

# Constituency in Martinican (creole, Martinique)

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Position	Type	Elements
1	zone	Sentence adverbs
2	zone	Adverbial sentences
3	slot	Interrogative marker
4	zone	NP (A, S)
5	slot	Negative marker <i>pa</i> (NEG), <i>pé</i> (NEG), <i>poko</i> (NOT.YET)
6	slot	Tense marker <i>té</i> (PST)
7	slot	Tense marker <i>ka</i> (IPFV), <i>ké</i> (FUT), <i>key</i> (FUT), <i>kay</i> (FUT)
8	slot	Modal <i>pé</i> ‘can’
9	slot	Negative marker <i>pa</i> (NEG)
10	slot	Obligation <i>dwet</i>
12	slot	Causative <i>fê</i>
13	slot	NP (causee)
14	zone	Adverbial
15	slot	Prefix
<b>16</b>	<b>slot</b>	<b>V base</b>
17	slot	Object/causee pronouns
18	zone	Adverbial
19	zone	NP, subordinate clauses, complement clauses
20	zone	Adverbial
21	slot	Negative marker <i>ankò</i>
22	zone	Adverbial sentences
23	zone	Sentence adverbs

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Test id	Type	Left-span	Right-span	Size	Convergency	Layer id
Free occurrence (smallest)		16		1		1
Free occurrence (largest)		15	17	3		2
Non interruptability (free form)		15	17	3		2
Non interruptability (more than one free form)		15	17	3		2
Permutability - rigid - (declarative/imperative)		4	21	18		3
Permutability - rigid - (interrogative)		3	21	19		4
Permutability - scopal - (declarative/imperative)		4	21	18		3
Permutability - scopal - (interrogative)		3	21	19		4
Ciscategorical selection (verb only)		15	17	3		2
Ciscategorical selection (with the verb)		3	21	19		4
Nazalisation				0		5
Biuniqueness deviation domains : negation <i>pa ankò</i> 'no more'		5	21	17		6

## L1: POSITION 16

- Free occurrence (smallest): the smallest span of structure that contains the verb base and is a single free form.

The verb base is the smallest span of structure to be a single free form.

(1)

**16**

*Sòti !*

go.out

'Get out!'

## L2: POSITIONS 15-17

- Free occurrence (largest): the largest span of structure that contains the verb base and is a single free form.

Verbal prefixes occupy position 15. In position 17, there are bound object/causee pronouns. In example (2), the prefix *ri-* expresses repetition.

(2)

4    **15-16-17**

*Man ri-fê-y*

1SG again-do-3SG

'I did it again'

- Noninterruptability (free form): The span of structure that contains the verb base and that cannot be interrupted by element of single free form.

Cf (2)

- Ciscategorial selection (verb only): The span of structure that contains the verb base and positions whose elements can only combine with the verb.

In the structure, elements next to the verb base (position 16) that only combine with verbs are verbal prefixes (position 15) and object/causee pronouns (position 17). Adverbials (positions 14 and 18) can combine with other parts of speech (ex-adjectives).

- Noninterruptability (more than one free form): The span of structure that contains the verb base and that cannot be interrupted by element of more than one free form.

Positions 15-17 or 14-17?

The following tests would require much more spontaneous recordings to have an accurate view of the places of the adverbs. So far, I am working with my data and what has been reported in the literature. Besides, adverbials is quite a big category mixing different types of morphemes.

(3)

4	<b>16-17</b>	18		19
<i>man</i>	<i>ba-y</i>	<i>bien</i>	<i>rapidman</i>	<i>dé-twa zannana</i>
1SG	give-3SG	very	quickly	some pineapple
'I gave her/him some pineapples very quickly'				

In position 18, there can be more than one free form: adverbials can be part of an adverbial phrase. Thus, for the right-span, both tests (one free form + more than one single free form) have the same result: position 17.

I am not sure about the behavior of adverbials in position 14. If they cannot be included in an adverbial phrase, the span would go from position 14 to 17, adding a new layer to the planar structure. If they can, the span would go from position 15 to 17.

