

MAKRÈL 'gossip' / MAKRÉLÉ 'to spy on'

c. **Displaced entity**

BONDA 'buttock' / BONDATÉ 'to sit'

SOULYÉ 'shoe' / SOULYÉTÉ 'to put shoes on'

d. **Final place of the event**

BALKON 'balcony' / BALKONNÉ 'to be on the balcony'

KABANN 'bed' / KABANNÉ 'to lie in'

e. **Result of the event**

MIGAN 'purée' / MIGANNÉ 'to mix'

BÉTIZ 'mistake' / BÉTIZÉ 'to make a mistake'

○ Typical **IMPOSSIBLE** semantic relations in a N → V morphological schema

▶ *N base = event noun

▶ if event noun = deverbal derived noun

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(23) French (Fradin 2011)

a. TRADUIRE_V → La **traduction**_N du Kalevala a eu lieu après la guerre.

‘to translate’ → ‘The translation of Kalevala took place after the war’

b. EMPRISONNER_V → **L’emprisonnement**_N du chauffeur a eu lieu secrètement.

‘to imprison’ → ‘The driver’s imprisonment took place secretly’

c. BALAYER_V → **Le balayage**_N de la cour a eu lieu pendant la récréation.

‘to sweep’ → ‘The sweeping of the courtyard took place during the break’

○ Semantic originality of N → V-é suffixation in G. Creole.

▶ N base = event noun **OK in Creole**

- (24) BONBANS 'feast' → BONBANSÉ 'to celebrate'
CHIKANN 'contestation' → CHIKANNÉ 'to contest'
CHIKTAY 'crumbling' → CHIKTAYÉ 'to crumble'
DOUSIN 'stroke' → DOUSINÉ 'to stroke'
DRIV 'walk' → DRIVÉ 'to go for a walk'
KALBANN 'tumble' / KALBANNÉ 'to tumble'

▶ Tests to identify event nouns: compatibility with some temporal prepositions

- (25) AVAN 'before', PANDAN 'during', APRÈ 'after', DÈPI 'since'

○ **Semantic originality of $N \rightarrow V$ -é suffixation in G. Creole.**

▶ N base = event noun **OK in Creole**

▶ Why these various interpretations of the noun base of V –é suffixation in creole:

⇒ V -é suffixation has inherited the semantic relations of both conversion rules: **$N \rightarrow V$ and $V \rightarrow N$** .

▶ Provides evidence that:

- V -é suffixation was created by analogy on the French noun/verb converted pairs
- these pairs were reanalyzed as a non-oriented paradigm.

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○ Data

► Creation of the dé-X-é circumfix in Guadeloupean Creole:

$X_N \rightarrow \text{dé}X\text{é}_V$

(26) DÉCHOUKÉ_V ‘to uproot’ ← CHOUK_N ‘stump’

DÉTABLÉ_V ‘to remove cutlery from a table’ ← TAB_N ‘table’

DÉPYÉTÉ_V ‘to remove the legs (of a crab)’ ← PYÈT_N ‘leg’

► Hypothesis :

- Verbal dé-X-é circumfix on nouns reanalyses French morphological *dé-* préfixation on nouns (privative interpretation)

French : *dé-* préfixation (dé- X_N v) ⇒ Creole : *dé-N-é* parasynthetic formation (*dé- X_N -é $_V$*)

- combination of the inheritance of the French prefixation *dé-* and a formation of the suffix *-é* by “deinflexionalization”.

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dé}X_v$

► Creole inherited French noun/verb in *dé-* pairs.

French inherited prefixed lexeme	Lexeme Base	Stem	French préfixation
DÉBÒDÉ 'overflow'	BÒ 'edge'	bord	dé-
DÉFRICHÉ 'weed'	FRICH 'wilderness'	frich	dé-
DÉKRASÉ 'clean'	KRAS 'dirt'	kras	dé-
DÉRASINÉ 'uproot'	RASIN 'root'	rasin	dé-

Tab. 6 French prefixed morphological inherited pairs

► *dé-* prefixation's meaning in French :

- privative, implying a spatial relation between the nominal base and the derived verb.

(Corbin 1987, Fradin 2003, Amiot 2008, Jalenques 2014)

- inherited in Creole.

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dé}X_v$

► Privative interpretation: spatial relation between the N base and the derived verb.

The verb means

– “to take out” \Rightarrow N = ground (Talmy 2000) / site (Vandeloise 1986)

(27) a. BÒ ‘edge’ / DÉBÒDÉ ‘to overflow’

BOUS ‘purse’ \rightarrow DÉBOUSÉ ‘to spend’

b. TAB ‘table’ \rightarrow DÉTABLÉ ‘to remove cutlery from a table’

MOUL ‘baking pan’ \rightarrow DÉMOULÉ ‘to remove from the pan gâteau’

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dÉXÉ}_V$

► Privative interpretation: spatial relation between the N base and the derived verb.

