Abstract

For the past 20 years, the question of a 'creole prototype' has been at the center of heated debates. Among features that are claimed to be typical of creole formation is the placement of negation, which usually appears preceding tense, aspect and mood markers (e.g. McWhorter, 2018). In this paper, I examine diachronic data, in particular, French compound tenses and show that the position of negation in at least French-related creoles is nothing but the result of regular grammaticalization given input. As such the expression of negation typically exemplifies coalescence of the already grammaticalized negator *pas* into an inflectional exponent in the creoles.

1 Introduction

Creolistics has been punctuated by heated debates regarding the typological and genetic status of creoles (and pidgins) since their inception, and more so, in the past 20 years with the revival of the *pidgin-creole life cycle*, which describes these languages as unnatural language formations starting anew following 'a break in transmission' (Bickerton, 1981; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; McWhorter, 1998, 2001; McWhorter & Parkvall, 2002; McWhorter, 2018; Bakker et al., 2011; Bakker, 2015, among others). According to this theory, creole languages are 'exceptional' insofar as they exhibit prototypical features not found in other languages e.g. copula omission, generalization of the infinitive, absence of case distinctions and preverbal negation, signaling a process of pidginization (McWhorter, 2018, Chapter 1). McWhorter proceeds to explain that since the European sources from which the creoles derive, have their negative marker appear after the verb, they cannot have contributed to the structural distribution illustrated in the following examples (§1.2.4).

(1) a. Mwen pa konnen. (Haitian Kréyol)
         1SG.WK NEG know.LF
         'I don't know.'
     b. Mi no sabi. (Sranan)
         1SG NEG know
         'I don't know.'
     c. Mie no weet (Negerhollands)
         1SG NEG know
         'I don't know.'
         (Holm, 1988, 171)[1]

This grammar-internal change "submits more gracefully to an analysis as results of

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[1]Initially cited in Diggelen (1978).

the failure to acquire the lexifier negation strategy, and its replacement by a strategy typical of pidgins (. . .)" (p.13).

This kind of analysis shows a blatant misunderstanding, even dismissal, of the input data since as previously demonstrated (Henri, 2018), negation always precede nonfinite main verbs in the lexifier languages e.g. English (2-a) and French (2-b)-(2-d); granted though that in the case of French, negation follows finite forms. Notice however that compound tenses (passé composé and periphrastic future) counts among the mostly used tenses in French next to the present indicative. This means that together they make a big proportion of constructions where negation precede the main verb.

(2) a. I don't know.
     b. T'as   pas connu   cet homme
        2SG.WK'AUX.2SG.PRS NEG know.PPART this man
        'You did not know this man.'
     c. T'as   pas mangé.
        2SG.WK'avoir.2SG.PRS NEG eat.PPART
        'You didn't eat.'
     d. Tu   vas   pas venir.
        2SG.WK aller.2SG.PRS NEG come.INF
        'You won't come.'

In fact, Dryer (1988) argues that cross-linguistically, negation mostly appears preverbally; a position that is claimed within creole exceptionalism to be typical of only creoles and pidgins.

Based on observations from diachronic data from Mauritian Kreol[2], I argue that negation evolved from an already grammaticalized lexeme in French to a purely inflectional marker in the French offsprings. In addition, I review the distribution of negation in so-called French compound tenses (*temps composés et surcomposés*) and show that the position and status of negation in French-related creoles naturally follows from their initial distribution within these constructions.

2   Synchronic distribution of negation in French-related creoles

While French-related creoles usually feature a preverbal negator as exemplified for Haitian Kréyol (1-a), they may also show different instances of post-verbal negation morphologically and/or semantically conditioned. In Louisiana Creole, long verb forms expressing either a past tense[3] have a preverbal negator compared to the short form encoding the present indicative where negation is postposed to the

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[2]Henceforth Mauritian.

[3]Similar to French, the long form also encodes the 2PL or 2SG.F present imperative and the short form, the 2SG present imperative.

verb. In the presence of TAM markers, negation is also attracted to the preverbal position (Henri & Klingler, 2014).

