

Investigating ‘benefactive-applicative’ SVCs in Guadeloupean Creole

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Creole languages often exhibit SVCs. A look at APiCS shows that about half of the languages represented in the database use ‘give’ serials to introduce a recipient or beneficiary. This includes Guadeloupean Creole (GC). It has, however, been argued that Guadeloupean *BAY* ‘give’ in serial-like constructions is more accurately analysed as a prepositions. This suggested reanalysis is based on: 1) *BAY*’s ability to be focused with the recipient/beneficiary (1)-(2), and 2) the observation that many contemporary speakers often replace *BAY* with the preposition *POU* (Colot and Ludwig 2013).

- (1) Igénnie ka pòté mango ba Igenn
Eugenie PROG bring mango give Eugene
‘Eugenie is bringing mangos for Eugene.’
- (2) Ba Igenn Igénnie ka pòté mango.
give Eugene Eugenie PROG bring mango
‘For Eugene Eugenie is bringing mangos.’

This paper argues instead that the preponderance of evidence still supports an SVC analysis. *BAY*: 1) exhibits the same allomorphic changes as both an independent verb and the V2 in an SVC (Table 1), 2) maintains some semantic distinctions between clauses using *BAY* and those using *POU* (3)-(4), 3) cannot be used recursively (5)-(6), and 4) for some speakers sounds more Kréyòl where the use of *POU* is ‘very French’.

<i>BAY</i>	Independent	SVC
1sg (nasal)	I ban mwen un kado 3sg give 1sg IND gift	I fè un kado ban mwen 3sg make IND gift for 1sg
2sg (semi-vowels)	I ba’w un kado 3sg give’2sg IND gift	I fè un kado ba’w 3sg make IND gift give’2sg
3g (semi-vowels)	I ba’y un kado 3sg give’3sg IND gift	I fé un kado ba’y 3sg make IND gift give’3sg

Table 1. Examples of some alloforms of *BAY* with personal pronouns

- (3) I fè sa ban mwen
3SG make that give 1SG
‘S/he made that for me (specifically)’
- (4) I fè sa pou mwen
3SG make that for 1SG
‘S/he made that for me (but not necessarily for me specially)’

- (5) I achté un kado pou mwen pou chat a mwen
 3SG buy IND gift for 1SG for cat POS 1SG
 'S/he bought a gift for me for my cat.'
- (6) *I achté un kado ban mwen ba chat a mwen
 3SG buy IND gift give 1SG give cat POS 1SG
 INTENDED: 'S/he bought a gift for me for my cat.'

We suggest that GC *BAY* SVCs are in fact what [1] calls the 'Benefactive applicative periphrasis'. In these SVC constructions, the verb operator (V2) *BAY* increases the valency of the event verb (V1) by one. This allows the promotion of the benefactive participant into the core of the clause. The non-*give* verbs participating in Guadeloupean SVCs may be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive integrating a recipient/beneficiary into its internal arguments. Indeed only a semantically defined class, namely animate recipients and beneficiaries, are generally integrated within the *BAY*-SVCs in Guadeloupean. SVCs, along with Double Object Constructions and Indirect Object Constructions, give GC multiple ways to mark adjunct/additional participants and their relationship to the event.

Our take thus differs from previous analyses where *BAY* is assumed to have grammaticalized into a preposition in Guadeloupean Creole [2, 3]. The existence of (3) vs (4) supports the SVC analysis where *ban mwen* in (3) is semantically a recipient or a beneficiary while in (4) *pou mwen* can be read as a causee. In fact, the preposition *pou* can select other kinds of arguments including non-animates and temporal. Syntactic operations that usually determine monoclausality of like fronting (1)-(2) or cliticization, are either not sufficient or do not provide a clear diagnosis. TAM marking, on the other hand, provides a better diagnostic for monoclausality.

References

- [1] Denis Creissels. "Benefactive applicative periphrases: a typological approach". In: *Benefactives and malefactives: typological perspectives and case studies*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010, pp. 29–68.
- [2] Hector Poulet Danièle Bernini-Montbrand Ralph Ludwig and Sylviane Telchid. *Dictionnaire Créole/Français; avec un lexique français-créole et un abrégé de grammaire (4th ed)*. Orphie, 2012.
- [3] Susanne Maria Michaelis et al., eds. *APiCS Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, 2013. URL: <http://apics-online.info>.