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HAITIAN CREOLE

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Introduction

Haitian Creole is also called Haitian, Haitian French Creole, and simply Creole when it is clear which of several languages called Creole is being discussed. Linguists usually call it Haitian, while the speakers themselves usually call it Creole (*kreyòl* in Haitian). It is spoken by all Haitians (over 9 million) in Haiti, the nation occupying the western third of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola. The Dominican Republic occupies the other part of the island.

It is also spoken by perhaps three-quarters of a million to a million Haitian immigrants in the U.S., primarily in the cities of New York, Boston, and Miami. There are also significant communities of speakers in the Dominican Republic. In addition, there are speakers in Canada as well as in France and some of its overseas departments (part of France): Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana. Speakers are also found in Francophone African countries and in Caribbean countries. Indeed, Haitians are the largest immigrant group on almost all of the Caribbean islands and in the Bahamas, which are nearby in the Atlantic Ocean.

Haitian is a language of the creole type. Most linguists consider creole languages a sociohistorical category, but a few believe that many or most creole languages can also be characterized grammatically. (See the chapter on language contact.) Creole languages emerged out of intense contact among peoples speaking different languages. It is estimated that Haitian Creole had its genesis in the period between 1680 and 1740 (Lefebvre 1998: 57).

Although all Haitians speak Haitian and very few speak French, Haitian has long been stigmatized, shunned in education and the halls of power. So it is important to stress that Haitian is not a corrupt form of French, as many people believe. It is a separate language governed by its own grammatical rules, just as French is separate from Latin, each with its own grammatical rules.

History

Haitian Creole's history shows important features in common with the histories of other creole languages in the Caribbean and nearby areas. Among those languages are the following, with the colonial language that is the source of most of their vocabulary in parentheses: Martinique Creole (French); Palenquero (Spanish), in Columbia; Belizean Creole (English), Central America; Louisiana Creole (French); and Jamaican Patwa (English). (See the chapter on Jamaican Creole and that on Louisiana Creole and Cajun French in this book.) Most of Haitian Creole's morphology and syntax appear to come from West African languages, more specifically the Benue-Kwa languages of the Niger-Congo language family, primarily Gbe languages (Ewe and Fongbe). These were the most widely spoken West African languages during the Haitian language's formative period. Other languages, especially Bantu languages such as Kikongo, may have significantly influenced Haitian grammar afterward, due to the great surge in Bantu language-speaking Africans in the latter eighteenth century (Spears 1993). Most of the vocabulary came from the vernacular French of the colonists.

Haitians have immigrated to what is now the U.S. since before American independence. Indeed, the founder of the city of Chicago (in the 1770s), Jean-Baptiste Pointe (also Pointe) du Sable, was a (nonwhite) Haitian immigrant. The first wave of Haitians to immigrate to the U.S. comprised colonists, free mulattoes, and slaves. They arrived primarily in Louisiana, which was then a colony of France, as was Haiti, then called Saint-Domingue. This wave began with the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution in 1791. The revolution began as a slave revolt, with enslaved and free blacks and mulattoes fighting and winning their independence from France in 1804. This slave revolt was the first recorded one that was permanently successful. That is, the slaves were not eventually re-enslaved or incorporated into another political entity.

With independence, Haiti became the second European colony in the Western Hemisphere, after the U.S., to gain independence. Haiti's slave revolt, in addition to wars in Europe, so frustrated Napoleon in his efforts to solidify a great French colony in North America that he sold French Louisiana to the U.S. in 1803. Louisiana at that time consisted of a third of what is now the continental U.S. Thus, the Louisiana Purchase was a crucial factor in the rise of the U.S. to world power status, partly by means of territorial expansion westward.

The second wave of Haitian immigration to the U.S. took place during and after the U.S. occupation of Haiti between 1915 and 1934, which caused many hardships and deaths. This wave, consisting mostly of businessmen, professionals, and politicians, settled primarily in Harlem (New York City) and integrated into the U.S. mainstream (Joseph 2010).

