



## The Multiple Facets of Papiamentu *ku* \*

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### 0. Introduction

The idea that the genesis of pidgin and creole languages constitutes a particular case of second language acquisition has been in the literature for some time (e.g. Alleyne 1971, 1981 ; Andersen 1980 ; Mufwene 1990 ; Schumann 1978 ; Thomason and Kaufman 1991 ; Valdman 1980 ; etc.). Authors agree that pidgin and creole languages emerge in multilingual communities where speakers of the substrate languages generally have rather limited access to the superstrate language. The presence of substratal features in creoles has long been attributed to transfer from the mother tongue (L1) (e.g. Andersen 1983a ; Mufwene 1990 ; Siegel 1995, to appear ; etc.). The degree of exposure of substrate languages speakers to the superstrate language has been used as a measure of the radicalness of a creole. The less exposure to the superstrate, the more transfer will be manifested in the creole, and conversely, the more exposure to the superstrate language, the less transfer from the substrate languages will be manifested. Radical creoles are those which most resemble their substrate languages, while non-radical creoles are those which most resemble their superstrate languages (see e.g. Andersen 1983a ; Baker 1993 ; Baker and Corne 1982 ; Bickerton 1977 : 55 ; Thomason and Kaufman 1991 ; Valdman 1978, 1993).

The creation of radical creoles involves massive transfer. In Lefebvre (1998, and the references therein), it is hypothesized that the creators of radical creoles use the properties of their own lexicons in creating a creole lexicon, the parametric options of their own languages in establishing those of a creole, and the semantic principles of their own grammar in concatenating morphemes and words. This hypothesis is similar to the Full Access Full/Transfer Hypothesis in second language acquisition studies (see Schwartz and Sprouse 1996 ; Schwartz to appear ; Sprouse to appear). The similarity between the two hypotheses is striking, given that they have been formulated independently.

As was pointed out in Lefebvre (1998 : 3), however, the notion of transfer does not predict the precise characteristics of the lexicons of radical creoles. Indeed, radical creole lexicons are not formed by an arbitrary mixture of properties of the lexicons of the languages present at the time they are being created. Rather, they appear to involve a principled contribution from the source languages. The general pattern that emerges is the following : while the forms of the lexical entries of a radical creole are derived from the superstrate language, the syntactic and semantic properties of these lexical entries are derived from the substrate languages (see e.g. Adam 1883 on French Guyanese Creole ; Huttar 1971 and Migge 1998 on Ndyuka ; Lefebvre 1998 and Sylvain 1936 on Haitian Creole ; Voorhoeve 1973 on Sranan and Saramaccan ; Keesing 1988 on Solomons Pidgin, etc.). This process has been termed relexification (e.g. Naro 1978 ; Muysken 1981).

Relexification is a cognitive process that essentially consists in assigning a lexical entry of a language L1 a new label drawn from a language L2. It is semantically driven. As was pointed out in Muysken (1981), the two lexical entries that are associated in the process must have some semantics in common. In fact, the process of relexification reduces to relabeling (see Lefebvre and Lumsden 1994 ; Lefebvre 1998, 2005), represented in (1). Given the lexical entry in (1)a from a language *i*, associate with this lexical entry a new phonological representation drawn from another language *j*, as in (1)b, and eventually abandon the original phonological representation. The resulting lexical entry in (1)c has the semantic and syntactic properties drawn from the original lexical entry, and a label drawn from another language.

(1)

FIGURE 1

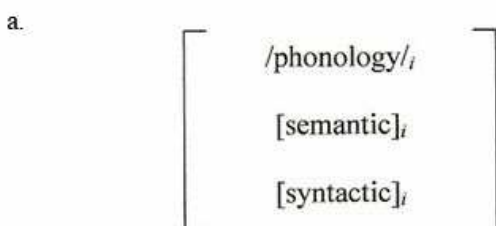


FIGURE 2

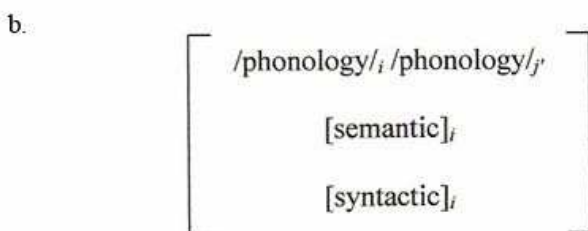
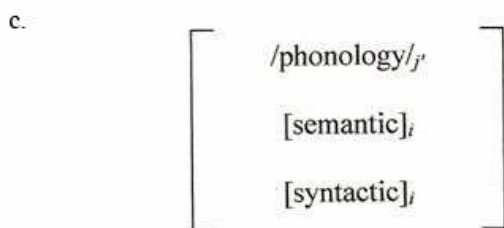


FIGURE 3



The process of relexification/relabeling thus creates new lexical entries that draw their properties from both their source languages in a principled way [1]. The relexification/relabeling of different substrate lexicons on the basis of a single superstrate lexicon provides the speakers of several substrate lexicons with a common vocabulary, thus with a *lingua franca* (Lefebvre and Lumsden 1994).

The aim of this paper is threefold : to illustrate how relexification/relabeling applies in creole genesis ; to illustrate the methodology for documenting it (from Lefebvre 1998, and the references therein) ; and to show how other processes interact with relexification/relabeling in the further development of a creole. The discussion will be based on the case study of the properties of *ku* in Papiamentu.

Papiamentu, henceforth Pp, is a creole spoken mainly in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. Its lexifiers or superstrate languages are Iberian languages, Portuguese and Spanish (60%), and Dutch (30%) (Maurer 1986). Its substrate languages are those that were spoken on the Slave Coast in the 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century (Parkvall 2000), among which were the Gbe languages. This claim is congruent with Postma (1990) who shows that the majority of the slaves (56%) who were sent to Curaçao prior to 1700 were from the West African Slave Coast, the coast bordering the Bight of Benin to the Gulf of Guinea. It should be noted that, unlike the other Caribbean creoles, Pp is not a plantation creole (see e.g. Fouse 2002). It is not a radical creole either.

The properties of the Pp form *ku* provide us with the opportunity to discuss several questions and issues related to relexification/relabeling. By definition, relexification applies to lexical entries. A first issue then consists in defining what constitutes a lexical entry in the mental lexicon. In line with current views, we assume that, along with major category lexical items –such as nouns, verbs, prepositions, adjectives, adverbs–, minor functional category lexical items and derivational affixes –such as determiners, tense-mood-aspect markers, complementizers, etc.– as well as unpredictable compounds and other idiosyncrasies are listed in the lexicon. The question of how multifunctional lexical items are represented in the lexicon is of primary importance. For example, the Pp form *ku* has several functions ; it may be used as a preposition, a conjunction, or a complementizer. This situation raises the question of whether *ku* is the label of a single lexical entry, or more than one. This question bears on the monosemy/polysemy debate. In section 0, we argue that the properties of *ku* require two lexical entries : *ku*<sub>1</sub>, which encompasses its functions as a preposition and a conjunction, and *ku*<sub>2</sub>, which describes its function as a complementizer.

A second issue has to do with how Pp lexical entries acquired their properties. The majority of radical creole lexical entries acquire their properties through relexification/relabeling (see e.g. Lefebvre 1998, and the references cited therein, based on Haitian Creole). However, Pp is not as radical a creole as Haitian Creole or Saramaccan. Nevertheless, in section 0, it will be shown that the properties of Pp

*ku*<sub>1</sub> must be the result of relexification, involving phonological conflation. Furthermore, it will be shown that modern Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> must have arisen through leveling. Since creole languages emerge in the context of several substrate lexicons, and since relexification is an individual process, the relexification of similar, but not necessarily identical, lexical entries from various substrate languages on the basis of a single superstrate form may yield a creole lexical entry that does not have exactly the same properties for all early creole speakers. Speakers of the developing creole may resort to leveling in order to reduce the variation created by the relexification of similar, but not necessarily identical, lexical entries (see e.g. Lefebvre 1998 ; Lumsden and Lefebvre 1994 ; Siegel 1997).

A third issue concerns the data that cannot have been created by relexification. This issue is taken up in section 0, where it is shown that a relexification account of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub> is difficult to argue for.

## 1. The functions of Pp *ku*, and the concept of lexical entry

In this section, we first establish the multifunctional character of Pp *ku* showing that it cumulates the functions of preposition, conjunction, and complementizer. We then review the various approaches to multifunctionality. We argue that the properties of *ku* motivate two lexical entries labeled *ku*:*ku*<sub>1</sub>, preposition and conjunction, and *ku*<sub>2</sub>, complementizer. The content of this section draws on Lefebvre and Therrien (in press).

### 1.1. The multifunctional character of *ku*

The multifunctionality of *ku* has already been acknowledged in the literature on Pp. For example, van Putte and García (1990 : 189) write :

*Ku* is a linguistic form which is used in a variety of contexts. It occurs not only preceding verbal elements as a complementizer or subordinating conjunction, but also before nominal elements as a preposition, in a context of comparison, and as a kind of coordinating conjunction preceding nominal elements and bare verbal forms.

In the paragraphs that follow, we document the multifunctionality of Pp *ku*.

#### 1.1.1. *Ku* as a preposition

As a preposition, *ku* basically means 'with'. As such, it may be interpreted as comitative, as in (2) and (3).

(2)

<i>Papa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>kachó</i> .	PP
father	TA [2]	go	house	with	DEF	dog	

'My father is going home with the dog.' (= (8c) in Richardson 1977 : 57)

(3)

<i>E</i>	<i>ora</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>mester</i>	<i>por</i>	<i>papia</i>	<i>Ingles</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>turista</i>	<i>nan</i>	PP
DEF	hour	3PL	FUT	must	can	speak	English	with	DEF	tourist	PL	

'In that case they have to be able to speak English with the tourists.' (= (40) in Kouwenberg and Michel to appear : 12)

As a preposition, *ku* may also introduce an instrument, as is illustrated in (4).

