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Chapter 5

Relabeling and Word Order: A Construction Grammar Perspective*

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Abstract

Word order in creoles does not systematically reflect that of either of their contributing languages. This puzzle has generated a significant amount of research from different perspectives. On the basis of a sample of Caribbean creoles, this chapter addresses the question of how word order is established in a relabeling-based account of creole genesis within the framework of Radical Construction Grammar framework. In this framework, word order is not specified as part of atomic constructions. Rather, it is specified as part of the constructions in which individual words appear (e.g., [Q DEF ADJ N]). We show that this model allows for a straightforward and principled account of how the different word orders are established in creole genesis.

1. Introduction

1.1. The puzzle of word order in creoles and in creole genesis

Word order in creoles and in creole genesis has long been, and still is, a puzzle for researchers. While the vast majority of creoles are subject-verb-object (SVO) languages (e.g., Caribbean creoles, see Muysken 1988a: 85), some are subject-object-verb (SOV) (e.g., Hiri Motu), and some even have both SOV and object-subject-verb (OSV) order (e.g., Pigin Yimas (-Arafundi)). While the vast majority of creoles derive their word order from their superstrate languages (e.g., Plag 2008; Siegel 2008), some appear to constitute counterexamples to this generalization. For example, Berbice Dutch is SVO in spite of the fact that both of its contributing sources, Dutch

precede or follow the noun, as in French. By contrast, Haitian definite determiners (DEM DEF PL) all follow the noun, as in Fongbe, and unlike in French where these items all precede the noun.

The generalization that lexical categories follow the word order of the superstrate language, and functional categories that of the substrate languages, is only partially correct, however, as the word order of some functional categories in creoles departs from that of their substrate languages. For example, unlike Haitian and Fongbe, where the plural marker follows the noun, in Martinican Creole it precedes it. This is illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. liv la yo HAITIAN
 wèmá ɔ lɛ FONGBE
 book DEF PL
 'these books' (Lefebvre's field notes)
- b. se liv la MARTINICAN
 PL book DEF
 'these books' (Lefebvre's field notes)

A similar example is provided by Saramaccan where, in contrast to Martinican, Haitian, and Fongbe, the definite determiner precedes the noun, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. liv la HAITIAN & MARTINICAN
 wèmá ɔ FONGBE
 book DEF
 'the book' (Lefebvre's field notes)
- b. di búku SARAMACCAN
 DEF book
 'the book' (Lefebvre's field notes)

Other similar examples can be found in Lefebvre (1998). Thus, the hypothesis that the contributions of the source languages to a creole's word order are divided between lexical and functional categories falls short in view of counterexamples of the type in (5)b) (see also the discussion in Plag 2000).

Another avenue, explored in Lefebvre (2007), is that word order in creoles is established on the basis of the position of the form that provides the label for a lexical entry in the creole in

question. For lexical categories, this is illustrated by the surface position, in Haitian, of adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers (see (2)), with respect to that of the same categories in Haitian's source languages (see (1) and (3)) (see also Aboh 2006). For functional categories, this is illustrated by the position of the definite determiners in (5). The form of the Haitian and Martinican definite determiners is derived from the French postnominal adverbial deictic form *là*; the definite determiner is thus postnominal in these creoles (see (5a)) (for details, see Lefebvre 1998: 78–9, and the references cited therein). The form of the Saramaccan definite determiner *di* (< *di*(*si*)) is derived from the English prenominal form *this*; the definite determiner is thus prenominal in this creole (see (5b)) (for details, see Lefebvre 2012). In some cases, lexical items have been retained from the substrate languages. For example, in Saramaccan, the Fongbe focus marker *wè* has been retained as such, including its low tone (e.g., Smith 1996). In this case, there is also a link between the label and the word order. As is shown in (6), the position of the creole lexical entry is the same as that of the substrate language form (see also Smith 1996: 126).

- (6) a. *Masè ví lɛ wè, wá* FONGBE
 Massè child PL it.is arrive
 ‘It is the people of Massè who have arrived.’ (from Hounkpatin 1985: 218)
- b. *Andí wè i bóí.* SARAMACCAN
 what FOC you cook
 ‘What did you cook?’ (=(11b) in Smith 1996: 117)

In this chapter, we will argue in support of the generalization that word order in creole genesis is mainly determined by that of the form (from either the superstrate or the substrate language) that provides the label for the creole lexical item. We will show, however, that this proposal is not sufficient to account for all cases of word order. For example, while both the definite determiner and the plural marker in Haitian are individually derived from French

postnominal forms—*là* and *eux*, respectively—as we saw in Chapter 3, there is nothing in the French nominal structure that could account for the surface order of these morphemes with respect to one another in the creole (see (4)). Furthermore, some data appear to constitute counterexamples to the above generalization. For example, the fact that there are postpositions in Saramaccan such as *báka* ‘behind’ from English *back* and *dédu* ‘in’ from Portuguese *dentro* ‘in’ constitutes a counterexample, as *back* and *dentro* in English and Portuguese are not postpositional but prepositional. At first glance, then, it looks as if there were no principled way in which word order would be established in creoles.

In addition to the general problem posed by word order in creole genesis, as outlined above, there is the specific problem posed by the choice of a theoretical framework. For example, the relabeling-based account of creole genesis advocated in Lefebvre (1998, and related literature) was formulated within a theoretical model in which directionality properties are specified as part of individual lexical entries (e.g., the notation *V__* specifies that the verb takes its complement to the right). Since a creole’s word order does not necessarily reproduce that of its substrate languages, as we saw above, word order phenomena constitute systematic counterexamples to a relabeling-based account of creole genesis in such a model (see, e.g., the discussion in DeGraff 2002: 355–67). Since relabeling was otherwise shown to account for a vast amount of creole data, we would not want to falsify a relabeling-based account of creole genesis on the basis of word order alone. Instead, we conclude that word order should not be included in individual lexical entries. The account of word order in creole genesis proposed in this chapter is thus set within a theoretical framework in which word order is not specified as part of individual lexical entries, namely Croft’s (2001) Radical Construction Grammar (RCxG).

In the last three decades, a large body of research on word order in creoles and in creole genesis has been carried out from various perspectives. For example, Kouwenberg (1996) addressed the problem from a functionalist point of view, Déprez (2007) from a generativist point of view, and Plag (2008) from a second language acquisition point of view. The goal of this chapter is to address this topic from yet another perspective: a relabeling-based account of creole genesis cast within the RCxG framework (Croft 2001).

