

Article Incorporation in Mauritian Creole

by

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## ABSTRACT

In Mauritian Creole, and in other French creoles, there is a phenomenon called article incorporation, where a French article becomes fused with a noun in the creole language. Of all the French creoles, Mauritian Creole has the most article incorporation, with at least five times more nouns with article incorporation.

In this thesis, I explain why Mauritian Creole has so many nouns with article incorporation, why certain nouns receive incorporated articles while others do not, and why certain articles are more commonly incorporated than others. All of these issues can be at least partly explained by influence from Bantu languages. I argue that incorporated articles are modelled on noun class prefixes from Bantu languages, and that Bantu vowel harmony affects which nouns receive incorporated articles and which articles are incorporated. Articles whose vowels are consistent with Bantu vowel harmony are more likely to be incorporated than those that are not.

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## Chapter One

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

#### 1.1 - Statement of Intent

In all French-based creole languages, there exists to some degree a phenomenon called ‘Article Incorporation’ or ‘Article Agglutination’, where a French article (ie. *le, la, de, l’* etc...) has become part of the noun in the creole language. There are two main types of article incorporation; syllabic article incorporation, where the incorporated article constitutes a CV syllable (eg. *la*), and consonantal article incorporation, where the incorporated segment is a single consonant (eg. *l’*). Mauritian Creole, which will be the focus of this thesis, has by far the most instances of syllabic article incorporation out of any of the French creoles. Examples of this phenomenon are given in (1).

(1)	<b>lisu</b>	<b><u>le</u> chou</b>	‘cabbage’
	<b>leker</b>	<b><u>le</u> coeur</b>	‘heart’
	<b>lakaz</b>	<b><u>la</u> case</b>	‘house’
	<b>dile</b>	<b><u>du</u> lait</b>	‘milk’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Consonantal article incorporation is found in roughly equal numbers in all French creoles. Some examples of consonantal article incorporation in Mauritian Creole are given in (2).

(2)	<b>lete</b>	<b><u>l’</u>été</b>	‘summer’
	<b>zanimo</b>	<b>le<u>s</u> animaux</b>	‘animal’
	<b>nam</b>	<b>un <u>â</u>me</b>	‘soul’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Incorporated articles are lexicalized, so that what functioned as an article in French no longer

functions as an article in Mauritian Creole. Rather, the original French article becomes just the initial syllable of the noun, while definite/indefinite and singular/plural distinctions are made through entirely different means (3).

(3)	<i>lipye</i>	‘pied’	foot
	<i>en lipye</i>	‘un pied’	a foot
	<i>lipye-la</i>	‘le pied’	the foot
	<i>ban lipye</i>	‘des pieds’	feet
	<i>ban lipye-la</i>	‘les pieds’	the feet

(adapted from Grant 1995: 152)

The goals of this thesis are threefold. First, I will give a description of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, bringing together as much of the data on this subject as possible, and providing an exhaustive list of the forms to which other researchers could refer. Second, I will compare article incorporation in Mauritian Creole to article incorporation in other French-based creoles, discussing the relevant factors in each language in order to determine why Mauritian Creole has more article incorporation than any other French creole. Third, I will propose a hypothesis that is able to explain why Mauritian Creole has so much syllabic article incorporation, why certain nouns have incorporated articles while others do not, and why certain articles are more likely to be incorporated than others.

Although syllabic article incorporation does occur in other French-based creole languages, they all have much less than Mauritian Creole. In this thesis, I will discuss three of these other languages; Réunionnais, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole. Réunionnais, which is actually considered a semi-creole, has only 12 instances of syllabic article incorporation, while Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole have 112 and 252 respectively. This differs greatly from Mauritian Creole, which has 512 nouns with syllabic article

incorporation. In Chapter 3, I show that Réunionnais' lack of syllabic article incorporation is due to the fact that it is not a true creole. I also show that Mauritian Creole was heavily influenced by Bantu languages at the time of its stabilization, while Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole were not. I argue, following Philip Baker's (1984) hypothesis, that it was precisely this Bantu influence that caused Mauritian Creole to develop article incorporation, and that the lack of Bantu influence in Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole contributed to their (relative) lack of syllabic article incorporation.

In Baker's view and my own, syllabic article incorporation in Mauritian Creole developed because of influence from Bantu languages during Mauritian Creole's stabilization. Bantu languages have noun class prefixes that are attached to the beginning of nouns. Examples of noun class prefixes from the Kikuria language of Tanzania and Kenya are given in (4).

- |     |    |                      |                 |           |
|-----|----|----------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (4) | a. | <b>e-séésé</b>       | 'dog'           | (Class 9) |
|     | b. | <b>iki-rúúngúuri</b> | 'soft porridge' | (Class 7) |
|     | c. | <b>abaá-nto</b>      | 'people'        | (Class 2) |
|     | d. | <b>iri-tóro</b>      | 'buttock'       | (Class 5) |
- (Chacha & Odden 1998: 131-132)

These noun class prefixes look similar to the incorporated articles seen in Mauritian Creole nouns. I will claim that when Bantu speakers in Mauritius were exposed to French, a process of *transfer* occurred, whereby French articles were interpreted as noun class prefixes.

More influence from Bantu languages, in the form of vowel harmony, was also responsible for determining which nouns received incorporated articles and which did not. According to my hypothesis, an article was more likely to become incorporated if its vowel was in harmony with the noun it preceded. Examples of regressive raising vowel harmony

affecting noun class prefixes in the Bantu language Kikuria are given in (5).

- |     |    |         |                   |              |
|-----|----|---------|-------------------|--------------|
| (5) | a. | Class 3 | omo-té            | ‘tree’       |
|     |    |         | <b>umu-sí</b>     | ‘sugar cane’ |
|     | b. | Class 7 | ege-sáka          | ‘stream’     |
|     |    |         | <b>igi-túúmbe</b> | ‘stool’      |

(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131-132)

This type of vowel harmony is very similar to the vowel harmony that is found in several Mauritian Creole nouns. Examples are given in (6).

- |     |                 |              |                   |
|-----|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (6) | <b>liki</b>     | le cul       | ‘female genitals’ |
|     | <b>lisufler</b> | le choufleur | ‘cauliflower’     |
|     | <b>lisyē</b>    | le chien     | ‘dog’             |

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

I claim that if an article is not in harmony with the noun it precedes, one of two things will happen. Either the article will not be incorporated as in the majority of cases, or the article will be made to harmonize, as in the above examples (6).

Another consequence of the above involves the preference for **la-** as an incorporated article. **la-** is incorporated into approximately 425 nouns, while **le-** is only found in 62 nouns. My hypothesis predicts that **la-** would occur more frequently, because of the nature of /a/ in Bantu vowel harmony. /a/ usually does not participate in Bantu vowel harmony, being neither a trigger or a target. As we see in the following examples, /a/ is not raised when followed by a high vowel (7a), nor does it cause a preceding vowel to change (7b).

- |     |    |          |           |
|-----|----|----------|-----------|
| (7) | a. | ama-síko | ‘yards’   |
|     | b. | ibi-sáka | ‘streams’ |

(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131-132)

This means that /a/ is ‘in harmony’ with any other vowel, whereas /e/ is only in harmony with other mid vowels. This being the case, it stands to reason that **la-** would be more common

than *le-* in article incorporation.

Other influences on article incorporation are also discussed. Homophony avoidance is cited as one of the reasons that article incorporation exists, because in many cases, the presence of an article serves to distinguish one word from another. Other influences include Baker's (1984) "Frequency of Collocation" principle, which states that nouns that occur most often with one particular article will be more likely to incorporate that article, and the number of syllables, since the majority of article incorporated nouns are bisyllabic. Finally, I discuss consonantal article incorporation, claiming that universal principles of syllable structure as well as influence from Bantu languages are responsible for this phenomenon.

In the rest of this chapter, I will introduce some background on the Mauritian Creole language, including a brief overview of its phonology and morphology. Then, I will discuss some of the work that has previously been done Mauritian Creole article incorporation, as well as article incorporation in other languages. Finally, I will describe the methodology to be used in this study.

## *1.2 - Mauritian Creole*

### *1.2.1 - Background*

Mauritian Creole is a French-based creole language spoken on the island of Mauritius, located in the Indian Ocean, about 500 miles east of Madagascar. It has an area of 720 square miles (Baker 1972: 5), and a population of approximately 1.2 million (Rajah-Carrim 2003: 64). Mauritian Creole is spoken as a first language by approximately 80% of the population (Rajah-Carrim 2003: 64,71), and it is used as a lingua franca by everyone else

(Rajah-Carrim 2003: 66).

Mauritius is ethnically very diverse. People of Indian descent (Hindu and Muslim) make up 69% of the population, while people of French and African descent make up 29% and people of Chinese descent make up only 2% of the population (Rajah-Carrim 2003: 65). Due to this ethnic diversity, there are many languages currently spoken in Mauritius. As mentioned above, Mauritian Creole is the most widely spoken language, but there are also speakers of French, Bhojpuri, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu and the Chinese languages Hakka and Cantonese (Rajah-Carrim 2003: Baker 1972: 12). As well as being a native language for most Franco-Mauritians, French is the second most widely spoken language in Mauritius (Rajah-Carrim 2003: 66). It is the language of instruction in primary schools, as well as being the language of the media and entertainment (Baker 1972: 20, 32). English is the official language of Mauritius, despite the fact that less than 1% of Mauritians speak it as their first language (Baker 1972: 13, Rajah-Carrim 2003: 68, 70). It is the language of instruction in secondary schools, and it is the main language of government (Baker 1972: 20-24, Rajah-Carrim 2003: 66).

As suggested in the last section, our main concern in this thesis will be with Mauritian Creole. In the next two sections, I will attempt to give the reader a more thorough understanding of Mauritian Creole, through a brief description of its phonology and morphology.

### 1.2.2 - Phonology

In this section, I will discuss certain aspects of the phonology of Mauritian Creole, including its consonant inventory, its vowel inventory, how it differs from French and how it is similar to Bantu languages.