The third wave began immediately after François "Papa Doc" Duvalier, who was supported by the U.S. government, became president of Haiti in 1957 (he later became a dictator). At first, these immigrants, most fleeing Duvalier's brutal

rule, were primarily members of the business and professional elite or political opponents of Duvalier. The majority settled in the New York City area, with smaller numbers in Miami, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia. Later, many more middle-class Haitians came.

After Duvalier's death in 1971 the fourth and fifth waves of Haitian immigration occurred. The fourth wave was the largest one and took place after Duvalier's death, when his young son, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, was installed as president for life. Many were working class, often with few or no skills, fleeing poor economic conditions. Many risked their lives at sea to get to the U.S. Most settled in the Miami area, while others settled in the New York City metropolitan area and in nearby cities such as East Orange, Irvington, and Newark, New Jersey, and also in Stamford, Connecticut.

The fifth wave of immigration was caused by the coup in 1991 against Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the widespread instability and insecurity stemming from political and economic turmoil. This wave began to lessen significantly in 2003 when the U.S. Coast Guard, along with state and local government agencies, began activities, including the deployment of vessels in the Caribbean, to deter illegal and unsafe immigration from Haiti and other locations. The sixth wave came in the wake of the horrific 2010 earthquake in Haiti, from which Haiti was still recovering several years afterwards. (See Fournon 2010; Zéphir 2010; and Joseph 2010 for more on Haitian history.)

Social Context

Haitian Creole has the largest number of speakers of any creole language in the Western Hemisphere. (Nigerian Pidgin English, spoken in West Africa, has over 100 million speakers, but we do not know how many speak it as a native language, making it a creole language in their case. As a creole, it probably has more speakers than Haitian.) Today, Haitian has an official orthography (Faraclas et al. 2010), and it has been recognized as the co-official language (along with French) since 1987.

Although French in Haiti has always been the *de facto* official language (*de jure* since the 1914 constitution), it is spoken by only a tiny bilingual elite. Perhaps 5% of the population is proficient in French. All Haitians speak Creole. Haiti is a classic example of **diglossia**. Diglossia occurs in a society where a high (H) language, largely used in formal and government domains (those normally requiring literacy), coexists with a low (L) language of the masses. The low language is largely restricted to informal interaction and smaller-scale undertakings of local scope. (See the chapter "Language Contact" in this volume.) Since the country has traditionally been diglossic, with a functional separation of the two languages, the great majority of Haitians are relegated to second-class citizenship by their lack of knowledge of French. Currently, diglossia is weakening, with Haitian coming to be used in contexts formerly reserved for French, especially in education (Spears and Joseph 2010). Its use in Haitian schools has been established. However, the

school system still has inadequate resources, due in part to the political turmoil that Haiti has suffered during the recent past.

Already challenged by political problems, Haiti saw its overall situation worsen in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake in January 2010 and the political and general social upheaval resulting from it. Earthquake deaths are estimated at over 300,000 people, with another 300,000 injured, and a million made homeless.

As noted, Haiti is a (decreasingly) diglossic country but one in which there is little bilingualism. Haitians in the U.S. who are fluent in French were typically members of the very small middle and upper classes in Haiti, where knowledge of French is common. Since they usually have not been able to transfer their higher status to the U.S., where they often live in the same neighborhoods and have the same incomes and occupations as Haitians from humble backgrounds, they cling to French as a status marker. Thus, at their social gatherings, introductions are made and conversations with strangers begun in French. Only after some degree of social comfort has been established can a switch to Haitian Creole be triggered. Even among French speakers, Haitian is used in most social interaction by far. Indeed, among Haitian-French bilinguals in the U.S., there is no domain in which French is used exclusively (Zéphir 2010).

To a certain extent, the Haitian-French diglossic situation in Haiti has been recast in the U.S. It is becoming one involving Haitian and English, where English instead of French is the high language. Haitian American conferences, meetings, workshops, award ceremonies, and club meetings are mostly conducted in English, even though all or almost all of the participants are Haitians (Zéphir 2010).