1.2. Relabeling and word order within Croft's RCxG model

Recall from Chapter 4 that, within the RCxG framework, word order is not specified as part of individual lexical entries, but rather as part of the constructions in which words occur. Throughout this chapter, we will assume that the RCxG lexicon has the features described in section 1.2.2 of Chapter 4. Second, we will assume that non-atomic constructions of the substrate lexicon-syntax continuum—that is, complex constructions—are all available to the incipient creole. Third, we will assume that substrate atomic structures—that is, lexical entries per se—are relabeled on the basis of superstrate forms, as discussed in Chapter 1.

With these assumptions in mind, we hypothesized that relabeling proceeds in one of two ways. It is either bound to a linguistic context, as in the case of modifiers and determiners, or it is free from a linguistic context, as in the case of denotational nouns and verbs. Lexical entries that are bound to a linguistic context are those that cannot appear in isolation. These are hypothesized to be relabeled on the basis of superstrate forms that are bound to a linguistic context. For example, determiners (e.g., definite/indefinite) and modifiers (e.g., adjectives, adverbs) cannot be relabeled outside of a linguistic context. Indeed, a superstrate form can only be identified as a potential form for a determiner if it occurs with a noun that it relates to; likewise, a superstrate form can only be identified as a modifier if it occurs with a noun or a verb that it modifies, and

so on. We therefore assume that, in these cases, relabeling proceeds on the basis of the minimal constructions in which eligible forms for determiners and modifiers occur in the superstrate language (e.g., [DET NP], [ADJ N]). In these cases, relabeling triggers the word order of the superstrate language in the creole. For example, in the genesis of Haitian, the postnominal quantifiers of the Gbe languages were relabeled on the basis of French prenominal quantifiers identified from the construction [Q NP]. The initial substrate structure [NP Q] thus had to be revised to [Q NP] in the creole, on the model of the superstrate language. This is illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. FONGBE
[NP Q]
- b. FONGBE/FRENCH
[NP Q]/[Q NP]
- c. HAITIAN
[Q NP]

However, the Fongbe postnominal definite determiner *ɔ* was relabeled on the basis of the French postnominal deictic form *là*, yielding the Haitian postnominal definite determiner *la*. Thus, the substrate construction [NP DEF] could be retained unchanged in the creole. This is illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. FONGBE
[NP ɔ]
- b. FONGBE/FRENCH
[NP ɔ]/[NP là]
- c. HAITIAN
[NP la]

Lexical entries that are free from a linguistic context may appear in isolation. These are hypothesized to be relabeled on the basis of superstrate forms that are also free from a linguistic context. In this case, the semantic overlap between the two words that are associated in relabeling is identified on the basis of the pragmatics of the situation (Lefebvre & Lumsden

1994a). This is the case, for example, with denotational nouns such as *table*, *chair*, *child*, etc.; verbs such as *come*, *go*, *eat*, etc.; and deictic terms such as *here/there*, etc. Lexical items that are relabeled free of linguistic context will be able to associate with the syntactic constructions of the substrate lexicon-syntax continuum that are available to the creators of a creole. For example, relabeled verbs will be able to associate with the substrate V...V structure of the serial verb construction, with the structures involved in verb-doubling phenomena (discussed in Chapter 4, section 5), and so on.

We therefore assume that, in creole genesis, relabeling applies throughout the lexicon-grammar continuum. It will be argued that the way word order is established is derivable from how relabeling is hypothesized to apply in creole genesis. Our proposal is summarized in (9).

- (9) a. Word order in creoles is derivable from how relabeling applies in creole genesis.
- b. Relabeling may be linguistically context-bound, in which case it triggers the superstrate word order, and this word order appears in the creole. This follows from the fact that labels and their positions are associated.
- c. Relabeling may also be linguistically context-free, in which case relabeled lexical items may associate with substrate structures, and substrate word order appears in the creole.

1.3. Corpus

The bulk of our data is based on Caribbean creoles: Haitian (Haiti), Saramaccan (Surinam, French Guyana), and, to a lesser extent, Martinican Creole (Martinique). These creoles share the same pool of West African substrate languages, including the Gbe cluster of the Kwa family, which in turn is part of the larger Niger-Congo language family (e.g., Lefebvre 1998: 52–62). These creoles have different superstrate languages: French for Haitian and Martinican, English and Portuguese for Saramaccan.ⁱⁱ Data from other creoles will also be discussed whenever they contribute something different to the discussion.

1.4. Organization of the chapter

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an account of word order for the linguistically bound lexical items such as modifiers and determiners. Section 3 presents an account of the position of demonstrative terms in nominal structures. Section 4 discusses the position of numerals. Section 5 accounts for the availability of postpositions in Saramaccan. Section 6 addresses various potential counterexamples to our proposal, all involving OV/VO structures. Section 7 discusses the position of the Haitian negation marker *pa*. Section 8 concludes the chapter.

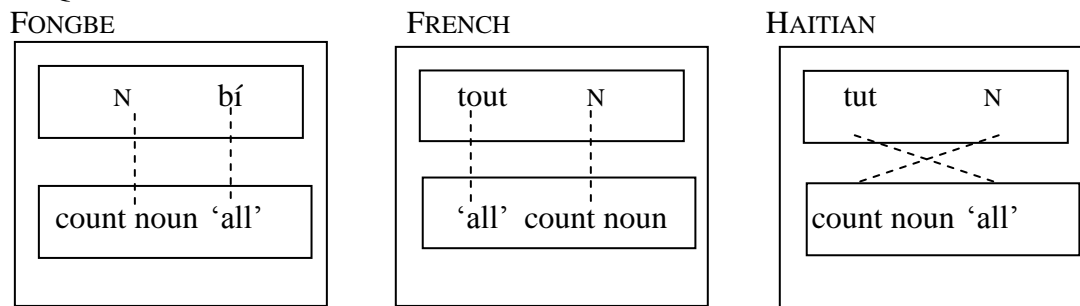
2. Deriving the order of modifiers and determiners

In this section, we show how the proposal presented in the preceding section can be implemented for word order phenomena that are linguistically context-bound. We begin with the order of modifiers, summarized in (10) (from (1) to (3)).