(4)

<i>Maria</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>Hosé</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>palu</i> .	PP
Maria	PFV	hit	Hosé	with	INDF	stick	

'Maria hit Hosé with a stick.' (= (1a) in Richardson 1977 : 66)

It may introduce a manner, as in (5), or a means, as in (6).

(5)

<i>Andrea</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ricibi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>notisia</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>alegria</i> .	PP
Andrea	PFV	receive	DEF	news	with	joy	

'Andrea received the news with joy.' (= (1d) in Richardson 1977 : 66)

(6)

<i>E</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>bus</i>	PP
3SG	TA	go	with	bus	

'He takes the bus (to school in town).' (= (1) in Andersen 1990 : 68)

As a preposition, *ku* has properties that distinguish it from verbs. While extraction of the nominal

complement of verbs leaves a trace (a phonologically empty position represented as  $t_i$  in (7)), extraction of the nominal complement of *ku* involves a resumptive pronoun in the extraction site as in (8) (Dijkhoff 1993).

(7)

<i>Kiko<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tin</i>	$t_i$	<i>den</i>	<i>man ?</i>	PP
what	2SG	TA	have		in	hand	

'What do you have in your hand ?' (= (17) in Muysken 1977 : 84)

In the examples in (8), the form *kuné* is the result of the agglutination of the preposition *ku* and the resumptive pronoun *e* [3]. The resumptive is invariable in number.

(8)

a. CLEFT CONSTRUCTION

( <i>Ta</i> )	<i>Wito</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>papia</i>	<i>kuné</i>	<i>awe.</i>	PP
(be)	Wito	3SG	want	talk	with.RES	today	

'It's Wito he wants to talk to today.' (= (76) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994 : 37)

b. RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

<i>e</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>skirbi</i>	<i>kuné</i>	PP
DEF	pen	COMP	1SG	PFV	write	with.RES	

'the pen that I wrote with' (= (37) in Muysken 1977 : 86)

c. WH-QUESTION

<i>Kiko</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>hunga</i>	<i>kuné ?</i>	PP
What	2SG	TA	play	with.RES	

'What are you playing with ?' (= (22a) in Muysken 1977 : 84)

Furthermore, while the verb of a tensed clause cannot be extracted with its complement, *ku* can be extracted with its complement. This contrast is illustrated in (9) and (10), respectively.

(9)

* <i>Ta</i>	[ <i>lesa</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>buki</i> ] <sub>i</sub>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Wanchu</i>	$t_i$	PP
TA	read	DEF	book	COMP	Wanchu		

'It is read the book that Wanchu did.' (Therrien's field notes)

(10)

[ <i>Ku</i>	<i>kiko</i> ] <sub>i</sub>	<i>bo</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>hunga</i>	$t_i ?$	PP
with	what	2SG	TA	play		

'With what are you playing ?' (= (22b) in Muysken 1977 : 84)

In this respect, *ku* behaves exactly like other prepositions. Prepositions may usually be extracted with their complement, as is shown in (11), on the basis of the preposition *na* 'at'.

(11)

<i>Ta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>m'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>drumi.</i>	PP
TA	at	house	1SG	PFV	sleep	

'It's at home that I slept' (= (66b) in Muysken 1977 : 91)

Confirmation that *ku* is a preposition when it is interpreted as comitative is provided by the following extraction facts. The phrase headed by *ku* in 0a can be extraposed, as in 0b.

(12)

a.

<i>Mama</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>tantan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>Oropa .</i>	PP
Mother	with	aunt	PFV	go	Europe	

'My mother and my aunt went to Europe.' (= (23) in Richardson 1977 : 57)

b.

<i>Mama</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>Oropa</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>tantan .</i>	PP
Mother	PFV	go	Europe	with	aunt	

'My mother went to Europe with my aunt.' (= (23) in Richardson 1977 : 57)

The possibility of extraposing the phrase headed by *ku* argues for its prepositional status in (12)b. As will be shown below, however, in similar contexts, extraction facts are different suggesting that *ku* also may function as a conjunction.

### 1.1.2. *Ku* as a conjunction



As was pointed out by Richardson (1977), *ku* may also be used as a coordinate conjunction (see also Kouwenberg and Michel to appear ; Maurer 1988 ; van Putte and García 1990). For example, in (13), the semantics of the sentence prevents *ku* from being assigned a comitative interpretation, as two individuals cannot be described as 'seeing a cat together'. In (13), *ku* thus has to be interpreted as a conjunction meaning 'and'.

(13)

<i>Wancho</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Maria</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>mira</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pushi</i> .	PP
Wancho	and	Maria	PFV	see	DEF	cat	

'Wancho and Maria saw the cat.' (= (37) in Richardson 1977 : 66)

Confirmation that, in (13), *ku* is a coordinating conjunction rather than a preposition is provided by the fact that, in this case, *ku* and the NP that follows it cannot be extraposed, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (14).

(14)

* <i>Wancho</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Mira</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pushi</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Maria</i> .	PP
Wancho	PFV	look	DEF	cat	and	Maria	

[Lit. : Wancho saw the cat and Maria.] (= (37) in Richardson 1977 : 66)

The sentence in (14) violates the constraint that prevents extraction out of coordinate structures (Ross 1967). The ungrammaticality of (14) contrasts with the grammaticality of (13). This argues that in (13), *ku* is indeed a coordinating conjunction.

Yet another test distinguishes the two functions of *ku*. Hoback Haff (1977) has shown (for French) that two NPs that are linked by the preposition *avec* 'with' must each appear with a determiner, as is shown by the contrast in grammaticality between 0a and 0b, whereas two NPs that are linked by the conjunction meaning 'and' may appear with or without determiners, as is shown in (16)a and (16)b, respectively.

(15)

a. <i>Les</i>	<i>mères</i>	<i>avec</i>	<i>leurs</i>	<i>enfants</i>	<i>sont</i>	<i>arrivés</i> .	FRENCH
DEF	mother	with	POSS	child	AUX	arrive	

'The mothers with their children arrived.' (Hoback Haff 1987 : 87)

b. * <i>Mères</i>	<i>avec</i>	<i>enfants</i>	<i>sont</i>	<i>arrivés</i> .	FRENCH
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[Lit. : Mothers with children arrived.] (Hoback Haff 1977 : 87)

(16)

a. <i>La</i>	<i>mère</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>enfant</i>	<i>sont</i>	<i>arrivés</i> .	FRENCH
DEF	mother	and	DEF	child	AUX	arrive	

'The mother and her child arrived.'

b. <i>Mère</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>enfant</i>	<i>sont</i>	<i>arrivés</i> .	FRENCH
mother	and	child	AUX	arrive	

'Mother and child arrived.'

The same test carries over to Pp. Two NPs that are linked by *ku* meaning 'with' must each appear with a determiner, as is shown by the contrast in grammaticality between (17)a and (17)b.

(17)

a. <i>E</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yega</i> .	PP
DEF	mother	with	POSS	child	PFV	arrive	

'The mother with her child arrived.' (Therrien's field notes)

b. * <i>Mama</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yega</i> .	PP
Mother	with	child	PFV	arrive	

[Lit. : Mother with child arrived.] (Therrien's field notes)

In contrast, two NPs that are related by *ku* meaning 'and' may appear with or without determiners, as is shown in (18)a and (18)b, respectively

(18)

a. <i>E</i>	<i>Mama</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yega</i> .	PP
DEF	mother	and	POSS	child	PFV	arrive	

'The mother and her child arrived.' (Therrien's field notes)

b. <i>Mama</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yega</i> .	PP
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mother and child PFV arrive

'Mother and child arrived.' (Therrien's field notes)

As a coordinating conjunction, *ku* may conjoin two NPs, as in (19).

(19)

<i>Pedro</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Patricia</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kumpra</i>	<i>pan.</i>	PP
Pedro	and	Patricia	PFV	buy	bread	

'Pedro and Patricia bought bread.' (= (2) in Richardson 1977 : 55)

It may also conjoin two prepositional phrases, as in (20), or two adjectival phrases, as in (21).

(20)

<i>den</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>kurá</i>	PP
in	house	and	in	yard	

'in the house and in the yard' (= (15) in Richardson 1977 : 59)

(21)

<i>E</i>	<i>kachó</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>blanku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>pretu.</i>	PP
DEF	dog	be	black	and	white	

'The dog is black and white.' (= (16a) in Richardson 1977 : 59)

Richardson (1977) points out that it may also conjoin two VPs provided that the two events described by these VPs are taking place at the same time. This is illustrated in (22).

(22)

<i>Nos</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kanta</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>baila</i>	PP
1PL	TA	sing	and	dance	

'We sing and dance (at the same time).' (= (140) in Kouwenberg and Michel to appear : 33)

From the above description, it might appear as if *ku* may be used as a general conjunction. This is not the case, however, for it may not conjoin two clauses, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (23).

(23)

* <i>Pedro</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kumpra</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Patricia</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kumpra</i>	<i>pan.</i>	PP
Pedro	PFV	buy	bread	and	Patricia	PFV	buy	bread	

[Lit. : Pedro bought bread and Patricia bought bread.] (based on Richardson 1977 : 55)

In this context, the form *i* is used, as is illustrated in (24). [4]

(24)

<i>Pedro</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kumpra</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Patricia</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kumpra</i>	<i>pan.</i>	PP
Pedro	PFV	buy	bread	and	Patricia	PFV	buy	bread	

'Pedro bought bread and Patricia bought bread.' (= (3) in Richardson 1977 : 55)

Given the above distribution, it is possible to characterize as nominal the two phrases conjoined by *ku*. In (19), *ku* conjoins two NPs. In (21), it conjoins two adjectives ; from a categorial point of view, adjectives share properties with nouns, a fact that is reflected in their definition in terms of the features : [+N, +V]. In (22), *ku* conjoins two VPs. Recall, however, that this is only possible in contexts where the two events denoted by the verbs are taking place at the same time. Suppose then that, in this case, the conjunction relates two events rather than two VPs. Events are nominal (they refer, they can be quantified over, see e.g. Larson and Lefebvre 1991). Thus, *ku* may be analyzed as relating two nominals in this case as well. Finally, in (20), the prepositional phrases conjoined by *ku* are headed by *den* 'in'. *Den* is a denominal preposition morphologically related to the noun *aden/paden* 'inside' or 'interior' (Maurer 1988). Two phrases headed by *den* may be related by *ku*, as in (20). The preposition *pa* 'for', however, does not have a nominal counterpart. Two phrases headed by *pa* cannot be conjoined by *ku*, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (25).