The consonant inventory of Mauritian Creole is given in Figure 1-1.

**Figure 1-1: Consonant Inventory of Mauritian Creole** (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987: 6)

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p    b	t    d	tʃ    dʒ	k    g
Fricative	f    v	s    z		
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Lateral		l		
Approximant	w		y	

The most striking difference between the consonants of Mauritian Creole and those of French is that Mauritian Creole does not have the phonemes /ʃ/ or /ʒ/. The French phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are realized in their Mauritian Creole reflexes as /s/ and /z/ (8).

- (8) a.    sat            chat    [ʃa]            'cat'  
           lisyē            chien    [ʃyē]            'dog'  
       b.    zoli            joli    [zoli]            'pretty'  
           aze            agé    [aʒe]            'old, elderly'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The lack of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in Mauritian Creole may be partly attributable to Bantu influence. According to Baker (1997: 98), the relevant<sup>1</sup> Bantu languages of East Africa do not have these sounds. In contrast, Mauritian Creole has several sounds which Bantu languages have

---

<sup>1</sup>However, Baker does not state what the relevant languages are.

but French lacks, including /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ (Baker 1997: 98)(9).

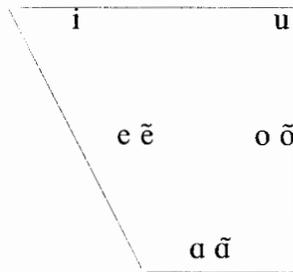
- (9) a. jalsa [dʒalsa] 'celebration'  
 jafrã [dʒafrã] 'saffron'  
 b. capati [tʃapati] 'unleavened bread'  
 ceke [tʃeke] 'to check'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

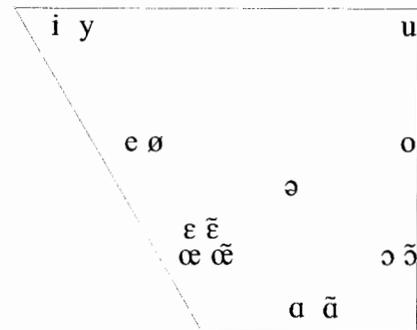
Mauritian Creole's vowel system is somewhat simplified compared to that of French. Where French has 18 vowels, Mauritian Creole only has eight (Figure 1-2). This may be attributed in part to influence from Bantu languages, which usually have 5 or 7 vowels (Hyman 1998).

**Figure 1-2: Vowel Inventories of Mauritian Creole and French**

*Mauritian Creole*  
(Pudaruth 1993)



*French*  
(About.com: La Phonétique 1996)



Among others, Mauritian Creole lacks the French front rounded vowels, with /y/ becoming /i/, and /ø/ and /œ/ becoming /e/ (11).

- (11) dite            dy the            [dy te]            'tea'  
 lekøtrer        le contraire        [lø køtrer]        'opposite'  
 ser                sœur                [sœr]                'sister'

Another likely influence from Bantu languages is vowel harmony. Mauritian Creole has vowel harmony in some incorporated articles, as well as in a small selection of other words (12).

(12)	a.	li <u>s</u> <u>u</u>	le chou	cabbage
		li <u>z</u> <u>y</u> <u>e</u>	les yeux	eye
	b.	vi <u>n</u> <u>i</u>	venir / venu	to come / came
		la <u>s</u> i <u>m</u> <u>i</u> <u>n</u> <u>e</u>	la cheminée	chimney

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Vowel harmony will be discussed in considerably more detail in Chapter 4.

### *1.2.3 - Morphology*

It has been a common assumption in the past that creole languages have little or no productive morphology (DeGraff 2001). Current work on creoles has proven this assumption to be flawed (DeGraff 2001, Kouwenberg & LaCharite 2001, Plag 2003 etc...); most Creole languages have productive morphology, including Mauritian Creole.

Mauritian Creole makes use of numerous morphological devices. Reduplication is a very productive process in this language; it can be applied to several word classes to achieve different meanings (Baker 2003)(13). On verbs, reduplication signifies iterativity or continuity; on adjectives, reduplication signifies intensification or attenuation; on nouns, reduplication can signify plurality; on some adverbs, reduplication signifies augmentative effect; and on numerals, reduplication produces a distributive interpretation (Baker 2003)(13).

- |                    |    |                               |   |                   |
|--------------------|----|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| (13)               | a. | mars-marse                    | ‘to walk around, stroll’                  | (Baker 2003: 212) |
|                    |    | marse-marse                   | ‘to walk a long way/ for a long time’     | (Baker 2003: 212) |
|                    |    | koz-koze                      | ‘to chat’                                 | (Baker 2003: 212) |
|                    |    | koze-koze                     | ‘to talk a lot’                           | (Baker 2003: 212) |
|                    | b. | en <b>zoli-zoli</b> rob       | ‘a <i>very</i> pretty dress’              | (Baker 1997: 101) |
|                    |    | en rob <b>zoli-zoli</b>       | ‘a <i>kind of</i> pretty dress’           | (Baker 1997: 101) |
|                    |    | en <b>grā-grā</b> dimun       | ‘a <i>really</i> important person’        | (Baker 2003: 213) |
|                    |    | en lakaz <b>malang-malang</b> | ‘a <i>kind of</i> dirty house’            | (Baker 2003 :214) |
|                    | c. | mōtajɲ-mōtajɲ                 | ‘mountains’                               | (Baker 1972: 176) |
|                    | d. | koz <b>dusmā-dusmā</b>        | ‘speak <i>very</i> softly’                | (Baker 2003: 215) |
|                    |    | koz <b>brit-brit</b>          | ‘speak in a <i>very</i> ill-mannered way’ | (Baker 2003: 215) |
|                    | e. | <b>kat-kat</b> dimun          | ‘each group of four people’               | (Baker 2003: 215) |
| <b>en-en</b> dimun |    | ‘each person’                 | (Baker 2003: 215)                         |                   |

Other morphological devices used by Mauritian Creole include the diminutive prefix

‘ti-’ and the morphemes ‘-az’ and ‘-er’(14).

- |      |    |                     |                  |                                 |
|------|----|---------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (14) | a. | en <b>ti</b> -lakaz | ‘a little house’ | (Baker 1997: 101)               |
|      | b. | lekol- <b>az</b>    | ‘school fees’    | (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987: 196) |
|      | c. | larak- <b>er</b>    | ‘drunkard’       | (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987: 187) |

In most work that deals with article incorporation, there is an underlying assumption that incorporated articles are not morphemes, but that they are fully integrated parts of a noun with no meaning or status of their own. In Chapter 4, I will challenge that assumption, claiming that incorporated articles are morphemes that signal nominal meaning on words.

### 1.3 - Literature Review

Very little work has been done on the phenomenon of article incorporation in

Mauritian Creole, or in any of the other French creoles. The most significant work relating to this thesis is Philip Baker's 1984 article "Agglutinated French articles in Creole French: their evolutionary significance". This article deals mostly with Mauritian Creole, and outlines the author's ideas on how article incorporation came to be, and why Mauritian Creole has so many more nouns with incorporated articles than any of the other French creoles. He claims that article incorporation is a result of influence from Bantu speakers, and that the number of nouns with incorporated articles in a language is related to the circumstances surrounding the creole's stabilization. Baker also deals with article incorporation in his 1997 article "Directionality in pidginization and creolization". One section of this article deals with article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, concentrating on the role of incorporated articles as a means of homophony avoidance. Another important contribution to the area of article incorporation is Anthony Grant's 1995 paper entitled "Article agglutination in Creole French: a wider perspective". The purpose of this paper is to add to the observations made in Baker (1984), drawing on new Mauritian data and data from other languages (including Louisiana Creole and Réunionnais) in support of Baker's claims regarding Bantu influence (Grant 1995: 149).

In terms of other French Creoles, only one paper deals exclusively with article incorporation. Juvénal Ndayiragije's 1989 contribution is entitled "La source du déterminant agglutiné en créole haïtien". This short paper deals with article incorporation in Haitian Creole, and seeks to prove that the semantic source of the incorporated article is from the substrate language, Fon. For article incorporation in Louisiana Creole, Klingler's (2003) book entitled "If I Could Turn My Tongue Like That: the Creole language of Pointe Coupée

Parish, Louisiana” devotes a chapter to describing article incorporation, while Klingler, Picone and Valdman’s (1997) article “The Lexicon of Louisiana French” discusses article incorporated nouns as part of the Louisiana Creole lexicon. For Réunionnais, article incorporation is discussed briefly in Chaudenson’s (1974) book “Le lexique du parler créole de la Réunion”.

#### *1.4 - Methodology*

In researching this topic, I first examined the language data from Mauritian Creole to establish any patterns and to have a full understanding of the Mauritian Creole article incorporation system. I then compared the Mauritian Creole data with article incorporation data from three other French-based creole languages, in order to understand how they differ. I also compared the historical and linguistic development of Mauritian Creole with the historical and linguistic development of the same three French-based creoles, looking for clues as to why their systems of article incorporation developed so differently.

After establishing the most important factor in Mauritian Creole’s development, I compared the Mauritian Creole data with data from Bantu languages, in order to clarify exactly how Bantu languages influenced article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. Having established my hypothesis, I tested it by means of a chi square analysis in order to see whether the hypothesis was viable. Finally, I investigated other hypotheses involving article incorporation, in order to get the fullest possible picture of the phenomenon and its influences.