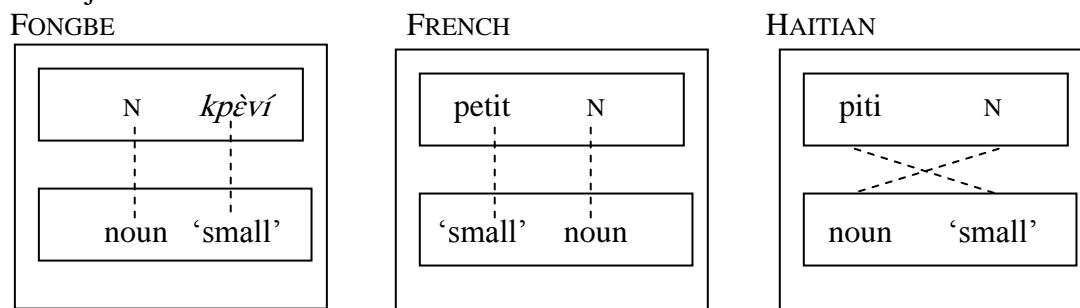
(10) a.			N	ADJ	Q	FONGBE
b.	Q	ADJ	N	ADJ		FRENCH
c.	Q	ADJ	N	ADJ		HAITIAN

Fongbe speakers participating in the creation of the Haitian lexicon-grammar would relabel the quantifiers and adjectives of their own lexicon, on the basis of French forms. The modifiers of the superstrate language must occur in combination with nouns in order to be identified as such by the creators of a creole. By hypothesis, the creators of Haitian would have identified the French modifiers on the basis of the French constructions depicted in (11). Since the order of linguistically context-bound morphemes is determined by that of the forms that have provided the labels for the creole constructions, the Haitian constructions in (11) show the same word order as the corresponding French constructions. The formalism in (11) reflects the fact that the semantics of the Haitian construction replicates that of Fongbe, while the word order replicates that of French, whence the crossed lines in the representations of the Haitian constructions.

(11) a. Quantifiers



b. Adjectives



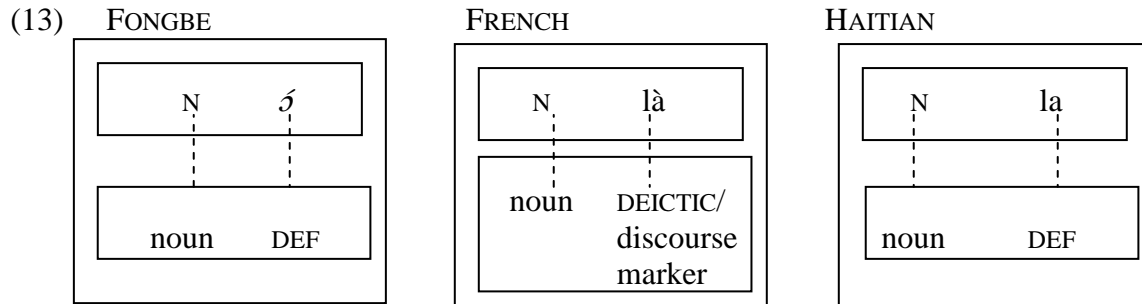
The relabeling of the substrate modifiers (see (10)a)) on the basis of the French modifiers (see (10)b)) created a creole construction that reflects French word order (see (10)c)).

The surface order of definite determiners in Haitian and Saramaccan is derived in a similar fashion. A superstrate form has to occur in combination with a noun in order to be identified as a potential form to relabel a determiner. The pertinent data are summarized in (12)a) and (12b) for Haitian and Saramaccan, respectively.

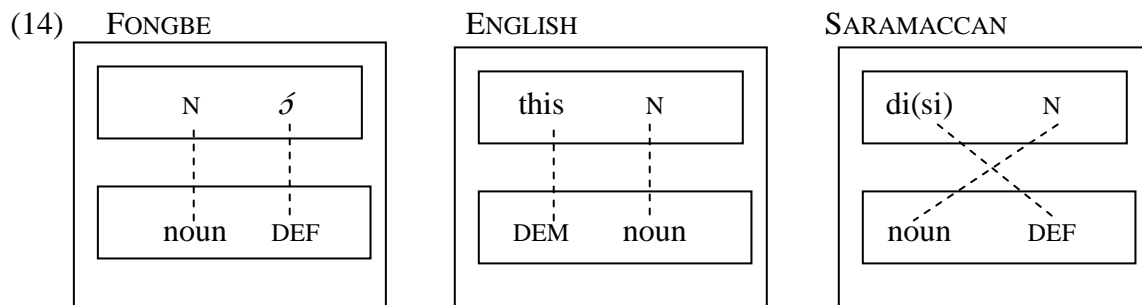
(12) a.		N	DEF	FONGBE
	DEF	N	là	FRENCH
		N	DEF	HAITIAN
b.		N	DEF	FONGBE
	this	N		ENGLISH
	DEF	N		SARAMACCAN

Lefebvre (1998: 78–9) shows that French prenominal definite determiners were not identified as such by the creators of Haitian, who identified the postnominal deictic form *là* as a suitable item to relabel the substrate postnominal definite determiner. By hypothesis, they identified this form

on the basis of the French construction in (13). Since the order of linguistically context-bound morphemes is determined by that of the form that provided the label for the creole lexical entry, and since the form that was selected from French is postnominal, the position of the definite determiner in Haitian is postnominal, as shown in (13).

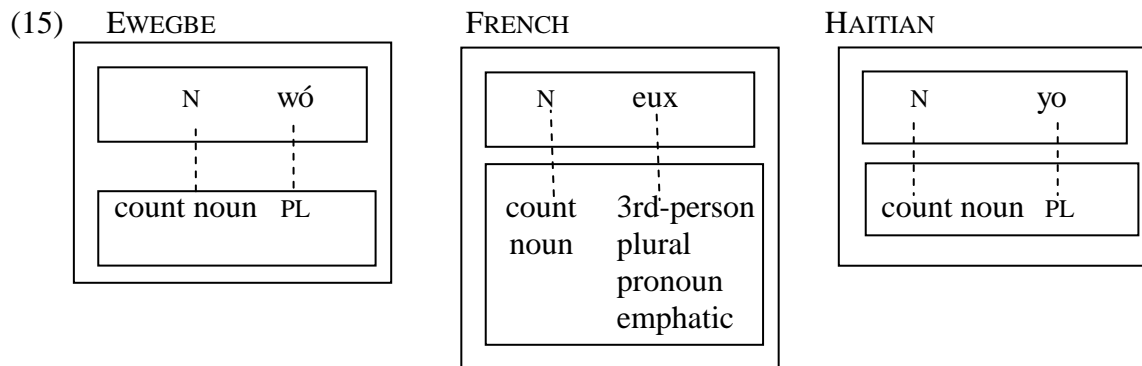


In this case, the superstrate construction manifests the same word order as the substrate construction. For Saramaccan, however, the Fongbe postnominal definite determiner ɔ́ was relabeled on the basis of the English prenominal form this, yielding the prenominal definite determiner di(sɪ), as shown in (14).