In their search for some cultural signifier to distinguish them from African Americans and other blacks, U.S. Haitians value and promote Haitian as an emblem of their distinct ethnicity, since too few in the community are proficient enough in French to use it. Also, Haitian has a higher status among U.S. Haitians than it does among the population of Haiti, which makes it easier to adopt it as a badge of ethnicity in the U.S.

The Haitian language in the U.S. as spoken by most speakers shows significant lexical borrowing from English, although the borrowing of morphological and syntactic structures appears to be minimal or insignificant at present. Lexical borrowing largely involves terms for goods that are much more widely found in the U.S. than in Haiti, for example, *CD* (compact disc), *cell(phone)*, *SUV* (sport utility vehicle), *microwave*, and *flatscreen* (television) (St. Fort 2010). Codeswitching among Haitian, French, and English is common, perhaps the norm. (See the chapters on language contact, Southwest Spanish, Chicano English, and Cajun French and Louisiana Creole for more on codeswitching.)

Print media targeting Haitian Americans are mostly in French, typically with a few pages devoted to articles or columns in Haitian. However, the leading newspaper in the U.S., the *Haitian Times*, is written almost completely in English. Radio broadcasts use Haitian and French and sometimes have heavy codeswitching (Zéphir 2010).

Most of the published information that we have on Haitian-English bilingual education is for New York City, although programs have been initiated in other metropolitan areas, notably Miami-Dade County and Boston. It took a while for public school administrators to understand that the overwhelming majority of Haitian students speak Haitian, not French or a Haitian French but a completely different language. Now there are bilingual programs located in the three New York City boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens.

For a number of years, the New York State Department of Education has funded the Haitian Bilingual/ESL Technical Assistance Center, which produces instructional materials, organizes programs, and has offered a Haitian Language Academy, with immersion courses for nonnative speaker educators and advanced courses for Haitian-speaking educators focusing on reading, writing, and teaching the language. Haitian is also taught in courses at universities, among them Kansas University; the University of Massachusetts, Boston; and Indiana University, whose Creole Institute has been the most active producer of Haitians with graduate degrees in linguistics. Some governmental agencies in New York City provide materials and service advertisements in Haitian, and all the major hospitals have Haitian-speaking volunteers serving as interpreters and offering comfort to patients who are fully comfortable only with Haitian (Joseph 2010).

Some Linguistic Features

Introduction

As pointed out above, Haitian is not a form of French, and it is certainly not a corrupt form of French. It is a language with its own grammar, which in many ways is quite different from French (and English, too). Moreover, Haitian is mutually intelligible with neither French nor any West African heritage language. In the grammar of Haitian, overall we note elements that can be traced to West African languages, to French, or to neither. In the last case, Haitian grammatical features developed independently of transfer from West African languages and French. Below I provide examples of elements traceable to the first two.

The Haitian Lexicon

Haitian has a strong relationship to French because French was one of the main languages that played a role in its formation in the later seventeenth through early eighteenth centuries, providing most of the words in Haitian. These words were “transferred” from French into Haitian. We use the term *transfer* instead of *borrowing* because French words came into Haitian during the process of language formation itself. The French words were not borrowings because words are borrowed into a language that already exists autonomously from other languages.

TABLE 13.1 Some Haitian words of French origin

	<i>French</i>		<i>Haitian</i>	
	<i>orthography</i>	<i>phonemic transcription</i>	<i>orthography</i>	<i>phonemic transcription</i>
(1)	morne 'knoll'	/mɔʁn/	mòn 'mountain, hill'	/mɔn/
(2)	forme 'form'	/fɔʁm/	fòm 'form'	/fɔm/
(3)	sortir 'go out'	/sɔʁtiʁ/	sòti 'go out'	/sɔti/
(4)	faire 'do'	/fɛʁ/	fè 'do'	/fɛ/
(5)	terre 'earth, ground'	/tɛʁ/	tè 'ground'	/tɛ/
(6)	(la) boue 'mud'	/labu/	labou 'mud'	/labu/
(7)	(l')idée 'idea'	/lide/	lide 'idea'	/lide/
(8)	(l')empereur 'emperor'	/lɑ̃pɛʁœʁ/	lanpèrè 'emperor'	/lɑ̃pɛrɛ/
(9)	(l')état 'state'	/lɛta/	leta 'state'	/lɛta/