(3) Louisiana Creole

TNS > MOOD > NEG > ASP > V_{LF} or V_{SF} > NEG

    a. Mo te pe e fe aryen.
        1SG PST NEG PROG do.LF nothing
        'I wasn't doing anything.' (Klingler, 2003)

    b. Jan lav pa son figi.
        John wash.SF NEG 3SG.POSS face
        'John doesn't wash his face.'

In Mauritian, negation may appear in a postverbal position with neg-raising verbs (Henri, 2022). In this position and similar to Louisiana Creole, the short form of the verb is selected, showing that structurally speaking, negation behaves as complements as is the case in French (Abeillé & Godard, 1997).

(4) Mauritian

    a. Nou pa ti ava pe diskit lor saki nou pe diskite.
        1PL NEG PST IND.IRR PROG discuss on what 1PL PROG discuss.LF.
        'We would not be discussing what we're discussing.'

    b. Mo pans pa zot ti pe asiz enn met distans.
        1SG think.SF NEG 2/3PL PST PROG sit.SF one meter distance
        I don't think they were sitting 1 meter apart.

    c. Mo pa ti panse zot pe asiz enn met distans.

    d. *Mo ti pans pa zot pe asiz enn met distans.

The difference between Louisiana Creole, on the one hand and, Mauritian and Haitian, on the other is the fact the past tense marker *te/ti* appear postposed to negation in the former and preposed in the latter languages. Such distinction is customarily explained in terms of creolization. Compared to Mauritian and Haitian, Louisiana Creole is described as a semi-creole due to the inflectional vestiges it retained from French (Rottet, 1992).

    The kind of peculiar process suggested to occur in the case of these contact languages seem unwarranted if we adopt a view of language change as a complex adaptive system (Mufwene et al., 2017), whereby the outcome is determined by input and the context in which it emerges; both of which may differ according to the variety of input and the languages in contact in the learning environment. To better understand the grammaticalization of the negative marker in the creoles, we first examine the case of periphrastic and compound tenses in French and its (regional) varieties that shaped the creoles at hand.

3 French periphrases

French has a series of inflectional and verbal periphrases which substitute to synthetic verb forms in French, most of which are constructed with the auxiliary *avoir* 'have' e.g. the present perfect tense (passé composé) for the simple past (Abeillé & Godard, 2021, Chapter III-2). In fact, in many varieties of French, the auxiliary *avoir* seems to have been extended to the small class of verbs initially selecting the auxiliary *être* 'be' (5-a). Note that among possible past tenses in French — passé simple, imparfait and passé composé — the passé composé (present perfect) is the first acquired and most widely used in both speech and writing Levesque (2010). In addition, the use of the auxiliary *avoir* in some cases influences the choice of the main verb as in (5-b), where the main verb *être* replaces the verb *aller* 'go'. Note that in (5-b), the verb in the past participle is followed by a predicative phrase, here a prepositional phrase.

(5) Abeillé & Godard (2021, p.278)

    a.   (...) j'ai   descendu   dans le tunnel.
           1SG.WK'AVOIR.1SG.PRS descend.PPART in   the tunnel
           'I went down the tunnel'

    b.   J'ai   été   à la piscine hier
           1SG.WK'AVOIR.1SG.PRS ÊTRE.PPART to the pool   yesterday
           'I went to the pool yesterday.'

These inflectional periphrases may serve as basis for compound tenses (passé sur-composé) which appears around the XVth century to refer to an anterior past (Ayres-Bennett & Carruthers, 1992; Borel, 2018). These constructions, also characteristic of many regional varieties of French combine two auxiliaries, the first *avoir* followed by *être* (7) or *avoir* (6-b) and the past participle (Abeillé & Godard, 2021).

(6) Abeillé & Godard (2021, p.279)

    a.   Lorsqu'il   a   été   parti,   elle
           when'3SG.M.WK avoir.3SG.PRS être.PPART go.PPART, 3SG.F.WK
           s'est   sentie   soulagée
           3SG.REFL'be.3SG.PRS feel.F.PPART relieve.F.PPART
           'When he had left, she felt relieved.'

    b.   Quand il   a   eu   fini   son
           when 3SG.M.WK avoir.3SG.PRS âvoir.PPART finish.PPART his
           travail, il s'est endormi
           work, he fell asleep
           'When he had done working, he fell asleep.'

