Verb Focus in Haitian:
From lexical reiteration to Predicate Cleft[1]

Herby Glaude, SFL/Université Paris-8-CNRS and ACLC/Amsterdam
Anne Zribi-Hertz, Université Paris-8/SFL, CNRS

Abstract

This article bears on *VFD* (Verb Fronting with Doubling) constructions in Haitian, whose left periphery contains a bare homonym of the lexical verb and which trigger a Verb-Focus effect. We seek to update the description of VFD and to reach a satisfactory analysis providing empirical support for addressing the theoretical issues central to the present volume. Our study leads us to conclude that: (i) The syntactic operations involved in the derivation of VFD are available independently of reiteration; (ii) The semantic effect of VFD is not 'intensive' but contrastive, and arises from restrictive modification, a form-meaning relation hardly analysable as 'iconic'; (iii) Haitian VFD may have arisen from a regular recombination of features partaking in focus effects in French, Gbe, and Universal Grammar.

1   Introduction

The constructions under study here, which we call *Verb Fronting with Doubling* (VFD)[2], are attested in Haitian and some other French-Caribbean Creoles. In Haitian, VFD may occur as a bare complete sentence, as in (1a), or be part of larger syntactic structures, as illustrated in (1b-d). Some of the labels used to designate the contexts licensing VFD are borrowed from Lefebvre (1998). However previous studies all fail to distinguish the case illustrated in (1a), which we call *Bare VFD*, from the Predicate Cleft pattern in (1d), and they generally leave aside the ALA and ATA cases illustrated in (1b,c):

					VFD subtype
(1a)	***Malad***	*m*	*te*	***malad***.[3]	Bare VFD
	sick	1SG	ANT	sick	
	'I was SICK (not LAZY).'				
(1b)	*Ala **bèl***		*li*	*te*	***bèl***![4] *ala*-VFD
	ala pretty		3SG	ANT	pretty
	'She was SOOO pretty!'				
(1c)	*Ata **malad***		*m*	*te*	***malad*** *ata*-VFD
	ata sick		1SG	ANT	sick
	lè	Brezil	pèdi.		
	when	Brazil	lose		
	'I was even SICK when Brazil lost.'				
(1d)	*Se*	***malad***	*m*	*te*	***malad***! Predicate-Cleft
	SE	sick	1SG	ANT	sick
	(i) 'I was actually SICK (e.g. not LAZY).'				<contrastive>

(ii) 'I was REALLY SICK.'   <intensive>

(1e)   *[Malad m te malad la]*   Factive
       sick   1SG   ANT   sick   DET
       te fè manman m tris.
       ANT   make   mum   1SG   sad
         'The fact that I was SICK made my mum sad.'

(1f)   *[Malad m te malad la],*   Causative
       sick   1SG   ANT   sick   DET
       manman m te tris.
       mum   1SG   ANT sad
       'Because I was SICK, my mum was sad.'

(1g)   *[Rive m te rive],*   Temporal
       arrive   1SG   ANT   arrive
       (epi) Pòl te pati.
       and-then   Paul ANT leave
       (Lit. 'I had ARRIVED, so-then Paul (had) left.')
       'Once I had ARRIVED, Paul (had) left.'

VFD constructions are mentioned and discussed in a number of linguistic works bearing on Haitian (Sylvain 1936, Piou 1982a,b, Hutchison 1989, Lefebvre 1989, 1990, 1991, 1998, Lefebvre & Ritter 1993, Lumsden 1990, Lumsden & Lefebvre 1990, DeGraff 1992, Manfredi 1993, Harbour 2008), other Caribbean (Bernabé 1983, Méry 1988) and Non-Caribbean (Mufwene 1987) French-lexifier creoles, and some African languages (Koopman 1984, 1997, Mufwene 1987, 1994, Aboh 2003, 2004, Aboh & Dyakonova 2009). Available analyses of VFD are however not consensual, and with one major exception (Lefebvre 1998), they either focus on Kwa languages rather than Haitian (cf. Aboh 2003, 2004 and Aboh & Dyakonova 2009), or on Haitian and/or other French-Caribbean creoles but only on one subcase – generally[5] the one labeled *Predicate Cleft* (Piou 1982a, Lumsden 1990, Lumsden & Lefebvre 1990, Larson & Lefebvre 1991, Manfredi 1993, Harbour 2008), a term indiscriminately used in reference to (1a) and (1d). Lefebvre (1998) proposes a comprehensive analysis of VFD in Haitian, but her assumptions raise some problems discussed below in section 3.3. Harbour (2008) focuses on Haitian Predicate-Cleft (e.g. (1d)) but leaves to future research the possible generalisation of his analysis to the other instances of VFD exemplified in (1).

   The properties of VFD constructions raise challenging problems for theories of natural-language syntax and of creole genesis. Although Mufwene (1987, 1994) points out some parallelisms between cleft constructions in Haitian and French, it is quite clear that the grammars of French do not generate VFD constructions similar to those in (1):

(2a)   **Déprime je déprime !*
       be-depressed 1SG   be-depressed.PRS

(2b)   **C'est malade que je suis malade.*
       it-is   sick   that 1SG   be.PRS.1SG   sick

(2c)   **Arrivé je suis arrivé,*
       arrive.PP 1SG   AUX.PRS.1SG   arrive.PP
       et puis Paul est parti.

and then Paul   AUX.PRS.3SG leave.PP

French only allows such constructions as those illustrated in (3), which involve the fronting of a nonfinite null-subject intransitive clause introduced by a preposition – *à* (3a), *pour* (3b) or *en* (3c) – and construed as topical, rather than focal:

Standard French:

> (3a)   *A **dormir** comme il   dort,*
> P sleep.INF as   3MSG sleep.PRS.3SG
> *il   doit être en pleine forme*.
> 3MSG must be in full   shape
> Lit. 'Sleeping the way he sleeps, he must be in top shape.'

> (3b)   *(Ah) pour **dormir** ,*
> ah   as-for sleep.INF
> *il   [**dort**   bien / a   bien **dormi**]*.
> 3MSG sleep.PRS.3SG well/AUX.PRS.3SG well sleep.PP
> Lit. 'Ah, as for sleep(ing), he sleeps well/has slept well.'

> (3c)   *En **dormant** comme il   dort,*
> in sleep.GND as   3MSG sleep.PRS.3SG
> *il   doit être en pleine forme*.
> 3MSG must be in full   shape
> Lit. '(By) sleeping the way he sleeps, he must be in top shape.'

Previous studies on VFD therefore explore similarities between Haitian and Kwa (Koopman 1984, Piou 1982a, Lefebvre *passim*), or Bantu (Mufwene 1987, 1994).

In what follows we first present (section 2) an updated description of VFD in Modern Haitian, encompassing the various types of contexts in which it is licensed. We then devote section 3 to the syntactic analysis of VFD. Reviewing the available literature on this topic, we aim at working out an analysis which should both account for the surface diversity and underlying unity of the data in (1), and also shed light on the apparent paradox that VFD seems to involve A'-movement applying to a V-head. The analysis we select is a revised formalisation of Harbour's (2008) intuition that VFD is fed by 'low contrastive V reiteration'. On the basis of the descriptive results achieved in section 3, we conclude by addressing (section 4) the main theoretical issues raised in the introduction of this volume.

2   VFD in Haitian: a descriptive update

In this section, we survey the properties shared by all instances of VFD in Haitian, and bring out the properties specific to the different contexts where VFD is licensed.

2.1   Properties shared by all VFD constructions in Haitian

2.1.1   Lexical doubling and extraction: (X) L1+[$_{TP}$ ......[$_{v°}$ L2].......]

In Haitian, all instances of VFD linearly surface as (X) L1+TP strings, where the fronted lexeme labeled L1 is phonologically identical to the lexeme (L2) filling the V head inside the following tensed clause. In the constructions under study here, L1 (the verb's homonym) crucially does

NOT support any modifier which fails to occur on L2 (the verb), as is the case in, e.g., (4b) below, a clefted variant of (4a), where L1 is modified by *bon*:

(4a) *Elsi malad **bon** malad.*
    Elsi sick   real sick
    'Elsi is REAL sick.'

(4b) *Se **bon** malad Elsi malad.*
    it-is real sick   Elsi sick
    Lit. 'It is REAL sick Elsi is.' ('Elsi is REAL sick.')

Sentences of the type exemplified in (4) share important syntactic properties with those exemplified in (1), but we leave them out of this study for reasons of space, and focus on constructions involving a fronted *bare* homonym of the verb, correlating with a verb-focus effect.

    The fact that the reiterated lexeme is the one filling the V head in the TP domain has been convincingly shown by DeGraff (1992). Such predications as those in (5a) and (6a), crucially do not allow the reiteration-and-fronting of any lexeme within their predicate:

(5a) *[DP Jan] [PP sou tab   la].*
    John   on   table DET
    'John is on the table.'

(5b) ***Sou** Jan **sou** tab la.*

(6a) *[DP Jan] [LocP lakay].*
      John   at-home
    'John is (at) home.'

(6b) ***Lakay** Jan **lakay**.*

In (7), where *la* may ambiguously be construed either as a property-denoting predicate meaning 'to be around' or a deictic locative meaning 'there', VFD only correlates with the property-denoting reading:

(7a) *Jan la.*
    (i) 'John is around.'
    (ii) 'John is there.'

(7b) ***La** Jan **la**.*
    (i) 'John is (indeed) AROUND
       (e.g. though he doesn't DO anything).'
    (ii) *'John is THERE$_1$ (not THERE$_2$).'

These facts support DeGraff's (1992) assumption that VFD exclusively applies to verbal predications and involves the reiteration-and-fronting of the lexeme filling the V head. That is, VFD is unavailable if the predicate is nonverbal (contains no V), as in (5) and (6), and it only applies to (7a) if *la* is identified as a V. VFD thus provides a diagnostic test for identifying verbs, in Haitian.

    VFD is associated with a single argument grid: L1 cannot have an overt subject of its

own, as witnessed by (8), and L1 cannot be assumed to have a covert (PRO) subject, since a bound subject would be likely to be overtly realised, as witnessed by the 'control' contexts in (9):

(8a) *(Se) m malad (*m)   te   malad.*   [= (1a/d)]
    SE 1SG sick   1SG   ANT   sick
    'I was SICK (not LAZY).'

(8b) *[M malad (*m)   te   malad   la]*   [= (1e)]
    1SG sick   1SG   ANT sick   DET
    te   fè   manman m   tris.
    ANT make mum   1SG sad
    'The fact that I was SICK made my mum sad.'

(9a) *M   pwòmèt   Mari$_k$ *(m) ap   pati.*
    1SG   promise   Mary 1SG   UNAC leave
    'I promised Mary I would leave.'

(9b) **M   pwòmèt   pati.*
    1SG   promise   leave

(9c) *Jan   mande   m   pou   *(m) pati.*
    John   ask   1SG   for-to 1SG leave
    Lit. 'John asked me that I leave.'

If the verb governs an object, the object may only be realised on L2. This well-acknowledged restriction is exemplified in (9b-c) with the Predicate-Cleft construction, but it obtains across all the VFD subtypes illustrated above in (1):

(10a) *Pòl   achte machin   sa   a.*
    Paul   buy   car   DM   DET
    'Paul bought this car.'

(10b) *Eske   se   **achte** Pòl   achte machin sa   a?*
    QSE   buy   Paul   buy   car   DM   DET
    'Did Paul BUY this car?'

(10c) **Eske   se **achte machin sa a** Pòl   achte (machin sa   a)?*
    Q   SE buy   car   DM LA Paul buy   car   DM DET

The relation between L1 and L2 in VFD further exhibits the unbounded-dependency effects taken as characteristic of A'-movement (Chomsky 1977). Harbour (2008: 855) recalls Piou's (1982a: 130-133) original evidence revealing successive-cyclicity effects in the Predicate-Cleft subtype:

(11a) *Li   di   li   vle   se **ale** pou Jan **ale** avè   li.*
    3SG say 3SG want SE go COMP John go with 3SG
    'He said she wants John to GO with her.'

(11b) *Li di se **ale** li vle pou Jan **ale** avè li.*
       3SG say SE go 3SG want COMP John go with 3SG
       'He said she wants John to GO with her.'

(11c) *Se **ale** li di li vle pou Jan **ale** avè li.*
       SE go   3SG say 3SG want COMP John go with 3SG
       'He said she wants John to GO with her.'
       [Piou's (1982a) examples, quoted by Harbour (2008)]

Piou (1982a) further notes that when a long-distance dependency obtains between L1 and L2, as in (11b,c), the intervening context may only contain 'bridge' verbs – a restriction generally associated with A'-movement under Chomsky's (1977) theory:

(12a) *Se   renmen Mari ap   **di** ou renmen   l.*
       SE   love   Mary UNAC say 2SG love   3SG
       Lit. 'It-is love Mary is saying you love her.'
       'Mary is saying you LOVE her.'

(12b) **Se   renmen Mari ap   **chichote** ou   renmen l.*
       SE   love   Mary UNAC whisper 2SG   love   3SG
       Lit.''It-is love Mary is whispering you love her.' [examples from Piou (1982a)]

According to Piou (1982a,b), Lefebvre & Ritter (1993) and Lefebvre (1998), only the Predicate-Cleft subtype of VFD illustrated in (1b) allows for an unbounded dependency between L1 and L2. We (Herby Glaude and our Haitian consultants) however find the examples in (13b) through (15b) acceptable alongside (11a), which shows that an unbounded dependency may also obtain in VFD in the Bare (13), factive (14), causative (15) and temporal (16) subtypes.[6] In other words, an unbounded dependency between L1 and L2 is a general characteristic of VFD in Haitian:

Bare VFD
(13a) *Yo di/soufle [**plase**[7] Pòl **plase**   Pòtoprens].*
       3PL say/whisper live.wsc   Paul live.wsc   Port-au-Prince
       'They say/whisper (that) Paul IS LIVING WITH SOMEBODY in
       Port-au-Prince.'
(13b) ***Plase***   *yo di/*soufle [Pòl **plase**   Pòtoprens].*
       live.wsc   3PL say/whisper   Paul live-wsc   Port-au-Prince
       'Paul is said/whispered to BE LIVING WITH SOMEBODY in Port-au-Prince.'

Factive VFD
(14a) *Yo   di/soufle   [**pati** Pòl **pati** a] fè   Elsi tris.*
       3PL   say/whisper leave Paul leave DET make Elsi sad
       'They say/whisper that the fact that Paul LEFT makes Elsi sad.'

(14b) ***Pati** yo di/*soufle   [Pòl **pati** a] fè   Elsi tris.*
       leave 3PL say/whisper Paul   leave DET make Elsi sad
       '[The fact that Paul is said/whispered to have LEFT] makes
       Elsi sad.'

Causative VFD

(15a) *Yo di/soufle* **[pati** *Pòl* **pati** *a], Elsi tris.*
    3PL say/whisper leave Paul leave DET Elsi sad
    'They say/whisper (that) because Paul LEFT, Elsi is sad.'

(15b) **Pati** *yo di/*soufle* **[Pòl** **pati** *a], Elsi tris.*
    leave 3PL say/whisper Paul leave DET Elsi sad
    'Because Paul is said/whispered to have LEFT], Elsi is sad.'

Temporal VFD

(16a) *Yo di/soufle* **[soti** *volè a* **soti]**,
    3PL say/whisper come-out thief DET come-out
    lapolis tire.
    the-police fire
    'They say/whisper (that) as soon as the thief CAME OUT, the police fired.'

(16b) **Soti** *yo di/*soufle* [volè a* **soti]**,
    come-out 3PL say/whisper thief DET come-out
    (epi) lapolis tire.
    (and-then) the-police fire
    'As soon as the thief is said/whispered to have COME OUT, the police fired.'[8]

2.1.2 Primary stress

In all the VFD examples in (1), the extracted lexeme (L1) bears primary stress. This property is transcribed in (17), and in further Haitian examples, as well as in our English translations, by means of small capitals:

(17a) *MALAD m te malad.*   [= (1a)]
    'I was SICK (not LAZY).'