### *1.5 - Organization*

The remainder of this thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 is a description of the phenomenon of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, providing examples of syllabic article incorporation (**la-**, **le-**, **di-**), consonantal article incorporation (**l-**, **z-**, **n-**), and biconsonantal article incorporation (**lez-**, **dez-**, **del-/dil-**). Chapter 3 discusses the history of Mauritian Creole, Réunionnais, Haitian Creole, and Louisiana Creole, as well as describing article incorporation in the latter three, in the hopes of discovering what factors are relevant to a study of article incorporation. Also in this chapter is a discussion of Baker's (1984) theory that article incorporation in Mauritian Creole is due to influence from Bantu speakers during the language's development. Chapter 4 is a presentation of the hypothesis that article incorporation is due to influence from Bantu noun class prefixes and that vowel harmony is a determining factor in which nouns receive incorporated articles and which do not. Chapter 4 also discusses other issues in the study of article incorporation, including homophony avoidance and the number of syllables in a noun. Finally, Chapter 5 presents a summary and conclusion of the four preceding chapters.

## Chapter Two

### THE DATA

#### *2.1- Introduction*

In this chapter, I will discuss article-incorporated nouns in terms of their formal and phonological properties. In section 2.2, I address the definition of article incorporation as discussed in Grant (1995). In section 2.3, I describe the three structural types of article incorporation; syllabic, consonantal, and biconsonantal article incorporation. In section 2.4 I discuss historical article incorporation data, and in section 2.5, I provide a summary of the facts examined in this chapter.

#### *2.2 - What is article incorporation?*

In his 1995 study of article incorporation in French creoles, Grant identifies four loose criteria for determining whether a lexical item can be considered an article-incorporated noun. First, it must contain an “indissoluble and undetachable prefix, ... a part or the whole of a French article, be it definite, indefinite or partitive”(Grant 1995: 151)(15).

(15)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	<b>labalen</b>	<i>la baleine</i>	'whale'
b.	<b>lefrer</b>	<i>le/les frère(s)</i>	'monk'
c.	<b>ladres</b>	<i>l'adresse</i>	'address'
d.	<b>lezo</b>	<i>les os</i>	'bone(s)'
e.	<b>zanimò</b>	<i>les animaux</i>	'animal(s)'
f.	<b>dibri</b>	<i>du bruit</i>	'noise'

(Baker &amp; Hookoomsing 1987)

A group of nouns which may be considered to be the same phenomenon as article incorporation but which violate the above criterion are nouns which incorporate another part of speech, like a possessive pronoun or a preposition. For example, the feminine possessive pronoun *ma* is incorporated into three Mauritian Creole nouns (16).

(16)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	<b>mamer</b>	<i>ma mère</i>	'mother superior'
b.	<b>maser</b>	<i>ma soeur</i>	'nun'
c.	<b>matât</b>	<i>ma tante</i>	'aunt'

(Baker &amp; Hookoomsing 1987)

Another example involves the preposition *du*, which is found incorporated into six Mauritian Creole nouns (17).

(17)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	<b>dimwa</b>	<i>du mois</i>	'of the month'
b.	<b>dinor</b>	<i>du nord</i>	'of the north, northern'
c.	<b>dipey</b>	<i>du pays</i>	'of the country, local'
d.	<b>disid</b>	<i>du sud</i>	'of the south, southern'
e.	<b>diswar</b>	<i>du soir</i>	'in the evening, p.m.'
f.	<b>ditu</b>	<i>du tout</i>	'not at all'

(Baker &amp; Hookoomsing 1987)

The second criterion is that the article-incorporated noun must be "capable of serving as a citation-term in a dictionary, rather than as a specially-derived form of a non-agglutinated nominal for use in certain morphosyntactic structures" (Grant 1995:

151). Grant (1995: 151) gives one example of an article-incorporated noun that violates this criterion. According to his research, **swar** in Mauritian Creole means ‘evening’, but **leswar** is used for the meaning ‘in the evening, of an evening, when evening comes’.

The third criterion is that “the stem to which the article is agglutinated be of French derivation” (Grant 1995: 151). There are at least six Mauritian Creole nouns where an article is incorporated into a stem of non-french derivation (18).

(18)	Mauritian	Etymon	Definition
a.	lapang	Malagasy: <i>ampango</i>	‘burnt rice stuck to the bottom of the pot’
b.	lodyās	English: <i>audience</i>	‘audience’
c.	lafus	Malagasy: <i>hafotsa</i>	‘tree species’
d.	lakwin	English: <i>queen</i>	‘place name’
e.	laskul	English: <i>school</i>	‘Royal College’
f.	zātak	Malagasy: <i>antaka</i>	‘plant species’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

It is important to note here that no Bantu-derived words appear with an incorporated French article. This is most likely because any Bantu noun would have been adopted into Creole with its nominal classifier intact. The following examples have the Bantu nominal classifier *ma-* (19).

(19)	Mauritian Creole	Bantu	English
a.	makutu	<i>Makua</i> : ma-khwatta ‘wound, sore’	‘running sore’
b.	matak	<i>Swahili</i> : ma-tako ‘buttock’ <i>Makonde</i> : ma-tako ‘buttock’	‘buttock’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The fourth criterion by which article-incorporated nouns usually abide is that “the stem be in origin, or in its present function, a noun” (Grant 1995: 151). There are at least seven article-incorporated nouns in Mauritian Creole that violate this criterion by belonging to another part of speech (20).

(20)	Mauritian	French	Definition
a.	labarb	la barbe	‘verb: be fed up’
b.	lager	la guerre	‘verb: to fight’
c.	lakany	la cagne	‘adjective: lazy, unresourceful, slow, clumsy’
d.	lapes	la peche	‘verb: to fish’
e.	lasas	la chasse	‘verb: to hunt’
f.	latrâp	la trempe	‘adjective: drunk’
g.	zot	les autres	‘pronoun: they, them, you’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3 - Types of Article Incorporation

In terms of structure, there are three types of article incorporation evidenced in Mauritian Creole. *Syllabic article incorporation* involves the incorporation of an entire CV syllable into a noun beginning with a consonant (2.3.1). *Consonantal article incorporation* involves a kind of liaison, where a consonant is incorporated into a noun that begins with a vowel (2.3.2). However, whether this liaison can be seen as true article incorporation remains to be seen. In 2.3.3, we see that some nouns with incorporated *les*, *de l’* and *des* show both syllabic incorporation and consonantal incorporation on the same noun, a phenomenon which Grant (1995: 154) calls *biconsonantal agglutination*.

The following three sections are organized according to the form of the incorporated article in Mauritian Creole rather than the form of the French article. This format was chosen in order to keep the three types of incorporation distinct, since in the case of *les*, one form in French corresponds to two forms in Mauritian Creole; *z-*, which is an example of consonantal incorporation and *lez-*, which is an example of biconsonantal article incorporation.

### 2.3.1 - Syllabic Article Incorporation

#### 2.3.1.1 - *la-* (*la*)

Mauritian Creole nouns which incorporate the French feminine definite article *la* are the most frequently occurring of the nouns exhibiting syllabic incorporation (21).

(21)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	lamor	la mort	'death'
b.	labib	la bible	'bible'
c.	larul	la roule	'large wave'
d.	lapo	la peau	'skin'
e.	lakot	la côte	'coast'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Baker (1984: 90), identifies 375 **la-** nouns out of a total of 471 CV-incorporating nouns, while Baker & Hookoomsing's 1987 dictionary actually contains 425 **la-** nouns out of a total of 518 CV-incorporating nouns. In both cases, this means that **la-** nouns constitute approximately 80% of all CV-incorporating nouns. This is an exceptionally large number, and it immediately brings to mind a question. Why are French *la* nouns so much more likely than *le* nouns to exhibit article incorporation in Mauritian Creole? Grant (1995) attributes the large number to the fact that most nouns denoting abstract concepts, names of countries and names of diseases are feminine in French, but I will propose that there is another factor involved, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

An interesting feature of nouns with incorporated articles in Mauritian Creole is that in some nouns the incorporated article is optional. In the case of **la-** nouns, 28 of the 425 nouns (7%) can either appear with the incorporated article or without it (22).

(22)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	lafreyer / freyer	la frayeur	'fear'
b.	lakolin / kolin	la colline	'hill'
c.	larekolt / rekolt	la récolte	'harvest'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3.1.2 – *le-/li-* (*le*)

Compared to the *la* nouns, the category of nouns derived from the French masculine definite determiner *le* is fairly small. In Baker & Hookoomsing (1987), there are 62 nouns with an article derived from *le* (12%)(23).

(23)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	lera	le rat (les rats?)	'rat, mouse'
b.	ledwa	le doight (les doights?)	'finger'
c.	lekōtrēr	le contraire	'opposite, contrary'
d.	ledo	le dos	'back'
e.	lekarir	la carrure	'shoulder width'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The case of *le* is considerably less clear cut than most of the other categories. First, when the root noun begins with a consonant, it is often unclear whether a noun beginning with *le-*, such as *lera*, derives from the singular 'le rat' or the plural 'les rats', since the French vowels /e/ and /ø/ both map to /e/ in Mauritian Creole (23a,b). If a corresponding French noun were feminine, it would be clear that *le-* came from *les*, but according to Baker & Hookoomsing (1987), all but one of the *le-* nouns are masculine in French. Furthermore, the one *le-* noun derived from a French feminine noun in this category, *lekarir* (23e above), seems unlikely to have been derived from a plural.

Second, there seems to be a phonological process of vowel height harmony affecting some of the *le* nouns. In some nouns, when the syllable after the incorporated

article **le-** has a high vowel /i/ or /u/ or the high front glide /j/, the /e/ in **le-** becomes /i/ (and in one case /u/ (24e)) (24). This vowel harmony affects 10 out of 16 *le* nouns where the following syllable contains a high vowel or glide.

(24)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	liku	le cou	'neck'
b.	lili	le lit	'bed'
c.	lipye	le pied	'foot'
d.	lizur	le jour	'daytime'
e.	lulu	le loup	'wolf'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

In the category of **le-** nouns, 3 out of 62 nouns (5%) exhibit optionality of the incorporated article (25).