As Alleyne (1996) observes[4], the tense marker *te/ti* stems from a form the verb to

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[4] See also Chaudenson (2003) and DeGraff (2005)

'be', either the PST.IPFV (étais/était/étaient) or the PPART (été) [ete].

(7)   DeGraff (2005, p.321)

   a.   Il   était   malade.
        3SG.M be.3SG.PST.IPFV sick
        'He was sick.'

   b.   Il   a   été   malade.
        3SG.M avoir.3SG.PRS be.PPART sick
        'He has been sick.'

The passé composé of the verb to 'be' with predicative complements (5-b), (7-b) bears a striking resemblance with the double compound selecting a main verb in (7). The present perfect (7-b), (5-b), the imperfect (7-a) and compound tenses in French all encode an event that occurred in the past, with present relevance for the former as opposed to the latter tenses, which are interpreted as distant pasts. Transposed within the French-lexified creoles, [ete] → [ti/te] takes on the past anterior meaning while the perfect is encoded by the perfect/completive *(f)inn* in languages like Mauritian (8-b)-(8-c).

(8)   a.   An   té mété pima   adan sa. (Guadeloupean Kréyòl)
          1SG.WK PST put.LF pepper in   it
          'I had put pepper in it.' (Henri et al., 2020)

   b.   Mo   ti   dormi. (Mauritian)
        1SG.WK PST sleep.LF
        'I slept.'

   c.   Mo   ti'nn   dormi.
        1SG.WK PST'PRF sleep.LF
        'I had slept.'

With negation, Chaudenson (2003, p.181) observes that *pas*, would appear following the first auxiliary (9) and DeGraff (2005) further hypothesize that the following reanalysis by the language learner may be posited (10):

(9)   a.   je (ne) suis pas après faire,
   b.   je (ne) suis pas à faire,
   c.   j(e n')ai pas fini de faire,
   d.   je (ne) suis pas pour faire.

(10)   Fr. *n'a(s) pas / n'es(t) pas* → Early Creole *(na) pa*[5] → Modern Creole *pa*

Combining these observations, one may clearly see how negation has surfaced to scope over the tense marker; the inflectional and verbal periphrases serving as partial template to the TAM system of many French-related creoles.

(11)   a.   NEG > TNS > MOOD > ASP

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[5]I would rather suggest that [napa] lexicalizes to a single morpheme and further reduces to [pa] in Mauritian at least.

b. Il   (n')a   pas été   à la piscine hier.
    3SG.WK NE'.avoir.3SG.PRS NEG be.PPART to the pool   yesterday
    'He didn't go to the pool yesterday.'

In addition, French has a number of verbal periphrases exhibiting a number of patterns. The first member of the construction is a verb that expresses aspect e.g. the periphrastic future (12-a) which has almost taken over the synthetic future (Abouda & Skrovec, 2017) or *finir de* 'finish to' for the completive (12-b).

(12) a. Il   va   venir   bientôt.
          3SG.M.WK aller.3SG.PRS come.INF soon
          'He will come soon.'
      b. Jean a   fini de   travailler.
          John avoir.3SG.PRS finish PREP work.INF.
          'John has finished working.'

Next to (12-a)-(12-b), are also the well documented varieties of verbal periphrases used in Northern America (Louisiana and Quebec), which served as input to the TAM system that emerged in the French-related creoles (Chaudenson, 2003, p.178).

(13) a. être après (à) INF
      b. être pour INF

(14) Abeillé & Godard (2021, Chapter XI-3)

      a. (. . .) mes parents sont   après me   maganer.
              my parents être.3PL.PRS after 1SG.OBJ use.INF
          ' my parents are using me.'
      b. (. . .) qu'elle   était   pour avoir   un petit bébé?
              COMP'3SG.F.WK être.IPFV for   have.INF a little baby
          '(. . .) that she will have a baby?'

To confirm this grammaticalization path, we next investigate diachronic data for Mauritian.

