Martinican Creole la ka constructions are biclausal

Stéphane Térosier

University at Buffalo sterosie@buffalo.edu

SPCL Summer Meeting 2025

26 June 2025



Roadmap

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Theoretical background
- 3. Bernabé's (1983) analysis of the LKC
- 4. Evidence for a biclausal analysis of LKCs
- 5. Conclusion
- References
- Appendix A: Towards a new analysis of the LKC

1. Introduction

ka: An ambiguous marker

- In this talk, I will focus on the Martinican Creole (MC) imperfective marker ka
- Notoriously ambiguous in its interpretation
- Example (1) is ambiguous between a habitual and a progressive reading
- Jan ka travay lopital John IPFV work hospital
 - i. 'John works at the hospital.'
 - ii. 'John is working at the hospital.'

la ka constructions: A disambiguating strategy

- To disambiguate between these two readings, MC speakers use the *la ka* construction (LKC)
- The LKC combines a locative marker la 'there' with the imperfective marker ka
- Only the progressive reading is available
- (2) Jan la ka travay lopital John LOC IPFV work hospital 'John is working at the hospital.'
 - Unlike (1), the LKC in (2) is incompatible with a habitual interpretation

How many *ka*s are there? One or two?

- The ambiguity of *ka* sentences such as (1) raises the following question: Is this a case of ambiguity or homophony?
 - Hypothesis 1: Ambiguity There's just one ka and which happens to be ambiguous
 - Hypothesis 2: Homophony There are two kas, each with a specialized function and its own lexical entry
- Hypothesis 2 predicts that there should be sentences where the two kas can cooccur

An interesting fact

- Sentences in which two occurrences of ka appear contiguously are ungrammatical
- (3) * Lè man ka rann li vizit, i toujou ka ka gadé when 1sg IPFV pay 3sg visit, 3sg always IPFV IPFV watch latélé television

 (Intended) 'Whenever I pay him a visit, he is always watching television.'
 - Interestingly, such sentences are grammatical if la intervenes between the two occurrences of ka
- (4) Lè man ka rann li vizit, i toujou ka **la** ka when 1sg IPFV pay 3sg visit, 3sg always IPFV LOC IPFV gadé latélé watch television

The puzzle

- In light of (4), it would appear that there are two kas (Hypothesis 2: homophony)
- But why should (3) be ungrammatical?
- Why must there be an intervening *la* to license the cooccurrence of the two *kas*?

The research question

- Critically, we need to answer the following question: Is the LKC mono- or biclausal?
 - If monoclausal, strong evidence for Hyp. 2
 - If biclausal, Hyp. 2 is seriously weakened

The proposal

- In this talk, I will show that the LKC is biclausal
- The underlying structure of LKCs is schematized in (5)
- (5) [S Subj la [S' ec ka VP]]
 - The biclausality of LKCs doesn't entirely rule out Hyp. 2, but it does weaken the case for it

2. Theoretical background

The cartographic enterprise

- Broadly speaking, my analysis is couched in the generative framework
- More specifically, however, I adopt the cartographic enterprise (Cinque, 1999; Rizzi, 1997; Shlonsky, 2010)
- The cartographic enterprise aims to:
 - study the articulated structure of language
 - to map out the functional projections that make up this structure
- Key assumptions:
 - The resulting functional sequences (fseqs) are universal
 - One feature one head

Cinque's (1999) functional hierarchy

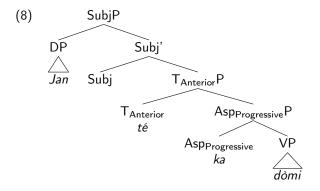
- Cinque proposes a highly articulated inflectional domain
- (6) [frankly Mood_{speech act} [fortunately Mood_{evaluative} [allegedly Mood_{evidential} [probably Mod_{epistemic} [once T(Past) [then T(Future) [perhaps Mood_{irrealis} [necessarily Mod_{necessity} [possibly Mod_{possibility} [usually Asp_{habitual} [again Asp_{repetitive(I)} [often Asp_{frequentative(I)} [intentionally Mood_{volitional} [quickly Asp_{celerative(I)} [already T(Anterior) [no longer Asp_{terminative} [still Asp_{continuative} [always Asp_{Perfect(?)} [just Asp_{retrospective} [soon Asp_{proximative} [briefly Asp_{durative} [characteristically(?) Asp_{generic/progressive} [almost Asp_{prospective} [completely Asp_{completive(I)} [tutto Asp_{PlCompletive} [well Voice [fast/early Asp_{celerative(II)} [often Asp_{frequentative(II)} [completely Asp_{completely(II)}