(25)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	leparaz / paraz	le parage	'neighborhood'
b.	lestasyō / stasyō	le station	'police station; bus station'
c.	lisufler / sufler	le choufleur	'cauliflower'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3.1.3 – **di-** (*du*)

The category of incorporated nouns derived from the French partitive article *du* is also small, with 31 entries found in Baker & Hookoomsing (1987), accounting for 6% of CV-incorporated nouns. Phonologically, this category is interesting, because the French vowel [y] surfaces as [i] in Mauritian Creole, resulting in the output **di-** (26a). There is only one exception to this phonological rule, where [y] can surface as either [i] or [u] (26b). Also relevant for this category is a rule causing the /d/ of the incorporated article to be palatalized preceding a high vowel, so that in many people's speech, the incorporated article is pronounced [dʒi] or [dzi] (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987: 8)(26).

(26)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	diber	du beurre	'butter'
b.	disel	du sel	'salt'
c.	dimal	du mal	'pain, hurt; evil'
d.	dimyel	du miel	'honey'
e.	duri / diri	du riz	'rice'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

With **di-** nouns, the article is never optional.

### 2.3.2 - Consonantal Article Incorporation

#### 2.3.2.1 - *l-* (*l'*)

In French, *l'* is used instead of *le* or *la* when the noun it precedes begins with a vowel. In Mauritian Creole, nouns that would begin with a vowel in French often have an incorporated **l-** (27).

(27)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	lamur	l'amour	'love'
b.	loraz	l'orage	'thunder'
c.	lete	l'été	'summer'
d.	lenerzi	l'énergie	'energy'
e.	liniversite	l'université	'university'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

There are 469 **l-** nouns out of a total of 548 consonant-incorporating nouns, making up 85% of the category of consonantal article incorporation. This is the largest category of all types of article incorporation. Grant (1995: 153-154) suggests that consonantal article incorporation occurs in order to avoid vowel initial nouns, claiming that nouns with vowel-initial French etyma usually have a consonantal incorporation, particularly those that have been part of the language since its stabilization. He also

suggests (1995: 154) that **l-** incorporated nouns may still constitute an open and productive class in Mauritian Creole, although he gives no examples or evidence of this.

Optionality of the incorporated article also affects a number of consonantal incorporations, with **l-** being optional in 54 out of 469 nouns (11%)(28).

(28)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	labazur / abazur	l'abat-jour	'lampshade'
b.	lerer / erer	l'erreur	'error, mistake'
c.	liniform / iniform	l'uniforme	'uniform'
d.	lofāsiv / ofāsiv	l'offensive	'offensive'
e.	lizyen / izyen	l'hygiène	'hygiene'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

#### 2.3.2.2 - z- (*les*)

There are 77 nouns derived from French *les* that exhibit consonantal article incorporation, incorporating only the **z-** of the French article (29) (see 2.3.3.3 for nouns that incorporate the entire plural article **lez-**). Nouns incorporating **z-** are nouns that are usually used in the plural in French (Grant 1995: 154).

(29)	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	zwazo	les oiseaux	'bird'
b.	zom	les hommes	'man'
c.	zanana	les ananas	'pineapple'
d.	zalimet	les allumettes	'match(es)'
e.	zistwar	les histoires	'story, tale'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

There are four out of the total of 77 **z-** nouns (5%) which can appear with or without their article (30).

(30)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	zāset / āset	les ancêtres	‘ancestor’
b.	zarm / arm	les armes	‘weapon’
c.	zartiso / artiso	les artichauts	‘artichoke’
d.	zaprāti / aprāti	les apprentis	‘apprentice’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3.2.3 - *n-* (*un/une*)

There are two nouns in modern Mauritian Creole that show consonantal incorporation with the **n-** from *une* (31).

(31)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	nam	une âme	‘soul’
b.	nide <sup>1</sup>	une idée	‘idea’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3.3 - *Biconsonantal Article Incorporation*

#### 2.3.3.1 – *dil-/del-* (*de l’*)

There are two examples of nouns incorporating *de l’*. The most interesting thing about this category is that in the Mauritian Creole noun, the incorporated article can be pronounced with /e/ as is expected, but also with /i/. The two pronunciations are equally acceptable, but in my experience, the /i/ variant is used by older generations, while the /e/ variant is used by younger generations. According to Baker (1997: 97), Mauritian Creole is undergoing a process of regularization, where irregular phonological reflexes like ([ø] → [i]) are being replaced by regular ones ([ø] → [e]) (32). Like nouns in the *du* category, the /d/ in the **dil-** variant is usually palatalized.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘nide’ can also appear as ‘lide’.

(32)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	dilwil / delwil	de l'huile	'oil'
b.	dilo / delo	de l'eau	'water'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3.3.2– *diz-* (*des*)

There is only one example of a noun with incorporated *des*, but this example is interesting phonologically. Rather than surfacing as \***dezef**, which we would expect based on regular phonological correspondences, the actual form is **dizef** (33). This output likely surfaces by analogy to the **di-** nouns. As expected, palatalization affects the /d/ in this form as well.

(33)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	dizef	des oeufs	'egg'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.3.3.3 – *lez-/liz-* (*les*)

Seven *les* nouns incorporate the entire CVC syllable **lez-** (34). One of the seven can also appear without its initial CV- syllable (34c), and one exhibits vowel harmony similar to that shown in section 2.1.2 (34d). As mentioned in section 2.3.1.2, it is often difficult to tell whether a **le-** noun comes from the singular or the plural in French, but this is only true with nouns beginning with consonants. As in the examples in (34), when the noun begins with a vowel, it is very obvious that it comes from the plural form.

(34)	Mauritian Creole	French	English
a.	lezel	les ailes	'wing'
b.	lezāvīrō	les environs	'surroundings, neighborhood'
c.	lezwa / zwa	les oies	'goose'
d.	lizye	les yeux	'eye'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

#### 2.4 - *Obsolete Forms*

Although all of the examples shown in the previous section (2.3) are examples from modern-day Mauritian Creole, it is important to note that matters have not simply stayed the same since the language developed. Historical data given in Baker & Hookoomsing's (1987) dictionary, based on several publications from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, show that many nouns which have no incorporated article in present-day Mauritian Creole may have had one at some point during the language's development (35).

(35)	<b>Obsolete Form</b>	<b>Current Form</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	laplim	plim	la plume	pen
b.	zesklav	esklav	les esclaves	slave
c.	levoler	voler	le voleur	thief
d.	lafriken	afriken	l'africain	African
e.	lisime	sime	le chemin	path, road

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Conversely, Baker & Hookoomsing (1987) show that some nouns that have an incorporated article may not have had one historically (36).

(36)	<b>Obsolete Form</b>	<b>Current Form</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	butik	labutik	la boutique	'store, shop'
b.	syel	lesyel	le ciel	'sky'
c.	gel	lagel	la gueule	'animal's mouth'
d.	om	zom	les hommes	'man'
e.	ekritir	lekritir	l'écriture	'writing'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Many nouns that have a particular incorporated article in the modern language show up with a different article in historical data (37).

(37)	Obsolete Form	Current Form	French	English
a.	diont	laont	du honte / la honte	'shame'
b.	lasab	disab	la sable / du sable	'sand'
c.	lazwa	lezwa	les oies	'goose'
d.	lepol	zepol	les épaules	'shoulder'
e.	zabi	labi	les habits / l'habit	'clothes'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Finally, the historical difference between two words is sometimes due to the /e/ ~ /i/ variation of vowel height harmony in the incorporated article (38).

(38)	Obsolete Form	Current Form	French	English
a.	lira	lera	le rat	'rat'
b.	liker	leker	le coeur	'heart'
c.	lezur	lizur	le jour	'daytime'
d.	lezye	lizye	les yeux	'eye(s)'

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

### 2.5 - Conclusion

The following tables present a summary of the three types of article incorporation discussed in 2.3. Table 2-1 summarizes the facts of syllabic article incorporation.

**Table 2-1 - Syllabic Article Incorporation**

	Number of Forms	Percent of Total	Optional Article	Percent of Article	Vowel Height Harmony
<b>la-</b>	425	82 %	28	7 %	---
<b>le-</b>	62	12 %	3	5 %	9
<b>di-</b>	31	6 %	0	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>518</b>				

Table 2-2 summarizes the facts of consonantal article incorporation.

**Table 2-2 - Consonantal Article Incorporation**

	Number of Forms	Percent of Total	Optional Article	Percent of Article
<b>l-</b>	469	85 %	54	11 %
<b>z-</b>	77	14 %	4	5 %
<b>n-</b>	2	1 %	0	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>548</b>			

Table 2-3 summarizes the facts of biconsonantal article incorporation.

**Table 2-3 - Biconsonantal Article Incorporation**

	Number of Forms	Optional Article	Vowel Height Harmony
<b>dil-</b>	2	0	---
<b>diz-</b>	1	0	---
<b>lez-</b>	7	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>		

In this chapter, I have presented all of the relevant data concerning article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. In section 2.2, I discuss the definition of an incorporated article, and in section 2.3, I describe the different types of article incorporation; syllabic article incorporation, consonantal article incorporation and biconsonantal article incorporation. In section 2.4 I discuss forms found in 19<sup>th</sup> century texts that are different in modern usage. In the next chapter, I will describe article incorporation and historical development in Mauritian Creole and in three other French-based creole languages (Réunionnais, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole), as well as

giving an outline of Baker's (1984) Bantu hypothesis, which states that article incorporation in Mauritian Creole was influenced by noun class prefixes in Bantu languages.