Words transferred into Haitian from French underwent various phonological and morphological processes that we commonly witness in the history of languages. Look over the data in Table 13.1, which are discussed below. Note that the French uvular *r* is represented by the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol [ʁ].

One process in the transfer of French words to Haitian was postvocalic *r* deletion, which occurred word-medially, as in examples (1)–(3), and word-finally, as in examples (3)–(5). Another process was the fusion of the preceding French definite determiner (or article) onto the front of the Haitian cognate, as shown in examples (6)–(9). The French determiner appears in parentheses. The determiner takes the orthographic form *l'* when its vowel precedes a vowel beginning the following word. The *l* or the full determiner is simply fused to the beginning of the Haitian word. Thus, the Haitian words in (6)–(9) are monomorphemic. The French determiner remnant, so to speak, is merely part of the Haitian single morpheme and has no meaning of its own. To the Haitian words in (6)–(9), one can add the postposed Haitian determiner, *a* in the case of these example words. (There are several phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the determiner.) The Haitian word in (7), when used with a determiner, would be *lide a* 'the idea'.

In some languages, such as English, tense marking is normally obligatory. For example, if you are talking about something that happened yesterday, you have to use the past tense form of the verb. As shown in the next example, followed by its Haitian gloss, in English this is done with the past tense suffix *-ed*, which has several allomorphs. The name of the verb form created by adding the past tense suffix to the bare infinitive (without *to*) is the simple past.

Now look at the Haitian version in (12) more closely:

(12)	English:	He	talked	with	John	yesterday.
	Haitian:	Li	pale	ak	Jan	yè.

In the Haitian, *pale* ‘talk’ is the bare form of the verb. In other words, it is not accompanied by any preverbal marker indicating TMA. In some cases, a speaker would use a preverbal marker in this sentence, but in most cases that speaker would not. The point is that the Haitian verb does not have to be marked as past. One knows the speaker is referring to the past by the social or discourse context—what the speaker is talking about or has said before, as well as all kinds of other background information that the speaker and her or his hearers share.

While English has only the one tense suffix, Haitian has several preverbal markers expressing tense. The preverbal marker, *te*, is a type of past marker, but it is not obligatorily present in most instances; it is usually optional. (In speaking of tense here, I am talking about the main meaning of the English suffix and the preverbal markers. They have secondary, much less frequent meanings too.)

Linguists call *te*, in example (13), an anterior marker rather than a past marker because it is a **relative tense marker**. Its use is usually optional, as noted. Most important, it marks a **situation** (action, event, or state of affairs) as anterior, in other words, as occurring at a time prior to that of another situation (i.e., past in relation to the time of another situation). The English simple past suffix is an **absolute tense marker**: it is usually obligatory, and its use marks any event or state of affairs as occurring in the absolute past, that is, before the moment one is speaking, not just before any time used as a reference point without regard to the moment of speaking.

(13)	M	te	rive	anvan	yo	pati.
	1sg	ANTERIOR	arrive	before	3pl	leave
	‘I (had) arrived before they left.’					

The two Haitian TMA preverbal markers that I have discussed are two of the three markers in the TMA system that are regarded as having been transferred from the Gbe languages. There are nearly a dozen such preverbal markers in the entire Haitian Creole TMA system, making possible the nuanced expression of TMA meanings and relationships.