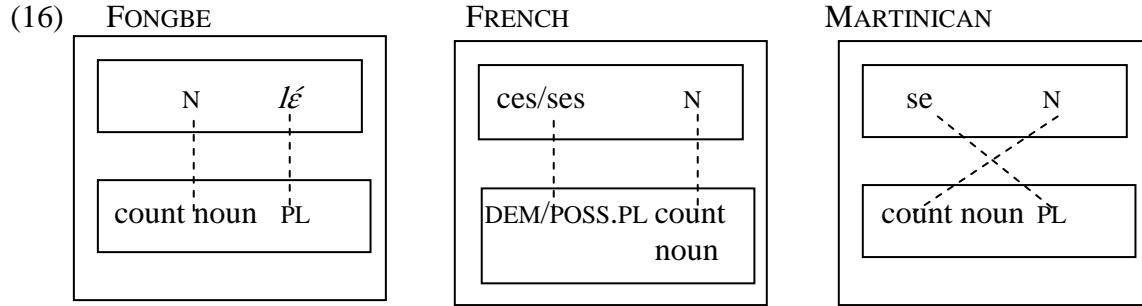


The relabeling of the substrate postnominal definite determiner on the basis of an English prenominal form resulted in the creation of a creole construction [DEF NP] that reflects the word order of English (see (12)b)).

The derivation of the differential positions of the Haitian and Martinican plural markers in (4)a) and (4)b), respectively, may be accounted for in a similar way. As is discussed in Lefebvre (1998: 79–84, and the references cited therein), several Haitian substrate languages, including Ewegbe (but not Fongbe), have a single morpheme that serves both as a third-person plural pronoun and as a plural marker in nominal structures. Speakers of such a grammar would have relabeled this morpheme on the basis of the French third-person plural personal pronoun *eux* that may, in some contexts, occur postnominally as an emphatic form. This yielded the Haitian form *yo* depicted in (15). (For details, see Lefebvre 1998: 79–84; Lefebvre 2004b: 241–5).

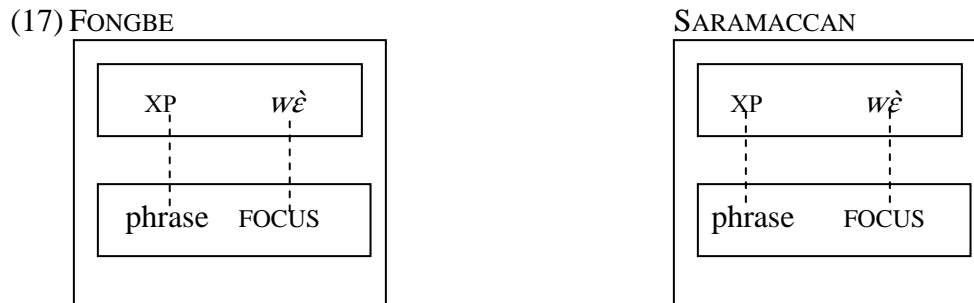


Note that, in this case, the Ewegbe and French forms have the same word order, and thus the creole also manifests the initial substrate construction [NP PL]. Such correspondences between the substrate and the superstrate word orders do not always exist, however. For example, consider the Martinican plural marker *se* illustrated in (4)b). In this case, the substrate postnominal plural form was relabeled on the basis of the French prenominal forms *ces* (demonstrative plural determiner) or *ses* (possessive plural determiner), both pronounced [se]/[se], yielding the Martinican prenominal plural form *se*, depicted in (16).



In this case, relabeling created the construction [PL NP] in the creole.ⁱⁱⁱ

Finally, the order of the Saramaccan focus marker *wɛ̀*, retained from Fongbe, can be derived as follows.



In this case, the substrate lexical entry is retained in the creole, as is the construction in which it occurs, [XP *wɛ̀*], as illustrated in (17).

To summarize, the above examples all illustrate the fact that a creole's word orders are established on the basis of the forms that provided the labels for the creole lexical entries. Accordingly, labels that were retained in their original form (e.g., Fongbe *wɛ̀* in Saramaccan), keep their original surface position in the creole. Likewise, labels that come from context-bound lexical items (see (11) to (16)) keep their original superstrate surface position in the creole. If the position of the new form is the same as that of the corresponding form in the substrate language, the creole word order complies with that of both the substrate and the superstrate (see (13) and

(15)). If the position of the new form is not the same as that of the corresponding form in the substrate language, a new construction reflecting a new word order is created by relabeling (see (11), (14), and (16)). Assuming this line of analysis to be valid, one may ask whether it is sufficient to account for all cases of word order in creole genesis. As the following sections will show, it is not.

3. Deriving the position of demonstrative terms in nominal structures

Abstracting away from major category lexical items, the nominal structures of Fongbe, Haitian, and French are as in (18).

(18) a.	N	DEM	DEF	PL	FONGBE
b.	N	DEM	DEF	PL	HAITIAN
c.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DEF.PL} \\ \text{DEM.PL} \end{array} \right\} \text{N.PL}$				FRENCH

One difference between these constructions lies in the expression of plural. In French, plural is realized on determiners, rather than as a free morpheme, as it is in Fongbe and in Haitian. Plural is also expressed on the noun in French, but not in Fongbe or Haitian. This difference need not concern us at this point. What is at stake here is the position of demonstrative terms. As can be seen in (18), demonstrative terms are postnominal in Haitian, as in Fongbe, not prenominal as in French. Given our proposal, we would expect them to be prenominal on the model of French. How can this situation be accounted for?

As Lefebvre (1998: 89–101; 2004b: 250–7) discusses in detail, the two Fongbe demonstrative terms occurring in nominal structures were relabeled on the basis of two French forms, yielding the Haitian paradigm of two demonstrative terms. These facts are summarized in (19).

(19)	FONGBE	FRENCH	HAITIAN
	<i>éló</i>	ça [sa]	sa
	<i>éné</i>	cela [səla]/ <i>celui-là</i> [sqila]	sila

Since the demonstrative terms' labels are drawn from French, we would expect Haitian demonstratives to occur in the position where demonstrative terms surface in that language. However, not only do demonstrative terms not occur prenominally in Haitian, as they do in French, but they in fact occur postnominally, as they do in Fongbe. This is illustrated in (20), exemplifying the constructions in (18).

(20)	a.	<i>àsón</i>	<i>éló/éné</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>lé</i>	FONGBE
	b.	krab	sa/sila	a	yo	HAITIAN
		crab	DEM	DEF	PL	
	c.	ces	crabes			FRENCH
		DEM.PL	crab.PL			
		'these/those crabs'				

At first glance, this state of affairs may seem to constitute a counterexample to our proposal. As is argued below, however, this situation follows from it naturally.