(17b) *Ala BÈL li te bèl!*   [= (1b)]
    'She was SOOO pretty!'

(17c) *Ata MALAD m te malad lè (...)*   [= (1c)]
    'I was even SICK when...'

(17d) *Se MALAD m te malad.*   [= (1d)]
    (i) 'I was actually SICK (not LAZY).'
    (ii) 'I was REALLY SICK!'

(17e) *MALAD m te malad la te fè manman m tris.*   [= (1e)]
    'The fact that I was SICK made my mum sad.'

(17f) *MALAD m te malad la, manman m te tris.*   [= (1f)]
    'Because I was SICK, my mum was sad.'

(17g) *RIVE Pòl   rive,   (epi) Elsi te pati.*   [= (1g)]
      'Once Paul had ARRIVED, Elsi (had) left.'

2.1.3 Focus

In all instances of VFD, the reiterated lexeme is construed under focus.[9] In the Verb-Focus, *ala, ata* and Predicate-Cleft subtypes illustrated in (1a-c)/(17a-c), this property is quite straigthforward. But in the factive, causative and temporal subtypes, the same property may also be shown to obtain. The contextualised examples in (18)-(20) show that VFD is infelicitous if focus is intended on an argument rather than on the predicate. In (18), factive VFD is felicitous in a discourse context licensing predicate focus (18a), not in a context licensing argument focus as in (18b-(i)): if the focused constituent must be an argument, another construction is called for, e.g. (18b)(ii)):

Factive VFD

(18a) [CONTEXT: *Elsi p-ap   travay, men Pòl pa enkyete.]*
      Elsi NEG-UNAC work   but   Paul NEG worried
      'Elsi is out of work, but Paul is not worried.'
   MALAD   li   malad   la enkyete l.
   sick   3SG sick   DET worry 3SG
   'The fact that she is SICK worries him.'
   ('What worries him is the fact that she is SICK.')

(18b) [CONTEXT: *Tout moun gen grip, men sa pa di Jan anyen.]*
      everyone have flu   but this NEG tell John nothing
      'Everyone is down with the flu, but John doesn't give a hoot.'

(18b-i) **Malad ELSI malad la   enkyete Pòl.*
   sick   Elsi sick   DET worry   Paul
   Intended reading: 'Only the fact that ELSI is sick worries Paul.'

(18b-ii) *Se paske ELSI malad ki fè   l   enkyete .*
   SE because Elsi sick   that make 3SG   worried
   Lit. 'It is because ELSI is sick that makes him worried.'

Similarly in (19), causative VFD is felicitous in a discourse context licensing predicate focus (19a), not in a context calling for argument focus (19b-i). Under such pragmatic conditions, focus is signaled by means of another construction (19b-ii):

Causative VFD

(19a) [CONTEXT: *Elsi p-ap   travay, men sa pa   enkyete Pòl.]*
      Elsi NEG-UNAC work   but DM NEG worry   Paul
      'Elsi is out of work, but this does not worry Paul.'
   MALAD li   malad la,   li tris.
   sick   3SG sick DET 3SG sad
   Lit. 'Because she is SICK, he is sad.'
   ('The reason he's sad is that she is SICK.')

(19b) [CONTEXT: *Tout moun gen grip, men sa pa di   Jan   anyen.*]
                everyone have flu   but this NEG tell John nothing
                'Everyone is down with the flu, but John doesn't give a hoot.'

(19b-i) *Sèlman malad **ELSI** malad la,   Pòl   tris.*
        only   sick Elsi sick   DET Paul sad
        Intended reading: 'Paul is sad only because ELSI is sick.'

(19b-ii) *Sèlman paske   ELSI malad, Pòl   tris.*
        only   because Elsi sick   Paul sad
        Lit. 'Only because ELSI is sick, Paul is sad.'
        ('Paul is sad only because ELSI is sick.')

Temporal VFD is similarly felicitous in a discourse context calling for predicate focus, as in (20a), but not in a context calling for argument focus, as in (20b-(i) vs. (ii)):

Temporal VFD
(20a) [CONTEXT: *Eske   Elsi te   manje   yè?*]
                Q   Elsi ANT eat   yesterday
                'Did Elsi eat yesterday?'
        Wi: RIVE Pòl rive, li   manje.
        yes   arrive Paul arrive 3SG eat
        'Yes: as soon as Paul ARRIVED, she ate.'

(20b) [CONTEXT: *Elsi pa t(e) vle manje depi yè,   men..*]
                Elsi NEG ANT want eat   since yesterday but
                'Elsi had been refusing to eat since yesterday, but..'

(20b-i) *Rive POL rive, li   manje.*
        arrive Paul arrive 3SG eat
        Intended reading: 'As soon as PAUL arrived, she ate.'

(20b-ii) *Lè   POL rive, li   manje.*
        when Paul arrive, 3SG   eat
        'When PAUL arrived, she ate.'

These data are evidence that a verb-focus effect characterises VFD constructions independently of clefting. The fact that the reiterated V is construed under focus regardless of the external syntax of VFD is confirmed by the minimal pairs in (21)-(23). When a clause contains two or several combined Vs available for VFD (e.g. a modal V and a lexical V, a matrix V and an embedded V, a serial-verb string[10]), reiteration always indicates which V must be construed under focus:

Factive VFD
(21a) *[VLE Pòl vle vini an] fè   manman li   kontan.*
        want Paul want come DET make   mum   3SG happy
        'The fact that Paul WANTS to come pleases his mum.'

(21b) *[VINI Pòl vle vini an] fè manman li kontan.*
come Paul want come DET make mum 3SG happy
'The fact that Paul wants to COME pleases his mum.'

Causative VFD
(22a) *[VLE Pòl vle vini an] , manman li kontan.*
want Paul want come DET mum 3SG happy
'Because Paul WANTS to come, his mum is happy.'

(22b) *[VINI Pòl vle vini an], manman li kontan.*
come Paul want come DET mum 3SG happy
'Because Paul wants to COME, his mum is happy.'

Temporal VFD
(23a) *[DI yo di volè a sòti], lapolis tire.*
say 3PL say thief DET come.out the.police fire
'As soon as they SAID the thief came out, the police fired.'

(23b) *[SÒTI yo di volè a sòti], lapolis tire.*
come.out 3PL say thief DET come.out the.police fire
(i) 'As soon as the thief is said to have COME OUT, the police fired.'
(ii) 'As soon as they told the thief to COME OUT, the police fired.'

2.2 Distinguishing VFD subtypes

We propose to describe VFD as a single syntactic structure which forms a root sentence in the Bare subtype exemplified in (1a), and whose embedding in larger syntactic contexts gives rise to the other cases distinguished in (1) – *ala, ata*, factive, causative, temporal, and Predicate Cleft. In this section we survey the empirical properties of five of these subtypes, starting with the Bare subtype, and leaving Predicate Cleft to the last, due to the greater intricacies of this construction.

2.2.1 The Bare-VFD subtype

The Bare-VFD construction is exemplified above in (1a) and below in (24) in an appropriate pragmatic context calling for contrastive focus on the lexical V:

(24) *MALAD Elsi te malad (li pa te PATI).*
Sick Elsi ANT sick 3SG NEG ANT leave
'Elsi was SICK (she hadn't LEFT).'

Unlike the Predicate-Cleft construction in (25a) (further discussed below, section 2.2.5), the Bare VFD construction may only host one Tense specification, as witnessed by the minimal pair in (25):

(25a) *Se te MALAD Elsi te malad (li pa te PATI).*
SE ANT sick Elsi ANT sick 3SG NEG ANT leave
'Elsi was SICK (she hadn't LEFT).'

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(25b) *__Te__ MALAD *Elsi __te__ malad (li pa te PATI).*
       ANT sick   Elsi ANT sick   3SG NEG ANT leave

Bare VFD may only host sentence negation within its inflectional domain:

(26a) [CONTEXT: Although Elsi is supposed to be on sick leave,
                  I just learned that she organised a huge party last night]
       A, MALAD Elsi __pa__ te malad!
       ah sick   Elsi NEG ANT sick
       'Ah, so Elsi wasn't SICK!'

(26b) *__Pa__ MALAD *Elsi (pa) te malad.*
        NEG sick   Elsi NEG ANT sick

If properly contextualised, Bare VFD may host what Lefebvre (1998) calls the clausal determiner, LA (spelt out as *a* in (27b)):[11]

(27a) [CONTEXT: As I get up I can see Paul does not believe
                  I am about to leave – maybe he thinks I'm just going to get
                  myself a drink]
       ALE   m   ale.
       go   1SG   go
       'I'm GOING.'

(27b) [CONTEXT: Paul was expecting me to leave, but as I get up I
                  can see he rather believes I intend to get myself a drink and
                  return to my seat]
       ALE m ale a.
       go 1SG go DET
       'What I'm doing is GOING (as you know I was planning to do).'

In the *ala, ata*, Factive, Causative, Temporal and Predicate-Cleft subtypes distinguished in (1), the Bare VFD pattern described above may be argued to occur as a substructure, embedded in several types of broader syntactic contexts. For lack of space, we must leave aside here the details of *ala* and *ata*-VFDs. They share the main distributional characteristics of Bare VFD. *Ala*-VFD however gives rise to an intensive reading requiring a scalar predicate, while *ata*-VFD gives rise to a narrow restrictive-focus reading. In the next subsections we further explore the Factive, Causative, Temporal and Predicate-Cleft subtypes.

2.2.2 Factive VFD

In the factive subtype, VFD occurs in Haitian (H) where English (E) or French (F) would license nominalised clauses of the form *the fact that+TP/le fait que+TP*. Just like their English analogues, factive VFDs may occur in Haitian as subject-binding dislocated topics (28a), in subject position (28b), or in object position, as in (28c).

(28a) H   [*PATI Duvalier   pati   a*],   *sa   bon.*
              go   Duvalier   go   DET, DM   good
(28a') E   [*The fact that Duvalier is GONE*] *that is a good thing.*

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(28a") F [*Le fait que Duvalier soit   PARTI*]*, c'est bien*
DET fact that Duvalier be.SUBJ.3SG gone   it is   good

(28b) H   [*PATI Duvalier   pati   a*]   *bon.*
go   Duvalier   go   DET   good

(28b') E [*The fact that Duvalier is GONE*] *is a good thing.*

(28b") F [*Le fait que Duvalier soit   PARTI*]
DET fact that Duvalier be.SBJ.3SG gone
est une bonne chose.
is a   good thing

(28c) H *Elsi   kontan/regrèt* [*PATI Duvalier pati   a*]*.*
Elsi   pleased/regret   go   Duvalier go   DET

(28c') E *Elsi {is pleased with/regrets}* [*the fact that Duvalier is GONE*]*.*

(28c") F *Elsi {est contente de/regrette}* [*le   fait que Duvalier*
Elsi is pleased with/regrets   DET fact that Duvalier
soit   PARTI]*.*
be.SBJ.3SG go.PP

(28d) H *Elsi   pa   asepte* [*TOUYE yo touye Masiyon*]*.*
Elsi   NEG   accept kill   3PL kill Masiyon

(28d') H *Eli does not accept* [*the fact that they KILLED Masiyon*]*.*

(28d") F *Elsi n'   accepte pas* [*le   fait qu' on   ait*
Elsi NEG accept NEG DET fact that one AUX.SBJ.3SG
TUÉ   Massillon]*.*
kill.PP Masiyon

Importantly, in contexts which fail to license a nominalised clause of the form *the fact that TP* (English) or *le fait que+TP* (French), VFD fails to be licensed in Haitian, regardless of the presuppositional properties of the matrix predicate. VFD is thus unacceptable throughout (29), although under Kiparsky & Kiparsky's (1970) semantic definition of factivity, the verb meaning 'know' licenses a factive complement clause, unlike 'think' and '(be) possible':

(29a) H **[*PATI Duvalier   pati   a*]   *(, sa) pòsib.*
go   Duvalier   go   DET   DM possible

(29a') E **The fact that Duvalier is GONE (, it's) possible.*

(29a") F **Le fait que Duvalier soit   PARTI   (, c') est possible.*
DET fact that Duvalier be.SBJ.3SG go.PP   it is   possible

(29b) H **Elsi   konnen* [*PATI   Duvalier   pati   a*]*.*
Elsi   know   go   Duvalier   go   DET

(29b') E *Elsi knows the fact that Duvalier is GONE.

(29b") F *Elsi sait   le   fait que Duvalier est PARTI.
           Elsi knows DET fact that Duvalier is gone

(29c) H *Elsi panse [PATI Duvalier   pati   a].
          Elsi thinks go   Duvalier   go   DET

(29c') E *Elsi thinks the fact that Duvalier is GONE.

(29c") F *Elsi pense le   fait que Duvalier est PARTI.
           Elsi thinks DET fact that Duvalier is   gone

Under our own use of the term *factive*, the subject or object argument clause is nonfactive in (29a, b, c) since it may not be realised as *the fact that TP* in English, *le fait que TP* in French, or VFD in Haitian.

   Like nominalised argument clauses of the form *the fact that+TP/le fait que+TP* in English or French (cf. (30c,d), factive VFDs in Haitian may be clefted, as witnessed by (30b):

(30a) H [PATI Duvalier pati a]   bon.
           go   Duvalier go   DET good
          'The fact that Duvalier is GONE is a good thing.'

(30b) H Se [PATI Duvalier pati a]   ki   bon.
          SE go   Duvalier go   DET   that   good
          'It is the fact that Duvalier is GONE that is a good thing.'

(30c) E It is [the fact that Duvalier is GONE] that is a good thing.

(30d) F C'est [le   fait que Duvalier soit   PARTI]
          it is DET fact que Duvalier BE.SBJ.3SG gone
          qui est une bonne chose.
          that is a   good thing
          'It is the fact that Duvalier is gone that is a good thing.'

In Haitian, however, the clefting of factive clauses seems restricted to subjects. Thus, clefting the object VFD in (31a) gives an unacceptable result in (31b), contrasting both with the acceptable clefted nominal object in Haitian (31c), and the acceptable clefted clausal object in English (31d) and French (31e).

(31a) H Elsi pa   asepte   [TOUYE yo touye Masiyon   an].
          Elsi NEG accept   kill 3PL kill Masiyon DET
          'Elsi does not accept the fact that they KILLED Masiyon.'

(31b) H *Se [TOUYE yo touye Masiyon an] Elsi pa   asepte.
          SE kill   3PL kill Masiyon DET Elsi NEG accept
          Intended reading: 'It is the fact that they KILLED
          Masiyon that Elsi doesn't accept.'

(31c) H   *Se* [*FLÈ*]   *Elsi*   *pa*   *asepte.*
            SE   flower   Elsi   NEG   accept
            'It is FLOWERS that Elsi doesn't accept.'

(31d) E   *It is* [*the fact that they KILLED Masiyon*] *that Elsi doesn't accept.*

(31e) F   *C'est* [*le fait qu' on ait*   *TUE*   *Massillon*]
            it   is   DET fact that one AUX.SBJ.3SG kill.PP Masiyon
            qu' Elsi n'   accepte pas.
            that Elsi NEG accept   NEG
            'It is the fact that they KILLED Masiyon that Elsi does not accept.'

In order to turn (31b) into an acceptable cleft in Haitian, we need to make the clefted VFD a subject, as in (32):

(32)   *Se* [*TOUYE yo   touye Masiyon   an*]
        SE   kill   3PL   kill   Masiyon DET
        ki   *fè*   *Elsi pa*   *dakò.*
        that   make   Elsi NEG   agree
        Lit. 'It is the fact that they KILLED Masiyon, that makes Elsi disagree.'
        ('It's [the fact that they KILLED Masiyon], which upsets Elsi.')

These Haitian data are in keeping with Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy,[12] which states that from a crosslinguistic viewpoint, 'subjects are easier to relativise (or cleft) than any of the other major constituents of a sentence'. In Haitian it appears that nonsubjects may be relativised or clefted when they are noun phrases (cf. (31c)), but not when they are clausal.