(25)

* <i>pa</i>	<i>Juan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Maria</i>	PP
for	Juan	and	for	Maria	

[Lit. : for Juan and for Maria] (Therrien's field notes)

The contrast in grammaticality between (20) and (25) follows from the analysis that, as a conjunction, *ku* relates only phrases that have a nominal component.

### 1.1.3. *Ku* as a complementizer

The morpheme *ku* may also function as a complementizer (see. e.g. Kouwenberg and Michel to appear ; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994 ; Maurer 1988 ; van Putte and García 1990). As such, *ku* has the following properties and distribution.

First, *ku* introduces the sentential complements of propositional verbs (e.g. *bisa* 'say', *realisá* 'realize', *pensa* 'think', *sa* 'know', *kere* 'believe'), as illustrated in (26) and (27).

(26)

*Bubushi a realisá ku el a keda ku un debe di shen florin.* PP  
 Bubuchi PFV realize COMP 3SG PFV keep with INDF debt of hundred guilders  
 'Bubuchi realized that he was stuck with a debt of a hundred guilders.' (= (12) in van Putte and García 1990 : 198, from Lauffer 1968)

(27)

*Si mi tabata sa ku e fiesta lo tabata asina bon lo mi a bai.* PP  
 If 1SG TABATA know COMP DEF party FUT be so good FUT 1SG PFV go  
 'If I had known that the party was going to be so good, I would have gone.' (= (34) in Kouwenberg and Michel to appear : 11)

Second, as a complementizer, *ku* is in a paradigmatic relationship with the complementizer *pa* selected by emotive and effective verbs, as is shown in (28)a and b, respectively.

(28)

a. *Hose ke pa Ramon a bai (kappa)* PP  
 Hose want PA Ramon PFV go (already)  
 'Hose wishes that Ramon were gone.' (= (499) in Maurer 1988 : 178)

b. *Mi ta deseá pa e bai.* PP  
 1SG TA wish PA 3SG go (already)  
 'I want him to go.' (in Maurer 1988 : 49)

Some verbs, such as *deseá* 'to wish' may appear either with *pa* or *ku*. This is illustrated in (29)a and b, respectively.

(29)

a. *Bo tabata deseá pa mi muri* PP  
 2SG TABATA want COMP 1SG die  
 'You wanted me to die.' (van Putte and García 1990 : 215, from Rosario 1969 : 39)

b. *M' a deseá ku b' a muri* PP  
 1SG PVF want COMP 2SG PFV die  
 'I wanted you to die.' (van Putte and García 1990 : 215, from Rosario 1969 : 31)

At first glance, this fact could be considered as a counterexample to the claim that *ku* and *pa* are selected by different verb classes. Such is not the case, however. When occurring with *pa*, *deseá* is interpreted as an emotive/effective verb (e.g. 'to wish', 'to want'), whereas it is interpreted as a propositional verb when occurring with *ku* (e.g. 'to make a statement to the effect that...'). [5]

Third, *ku* can only occur with tensed clauses. As is shown in Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (to appear), the irrealis marker *lo* and the mood marker *pa* only occur in tensed clauses. *Ku* may introduce clauses that contain *lo* and *pa*, as exemplified in (30) and (31), respectively.

(30)

*Ta bo obligashón pa perkurá ku lo no por tin latamentu di ningun sorto.* PP  
 be 2SG obligation for see-to COMP FUT NEG can have revolt of none sort  
 'It is your duty to see that there will be no revolt whatsoever.' (= note (6d) in van Putte and García 1990 : 215, from Rosario 1969)

(31)

*Bisé ku e ta pa bai kas.* PP  
 tell.3SG COMP 3SG TA MO go home  
 'Tell her that she is to go home.' (Kouwenberg's field notes, from Kouwenberg and Lefebvre, submitted)

*Ku* does not occur in infinitival clauses, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (32).

(32)

*\*Mi a kaba ku kome bonchi* PP

1SG          PFV          finish          COMP          eat          bean  
 [Lit. : I finished eating beans.] (Therrien's field notes)

These two sets of facts argue that *ku* is a [+T] complementizer.

In all the examples provided so far, *ku* introduces clauses that are the complements of propositional verbs. As a complementizer, *ku* also introduces tensed relative clauses in which the relativized NP can fill various grammatical functions. In (33), the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause introduced by *ku*, whereas in (34), it is the prepositional object. [6]

(33)  
*E          homber          ku          ta          papia          ei          ta          mi          amigu.*          PP  
 DEF    man                    COMP    TA    talk          there    be    POSS    friend  
 'The man that speaks there is my friend.' (= (33) in Muysken 1977 : 86)

(34)  
*E          homber          ku          bo          ta          duna          e          buki          ta          mi          amigu.*          PP  
 DEF    man                    COMP    2SG    TA    give          DEF    book    be    my    friend  
 'The man that you give the book to is my friend.' (= (35) in Muysken 1977 : 86)  
 As a complementizer, *ku* also introduces consequential clauses, as in (35).

(35)  
*E          awa          tabata          asina          dushi          ku          tur          loke          nan          planta          tabata          bona.*          PP  
 DEF    water    TABATA    so          sweet    COMP    all    REL    3PL    plant    TABATA    grow  
 'The water was so sweet that whatever they planted would grow.' (= (3) in Maurer 1993 : 244)

It also introduces comparative clauses, as in (36).

(36)  
*Pues          mi          ta          hopi          mas          chikitu          ku          bo.*          PP  
 Hence          1SG          be    lot          more          small                    than          2SG  
 'Therefore I am a lot younger than you are.' (= (156) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994 : 53)

Finally, as a complementizer, *ku* introduces the sentential complement of adverbs, as in *asina ku* 'as soon as', *tempu ku* 'when', *awor ku* 'now that', *promé ku* 'before that'. Two examples of such use of *ku* are provided below.

(37)  
*Pero          awor          ku          m'          a          bini          bo'          n          ta          sintibo          un          poko          mihó ?*          PP  
 But    now          COMP    1SG    PFV    come    2SG    NEG    TA    feel.2SG    INDF    little    better ?  
 'But now that I've come, aren't you feeling a little better ?' (= 688 in Maurer 1988 : 211)

(38)  
*Boso          ta          kere          ku          boso          ta          pasa          promé          ku          riw          baha ?*          PP  
 2PL    TA    believe    COMP    2PL    TA    pass    before    COMP    river    drop  
 'Do you believe that you'll pass before the level of the river drops ?' (= (734) in Maurer 1988 : 219)

#### 1.1.4. Summary

*Ku* may fulfill three functions : preposition, conjunction, and [+T] complementizer. *Ku* is thus a form that is associated with several functions. We now turn to the question of the number of lexical entries that are required to account for its multifunctional properties.

#### 1.2. How many lexical entries are required for *ku* ?

In a polysemic approach to multifunctionality, the various functions of a given form correspond to different lexical entries. In a monosemic approach, the various functions are all represented within a single lexical entry provided that they are semantically related. The latter approach is guided by the one form/one meaning principle formulated by Johns (1992 : 587) in the following way :

Where morphemes are identical or similar in phonological properties, in the unmarked case, they are identical or similar in all lexical properties.

In our view, a monosemic approach is to be preferred whenever there is some semantic overlap between the functions of a given form. For example, in Lefebvre and Loranger (to appear), it is shown that all the functions of Saramaccan *táa* ('say', namely as verb, complementizer, quote introducer, and conjunction encoding similarity or manner) do share a semantic core, and that, consequently, only one lexical entry is required. However, when no semantic core can be identified for the different functions of a given form, a polysemic analysis will be appropriate. For example, in modern French, the words

verre 'glass', vers 'towards', and vert 'green' all have the same phonological representation (*/vɛr/*) due to historical developments in the pronunciation of French. Since these words are semantically unrelated, each of them will constitute a separate lexical entry.

Concerning the first two functions of *ku*, preposition and conjunction, two proposals are found in the literature. On the one hand, Richardson (1977 : 55, 65) considers that these two functions of *ku* correspond to two different lexical entries. This analysis is motivated by the differences observed between the two functions. On the other hand, though without any discussion, Birmingham (1970) considers that these two functions of *ku* may be accommodated within a single lexical entry. On this issue, we concur with Birmingham rather than with Richardson. First, there is a core meaning to the functions of *ku* preposition and conjunction : in both contexts, *ku* establishes a link between two phrases : 'togetherness' in the case of its function as a preposition, and 'addition' in the case of its function as a conjunction. Second, with both functions, and as we saw in section 0, *ku* appears to link nominal elements, and to be excluded from contexts involving tense. For these reasons, we conclude that a single lexical entry is appropriate. This conclusion should not come as a surprise given that the type of multifunctionality exhibited by *ku* is quite widespread among the languages of the world. As has been noted in several instances, WITH-type languages [7] have the tendency to drift towards AND-status by reanalysis of the comitative marker as a conjunction (see e.g. Haspelmath 2004 : 26-30 ; Heine and Kuteva 2002 ; Mithun 1988 ; Stassen 2000 : 1, and the references cited therein). If two functions of a given element are related through reanalysis, they must have some meaning in common.