A first illustration 1/2

- Consider the following sentence:
- (7) a. Jan té ka dòmi John ANT IPFV sleep 'John was sleeping.'
 - b. * Jan ka **té** dòmi
 - Under Cinque's (1999) analysis of the inflectional domain:
 - té lexicalizes T_{Anterior}
 - ka lexicalizes Asp_{Progressive}
 - Crucially, the relative ordering of these heads is fixed;
 hence the contrast between (7a) and (7b)

A first illustration 2/2

Schematically, (7a) may be associated with the simplified structure in (8) below:

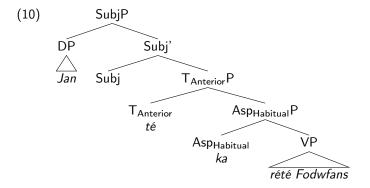


A second illustration 1/2

- Consider the following sentence:
- (9) a. Jan té ka rété Fodfwans John ANT IPFV stay Fort-de-France 'John used to live in Fort-de-France.'
 - b. * Jan ka té rété Fodfwans
 - This time, Cinque's (1999) fseq suggests the following:
 - té lexicalizes T_{Anterior}
 - ka lexicalizes Asp_{Habitual}
 - Again, the relative ordering of these heads would be responsible for the contrast between (9a) and (9b)

A second illustration 2/2

■ Schematically, (9a) may be associated with the simplified structure in (10) below:



Cinque's hierarchy and the imperfective puzzle

- In principle, under Cinque's hierarchy, nothing should prevent the cooccurrence of two ka
- Given the relative ordering of Asp_{Habitual} and Asp_{Progressive}, we would get *ka ka* strings where:
 - The first ka lexicalizes Asp_{Habitual}
 - The second ka lexicalizes Asp_{Progressive}

In the same spirit

- Lefebvre (1998, p. 112) notes the possible cooccurrence of two instances of *ap*
 - By assumption, these would occupy distinct positions in Cinque's fseq
- (11) M' ap ap sòti.
 I DEF-FU IMP go-out
 'I will be going out.'

Cinque's hierarchy and the LKC

- Sentences such as (4), repeated below as (12), would find a straightforward explanation under Cinque's hierarchy
- (12) Lè man ka rann li vizit, i toujou ka **la** ka when 1sg ipfv pay 3sg visit, 3sg always ipfv loc ipfv gadé latélé watch television
 - But it isn't quite clear what we should make of la under this view
 - What position does it occupy in Cinque's hierarchy?

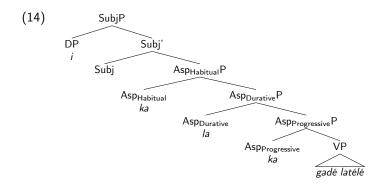
3. Bernabé's (1983) analysis of the LKC

A monoclausal analysis

- Bernabé (1983) suggests that la should be treated as a marker of durative aspect
- In fact, Cinque's hierarchy includes such a projection: Asp_{Durative}
 - Interestingly, it occupies an intermediate position between Asp_{Habitual} and Asp_{Progressive}
- In MC, this relative ordering would translate as follows:

An illustration

- (12), repeated below, may thus be schematized as in (14):
- (12) Lè man ka rann li vizit, i toujou ka **la** ka when 1sg ipfv pay 3sg visit, 3sg always ipfv loc ipfv gadé latélé watch television



In support of a monoclausal analysis

- Bernabé's analysis is compatible with object extraction, as illustrated in (15)
- (15) a. Kisa $_i$ ou la ka manjé t_i ? what $2 {\rm SG\ LOC\ IPFV\ eat}$ 'What are you eating?'
 - b. Sé an mango; i la ka manjé t_i ${
 m S\'{E}}$ a mango $3{
 m SG}$ LOC IPFV eat 'lt's a mango that she's eating.'
 - But object extraction doesn't rule out other analyses

Unaccounted facts

- Bernabé's monoclausal analysis fails to provide an account for some of the facts observed
- It doesn't account for the fact that there cannot be two occurrences of ka in the absence of an intervening la
- It doesn't explain how la could have developed from a locative marker into a marker of durative aspect
- Additionally, the evidence in support of Bernabé's analysis (object extraction) doesn't rule out other analyses of LKCs
- In fact, a biclausal analysis remains an option

4. Evidence for a biclausal analysis of LKCs

Three pieces of evidence

- In this section I will present three pieces of evidence in favor of a biclausal analysis of LKCs:
 - 11 the distribution of la w.r.t. certain adverbials
 - 2 the distribution of circumstantial adjuncts in LKCs
 - idiom chunks

4.1. The distribution of low adverbials in LKCs

The predicted distribution of low adverbials

- Given the framework adopted here (cartography), the monoclausal analysis of LKCs makes certain predictions about the distribution of some low adverbials in LKCs
- Recall that:
 - *la* is hypothesized to lexicalize Asp_{Durative}
 - ka is hypothesized to lexicalize Asp_{Progressive}
- The prediction is that adverbials below Asp_{Progressive} in Cinque's hierarchy shouldn't be able to precede ka