      The factive VFDs in (28) through (32) contain the allomorphic[13] morpheme LA in phrase-final position, which correlates with an aspectual effect: in the presence of LA, the factive VFD is construed as denoting an actualised and completed event, while in its absence it is construed as generic or habitual. This aspectual effect of allomorphic LA, illustrated by the contrast between (33a) and (33b), is crucially distinct from the presuppositional effect triggered by the so-called clausal determiner (see fn. 11), as witnessed by the unavailability of the reading glossed in (33b-ii):[14]

(33a) [*GENYEN Pòl*   *genyen*] *fè*   *li*   *enteresan.*
        earn/win   Paul   earn/win make 3SG   interesting
        'The fact that Paul WINS/EARNS (GOOD MONEY) makes him interesting.'

(33b) [*GENYEN Pòl*   *genyen an*] *fè*   *li*   *enteresan.*
        win   Paul   win   DET   make 3SG interesting
        (i) 'The fact that Paul has WON/EARNED (GOOD MONEY) makes him interesting.'
        (ii) *'The fact that Paul WINS/EARNS (GOOD MONEY) as expected makes him interesting.

The semantic effect of LA in (33b), contrasting with (33a), is similar to the one it has in relativised DPs, as in (34b), contrasting with (33a) (cf. Zribi-Hertz & Glaude 2007):

(34a) [*mori   Pòl   achte*]   *chè.*
    codfish   Paul   buy   expensive
    'The codfish which Paul buys is expensive.'

(34b) [*mori   Pòl   achte   a*]   *chè.*
    codfish   Paul   buy   DET   expensive
    'The codfish (which) Paul (has) bought is expensive.'

With predicates a priori open to a stage-level (temporary) or individual-level (permanent) reading, phrase-final LA in factive VFD selects a temporary or telic interpretation. The more the predicate resists this type of interpretation, the less LA-insertion seems felicitous. Thus LA in (35c) would have to involve temporary ugliness, e.g. due to some hideous mask worn for the carnaval. With inherently stative predicates such as *renmen* 'like, love', LA is on the other hand obligatory in factive VFD (35d):

(35a) *MALAD Pòl   malad fè   manman li tris.*
    sick   Paul   sick   make mum   3SG sad
    'The fact that John is ill makes his mum sad.'

(35b) *MALAD Pòl   malad   la   fè   manman li   tris.*
    sick   Paul   sick   DET make mum   3SG   sad
    'The fact that John has fallen ill makes his mum sad.'

(35c) *LÈD   Pòl   lèd   (?la)   fè   li   enteresan.*
    ugly   Paul   ugly   DET make 3SG   interesting
    'The fact that Paul is ugly makes him interesting.'

(35d) *RENMEN Pòl renmen Elsi *(a) fè   li   kontan.*
    Love   Paul love   Elsi   DET make 3SG happy
    'The fact that John LOVES Elsi makes him/her happy.'

The data presented in this section are consistent with the assumption that factive VFDs are nominalised clauses, viz. DPs. As is expected of DPs, they are available in argument positions; also, as expected of DPs, they may be headed by the specific determiner (LA). Similarly to relativised DPs, the LA determiner in factive VFDs is crucially sensitive to Aktionsart.

2.2.3 Causative VFD

Causative VFD differs from factive VFD only with respect to external syntax. While factive VFD fills or binds an argument slot in the thematic grid of some predicate, causative VFD is left-adjoined to a matrix clause and construed as a causative adverbial. In (36) and (37) we see that with a dynamic predicate such as *kouri* 'run', the non-occurrence (36) or occurrence (37) of the specific determiner LA has the same aspectual effect in causative VFDs ((36b)/(37b)) as it has in factive VFDs (33):

(a) Factive and (b) causative VFD without LA
(36a) H   *[KOURI Pòl kouri anpil],*
             run   Paul run   a.lot
             (sa) fè   manman li   kontan.
             DM   make mum   3SG   happy
             Lit. 'The fact that Paul runs a lot (, it) makes his mum happy.'

(36a') E *[The fact that John RUNS a lot] (, it) makes his mum happy.*

(36a") F *[Le fait que Jean COURE   beaucoup]*
DET fact that Jean run.SBJ.3SG a.lot
(, ça) fait   plaisir   à sa mère.
 it   make pleasure to his mum
'The fact that John runs a lot (, it) pleases his mum.'

(36b) H *[KOURI Pòl   kouri anpil], li   bouke.*
 run   Paul   run   a.lot   3SG   knackered
Lit. 'The fact that Paul RUNS a lot, he is knackered.'

(36b') E *[Because John RUNS a lot], he is knackered.*
(36b") F *[Du   fait que Jean COURT beaucoup], il est crevé*
 of.the fact that John runs   a.lot   he is knackered
'Due to the fact that John RUNS a lot, he is knackered.'

(a) Factive and (b) causative VFD with LA

(37a) H *[KOURI Pòl   kouri anpil la]*
 run   Paul   run   a.lot   DET
(, sa) fè   manman li   kontan.
 DM   make mum   3SG   happy
'The fact that Paul has RUN a lot (, it) makes his mum
 happy.'

(37a') E *[The fact that John has RUN a lot](, it) makes his
  mum happy.*

(37a") F *[Le fait que Jean ait   beaucoup COURU]*
DET fact that Jean AUX.SBJ.3SG a.lot   run.PP
(, ça) fait   plaisir   à sa mère.
 it   make pleasure to his mum
'The fact that John has RUN a lot makes his mum happy.'

(37b) H *[KOURI Pòl   kouri anpil la], li   bouke.*
 run   Paul   run   a.lot   DET   3SG   knackered
Lit. 'The fact that Paul has RUN a lot, he is knackered.'

(37b') E *[Because Paul has RUN a lot], he is knackered.*
(37b") F *[Du   fait que Jean a   beaucoup COURU],*
 of.the fact that John has a.lot   run
il   est crevé.
 he is   knackered

Note that argument clauses of the form *the fact that+TP* (Fr. *le fait que+TP*) are typically (though not necessarily, cf. (1a)) theta-marked by their predicate as CAUSE, i.e. [+c, -m] under Reinhart & Siloni's (2005) Theta System, both in subject position (cf. *The fact that John is ugly makes him interesting*) and in the object position of some psychological predicates (cf. *John regrets the fact that Duvalier is gone*). Conversely, the causal connection between the adjunct

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and matrix clauses in, e.g., (37b), requires that the adjunct VFD be construed as reporting a *fact* whose truth value needs to be checked as positive for the matrix assertion to obtain. Further note that in French, a factive clause of the form *the fait que+TP* may occur as a causative adverbial when introduced by the functional preposition *de* –etymologically a Source marker (cf. (37b")). In Haitian, factive VFDs are licensed as sentence adverbials and construed as causative without any overt causal theta-marker.

    Basing ourselves on their similar internal morphosyntax, we assume that the factive and causative subtypes are two instances of nominalised VFDs, sketchily represented in (38), which may be merged in a larger clause either as arguments or as dislocated topics:[15]

The factive and causative subtypes

    (38)   [DP [VFD] D°][16]

Factive and causative VFDs differ with respect to clefting, since clefting, in Haitian, only seems available for clauses if they occur as subjects (see section 2.2.2). In this respect, causative VFD is more restricted than causal adverbials in English or French:

    (39a)   E   *It is [because (of the fact that) Paul is SICK] that Mary is sad.*

    (39b)   F   *C'est [(à cause) du   fait que Paul est MALADE] que*
                    it is   because of.the fact that Paul is sick   that
                    Marie est triste.
                    Mary is   sad
                    'It is because Paul is SICK that Mary is sad.'

    (39c)   H   **Se [MALAD Pòl   malad la]   Elsi tris.*
                     SE sick   Paul sick   DET   Elsi sad
                    Lit. 'It is the fact that Paul is SICK (that) Elsi is sad.'

    (39d)   H   *Se [MALAD Pòl   malad la]   ki   fè   Elsi tris.*
                    SE sick   Paul sick   DET that make Elsi sad
                    'It is the fact that Paul is SICK that makes Elsi sad.'

2.2.4 Temporal VFD

Temporal VFD occurs in sentence-initial position and precedes a tensed clause optionally introduced by *epi* '(and/so) then', expressing temporal succession. In such cases the initial VFD sets a time-reference background for the onset of the following event. Construed as salient, the predicate of the second clause is in the matrix focus. Depending on lexical and functional aspect within the sentence-initial VFD, the onset of the matrix event is located at the reference time-point of the VFD event, if the VFD event is punctual (40a) – or at the endpoint of the VFD event, if the VFD event is nonpunctual (40b). Similar temporal connections may be conveyed in English by, e.g., *when, as soon as, once*, introducing a temporal topic clause:

    (40)   *[RIVE Pòl   rive], (epi)   Elsi PATI.*
            arrive Paul arrive   then   Elsi leave
            Lit. 'Paul ARRIVED, so then Elsi left.'
            'As soon as Paul ARRIVED, Elsi left.'
            ('Once John had ARRIVED, Mary left.')

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(40b) *[MANJE Pòl   te   fin   manje diri a],   (epi) Elsi soti.*
       eat   Paul ANT finish eat   rice LA   THEN Elsi go.out
       Lit. 'Paul had finished EATING the rice, so then Elsi went out.'
       ('As soon as Paul had finished EATING the rice, Elsi went out.')
       ('Once Paul had finished EATING the rice, Elsi went out.')

The temporal-succession effect characteristic of this subtype requires VFD to be construed as event-denoting and telic. Hence, the VFD predicate cannot denote a state (41a/b), and its TMA specification must allow the successive connection to obtain (cf. (42)):

(41a) *[GRAN Pòl   gran],   (epi)   Elsi pati.*
        big   Paul big   then   Elsi leave
        Lit. 'Once Paul is BIG, Elsi left.'

(41b) *[GRAN Pòl   fin   gran],   Elsi pati.*
        big   Paul ACC   big   Elsi leave
        Lit. 'Once Paul had become BIG, Elsi left.'
        ('Once Paul had GROWN UP, Elsi left.')

(42) *[MANJE Pòl   t-ap   manje],   Elsi t-ap   pale.*
       eat   Paul   ANT-UNAC eat   Elsi ANT-UNAC talk
       (i) *'While Paul was/had been EATING, (so-then) Elsi was/had been talking.'
       (ii) 'Due to the fact that Paul was EATING, Elsi was talking.'

In (41a), with zero TMA specification, the predicate in the VFD component is construed as stative, and the result is rejected as ill-formed. In (41b), the temporal VFD is made acceptable by the aspectual marker *fin* which triggers an inchoative, hence dynamic, effect. In (42), where VFD is specified as unaccomplished by the *ap* particle, it may be construed as causative (42-ii), but excludes the temporal reading glossed in (42-i).

If the temporal VFD hosts the determiner LA, LA must be construed as the clausal determiner, not as the DP-determiner. Conversely, if LA is construed as the DP-determiner, the dislocated VFD is interpreted as causative, not as temporal. Thus, if the semantic connection between the sentence-initial VFD and the following clause is left morphologically unspecified, the LA determiner is a priori ambiguous (DP- or clausal determiner), whereas if the temporal connection is overtly specified by *epi*, as in (43b), the LA determiner may only be construed as clausal:

(43a) *[RIVE Pòl   rive   a],   Elsi pati.*
        arrive Paul arrive DET   Elsi leave
        (i) 'As soon as Paul ARRIVED (as we thought he would), Elsi left.'
        (ii) 'Due to the fact that Paul had ARRIVED, Elsi left.'

(43b) *[RIVE Pòl   rive   a],   epi   Elsi pati.*
        arrive Paul arrive DET   and.then Elsi leave
        'As soon as Paul ARRIVED (as we thought he would), Elsi left.'

With predicates denoting permanent properties, LA-less VFD dislocated in sentence-initial position is straightforwardly ungrammatical (cf. (41a)), since their properties satisfy no requirement for VFD licensing. The paratactic context calls for some inter-clausal connection to be construed, but the absence of the DP determiner precludes the causative connection, while the

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stative predicate precludes the temporal connection.

Temporal VFD cannot undergo clefting, as witnessed by (44):

(44) *Se [RIVE Pòl rive], (epi)   Elsi pati.
      SE   arrive Paul arrive and.then Elsi leave
      Lit. 'It's Paul had arrived, so-then Elsi left.'

Lefebvre (1998:366) proposes to derive this restriction from Ross's (1967) assumption that extraction is universally banned out of a conjoined constituent.

2.2.5 Predicate Cleft

2.2.5.1 *Argument-Cleft and Predicate-Cleft*. In Haitian as in English or French, arguments may be clefted, i.e. placed in the predicate of a matrix identificational clause hosting an expletive subject pronoun (cf. Piou 1982a, Lumsden 1990, DeGraff 1992, Lefebvre 1998, Veenstra 2007, Harbour 2008).[17] Haitian clefts only contrast with their English or French homologues as to the (c)overt realisation of the copula and complementiser:

(45a) E   *It   is books$_z$ that Paul   hates t_z.*

(45b) F   *C' est les livres$_z$ que Paul   déteste t_z.*
             it is   DET books that Paul   hates
             'It's books that Paul hates.'

(45c) H   *Se   liv$_z$ Pòl   rayi t_z.*
             SE   book   Paul   hate
             'It's books (that) Paul hates.'

The biclausality of clefts is witnessed by the availability of TMA markers in both the upstairs and downstairs domains:[18]

(46) *Se   te   liv   Pòl   te   rayi.*
      SE   ANT   book Paul ANT   hate
      'It was BOOKS that Paul used to hate.'

As regards interpretation, clefting – in Haitian, as in English and French – signals contrast, viz. the selection of an option (or subset of options) from a preidentified (topical) set. Thus, the clefted sentence *Se ELSI Pòl renmen* ('It is ELSI that Paul loves.') provides a felicitous response to (47b) rather than to (47a):

(47a) *Kisa Pòl renmen?*   —   #*Se [ELSI] li renmen.*
       who Paul love   it   Elsi 3SG love
       'Who does Paul love?'   'It's ELSI he loves.'

(47b) *Pòl renmen Mari?*   —   *Non: se [ELSI] li   renmen.*
       Paul love   Mary   no it Elsi 3SG love
       'Does Paul love Mary?'   'No: it's ELSI he loves.'

A remarkable property of Haitian, which has no counterpart in English or French, is that clefting may affect the fronted homonym of the verb in the VFD structure, giving rise to the construction

known as Predicate Cleft:

(48)   *Se*   [*MALAD*]   *tifi a*   *malad.*
        SE   sick   girl DET   sick
        'The girl is SICK.' [adapted from Piou 1982a:123]

Like the argument-cleft construction exemplified in (46), the Predicate-Cleft construction is biclausal, as witnessed by (49):

(49)   *Se* **te**   [*MALAD*]   *tifi a*   **te**   *malad*
        SE ANT   sick   girl DET ANT   sick
        (se **te**   *pa*   *MOURI l*   **te**   *mouri).*
        SE ANT NEG die   3SG   ANT   die
        'The girl was SICK (she did not DIE/was not DEAD).'

Predicate Cleft crucially contrasts with Argument Cleft in that the clefted predicate is a lexical root and seems to leave no trace, since it also overtly occurs in what looks like the V head within the TP domain. We return to this paradox in section 3.

2.2.5.2 *Bare VFD and Predicate-Cleft*. The biclausal Predicate-Cleft construction must be compared to the monoclausal Bare VFD construction discussed in section 2.2.1. From a formal viewpoint, reiteration-with-fronting and clefting both and independently signal the verb as focused. The contrastive-focus reading of the verb is common to Bare VFD and Predicate-Cleft, but Predicate-Cleft further allows an *intensive* reading of the focused verb, glossed in (50b-ii), which goes unlicensed in the Bare VFD in (50a-ii). Under the intensive reading, Predicate-Cleft is semantically similar to *ala*-VFD, but further work needs to be done on the precise semantics of *ala*:

(50a)   *MALAD*   *li*   *malad.*
         sick   3SG   sick
         (i) '(S)he is actually SICK (e.g. not DEAD).'
         (ii) * '(S)he is REALLY SICK.'