Can the properties of *ku* occurring as a complementizer be accommodated through the same lexical entry ? Van Putte and García (1990 : 189) do not exclude this possibility *a priori*.

What is relevant is that a unitary analysis of this form is not ruled out *a priori*: the relation which is signaled by *ku* in all its uses implies togetherness, or a kind of dependency. This relation must be of a rather unspecified, neutral kind if in all cases the same form-meaning unit is involved. And even if we do not accept a unitary analysis, *ku* must in any case have a rather vague meaning when used as a complementizer preceding verbal elements.

In our view, the possibility of a single lexical entry labeled as *ku* is to be ruled out on the following grounds. While the first two functions of *ku*, preposition and conjunction, may be argued to share some semantics, the third function of *ku*, complementizer, does not share semantics with the first two. As a preposition and coordinating conjunction, *ku* relates phrases that have a nominal component, that is NPs, APs, denominal PPs, eventive VPs, thus phrases that do not involve tense. It is a remarkable fact that, as a conjunction, *ku* cannot conjoin clauses, as we saw in (23). In contrast, as a complementizer, *ku* introduces clauses, but only clauses that are tensed. This difference between the functions of *ku* is crucial, as it divides the three functions into two groups : the preposition and conjunction on the one hand, and the complementizer, on the other hand. The three functions of *ku* are also divided into two groups on the basis of phonological representations in early Pp. Indeed, in early Pp, the form of the [+T] complementizer was different from that of the preposition/conjunction lexical entry. As will be shown in detail in section 3.2.2, while the preposition/conjunction lexical entry was labeled *ku*, the complementizer was labeled *ki*. The fact that there were originally two forms distinguishing the preposition-conjunction on the one hand, and the [+T] complementizer, on the other hand, constitutes a strong argument for keeping the complementizer *ku* as a separate lexical item. We thus conclude that a single lexical entry for the three functions of *ku* cannot be maintained.

### 1.3. Summary

We have argued that two lexical entries are required in order to accommodate the three functions of the Pp form *ku* : one that encompasses its functions as a preposition and a conjunction, *ku*<sub>1</sub>, and one that corresponds to its function as a complementizer, *ku*<sub>2</sub>. According to Birmingham (1970 : 105), "this is one of the rare cases in which Pp tolerates homophones." We now turn to the discussion of the source of the properties of *ku*<sub>1</sub>.

## 2. The processes involved in the make up of Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub>

In this section, it will be shown that the properties of Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> follow from the process of relexification/relabeling, and that for some speakers of the substrate languages, phonological conflation must have been involved in this process. In addition, it will be demonstrated that leveling operating on the output of relexification is also implicated.

### 2.1. Relexification/relabeling

In arguing for a relexification/relabeling account of Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub>, we will compare its properties with those of the closest lexical items in its contributing languages : the superstrate languages, on the one hand, and the substrate languages, on the other. As we saw in the introduction Pp has two major superstrate languages : Portuguese and Spanish. There is a consensus in the literature that the earliest form of Papiamentu was largely Portuguese in its lexicon (e.g. Kouwenberg and Murray

1994). The early Portuguese labels would have been replaced by Spanish ones later through the process of relexification (e.g. McWhorter 1995 ; Voorhoeve 1964). Given this historical development, in the discussion that follows, we will take Portuguese as the superstrate language of Pp. Likewise, the discussion of the substrate languages will concentrate on the Gbe languages because of the importance of Gbe speakers at the time the creole was formed (see Lefebvre 1998).

### 2.1.1. The superstrate language : Portuguese

Birmingham (1970) suggests that the Portuguese form *com* 'with', pronounced [kõ] [8], is the phonetic source of the Pp phonological form *ku*<sub>1</sub>. This proposal is supported by the fact that the nasal, although absent in *ku*, sometimes shows up. For example, the contraction of /*ku* + *e*/ (preposition + resumptive pronoun) is realized as *kuné* (Muysken to appear). Like *ku*<sub>1</sub> (see (2)), *com* has the function of a comitative preposition, as is exemplified in (39).

(39)  
*A Ana brinca às bonecas com a irmã.* PORTUGUESE  
 DEF Anne play DEF.PL doll with DEF.POSS sister  
 'Anne plays dolls with her sister.' (Boncompain 1989 : 55)

Like *ku*<sub>1</sub> (see (4)), *com* may introduce an instrument, as is shown in (40).

(40)  
*O medico escreveu a receita com uma caneta.* PORTUGUESE  
 DEF doctor write DEF prescription with INDF pen  
 'The doctor wrote the prescription with a pen.' (Boncompain 1989 : 55)

Like *ku*<sub>1</sub> (see (5) and (6), respectively), it may introduce a manner or a means, as in (41) and (42), respectively.

(41)  
*O conferencista falava com entusiasmo.* PORTUGUESE  
 DEF lecturer speak with enthusiasm  
 'The lecturer was speaking with enthusiasm.' (Boncompain 1989 : 55)

(42)  
*Foi a escola com o autocarro.* PORTUGUESE  
 go DEF school with DEF bus  
 'He went to school with the bus.' (Therrien's field notes)

The properties and distribution of Portuguese *com* are, however, not identical to those of *ku*<sub>1</sub>. In relative clauses, Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> stays in situ (see (8)b), while Portuguese *com* is obligatorily fronted with its object, as is shown in (43).

(43)  
 a. *O homem com que falo.* PORTUGUESE  
     DEF man with REL speak  
 'The man I am speaking with.' (Therrien's field notes)  
 b. *\*O homem que falo com lhe.* PORTUGUESE  
     DEF man COMP speak with RES  
 [Lit. : The man I am speaking with him.] (Therrien's field notes)

But the most striking difference between the two lexical items is the fact that, in contrast to Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub>, Portuguese *com* cannot be used as a coordinating conjunction (see e.g. Boncompain 1989 ; Cantel 1997). In Portuguese, the only conjunction of coordination is *e* 'and', which can be used to conjoin NPs, as in (44), APs, as in (45), VPs, as in (46), and clauses, as in (47).

(44)  
*Pedro e João estão a conversar.* PORTUGUESE  
 Pedro and John be to speak  
 'Pedro and John are speaking.' (Boncompain 1989 : 63)

(45)  
*O ar é muito espesso é muito sufocante.* PORTUGUESE  
 DEF air be very close and very sultry  
 'The air is very close and very sultry.' (Dunn 1928 : 539)

(46)

*As crianças riem e batem palmas.* PORTUGUESE  
 DEF child laugh and beat hand

'The children laugh and applaud.' (Boncompain 1989 : 63)

(47)

*Creio que êle é rico e que quere comprar esta casa.* PORTUGUESE  
 believe COMP 3SG be rich and COMP want buy DEM house

'I believe he is rich and wishes to buy this house.' (Dunn 1928 : 610)

So, although the source of the phonological representation of the Pp lexical entry *ku*<sub>1</sub> may very well be Portuguese *com*, *com* cannot be claimed to be the source of its other properties. We now turn to the discussion of data from the substrate languages.

### 2.1.2. The substrate languages

As we saw above, there are several languages of the world in which the same lexical item fulfils the functions of preposition and conjunction. Some West African languages including Gbe languages are among these. Recall from the introduction that the Gbe languages are among the substrate languages of Pp. For example, in Gengbe, spoken in the South of Benin and of Togo, the form *kú*, pronounced [kú], fulfils the functions of preposition meaning 'with', and of coordinating conjunction meaning 'and'. According to Bole-Richard (1983 : 263), *kú* has two allomorphs : *kúdó* and *gbàkúdó* 'with'.

As a preposition, Gengbe *kú* may be interpreted as comitative, as is shown in (48) and (49), which parallels Pp (2) and (3), respectively.

(48)

*Asibà yi lómé kú Bòkó* GENGBE  
 Asiba go Lomé with Boko

'Asiba went to Lomé with Boko.' (Bole-Richard 1983 : 264)

(49)

*Adèlá wó àvù kú jātá á kàlè. tò.* GENGBE  
 hunter do fight with lion DET courage ADV

'The hunter courageously fought with the lion.' (Kangni 1989 : 64)

It may introduce an instrument, as in (50), which parallels Pp (4).

(50)

*Asiba sò àvõ kú núsònú.* GENGBE  
 Asiba cut loin-cloth with scissors

'Asiba cut the loin-cloth with scissors.' (Bole-Richard 1983 : 264)

It may introduce a manner, as in (51), which parallels Pp (5).

(51)

*Dèví wi lé dúnò ku jijóé.* GENGBE  
 child PL PROG eat with joy

'The children are eating with joy.' (Kangni 1989 : 62)

As is the case of Pp *ku* occurring in relative clauses, Gengbe *kú* remains in situ. This is exemplified in (52), which parallels Pp (8)b.

(52)

*Éxlò kè Kókú vá kú á nyí qókítà.* GENGBE  
 Friend OP [9] Koku come with DEF be doctor

'The friend Koku came with is a doctor.' (Bole-Richard 1983 : 243)

Note, however, that while Pp *ku* is obligatorily followed by a resumptive pronoun in (8)b, according to the transcription by Bole-Richard (1983 : 243), Gengbe *kú* in (52) is not. This discrepancy between the Pp data and the Gengbe data calls for further research. Suffice to say for now that the substrate languages of Pp manifest a lot of intra- and inter-language variation in this area of the grammar (see e.g. Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 ; for a discussion of this issue based on Haitian Creole as compared with its substrate languages, see Lefebvre 1998 : 203-205). Interestingly enough, however, Gengbe *kú* also serves as a coordinating conjunction. Like Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub>, Gengbe *kú* may conjoin two NPs, as is shown in (53), which parallels Pp (13).