3.1 Diachronic data

While diachronic data is usually scarce for creole languages and would not provide good bases for statistical analyses, the small inventory available still provide enlightening data to uncover the processes of language change from French to creole. (Baker et al., 2007) compiled 60 texts of around 100 000 words. These consist of travel notes, court proceedings, folk tales, poems, newspaper, sirandanes, songs, proverbs and were written between 1721 and 1929. Described as Mauritian texts, many of these are in fact speech from white settlers on the island.

(15) 1769 Bernardin de St Pierre, Voyage à l'Ile de France
      (published in 1773)
      Le patron me dit dans son mauvais patois :

<CM> ça n'a pas bon, Monsié</CM>
Je lui demandai s'il y avoit quelque danger, il me répondit :
<CM> Si nous n'a pas gagné malheur, ça bon</CM> (I, 257)[6][7]

The presence of negation within compound tenses are pretty notable. Like Haitian Creole, Mauritian negation [pa] is the reduced form of [napa], composed initially of N'aux + PAS.

(16)   a.   Pardonne moy, Monsieur, moy n'apa été batté ça Blanc là. (1777_Affaire La Douceur)

        b.   Mon licaire dire moi qui mo na pas été sivré son Commandement (1828_Lambert)

        c.   N'a pas té bisoin dire cinois dix fois (. . .) (1925_Soulsobontemps)

        d.   (. . .) n'a rien sautres pretes na pas été instruire sautres, nous vivres comme bête (1816_Le Brun)

In these creoles, N'aux disappears perhaps due to its bleached meaning and weak tense marking, the anterior being expressed by the second auxiliary [ete].

	Type freq.	Token freq.
napa	9	954
pa	3	13

Table 1: Data extracted from Baker et al. (2007)

Other French-lexified creoles seem to have followed a similar grammaticalization path leading to the pre-TAM negation. In other words, these creoles have inherited and further grammaticalized the major constructions used to express tense, mood and aspect in their respective linguistic ecologies. This of course doesn't exclude any novel formation or inheritance from the substrates.

4   The morphological status of *pa*

French-lexified creoles further grammaticalize the French negator *pas*, itself grammaticalized from the noun 'step' as a result of cyclic weakening and strengthening of negative expressions à la Jespersen (1922).

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[6]The boss told me in his bad patois: "This is not good, Sir". I asked him if there was any danger, he replied: "If were are not struck by bad luck, it's good."

[7]The term patois first appeared in 1285 and was used to described 'unintelligible' and regional language varieties spoken in France.

(17) a. Jeo ne dis.   (Old French)
          1SG NEG say.1SG.PRS

      b. Je ne dis   pas (Standard French)
          1SG NE say.1SG.PRS NEG

      c. Je dis   pas (Colloquial French)
          1SG say.1SG.PRS NEG

      d. Mo pa dir   (Mauritian)
          1SG NEG say.LF
          'I don't say'

Like the inflectional *ne* in French, *pa* exhibit clitic properties in all the creoles. They exhibit phonological or prosodic dependence on a host and can never stand alone e.g. as an answer to a question (18-d).

(18) a. Mwen pap   jamn bliye.   pa + ape
          1SG   NEG.PROG never forget.LF
          'I will never forget. (Haitian Kréyol)

      b. An pé ké   mangé. pa + ké
          1SG NEG FUT eat.LF
          'I won't eat.' (Guadeloupean Kréyol)

      c. li pe e   dormi. pa + e
          3SG NEG PROG sleep.LF
          'He's not sleeping.' (Louisiana Creole)

      d. To konn   Zan? *pa/non; pa ditou.
          2SG know.SF John? *not/no; not at   all
          'Do you know John. *not/no (Mauritian)

In some creoles, the alternating position of the negative marker has an effect on the verb stem. As previously mentioned, postverbal negation selects a short verb form while preverbal negation select the long form and this irrespective of mode in the absence of TAM markers.

(19) Louisiana Creole (Henri & Klingler 2014)

      a. Jan pa lave   son   figi.
          John NEG wash.LF 3SG.POSS face
          'John didn't wash his face.'

      b. Jan lav   pa son   figi.
          John wash.SF NEG 3SG.POSS face
          'John doesn't wash his face.'

      c. Jan pa té lave   son   figi.
          John NEG PST wash.LF 3SG.POSS face
          'John didn't wash his face.'

      d. Lav   pa sa. (informal)
          wash.SF NEG this
          'Don't wash this.'

    e.   Pa lave   sa. (formal)
        NEG wash.LF this
        'Don't wash this.'