On the one hand, the Fongbe demonstrative terms that occur in the nominal structures in (18) may also occur either in isolation, as in (21)a) (possibly simultaneously with pointing), in topic position with emphasis, as in (21)b), or in an argument position, as in (21)c).^{iv}

(21)	a.	<i>éló</i>	/	<i>éné</i>	FONGBE
		DEM	/	DEM	
		'this	/	that'	
	b.	<i>Éné</i>	<i>ó,</i>	<i>wé zón ...</i>	FONGBE
		that	TOP	it.is command	
		'That, it is what causes...'			
		(Segurola & Rassinoux 2000)			
	c.	<i>Éné</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>yì</i>	FONGBE
		DEM	come	go	
		'That has passed.'			
		(Segurola & Rassinoux 2000)			

Since the two Fongbe demonstrative terms may occur in isolation, they constitute atomic constructions that can be relabeled as such. On the other hand, the French forms selected to relabel the substrate lexical entries in (19) are not part of the paradigm of demonstrative terms that occur preminally in nominal structures. Indeed, the demonstrative terms that occur preminally in French nominal structures are *ce(t)* (masculine singular), *cette* (feminine singular), and *ces* (plural). Haitian *sa/sila* are not derived from these forms. Rather, they are derived from pronominal forms that occur in isolation (again, possibly simultaneously with pointing), as in (22)a), or in topic position with emphasis, as in (22)b), or even in argument position, as in (22)c).

- (22) a. *ça* / *cela* / *celui-là* FRENCH
 ‘that / that / that one’
- b. *Ça* / *cela* / *celui-là*, *je* *le* *veux*. FRENCH
 that / that / that one, 1SG 3SG want
 ‘That/that one, I want it.’
- c. *Je* *veux* *ça* / *cela* / *celui-là*. FRENCH
 1SG want that / that / that one
 ‘I want that one.’

Presumably, these forms were identified as suitable to relabel the two substrate lexical entries. Since the two French forms selected to relabel the Fongbe forms occurring in isolation were themselves identified in isolation, the new Haitian lexical entries resulting from relabeling could also occur in isolation, as shown in (23)a), in topic position, as in (23)b), or in argument position, as in (23)c).

- (23) a. *sa* / *sila* HAITIAN
 DEM DEM
- b. *sa/sila* *a*, *m'* *vle* HAITIAN
 DEM DEF 1SG want
 ‘This/that, I want.’
- c. *M* *wè* *sa* / *sila* HAITIAN
 1SG see DEM DEM
 ‘I saw this/that.’

(=(4) in Lefebvre 1997)

The two Fongbe lexical entries that were relabeled as *sa* and *sila*, respectively, also occur in nominal structures, as shown in (24). Since the two French forms used to relabel Fongbe *éné* and *éló* were identified in isolation, the only way to associate the new Haitian lexical entries with nominal structures involved associating them with the substrate nominal structure, yielding (18)b) on the model of (18)a), depicted in (24).

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------|------|-----|-----|----|--------------------------|
| (24) | krab | [mwɛn | ø] | sa | a | yo | HAITIAN |
| | àsón | [nyè | tòn] | éló | ó | lé | FONGBE |
| | crab | 1SG | GEN | DEM | DEF | PL | |
| | 'these / those crabs of mine (in question / that we know of)' | | | | | | (Lefebvre's field notes) |

Interestingly, in the nominal structures of Martinican Creole and Saramaccan, where some functional categories occur preminally (see (14) and (16)), demonstrative terms also follow the noun as in Fongbe. This is illustrated in (25)a) and (25b), respectively.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------------|------|-----|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| (25) | a. | fanm... | ta | la | MARTINICAN | | |
| | | woman | DEM | DEF | | | |
| | | 'this woman' | | | (=(1824) in Bernabé 1983: 707) | | |
| | b. | dí | físi | u | mi | akí | SARAMACCAN |
| | | DEF | fish | of | 1SG | DEM | |
| | | 'this fish of mine' | | | | | (Lefebvre's field notes) |

The above data show that the word order of substrate lexical items that have been relabeled on the basis of superstrate forms identified in isolation is not constrained by that of the superstrate structure. Because they are freed from the superstrate word order, these lexical items may associate with the relevant position in a substrate construction.

To summarize, the data discussed in this section, like the TMA system and verb-doubling phenomena discussed in Chapter 4, show that substrate language constructions are available to the creators of a creole. The data in (11), (14), and (16) show that relabeling may trigger a change in word order to make the new creole label comply with the surface position of the superstrate form from which it is derived. The data in (24) and (25) show, however, that, when

superstrate labels are identified in isolation, as the demonstrative terms discussed here were, they are word-order-free. In such cases, the new creole lexical items may associate with the relevant position of the substrate construction, resulting in structures such as (18)b) in Haitian. In light of this analysis, we now turn to the position of numerals.

4. Deriving the position of numerals^v

Numerals may occur in isolation: one, two, three, etc. They may also occur with nouns, as in two books. Given this situation, our proposal on word order predicts that there should be two possible word orders for numerals in creoles. In the first case, numerals occurring in isolation would be able to associate with the substrate nominal construction available in the incipient creole; hence, the order of a noun and a numeral in the early creole would reflect the word order of the substrate language. In the second case, a numeral occurring with a noun would trigger the superstrate word order in the creole. This prediction is borne out by the data.

Fa d'Ambô (Post 2013) has postnominal numerals following the word order of its substrate languages (N NUM) rather than that of its Portuguese superstrate (NUM N). In Santome (Hagemeijer 2013), low numbers may occur postnominally, as in the substrate languages. This position appears to be rare, however, as in the synchronic data, numerals are mainly prenominal, as in the superstrate language. In Principense (Maurer 2013), all numerals formerly followed the noun, as in the substrate languages. Now, however, they all precede the noun, as in the superstrate language. According to Maurer, there is one exception to this general rule: the numeral 'one', which also functions as the indefinite article, still occurs postnominally. In Haitian, all numerals occur prenominal, as in the superstrate language; we do not know whether there was a stage when numerals occurred postnominally, as in the substrate languages.

5. Deriving the postpositions of Saramaccan

In addition to a few prepositions, Saramaccan has several postpositions. The latter correspond to Fongbe items. For example, a postposition meaning ‘surface’ is used both in Fongbe (*wú* in (26)a)) and in Saramaccan (*sinkíi* (< Eng. skin) in (26)b)).