(50b)   *Se*   *MALAD*   *li*   *malad.*
         SE   sick   3SG   sick
         (i) '(S)he is actually SICK (e.g. not DEAD).'
         (ii) '(S)he is REALLY SICK.'

(50c)   *Ala*   *MALAD*   *li*   *malad!*
         ALA   sick   3SG   sick
         '(S)he is SOOO SICK!'.

Under the intensive reading, the Predicate-Cleft construction occurring as a complete utterance is – like the *ala*-VFD construction – perceived as having exclamatory force.

      Among the pragmatic contexts which a priori license both Bare VFD and Predicate-Cleft, we may mention the type exemplified in (51), where VFD (with or without clefting) occurs sentence-initially, followed by a clause optionally conjoined by *men* ('but') – or some other opposition connector (e.g. *poutan* 'however', etc.) – whose predicate is also under focus. The resulting interpretive effect may be conveyed in English or French either by oppositive conjunction – as translated in (i), or by concessive subordination – as translated in (ii):

(51a)   *ENTELIJAN*   *Pòl entelijan* ,
           intelligent   Paul intelligent
           (men/poutan) *li* *PA* *RENMEN LEKOL.*
           but/however   3SG NEG like   school
           (i) 'Paul is CLEVER, {but/however} he DOESN'T LIKE
               SCHOOL.'
           (ii) 'Although John is CLEVER, he DOESN'T LIKE SCHOOL.'

(51b)   *Se*   *ENTELIJAN Pòl*   *entelijan* ,
           SE   intelligent Paul intelligent
                (men/poutan) *li* *PA*   *RENMEN LEKOL.*
           but/however 3SG NEG like   school
           (i) 'Paul is CLEVER, (but/however) he DOESN'T LIKE SCHOOL.'
           (ii) 'Although Paul is CLEVER, he DOESN'T LIKE SCHOOL.'

In such cases, Bare VFD and Predicate-Cleft are intuitively perceived as synonymous.

2.2.5.3 *Predicate Cleft and sentence negation*. As emphasised in previous works on clefting, sentence negation may freely occur upstairs and/or downstairs in argument-clefts:

(52a)   *Se*   [*LIV*] *Elsi* **pa**   *renmen.*
           SE   book Elsi NEG   like
           'It's BOOKS that Elsi does not like.'

(52b)   *Se*   **pa**   [*LIV*] *Elsi*   *renmen.*
           SE   NEG   book Elsi   like
           'It's not BOOKS that Elsi likes.'

(52c)   *Se*   **pa**   [*LIV*] *Elsi* **pa**   *renmen.*
           SE   NEG   book Elsi NEG   like
           'It's not BOOKS that Elsi does not like.'

In the Predicate-Cleft construction, however, sentence negation appears to be blocked:

(53a)   *Se*   *MALAD tifi a* *pa*   *malad*
           SE   sick   girl DET NEG   sick
           *(ki fè   l   ap   kouri konsa).
           that make 3SG UNAC run   thus
           (i) *'The girl is not SICK (e.g. she's BUSY)'.
           (ii) 'It is [the fact that the girl is not SICK]
               (which makes her run the way she does).'

(53b)   *Se pa MALAD tifi a*   *malad*
           SE NEG sick girl DET   sick
           *(ki fè   l   bouke konsa).
           that make 3SG tired   thus
           (i) *'The girl is not SICK (e.g. she's BUSY)'.
           (ii) 'It is not [the fact that the girl is SICK]
               which makes her so tired.'

(53c) *Se pa malad tifi a   pa   malad*
      SE NEG sick   girl DET NEG sick
      *(ki fè   l   ap   kouri konsa).
      that make 3SG UNAC run   like-this
      (i) *‘The girl is not (NOT) SICK.’
      (ii) ‘It is not [the fact that the girl is NOT SICK] which makes
          her run the way she does.’

Unlike the affirmative sentence in (50b), which is licensed as an independent clause involving a focused V, the negated examples in (53) are not construed as *Predicate* Clefts. The only available readings involve the clefting of a factive VFD – hence of a DP – whether negation occurs downstairs (as in (53a)), upstairs (as in (53b)), or both upstairs and downstairs (as in (53c)). In other words, the sentences in (53a,b,c) only allow the structural and logical representations in (54), where focus and negation crucially do not scope together over the same predicate:

(54a) *Se*   [*MALAD tifi a pa malad*]   *ki fè l ap kouri konsa.*   [= (53a)]

(54b) *Se pa*   [*MALAD tifi a malad*]   *ki fè l bouke konsa.*   [= (53b)]

(54c) *Se pa*   [*MALAD tifi a pa malad]*   *ki fè l ap kouri konsa.*   [= (53c)]

Correlatively, an example such as (55) can only be licensed with the indicated structure involving a clefted factive VFD providing the subject of an elliptical predicate: in other words, as an incomplete sentence, an elliptical variant of, e.g., (54a):

(55) *Se* [*DP MALAD tifi a   pa   malad*] *(...)*
      SE   sick   girl DET NEG sick
      ‘It’s the fact that the girl is NOT SICK (which...)’

These data therefore support the assumption that the Predicate-Cleft construction cannot be placed under sentence negation. This constraint crucially distinguishes Predicate Cleft from Bare VFD: Bare VFD allows sentence negation to occur within its Inflectional Domain, as witnessed by (26a) above, whereas – according to all our consultants – Predicate Cleft does not, as shown by (53a).

     Piou (1982a) already observes that sentence negation is constrained with Predicate-Clefts, leaving the issue open for future research. She notes (1982a:135-136) that in the paradigm of examples reproduced below in (56), only (56b) may be construed as an instance of Predicate-Cleft:

(56a) *Se pa   renmen Mari renmen Nouyòk.*
      SE NEG like   Mary like   New York
      (i) *‘Mary DOESNT LIKE New York.’
      (ii) *‘Mary doesn't LIKE New York (e.g. she LOVES it).’
      (iii) ‘It is not [that Mary LIKES New York].’   [Piou’s adapted translation]
          ‘It is not [the fact that Mary LIKES NY] (which causes this situation).’
          [our own translation]

(56b) *Se travay Mari pa vle travay.*
SE work Mary NEG want work
(i) 'Mary doesn't want to WORK.' [Piou's translation]
(ii) 'What Mary doesn't want to do is WORK.' [our own translation]

(56c) *Se pa etidye Mari pa etidye leson an.*
SE NEG study Mary NEG study lesson DET
(i) *'Mary hasn't STUDIED the lesson.'
(ii) 'It is not [that Mary hasn't STUDIED the lesson].' [Piou's adapted translation]
(ii') 'It is not [the fact that Mary hasn't STUDIED the lesson] (which causes this situation).' [our own translation]

Piou's intuitions as regards the previous examples converge with Herby Glaude's, and our other consultants', suggesting that the same predicate cannot be at once clefted and negated: (56b) is thus well-formed because its negated V is *vle* while its clefted V is *travay*. But this restriction seems to bear specifically on the Predicate-Cleft subtype, hence on clefting, since negation seems to freely combine with verb focus in all other VFD subtypes (cf. (26a) for Bare VFD). An open issue at this point.[19]

2.2.5.4. *The clausal determiner* LA. What Lefebvre (1998) calls the 'clausal determiner' LA may occur in Haitian Predicate Clefts, with its usual presuppositional effect. The example in (57b) is intuitively synonymous with its bare-VFD counterpart in (57a) (repeated from (27b)):

[CONTEXT: Paul was expecting me to leave; but as I get up I can see he now believes I intend to get myself a drink and return to my seat]
(57a) *ALE m ale a.*
go 1SG go DET
'I'm GOING (as you know I was planning to do).'

(57b) *Se ALE m ale a.*
SE go 1SG go DET
'I'm GOING (as you know I was planning to do).'

Although these two elements are identical as to their morphology (base form LA, same allomorphic variation) and (phrase-final) linear position, the clausal determiner (hereunder: *clausal* LA) which occurs in Bare and Predicate-Cleft VFD differs as to its distribution and interpretation from the nominal determiner (hereunder: *DP*-LA) which occurs in factive VFD: (i) unlike DP-LA, clausal LA is always syntactically optional, including with stative predicates; (ii) unlike DP-LA, clausal LA does not trigger a completion effect with dynamic predicates (cf. (57)); (iii) unlike clausal LA, DP-LA does not trigger the presuppositional effect glossed in our examples by 'as expected' or 'as you know I was planning to do' (cf. (57)).

2.2.6. *Descriptive summary*

Our descriptive survey leads us to revise our initial subclassification of VFD based on the examples in (1). VFD in Haitian first and foremost comes out as a Verb-Focus construction. Verb Focus signaled by VFD may (among other options) combine with clefting, giving rise to the Predicate-Cleft structure. Nonclefted VFD may be placed under the scope of the exclamative-intensive marker *ala*, or of the restrictive-focus marker *ata;* VFD may also be nominalised, viz. embedded in a DP phrase revealed by the availability of the DP-determiner

LA—distinct from the homonymous clausal determiner. In the variety of Haitian under consideration (see fn.3), the clausal determiner seems available in a subset of cases where the homonymous DP-determiner is not –an issue we leave open for future research. Nominalised VFD is a factive nominalisation containing a focused V.

3 In search of a syntactic analysis

3.1 Laying out the issues

We now turn to the syntactic analysis of VFD in Haitian. An optimal analysis should be consistent with all the descriptive results presented above: it should account both for the central unity of VFD as a Verb-Focus strategy and for the crucial contrast between nominalised and non-nominalised VFD. It should bring a solution to the Extraction Paradox identified by Harbour (2008). On the one hand, the properties surveyed above (single argument grid for the iterated lexeme, unbounded dependency between the two identical instantiations, with sensitivity to bridge verbs) is evidence that the fronted lexeme in VFD has undergone A'-movement, hence landed in a specifier in the clause periphery. On the other hand, the fronted constituent appears to be a lexical root rather than a phrase, it cannot govern an argument the way a 'fully verbal' head can, and its extraction *seems* to leave no gap since the same lexeme is overtly spelt out in the V position within the TP domain. An optimal analysis should shed light on these apparently mysterious properties, and also provide empirical grounds for a theory of reiteration phenomena in natural languages, e.g.: Why is VFD attested in some natural-language grammars (e.g. Haitian) while it goes unlicensed in others (e.g. French)? Do the VFD constructions of Haitian indicate an 'iconic' relation between reiteration and 'intensive' semantic effects? Does the lexical reiteration characteristic of VFD constructions arise from a 'Copy' mechanism at any level of representation?

The available linguistic literature contains various analyses of VFD. We shall straightforwardly discard those proposals which crucially hinge on the presence of *se*, hence only account for the Predicate-Cleft subcase: Piou (1982a), Mufwene (1987), Lefebvre (1989, 1990, 1991), Lumsden (1990), Lumsden & Lefebvre (1990), DeGraff (1992). This leaves us with four major lines of analysis, discussed below.

3.2 The Cognate Object assumption (Bernabé 1983)

Bernabé (1983) discusses a number of Matinikè examples which are akin to the VFD constructions considered in this study but not strictly identical to them. His VFD-like examples are either cleft constructions whose cleft component is quantised and placed under negation, as in (58), or left-dislocated strings quantified by *tout*, as in (59):

Matinikè
(58a) *Sé pa **ti** dòmi Pyè dòmi.*
 SE NEG little sleep Pyè sleep
 'It is not little sleep that Peter slept.'
 ('Peter slept a lot.') [adapted from Bernabé 1983: 1183-84]

(58b) *Sé **pa an sèl** chayé Pyè chayé dlo.*
 SE NEG a single carry Pyè carry water
 Lit. 'It is not a single carry Peter carried water.
 ('Peter did a lot of water-carrying.') [adapted from Bernabé 1983 : 1114]

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(59a) ***Tout dòmi*** *i* *ka* *dòmi a,* *i* *toujou las.*
     all   sleep 3SG NONP sleep DET, 3SG always tired
     Lit. '(For) all the sleeping he sleeps, he's always tired.'
     ('Although he sleeps a lot, he's always tired.') [adapted from Bernabé 1983: 1090]

(59b) ***Tout alé*** *ou alé lékòl* *la,* *ou* *pa* *apwann ayen.*
     all   go 2SG go school DET 2SG NEG learn   nothing
     Lit. '(For) all the going you went to school, you didn't learn anything.'
     ('Although you went to school a lot, you didn't learn anything.')

Such examples have analogues in Haitian, e.g.:

(60a) *Se **pa ti** **dòmi** Elsi dòmi.*
     SE NEG little sleep Elsi sleep
     Lit. 'It's not little sleep Elsi slept.'
     ('Elsi REALLY slept.')

(60b) ***Tout lèd*** *li* *lèd* *la,* *(men) tout moun* *renmen li.*
     all   ugly 3SG ugly DET but every person like   3SG
     Lit. 'However ugly she is ugly, everyone likes her.'
     ('UGLY (as) she may be, (but) everyone likes her.')

Bernabé doesn't propose any structural representations for such examples, but he clearly relates them to sentences involving non-extracted occurrences of what he informally labels *homonymous complements* of the verb, exemplified in (61) for Matinikè, and in (62) for Haitian:

Matinikè
(61a) *Pyè dòmi **an bon dòmi**.*
     Pyè sleep a good sleep
     'Peter had a pleasant sleep.' [adapted from Bernabé 1983 : 1083]

(61b) *Pyè ka chayé moun {**bon/gwo} chayé**.*
     Pyè NONP carry people good/big   carry
     'As for carrying people, Peter does a lot of that.' [adapted from Bernabé 1983 : 1111]

Haitian
(62a) *Pyè dòmi **bon dòmi**.*
     Pyè sleep good sleep
     Lit. 'Peter slept good sleep.'
     ('Peter slept real good.')

(62b) *Pyè pote moun **bon pote**.*
     Pyè carry people good carry
     Lit. 'Peter carried people good carry.'
     ('Peter carried people for good.')

Since such 'homonymous complements' of V may cooccur with direct objects, as witnessed by (60b)/(62b), Bernabé concludes (1983: 1118) that they themselves cannot be identified as direct

objects. He proposes to analyse them as *secondary cognate objects* (French: *compléments d'objet internes seconds*), and assumes that the Matinikè constructions exemplified in (58) and (59) involve the clefting or raising of such secondary cognate objects to the clause periphery. He further emphasises that secondary cognate objects are *complements of* the verb, unlike 'NON-complement copies' of the verb, illustrated in (63):

Matinikè

(63a) *Pyè ka   dòmi dòmi é(pi) i   ka   kité*
Pyè NONP sleep sleep and 3SG NONP leave
tout travay la   ba(n) mwen.
all   work DET to   1SG
'Peter is sleeping sleeping and he's leaving all the work to me.' [adapted from Bernabé 1983 : 1080]

(63b) *Sa   Pyè ni   ka   dòmi dòmi konsa?*
what Pyè   have NONP sleep sleep like.that?
Lit. 'What does Peter have (to) be sleeping sleeping like that?'
('What's the matter with Peter sleeping on and on like that?') [adapted from Bernabé 1983 : 1080]

Bernabé draws a syntactic parallel between 'homonymous complements' of the verb, as in (61) above (repeated in (64a)), and the nonhomonymous complement of *fè* 'do' in (64b):[20]

Matinikè

(64a) *Pyè dòmi an bon   dòmi.*   [= (61a)]
Pyè sleep a   good sleep
'Peter had a pleasant sleep.'