This is similar to Mauritian with negation scoping over so-called neg-raising verb e.g. *panse* 'think', *espere* 'hope', *krwar* 'believe', *ve* 'want' and modals like *bizin* 'need' (20-b), *kapav* 'can', *oredi* 'should' , *devet* 'maybe/perhaps' (Henri, 2018). In the presence of TAM marking (20-d), negation obligatorily appears in pre-TAM position.

(20)   Mauritian

    a.   Mo   pa panse li pou   vini.
        1SG.WK NEG think.LF 3SG IND.FUT come.LF
        'I don't think he will come.'
    b.   Mo   bizin pa   vini.
        1SG.WK need NEG come.LF
        'I need to not come.'
    c.   Mo   pans pa li pou   vini.
        1SG.WK think.SF NEG 3SG IND.FUT come.LF
        'I don't think he will come.'
    d.   Mo   pa ti panse li pou   vini.
        1SG.WK NEG PST think.LF 3SG IND.FUT come.LF
        'I don't think he will come.'

With Reunionese Creole, stem selection is slightly more complex. The future is usually expressed periphrastically except in the presence of negation where the future is encoded synthetically.

(21)   Reunionese Creole (Chaudenson, 2003)

    a.   Ma/mi   sa manzé.
        1SG.FUT/1SG FUT eat.LF
        'I will eat'
    b.   Mi manzra pa.
        1SG eat.FUT
        'I will not eat'

The ambiclitic positioning of negation in combination with the strict ordering of TAM markers signal that all these markers exhibit affix properties with respect to the lexical head rather than purely syntactic properties.

(22)   a.   Mo pa tj'ava'nn   donn li mo   kas si mo
        1SG NEG PST'IND.IRR'PRF give.SF 3SG 1SG.POSS money if 1SG
        ti   kone. (Mauritian)
        PST know
        'I wouldn't have given him my money if I knew.'

b. Mo te pe e fe aryen. (Louisiana Creole)
　　　 1SG PST NEG PROG do.LF nothing
　　　 'I wasn't doing anything.' (Klingler, 2003)

Although compared to affixes, negation can scope over conjuncts and is not selective of its hosts.

(23)　Mauritian

　　a. Zan pa [kwi manze ni/ou bwar rom].
　　　 John NEG cook.SF food nor/or drink rhum
　　　 'John doesn't eat food or drink rhum.'
　　b. Zan pa [manze bwar].
　　　 John NEG eat.LF drink.LF
　　　 'John doesn't eat or drink.

In particular, it can be separated from the verb by a small class of adverbs e.g. *ankò* 'yet'. In Gualoupean Kréyol not only is there elision of a vowel but one can also observe the harmonization of the vowels [pa ãkɔ] → [pɔkɔ] → [pɔɔ]. A similar process is witnessed in Louisiana Creole.

(24)　a. An pòò te mangé lè i rivé. (Guadeloupean
　　　　 1SG.WF NEG.YET PST eat.LF when SG arrive
　　　　 Kréyol)

　　　　 'I hadn't eaten when he arrived.'
　　b. Li pe e dormi. (Louisiana Creole)
　　　 3SG NEG PROG sleep.LF
　　　 'He's not sleeping'

5　A constraint-based account of negation

Given the properties described above, negation is analyzed on a par with TAM markers. There are different alternatives to modeling the peculiar morphotactics seen in French-related creoles. While we focus only on Mauritian in this section, a similar approach can be adopted for the other languages. A first option would be to adopt an information-based approach to realisational morphology à la Crysmann & Bonami (2016) to account for the variable position of negation. Since these clitics are less selective of their host, we allow for the stem to be either verbal or adverbial. Strict ordering is easily handled by position classes. In this implementation, we may impose that the verb form be short or long depending on the position class of negation: -4 in preverbal position and 1 in postverbal position.