- (26) a. *Zògbè ɔ qò àzàn ɔ wú.* FONGBE
 lamp DEF be.at ceiling DEF surface
 b. *Dí lámpu de a dí plafond sinkíi.* SARAMACCAN
 DEF lamp be.at LOC DEF ceiling surface
 ‘The lamp is on the ceiling.’ (from (23) in Essegbey 2005)

In (27), a postposition meaning ‘on’ is used both in Fongbe (*jí* in (27)a)) and in Saramaccan (*líba* (< Port. (ar)riba) in (27)b)).

- (27) a. *Wémá ɔ qò távò ɔ jí.* FONGBE
 book DEF be.at table DEF on
 b. *Dí búku de a dí táfa líba.* SARAMACCAN
 DEF book be.at LOC DEF table on
 ‘The book is on the table.’ (from (39) in Essegbey 2005)

The labels of the Saramaccan postpositions are derived from English and Portuguese. Since, as we saw above, in the case of linguistically context-bound morphemes, word order is established on the basis of the forms that provided the labels for the creole lexical entries, and since neither English nor Portuguese features postpositions, the fact that Saramaccan has them is unexpected. One would instead expect a situation similar to that in Haitian, where superstrate prepositional forms are used to express locations (see Chapter 4). How can the presence of postpositions in Saramaccan be accounted for?

In Saramaccan, all postpositions can also be used as nouns. An inventory of Saramaccan nouns/postpositions, identified from the available literature, is presented in Table 1 along with the sources of their labels (from Muysken 1987; Smith & Cardoso 2004).

Table 1. Saramaccan nouns/postpositions and their putative sources

	Source	Category	Meaning
<i>líba</i>	< Port. (ar)riba	N, P	sky, on, above
<i>sinkíi</i>	< Eng. skin	N, P	skin, body, surface, on
<i>(h)édi</i>	< Eng. head	N, P	head, top, on
<i>báka</i>	< Eng. back	N, P	backside, back, behind
<i>fěsi</i>	< Eng. face	N, P	face, forehead, in front
<i>básu</i>	< Port. (de)baixo	N, P	bottom, under, underneath
<i>déndu</i>	< Port. dentro	N, P	inside, in
<i>bándja</i>	< Port. banda	N, P	side, near, next to

With the possible exception of Portuguese dentro,^{vi} the English and Portuguese lexical items that provided the forms of the Saramaccan nouns/postpositions are all denotational nouns.

Only a few may also be used as prepositions. This information is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. English and Portuguese lexical items that provided the labels of the Saramaccan nouns/postpositions

	Category	Meaning
Port. (ar)riba	N, ?P	up
Eng. skin	N, *P	skin
Eng. head	N, *P	head
Eng. back	N, ?P	back, backside
Eng. face	N, *P	face
Port. (de)baixo	N, P	under, underneath
Port. dentro	?N, P	inside, in
Port. banda	N, *P	side

A quick comparison of the data in Tables 1 and 2 reveals that the creole lexical items all have the double function of nouns and postpositions, whereas the closest lexical items in the superstrate languages function either as nouns (in most cases) or as prepositions (in only a few

cases). Furthermore, the semantics of the creole lexical items covers a wider scope than their superstrate language counterparts.

The discrepancies between the creole and the superstrate lexical items can be accounted for straightforwardly in a relabeling-based account of creole genesis. As Table 3 reveals, each of the Saramaccan nouns/postpositions has a Fongbe counterpart. Furthermore, the semantic scope of these lexical items is the same in Saramaccan and Fongbe (compare Tables 1 and 3).

Table 3. Saramaccan and Fongbe nouns/postpositions

Saramaccan N/POST	Fongbe N/POST	Meaning
<i>líba</i>	<i>jí</i>	sky, on, above
<i>sinkíí</i>	<i>wú</i>	skin, body, surface, on
<i>hédi</i>	<i>tà</i>	head, top, on
<i>báka</i>	<i>gúdò</i>	backside, back, behind
<i>fési</i>	<i>nùkòn</i>	face, forehead, in front
<i>básu</i>	<i>gló</i>	bottom, under, underneath
<i>déndu</i>	<i>mè</i>	inside, in
<i>bándja</i>	<i>àkpá</i>	side, near, next to

The examples below illustrate the striking parallel between the Fongbe and the Saramaccan data.

Example (28) shows the use of Fongbe *nùkòn* ‘face, forehead, in front’ as a postposition in (a) and a noun in (b).

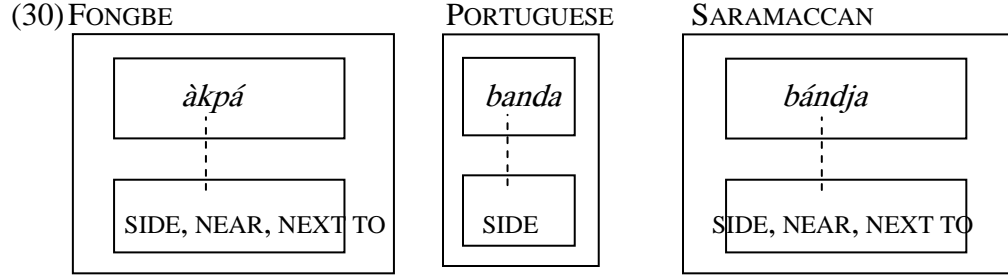
- (28)a. *Àvún ɔ̀ dò xwé nùkòn.* FONGBE
 dog DEF be.at house front
 ‘The dog is in front of the house.’ (= (76a) in Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002: 325)
- b. *Xwé (sín) nùkòn ɔ̀ wì.* FONGBE
 house of front DEF be.black
 ‘The front of the house is black.’ (= (76b) in Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002: 325)

Example (29) illustrates the use of Saramaccan *báka* ‘backside, back, behind’ as a postposition in (a), and as a noun in (b).

- (29) a. ... *a dí wósu báka* SARAMACCAN
 ... LOC DEF house back
 ‘behind the house’ (= (41a) in Muysken 1987)
- b. *a dí báka (f)u dí wósu* SARAMACCAN
 LOC DEF back of DEF house
 ‘the back of the house’ (based on Bally 2005: 75)

It thus appears that the Fongbe lexical items in Table 3 were relabeled on the basis of the English and Portuguese forms identified in Table 2, yielding the Saramaccan lexical entries in Table 1. But how can the [NP POST] order be derived, given that the superstrate languages do not have postpositions?

We propose that the Fongbe nouns/postpositions in Table 3 were relabeled from their nominal function on the basis of superstrate denotational nouns that could be identified in isolation. Example (30) illustrates the relabeling of the Fongbe noun/postposition *àkpá* ‘side, near, next to’ by the Portuguese noun *bánda* ‘side’, yielding the Saramaccan noun/postposition *bándja* ‘side, near, next to’.