(53)

*Nyé kú Asiba mí sà-nà sigâ.* GENGBE

1SG and Asiba 1PL sell-HAB cigarette

'I and Asiba are cigarette saleswomen.' (Bole-Richard 1983 : 263)

As a conjunction, Gengbe *kú* may also relate two adjectives, such as in (54), which parallels Pp (21).

(54)

<i>É</i>	<i>plè</i>	<i>àvõ-simé</i>		<i>jě</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>yibõ</i>	<i>qé</i>		GENGBE
3SG	buy	loin-cloth-dyed		red	and	black	INDF		

'He bought a loin-cloth red and black.' (Bole-Richard 1983 : 263)

Like Pp *ku* (see (23)), Gengbe *kú* cannot conjoin clauses, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (55), constructed on the basis of an assertion to this effect by Kangni (1989 : 61, 62).

(55)

<i>*É</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>kú</i>	<i>bé</i>	<i>jè</i>	<i>ànyí</i>		GENGBE
3SG	push	PRON.OBJ		and	3SG	fall	ground		

[Lit. : He pushed him and he fell.]

Another form, *yé*, is used in this case, as is shown in (56).

(56)

<i>É</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>yé</i>	<i>bé</i>	<i>jè</i>	<i>ànyí</i>		GENGBE
3SG	push	PRON.OBJ		and	3SG	fall	ground		

'He pushed him and he fell.' (Kangni 1989 : 129)

The sentences in (55) and (56) above parallel the Pp sentences in (23) and (24), respectively. [10]

The distribution and the properties of the Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> and the corresponding Gengbe lexical items are strikingly similar. Other West African languages are like Gengbe in having a single lexical item serving as both a preposition and a conjunction. For example, Lord (1973, 1993) reports that in Yoruba, Gã, and Ewe, the comitative preposition also serves as a conjunction of items bearing a nominal feature. So, it is likely that the multifunctionality of Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> has been inherited from corresponding lexical items in West African languages such as those mentioned above.

### 2.1.3. Relexification/relabeling

As we saw in the previous sections, while the properties of Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> correspond only partially to those of Portuguese *com*, they correspond in a straightforward way to those of Gengbe *kú*. First, although in all three languages, the lexical items under comparison do serve as comitative, instrumental and manner prepositions, in Portuguese relative clauses, the preposition and its object is fronted (see (43)), but in both Pp and Gengbe (as well as other Gbe languages) relative clauses, the PP must remain in situ (see (8)b and (52), respectively). Second, while both Pp *ku*<sub>1</sub> and Gengbe *kú* also serve as a conjunction that coordinates nominal elements, Portuguese *com* does not.

This situation follows in a straightforward way from the relexification/relabeling process defined in the introduction. Indeed, a lexical entry produced by this process is predicted to have semantic and syntactic properties that are derived from those of the substrate languages lexical entries rather than from those of the superstrate language. As shown above, this is exactly what we observe.

On the relexification/relabeling scenario, the label of the creole lexical entry is predicted to be provided by the superstrate language. In this case, however, the label of the Pp lexical entry, *ku*<sub>1</sub>, appears to constitute a compromise between the substrate and the superstrate form : *kú* and *com*, respectively. This situation has been referred to in the literature as phonological conflation.

### 2.1.4. Phonological conflation

When forms of substrate and superstrate lexical entries associated in relexification/relabeling are phonologically/phonetically similar, a compromise form often emerges in the creole. For example, as is shown in Kihm (1989), where Manjaku, a West African language, has the form *dika*, an unaccomplished negation marker, and *kats*, a negative auxiliary meaning 'no longer', and Portuguese has *nunka* 'never', Kriyol, a West African Portuguese-based creole, has *ka*, a sententialnegative marker (see also Mühlhäusler 1986 for several examples of conflated forms in Tok Pisin). So, for speakers of Gengbe who were relabeling their lexical entries on the basis of Portuguese, phonological conflation may have triggered the relabeling of *kú* as *ku* as a result of the conflation of *kú* with *com* pronounced [kõ], as we saw above.

### 2.1.5. Summary

A three-way comparison between the Pp lexical entry *ku*<sub>1</sub> and the corresponding lexical items in the



source languages of Pp reveals that  $ku_1$  only partially reproduces the properties of Portuguese *com* [kõ], while it reproduces the bulk of those of Gengbe *kú*. This situation was shown to follow from the process of relexification/relabeling, which, together with phonological conflation, has played a role in determining the label of the creole lexical entry at least for the speakers of Gbe varieties such as Gengbe. Not all creators of Pp were Gengbe speakers, however. What happened in the case of other Pp substrate languages will be discussed as part of the next section on leveling.

## 2.2. Leveling

As was mentioned in the introduction, since creole languages emerge in the context of several substrate languages, the relexification of corresponding lexical entries from various substrate languages may yield a creole lexical entry that does not have exactly the same properties for all early creole speakers. The process of leveling has been hypothesized to play a role in the reduction of the variation thus created in the early creole (see Lefebvre 1998 and the references cited therein). In the case of Pp  $ku_1$ , leveling must have operated both at the level of the phonological representation of the lexical entry, and at the level of its syntactic and semantic properties. These two aspects of leveling will be discussed in turn.

Not all substrate language speakers had a lexical entry labeled as *kú*. For example, Ewegbe has the form *kplé* 'with', and Fongbe has *kpóqó* 'with'. So, for the speakers of the latter languages, relabeling has probably not involved phonological conflation in the same way it has in the case of Gengbe speakers, discussed above. What happened to the Ewegbe and Fongbe speakers, and to speakers of other substrate languages ?

Several options present themselves. A first option is that they could have retained the labels from their own language. This option is not a likely one in view of the fact that cases of retention of substrate labels in the case of prepositions and of functional categories are extremely rare in creole genesis (as opposed to mixed language genesis, see Lefebvre 1998 for an extensive discussion of this point). Furthermore, whether likely or not, retention of substrate labels is most probably not what has happened in this case since there is no evidence of such retentions in modern Pp.

Another option is that they could have relabeled their original lexical entry on the basis of Portuguese *com* [kõ], yielding /kõ/ in Pp. This is a likely option since the vast majority of creole lexical entries that have been created by relexification do draw their label from a superstrate form. Since /kõ/ is not attested in modern Pp, we have to conclude, however, that whatever they did in the first place, such speakers would have eventually adopted the form *ku*, the only form we find in modern Pp.

As for the semantic and syntactic properties of Pp, it is most probable that several lexical entries having slightly different properties were created by relexification/relabeling. This is congruent with Mithun's observation (1988) that, in West African languages, not all comitative markers are also used as conjunctions of NPs or clauses. A case in point is Fongbe. In Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002), it is shown that, while the form *kpóqó* 'with' has all the prepositional uses of Gengbe *kú*, it has none of its conjunction uses. So, while Gengbe *kú* is both a preposition and a conjunction, Fongbe *kpóqó* is only a preposition. Assuming that this situation prevailed at the time Pp was created, there would have been at least two slightly different lexical entries in the early creole. These are schematically represented in (57)a and b, respectively.

(57)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Pp lexical entry relexified<br/>from Gengbe <i>kú</i></p> <p><math>ku_1</math> : preposition 'with'<br/>conjunction 'and'</p> | <p>b. Pp lexical entry relexified<br/>from Fongbe <i>kpóqó</i></p> <p><math>ku_1</math> : preposition 'with'</p> |
|---|--|

Assuming that in modern Pp all speakers have a lexical entry  $ku_1$  with the properties described in section 1, there must have been some leveling going on between the speakers of the two substrate lexicons identified in (57). There are cases of leveling that consist in the suppression, by some speakers, of certain features of their lexicon in order to conform to other speakers (see e.g. Siegel 1997). In the particular case under study here, for speakers who had a lexical entry like that of Fongbe in (57)b, leveling would have consisted in the addition of the function of conjunction to their original definition of the lexical entry labeled as *ku*, so as to conform to the properties of the lexical entry in (57)a.

This may appear as a surprising result since the Fongbe/Ewegbe lexical items meaning 'with' are like the Portuguese lexical item meaning 'with', in that all fulfill the function of preposition, but not that of conjunction. As was mentioned in section 0, from a typological point of view, WITH-type languages often drift towards an AND-status (see references cited there). But this does not need to be the case, as is shown by the Ewegbe and Fongbe data. Furthermore, Gengbe speakers cannot be claimed to have formed a majority nor to have had extra social prestige (see e.g. Bole-Richard 1983). So, why would the Gengbe speakers win over the others such that the modern Pp lexical entry  $ku_1$  patterns on Gengbe rather than on Ewegbe or Fongbe. Bole-Richard (1983) provides a plausible answer to this

question. According to the author, Gen is mutually intelligible with Ewe, Aja, Pla-Peda, Fon, and Gun. Bole-Richard further states that, although the number of native speakers is not large as compared to those of Ewe or Fon, Gen is the commercial language of Southern Togo and Southern Benin. It is a second language for speakers of Ewe, Fon, Gun, Yoruba, Aja and Pla. The situation of Gengbe thus may have been an important factor in the spreading of the multifunctionality of *ku*<sub>1</sub> in Pp. [11]

In the view advocated here, different communities may arrive at different compromises when leveling takes place. For example, while the Pp community has established the properties of *ku*<sub>1</sub> on the model of Gengbe *kú* (see (57)a), the Haitian community has established the properties of the corresponding lexical item (*kól*) *ak* on the basis of Fongbe *kpoqó* (see (57)b) (Lefebvre 1998, 2004). From the point of view of the Gengbe speakers, the Haitian data may look as a case of 'partial relexification'. Given the nature of the process of relexification, however, there cannot be such a thing as 'partial relexification'. In the view advocated here, cases appearing so result from leveling that applies to the output of relexification/relabeling.

### 2.3. Summary

On the basis of the properties of the Pp lexical entry *ku*<sub>1</sub>, this section has illustrated how relexification/relabeling applies in creole genesis, how phonological conflation may take part in the process, and how leveling may apply to the output of relexification in the further development of a creole. In light of this discussion, we now turn to the documentation of the sources of the properties of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub>.