For this paper, we follow Henri (2022) in assuming that negation and TAM markers are functors Van Eynde (1998) that modify a predicative head. This can be of different categories since like TAM, negation can select non-verbal predicates.

(25) a. Zan pa   malin.
           John NEG cunning
           'John is not cunning.'

      b. Zan pa   profeser.
           John NEG teacher
           'John is not. teacher.'

The functor analysis has the advantage of providing a convenient account of the VP internal morphosyntactic constraints and linearization previously described.
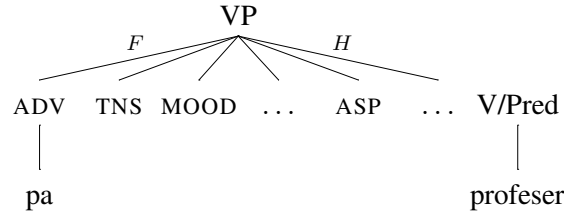

Figure 1: Flat VP structure

Amendments to the traditional *head-functor phrase* allow for more than one functor to select a single head. As already noted, we allow for the head to be predicative for all the markers but for some to allow for selection of adverbs (e.g. tense and irrealis markers).

(26)
$$
\textit{hd-functor-phrase} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MARKING } \boxed{0} \oplus \ldots \oplus \boxed{n} \\
\text{HEAD-DTR } | \text{SYNSEM } \boxed{1} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MARKING} & \textit{unmarked} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{FUN-DTRS } \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SELECT} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{MARKING } \boxed{0} \end{bmatrix} \ldots \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SELECT} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{MARKING } \boxed{n} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The SELECTOR PRINCIPLE, applicable to the locally-headed head-functor phrase, constrains the SELECT feature to have a value that is identical to the SYNSEM value head daughter to the effect of imposing restrictions on both syntactic and semantic properties of the head (Van Eynde 2006: 165). In addition, the MARKING PRINCIPLE requires the MARKING feature of the functor daughters to be transferred to the mother (Pollard & Sag, 1994; Van Eynde, 2006). In other words, the selection of a head by a functor or functors has the effect of marking the construction with its value. MARKING values are further associated with other features like for instance, TAM and POLARITY.

(27)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{marking} \\
\text{TAM} \begin{bmatrix} \text{TNS} & \textit{tense} \\ \text{MOOD} & \textit{mood} \\ \text{ASP} & \textit{asp} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{POL} \quad \textit{pol}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\textit{tense} & & \textit{mood} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown & & \diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\textit{pst} \qquad\qquad \textit{non-pst} & \textit{def.irr} & \textit{ind.irr}
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\textit{asp} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
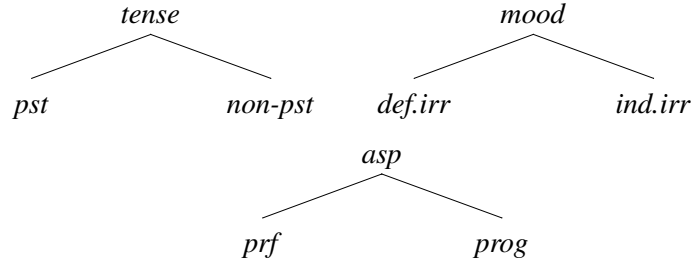\textit{prf} \qquad\qquad \textit{prog}
\end{array}
$$

Figure 2: Type hierarchy fragments for TAM

We define a linear precedence rule (28) to account for the strict linear order of the markers[8] and define the entry for [pa] as follows:

(28)   Linear precedence rule : POL < TNS < ASP < MOOD < V

(29)

$$
\left\langle \text{pa}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} pol \\ \text{SELECT} \quad \boxed{2}\begin{bmatrix} \text{MARKING} & \textit{unmarked} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{MARKING} \begin{bmatrix} \text{POL} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{LEX} \quad + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT} \quad \boxed{1}NO_{\emptyset}^{\emptyset} \\ \text{STORE} \quad \left\{ \boxed{1} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
$$

Pa[9] marks the head it selects as POL+ and because it participates in the formation of polyadic quantification, it is a propositional operator rather than a variable binding operator[10].