### L3: POSITIONS 4-21

- Nonpermutability - rigid (Declarative/Imperative): The span of structure that contains the verb base and which contains positions whose elements cannot be permuted.

The span of structure goes from the noun phrase (S, A) to the negative morpheme *ankò*. Sentence adverbs and adverbial sentences can be permuted.

(4)

	1	2		<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>16-17</b>	<b>21</b>
b.	<i>donk</i>	<i>dépi</i>	<i>jou-taa</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>fè-y</i>	<i>ankò</i>
	so	SUB.since	day-DET.DEM	1SG	NEG...	IPFV	do-3SG	...again
a.	<i>dépi</i>	<i>jou-taa</i>	<i>donk</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>fè-y</i>	<i>ankò</i>
	SUB.since	day-DET.DEM	so	1SG	NEG...	IPFV	do-3SG	...again
	'so, since that day, I do not do it anymore'							

- Nonpermutability - scopal (Declarative/Imperative): The span of structure that contains the verb base and which contains positions whose elements cannot be permuted without a scope difference

Changing the place of the adverbial sentences or the sentence adverbs do not convey any scope difference.

## L4: POSITIONS 3-21

- Permutability - rigid (Interrogative): The span of structure that contains the verb base and which contains positions whose elements cannot be permuted.

The span of structure goes from the interrogative marker to the negative morpheme *ankò*.

(5)

<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>16-17</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>Poutji</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>fê-y</i>	<i>ankò?</i>
INTERR.why	2SG	NEG...	IPFV	do-3SG	...again

'Why aren't you doing it anymore?'

The case of the interrogative marker *eskø*:

Some authors do not consider it a Martinican interrogative marker. Anyhow, maybe *eskø* could be permuted with the adverbial sentences (position 2). This need to be checked and would implies a different layer, similar to the declarative sentences one (L3: positions 4-21).

- Permutability - scopal (Interrogative): The span of structure that contains the verb base and which contains positions whose elements cannot be permuted without a scope difference

Changing the place of the adverbial sentences or the sentence adverbs do not convey any scope difference.

- Ciscategorical selection (with the verb): The span of structure that contains the verb base and positions that contains any elements that combine with the verb.

Should I include adverbial sentences (positions 2-22)?

## L5: NO POSITION

- Segmental domain: nazalisation

Nazalisation rules are specific to noun phrases when they are determined by the definite article. Nazalisation does not happen in the verbal phrases.

## L6: POSITIONS 5-21

- Biuniqueness deviation domains: negation *pa ankò* ‘not anymore’

To express that the predication does not hold at the time of the event but was true before the time of the event, Martinican uses a negative discontinuous morpheme. *Pa* ‘NEG’ occupies position 5, *ankò* ‘again’ occupies position 21.

(6)

1	2	4	<b>5</b>	7	<b>16</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>donk</i>	<i>atjelman</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>suiv</i>	<i>touw-la</i>	<i>ankò</i>
so	nowadays	1SG	NEG...	IPFV	follow	race-ART.DEF	...again

'so, nowadays, I do not follow the race anymore'  
Descrip BEL 051

## CONSTITUENCY TESTS

- Subspan repetition (non finite complement clauses)

The subspan repeated does not have the NP (S, A) nor any TAM marker. The obligation marker *dwet* ‘have to’ is not allowed either.

(7)

4	7	16	[12	13	16]
<i>ou</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>sa</i>	[ <i>fè</i>	<i>loto-a</i>	<i>desann</i> ]
2SG	FUT	be.able.to	do	car	

'you will be able to drive the car down there'

➤ Subspan repetition (serial verbs?)

This test identifies *voyé alé* ‘throw away’ as a domain. *Y* ‘3SG’ has wide-scope but cannot be repeated.

(8)

4	<b>16-17</b>	<b>16</b>
<i>Man</i>	<i>voyé-y</i>	<i>alé.</i>
1SG	throw-3SG	go
'I threw it away.'		
4	16-17	16-17
* <i>Man</i>	<i>voyé-y</i>	<i>alé-y.</i>
1SG	throw-3SG	go-3SG