



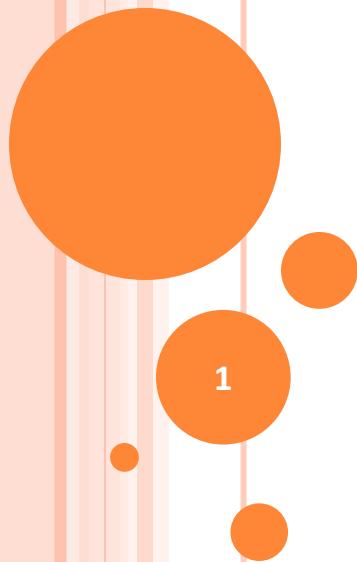
FRENCH CONVERTED NOUNS/VERBS AS A PARADIGM: HOW DID THE VERBAL SUFFIXATION WITH –É IN CREOLE EMERGE?

Florence Villoing & Maxime Deglas

Florence.Villoing@u-paris10.fr
maximedeglas@yahoo.fr

ParadigMo

First Workshop on Paradigmatic Word Formation Modeling
Toulouse, 19 - 20 June 2017



- Data

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

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- (1) 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’

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○ Hypothesis

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

- (2) 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?

- Issue

► How does this mechanism of reanalysis work?

- Argumentation

► Creole reanalysis of inherited Noun/Verb pairs, formed in French by 2 conversion rules: **V→N rule** (Tab. 1) & **N→V rule** (Tab.2)

Lexeme Base: V	Stem	V→N	Converted Noun
ANNONCER ‘to announce’	anonc-	⇒	ANNONCE ‘announcement’
BLAGUER ‘to joke’	blagu-	⇒	BLAGUE ‘joke’
CARESSER ‘to stroke’	caress-	⇒	CARESSE ‘stroke’

Table 1

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

Table 2

○ Results

- ▶ Possible reanalysis because these pairs, in Creole, were viewed as a paradigm (= derivational relations oriented both ways)

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- ▶ Questioning the conditions for this paradigmatic approach to these pairs in Creole.
- ▶ cf. Lior Laks's talk: "Paradigmatic relations are a good trigger for morphological change."

OUTLINE

1. Presentation of the Guadeloupean Creole Language and its lexical morphology
2. Corpus & Data
3. The morphological analysis
4. Discussion about the paradigmatic approach

- **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: Lefebvre 2003, Brousseau 2011, DeGraff 2001).

(3) 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’

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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

- **Corpus: difficulties**

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- **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)

- **Theoretical framework**
 - ▶ Lexematic morphology
(cf. for example, Aronoff 1994, Anderson 1992, Booij 2010, Fradin 2003).

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○ Morphological analysis: creation of the -é suffix

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

(4)	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)

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Table 3 French Conversion $X_V \rightarrow X_N$

Lexeme Base: N.	N. Stem	N → V conversion	Converted Verb	Verbal Stem
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Table 4 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
 - ▶ Creole verbs do not inflect.

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- (5) An Ø **chiktayé** mori-la

1SG crumble cod DET

I crumbled the cod.

- (6) Sé timoun-la ka **chiktayé** mori

PL child DET IMP crumble cod

The children are crumbling cod.

- (7) Sé fanm-la té ka **chiktayé** mori

PL woman DET ANT IMP crumble cod

The women were crumbling cod.

- (8) nou ké **chiktayé** mori-la

1PL FUT crumble mori DET

We will crumble the cod.

► Creole verbs do not inflect

(7) I ka **brosé** chivé a'y

3SG IMP brush hair to 3SG

He brushes his hair.

(8) Nou té ka **brosé** chivé an nou

1PL ANT IMP brush hair to 1PL

We brushed our hair.

(9) An ké **brosé** chivé an mwen

1SG FUT brush hair to 1SG

I'll brush my hair.

(10) 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)
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 - is inherited from an inflected mark (infinitive or past participle)

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 - ▶ the verb contains a final –é

G. Creole	BROSÉ	BRÒS
French	BROSSER	BROSSE
	‘to brush’	‘brush’

- ▶ this form of the verb is the only one in Creole
- ▶ Creole verbs are not concerned by inflection
- ▶ the final –é
 - is inherited from an inflected mark (infinitive or past participle)
 - has lost its French inflectional value in Creole (cf. Mufwene & Djikhoff 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

(13) ANONS 'announcement' / ANONSE 'to announce'

BLAG 'joke' / BLAGÉ 'to joke'

BRÒS 'brush' / BROSE 'to brush'

GÒM 'eraser' / GOMÉ 'to erase'

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- ▶ Different from Creole N/V conversion schema.

(14) 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 conversion N/V ⇒ Creole : $X_N \rightarrow X\text{-}e_V$ suffixation

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- (15) LYANN ‘liana’ / LYANNÉ ‘to use a tutor to climb’
GRAJ ‘grater’ / GRAJÉ ‘to grate’
DOUSIN ‘cuddle’ / DOUSINE ‘to cuddle’
DJÒB ‘odd job’ / DJOBÉ ‘to do an odd job’
MAKRÈL ‘someone meddlesome’ / MAKRÉLÉ ‘to observe’
KÒK ‘penis’ / koké ‘to make love’

○ Mechanisms of morphological change

The creation of –é suffixation:

- ▶ an inflectional suffix that becomes a derivational one

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- (16) FLUGS ‘quickly’ ← FLUG ‘flight’
 MITTAGS ‘at midday’ ← MITTAG ‘midday’

○ Mechanisms of morphological change

The creation of –é suffixation:

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- (16) FLUGS ‘quickly’ ← FLUG ‘flight’
 MITTAGS ‘at midday’ ← MITTAG ‘midday’

- ▶ 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 → V morphological schema
- ▶ also of a N → V morphological schema
- ▶ French inherited converted Noun / Verb pairs are viewed as non-oriented.