Further Reading

Fortunately, a recent, up-to-date book (2010) contains most of the information that a beginning student of Haitian Creole would want: *The Haitian Creole Language: History, Structure, Use, and Education*, edited by Arthur K. Spears and Carole M. Berotte Joseph. It covers many sociolinguistic topics, such as bilingualism, diglossia, codeswitching, proverbs and other communicative genres, and language in education. It also has chapters devoted to literature in Haitian Creole and French as well as Haitian history. The references in its chapters provide further readings for more advanced study.

This book does not have in-depth discussions of phonological processes, morphology, syntax, and semantics. There is a significant though small body of literature on these topics, all of it written for linguists; most of it is in the form of scholarly journal articles.

Problem Sets

The following problems will teach you some basic points about Haitian grammar. Remember that the language, as presented in these problems, has been somewhat simplified in order to create level-appropriate problems for beginning students. Since Haiti is the world's largest country with a creole language spoken throughout, it is not surprising that there are several dialects. The following problems deal mostly with a Haitian dialect spoken in and around the northern city of Port de Paix, a short distance west of Haiti's second largest city, Cape Haitian. (It is of course also spoken outside of Haiti by those from this area.) The problems also deal with the Cape Haitian variety and that of the capital, Port-au-Prince.

Phonology, Morphology, and Dialect Variation

Port de Paix and Cape Haitian are roughly 20 miles from each other, and a different dialect is spoken in each city. For example, in regular, everyday speech in Port de Paix we find the following:

- (14) sè -m
 sister 1sg
 'my sister'

In Cape Haitian it is as follows:

- (15) sèr -a -m
 sister to 1sg
 'my sister'

1. Compare the Haitian data in (14) and (15) with the French equivalents for ‘my sister’ in (16) and (17) and answer the questions below:

(16) *ma soeur*
 1sg sister
 ‘my sister’

(17) *une soeur à moi* (somewhat limited pragmatically)
 DET sg sister to me
 ‘a sister of mine’

- a. What grapheme (orthographic letter or letters representing one sound) in Haitian is equivalent to the French grapheme <oeu> (/œ/) in *soeur*? (Note: The Haitian grapheme does *not* represent the same sound as in French. That French sound was changed when French words with this sound were incorporated into Haitian.)
 - b. Which Haitian dialect’s word for ‘sister’ is closer to the French word? Why?
2. Now note the data in Table 13.2 (Haitian words appear on the left in Haitian orthography, with the phonemic transcription to the right):

TABLE 13.2 Comparison of words in three Haitian varieties and in French

	<i>Haitian</i>			<i>French</i>
	<i>Port de Paix</i>	<i>Cape Haitian</i>	<i>Port-au-Prince</i>	
‘sister’	sè /sɛ/	sèr /sɛʁ*/	sè /sɛ/	soeur /soœʁ/
‘peace’	pè /pɛ/	pè /pɛ/	pè /pɛ/	paix /pɛ/
‘priest’	pè /pɛ/	pèr /pɛʁ*/	pè /pɛ/	père /pɛʁ/

(The Haitian r is actually velar for many speakers, but it is transcribed with the symbol for the phonetically similar uvular French r, since the IPA symbol for the Haitian r does not “look like” an r. The Cape Haitian data are based on Valdman 1977.)

Compare the phonemic representations of the words in the three Haitian dialects.

- a. Which of the dialects are most alike? Briefly state why.
 - b. Which of the dialects are more likely to have homonyms, based on these data?
 - c. Which of the dialects is closest to French, based on these data?
 - d. In which of the three dialects would we find *pèr-a-m* ‘my priest’?
3. In Haitian, a rule of regressive vowel nasalization often applies:
 - I. A vowel preceding a nasal consonant is nasalized.

Transcribe phonetically the pronunciation of ‘my priest’ in Cape Haitian after the application of this rule. (Nasalized vowels are transcribed by placing a tilde, [~], over the vowel, e.g., [ẽ].)

4. In Haitian, when /a/ is nasalized, it is actually realized as a mid central lax vowel:

II. The low back nasalized vowel /ã/ is phonetically realized as the mid central nasalized vowel [ɨ̃]. (Note that when this sound occurs in speech, it may be the nasalized vowel phoneme or the result of the application of the vowel nasalization rule in I.)