An illustration 1/3

- Let us consider the adverbial *ankò an fwa* 'one more time', which I take to occupy **Spec,Asp**_{Repetitive}P
- Crucially, in Cinque's hierarchy, Asp_{Repetitive} scopes under Asp_{Progressive}
- It is therefore predicted that ankò an fwa shouldn't be able to precede ka

An illustration 2/3

- The prediction is **borne out in the absence of** *la*
- (16) a. * Mari *ankò an fwa* **ka** gadé latélé Mary again one time IPFV watch television 'Mary is watching TV one more time.'
 - b. * Mari ka ankò an fwa gadé latélé
 - c. Mari ka gadé latélé ankò an fwa
 - I attribute the ungrammaticality of (16b) to obligatory movement of the VP past Asp_{Repetitive}
- (17) $[A_{SPProg}P \ ka \ [FP \ [VP \ gad\'e \ lat\'el\'e] \ [F' \ \dots \ [A_{SPRep}P \ ank\`o an fwa \ \dots \ t_{VP}]]]]$

An illustration 3/3

- Interestingly, the prediction isn't borne out in LKCs
- (18) Jan la *ankò an fwa* **ka** gadé latélé John LOC again one time IPFV watch television 'John is watching TV one more time.'
 - This surprising fact that ankò an fwa can precede ka finds a straightforward explanation if we adopt a biclausal analysis of LKCS
 - Under this view, ankò an fwa would simply not be a clausemate of ka

4.2. The distribution of circumstantial adjuncts in LKCs

The typical distribution of circumstantial adjuncts

- Typically, circumstantial adjuncts can be found in either clause-initial or clause-final position, but nowhere inside the inflectional domain
- (19) a. **Dépi bonmaten-an** i *ka* gadé latélé since morning=DEF 3SG IPFV watch television 'He's been watching TV since this morning.'
 - b. I ka gadé latélé dépi bonmaten-an
 - c. * I dépi bonmaten-an ka gadé latélé
 - d. * I ka dépi bonmaten-an gadé latélé

The distribution of circumstantial adjuncts in LKCs

- Circumstantial adjuncts are (apparently) not subjected to the same restrictions in LKCs
- (20) a. **Dépi bonmaten-an** i la *ka* gadé latélé since morning=DEF 3SG LOC IPFV watch television 'He's been watching TV since this morning.'
 - b. I la ka gadé latélé dépi bonmaten-an
 - c. I la dépi bonmaten-an ka gadé latélé
 - Again, this suggests that the construction is biclausal
 - In (20c), the circumstantial adverbial could be in either of these two positions:
 - the final position in the matrix clause
 - the initial position in the embedded clause

4.3. Idiom chunks

Imperfective aspect preserves idiomatic readings

- Consider the following idiom chunk:
- (21) Dlo dépasé farin water surpass flour'This is the straw that broke the camel's back.' (lit.) 'Water surpassed flour.'
 - Critically, the idiomatic reading is preserved when the imperfective marker is added
- (22) Dlo ka dépasé farin water IPFV surpass flour 'This is the straw that is breaking the camel's back.' (lit.) 'Water is surpassing flour.'

LKCs disallow idiomatic readings

- Interestingly, idiomatic readings are out in LKCs
- (23) Dlo la ka dépasé farin water LOC IPFV surpass flour 'Water is surpassing flour.'
 - Only a literal reading is available in (23)
 - This is unexpected if we assume a monoclausal analysis of LKCs
 - But if we adopt a biclausal analysis, this would be rather unsurprising, esp. if control is involved

5. Conclusion

Summary

- The monoclausal analysis of LKCs offered by Bernabé (1983) is invalidated by the following facts
 - Low adverbials can precede ka in LKCs
 - Circumstantial adjuncts can appear in sentence-medial position in LkCs
 - Idiomatic readings are disallowed in LKCs

The takeaway

- Based on this evidence, I propose that LKCs are biclausal
- Idiom chunks suggest that they involve a control predicate
- For reasons of time, I cannot go into a more detailed proposal (but see appendix)
- Re the imperfective puzzle, the LKC cannot be used as evidence for a homophony-based analysis of *ka*

Mèsi anpil!

Thank you!