Finally note that the lexical entry for modifier pa specifies a feature LEX+ in preverbal position. Adverbs allowed to either precede or follow the verb are underspecified for the feature LEX (Hassamal, 2017). This means that when [pa] is in postverbal position, it is specified as LEX-. Thus postverbal negation is analyzed as a complement, as proposed for English and French (Abeillé & Godard, 1997; Kim & Sag, 2002). The argument is supported by the fact that postverbal [pa] is restricted to appear with a small class of verb and obligatorily triggers the short form, like phrasal complements usually do (33). For these verbs, [pa] marked as LEX- may appear as their first element on their COMPS list. For those epistemic verbs selecting an extraposed clausal complement, rules (30), (32) stipulate that they appear as SF if they have negation on their COMPS list.

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[8] Another alternative is proposed in Henri (2010) where a type-hierarchy constrains the markers to their respective position.

[9] Or *nepli* 'no more'.

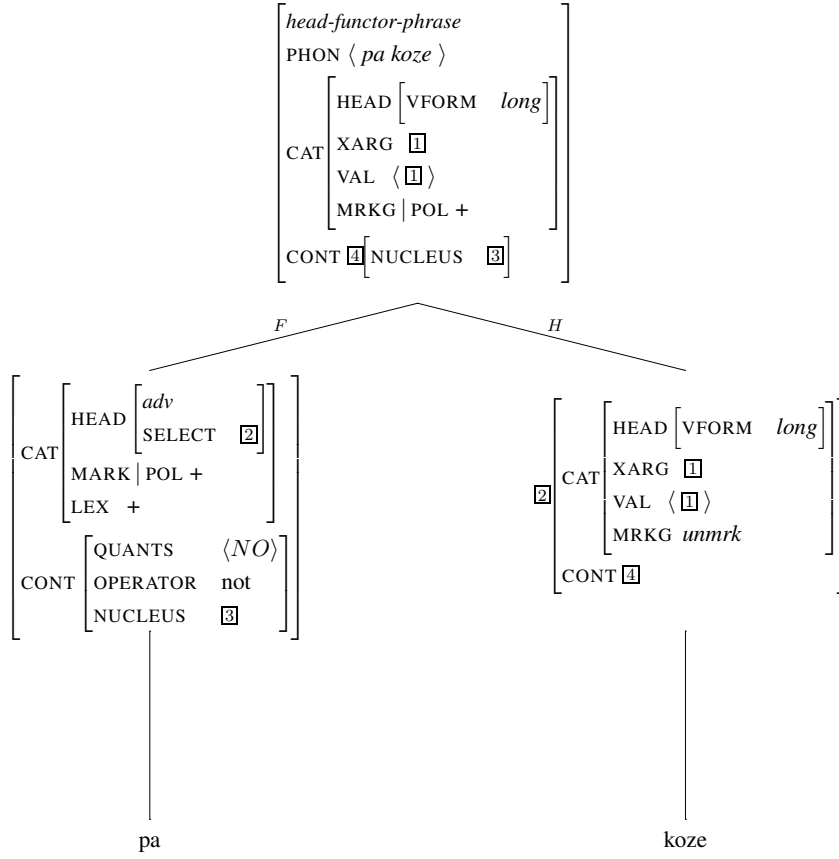[10] See Henri (2022) for more details on Negative Concord in Mauritian.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{head-functor-phrase} \\
\text{PHON } \langle \textit{ pa koze } \rangle \\
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD } \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} & \textit{long} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{XARG } \boxed{1} \\
\text{VAL } \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\
\text{MRKG} \mid \text{POL } +
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT } \boxed{4}\begin{bmatrix} \text{NUCLEUS} & \boxed{3} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

F H

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{adv} \\ \text{SELECT} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{MARK} \mid \text{POL } + \\
\text{LEX } +
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{QUANTS} & \langle \textit{NO} \rangle \\
\text{OPERATOR} & \text{not} \\
\text{NUCLEUS} & \boxed{3}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\qquad
\boxed{2}\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} & \textit{long} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{XARG } \boxed{1} \\
\text{VAL } \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\
\text{MRKG } \textit{unmrk}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT } \boxed{4}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

pa   koze

Figure 3: Tree for *pa kone* 'don't know'

(30) $\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM} & \textit{short} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \textit{nelist} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

(31)   Li   ve   pa   manze. (Mauritian)
3SG want.SF NEG eat.LF
'He doesn't want to eat.'