The verb means

– “to take out” \Rightarrow N = ground (Talmy 2000) / site (Vandeloise 1986)

(27) a. BÒ ‘edge’ / DÉBÒDÉ ‘to overflow’

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MOUL ‘baking pan’ \rightarrow DÉMOULÉ ‘to remove from the pan gâteau’

– “to remove” \Rightarrow N = figure (Talmy 2000) / cible (Vandeloise 1986)

(28) a. FRICH ‘wilderness’ / DÉFRICHÉ ‘to weed’

KRAS ‘dirt’ / DÉKRASÉ ‘to clean’

MAYO ‘undershirt’ / DÉMAYOTÉ ‘to remove an undershirt’

b. CHOUK ‘stump’ \rightarrow DÉCHOUKÉ ‘to uproot’

GRAP ‘bunch’ \rightarrow DÉGRAPÉ ‘to remove the fruit cluster’

PYÈT ‘leg’ \rightarrow DÉPYÉTÉ ‘to remove the legs (of crab)’

RASIN ‘root’ / DÉRASINÉ ‘to uproot’

TIK ‘tick’ \rightarrow DÉTIKÉ ‘to remove ticks’

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dÉXé}_V$

► Different from the deverbal dé- prefixation that form verbs, with the “opposite” interpretation.

(29) GARÉ ‘to park’ → DÉGARÉ ‘out of the parking place’

ANCHÉ ‘to put a handle’ → DÉMANCHÉ ‘ôter le manche’

PAYÉ ‘to bet’ → DÉPAYÉ ‘to cancel a bet’

RÈSPEKTÉ ‘to respect’ → DÉRÈSPÈKTÉ ‘to lack respect’

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dé}Xé_V$

▶ Morphological formation in Creole: ~~prefixation~~ but circumfix: $X_N \rightarrow \text{dé-X-é}_V$

Creole parasynthetic lexeme	Lexeme Base	Stem	circumfix
DÉCHÈPIYÉ 'to shred'	CHÉPI 'shred'	chépiy	dé-X-é
DÉCHOUKÉ 'to uproot'	CHOUK 'root'	chouk	dé-X-é
DÉLYANNÉ 'to disunite'	LYANN 'union'	lyann	dé-X-é
DÉPYÉTÉ 'to remove the legs (of crab)'	PYÈT 'leg'	pyét	dé-X-é

Tab. 7. Guadeloupean word formations by *dé-X-é* circumfix

→ This circumfix is a reanalysis of the French prefix *dé-* that forms denominal verbs and the French infinitive verbal suffix *-er* that is specific of first-conjugation verbs, reanalyzed as a derivational suffix.

French préfixation $\text{dé-}X_N \text{ }_V \Rightarrow$ **Creole** parasynthetic formation $\text{dé-}X_N \text{-é}_V$

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dé}X_v$

▶ Why a parasynthetic formation rather than a succession of two schemas, prefixation and suffixation ?

▶ Because prefix and suffix appears simultaneously:

→ No Noun suffixed by –é only

(30) BÒ ‘edge’ / *BÒDÉ / DÉBÒDÉ ‘to overflow’

FRICH ‘wilderness’ / *FRICHÉ / DÉFRICHÉ ‘to weed’

KRAS ‘dirt’ / *KRASÉ / DÉKRASÉ ‘to clean’

MAYO ‘undershirt’ / *MAYOTÉ / DÉMAYOTÉ ‘to remove an undershirt’

RASIN ‘root’ / *RASINÉ / DÉRASINÉ ‘to uproot’

○ $X_N \rightarrow \text{dé}Xé_V$

→ No Verb prefixed by dé- only

- (31) BO 'edge' / *DÉBÒD / DÉBÒDÉ 'to overflow'
FRICH 'wilderness' / *DÉFRICH / DÉFRICHÉ 'to weed'
KRAS 'dirt' / *DÉKRAS / DÉKRASÉ 'to clean'
MAYO 'undershirt' / *DÉMAYOT / DÉMAYOTÉ 'to remove an
undershirt'
RASIN 'root' / *DÉRASINÉ / DÉRASINÉ 'to uproot'

▶ $\text{dé}Xé_V$ = parasynthetic formation with circumfix

○ Conclusion

- ▶ Three affixations follow from reanalysis mechanisms already known from work on morphological change, rather than from a process of grammaticalization.
- ▶ The study of these reanalyses allows us to take a position in the debate on the morphology of Creole languages (alongside Brousseau 2011, DeGraff 2001, Lefebvre 2003, Braun and Plag 2002, LaCharité 2011, Plag 2005), for example,

○ Conclusion

▶ Three affixations follow from reanalysis mechanisms already known from work on morphological change, rather than from a process of grammaticalization.

▶ The study of these reanalyses allows us to take a position in the debate on the morphology of Creole languages (alongside Brousseau 2011, DeGraff 2001, Lefebvre 2003, Braun and Plag 2002, LaCharité 2011), for example,

- (i) against the idea that morphological change in creole is specific: it follows the same ways as other languages;
- (ii) against the claim that derivation emerges only through gradual grammaticalization;
- (iii) against the hypothesis of a poorer and simpler morphology of Creoles: some schemas are more complex.



MÉSI ONPIL

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