## Chapter Three

### BANTU INFLUENCE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARTICLE INCORPORATION IN MAURITIAN CREOLE, RÉUNIONNAIS, HAITIAN CREOLE AND LOUISIANA CREOLE

#### *3.1 - Introduction*

In this chapter, I discuss the historical development of four French-based languages in order to examine what factors may play a role in the development of article incorporation. I also discuss the hypothesis put forth by Baker (1984) that claims that Bantu influence is the cause of the large number of examples of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. I discover that, according to the historical data and to Baker's hypothesis, Mauritian Creole article incorporation was most likely influenced by the Bantu languages spoken by East African slaves, and more specifically, it was influenced by the noun class prefixes that occur in these Bantu languages. This is important in understanding why Mauritian Creole has more article incorporation than other French-based Creoles, as well as setting the stage for examining how the phonology of noun class prefixes explains why there are so many more nouns incorporating **la-** than other articles.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 3.2 discusses historical development of four creole languages. After the introduction in section 3.2.1, section 3.2.2 discusses the history of Mauritian Creole, and section 3.2.3 discusses the history of Réunion and the absence of article incorporation in the language. Section 3.2.4 discusses the history of Haïti

and the issue of article incorporation in that language, and section 3.2.5 discusses the history of Louisiana as well as the behavior of article incorporation in the language. Section 3.2.6 presents a summary of the facts learned in section 3.2, as well as some concluding remarks. Finally, section 3.3 presents Baker's hypothesis, tying it in with the facts from the preceding sections. Mauritian Creole is the only one of the languages to have stabilized at a time when Bantu speakers were a majority, and since Bantu languages are the only substrate languages that have noun class prefixes, this explains why there are so many articles incorporated in Mauritian Creole.

### *3.2 - Historical Development and Article Incorporation in Four French Creoles*

#### *3.2.1 - Introduction*

In order to understand why and how article incorporation occurs and why Mauritian Creole has more article incorporation than other French-based creoles, it is important to understand how the phenomenon works in other languages and what factors may play a role in its development. In this section, I discuss four French-based creole languages, Mauritian Creole, Réunionnais, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole, focusing on their historical development and, in the case of the latter three languages, on the specifics of article incorporation in each language. If we can determine how these languages differ in terms of their social and historical development, we may be able to isolate factors found only in the Mauritian situation that could explain the phenomenon of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole.

There are two major groupings of French-based creoles. The languages in the New World group, which include Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole, are found in North America, some coastal regions of South America, and the Caribbean (Holm 1989: 353). The Ile de France group, to which Mauritian Creole belongs, is found on several islands and island chains in the Indian Ocean (Holm 1989: 353). Réunionnais is generally not included in the Ile de France group, despite its geographical location, because it is actually considered by most creolists to be a semi-creole, a dialect of French with some creole-like features, not genetically related to Mauritian Creole or the other Ile de France creoles (Holm 1989: 353).

### *3.2.2 - Mauritian Creole*

#### *3.2.2.1 - History*

Mauritius was uninhabited when the Portuguese discovered the island in 1512 (Holm 1989: 396), but they apparently had little interest in the island, and did not establish a colony (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 3). In 1598, the Dutch claimed the island for themselves; they established a colony in 1638, but it only lasted for twenty years (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 7-8). In 1664, they tried again, with the second colony lasting until 1710 before it was abandoned (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 8-9). Although the Dutch were only in Mauritius for a total of 66 years, they made a huge impact on the island and its future, exterminating the Dodo bird and almost wiping out the indigenous ebony forests, but introducing the sugar cane that would later become the island's main source of income (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 5,8).

The French, who were already in the Indian Ocean when the Dutch abandoned Mauritius (they were already in Réunion and Rodrigues islands), acquired Mauritius when captain Dufresne d'Arzel arrived there in 1715, claiming the island in the name of France (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 11). French settlement began when a group of Réunionnais arrived in Mauritius in 1721 (Holm 1989: 396), followed not long after by a larger group of settlers directly from France (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 12). It was during the French period that slavery really began in Mauritius; although the Dutch had been accompanied by some Malagasies (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 5), slaves began to arrive in large numbers during French rule (Holm 1989: 397).

In the first fourteen years of French settlement (1721-1735), most slaves, numbering about 1000 in 1730, were West African or Malagasy (Holm 1989: 397). After 1735, more slaves began to arrive from the East Coast of Africa (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 14), and from 1735 to 1760, East African slaves were the second largest group (after Malagasies) (Holm 1989: 397); by the last third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, East African slaves were the largest group by far. There were approximately 30,000 people in Mauritius in 1777, 85% of whom were slaves (Holm 1989: 397). Of newly arrived slaves, approximately 90% were East African, while the remaining 10% were Malagasy (Holm 1989: 397). It is thought that it was during this period that the Mauritian Creole language began to develop; indeed, it was in 1773 that the first recorded reference to the 'langue créole' was made (Baker & Corne 1986: 169, quoted in Holm 1989: 397).

As mentioned above, East African slaves began to arrive in Mauritius around 1735. These slaves were Bantu speakers without exception, and were shipped out from ports in

what is now Mozambique, exported to Mauritius by the Portuguese (Beachey 1976: 13, Noël 1991: 39), and what are now Tanzania and Kenya, where French slavers traded actively with the Arab rulers (Beachey 1976: 25-27). These slave ports included Anjouan in the Comoros, Pate in Kenya, Zanzibar and Kilwa in Tanzania, and Moçambique, Quelimane, and Inhambane in Mozambique (Noël 1991: 37, 39, Beachey 1976: 17,14,25). The French were very active in the East African slave trade during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the very beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; in fact they were the main group of Europeans present at this time, with French slaving ships outnumbering Portuguese ships two to one at Mombasa, Zanzibar and Kilwa (Beachey 1976: 25, 27). Although slaves were shipped from coastal areas, the origins of many slaves were inland (Beachey 1976: 15). According to one ship captain in 1822, free Africans and Indian traders would carry on the inland slave trade for the slave merchants on the coast (Beachey 1976: 14), and Noël (1991: 38) describes slaves being marched for thirty days from their homes to the coast. Based on the above, we see that East African slaves in Mauritius could have spoken any of hundreds of Bantu languages spoken from South Africa to Northern Kenya.

After nearly a century in power, the French lost Mauritius to the British in 1810 (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 45, Baker 1972: 8). However, as part of the capitulation agreement, the British guaranteed that the French could retain their possessions as well as their way of life; they were allowed to continue to speak their language and practice their religion, customs and laws as before (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 45). The British officially ended the slave trade in 1807, but illegal slavery continued until the 1830s (Beachey 1976: 27-31), with an estimated 20,000 more slaves arriving in Mauritius during

the British period (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 45). The labour shortage following the emancipation of the slaves in 1839 resulted in the introduction of more than 365,000 indentured labourers from India between 1835 and 1866 (Baker 1972: 8). It was during this period that sugar became an important export; although the French had also cultivated sugar cane, it was mainly used in distilling liquor (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 50). During British rule, production was expanded and sugar was developed for exportation (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 50). Mauritius remained a British colony until 1968, when the island finally gained its independence (Addison & Hazareesingh 1984: 96).

#### *3.2.2.3 - Conclusion*

In this section, I have explained Mauritian Creole's historical situation, in the hopes that this might clarify what makes Mauritian Creole different from other creole languages and why it has so many nouns with incorporated articles. Mauritian Creole stabilized at a time when Bantu speakers were by far the most numerous group in the colony. These Bantu speakers could have come from anywhere along the East African coast, from South Africa to Kenya, and not just from coastal areas, but also from a considerable distance inland. As I will show in section 3.3 and in Chapter 4, it was influence from these Bantu speakers that caused Mauritian Creole to develop hundreds of nouns with incorporated articles.

### *3.2.3 - Réunionnais*

#### *3.2.3.1 - History*

Réunion is an island approximately 100 miles southwest of Mauritius and 400 miles east of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean (Holm 1989: 391,396). Réunion was uninhabited until a group of French exiles from Fort Dauphin, Madagascar arrived in 1646 (Chaudenson 1974: xi). When the exiles were called back to Madagascar more than two years later, they gave an enthusiastic description of the island to the governor, who then reinstated France's claim on the island (Chaudenson 1974: xi). Louis Payen arrived in Réunion in 1663 accompanied by a number of Malagasy men and women (many of whom subsequently escaped into the wilderness), but the first real settlement on the island was established in 1665, when approximately twenty colonists arrived in order to exploit the island's full potential (Chaudenson 1974: xi). By 1671, there were 76 people on the island; 36 whites, 37 Malagasy and 3 mixed children (Holm 1989: 392). In 1674, a number of young Indo-Portugese women were brought to the island in order to be wives to some of the colonists, and by 1686 the population had reached 269, 144 of whom were the children of French men and their Malagasy or Indo-Portugese wives, and 25% of whom were Malagasy or Indian slaves (Holm 1989: 392). Based on court testimony from 1715, where we find a sentence with features of modern Réunionnais, it is thought that this semi-creole had its beginnings during this early period (Holm 1989: 392).

The beginning of a plantation economy on Réunion, starting with the cultivation of coffee in 1715, had a huge effect on the island's population (Holm 1989: 393, Chaudenson 1974: xiii). According to the census of 1713, 50 years after the start of the settlement, the

population of Réunion was just 1,171, 46% of whom were slaves, and 54% of whom were free (Baker 1984: 109). But by 1767, the population had grown to 27,700 (5,300 free and 22,400 slaves)(Holm 1989: 393), likely in response to the increasing need for labour. The British captured Réunion in 1810, but returned it to the French in 1814 (Holm 1989: 393). It was around this time that the cultivation of sugarcane replaced coffee as the island's main source of income: this intensified the need for labour, which at that time was becoming more and more difficult to come by (Holm 1989: 393, Chaudenson 1974: xii). By the time slavery was abolished in 1848, the population of Réunion had reached 110,000, 55% of whom were slaves (Holm 1989: 393).

As we saw in the preceding paragraphs, slaves in Réunion before 1700 were almost all Malagasy (Chaudenson 1974: 455). Due to problems that the colonists were apparently facing with rebellious Malagasy slaves, Réunion (and Mauritius<sup>1</sup>), began receiving some West African slaves around the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Chaudenson 1974: 453). The importation of Malagasy slaves did not stop at this point, but it was thought that introducing West African slaves and creating a less homogeneous group of slaves would make it less likely that the slaves would revolt (Chaudenson 1974: 453). This continued until around 1750, when it was finally decided that the costs associated with transporting slaves such a distance (most died during the four month journey from West Africa) were too great (Chaudenson 1974: 454). Around 1737, slaves from East Africa had begun to arrive in

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<sup>1</sup>Since Réunion and Mauritius were both administered by the French at this time, they received similar slave shipments in terms of numbers and constituents (Baker & Corne 1982).

