A contrastive analysis of Give-constructions in Haitian and Martinican Creole

Haitian (HC) and Martinican Creole (MQ) are French lexifier creoles spoken in Haiti and Martinique respectively. Here I examine constructions with grammatical uses of cognates of the verb GIVE (GIVE-constructions): *ba(y)* in Haitian and *ba* in Martinican (1). Give-constructions are widely studied as part of Serial verb constructions Creole languages (Jansen et al 1978, Sebba 1987, Maurer et al 2013, Veenstra & Muysken 2017) and more widely (Lord 1993, Lord et al 2002) with typical examples in (2).

Contrasting data from Haitian and Martinican in a range of contexts, the present study shows that despite superficial similarity of some examples as in (1) the syntax of GIVE-constructions in the two languages is clearly different.

The data are from questionnaires given to native speakers of Haitian and Martinican and from the study of double object constructions in Martinican by Jean-Louis (2019).
The conclusions have been checked against the examples of BA(Y) in the (small) corpus of Haitian texts and examples from older grammars of Haitian that I have at my disposal.

#1 Ditransitive predicates Both HC BA(Y) and MQ BA can introduce the recipient of a predicate of transfer (2a/b).
#2 Beneficiaries Only MQ *ba* also introduces beneficiaries (3a). HC *ba(y)* is not accepted in these contexts: beneficiaries in HC are introduced by *pou* `for' (3b).
#3 Predicates without transfer According to my informants, with verbs that do not specify transfer HC BA(Y) can specify the command-giver of an order (4) but not a semantically neutral beneficiary as *pou* in (3b). According to my informants, the example (4) does not introduce a simple beneficiary but a command that does not allow contradiction corresponding to a translation "Do the work for me – this is an order!"
#4 Sole beneficiary predicate MQ BA can function as a sole beneficiary predicate in main predications (5a) and inside noun phrases (5b). HC BA(Y) is impossible in these contexts (6a/b) – the beneficiary is expressed by *pou* `for'.
#5 Inanimate recipients MQ BA can introduce inanimate recipients in part-whole configurations (7a), HC BA(Y) imposes animate recipients (7b).
#6 Final clauses HC BA(Y) can introduce final clauses (8), for the speakers of MQ BA consulted this use is much more marginal (9a) and uniformly rejected in combination with verbs of transfer like *vréyé* 'send' (9b).

The comparison of Haitian and Martinican GIVE-constructions shows that the cover-term Serial verb constructions groups together constructions with clearly different properties even in closely related languages.

The contrastive study of closely related languages highlights syntactic and semantic contrasts that would not be clearly visible otherwise, (following Zribi-Hertz et a. 2019).

(1)	a.	Jan **bay** Mari yon liv.					(Haitian)
	b.	Jan **ba** Mari an liv. (Jean-Louis, 2019, ex 1) (Martinican)
		J GIVE M a book		`Jean gave Marie a book.'
(2)	a.	Jan voye let la	**bay** Mari. (Haitian)
	b.	Jan vréyé lèt-la	**ba** Mari. (Martinican) (Jean-Louis 2019:33, ex 79g)
		J. send letter DET GIVE M.
		`Jan sent the letter to Mari.' lit `J. sent the letter GIVE M.'
(3)	a.	Jan ka		chèché an apartèman **ba** Mari. (Martinican) (J-L 2019, ex 81g)
	b.	Li		chache apatman ***bay**/ᵒᵏ**pou** Mari. (Haitian)
		Jean NONP	look-for a apartement GIVE Marie
		`John is looking for an apartment {*to/for} Mary.'
(4)	Fè travay la **ban** mwen! (Haitian)
	do work DET GIVE 1SG `Do the work for me! (speaker comment: doesn't accept
	contradiction)'' (cf. Valdman 2007 cited in Fattier 2013; apics-online.info/sentences/49-261)
(5)	a.	Liv ta a sé **ba** Mari. (Martinican)
		book DEM DET COP GIVE M. 'The book is for Mari.' (Jean-Louis, 2019, ex 24b)
	b.	ᵒᵏan liv **ba** timanmay (Martinican)
		a book GIVE children 'a book for children'
(6)	a.	Liv la (se) ***bay** Bouki (Haitian)
		book DET SE GIVE B. Not: The book is for Bouki.
	a'.	Liv la **pou** Bouki (Haitian)
		book DET for B. `The book is for Bouki.'
	b.	*yon kado **bay**	Mari (Haitian)
		 a present GIVE M. Not: 'a present for M.'
(7)	a.	I achté tjuil **ba** kay-la			(MQ)
	b.	Li achte tuil ***bay**/ᵒᵏ**pou** kay la		(HC)
		3SG buy roof-tiles give house-DET 'S/he bought tiles for the house.'
(8)	a.	Li fe gato a **bay** Mari vann (HC)
		3SG make cake DET GIVE M. sell
		'S/he made the cake to give to M to sell/ for M. to sell.'
	b.	Li voye let la	**bay** Mari li	(HC)
		3SG send letter DET GIVE M. read
		`S/he sent the letter to Mary (for her) to read.'
(9)	a.	Jòj tjuiyi mango **ba** vandèz vann (MQ)
		J pick mango GIVE seller sell
		George picked mangos and gave them to the seller to sell. (only marginally
		acceptable for some speakers)
	b.	*I vréyé sé mango-a ***ba**/ ᵒᵏ**pou** machann-lan van (MQ)
		3SG send COP mango-DET GIVE /for seller-DET sell (them)
		`He sent the mangos to the sales person to sell them.'

References Fattier 2013. Haitian Creole Data set. APiCS. Jean-Louis 2019. *Les constructions ditransitives de transfert en créole martiniquais.* Master's thesis, U. Paris-8, St Denis, France. Lord et al 2002. Grammaticalization of 'give'. African and Asian perspectives. In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, pp. 217–235. John Benjamins. Maurer and the APiCS Consortium. 2013. 'Give' serial verb constructions. Sebba. 1987. *The Syntax of Serial Verbs*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Zribi-Hertz et al 2019. Left-adjoined bi-valent predicates in two Caribbean French-based creoles: Martinican and Haitian. *Revista Letras*, 99:75– 100.