The creole lexical entries so formed could be associated with the NP position in substrate constructions containing a NP. They could also be associated with the POST position in the substrate construction [NP POST], yielding the Saramaccan construction [NP POST], exemplified in (31).^{vii}

(31)	NP	V	PREP	NP	POST	
	É	<i>qò</i>		xò	mè	FONGBE
	<i>A</i>	<i>dε</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wósu</i>	<i>déndu</i>	SARAMACCAN
	3SG	be.at	LOC	house	inside	
	'He/she is inside a house.'					

To sum up, at first glance, the presence of postpositions in Saramaccan appears to constitute a potential counterexample to the generalization that the word order of a context-bound phrase/word/morpheme in a creole is determined by the superstrate language. In our analysis, however, the relevant substrate lexical items in this case were relabeled on the basis of superstrate forms identified in isolation. As a result, they were word-order-free and could associate with the postnominal position of the substrate constructions.

6. Deriving potential OV/VO counterexamples

Berbice Dutch is often cited as an example of a creole that has SVO order even though both its source languages—Ijo, its West African substrate, and Dutch, its European superstrate—are SOV languages (e.g., Kouwenberg 1996; Muysken 1988a). Since the word order of Berbice Dutch does not follow that of its superstrate language, this creole is a potential counterexample

to our proposal. Our solution to this potential problem is as follows. Dutch is identified as SOV because OV is the surface order in embedded clauses. However, Dutch is a verb second language, which means that in main clauses the verb surfaces between the subject and the object, resulting in SVO order (e.g., Koster 1978). Examples are shown in (32)a) and (32b), respectively.

- (32) a. Ik denk dat Mary het boek las. DUTCH
 I think that Mary the book read
 ‘I think that Mary read the book.’ (=(165a) in Koster 1978: 204)
- b. Ik haat Mary. DUTCH
 I hate Mary
 ‘I hate Mary.’ (=(158a) in Koster 1978: 199)

We hypothesize that the creators of Berbice Dutch were more likely to have been exposed to Dutch main clauses manifesting an SVO word order than to embedded clauses with an SOV order. In this view, the creators of Berbice Dutch interpreted Dutch clauses as being SVO. Assuming this scenario to be correct, Berbice Dutch word order does follow that of its superstrate language, just like other creoles, and in conformity with our proposal.

Pidgin Yimas(-Arafundi) is an SOV/OSV language.^{viii} Its two word orders replicate those of Arafundi, its substrate language. Again, this might appear to constitute a counterexample to our proposal. A look at the word order of the superstrate language, however, suggests a solution for this potential problem. The superstrate language of Pidgin Yimas is Yimas, a language known to have free word order. In this case, then, the superstrate language was unable to determine the word order of the incipient pidgin. Consequently, the creators of the pidgin had to use the constructions of their native grammar to establish word order in the creole, hence the SOV and OSV word orders modeled on those of the substrate language.

As an SOV creole, Hiri Motu is often cited as an exception to the claim that the vast majority of creoles is SVO. However, Hiri Motu does not constitute a counterexample to our

proposal since, in addition to its Papuan and Austronesian substrate languages, which are SOV, its superstrate language, Motu, is also an SOV language.

Finally, there are a few cases where the word order of creoles follows that of the substrate languages rather than that of the superstrate languages. For example, Siegel (2008) reports that Fiji Hindi is an SOV language like Hindi, its substrate, in spite of the fact that its superstrate, standard Fijian, is an SVO language. A similar example is reported by Ansaldo (2009): Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is SOV, on the model of its substrate languages, Tamil and Sinhala, instead of SVO like its superstrate language. Yet another example is reported by Clements (2001) in the case of Korlai, a Portuguese-based creole with an SOV word order based on Marathi, the substrate language. It is our contention that such cases do not constitute counterexamples to our proposal. The aforementioned authors all note that, at the time when these creoles were formed, their word order conformed to that of their superstrate languages. Furthermore, all three authors account for their synchronic word orders as resulting from a word order change due to the pressure of the substrate languages on speakers who were fluent in both the creole and its substrate languages.

In summary, then, it appears that potential counterexamples to our proposal involving the order of the verb and its complement can in fact be accounted for unproblematically.

7. Deriving the position of the Haitian negation marker *pa*

Another potential counterexample to our proposal is the position of the Haitian negation marker *pa* < French *pas* [pa]. Lefebvre (1998: 208–11) argues at some length that, although Haitian *pa* was labeled by French *pas*, the two morphemes do not have the same properties (see also DeGraff 1993). While *pa* is the negation marker in Haitian, French *pas* ‘not’ is a negative adverb. In French, it is *ne* that is the negation marker (Pollock 1989). Lefebvre (1998) also

argues that Haitian *pa* has the properties of the substrate negation marker, *mà* in Fongbe, and that Fongbe *mà* was relabeled on the basis of French *pas*, yielding Haitian *pa*. We refer the interested reader to the published literature on this topic. Here, we will concentrate on the surface position of Haitian *pa* with respect to that of French *pas*.

In Haitian, *pa* systematically occurs before the lexical verb, as in (33).

- (33) Jan pa vini. HAITIAN
 John NEG come
 ‘John did not come.’ (Lefebvre’s field notes)

In French, the negative adverb *pas* may occur either before the lexical verb, as in (34)a), or after it, as in (34)b).

- (34) a. Jean *n’* était pas venu. FRENCH
 John NEG AUX NEG-ADV come
 ‘John had not come.’
 b. Jean ne vient pas. FRENCH
 John NEG come NEG-ADV
 ‘John does not come.’

In a model of grammar in which variable surface order is accounted for by movement rules (e.g., Chomsky 1989), the variable position of the lexical verb with respect to negation in French is due to verb raising to INFL(ection). Pollock (1989) accounts for the difference between the positions of *pas* in (34)a) and (34)b) as follows. In French, tense and person morphology require a bearer. In complex tenses, involving an auxiliary (‘be’ or ‘have’), the morphology bearer is the auxiliary, as in (34)a). In this case, the lexical verb remains in its basic position and *pas* precedes it. Simple tenses do not require auxiliaries. In such cases, the lexical verb must move to INFL so it can bear tense and person morphology. As a result of verb movement to INFL, over the negative adverb, *pas* now follows the lexical verb, as in (34)b). Within the same framework, the invariable position of the lexical verb with respect to *pa* in Haitian would be due to the absence

of verb raising to INFL over the negation marker because of the lack of tense and person morphology on the verb (DeGraff 1993; Lefebvre 1998: 351–5).