(64b) *Nou fè   an ti   dòmi.*
1PL do   a   little sleep
'We took a little nap.' [adapted from Bernabé 1983: 1086]

To summarise, Bernabé discusses Matinikè constructions which are similar to the VFD constructions considered in this study, in that they involve a homonym of the verb, but are also distinct from the VFD contructions under consideration in two crucial respects: (i) the homonym of the verb which they contain is crucially quantified and/or modified; (ii) the interpretative effect they trigger is distinct from contrastive verb focus. In the constructions he discusses, Bernabé analyses the 'copy phrase' (the phrase containing the verb's homonym) as a 'secondary cognate object' of the verb, therefore as nominal. The assumption that 'homonymous complements' are nominal in nature, also emphasised by Mufwene (1987), is consistent with the cognate-object analysis. However, in the absence of any modifier or determiner on the verb's homonym in the VFD constructions under study here, the claim that the V-homonymous extracted expression is nominal needs to be supported by independent evidence. However, such supportive evidence is lacking. Thus, although many lexical roots in creole may alternatively occur as nouns or verbs in syntax (e.g. Haitian *manje* = 'to eat' or 'food', cf. Filipovich 1987, a.o.), some lexical roots are restricted to one type of position. Haitian examples of such V/N pairs are given in (65) and (66):

bay 'give' vs. *don* 'gift'

(65a) *Elsi {bay/*don} LaCroixRouge rad   sa yo.*
Elsi give gift the.Red.Cross clothes DM PL
'Elsi gave (*gift) the Red Cross those clothes.'

(65b) *Elsi fè   LaCroixRouge {*bay/don}   sa a.*
Elsi make the.Red.Cross   give gift DM DET
'Elsi made the Red Cross this gift (*give).'

opere 'operate on' vs. *operasyon* 'surgery'
(66a) *Doktè a {opere/*operasyon} yon malad.*
doctor DET operate/surgery   a   patient
Lit. 'The doctor {operated/*surgeried} a patient.'

(66b) *Doktè a   fè {*opere/operasyon} sa a.*
doctor DET did   operate/surgery   DM DET
'The doctor performed this {*operate/surgery}.'

It turns out that of the two members of such lexical pairs, only the one available for the V head may fill the extracted position in VFD constructions:

(67a) *(Se) {BAY/*DON} Elsi bay LaCroixRouge rad   sa yo.*
 SE   give/*gift   Elsi give the.Red.Cross clothes DM PL
'Elsi actually GAVE the Red Cross those clothes.'

(67b) *(Se) {OPERE/*OPERASYON} dòktè a   opere malad la.*
 SE   operate/*surgery   doctor DET operate patient DET
'The doctor actually OPERATED on the patient.'

These examples challenge the claim that the extracted expression in VFD constructions is a (bare) nominal instantiating a (secondary) cognate object.

3.3   The Event-Argument assumption (Manfredi 1993, Lefebvre 1998)

Unlike the previous theory, this one aims at accounting for VFD constructions of the types described in section 2, viz. involving extraction of a lexical root. Like the previous theory, this one treats the extracted expression as nominal. It however departs from the previous approach in assuming that this raised nominal instantiates an *event argument* of the verb, phonologically spelt out as a copy of V. Although categorially nominal, it may cooccur with a thematic argument (a direct object) because it instantiates an event feature. The fact that the fronted L1 in VFD may not project is derived from its inherent feature content. Lefebvre further assumes that the availability of the type of event feature which gives rise to VFD crucially correlates with the existence of an *event clausal determiner* in the grammar of the language. The two minimal pairs in (68) and (69), adapted from Lefebvre (1998), are meant to illustrate the clausal determiner LA in Haitian, distinguishing two uses of this element: as an assertion marker (68b), and as an event determiner (69b):

The clausal determiner LA as an assertion marker (Lefebvre 1998)

(68a) *Jan   rive   Pòtoprens.*
John   arrive Port-au-Prince
'John arrived in Port-au-Prince.'

(68b) *Jan   rive   Pòtoprens   **la.***
John   arrive Port-au-Prince   DET
'Actually, John arrived in Port-au-Prince.'
[example (68b) from Lefebvre 1998:224]

The clausal determiner LA as an event determiner (Lefebvre 1998)

(69a) *Moun   nan   kraze   yon   manchinn.*
man   DET   destroy   a   car
'The man has destroyed a car.'

(69b) *Moun   nan   kraze   yon   manchinn   **nan**.*[21]
man   DET   destroy   a   car   DET
'The man has destroyed a car (as we knew/as expected).'
[example (69b) from Lefebvre 1998:229]

Lefebvre thus predicts that VFD should arise in Haitian and Fongbe, whose grammars are both claimed to license an event clausal determiner, but not in, e.g., French or English, assumed to have no such determiner.

Lefebvre's theory of VFD however faces at least three problems. First, in at least one variety of informal French (Modern Parisian French), we find a very widespread use of the functional locative morpheme LA (the lexifier of Haitian LA) exemplified in (70b), which is very reminiscent of Haitian LA used as a 'clausal event determiner':

(Parisian) French
(70a) *Le   type (il)   a   bousillé   une   voiture.*
DF.MSG guy   3MSG AUX.PRS.3SG destroy.PP a.FSG car
'The guy (he) (has) destroyed a car.'

(70b) *Le type (il)   a bousillé   une   voiture, **là**.*
'There you see, the guy destroyed a car.'

The occurrence of unstressed LA in clause-final position in informal French triggers a range of interpretations, one of which (glossed by 'there you see' in (70b) and below) an expectation effect very similar to the one Lefebvre glosses by 'as expected' and associates with 'clausal LA' in Haitian. Furthermore, like Haitian LA in (71), the clause-peripheral unstressed LÀ in French (72) seems incompatible with a predicate denoting a permanent property:

Haitian
(71a) *Li   mouri   (a).*
3SG   die   LA
'(There you see/this time) she's dead.'

(71b) *Li   entelijan   (*an).*
3SG   intelligent   LA
'(*There you see/this time) she's intelligent.'

French

    (72a)   *Elle   est   morte   (, là).*
              3FSG   AUX.PRS.3SG   dead.FSG   LA
              '(There you see/this time) she's dead.'

    (72b)   *Elle   est   intelligente   (*, là).*
              3FSG   AUX.PRS.3SG   intelligent.FSG   LÀ
              '(*There you see/this time) she's intelligent.'

Second, the event-argument theory predicts that VFD in Haitian should be globally incompatible with noneventive predicates, viz. stative predicates denoting permanent properties. This prediction, however, is not empirically borne out, as witnessed by the acceptability of (73):

    (73)   ENTELIJAN *li entelijan (li   pa   konn* KOPYE).
           intelligent 3SG intelligent 3SG NEG   know crib
           '(S)he's INTELLIGENT ((s)he wouldn't CRIB).'

Only the temporal use of VFD excludes predicates denoting permanent properties: this follows from an external factor — the successivity connection which, in this subcase, must link the VFD string to the following clause.

       Third, in claiming that the fronted expression in VFD is an event argument of the V raised by A'-movement, the event-argument theory predicts that the same event argument should be able to be spelt out, prior to raising, in some position within the inflectional domain. As pointed out by Harbour (2008), low V reiteration *does* occur in Haitian, as exemplified in (74b). However, the semantic effect of low V reiteration is contrastive focus (as glossed in (74b-i)), rather than any effect we would be entitled to expect from an 'event argument' — e.g. those glossed in (74b-ii), (74iii), (74iv):

    (74a)   *Li   malad*.
             3SG sick
             '(S)he's sick.'

    (74b)   *Li   malad* MALAD.
             3SG sick   sick
             (i) '(S)he's actually SICK (e.g. not DEAD).'
             (ii) *'There you see, (s)he's SICK (as expected).'
             (iii) *'This time (s)he's SICK.'
             (iv) *'She has become SICK.'

This is evidence that the event argument assumed to occur in VFD could not be spelt out in its base position, hence should undergo obligatory raising to the clause periphery. But the event-argument theory explains neither why event arguments should be obligatorily focused, nor why focus marking should obligatorily trigger movement for this type of arguments.

       We conclude that the event-argument theory of VFD cannot be upheld for Haitian.

3.4.   The Parallel-Chain Theory (Koopman 1997, Aboh & Dyakonova 2009)

Under these two theories the derivation of VFD in Gbe crucially involves two independently-motivated movements of the V, one to Tense/Aspect, the other to a Focus projection in the

clause periphery. Under Koopman's analysis, these two movements are respectively Head Movement (V-to-Tense), and Phrasal Movement (VP to spec,FocP): the object (should there be one) moves out of VP to some functional projection within the inflectional domain, and what raises up to the periphery is the remnant VP (now reduced to V). The V ends up being spelt out both in Tense and in a Focus head in the clause-periphery, with reiteration explained by the fact that focus requires overt spell out. Under Aboh & Dyakonova's theory, both movements instantiate Head Movement, and they respectively target the Aspect and Focus heads, analysed as different types of heads.

Each one of these two theories brings its own solution to the Extraction Paradox and sheds light on other properties: Koopman makes use of the 'remnant movement' idea to account for the paradoxical status of the fronted expression in VFD – it must be phrasal (a VP) in order to undergo A'-movement; but it is reduced to a lexical root, since the object has left the VP prior to extraction. Under this analysis, we expect long-distance dependencies to obtain across VFDs, a correct prediction as regards Haitian, but not as regards Gungbe, according to Aboh & Dyakonova (2009). Under these authors' theory, the analysis of Focus Movement as Head Movement predicts that long-distance dependencies in VFD should exhibit Minimality effects, an assumption supported by the fact that VFD cannot host sentence negation in Gbe: since Focus and Negation are two heads of the same (quantificational) type – Aboh and Dyakonova argue – V cannot move past Negation on its way up to Focus. The fronted V in VFD generally cannot undergo long-distance extraction in Gbe: Aboh & Dyakonova (2009) (following Aboh 2003, 2004) derive this constraint from the overt spell-out of the C head. This idea may account for the fact that unlike Gbe, Haitian (where C is null), allows long-distance extraction of the fronted V:

(75a)   Gbe   *_**Xò**   ùn   sé   **dò**   Súrù   **xò**   wémá._
                buy   1SG   hear   that   Suru   buy   book
                Intended reading: 'I heard that Suru BOUGHT a book.'
                [adapted from Aboh & Diakonova 2009]

(75b)   H   _(se)_   **_ACHTE_**   _yo_   _di m Elsi_   **_achte_**   _yon liv._
        SE   buy   3PL   tell 1SG Elsi   buy   a   book
        'I'm told Elsi BOUGHT a book.'

Unlike the other theories discussed above, the Parallel-Chain theory does not treat the raised expression in VFD as a nominal argument. Nevertheless, the transference to Haitian of this theory proposed for Gbe runs into a few problems.

First, the claim (put forward by Aboh & Dyakonova, but not by Koopman) that the fronted expression targets the Focus _head_ conflicts with the assumption that cleft constructions in Haitian are structured – as are clefts in e.g., English or French – as identificational predications whose subject is filled by an expletive pronoun (_se_ in Haitian, cf. DeGraff 1992) and whose predicate is instantiated by the clefted constituent (cf. (45) above). If the clefted expression stands as a predicate with respect to the expletive pronominal subject _se_, the clefted expression should occupy a phrasal position, not a head position, whatever its categorial status.

Second, the Parallel-Chain theory crucially hinges on the availability of V-to-Asp in languages licensing VFD (this remark applies to both Koopman's and Aboh & Dyakonova's theories). In Haitian, however, unlike in Gbe, there is no sign of V raising to Tense, Mood or Aspect – no such examples as (76b) below, showing affixation of a TMA marker to the verb root:

(76a) Gbe   *Elom dù-na   mónlu.*
              Elom eat-HAB rice
              'Elom habitually eats rice.'
              [Aboh & Dyakonova 2009, ex. (18a)]

(76b) H   **Pòl*   *manj-ap   *diri.*
              Paul   eat   UNAC   rice

(76c) H   *Pòl   ap   manje diri.*
              Paul   UNAC   eat   rice
              'Paul will eat/is eating rice.'

Third, the Parallel-Chain theory proposed by Aboh & Dyakonova is claimed to be supported by the unavailability of sentence negation in VFD, in Gbe. But as shown above by (26a) and other examples (cf. section 2.2.5.2), VFD is compatible with sentence negation in Haitian, In this language, what seems to block sentence negation in VFD is not VFD itself but Predicate Clefting, which does not appear to have an exact equivalent in Gbe.

We conclude that the Parallel-Chain theory, as formulated either by Koopman or by Aboh & Dyakonova to account for the Gbe data, does not provide a satisfactory account of VFD in Haitian.

3.5. The Contrastive-Doubler theory

3.5.1. Deriving VFD from low contrastive V-reiteration

Basing his analysis on the Predicate-Cleft construction of Haitian (*Klivaj Predika*), which he does not distinguish from the Bare VFD, Harbour (2008) proposes to derive, via A'-movement, the Predicate-Cleft construction in (77b) from the low V-reiteration structure in (77a) (so-called *Contrastive Reduplication* (CR)), which also triggers a verb-focus effect. Harbour observes that the CR pattern exemplified in (77a) is productive in Haitian and may trigger either an intensive reading (as in, e.g. 'FRIGHTFULLY sick') or a contrastive reading (as in 'actually SICK'). The same ambiguity arises from the English translation '*really*+Predicate':

(77a) *Yo   touye touye Janmari Vinsan.*
       3PL   kill   kill   Janmari Vinsan
       Lit. 'They KILLED-killed Janmari Vinsan.'
       ('They REALLY KILLED Janmari Vinsan.')

(77b) *Se **touye* *yo **touye* *Janmari Vinsan.*
       SE kill   3PL kill   Janmari Vinsan
       'They REALLY KILLED Janmari Vinsan.'

The CR pattern illustrated in (77a) for Haitian verbs is the same as the one illustrated by the English examples in (78), taken from Ghomeishi & al. (2004), who show that CR may a priori apply to any lexical category:

(78a) *I'll make the tuna salad and you make the SALAD-salad.*
(78b) *They are rich, of course, but not RICH-rich,*
       not NEW YORK CITY rich.
(78c) *Are you LEAVING-leaving?*

The CR examples in (77a) and (78) must crucially be distinguished from the Haitian constructions illustrated in (79), already mentioned above, where the verb's homonym supports a modifier and no verb-focus effect obtains:

(79a) *Pòl* **dòmi** [*yon ti* **dòmi**].
Paul sleep a little sleep
'Paul slept a little.'

(79b) *Kite m* **ekri** [**ekri** *m*].
let 1SG write write 1SG
'Let me write as I please.'

Harbour's major assumption is that the verb-focus effect observed in the Predicate-Cleft construction – but we showed above (sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3) that verb focus is a property of all VFD subtypes – primarily arises from a low V-reiteration (CR) structure, and thus obtains prior to both V-fronting and clefting. In other words, a Predicate-Cleft VFD construction such as (80a) is derived from (77a) above. This analysis straightforwardly predicts that VFD and CR are in complementary distribution in Haitian. This prediction is borne out regardless of the VFD subtype. (80) illustrates this restriction for the Bare VFD:

(80a) *TOUYE yo touye Janmari Vinsan.*
'They REALLY KILLED Janmari Vinsan.'

(80b) **TOUYE yo touye touye Janmari Vinsan.*

Further evidence supporting Harbour's assumption that Haitian VFD is fed by low contrastive V reiteration is the fact that the same small set of monosyllabic degree adverbs (mainly *trè* 'very' and *byen* 'well, very, much') may optionally be included in the reiterated material both in the low contrastive V-reiteration construction (cf. (81a), (82a)) and in the VFD construction (cf. (81b), (82b)):

(81a) *Li TRE FO trè fò (oubyen li jis PASAB)?*
3SG very strong very strong (or SG just so-so)
'Is (s)he REALLY VERY STRONG (or is (s)he just SO-SO)?'

(81b) *Se TRE FO li trè fò (li pa jis PASAB).*
SE very strong 3SG very strong 3SG NEG just so-so
'(S)he's REALLY VERY STRONG ((s)he's not just SO-SO).'

(82a) *Li BYEN MANJE byen manje (oubyen li jis GOUTE)?*
3SG well eat well eat or 3SG just pick
'Did (s)he REALLY EAT WELL (or did she just PICK AT HER FOOD)?'