Mauritius, and by 1773 these Bantu-speaking slaves outnumbered other slaves nine to one (Baker 1984: 114): “the introduction of Bantuphone slaves into Réunion took place during the same period as, and on a similar scale to, Mauritius”(Baker 1984: 119) .

As mentioned above, the semi-creolized language of Réunion must have had its beginnings sometime prior to 1715. According to Baker and Corne (1982; quoted in Holm 1989: 392), modern Réunionnais comes from the variety of second-language French spoken by the non-French wives and slaves of the earliest settlers, which then became the first language of their children. Since French speakers made up the majority of the population during this formative period and since most non-French speakers would have had daily contact with French speakers, the circumstances that would have favoured creolization never really existed in Réunion, or if they did, then only for a short time (Holm 1989: 392-393). Baker and Corne (1982; quoted in Holm 1989: 393) believe that a period of creolization would have begun when the proportion of slaves began to increase dramatically around 1767, but that the period between this date and the date of the end of slave immigration was too short for a creole to emerge, resulting instead in a continuum with the slightly restructured, semi-creolized French at one end and standard French at the other.

### *3.2.3.2 - Article Incorporation*

The grammar of Réunionnais is quite different from the grammars of the French creoles, even Mauritian Creole, which is spoken in the same region and has a similar settlement history. One of the most captivating ways in which Réunionnais and the French-based creoles (especially the Indian Ocean creoles) differ is in Réunionnais' virtual lack of

syllabic article incorporation. Although Réunionnais has many nouns exhibiting consonantal article incorporation (in fact, Chaudenson (1974: 652) claims that most nouns beginning with a vowel in French have an incorporated consonant in Réunionnais), it has only about a dozen nouns exhibiting syllabic article incorporation (Baker 1984: 90).

As in most French-based creoles, the majority of Réunionnais' consonantal article incorporations involve **l-**, but there are also a number of **z-** nouns and a dozen or so examples of **n-** nouns, which are quite rare in other French creoles (Grant 1995: 163) (39).

(39)	a.	lāvlop	l'enveloppe	'envelope'	(Chaudenson 1974: 653)
	b.	lèl	l'aile	'wing'	(Chaudenson 1974: 653)
	c.	zanana	les ananas	'pineapple'	(Chaudenson 1974: 652)
	d.	zāsèt	les ancêtres	'ancestor'	(Chaudenson 1974: 652)
	e.	namsõ	un hameçon	'fish-hook'	(Grant 1995: 163)

As mentioned above, Réunionnais has only a dozen examples of syllabic article incorporation, all of which are very common nouns, and most of which are becoming obsolete (Grant 1995: 163). Several examples are listed in (40).

(40)	a.	lapli	la pluie	'rain'	(Chaudenson 1974: 653)
	b.	laso	la chaux	'lime'	(Chaudenson 1974: 653)
	c.	dele	de/du lait	'milk'	(Chaudenson 1974: 654)
	d.	deri	de/du riz	'rice'	(Chaudenson 1974: 654)

According to Baker (1984)(see section 3.3), the most important factor in the development of article incorporation is influence from Bantu speakers during a creole's stabilization. We saw above (section 3.1.1) that both Mauritius and Réunion had many Bantu-speaking slaves, but while a homogeneous creole developed in Mauritius, this did not happen in Réunion. Thus, even though Réunion had just as many Bantu speaking slaves as

Mauritius, the lack of syllabic article incorporation can be attributed to the fact that Réunionnais never actually became a stable, homogeneous creole. Although Chaudenson (1974: 654, 1981: 175-176) claims that Réunionnais once had substantial article incorporation and has subsequently lost it due to decreolization, Baker (1984: 108) believes that article incorporation never existed in the semi-creole. Baker (1984: 102) shows evidence from Héry (1883) that Bantu speakers in Réunion between 1828 and 1856 were in fact using nouns with incorporated articles in their pidginized variety of Réunionnais<sup>2</sup>. However, this pidginized variety did not become a creole language as pidgin-French did in Mauritius, and therefore the feature of article incorporation did not spread outside of the Bantu-speaking community. Instead, article incorporation was lost as Bantu-speaking (ie. pidgin-speaking) slaves died (Baker 1984: 120), and their Réunion-born children grew up using the Réunionnais language that had existed since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see 3.3 for a more thorough explanation of Baker's theory and how it relates to Réunionnais).

### *3.2.3.3 - Conclusion*

In this section (3.2.3), I have addressed the issue of why Réunionnais has no system of syllabic article incorporation to speak of. I have shown that Réunionnais is actually a semi-creolized language, and that the reason for the absence of article incorporation in the language is due most likely to the fact that it never became a stable creole. Despite a massive Bantu presence among slaves, the incorporated articles which would have been in use among

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<sup>2</sup>By the time Bantu-speaking slaves arrived in Réunion, the language spoken by the rest of the population was Réunionnais, not French. Therefore, the articles incorporated into nouns by Bantu speakers were Réunionnais articles.

Bantu speakers did not become a part of the language, simply because the language failed to creolize. The language of modern-day Réunion is essentially the same as it was in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, long before Bantu-speakers arrived on the island.

### *3.2.4 - Haitian Creole*

#### *3.2.4.1 - History*

Haïti and the Dominican Republic share the island of Hispaniola (Holm 1989: 382), which was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492 (Sylvain 1979:8, Pompilus 1961: 11). Within ten years of Columbus' arrival, Haïti's native Arawak population, which once numbered around one million, had been nearly destroyed by disease and hard labour (Pompilus 1961: 13). In order to replace the labour force, presumably needed for running the tobacco and cotton plantations (Lefebvre 1998: 53), the Spanish "conquistadors" began to import small numbers of African slaves (Pompilus 1961: 13). The Spanish remained officially in control of Haïti until they gave it up to the French in 1697 (Pompilus 1961: 12, Holm 1989: 383), but French settlements existed prior to this date, especially after 1664, when Louis XIV claimed the western coast of the island in the name of France (Holm 1989: 382).

With the transfer of power from Spain to France, West African slaves began to be imported in large numbers (Pompilus 1961: 16). Around the beginning of settlement, slaves were bought (or stolen) from other Caribbean societies, but by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, most slaves were supplied directly from the French West India Company in Africa (Holm 1989: 383). Slaves supplied to Haïti spoke Niger-Congo languages, particularly from the

Kwa and Bantu language families (Lefebvre 1998: 55). Table 3-1 shows the percentage of slaves from these language families for 1664, 1680 and 1690.

**Table 3-1: Slaves in Haïti 1664-1690** (adapted from Lefebvre 1998: 55)

	1664	1680	1690
<b>Kwa</b>	22 %	39 %	54 %
<b>Bantu</b>	45 %	19 %	17 %
<b>Other</b>	33 %	42 %	29 %

The slave population increased from 2,000 (1/3 of the total population) in 1681 to 165,000 (91% of the total population) by 1753 (Holm 1989: 383). This huge increase in the slave population is due in part to a shift from a cotton and tobacco economy to a sugar economy around 1690 (Lefebvre 1998: 53). With the cotton and tobacco economy, the labour force was made up of colonists, *engagés* (hired hands) and slaves, usually working on smaller agricultural units, while during the sugar economy, small plantations were shut down by larger ones, the practice of importing *engagés* ended, and slave holdings increased (Lefebvre 1998: 53). A very important consequence of the huge increase in slave imports was that contact between the African population and the French-speaking population declined greatly, giving incoming slaves less exposure to the French language, and creating an ideal situation for creolization to occur (Lefebvre 1998: 54).

The earliest known text for Haïtian Creole is dated 1757, but based on certain archaic words and pronunciations still current in Haïtian Creole, Sylvain (1979: 8) claims that the language had its beginnings around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, based on the switch to a sugar economy and the increased number of slaves mentioned above, Singler (quoted in Lefebvre 1998: 54) believes that Haïtian Creole must have stabilized sometime

between 1680 and 1740. As we saw in Table 3-1, the number of Bantu speakers was high in 1664, but by 1690 Kwa speakers were dominating slave imports. In fact, Singler (quoted in Lefebvre 1998: 56) shows that the numerical dominance of Kwa speakers in Haïti continued until at least 1740, hovering at around 60% of all slave imports until then. This means that at the time the creole was forming, Kwa speakers had more opportunities to influence its development than speakers of other languages.

As mentioned above, the most important substrate languages for Haïtian Creole are the Kwa languages, especially Gbe and Akan, although there is also minimal influence from languages of the Northwestern branch of Bantu (Lefebvre 1998: 55), spoken in the area of the Congo and Angola. The most important substrate languages for Mauritian Creole are Malagasy and the Central Bantu language family, particularly languages spoken along the east coast of Africa (mostly Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya). Although Kwa languages and Bantu languages share many typological features, they differ in two crucial ways. First, Kwa languages are isolating while Bantu languages are agglutinating, and second, while Bantu has an elaborate system of nominal classification and agreement, Kwa languages have no class prefixes or agreement (Lefebvre 1998: 60). According to Baker (1984), the presence of class prefixes in Bantu languages was necessary for the development of the elaborate system of article incorporation found in Mauritian Creole; it seems likely then, that the relatively small number of instances of article incorporation in Haïtian Creole stems from the fact that the language had only minimal influence from Bantu languages.