In light of this additional phonetic detail, what would be the phonetic transcription of ‘my priest’ in the Cape Haitian variety?

5. Table 13.3 shows that Haitian has (a) full possessive adjectives in the form of postposed suffixes (morphemes meaning ‘my’, ‘your’, etc.), used in more formal contexts and for emphasis; (b) phonologically reduced possessive adjectives, also in the form of postposed suffixes, used in more informal contexts and where emphasis is not needed; and (c) other phonologically conditioned allomorphs of these suffixes that have their own rules of use. The inventory of allomorphs and the rules governing them vary across dialects and are quite complex, but let us consider some cases in the Port de Paix variety. After examining the data in the following table, answer the questions based on them.

Note also that there is a rule of glide formation affecting possessive adjective suffixes:

III. Word final *i* /i/ and *ou* /u/, when they follow a vowel, change into the corresponding glide, [j] or [w].

Now, taking the data in Table 13.3 into account, fill in the phonetic, surface representation in the Port de Paix dialect of the items in Table 13.4 by completing the following steps:

- a. For each word, write the noun with the full form of the possessive suffix in the “Full Morphemes” column. (The first one is done for you as an example.)

TABLE 13.3 Some Haitian possessive adjective suffixes, Port de Paix dialect

<i>Person and number</i>	<i>English gloss</i>	<i>Full form</i>	<i>Reduced form(s)</i>	<i>Another allomorph</i>
1sg	‘my’	-mwen /mwẽ/	-m	[none]
2sg	‘your (sg.)’	-ou /u/	[none]	[none]
3sg	‘his/her/its’	-li /li/	-i	-ni
3pl	‘their’	-yo /jo/	[none]	[none]

Note: Some forms in Haitian orthography are followed by their phonemic transcription between slashes.

TABLE 13.4 Some nouns and possessive suffixes, Port de Paix dialect

English gloss	Full morphemes (phonemic)	Reduced morphemes (phonemic) (if there is one)	Surface phonetic representation (with all three rules applied)
'his sister'	/sɛ-li/	/sɛ-i/	[sɛ-j]
'your sister'			
'my sister'			

- b. Write the noun with the reduced form of the possessive suffix in the next column—if there is one. If not, proceed to (c).
- c. Apply all of the rules we have discussed so far (rules I, II, and III), then write the phonetic representation for each word in the last column.
6. Now consider the following rule for the Port de Paix dialect and the additional words in (18) and (19):

IV. If the noun ends in a nasal consonant,

- a. Only the full first person singular possessive suffix allomorph can appear.
- b. Only the third person singular possessive suffix allomorph *ni* can appear.

- (18) chanm /ʃãm/ 'room'
- (19) kwizin /kwizin/ 'kitchen'

Provide the phonetic representation of the following vocabulary items after applying all four of the rules presented so far:

- a. 'his room' _____
- b. 'my kitchen' _____
- c. 'their kitchen' _____

Tense Marking

Above, the Haitian anterior marker, *te*, was discussed. One complication in its use is as follows: although *te* is usually optional for situations (states, actions, and events) that occurred in the past, for one subclass of verbs, *te* is obligatorily present or absent depending on the particulars of that situation. After examining the data in Table 13.5, paying close attention to what is and is not grammatical, answer the questions presented after the table.

Note on variation: In this dialect, the third singular pronoun is usually *i*, not *li*, which is normal in Port-au-Prince and some other areas; the same holds for *e* 'and', as opposed to Port-au-Prince *epi*. *Tɛ* and *t* are allomorphs of the anterior preverbal marker in all dialects. Some of the other dialects variably attach a determiner to *isi* 'here' and pronounce it with a final /t/: *isit-la*. *La-a* in these examples = 'there' + determiner.