(82b) *Se BYEN MANJE li byen manje (li pa jis GOUTE).*
SE well eat 3SG well eat 3SG NEG just pick
'(S)he REALLY ATE WELL ((s)he didn't just PICK AT HER FOOD).'

We assume that the degree adverbs under consideration are in such cases construed as forming with the V head a complex lexeme (e.g. *trè-fò, byen-manje*), which regularly undergoes low contrastive V reiteration and Focus Raising.

3.5.2. In search of a formal analysis

Harbour's analysis however raises two problems for Haitian. First, he analyses the reiterated string (e.g. *touye touye* in (77a)) as a complex lexeme, therefore assumes that A'-movement applies from within a word. However this option does not seem a priori available. Thus in such English examples as in (83), the verb-internal modifier cannot be extracted:

(83)   *John **double-**locked the door.*
(83a)   *How did John lock the door? — #**Double.***
(83b)   **It was [**double**] that John locked the door.*

(84)   *John was **clean**-shaven*
(84a)   *How was John shaven? — #**Clean.***
(84b)   **It was [**clean**] that John was shaven.*

(85)   *They **dry-**cleaned my coat.*
(85a)   *How did they clean your coat? — #**Dry**.*
(85b)   **It was [**dry**] that they cleaned my coat.*

In order to smooth out this problem, the expression undergoing A'-movement in the derivation of VFD should be as a syntactic phrase, rather than as a word-internal constituent.[22]

Another problem lies in the assumption that both the intensive (which Harbour calls 'augmentative') and the 'contrastive' readings available for low contrastive V-reiteration are triggered by a single structure, from which VFD is derived. While it is true that Predicate-Clefts may trigger intensive effects (cf. (1d-ii)), this property neither obtains across all Predicate-Clefts, nor extends to all other VFD subtypes. Harbour further notes that the intensive reading of Predicate-Clefts is only available with scalar predicates. With nonscalar predicates, Predicate-Clefts only allow a contrastive-focus reading:[23]

(86a)   *Se MALAD Pòl malad!*
        SE sick   Paul sick
        'Paul is REALLY SICK.'
        (i) 'literally SICK, as opposed to sick-ISH' or DEAD.'[contrastive]
        (ii) 'FRIGHTFULLY sick'   [intensive]

(86b)   *Se BILENG   Pòl bileng* !
        SE bilingual Paul bilingual
        'Paul is REALLY BILINGUAL.'
        (i) 'literally BILINGUAL, as opposed to KINDA-bilingual'
            or 'MONOLINGUAL' [contrastive]
        (ii) *'FRIGHTFULLY bilingual'[intensive]

Similarly, in bare VFDs, as well as in the factive, causative and temporal subtypes, only the contrastive reading arises:

(87a)   [*MALAD Pòl malad la*] *fè manman li tris.*
        'The fact that John is SICK makes his mum sad.'
        (i) 'SICK, as opposed to, e.g., UNEMPLOYED'   [contrastive]
        (ii) *'FRIGHTFULLY sick'   [intensive]

(87b) *RIVE   Pòl   rive,   Elsi SOTI.*
'Once Paul had ARRIVED, Elsi WENT OUT.'
(i) 'ARRIVED, as opposed to NOT-ARRIVED'   [contrastive]
(ii) *'FRIGHTFULLY arrived'   [intensive]

This indicates that intensiveness is only a side-effect of VFD with a subclass of scalar predicates, and in a subclass of external contexts (Predicate Clefts, or *ala*-exclamatives, cf. (1b)). The semantic effect of Bare VFD is *contrastive focus*, which also characterises one subtype of low lexical reiteration – the one described by Ghomeishi & al. (2004) under the label *contrastive reduplication* (CR), and illustrated above by the English examples in (78). This type of reiteration, whose effect may be roughly paraphrased by 'actually X (not Y)', is shown by Ghomeishi & al. to apply to items having lexical features, whose denotation they describe as 'restricted to [their] prototype' (Ghomeishi & al. 2004: 316). We may note that unlike intensive reiteration, as in Haitian (88a), or English (88b), CR does not allow more than two occurrences of the reiterated lexeme:

(88a) H *Li ekri ekri (ekri) (...), jiskaske men   li   fè   l   mal*
           3SG write write write   until   hand 3SG make 3SG pain
           '(S)he wrote wrote (wrote) (...), until his/her hand hurt.'

(88b) E *He wrote (and) wrote (and) wrote (until his wrist hurt).*

(88c) H *Li   bileng   BILENG (*BILENG), oubyen li   jis*
           3SG   bilingual bilingual   or   3SG just
           DEBROUYE   l[24]   annanglè?
           handle.the.basics   REFL   in.English
           'Is she actually BILINGUAL, or can she just handle the English basics?'

(88d) E *Is (s)he (*BILINGUAL) BILINGUAL bilingual, or can (s)he just handle the basics?*

Since, as noted by Harbour, VFD cannot involve more than two occurrences of the reiterated item, as further witnessed below by (89), the contrast between (88a,b) and (88c,d) brings empirical support to our claim that CR (NOT intensive reiteration) must be singled out as the low contrastive reiteration structure which feeds VFD:

(89a) *Se TOUYE (*TOUYE) yo touye Janmari Vinsan.*
        SE kill   kill   3PL kill Janmari Vinsan
        'They actually KILLED Janmari Vinsan.'

(89b) *[TOUYE (*TOUYE)   yo touye Janmari Vinsan]*
        kill   kill   3PL kill   Janmari Vinsan
        fè   Elsi   pa   dakò.
        make   Elsi   NEG   agree
        'The fact that they actually KILLED Janmari Vinsan seriously upsets Elsi.'

(89c) *[RIVE (*RIVE) Jan rive], (epi)   Elsi SOTI.*
        arrive arrive Jan arrive and.then Elsi go.out
        'Once John had ARRIVED, Elsi WENT OUT.'

This discussion leads us to conclude that although Harbour's leading idea – that VFD in Haitian is fed by low contrastive V-reiteration – is correct, the derivation he proposes needs to be amended for at least two reasons: (i) the extracted expression should be a syntactic constituent filling a phrasal position; (ii) the low contrastive V-reiteration configuration should only trigger contrastive focus, with the intensive effect triggered by independent properties (e.g. clefting, *ala*, exclamative force).

Ghomeishi & al. (2004) propose to derive Contrastive Reduplication (CR) via a copy rule analysed as an instance of Head Movement, as represented in (90):

(90)   Deriving CR
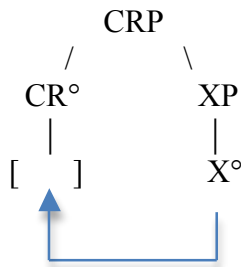
[Ghomeishi& al. 2004: 347]

These authors analyse CR° as a functional head which hosts a strong contrastive feature, hence attracts the head of its lexical complement (XP). Reiteration results from the tail of the chain failing to be deleted. This property distinguishes CR (91a) from contrast without reiteration (91b):

(91a)   *It's YELLOW-yellow.*
(91b)   *It's YELLOW.*

Exported to Haitian, this analysis however does not allow us to derive VFD from CR, if VFD should – as shown above – be derived via A'-movement: if CR is derived by Head Movement, as in (88), and VFD by A'-movement, we are led back to the paradox which Harbour's analysis was attempting to solve.
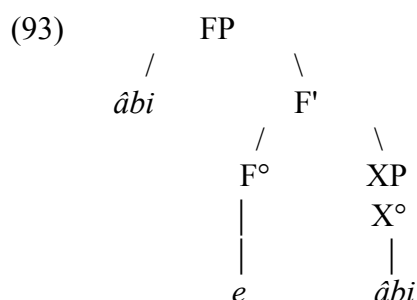
The Morphological Doubling Theory proposed by Inkelas & Zoll (2005), followed by Ghaniabadi & al. (2006), could lead us to a solution. Under this theory, the low contrastive reiteration structure crucially does not involve any copying rule (hence, no Head Movement operation as in (90)). It simply involves the external merging of the same lexeme in two different structural positions, which in this case triggers a contrastive-focus effect. Following Jackendoff (1997, 2002), the authors assume that the reiterated string (e.g. *yellow yellow*) forms a lexical entry. However, if we consider the Persian example in (92) from Ghaniabadi & al. (2006), which exhibits the typical CR semantics, we note that its two lexical constituents are syntactically articulated by the *ezafe* morpheme:

Persian
(92a)   *âbi*
            'blue'

(92b)   *âbi-e âbi*
            'completely/pure blue' [Ghaniabadi & al.'s translation]
            'BLUE blue' (our own translation)

The *ezafe* morpheme[25] may be identified as a functional head linking together a lexeme and its modifier/specifier. We may therefore assume for (92b) the structure in (93):

(93)
```
              FP
           /      \
       âbi          F'
                 /     \
              F°        XP
              |         X°
              |         |
              e         âbi
```

Since *ezafe* only links the modifier and the phrasal head, and does not in itself trigger any contrastive effect, and since lexical reiteration does not *as such* trigger a contrastive-focus effect (as witnessed by, e.g., (79)), we assume that the contrastive effect in (92b), as well as in the English CR examples discussed by Ghomeishi & al. arises from the fact that the same lexical item is merged in (93), both in the X° head, and in the modifier scoping over this head.

We further propose to analyse CR in English (94b) as a special instance of the restrictive-modification pattern otherwise exemplified by (94a):

[*What kind of blue shirt was he wearing?*]
    (94a) *He was wearing a PALE-blue shirt* (*not a DARK-blue one*).
    (92b) *He was wearing a BLUE-blue shirt* (*not a blue-ISH one*).

In (94a), where the head adjective and its restrictive modifier are lexically distinct, contrastive focus on the modifier comes as a free option, as witnessed by the acceptability of (95a) below, where focus scopes over the entire object DP, rather than on the adjective modifier; in (94b), on the other hand, the lexical identity of the head adjective and its modifier automatically forces narrow contrastive focus on the modifier, as witnessed by the infelicity of (95b), which shows that unlike the non-reiterated modifier in (95a), the reiterated modifier is only licensed under primary stress:

[*What was he wearing?*]
    (95a) *He was wearing a pale-blue shírt.*
    (95b) **He was wearing a blue-blue shírt.*

We now return to low contrastive V-reiteration in Haitian, as in (96):

    (96a) *Pòl malad MALAD.*
             Paul sick   sick
             Lit. 'Paul is SICK sick.'
             ('Paul is REALLY SICK.')

    (96b) *Duvalier pati PATI.*
             Duvalier go   go
             Lit. 'Duvalier is GONE gone.'
             ('Duvalier is REALLY GONE.')

(96c) *Yo touye TOUYE Janmari Vinsan.*
　　　3PL kill kill Janmari Vinsan
　　　'They KILLED killed Janmari Vinsan.'
　　　('They REALLY KILLED Janmari Vinsan.')[26]

We propose in (97) to analyse low contrastive V-reiteration as a special instance of the restrictive-modifier structure assumed above in (93):

(97a)　　　　FP　　　　　　　(97b)　　　　FP
　　　　　／　　＼　　　　　　　　　　　／　　＼
　　　malad　　F'　　　　　　　　*touye*　　F'
　　　pati　／　　＼　　　　　　　　　／　　＼
　　　　　F°　　VP　　　　　　　　　F°　　VP
　　　　　|　　V°　　　　　　　　　　|　／　＼
　　　　　　　|　　　　　　　　　　　　V°　　DP
　　　　　　malad　　　　　　　　　　|　　△
　　　　　　pati　　　　　　　　　　|
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　touye　*Janmari*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Vinsan

In such structures, the same lexeme is merged in the lexical (V) head, and in the specifier of a Modifier phrase (FP) dominating VP.[27] The contrastive effect, as described by Ghomeishi & al. (2004), arises from the lexical identity of the phrasal head and its restrictive modifier.

　　　VFD may now be regularly derived from the CR structure via A'-movement, as shown in (98):

(98)　　　Deriving the core VFD construction:

pati Duvalier pati

　　　　FocP
　　　／　　＼
　　pati$_z$　　Foc'
　　　　／　　＼
　　　ø　　CP
　　　　／　　＼
　　　t$_z$　　C'
　　　　／　　＼
　　　ø　　　TP
　　　　　／　　＼
　　　Duvalier　　T'
　　　　　　／　　＼
　　　　　T°　　FP
　　　　　ø　／　　＼
　　　　　t$_z$　　F'
　　　　　　　／　　＼
　　　　　　F°　　VP
　　　　　　ø　　V°
　　　　　　　　pati

37

The derivation proposed in (98) allows us to clarify the status of the raised constituent in VFD. As a restrictive modifier, it originates in a specifier position, and is therefore available for A'-movement. The special contrastive effect triggered by CR crucially arises from the strict lexical identity of the (V) *head* and its *bare modifier*. The expression merged in the spec of FP is thus a lexeme – a replica of the item merged in the V head.

The restrictive-modifier syntactic structure proposed in (98) for CR should be distinguished from the morphological structure of verbal compounds such as those mentioned in fn.10 (ex. (ii)), since (99d) below is ill-formed, contrasting with (99b). (97f) may be derived from (99e) via syntactic movement from the specifier of FP in diagram (98), while in (99d), movement is blocked from within a lexical entry.

(99a) *Pòl   kouri   kouri.*
        Paul   run   run
        'Paul REALLY RAN.'

(99b) *KOURI_k   Pòl   t_k   kouri.*
        run   Paul   run
        'Paul REALLY RAN.'

(99c) *Pòl   kouri-desann.*
        Paul   run-come.down
        'Paul came down running (= came down fast).'

(99d) **KOURI_k Pòl   t_k   desann.*

(99e) *Pòl   kouri kouri-desann.*
        Paul   run   run-come.down
        'Paul came down REALLY FAST.'

(99f) *KOURI_k   Pòl   t_k   kouri-desann.*
        run   Paul   run-come.down
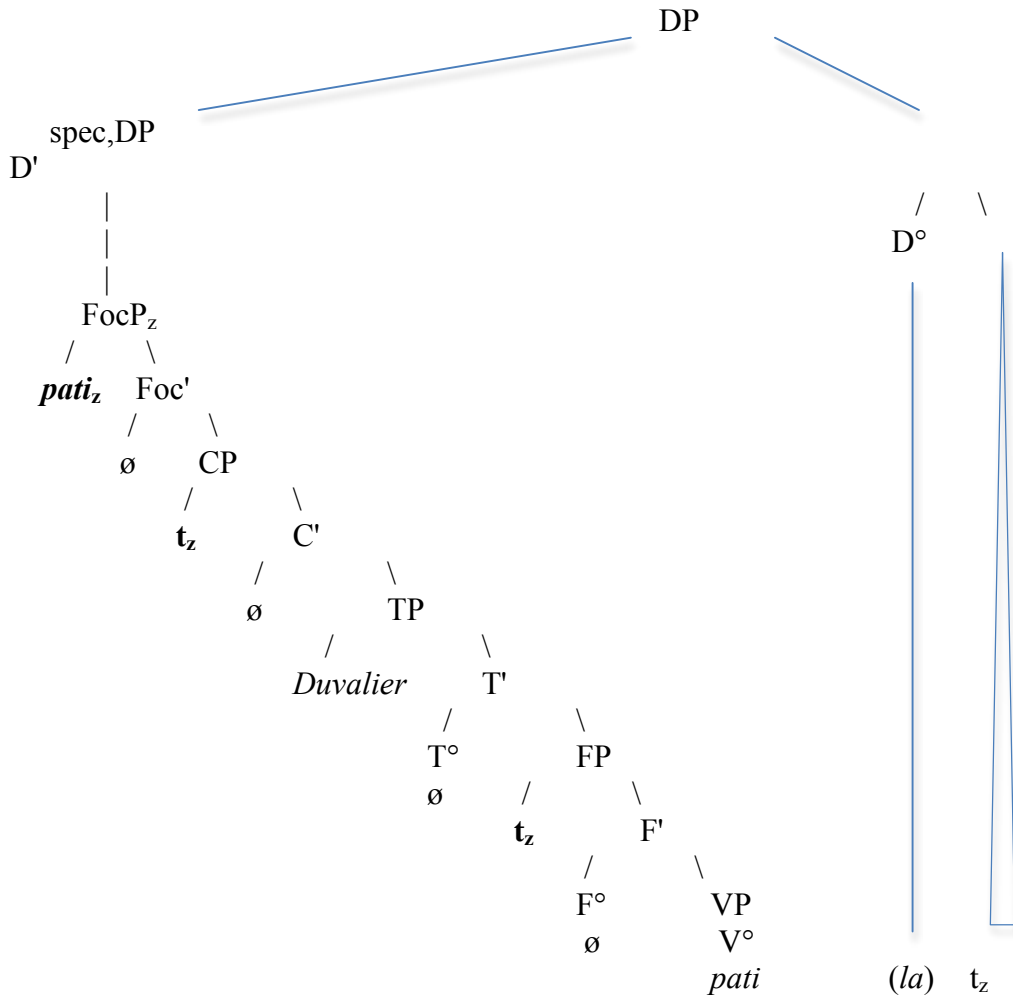   'Paul came down REALLY FAST.'