References

- Bernabé, J. (1983). Fondal-natal : Grammaire basilectale approchée des créoles guadeloupéen et martiniquais. L'Harmattan.
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuca, W. (1994). The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world. The University of Chicago Press.
- Cinque, G. (1999). Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective.
 Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, B. (1978). Ergativity. In W. P. Lehmann (Ed.), Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language (pp. 329–294). University of Texas Press.
- Laka, I. (2006). Deriving split ergativity in the progressive. In A. Johns, D. Massam, & J. Nadayirgaije (Eds.), Ergativity: Emerging issues (pp. 173–196). Springer.
- Landau, I. (2024). Control. Cambridge University Press.
- Lefebvre, C. (1998). Creole genesis and the acquisition of grammar: The case of Haitian Creole. Cambridge University Press.
- Martinović, M., & Schwarzer, M.-L. (2018).Locatives and bi-clausal progressives in wolof. *Proceedings of NELS 48*.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), Elements of grammar: Handbook of generative grammar (pp. 281–337). Kluwer.
- Shlonsky, U. (2010). The cartographic enterprise in syntax. Language and Linguistic Compass, 4(6), 417–429.

Appendix A: Towards a new analysis of the LKC

Typological considerations

- Beside MC, there are many languages that possess a construction in which a locative marker combines with an imperfective marker to form a progressive construction
- Wolof is one of these languages
- (24) Ma-a-ngi di (>maangiy) ñew $1 {
 m SG-C_{Wh}\text{-}LCL\ IPFV}$ come 'I am coming.' (Taken from Martinović & Schwarzer, 2018)
 - See, e.g., Comrie (1978) and Bybee et al. (1994) for more examples of such languages
 - For some of these languages, the construction has been argued to be biclausal (e.g., Wolof (Martinović & Schwarzer, 2018) and Basque (Laka, 2006))

The underlying structure of LKCs

- We have already established that LKCs are biclausal, but what is their underlying structure?
- To answer that broader question, let us consider the following narrower question: What is the relation between the two clauses in an LKC?
 - Are they in a matrix-complement relation?
 - Are they in a matrix-adjunct relation?
- To settle that question, we can use object extraction as a diagnostic

LKCs involve a matrix-complement relation

- In MC, extraction from an adjunct is ungrammatical
- (25) a. Jan pati [apré Mari ba'y lajan-an] John left after Mary give=3sg money=DEF 'John left after Mary gave him the money.'
 - b. * Kisa; Jan pati [apré Mari ba'y t; what John left after Mary give=3sg (intended) 'What is the thing x s.t. John left after Mary gave him x?'
 - Extraction is possible from LKCs
- (26) Kisa; ou la ka gadé t_i ? what 2SG LOC IPFV watch 'What are you watching?'
 - I take (26) as evidence for the existence of a matrix-complement relation in LKCs

Locative *la* is the matrix predicate

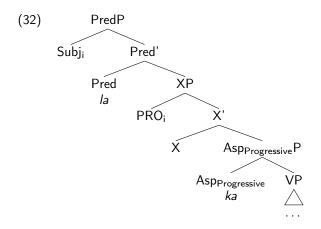
- This raises the following question: How should we parse the construction?
- Recall that circumstantial adjuncts can only appear in clause-initial or clause-final position but that they can, nonetheless, intervene between *la* and *ka* in LKCs
- (27) a. Jan la ka gadé latélé
 John LOC IPFV watch television
 'John is watching television.'
 - b. Jan la *adan chanm-li* ka gadé latélé John LOC in bedroom=3SG IPFV watch television 'John is watching television in his room.'
 - I take this to mean that (27a) has the structure schematized in (28)
- (28) [Jan la [ka gadé latélé]]

The LKC is a control construction

- Unlike raising predicates (29a), control predicates (29b) do not allow idiomatic readings
- (29) a. My leg appeared to have been pulled
 - b. * My leg attempted to be pulled (Adapted from Landau, 2024, p. 5)
 - As we established earlier, idiomatic readings are out in LKCs
- (30) Dlo la ka dépasé farin water LOC IPFV surpass flour'Water is surpassing flour.' (no idiomatic reading)
 - LKCs must, then, have a structure in the spirit of (31)
- (31) [Sub_i la [PRO_i ka VP]]

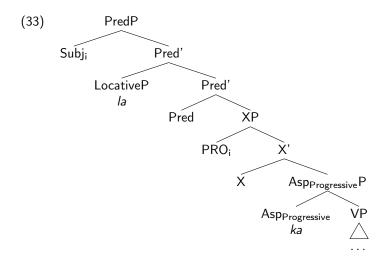
The status of *la* in LKC 1/2

Based on what we have seen so far, I propose that either la is either the matrix predicate (32)...



The status of *la* in LKC 2/2

... or an argument of the matrix predicate (33)



LKC and the imperfective puzzle

- If my analysis is on the right track, then the LKC cannot be adduced as evidence for the hypothesis that there are two kas merged in distinct positions
- That being said, neither is the case that this study offers evidence for an ambiguity-based analysis of the imperfective marker
- To adjudicate between these two views, further investigation is necessary, esp. as regards the relation between the interpretation of *ka*s and its distribution w.r.t. adverbials in the inflectional domain