By the time slavery was abolished in 1794, there were over half a million slaves in Haïti (called St. Domingue under French rule), making up about 90% of the total population

(Holm 1989: 383). The abolition of slavery and the ensuing struggle eventually led to the independence of Haïti in 1804 (Holm 1989: 383). Since independence, the majority of Haïtians have had minimal contact with French language and culture, especially those who are monolingual speakers of Haïtian Creole (Holm 1989: 383). Despite the fact that French is one of the official languages of the country (along with Creole itself), fewer than 5% of the population speaks French fluently (Holm 1989: 384). According to Valdman (quoted in Holm 1989: 384), there are two speech communities in Haïti; “the bilingual elite and the monolingual rural and urban masses”. Since these two communities interact very little, and since most poor Haïtians receive no education (as of 1989), there are virtually no opportunities for acquiring fluent French (Holm 1989: 384). The role of French in Haïti’s future is uncertain, as Haïtian Creole has been spreading into new domains, and English is becoming Haïti’s link with the rest of the world (Holm 1989: 385).

#### *3.2.4.2 - Article Incorporation*

Haïtian Creole and Mauritian Creole have similarly high numbers of nouns exhibiting consonantal article incorporation, but in terms of syllabic article incorporation, Haïtian Creole has considerably fewer forms than Mauritian Creole (Baker 1984: 89). Where Mauritian Creole has a total of 518 syllabic incorporated forms (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987), Haïtian Creole has 112 (Baker 1984: 90). According to Baker (1984), this discrepancy exists because of minimal Bantu influence in Haïtian Creole during its formative years (Baker 1984: 122). This hypothesis is backed up by Singler’s research (quoted in Lefebvre 1998), which shows that Kwa speakers were the most influential during the formative period

for Haïtian Creole (1680-1740), at the expense of Bantu.

Aside from Baker's (1984) work on article incorporation in the French creoles, only one other researcher has published work dealing exclusively with article incorporation in Haïtian Creole. Juvénal Ndayiragije's (1989) paper seeks to prove that the semantic source of the incorporated article is one of the Kwa substrate languages, Fon. Ndayiragije (1989: 315-316) focusses on the role of article incorporation in distinguishing homophonous pairs in the language, claiming that article incorporation occurs in order to distinguish words which are homophonous in French but which correspond to two distinct lexical items in Fon (41).

(41)

	<b>French</b>	<b>Haïtian Creole</b>	<b>Fon</b>	<b>English</b>
a.	histoire	listoua	itàn	'history'
	histoire	istoua	tàn	'story, legend'
b.	pluie	lapli	jì	'rain'
	pluie	lepli	xwéjì	'rainy season'
c.	mort	lāmò	kú	'death'
	mort	mò	mɛkúkú	'dead body'

(Ndayiragije1989: 315-316)

In addition to the above, Ndayiragije (1989: 316) claims that items with an incorporated article are semantically [+ abstract, + general], whereas unincorporated nouns are [-abstract, -general]<sup>3</sup>. The following nouns are given to illustrate this feature (42).

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<sup>3</sup>Ndayiragije does not define these terms. Presumably, he is implying that nouns with incorporated articles have abstract and general meanings, while nouns without incorporated articles have specific meaning.

(42)

	<b>Haïtian Creole</b>		<b>English</b>
a.	listoua	[+ abstract, + general]	'history'
	istoua	[- abstract, - general]	'story'
b.	latè	[+ abstract, + general]	'Earth'
	tè	[- abstract, - general]	'earth, soil'
c.	laverite	[+ abstract, + general]	'truth'
d.	lajoua	[+ abstract, + general]	'joy'
e.	lalibète	[+ abstract, + general]	'freedom'
f.	linjistis	[+ abstract, + general]	'injustice'

(Ndayiragije1989: 315-316)

#### 3.2.4.3 - Conclusion

In this section (3.2), I have attempted to shed some light on the issue of why Haïtian Creole has so few instances of syllabic article incorporation compared to Mauritian Creole. Unlike Réunionnais, the answer in this case appears to lie predominantly in the substrate languages. While Mauritian Creole was mostly influenced by Bantu languages at the time that it stabilized, Haïtian Creole was influenced primarily by Kwa languages. As I will show in Chapter 4, Bantu languages have nominal classifiers, which are believed by Baker (1984) to be the most important influence in the development of a system of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. Kwa languages, on the other hand, do not have these classifiers, and it may be because of this that Haïtian Creole ended up with fewer instances of article incorporation.

Although Haïtian Creole has significantly fewer forms of article incorporation than Mauritian Creole, it does have around 100 forms. This is likely because although Bantu influence on Haïtian Creole was minimal, it did exist. Bantu slaves were always present in Haïti, but in much smaller numbers than in Mauritius and Réunion. Also unlike Réunionnais,

Haitian Creole did stabilize to become a creole, so that the few Bantu-influenced forms with article incorporation that existed in the pidgin also became part of the creole.

### 3.2.5 – *Louisiana Creole*

#### 3.3.5.1 - *History*

The first European to reach what is now Louisiana was the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto, who led an expedition down the Mississippi river in 1539 (Klingler 2003: 3). The French arrived in 1682, led by Robert Cavalier, who sailed down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming all of the land he had crossed for France and naming it Louisiana in honor of King Louis XIV (Klingler 2003: 3, Holm 1989: 387). In 1699, the French established their first fort at the mouth of the Mississippi (Holm 1989: 387), and several more settlements were established in the following years, the most important one being New Orleans, established in 1718 (Klingler 2003: 4, Holm 1989: 387). The early French settlements were usually located near Indian villages: since most of the settlers, who included soldiers, indentured labourers and forced immigrants like criminals and prostitutes, did not have the knowledge required to produce food, they relied heavily on the native population for survival (Klingler 2003: 4).

Mass importation of slaves by the French, beginning in 1719 and continuing until 1731, made the development of a stable agricultural economy much easier (Klingler 2003: 9). Although trade with the native peoples of the area remained an important economic activity, settlers began to establish small farms, called *habitations* (Klingler 2003: 9). These *habitations* typically consisted of a single family, a few servants, and several slaves, although

some were considerably larger and had as many as 60 slaves (Klingler 2003: 10). The amount of contact between slaves and Europeans would have depended on the size of the farm; slaves on small farms would likely have had considerable contact with the master and his family, giving them ample opportunity to learn French, while slaves on the larger farms, particularly those who worked in the fields, would have had little contact with whites (Klingler 2003: 11).

According to Holm (1989: 387), the population of lower Louisiana in 1721 consisted of approximately 700 white settlers and 500 slaves, and by 1731, when the French stopped importing slaves *en masse*, there were 1,700 whites and 3,400 slaves. During the French period (1682-1769), a total of 5,500 African slaves arrived in Louisiana; 1,297 from Ouidah in the Gulf of Benin, 3,909 from the Company of the Indies Senegalese concession (a large area of the west coast between Mauritania and Sierra Leone), and 294 from Cabinda, Angola (Klingler 2003: 6). Slaves who embarked from Ouidah (24%) would mostly have been speaking Kwa languages, those who embarked from the Senegal area (71%) would have been speakers of Atlantic and Mande languages, and those who embarked from Cabinda (5%) would have mostly been speakers of Northwestern Bantu languages (Language Maps of Angola, 2005).

Control of the colony of Louisiana was transferred to Spain in 1762, and it was under Spanish rule that a true plantation economy began to develop, with small *habitations* slowly being replaced by larger plantations devoted to cotton and sugar (Klingler 2003: 9,18). Despite the Spanish administration, Louisiana remained culturally and linguistically French, due in part to the fact that few Spanish immigrants actually relocated to Louisiana, and in

part to the arrival of nearly 3,000 French-speaking Acadians (Cajun) after their expulsion from Nova Scotia by the British in 1755 (Klingler 2003: 18-19). The Spanish administration welcomed the exiles and provided them with land and supplies, recognizing that these hard-working farmers could help advance the economy of the colony (Klingler 2003: 19).

The population of Louisiana grew rapidly under Spanish rule, swelling to 50,000 by the time it was sold to the United States in 1803 (Klingler 2003: 18). This huge population increase is due in part to the arrival of the Acadians, as well as to the arrival of some Anglo-American farmers and their English-speaking slaves, but the majority can be attributed to African slaves, who began to be imported again early in the Spanish period (Klingler 2003: 20). Records on slavery from the Spanish period are scarce, but it is known that there were around 24,000 slaves in Louisiana in 1800, including slaves born in Africa as well as those born in Louisiana (Creoles) (Klingler 2003: 20-21). Of the total stated above, the origins are known for only 14,406 slaves (just over 50%); 7,981 were African (55%), 5,366 were Creoles (37%), 604 (4%) came from English-speaking regions, and 374 (2%) were from the Caribbean (Klingler 2003: 20-21). Of the Africans, 2,470 (31%) were from the Senegambia region (Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone), and although specific totals are not given for other African origins, there were *at least* 942 slaves from the Bight of Benin (Togo, Benin, Nigeria), 321 from the Bight of Biafra (Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon) and 1,060 from Central Africa (Congo, Angola) (Klingler 2003: 21). This indicates an increase in speakers of Kwa and Bantu languages, although speakers of Atlantic and Mande languages remained the largest group.

Some have claimed that Louisiana Creole is actually a dialect of Haitian Creole, brought to Louisiana by the thousands of refugees fleeing the revolution between 1791 and 1810 (Klingler 2003: 25). Although Haitian Creole did have an impact on some aspects of Louisiana Creole, there is evidence that Louisiana Creole existed prior to the Haitian's arrival (Klingler 2003: 25). A more accepted version of events is that Louisiana Creole began to stabilize sometime during the Spanish period, probably in the 1780's or earlier (Klingler 2003: 68). During the French period, the sociolinguistic situation was such that most slaves on small *habitations* would have had sufficient contact with their masters to learn at least an approximate version of French (Klingler 2003: 55). However, when a plantation society began to develop during the Spanish period, most new slaves worked in the fields and had less contact with the plantation owners, creating the perfect situation for a creole language to develop (Klingler 2003: 55).

After Louisiana was sold to the United States in 1803, English speakers from other parts of the country began to settle there and the English language soon became the dominant and official language (Holm 1989: 389). Despite this, French, Cajun and Creole continued to flourish up until the Civil War (1861-1865), when French-speaking plantation owners lost the ability to support the French language, both politically and financially (Holm 1989: 389). Today, all forms of Louisiana French are endangered, and few monolingual speakers remain (Holm 1989: 389).