- **Evidence of the paradigmatic approach: semantic properties of the suffixation**

- ▶ not typical just of a N → V morphological schema
- ▶ also of a N → V morphological schema
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- **Typical semantic relations in a N → V morphological schema**

- ▶ N = concrete object
- ▶ N = refers to certain arguments of the verb.

- Typical semantic relations in a N → V morphological schema

(17) N base = **Instrument**

- a. FAK 'spade' / FAKÉ 'to dig'
GRAJ 'grate' / GRAJÉ 'to grate'
PIKWA 'pickaxe' / PIKWATÉ 'to pickaxe'
- b. LANG 'tongue' / LANGÉ 'to kiss'
BWA 'arm' / BWARÉ 'to embrace'
ZYÉ 'eyes' / ZYÉTÉ 'to survey'

(18) N base = **Agent**

- MAKO 'fink' / MAKOTÉ 'to spy on'
MAKRÈL 'gossip' / MAKRÉLÉ 'to survey'
MANDYAN 'beggar' / MANDYANNÉ 'to beg'

- Typical semantic relations in a N → V morphological schema

(19) **N base = Displaced entity**

BONDA ‘buttock’ / BONDATÉ ‘to sit’

JANB ‘leg’ / JANBÉ ‘to step across’

PYÉ ‘foot’ / PYÉTÉ ‘to set foot’

SOULYÉ ‘shoe’ / SOULYÉTÉ ‘to put shoes on’

(20) **N base = Final place of the event**

BALKON ‘balcony’ / BALKONNÉ ‘to be on the balcony’

KABANN ‘bed’ / KABANNÉ ‘to lie in’

KAN ‘side’/ KANTÉ ‘to lie on one’s side’

(21) **N base = Result of the event**

FLANG ‘notch’ / FLANGÉ ‘to notch’

MIGAN ‘purée’ / MIGANNÉ ‘to mix’

BÉTIZ ‘mistake’ / BÉTIZÉ ‘to make a mistake’

FIFIN ‘drizzle’ / FIFINÉ ‘to drizzle’

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

- ▶ *N base = event noun
- ▶ if event noun = deverbal derived noun

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(22) 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'

► event noun = deverbal derived noun

(23) English (Grimshaw 1990: 84)

- a. To ARREST_V → The **arrest_N** of John (ostensibly) to prevent riots.
- b. To EXAMINE_V → The **examination_N** of the patient to determine whether...
- c. To NOMINATE_V → The **nomination_N** of Mary in order to increase the participation of women on the committee...

(24) Italian (Bisetto & Melloni 2007)

- a. CREARE_V → La **creazione_N** di quella scultura fu lunga e diffoltosa.
'to create' → 'The creation of that sculpture was long and difficult.'
- b. TRADURRE_V → La **traduzione_N** di questo testo è durata due mesi
'to translate' → 'The translation of this text lasted two months'
- c. CORREGGERE_V → La **correzione_N** di questo documentao è stata lunga e laboriosa.
'to correct' → 'The correction of this document was long and laborious.'

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

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

- (25) 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’

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

- (26) AVAN ‘before’,
 PANDAN ‘during’,
 APRÈ ‘after’
 DÈPI ‘since’

(26) **BONBANS** ‘feast’

a. **Avan on bonbans Alen toujou k’ay o kwafè.**

‘Before a party, Alain always goes to the hairdresser’

b. **Pandan on bonbans Alen pa jen ka dansé.**

‘During a party, Alain never dances’

c. **Apré on bonbans Frèd toujou sou.**

‘After a party, Fred is always drunk’

d. **Dèpi bonbans-la an pa vwè Frèd.**

‘Since the party, I have not seen Fred’

(27) **DRIV** ‘walk’

a. **Avan on driv an toujou ka manjé.**

‘Before a walk, I always eat.’

b. **Pandan on driv Frèd rankontré Yolèn.**

‘During a walk Fred met Yolene.’

c. **Apré on driv an toujou ka pasé koté Mari.**

‘After a walk I always go to Marie’s.’

d. **Dèpi driv-la Frèd té fè èvè Pòl, yenn pa sa vwè lòt**

‘Since the walk Fred did with Paul, they do not get along.’

- Semantic originality of N → 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 → V and V → 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.

○ Conclusion

- ▶ Question the criteria for the constitution of a derivational paradigm.
 - ⇒ the semantic relation is decisive: any morphological noun/verb-in-é pairs that maintain a typical semantic relation of noun to verb or verb to noun conversion schema can form a paradigm.
- ▶ Semantic criterion reliable:
 - ⇒ semantic relations can only vary within a limited set of possibilities, those between converted nouns and verbs.

A scenic tropical island with a dense cluster of palm trees on a white sandy beach. The water is a vibrant turquoise color, appearing shallow and clear. The sky is a clear, bright blue.

MÉSI ONPIL

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