## 3. The sources of the properties of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub>

A relexification account of the properties of *ku*<sub>2</sub> is not as straightforward as it is for *ku*<sub>1</sub>. In this section, we document this assertion and discuss possible avenues for a diachronic account of the properties of *ku*<sub>2</sub>.

### 3.1. Comparison of the properties of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub> and those of the closest lexical items in the source languages of Pp

Following the standard methodology developed to establish the source of the properties of a creole lexical entry, we begin by comparing the properties of the [+T] complementizers selected by propositional verbs in the contributing languages of Pp with those of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub>, starting with Portuguese.

#### 3.1.1. The [+T] indicative complementizer in Portuguese

The Portuguese [+T] complementizer selected by propositional verbs is *que* 'that', as illustrated in (58) and (59), which parallel Pp (26) and (27).

(58)

<i>Admito</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>às</i>	<i>vezes</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>engano</i>	PORTUGUESE
Admit.1SG	COMP	to.DEF	times	1SG	make-a-mistake.SG	

'I admit that I sometimes make mistakes.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 64)

(59)

<i>O</i>	<i>profesor</i>	<i>diz</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>José</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>bom</i>	<i>aluno</i>	PORTUGUESE
DEF	teacher	say.3SG	COMP	José	be.3SG	good	student	

'The teacher says that José is a good student.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 64)

While the indicative complementizer *ku*<sub>2</sub> in Pp, is in complementary distribution with the subjunctive complementizer *pa* (see (26)-(28)), in Portuguese, the indicative and the subjunctive complementizers are homophonous : the complementizer that introduces complements of both emotive and effective verbs has the form *que*, as can be seen in (60) and (61), respectively.

(60)

<i>Desejo</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>António</i>	<i>ouça</i>	<i>este</i>	<i>disco</i>	PORTUGUESE
Wish.1SG	COMP	Antonio	hear.3SG	DEM	record	

'I want Antonio to hear this record.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 64)

(61)

<i>Proíbo</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>você</i>	<i>fume</i>	PORTUGUESE
forbid.1SG	COMP	3SG	smoke.3SG	

'I forbid you to smoke.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 43)

Nonetheless, propositional verbs select sentential complements in the indicative mode, while emotive and effective verbs select sentential complements in the subjunctive (Boncompain 1989). We will

assume that the two Portuguese complementizers *que* parallel the two Pp complementizers  $ku_2$  and  $\rho a$ , respectively.

Third, the complementizer *que* is restricted to [+T] clauses. As is shown by the ungrammaticality of (62), *que* cannot appear in infinitival clauses.

(62)

* <i>Começon</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>comer</i>	<i>chocolate.</i>	PORTUGUESE
start.1SG	COMP	eat	chocolate	

[Lit. : I started that eat chocolate.] (Therrien's field notes)

This parallels the Pp data in (32). As a complementizer, Portuguese indicative *que* also introduces relative clauses. In (63), the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause introduced by *que*, and, in (64), it is the object.

(63)

<i>Comprei-te</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>boneca</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>fala</i>	PORTUGUESE
Buy.1SG-2SG	INDF	doll	COMP	talk.3SG	

'I bought you a doll that talks.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 32)

(64)

<i>Traz</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>livro</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>lhe</i>	<i>pediu</i>	<i>João</i>	PORTUGUESE
Bring.3SG	DEF	book	comp	3SG	ask-for	John	

'He's bringing the book that John asked him for.' (from Cantel 1999 : 56)

The Portuguese sentences in (63) and (64) parallel the Pp sentences in (33) and (34).

Like Pp  $ku_2$  (see (35)), Portuguese *que* introduces consequential clauses, as in (65).

(65)

<i>Choveu</i>	<i>tanto</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>rio</i>	<i>inundou</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>margens</i>	PORTUGUESE
Rain	so-much	COMP	DEF	river	flood	DEF.PL	shore.PL	

'It rained so much that the river flooded the shores.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 65)

Like Pp  $ku_2$  (see (36)), Portuguese *que* introduces comparative clauses, as in (66).

(66)

<i>O</i>	<i>comboio</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>mais</i>	<i>rápido</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bicicleta</i>	PORTUGUESE
DEF	train	be.3SG	more	fast	COMP	DEF	bicycle	

'The train is faster than the bicycle.' (from Boncompain 1989 : 12)

Finally, Portuguese *que* introduces the sentential complements of adverbs such as *depois que* 'after that', *antes que* 'before that', *agora que* 'now that', etc., which parallel the Pp examples in (37) and (38).

From the above distribution, it appears that the properties of Pp  $ku_2$  and those of Portuguese *que* are totally parallel. Does the same conclusion obtain when data from the substrate languages are considered ?

### 3.1.2. The [+T] indicative complementizer in the Pp substrate languages

The comparison of the properties of the Pp [+T] indicative complementizer  $ku_2$  with the closest lexical items in the Pp substrate languages is presented first on the basis of Fongbe data. Gengbe and Yoruba data will further be provided at the end of this section. This will enable us to evaluate the contribution of the Pp substrate languages to the properties of the Pp [+T] indicative complementizer.

In Fongbe, the form introducing the sentential complements of propositional verbs is  $\square\delta$ . This is illustrated in (67) and (68).

(67)

<i>Kókú</i>	<i>lin</i>	<i>dò</i>	<i>Ásibá</i>	<i>gbà</i>	<i>mótò</i>	<i>ó</i>	FONGBE
Koku	think	COMP	Asiba	destroy	car	DEF	

'Koku thinks that Asiba destroyed the car.' (= (4) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 543)

(68)

<i>É</i>	<i>dò</i>	<i>dò</i>	<i>Kójó</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>Ásibá</i>	FONGBE
3SG	say	COMP	Kojo	DEF.FUT	marry	Asiba	

'(S)he said that Kojo would marry Asiba.' (= (20) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 544)

In these examples, Fongbe *qò* parallels Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* in (26) and (27).

As a complementizer, *qò* is in paradigmatic relationship with the complementizers *nú/ní* selected by emotive and effective verbs, as shown in (69)a and b, respectively.

(69)  
 a. *Un jló nú à ní wá* FONGBE  
 1SG want COMP 2SG SUB come

'I want you to come.' (= (12) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 116)

b. *Blò nú mε bi ní mō nùqúqú* FONGBE  
 Make-sure COMP person all SUB have food

'Make sure that everyone has something to eat.' (from Rassinoux 2000 : 374)

The use of the Fongbe complementizers *nú/ní* in (69)a and b parallels that of Pp *pa* in (28)a and b, respectively. Some Fongbe verbs, such as *jló* 'to want', may appear either with *qò* or with *nú/ní*. This is illustrated in ((70))a and b, respectively.

(70)  
 a. *Kókú jló nú/ní Ásibá ní wá* FONGBE  
 Koku want COMP Asiba MO go

'Koku wants Asiba to go.' (Lefebvre's field notes)

b. *Kókú jló qò Ásibá ní wá*  
 Koku want COMP Asiba MO go

'Koku wants that Asiba goes.' (Lefebvre's field notes)

This fact could be considered as a counterexample to the claim that *qò* and *nú/ní* are selected by different verb classes. Such is not the case, however. When occurring with *nú/ní*, *jló* is interpreted as an emotive/effective verb (e.g. 'to wish', 'to want'), whereas it is interpreted as a propositional verb when occurring with *qò* (e.g. 'to make a statement to the effect that...'). The Fongbe data in (70) parallel the Pp data in (29). [12] Finally, like Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* (see (32)), *qò* can only occur in tensed clauses (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002).

The properties of Fongbe *qò* that we have seen so far parallel those of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>*. As will be seen below, however, its other properties do not parallel those of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>*, and the other properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* seen in section 1, do not find their parallel in Fongbe *qò*. These two sets of data will be discussed in turn.

As is extensively documented in Lefebvre and Loranger (to appear), Fongbe *qò* is a multifunctional item. In addition to serving as a [+T] complementizer selected by propositional verbs, *qò* serves as a verb meaning 'to say', as is exemplified in (71).

(71)  
*É qò nú mi qò à ná wá* FONGBE  
 3SG qò to 1SG qò 2SG DEF.FUT come

'(S)he told me that you will come.' (from Anonymous 1983 : X, 1)

As a verb, *qò* has all the properties of verbs, including that of undergoing reduplication to form a deverbal noun. Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* does not have this property. Fongbe *qò* can also function as a quote introducer, glossed as 'saying', as illustrated in (72).

(72)  
*Mi nyón-è qò é qò nú mē-jixome-tòn-ké qò ...* FONGBE  
 2PL know qò 3SG qò to old-people-PL qò

'You know that it was said to the elderly people saying :...'' (= (40) in Lefebvre and Loranger, to appear)

Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* does not have this function. Finally, Fongbe *qò* has the function of a marker conveying similarity or manner, glossed as 'as if', as shown in (73).

(73)  
 a. *É nò wà nú qò é wé nyí gàn j qòhùn* FONGBE  
 3SG HAB do thing qò 3SG it.is be chief DEF like

'He acts as if it was him who was the chief.'

b. *É nò wà nú qò é wé nyí àjótó ó a~ qòhùn* FONGBE  
 3SG HAB do thing qò 3SG it.is be thief DEF NEG like

'He acts as if it was him who is not the thief.' (=41) in Lefebvre and Loranger, to appear)

Again, Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* does not have this function. So, whereas Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* can only serve as a [+T] complementizer selected by propositional verbs, Fongbe *qò*, in addition to serving this function, may also serve as a verb meaning 'to say', as a quote introducer glossed as 'saying', and as a marker conveying similarity or manner, glossed as 'as if'. In Lefebvre and Loranger (to appear), it is argued that all the functions of Fongbe *qò* are semantically related, and that therefore, there is only one Fongbe lexical entry labeled as *qò*. The Pp lexical entry *ku<sub>2</sub>* thus corresponds only partially to the range of functions fulfilled by Fongbe *qò*.