The contrast between (99d) and (99f) thus supports our assumption that the source of VFD is the syntactic structure represented in (98), rather than the morphological structure proposed by Harbour (2008).

As shown in section 2, the Bare VFD may occur as an independent clause indicating Verb Focus, or as the protasis of a structure overtly or covertly conjoined by *epi,* as in (100):

(100) *PATI Duvalier pati, (epi)   Elsi vini.*
        leave Duvalier leave so-then Elsi come.back
        Lit. 'Duvalier LEFT, so-then Elsi came back.'
        = 'Once/as soon as Duvalier (had) LEFT, Elsi came back.'

If the VFD structure in (98) is nominalised, viz. embedded within a DP, as in (101), we derive the factive subtype, which fills an argument or dislocated-topic position within a larger clause:

(101) Nominalised VFD (the factive subtype)
        pati Duvalier pati (a)[28]

DP

spec,DP

D'

FocP_z

pati_z   Foc'

ø   CP

t_z   C'

ø   TP

Duvalier   T'

T°   FP
ø

t_z   F'

F°   VP
ø

V°
pati

D°

(*la*)   t_z

(102a) *[PATI   Duvalier pati   a]   fè   Pòl kontan.*
     go   Duvalier go   DET make Paul happy
   'The fact that Duvalier is GONE makes Paul happy.'

(102b) *[KOURI Pòl kouri],   Elsi KONTAN.*
     run   Paul run   Elsi happy
     '(Due to) the fact that Paul RUNS, Elsi is HAPPY.'

In the Bare VFD structure in (98), the Verb Focus effect arises from two steps in the derivation: the CR structure represented in (97), and Focus Raising. In the Predicate-Cleft construction illustrated in (103b-i) below, the Verb Focus effect is further enhanced by clefting, which places the focused expression in a predicate position with respect to the expletive subject pronoun *se*. As shown above (section 2.2.5), however, a sentence such as (103b) is *a priori* ambiguous between the Predicate-Cleft reading in (103b-i) and the VFD-cleft reading in (103b-ii) — an instance of Argument Cleft:

(103a) *PATI Duvalier pati!*
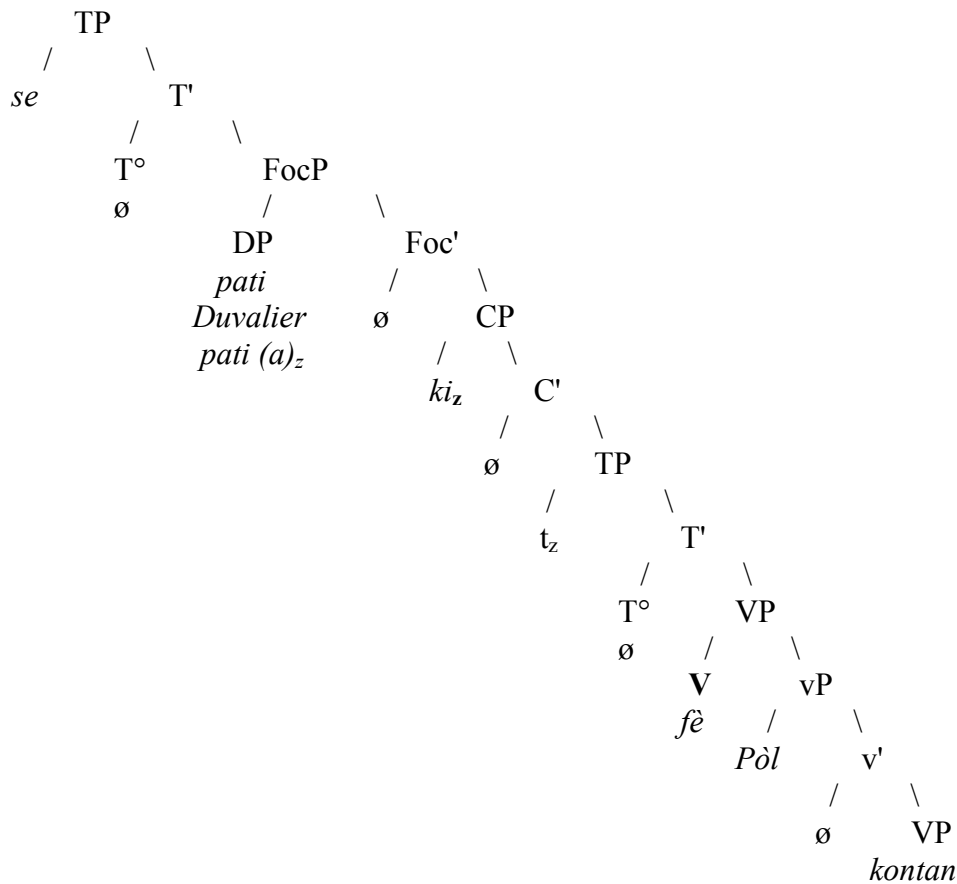   go   Duvalier go
     'Duvalier is REALLY GONE.'

(103b) *Se   P<small>ATI</small> Duvalier pati!*
       <small>SE</small>   go   Duvalier go
       (i) 'Duvalier is <small>REALLY GONE</small>.'   [Predicate-Cleft]
       (ii) 'It is [the fact that Duvalier is <small>GONE</small>] (which...)'   [Argument-Cleft]

The structural representations in (104) are intended to distinguish the two analyses of (103b):[29]

(104a)   Predicate Cleft: *se [pati] Duvalier pati*
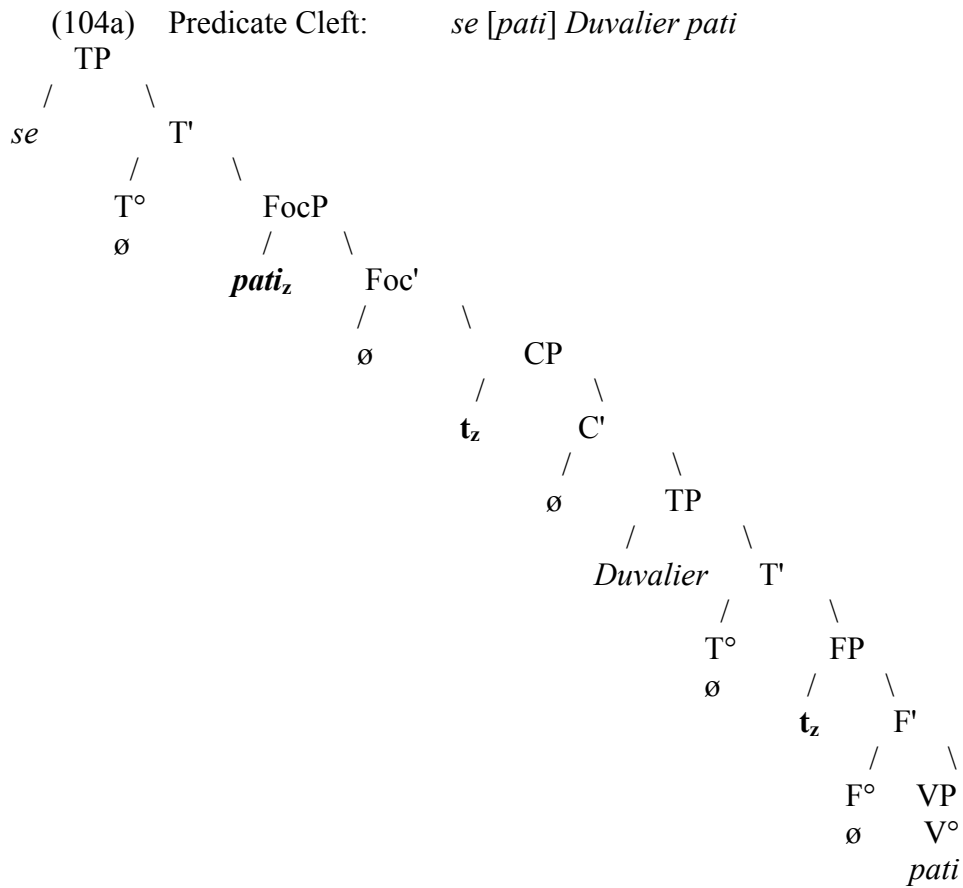
(104b)   VFD-cleft   *se* [*pati Duvalier pati (a)*]   (*ki fè Pòl kontan*)

```
            TP
          /    \
        se       T'
               /    \
             T°       FocP
             ø       /    \
                   DP        Foc'
                  pati      /    \
                 Duvalier  ø       CP
                 pati (a)z        /   \
                               kiz      C'
                                      /    \
                                    ø        TP
                                           /    \
                                         tz       T'
                                                /    \
                                              T°       VP
                                              ø      /    \
                                                    V       vP
                                                   fè      /    \
                                                         Pòl       v'
                                                                 /    \
                                                               ø       VP
                                                                      kontan
```

4.   Concluding assumptions

Our descriptive update of Haitian VFD departs from all previous descriptions on three counts:

(i) It reduces VFD to a single core structure represented in (98), whose derivation crucially involves Focus Movement, an instance of A'-movement;

(ii) It distinguishes the Bare VFD structure from the Predicate-Cleft construction represented in (104a), which involves a further matrix level of predication;

(iii) It treats the factive and causative subtypes as nominalised instances of VFD, and the temporal subtype as containing Bare VFD in the protasis of a conjoined structure whose constituents are linked by temporal succession.

We have been led to discard, on empirical grounds, the assumption that VFD is a form of relativisation involving a cognate object or 'event argument' raising up to the clause periphery. We have further argued that the 'Parallel-Chain theory' proposed by Koopman (1997) and Aboh & Dyakonova (2009) to account for VFD in Gbe must be revised for Haitian, since some of the empirical properties it hinges on (Verb-to-Aspect raising, head-movement properties) are not shared by Gbe and Haitian.

The data of Haitian lead us to adopt – and generalise to all subtypes of VFD in this language – Harbour's (2008) assumption that VFD is derived from low contrastive verb reiteration. This analysis sheds light on the apparently paradoxical fact that VFD, in Haitian, seems to involve *A'-movement* applying to a V-*head*. Under our own analysis, VFD is regularly derived by raising to the clause periphery a VP modifier (an adverbial phrase) containing but a bare lexeme identical to the V head. We assume that the contrastive effect triggered by low

contrastive reiteration makes the restrictive modifier a natural candidate for Focus Movement, and (optionally) for further layers of focus or intensive marking (clefting, *ala, ata*). Under the derivation proposed in (98), an example such as (103a) is crucially not analysed as an elliptical variant of its Predicate-Cleft counterpart in (103b). The V-focus effect obtains prior to Focus Movement, and Focus Movement occurs prior to clefting or further focus or intensive marking. Contrastive reiteration (CR), Focus Movement, Clefting, and adverbial intensive or contrastive markers such as *ala* and *ata*, appear as independent though combinable strategies which trigger or highlight a contrastive focus effect.

As regards reiteration, the above descriptive results do not support the iconic theory of reiteration stipulating that 'more form stands for more meaning'. Under the analysis proposed here, the semantic effect of reiteration in VFD constructions is contrastive focus, which primarily arises from a special instance of *restrictive* modification — in effect quite the opposite of 'more-of'.

As regards the respective roles of syntax and morphology in reiterated strings, the derivation proposed above for VFD in Haitian entirely pertains to syntax. It involves the external merge of a V-identical VP modifier, followed by Focus Movement and (optionally) Clefting or nominalisation (embedding under DP). The reiterated XX(Y) string which feeds VFD constructions does not form a word in morphology, but a VP modified by an adverbial.

A brief final word about the diachronic issue. Among the focus-marking strategies which may combine in the derivation of VFD constructions in Haitian, low constrastive reiteration, clefting, and adverbial focus markers are all available in French (both Standard and dialectal). However, constrastive *verb* reiteration in French seems restricted to non-finite forms, as illustrated in (105):

(105a) *Tu vas les manger-MANGER*
　　　 2SG FUT.2SG 3PL eat.INF eat.INF
　　　 (ou seulement les LECHOUILLER)?
　　　 or only 3PL kind.of.lick-INF
　　　 'Are you planning on actually EATING them (or just on
　　　　kinda LICKING them)?'

(105b) *Tu les as mang-és-MANG-ÉS*
　　　 2SG 3PL have.prs.2sg eat-PP eat-PP
　　　 (ou seulement LECHOUILLES)?
　　　 or just kind.of.lick-PP
　　　 Lit. 'Have you actually EATEN them (or just kinda LICKED
　　　　them)?'

(105c) **Tu les manges -MANGES*
　　　 2SG 3PL eat.PRS.2SG- eat.PRS.2SG
　　　 (ou tu te contentes de les LECHOUILLER)?
　　　 Lit. 'Do you actually EAT them (or do you just kinda
　　　　LICK them))?'

If this generalisation is correct, it is reasonable to assume that the uninflected morphology of verbs in Haitian contributed to allow the expansion of low reiteration as a Verb Focus strategy, hence the development of VFD. Focus Raising (i.e.. the raising of a focused constituent to the clause periphery, without clefting) is *not*, on the other hand, a natural focus-marking strategy in French, where focus is generally phrase-final, especially for verbs (compare Haitian VFD with the French examples in (3)). This suggests that the one non-French property involved in the

diachronic development of Haitian VFD was *Focus Raising*, a property characteristically attested in Gbe (Koopman 1984, 1997, Aboh 2003, 2004, Aboh & Dyakonova 2009), a plausible substrate for this creole. The descriptive results of the present study are thus consistent with the assumption that the grammars of French and Gbe each contributed to the emergence of VFD constructions as observed in Modern Haitian. This hypothesis should however be refined on the basis of further empirical work on other 'VFD-like' constructions in Caribbean French-lexifier creoles, as well as in dialectal French[30] and Indian-Ocean creoles, where a Gbe influence is less likely.

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[1] We owe a serious debt of gratitude to the various fellow linguists and native speakers of Haitian who provided precious feedback during the several years we spent over this research, among whom Enoch Aboh, Muhsina Alleesaib, Edelyn Dorismond, Stephanie Durrelman, Duvelson Emilien, Dieudonne Exius, Dominique Fattier, Karl Gadelii, Fabiola Henri, Alain Kihm, Mélanie Jouitteau, Roberson Pierre, Emmanuel Schang, Norval Smith.

[2] This is an adaptation of the term *Predicate Fronting with Doubling* used by Aboh & Dyakonova (2009). The term *Predicate Fronting with Doubling* emcompasses another type of construction involving the fronting of a reiterated Verb Phrase, rather than that of a verb root. VP fronting with doubling is attested in other languages including, e.g., Polish (Bondaruk n.d.), Russian (Aboh & Dyakonova 2009), Yiddish (Cable 2004), and French (see below ex. (3)), a.o.