Returning to the order of *pas* and the lexical verb in French, the order *V pas* is observed only in the context of simple tenses and imperatives. The order *pas V* is much more frequent, as it appears in all the complex tenses. It is therefore likely that the creators of Haitian were exposed to the word order *pas V*, as in (34)a), much more frequently than *V pas*, as in (34)b). The position of Haitian *pa* thus follows the most salient position for French *pas*. In agreement with our proposal, the position of Haitian *pa* corresponds to that of the form that provided the label for the creole lexical entry. Hence, the position of *pa* does not contradict our proposal.

This account of word order involving Haitian *pa* would not be complete if the item's surface position with respect to tense, mood, and aspect markers were not considered. While French uses auxiliaries and morphology on the verb to encode tense, mood, and aspect, as we saw in (34), Haitian, like its substrate languages, lacks auxiliaries and verb morphology and uses preverbal markers. The inventories of preverbal tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) markers for Haitian and Fongbe are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Preverbal TMA markers in Haitian and Fongbe (from Lefebvre 1998: 112)

ANTERIOR		IRREALIS		NON-COMPLETE			
• Past / Past perfect		• Definite future		• Habitual		• Imperfective	
H	F	H	F	H	F	H	F
te	kò	ap	ná	—	<i>nɔ̃</i>	ap	<i>qò...wè</i>
		• Indefinite future					
		H	F				
		a-va	ná-wá				
		• Subjunctive					
		H	F				
		pou	ní				

TMA markers in Haitian and Fongbe are similar not only with respect to inventory but also with respect to semantics and to the way the various markers combine to form complex tenses (for details, see Lefebvre 1998: 111–140). In both languages, the negation marker precedes the TMA markers, as is illustrated in (35)a) and (35b), respectively.

- (35)a. Jan pa pou ale nan mache. HAITIAN
 John NEG SUB go in market
 ‘John does not have to go to the market.’
- b. *Kòkú mà ní wá àxì mèn.* FONGBE
 Koku NEG SUB go market in
 ‘Koku does not have to go to the market.’

In both Haitian and Fongbe, negation markers precede TMA markers in their basic and unmarked position, such that, in both languages, the word order is as in (36).

- (36)a. NEG T M A V HAITIAN
 b. NEG T M A V FONGBE

Now, how does the fact that the Haitian negation marker precedes TMA markers, as in the substrate languages, fit with our proposal?

Recall that subsystems of the substrate grammars are available to the creators of a creole. Hence, we hypothesize that the subsystem in (36)b) was available to the creators of Haitian. Once *pa* became part of the Haitian lexicon, as depicted above, it needed to find its position with respect to the TMA markers. Since the structure in (36)b) was readily available, the creators of Haitian simply used it for Haitian, as is attested by the structure in (36)a).

In summary, Haitian *pa* entered the Haitian lexicon via the relabeling of Fongbe *mà* on the basis of French *pas*, which occurred preverbally. It was then associated with a substrate structure that specified the surface order of negation with respect to TMA markers.

8. Conclusion

Within a model in which word order is not specified as part of individual lexical entries, such as the RCxG model, the fact that creoles' word order generally does not reflect that of their substrate languages is no longer a problem for a relabeling-based account of creole genesis. In this chapter, we proposed that a relabeling-based account of creole genesis within the framework of RCxG would proceed as follows. Substrate constructions are available to the creators of the creole. The phonological representations of lexical items are relabeled on the basis of superstrate forms. Relabeling is either linguistically context-free or context-bound. In the latter case, the position of the relabeled word is determined by that of the superstrate label in the minimal construction in which it appears. In the former case, the relabeled lexical item may associate with the relevant position in the substrate construction. Word order in creole genesis then follows from how relabeling works. This proposal was illustrated by various constructions (section 2). Potential counterexamples were considered, leading to the conclusion that the data involved can, in fact, be accounted for straightforwardly within our proposal (sections 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7). Our conclusion is therefore that our proposal can provide a principled account of how word order is established in creole genesis.

Notes

* The content of this chapter was presented at the 2012 SPCL/LSA meeting in Portland; we would like to thank the participants, particularly Clancy Clements and Tonjes Veenstra, for their valuable questions, comments, and suggestions. The content of this chapter was also presented at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig and at the English Departments of the Universities of Düsseldorf and of Erlangen in November 2012. Questions and comments by participants, in particular Martin Haspelmath, Susanne Michaelis, Ingo Plag, Jürgen Lang, and Angelika Lutz, were much appreciated.

ⁱ For a proposal along these lines, see Lefebvre and Lumsden (1992).

ⁱⁱ The Gbe languages and Saramaccan are tone languages. The representation of tones in Fongbe is phonemic and follows the notation adopted in Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002, Chapter 2). Given the variation in the notation of Saramaccan tones in the literature, the tones have been standardized for all the Saramaccan examples based on Rountree et al.'s Word List (2000).

ⁱⁱⁱ The fact that the creators of Haitian chose the French postpositional form *eux* to relabel the Fongbe postnominal plural form, while the creators of Martinican chose the French prenominal forms *ces/ses*, illustrates the possibility that, when presented with more than one possible superstrate form to relabel a substrate lexical entry, different communities may make different choices. Relabeling choices are discussed in Chapter 6.

^{iv} Several patterns of interpretation are associated with these forms (for details, see Lefebvre 2004b: 250–7). Only one is shown here. The same remark applies to the Haitian data in (23).

^v The detailed content of this section was made possible by Susanne Michaelis, who generously provided us with data yet to appear in APICS at the time we were working on this chapter.

^{vi} Although a Portuguese-English dictionary provides examples in which *dentro* may be interpreted as functioning as a noun, Jürgen Lang (pc) informs us that *dentro* basically belongs to the category P in Portuguese. He adds, however, that this lexical item may be used in isolation: *Dentro!* meaning ‘Get inside!’.

^{vii} A difference between the Fongbe and Saramaccan constructions is the presence in the latter of a general locative preposition, *a*. The etymology of this preposition is “obscure” (Muysken 2008: 198). Essegbey (2005), following Bruyn (1996), proposes that locative phrases in Saramaccan (and Sranan) are always treated as adjuncts, and as such, must always be introduced by a preposition. This is not the case in Fongbe, where locative complements (as in (31)) do not need to be introduced by a locative preposition. We leave further discussion of this matter to future work.

^{viii} We are indebted to William Foley (pc) for providing us with the pertinent facts on Pidgin Yimas and on Hiri Motu.