TABLE 13.5 Verbs requiring the presence or absence of *te* under certain conditions, Port de Paix dialect

		<i>Example sentences</i>				<i>English translation</i>						
(20)	a.	I 3sg	te	vini <i>come</i>	oz <i>to</i>	Etazini <i>U.S.</i>	men <i>but</i>	i 3sg	retounen <i>return</i>	lakay-li <i>house-3sg</i>	‘He came to the U.S., but he went (back) home.’	
	b.	*I		vini	oz	Etazini	men	I	retounen	lakay-li		
(21)	a.	*I	te	vini <i>come</i>	oz <i>to</i>	Etazini <i>U.S.</i>	e <i>and</i>	i 3sg	toujou <i>still</i>	isi <i>here</i>	‘He came to the U.S., and he’s still here.’	
	b.	I		vini	oz	Etazini	e	i	toujou	isi		
(22)	a.	I	te	viv <i>live</i>	an <i>in</i>	Ayiti <i>Haiti</i>	men <i>but</i>	li 3sg	pa <i>not</i>	la-a <i>there</i>	ankò <i>anymore</i>	
		3sg		viv	an	Ayiti	men	li	pa	viv	la-a	ankò
	b.	*I		viv	an	Ayiti	men	li	pa	viv	la-a	ankò
		3sg		viv	an	Haiti	but	3sg	not	not	there	anymore
(23)	a.	I	t	ay <i>go</i>	oz <i>to</i>	Etazini <i>U.S.</i>	lotane <i>last-year</i>	men <i>but</i>	li 3sg	ja <i>already</i>	‘He went to the U.S. last year, but he has already returned home.’	
		3sg	TE	ay	to	U.S.	last-year	but	3sg	already		
	b.	*L		ay	oz	Etazini	lotane	men	li	ja		
		3sg	return	ay	to	U.S.	last-year	but	3sg	already		
(24)	a.	*I	t	ay <i>go</i>	oz <i>to</i>	Etazini <i>U.S.</i>	lotane <i>last-year</i>	e <i>and</i>	i 3sg	toujou <i>still</i>	la-a <i>there</i>	‘He went to the U.S. last year, and he’s still there.’
		3sg	TE	ay	to	U.S.	last-year	and	3sg	still	there	
	b.	L		ay	oz	Etazini	lotane	e	i	toujou	la-a	
		3sg	return	ay	to	U.S.	last-year	and	3sg	still	there	

- (25) a. I 3sg
 rete stay oz Etazini men lotane i retounen
in but last-year 3sg return
 b. *I 3sg Etazini men lotane i retounen
in but last-year 3sg return
- (26) a. *I 3sg Etazini U.S. etid-li e li
 toujou still la-a rete stay in in study-3sg and 3sg
there
 b. I 3sg Etazini U.S. etid-li e li
 toujou still la-a rete stay in in study-3sg and 3sg
there

Note on variation: In this dialect, the third singular pronoun is usually *i*, not *li*, which is normal in Port-au-Prince and some other areas; the same holds for *e* 'and', as opposed to Port-au-Prince *epi*. *Tè* and *t* are allomorphs of the anterior preverbal marker in all dialects. Some of the other dialects variably attach a determiner to *isi* 'here' and pronounce it with a final /t/: *isit-la*. *La-a* in these examples = 'there' + determiner

TABLE 13.6 The meanings of two verbs

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Meaning</i>

7. List all the verbs that occur with *te* in the examples (four in all). Provide the gloss for each.
8. Two of these verbs express motion in some kind of direction from one location to another. Which ones are they?
9. The other two verbs in these examples do not express motion, but they express something related to location (as do the motion verbs). Remember, we are interested in the meaning of these two verbs in the examples only. In Table 13.6, write in these two verbs and their meaning based on the sentences in Table 13.5. Include the word *location* in your statement of the meaning of each verb.
10. The first two verbs could appropriately be labeled as “motion verbs.” What would be an appropriate label for the second two verbs, the meanings for which you just provided?
11. Provide a generalization, based on all of the examples in Table 13.5, stating the conditions under which *te* is obligatorily present and obligatorily absent in clauses with this subclass of verbs.

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