We now turn to the discussion of the other properties of *ku<sub>2</sub>* discussed in section 1, and compare them with corresponding Fongbe data. Not much congruence is to be found there either. In addition to introducing the [+T] complement of propositional verbs, Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* also introduces relative clauses (see (33), (34)). In its function as a complementizer, Fongbe *qò* plays no role at all in the formation of relative clauses. Fongbe relative clauses are rather introduced by a lexical operator *qé* (Collins 1994 ; Kinyalolo 1993), which pied-pipes resumptive pronouns, including postpositional phrases, as shown in (74)a, b and c.

(74)

a. *súnú<sub>i</sub> qé-é<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> wá ó* FONGBE  
 man OP-RES come DEF

'the man who came' (= (80) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 161)

b. *àsón<sub>i</sub> qé-é<sub>i</sub> Kòkú qù t<sub>i</sub> ó* FONGBE  
 crab OP-RES Koku eat DEF

'the crab that Koku ate' (= (81) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 161)

c. *xàsùni qé-é-mé<sub>i</sub> Kòkú só àwii qó t<sub>i</sub> ó* FONGBE  
 basket OP-RES Koku take cat put DEF

'the basket in which Koku put the cat' (= (83) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 162)

We have seen that, as a complementizer, Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* also introduces consequential clauses (see (35)). Fongbe *qò* is not involved in this construction, which uses the complementizer *bò/bó* [13] in this context (see Lefebvre 2004). We also saw that Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* is involved in comparative constructions (see (36)). In Fongbe, *qò* is not involved in this construction. Rather, the verb *hú* 'to surpass' is used (see Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 : 435). Finally, Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* is selected by the sentential complement of adverbs such as *tempu ku* 'when', in contrast to Fongbe *qò*. Again, the complementizer *bò/bó* is used in this context.

The systematic comparison of the properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* and Fongbe *qò*, shows that, although both have the same function of introducing the sentential complement of propositional verbs, their other uses and distributional properties are quite distinct. Do the same results obtain when other Pp Gbe substrate languages are considered ? As per the grammar by Bole-Richard (1983), the Gengbe data are quite similar to the Fongbe. As is the case in Fongbe, the Gengbe verb meaning 'to say' also serves as a [+T] complementizer selected by propositional verbs. This lexical item plays no role at all in the formation of relative clauses, which, like in Fongbe, are introduced by a lexical operator that pied-pipes resumptive pronouns and postpositional phrases. Furthermore, the lexical item corresponding to Fongbe *qò* does not play a role in consequential clauses, nor in comparative constructions. Finally, the Gengbe lexical item does not introduce sentential complements of adverbs. So, unlike the properties of Pp *ku<sub>1</sub>*, those of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* cannot be claimed to have been inherited from the closest Gengbe lexical entry. Thus, chances are that the properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* have not been inherited from the languages that are part of the Gbe cluster. [14]

What about Yoruba, a language of the Ede cluster ? The complementizer system of Yoruba appears to involve several lexical items the status of which is an object of controversies in the literature. For the sake of our discussion, however, we present a summary of the pertinent data. Yoruba has a complementizer *bé* that introduces the sentential complements of propositional verbs (e.g. Lawal 1991). As such, *bé* is similar to Fongbe *qò*. It differs from Fongbe *qò*, however, in the fact that it also introduces factive clauses. The distribution of Yoruba *bé* differs from that of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* : unlike *ku<sub>2</sub>*, it does not occur in relative clauses, consequential clauses, comparative clauses, nor in the sentential complements of adverbs. Yoruba has another form, *ti*, which is analyzed either as a general complementizer (e.g. Lawal 1986) or as a relativizer (Awobuluyi 1975 ; Bamgbose 1975). In addition to occurring in relative clauses, it introduces the sentential complement of three perception verbs ('to see', 'to hear' and 'to watch'), and the sentential subjects of verbs such as 'to please' and 'to be good'.

Ti is also found in consequential clauses, in conditional clauses, and it introduces the sentential complement of adverbs (Sachnine 1997). The distribution of *ti* could be considered close to that of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* were it not for the fact that it is not selected by propositional verbs (which select *bē*), and that it does not appear in comparative constructions which involve a verb meaning 'to surpass' (Sachnine 1997). So, on the basis of the data presented above, it is not possible to argue for a relexification account of the properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* on the basis of synchronic Yoruba data anymore than on the basis of synchronic data from the Gbe cluster of languages.

### 3.1.3. Summary

The properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* parallel in a remarkable way those of Portuguese *que*. They differ in various ways from those of the closest lexical items in the substrate languages. Why does this situation obtain and how has Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* acquired the properties it has in modern Papiamentu ?

## 3.2. The sources of the properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>*

### 3.2.1. The source of semantic and syntactic properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>*

In addressing the problem of the source of the semantic and syntactic properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>*, we will consider several hypotheses.

A first hypothesis is that the lexical entries of complementizers do not undergo relexification. This possibility has to be rejected on empirical grounds. Indeed, some creoles' complementizers have been extensively argued to have acquired their properties through relexification/relabeling. This is the case, for example, of Haitian *pou* which serves as an irrealis complementizer (see Lefebvre 1998 and the references cited therein) ; of Pp *pa*, which serves as an irrealis complementizer (see Lefebvre and Therrien in preparation) ; and of Saramaccan *fu* which also serves as an irrealis complementizer (see Lefebvre and Loranger in press).

A second hypothesis has to do with the multifunctionality of the substrate lexical items involved. As we saw in section 0, the lexical item that serves as a complementizer in Fongbe (and most probably other Gbe languages) is a multifunctional item that also serves as a verb meaning 'to say', as a quote introducer, and as a marker encoding similarity and manner. A possible hypothesis could be that such multifunctional lexical entries do not undergo relexification. As is extensively argued in Lefebvre and Loranger (to appear), however, such multifunctional lexical entries may indeed undergo relexification/relabeling. For example, the Saramaccan lexical entry *táa* reproduces the properties of Fongbe *qò*, discussed in section 2.1.2. Saramaccan *táa* serves as a verb meaning 'to say', as a [+T] complementizer, as a quote introducer, and as a marker introducing similarity and manner.

A third hypothesis is that relexification/relabeling has played no role at all in the make up of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>*. On this hypothesis, the creators of the creole would have simply adopted/ acquired the properties of the Portuguese lexical item that they were exposed to. This would explain in a straightforward way the fact that, as we saw in section 2.1.1., the properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* are parallel to those of Portuguese *que*. This possibility presupposes, however, that the creators of Pp had enough exposure to the superstrate data to acquire the properties of the superstrate lexical entry. If this were the case, we would be left with the problem of explaining why the properties of the irrealis complementizer *pa* in modern Pp do reflect in a rather straightforward way those of the corresponding substrate lexical entries rather than those of the superstrate, as is extensively documented in Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation). In other words, what would explain the fact that, on the one hand, Pp would have acquired its properties from the corresponding Portuguese lexical entry, while Pp *pa* would have acquired its properties from the relexification/relabeling of corresponding substrate lexical entries ?

A fourth hypothesis is that the properties of Pp *ku<sub>2</sub>* have been established through relexification/relabeling, but that these drifted towards the corresponding superstrate lexical item in the development of the creole, such that the initial properties of *ku<sub>2</sub>* are not visible anymore in the synchronic data. This hypothesis is a plausible one. Indeed, on the one hand, relexification/relabeling has been demonstrated to be the main process at work in the initial stage of the formation of a creole (see Lefebvre 1998 and the references therein). On the other hand, and as we saw above, several cases of lexical entries fulfilling the function of complementiser have been argued to have been created through relexification/relabeling.

Assuming the fourth scenario to be the case, why have the properties of the relevant lexical items drifted towards those of the superstrate language in this case ? We would like to submit a twofold proposal for further research. The first component of this proposal has to do with the heterogeneity of the substrate languages with respect to the way they lexically encode the indicative complementisers.

As we saw above, in Fongbe and in Gengbe, the lexical items that serve as indicative complementisers also serve as a verb meaning 'to say', as a quote introducer, etc. Yoruba has two lexical items sharing the function of indicative complementisers but they have a distribution that is different from the corresponding items in the Gbe languages. [15] The relexified lexicons of these

substrate lexicons would thus reproduce this variation. As we saw earlier in this paper, in such cases, speakers of the incipient creole may have recourse to leveling in order to reduce the variation produced by relexification/relabeling. In the cases of leveling observed so far, speakers appear to level out on one of the substrate options. An alternative to this type of leveling would be to level out on the option offered by the superstrate language. In this particular case, it may very well be that the heterogeneity of the substrate lexical items involved have attracted the speakers of the early Pp towards the superstrate lexical entry. This brings us to the second component of our proposal which has to do with access to the superstrate language. Unlike Saramaccan, Pp is not a radical creole. We can thus hypothesise that the speakers of early Pp had enough exposure to the superstrate language to acquire the properties of the indicative complementiser. We submit this twofold proposal to further research.

### 3.2.2. The source of the phonological properties of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub>

Recall from section 1 that the early label of the modern PP lexical entry *ku*<sub>2</sub> was *ki*. *Ki* and *ku* are both attested in a letter that dates back to 1775, written in Pp, by Abraham da Costa Andrade to his wife Sara de Ishac Pardo e Vaz Farro, as reported in Martinus (1996). They are illustrated in (75) and (76), respectively.