[3] Abbreviations and labels used in the glosses: ACC = accomplished marker (Haitian); ANT = anteriority marker (Haitian); AUX = auxiliary (French); DET = determiner (LA in Haitian); EXCL = exclamation marker; F = feminine gender (French); FUT = future (French); INF = infinitive (French); IPF = imperfect (French); LocP = Locative Phrase (e.g. Haitian *lakay*); M = masculine gender (French); NEG = negation; NONP = nonpunctual (Matinikè *ka*); PL = plural; P= preposition; PP = past participle (French); PRS = present tense (French); REFL = reflexive; SBJ = subjunctive (French); SG = singular;; UNAC = unaccomplished (Haitian *ap*); 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person;; SE = Haitian *se* (expletive subject in identificational and cleft clauses).
The acceptability judgements borne on our Haitian examples are primarily those of Herby Glaude, who was born in 1977 in L'Estère, in the Northern department of Artibonite, but later lived for ten years in Port-au-Prince, before moving on to Paris, where he has spoken creole daily amongst the Haitian community.
We assume throughout that such lexemes as *malad* 'sick', *bèl* 'pretty', in predicate position, fill the same structural slot as, e.g. *vini* 'come' or *pati* 'go, leave' – the V head. As previously argued by DeGraff (1992) (see section 2.1.1. below) the VFD construction may actually provide the main diagnostic test for identifying the Verb category (or rather, position), in Haitian.

[4] *Ala* (ex. (1b) and *ata* (ex. 1c) are two clause-initial functional morphemes whose properties are left undescribed in the present study — they clearly call for further research: at this point we don't even have a satisfactory gloss to propose for them. Both seem to readily combine with the VFD structure discussed in this study.

[5] Piou (1982b) however focuses on the temporal subcase illustrated in (1e) and is therefore an exception to this generalisation.

[6] We must leave the ALA and ATA cases aside here for reasons of space, but the unbounded-dependency effect may be shown to obtain in such examples as well. The syntax and semantics of ALA and ATA call for a completely separate study.

[7] *Plase* means 'to live with somebody as a couple'. We gloss it by 'live.wsc'. In (13) through (16) we substitute *soufle* to Piou's *chichote* (ex. (12)). Both lexemes translate as 'whisper' but *chichote* sounds so acrolectal it hinders our consultants' intuitive judgments.

[8] An alternative structural analysis (and correlated interpretation) is available for (16b), but left out in the text since it should be derived from (i) below, rather than from (16a):

> (i-a)   *Yo di/chichote* [***soti***   *vole a **soti***].
>   3PL tell/whisper   come.out thief LA come.out.
>   'They told/whispered (to) the thief to COME OUT.'
> (i-b)   ***Soti***   [*yo di/*chichote*   *volè*   *a*   ***soti***],
>   come-out   3PL tell/whisper   thief   DET   come.out
>   *lapolis tire*.
>   the.police   fire
>   'As soon as the thief was told/*whispered to COME OUT,
>   the police fired.'

[9] In Lumsden & Lefebvre (1990), emphasis is placed on the ambiguity of focus, which may have wide scope on the VP (i-a) or narrow scope on the V head (i-b):

> (i)   *Se*   ***manje** Jan*   *ap*   ***manje** pen*   *an*.
>   it.is   eat   John   UNAC   eat   bread   DET
>   (i-a) 'John is actually EATING THE BREAD
>   (not LAYING THE TABLE).'

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(i-b) 'John is actually EATING (not BAKING) the bread.'
[adapted from Lumsden & Lefebvre 1990:773]

However, this ambiguity arises from a general discrepancy between the prosodic and syntactic scope of focus (cf. Büring 1997). Thus, the single sentence in (iii), with primary stress on *Mary* (the right edge of the predicate), may provide a felicitous answer to (ii-a) (all-focus reading), (ii-b) (wide focus on the predicate) or (ii-c) (narrow focus on the object):

(ii-a) *What happened? >*   (iii)   — *John invited MAry.*
(ii-b) *What did John do? >*   (iii)   — *John invited MAry.*
(ii-c) *Who did John invite? >* (iii)   — *John invited MAry.*

[10] The ambiguity of focus in a serial-verb construction is illustrated by (i) below (with VFD occurring in the Predicate-Cleft subtype):

(i-a) *Pòl   pote   liv   la   montre Elsi.*
     Paul   take   book   det   show   Elsi
     'Paul took the book to Elsi to show it to her.'
(i-b) *Se   POTE   Pòl   pote   liv   la   montre Elsi*
     se   take   Paul   take   book   DET   show   Elsi
     (se   pa   BAY   li   bay   Elsi   liv   la).
     SE   NEG   give   3SG   give   Elsi   book   DET
     'Paul (just) TOOK the book to Elsi to show it to her
     (he didn't GIVE Elsi the book).'
(i-c) *Se   MONTRE Pòl   pote   liv   la   montre Elsi*
     se   show   Paul   take   book   DET   show   Elsi
     (se   pa   BAY   li   bay   Elsi   liv   la).
     SE   NEG   give   3SG   give   Elsi   book   DET
     'Paul (just) took the book to Elsi to SHOW it to her (he didn't
     GIVE Elsi the book).'

Verb series made up of intransitive verbs are analysed by Bernabé (1983) as verb compounds. As regards the ambiguity of focus, the available structural options and correlated interpretive effects are the same as in (i) above:

(ii-a) *Pòl kouri   desann.*
     Paul run   come.down
     'Paul came down quickly.'
(ii-b) *Se   KOURI Pòl   kouri desann*
     SE   run   Paul run   come.down
     (li   pa   MIZE   nan wout).
     3SG NEG dawdle on   way
     'Paul came down RUNNING (he didn't DAWDLE on the way).'
(ii-c) *Se   DESANN   Pòl   kouri desann*
     SE   come.down Paul run   come.down
     (li   pa   MONTE).
     3SG NEG go.up
     'Paul CAME DOWN running (he didn't GO UP).'
     ('What Paul did at full speed was COME DOWN (not GO UP).')

[11] This morpheme is labeled *determiner* by Lefebvre (1998) on account of its morphology (allomorphic variation LA: -LA/-A/-AN, cf. (i) and (iib) below; compare (iii), where locative LA exhibits no allomorphy), its syntax (right-edge position), and its semantics (presuppositional effect), three properties shared by the nominal determiner LA. Used as a 'clausal determiner', this element occurs mainly in intransitive clauses, where it signals the reported state of affairs as *expected*, as exemplified in (ii):

(i-a) *Pòl   travay **la**.*
     Paul work   LA
     'Paul works (as expected).'
(i-b) *Pòl   fini/tounen   **an**.*
     Paul finish/return   LA
     'Paul has finished/returned (as expected).'
(i-c) *Pòl   soti/ale   **a**.*
     Paul go.out/leave   LA
     'Paul has gone out/left (as expected).'

     [CONTEXT: *Poukisa ou lev*e? 'Why are you getting up?']
(ii-a) *M   ale.*

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       1SG go
       'I'm going.'
(ii-b) *M   ale **a***.
       1SG go   DET
       'I'm going, as you knew I would.'

(iii)   *Pòl achte liv   la *(l)a*.
       Paul buy   book DET LOC
       'Paul bought the book there.'

[12] Thanks to Luigi Rizzi (p.c.), who reminded us of this generalisation.
[13] The determiner LA exhibits allomorphy but the homonymous locative lexeme *la* (cf. ex. (7)) does not.
[14] Like its French lexifier *gagner*, Haitian *genyen* ambiguously means 'to earn' or 'to win'. If translated as 'to earn' it is transitive and its object only seems ellipsable under a generic or habitual reading – as in (32a). In (32b), the determiner triggers a completion effect, thus blocking the 'to earn' option.
[15] The causative connection may be viewed as a special effect of topicality, with the topic introducing a 'fact' – a proposition whose own truth value conditions that of the eventuality denoted by the matrix clause.
[16] On the internal structure of Haitian DPs, cf. Zribi-Hertz & Glaude (2007), a.o., and references therein.
[17] Alternative analyses of Haitian *se* treat it as a copula verb (Mufwene 1994), or as ambiguous between a pronoun and a copula verb (Déprez 2003, Gadelii 2007). In cleft constructions, however, it unambiguously exhibits the behaviour of a subject pronoun, since, like the subject pronoun or DP in (ia-b), and unlike the V in (i-a), it sits on the left-hand side of sentence negation and TMA in (i-c) (compare (i)d)):

(i-a) *Li /Pòl   pa te   soti*.   [subject-NEG-TMA-VP]
       3SG/Paul NEG ANT go.out
       '(S)he/Paul did not go out/has not gone out.'
(i-b) *Li/Pòl   pa te   yon chyen*.   [subject-NEG-TMA-DP]
       3SG/Paul NEG ANT a   dog
       '(S)he/Paul was not a dog.'
(i-c) *Se   pa te   yon flè*.   [se-NEG-TMA-DP]
       SE   NEG ANT a   flower
       'It was not a flower.'
(i-d) **Pa te   se yon flè*.   *[NEG-TMA-se-DP]
        NEG ANT SE a   flower

[18] In such examples as (46), if T is overtly specified upstairs, the embedded T must agree with it. A full paradigm for Constituent-Cleft is given in (i):

(i-a) *Se   liv   Pòl   rayi*.
       SE   book   Paul hate
       'It's BOOKS that Paul hates.'
(i-b) *Se   liv   Pòl   **te**   rayi*.
       SE   book   Paul ANT   hate
       'It's BOOKS that Paul used to hate.'
(i-c) *Se   **te**   liv   Pòl   **te**   rayi*
       SE   ANT   book   Paul ANT   hate
       'It was BOOKS that Paul used to hate .'
(i-d) **Se   **te**   liv   Pòl   rayi*.
        SE   ANT   book   Paul   hate

The distribution of Tense across (i) in Haitian echoes the distribution of Tense in French clefts:

(ii-a) ***C'est**   [les livres]   que   Paul **déteste***.   [= (i-a)]
        it-is   the books   that   Paul hates
(ii-b) ***C'est**   [les livres]   que   Paul **détestait***. [= (i-b)]
        it-is   the books   that   Paul hated
(ii-c) ***C'était** [les livres]   que   Paul **détestait***. [= (i-c)]
        it-was   the books   that   Paul hated
(ii-d) ****C'était** [les livres]   que   Paul **déteste***.   [= (id)]

[19] We are leaving out such examples as the one in (i) below, which involve verb reiteration, sentence negation and clefting, but fall outside the range of the present study since the cleft homonym of the verb is not bare – but crucially modified by *ti* '(a) little':

(i)   *Se   pa   TI   MALAD Elsi   (pa)   malad!*
       SE   NEG   little sick   Elsi   NEG   sick

Lit. 'It is not LITTLE that Elsi is SICK!'
'Elsi is REAL sick!'

Cf. section 3.2 below for further comments.

[20] Bernabé's assumption that (66a) and (66b) are structurally parallel is disputable on empirical grounds, but this issue is orthogonal to our central issue. We leave the matter open here and intend to take it up in a separate work.

[21] This example is ill-formed in Herby Glaude's dialect and rejected by our Haitian consultants. When it is adjacent to an N, LA is automatically construed as the nominal determiner. Since LA and YON cannot occur together on the same N, (69b) is discarded as ungrammatical.

[22] Though phrased differently, a similar objection to a morphological analysis of VFD is made by Aboh & Dyakonova (2009).

[23] The *bilingual* example in (86b) is borrowed from Harbour (2008: 865), but our glosses and comment are a free adaptation of Harbour's description. *Bileng* is an obvious borrowing from French – basilectal Haitian would have, e.g., *li pale de lang* '(s)he speaks two languages', rather than *li bileng* '(s)he is bilingual'. Harbour suggests that with non-scalar predicates such as *bileng*, 'bilingual', or with some other predicates such as *konnen* 'know', Predicate-Cleft is available while low contrastive V-reiteration is not – a potential problem for his central assumption. Herby Glaude and our other consultants however find low contrastive V-reiteration quite acceptable with all such predicates, under the proper prosody and pragmatic context. The resulting reading involves the contrastive-focus effect described by Ghomeishi & al. (2004) as characteristic of contrastive reiteration (CR) in English.

(i)   *Yo konnen-KONNEN l   (oubyen yo jis RABACHE l)?*.
        3PL know   know   3SG or   3PL just parrot 3SG
        Lit. 'Do they KNOW-know it (or are they just PARROTING it)?'
        ('Do they actually KNOW it or are they just PARROTING it?')

[24] *debrouye l(i)* ('manage', 'get along') is an intrinsically reflexive verb similar to French *se débrouiller*. The postverbal weak pronoun must be coindexed with the local subject, viz. *mwen debrouye m* ('I manage'), *ou debrouye-w* ('you manage'), etc.

[25] 'An indispensable element inside any noun phrase comprising a head modified by at least one non-clausal modifier and/or complement' [Parsafar 2008]

[26] In Haitian, as in French, and unlike in English, the modifier linearly follows the modified element at spell-out (e.g. adnominal modifiers follow the noun). We assume that the Modifier is universally merged above the modified element in syntactic structure, and that the Modified expression moves up past the Modifier in some languages and constructions (cf. Knittel 2005, Cinque 2010).

[27] A reviewer of an earlier draft of this text reacts to (97) in the following way: 'If two verbs are merged, what about the Theta-Criterion?' This objection however fails to be relevant under the assumption that lexical roots have no categorial features until they are merged in syntax (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993, Kayne 2009). Thus *malad* and *touye*, in (97) 'are verbs' only if they are inserted in the V head; if inserted in spec,FP, they are construed as restrictive modifiers scoping over the V head, viz. as adverbial modifiers – 'adverbs'.
Schang (this volume) argues that a modifier structure similar to the one assumed in (97) is consistent with a subtype of reiteration constructions in Saotome.

[28] We assume DP to be head-initial in Haitian, with the complement of D raising up to the specifier, and the D head filled by LA when specified as specific (+locative), cf. Zribi-Hertz & Glaude (2007). Similar configurations are found in Gbe, cf. Aboh (2002, 2005).

[29] For lack of space, we must leave out here the ALA and ATA VFD subtypes. We assume that like all other VFD constructions, they contain the core substructure represented in (98). But we leave further structural details open for future research.

[30] Wittman (1998) thus quotes the following examples from Magoua, a Canadian variety of French still spoken in the 1970s by senior citizens of Trois-Rivieres, on the Northern bank of the Saint-Lawrence river, South of Quebec City:

(i-a)   *Malad* yé   te *malad,* yon pa té   kapab l   -sové.
        sick   3SG/SUBJ ANT sick   3PL NEG ANT can 3SG/OBJ-save
        Lit. 'Sick (as) he was sick, they couldn't save him.'
        'Il était malade au point qu'ils n'ont pas pu le sauver.'   (Wittman's F. translation)
        ('He was so sick they couldn't save him.')

(i-b)   Se *manje* i   -manj.
        SE eat   3SG/SUBJ-eat
        Lit. 'It-is eat he eats.'
        'Il ne mange pas, il bouffe.'   (Wittman's F. translation)
        ('He doesn't EAT, he STUFFS HIMSELF.')

These sentences are at first glance similar to some VFD examples in Haitian. However (ia) could *a priori* result from a continuous development from French (iia), where the expression in clause-initial position is topical (as in (3)

above) rather than focal; and due to its initial *se*, (ib) could *a priori* result from a continuous development from French clefting, where focus is primarily clause final rather than clause-initial, cf. (iib):

<blockquote>
(i-a)   *Malade comme il était, on n'a pas pu le sauver*.
             sick   as   he was   they couldn't save him

(i-b)   *(Il mange)   CA c'est MANGER !*
        he eats   that is   eat(ing)
      '(He's eating) THAT is (what you may call) EATING!'
</blockquote>

It also seems (Muhsina Alleesaib and Fabiola Henri, p.c.) that the VFD constructions found in Caribbean French-lexifier creoles – as illustrated above in Haitian – have no exact equivalents in Indian-Ocean French lexifier creoles, e.g. in Mauritian. Further empirical and detailed comparative work, covering morphology, syntax and contextualised interpretation revealing information structure, clearly needs to be done to allow finer diachronic assumptions to be drawn.

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