(32) $\quad \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{COMPS} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \mapsto \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{adv} \\ \text{SEL} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{LEX} & - \end{bmatrix} \oplus \boxed{2} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$

(33)

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{1} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \textit{epistemic-vb} \\ \text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} \ \text{2} \\ \text{VAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{COMPS} \ \textit{elist} \\ \text{EXTRA} \ \langle \text{S} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT} \ \text{3} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \mapsto \begin{bmatrix} \text{VAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} \quad \textit{non-nci} \\ \text{COMPS} \ \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \textit{neg} \\ \text{LID} \quad \textit{pa} \\ \text{SEL} \quad \text{1} \\ \text{MARKING} \ [\text{POL} \ +] \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{EXTRA} \ \langle \text{S} \rangle \end{bmatrix}
$$

6   Conclusion: On creole genesis

The scenario presented in the previous sections casts serious doubts on the idea that creoles (and pidgins) do not inherit grammatical structure from their lexifier language(s). Notwithstanding other languages' grammatical contributions[11] or innovations, French-lexified contact languages do continue processes of language change originating in the lexifier language. French syntactic periphrases are in the creoles fully grammaticalized to the extent that markers don't retain their lexical content contrary to French, where auxiliaries are also used as main verbs (Henri & Kihm, 2015). These markers behave more like affixes rather than syntactically independent words in showing fusional properties. The same is true of negation, where one could argue that we've come full cycle according to Jespersen's development of negation with a preverbal *pa* in the creole offsprings. These observations contradict the claim that contact languages start anew and have historically no single parent (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Thomason, 2001; McWhorter, 2001; Bakker, 2015). In the case of French-related creoles, both vocabulary and morphosyntactic properties expressed on verbs[12] are definitely traceable to the lexifier based on identification of cognates in comparative historical linguistics.

On the other hand, this development submits nicely to the idea that creoles (and pidgins) are linguistically mixed[13], inheriting from the different languages that came into play during their emergence and beyond in contrast with intertwined languages, which are usually described as exhibiting a clear split between two language contributors. The overwhelmingly preverbal, even preTAM position of negation within the French-lexified creoles is nothing but an evolution of its distribution in colloquial French in conjunction with the verbal system, itself heavily analytic. While negation is postverbal in the present tense, it appears before non-finite verbs e.g. in the passé composé, a tense which with the present tense counts the two most frequent tenses. The past participle [ete] the form that gave rise to the anterior marker in these creoles participates in such constructions and could have served as template for the peculiar position of negation in many French-lexified creoles. This means that patterns of alternation, including TAM constructions and

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[11]From so-called substrate or adstrate languages.

[12]Except for the long and short verb distinction in the Indian Ocean creoles which have exapted new functions due to Bantu and Malagasy influence.

[13]See also (Mufwene, 2001; Aboh, 2016; Baptista, 2020, among others) for comparable viewpoints.

negation, which are salient in terms of frequency and/or predictability will be more likely to persist/survive through language change. The variation within these constructions across French-lexified creoles correlates with their respective singular ecology. For instance, the marker of the progressive in Lesser Antilles and French Guyana creoles is *ka* from *qu'à*, probably from the restrictive *ne. . .qu(e)* expression (34-a) (Hazaël-Massieux, 2005, 2008) compared to Haitian or Mauritian progressive *ape*[14].

(34)   a.   Tu   n'as   qu'à   manger. (French)
                  2SG.WF NE'avoir.2SG.PRS qu'INF eat.INF
                  'You just eat.'
    b.   Ou   ka   mangé (Guadeloupean Kréyol)
                  2SG PROG eat
                  'You eat/are eating.'

It would seem then that rather than having no single parent, contact languages have more than one single parent compared to other languages traditionally assumed to proceed from one proto-language. Such a hypothesis seem certainly less eccentric than the received idea that pidgins and creoles are genetically and structurally disconnected from their contributing languages by virtue of a simplification process (pidginization).

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[14]Other scholars have suggested a substrate inheritance.

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