(75)

<i>Aronchy</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Tony</i>	PP
Aronchy	and	Tony	

(from Emmanuel 1970 : 256, cited in Martinus 1996)

(76)

<i>bo</i>	<i>marido</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>tanto</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>stimabo</i>	PP
2SG	husband	COMP	so	TA	love	

'your husband that loves you so much' (from Emmanuel 1970 : 256, cited in Martinus 1996)

Since the form *ki* is no longer attested, we address the question of how Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub> acquired its original label *ki*, and of how this label ended up as *ku* in modern Pp.

The Pp form *ki* most probably comes from Portuguese *que* [kə], where [ə] was interpreted as /i/ by the creators of Pp (see Birmingham 1970). This proposal is supported by the fact that Portuguese *quebrar* [k'brar] became *kibra* 'to break' in Pp, that Portuguese *semana* [sə mana] became *siman* 'week' in Pp, and so on and so forth. More problematic is how Pp *ki* became *ku*. A possible answer to this question is that, in some cases, Portuguese [ə] was interpreted as /u/ instead of /i/. Such cases are reported in Martinus (1996). They include Portuguese *triste* [tristɛ] 'sad', which became *tristu* in Pp, and *véspera* [vɛspɛə] 'eve', which became *vispu* in Pp.

Based on the above facts, it is not unlikely that both variants *ki* and *ku* developed in the early creole, and that, eventually, through leveling, *ku* became the only form in use. This possibility is supported by the fact that, in Kriyol, a Portuguese-based creole spoken in Guinea, the [+T] complementizer still has several phonetic variants : [ku], [kɛ], [ké], [k] (Kihm (1994 : 178). Assuming that several variants were present in the early Portuguese-based creole communities, we have identified a case of leveling illustrating the fact that different communities may have settled on different forms in the process. In this view, Pp will have settled on *ku*, along with Fa d'Ambu, a Portuguese based creole spoken on Annobón Island (Post 1995), whereas Cape Verdean Creole will have settled on *ki* (Baptista 2003). From Kihm's observation, it appears that the speakers of Kriyol have not made their choice as yet.

### 3.2.3. Summary

The derivation of the properties of Pp *ku*<sub>2</sub> does not follow in as clear a way from the relexification hypothesis as does the derivation of *ku*<sub>1</sub>. While the form of this lexical entry can rather easily be traced to Portuguese *que* [k], interpreted as /ki/ or /ku/, the semantic and syntactic properties of the modern lexical entries do not reproduce those of the closest substrate lexical entries, but rather those of the superstrate entry. In spite of this situation, it is not impossible that the properties of the indicative complementiser were originally established through relexification followed by a drift towards the superstrate entry. The drift was hypothesised to have been enhanced by the lack of homogeneity of the substrate languages with respect to the properties of the lexical entries that served as indicative [+T] complementizers in these languages, and by sufficient access to the superstrate language. This hypothesis requires further research.

## 4. Conclusion

The first objective of this paper has been to illustrate how relexification/relabeling applies in creole genesis. Our illustration was based on the basis of the study of the multiple facets of *ku* in Pp. The second objective of this paper was to illustrate the methodology developed for documenting the manifestations of relexification in creole genesis. A prerequisite methodological step was shown to consist in the identification of the number of lexical entries that are labeled by a given form. We

argued that in the case of Pp *ku*, two lexical entries are required : *ku*<sub>1</sub>, which encompasses its functions as a preposition and a conjunction, and *ku*<sub>2</sub>, which describes its function as a complementizer. Once the pertinent creole lexical entries have been identified, the methodology consists in comparing their properties with the closest lexical entries in the contributing languages of the creole. On the relexification hypothesis, creole lexical entries are predicted to draw their label from the superstrate language and their other properties from the substrate languages. This prediction was shown to be straightforward in the case of *ku*<sub>1</sub>. In the case of the indicative complementiser, it was hypothesized that, although the properties of the substrate lexical entries serving as indicative complementisers are not visible in the synchronic data, they were probably there in the early creole. It was further hypothesised that the properties of the indicative complementiser drifted towards those of the superstrate entry. The third objective of the paper was to show how relexification interacts with other processes that are at work in the make up of a creole language. In this respect, it was shown that relexification/relabeling may involve phonological conflation, and that leveling may apply on the output of relexification in order to reduce the variation created by the relexification of non-identical lexicons.

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## List of Abbreviations

ADV adverb

AUX auxiliary

COMP complementizer

DEF definite determiner

DEF-FUT definite future

DEM demonstrative determiner

FUT future

HAB habitual marker

INDF indefinite determiner

MO mood marker

NEG negative marker

OP operator

PA *pa*

PFV perfective marker

PL plural

POSS possessive determiner

PP Papiamentu

PROG progressive marker

PRON.OBJ object pronoun

REL relative

RES resumptive pronoun

SG singular

SUB subjunctive marker

TA *ta*

TABATA *tabata*

1 first person clitic

2 second person clitic

3 third person clitic

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## Notes

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[1] For various representations of the process and extensive discussions of how it applies in various contexts, see e.g. Lefebvre and Lumsden 1994, Lefebvre 1998, Mous 2001, Muysken 1981

[2] Some lexical items such as Pp *ta* are glossed by the same form, in this case TA. We use this practice in the case of multifunctional lexical items in order not to anticipate on the particular function of such lexical items in the examples presented.

[3] For a discussion of the origin of the phonetic form *kuné*, see Muysken (to appear)

[4] Note that *i* may also conjoin two NPs as in (i).

(i)

<i>Ade</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	PP
Ade	and	Andrea	PFV	go	Amsterdam	

'Ade and Andrea went to Amsterdam.' (= (4a) in Richardson 1977 : 56)

In contrast to (ii), which means 'Andrea and Ade went to Amsterdam together', (i) means 'Andrea and Ade each went to Amsterdam'.

(ii)

<i>Ade</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Andrea</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	PP
Ade	and	Andrea	PFV	go	Amsterdam	

'Ade and Andrea went to Amsterdam.' (= (4b) in Richardson 1977 : 56)

The form *i* may also conjoin two VPs denoting unrelated events, as is illustrated in (iii), which contrasts with (22).

(iii)

<i>E</i>	<i>mucha</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>yora</i>	PP
DEF	child	TA	laugh	and	cry	

'The child laughs and cries.' (= (13b) in Richardson 1977 : 58)

[5] Other verbs such as *bisa* and *di* may also appear with either *ku* or *pa*. While *bisa* and *di* are interpreted as propositional verbs, both meaning 'to say' when occurring with *ku*, as in (i), they are interpreted as effective verbs meaning 'to order' when occurring with *pa*, as exemplified in (ii).

(i)

a.	<i>Bisé</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>tur</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>karta</i>	<i>nan</i>	PP
	tell-3SG	COMP	1SG	PFV	get	all	POSS
						letter	PL

'Tell him that I got all his letters.' (= (143) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994 : 49)

b.	<i>E</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>paga</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>malu</i>	PP
	3SG	say	with	3PL	COMP	NEG	know	pay	evil	with	evil	

'He told them not to return evil with evil.' (= (218) in Maurer 1988 : 122)

(ii)

a.	<i>El</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>bisa</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>bai.</i>	PP
	3SG	PFV	tell	3PL	PA	3PL	go	

'He told them to go.' (Maurer 1988 : 51)

b.	<i>Mi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>kuné</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>buska</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>tapa</i>	<i>unbé</i>	PP
	1SG	tell	with-3SG	PA	3SG	go	look.for	DEF	cover	one.time	

'I told him to go look for the cover right now.' (= (486) in Maurer 1988 : 175, from Kleinmoedig n.d.)

Several interpretations (sometimes contradictory) of such facts may be found in the literature (see e.g. van Putte and García 1990 : 215) giving their own interpretation of the facts and citing Maurer's interpretation as a *pc*.

[6] As has been pointed out by Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (in press), in (33), the complementizer *ku* is followed by the non-spelled out trace of the extraposed subject showing that there appears to be no *that*-trace effects in Pp.

[7] WITH-type languages are those which express 'coordination' of NPs by means of a preposition meaning 'with'.

[8] Birmingham (1970 : 105) remarks that "the form [ku] does not strongly resemble either Spanish *con* [kon] or Portuguese *com* [kõ]. But it seems more closely related to the Portuguese form than to the Spanish ; it could be a case of loss of nasality (a rare phenomenon in Pp) and the closing of [o] to [u]."

[9] Several authors identify lexical entries such as Gengbe *kè* (corresponding to Fongbe □é, see Hazoume 1990) in (52) as complementizers. In recent literature on Gbe languages, however, it has been argued that such lexical items occurring in both relative and factive clauses are best analyzed as nominal operators (see e.g. Collins 1994 ; Kinyalolo 1993 ; Lefebvre 1998).

[10] In our survey of the literature, we have not found examples of Gengbe *kú* corresponding to those of Pp (6), (20) and (22). This does not entail that such examples do not exist. We leave the documentation of such examples to future research.

[11] We also hypothesize that the fact that the Gengbe lexical entry imposed its properties to the

corresponding Pp lexical entry could be attributed, at least partially, to the fact that Gengbe has played a major role in establishing the form of the Pp lexical entry as *ku* through phonological conflation. In this view, the sub-group that establishes the form of a creole lexical entry through conflation would be more efficient in the competition for establishing the other properties of a creole lexical entry. We submit this hypothesis for future research.

[12] Semantic interpretation data of verbs occurring with different complementizers may be found in the literature on Fongbe (e.g. Anonymous 1983).

[13] The subjects of clauses related by *bò* have disjoint reference. The subjects of clauses related by *bó* are coreferential.

[14] For an extensive discussion of the Gbe cluster, see Capo (1984).

[15] The substratum entries that serve as subjunctive complementisers appear to be much more homogeneous. Although this observation remains to be further documented, in these cases, the properties of the corresponding creole lexical entries do reproduce those of the substrate lexical entries, as has been shown for Haitian *pou* (Lefebvre 1998), Saramaccan *fu* (Lefebvre and Loranger in press) and Pp *pa* (Lefebvre and Therrien in preparation).

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