### 3.2.5.2 - Article Incorporation

The issue of article incorporation in Louisiana Creole is very interesting for several reasons, but its primary interest is in the high degree of instability or variability of the incorporated article (Klingler 2003, Klingler et al 1997: 164, Grant 1995: 161-162). In this language, most **le-** and **la-** nouns that can appear with an incorporated article can also appear without, while most nouns exhibiting consonantal incorporation can appear with one of several consonants.

Due to the fact that Louisiana Creole sometimes makes use of the French articles *le* and *la* and to the fact that the incorporated articles are so unstable, it is often difficult to tell whether an article is incorporated or not (Klingler et al. 1997: 164)(43a). It is possible to unambiguously determine the status of an article only if the noun is preceded by an adjective or another determiner, or if it appears with the more basilectal post-posed determiner **-la** (Klingler 2003: 163)(43bcd).

- |      |    |                                |                        |                      |
|------|----|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (43) | a. | <b>la</b> vi te dur lez-ot fwa | ‘life used to be hard’ | (Klingler 2003: 163) |
|      | b. | tou <i>mo</i> <b>lavi</b>      | ‘all my life’          | (Klingler 2003: 163) |
|      | c. | <b>lakord-ye</b>               | ‘the strings’          | (Klingler 2003: 163) |
|      | d. | <i>en ti</i> <b>lagrenn</b>    | ‘a little seed’        | (Klingler 2003: 163) |

Klingler (2003: 159) separates article incorporated nouns into three categories: 1) **l-, n-, z-** 2) **la-, le-**, and 3) **di-, du-, de-, dez-**. Nouns in the first category, which I would call consonantal article incorporation, rarely appear in their unincorporated form, but many of them exhibit variation in the actual consonant they can incorporate (Klingler 2003: 160)(44).

- |      |    |                   |                |                      |
|------|----|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (44) | a. | lasyet            | ‘dish’         | (Klingler 2003: 160) |
|      | b. | leb / zeb         | ‘grass, weeds’ | (Klingler 2003: 160) |
|      | c. | louvraj / nouvraj | ‘job, work’    | (Klingler 2003: 160) |
|      | d. | nepol / lepol     | ‘shoulder’     | (Klingler 2003: 161) |

The nouns in the second category, **la-** and **le-**, are highly variable; most can appear with or without their incorporated article (45) (Klingler et al. 1997: 164, Grant 1995: 162). According to Grant<sup>4</sup> (1995: 156), Louisiana Creole has 183 **la-** nouns, and 13 **le-** nouns.

- |      |    |                     |                 |                      |
|------|----|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (45) | a. | ladepans / depans   | ‘pantry’        | (Klingler 2003: 163) |
|      | b. | lapli / pli         | ‘rain’          | (Klingler 2003: 163) |
|      | c. | lake / ke           | ‘tail’          | (Klingler 2003: 163) |
|      | d. | lasikleri / sikleri | ‘sugar factory’ | (Klingler 2003: 163) |

Nouns in the third category (**di-**, **du-**, **de-**, and **des-**) are very common. According to Grant (1995: 156), there are 56 nouns in this category, out of a total of 252 nouns with incorporated articles (see footnote 2). At 22% of all syllabic article incorporation, this is an unusually high number compared to other French creoles (ie. In Mauritian Creole, **di-**, **dil-** and **diz-** account for only about 7% of the syllabic article incorporation data). In addition, Louisiana Creole is the only French Creole that has **de-** as an incorporated article (Grant 1995: 161). Nouns in this category are not as variable as those in the second category; “unagglutinated versions occur occasionally but are clear marks of mesolectal speech” (Klingler 2003: 166) (46).

- |      |    |               |                     |                      |
|------|----|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (46) | a. | diri          | ‘rice’              | (Klingler 2003: 166) |
|      | b. | dibwa         | ‘tree, wood, woods’ | (Klingler 2003: 166) |
|      | c. | dechou / chou | ‘cabbage’           | (Klingler 2003: 166) |
|      | d. | demouch       | ‘fly’               | (Klingler 2003: 166) |
|      | e. | dezwit        | ‘oyster’            | (Klingler 2003: 166) |

The significance of the instability of the determiner system of Louisiana Creole compared to that of other French creoles is unclear, but I believe that it may be attributed in

---

<sup>4</sup>Grant’s numbers include all varieties and periods of Louisiana Creole; Klingler’s Pointe Coupee corpus contains only 180 words exhibiting syllabic article incorporation (Klingler 2003: 169).

part to its complex sociolinguistic situation. First, unlike in Mauritius and Haïti where slaves were restricted to large plantations, slaves, whites and natives in Louisiana had considerable contact with each other. According to Klingler (2003: 12-13), slaves in Louisiana worked not only in the fields, but also as skilled labourers like blacksmiths and carpenters, and as domestics in the homes of whites. These kinds of tasks often would have required that the slave leave the farm, which would have led to contact with outsiders (Klingler 2003: 13). This kind of contact would have resulted in more slaves learning French, and French having more influence on the developing language.

Second, since at least 1800, there has been a speech continuum in Louisiana that includes Louisiana Creole, Cajun French, Standard French and English (Holm 1989: 389, Grant 1995: 162). Cajun French and Louisiana Creole especially have influenced each other, and Louisiana Creole has experienced some decreolization towards French partly as a result of this (Holm 1989: 389, Grant 1995: 162). Both increased exposure to French during its formative period and subsequent decreolization could have influenced the instability of incorporated articles by creating an awareness of the article's original function in the mind of the creole speakers. If creole speakers know that the article is not part of the noun in French, they may be inclined to drop it in some contexts.

As noted in section 3.3.1 above, the dominant substrate languages for Louisiana Creole were Atlantic and Mande languages, whereas the dominant substrate languages for Mauritian Creole were Bantu languages. It is likely that this fact has played a role in at least some of the differences observed between the two creoles, including article incorporation. It appears that neither Mande languages nor Atlantic languages (both of the Niger-Congo

group) have prefixal nominal classifiers, which, according to Baker (1984) are important precursors to article incorporation. The two Atlantic languages that I investigated (Fula and Wolof) have nominal classifiers, but they appear after the noun (Arnott 1970, Stewart et al. 1966) and the Mande language (Mende) appears not to have classifiers at all (Innes 1967).

### 3.2.5.3 - Conclusion

In this section (3.3), I have tried to show why Louisiana Creole has fewer instances of article incorporation than Mauritian Creole, but the situation in Louisiana Creole is slightly more difficult to interpret than the situations in Mauritian Creole, Réunionnais and Haïtian Creole. Although it is easy to see that a probable reason for the small number of instances of article incorporation is the numerical dominance of Atlantic and Mande speakers during the time of stabilization (ie. the lack of Bantu speakers), the picture is complicated somewhat by the sociolinguistic situation. An *habitation* society, where slaves had considerable interaction with their masters and therefore considerable access to French, could have contributed to a more French-like creole language, as could the continuum situation that existed very early on. Proof of this messy situation lies in the system of article incorporation itself, where incorporated articles are largely optional. However, I believe that the most important conclusion to be made from this section is that influence from Bantu speakers, although present, was minimal, and considering what we have seen in the previous sections, that this is the most likely reason for the relative lack of instances of article incorporation in Louisiana Creole.

### 3.2.6 - Summary and Conclusions

In this section (3.2), I have given brief historical account of four languages; Mauritian Creole, Réunionnais, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole. In addition, the specifics of article incorporation were described for Réunionnais, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole. The overall goal of this chapter has been to try to understand which factors are involved in the presence or absence of article incorporation in these languages, and it was determined that the most important of these was the substrate languages present at the time of language formation. In this section, I present a summary of the most important findings of Chapter 3, and briefly discuss their importance.

Table 3-2 summarizes population growth in the areas in question. The rate of population growth coupled with the percentage of that population that consisted of slaves (non-French speakers) can tell us a great deal about if and when a creole language developed (which, in turn, can tell us a great deal about the development of article incorporation in that language).

**Table 3-2: Populations and Population Growth in Mauritian Creole, Haïtian Creole, Louisiana Creole and Réunionnais**

	Start of French Settlement	Population after approx. 50 years	Percentage of slaves in population
Mauritius	1721	29761	85 %
Réunion	1665	1171	46 %
Haïti	1664	38723	79 %
Louisiana	1699	42,700 (87 yrs)	50 %

In both Mauritius and Haïti, populations grew enormously in the first few decades of settlement. In both cases, the slave population far outnumbered the white population after only fifty years, creating an ideal situation for creolization to occur. The more slaves there were, the less those slaves would have needed to communicate directly with their French speaking masters, and the less access slaves had to French, the more likely it would be that a creole language would develop.

In Louisiana, the population also grew quickly, but slaves remained at only 50 % of the overall population. However, as Holm (1989: 388) points out, since not all whites in Louisiana could afford slaves, most were concentrated on large plantations, where the percentage of slaves would have been considerably higher. Still, slaves in Louisiana likely had more contact with whites than in Mauritius or Haïti, which could account for some of Louisiana Creole's more French-like features.

The population of Réunion grew very slowly in the first fifty years, with slaves making up only 46 % of the total population of the island, and while slaves began to outnumber whites around 1710, population growth was still very slow until around 1730. This situation was not conducive to the development of a creole language, and so the language that developed in the first years of Réunion's settlement was not a creole, but a slightly restructured variety of French.

Table 3-3 shows the periods during which creolization took place for Mauritian Creole, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole, as well as the most important African languages present among slaves during these periods. As we have seen, the development of

article incorporation is heavily dependent on the languages spoken by slaves during the language's stabilization.

**Table 3-3: Creole Development and Substrate Languages in Mauritian Creole, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole<sup>5</sup>**

	Period during which the creole language stabilized	Main language families present among slaves during this time
Mauritius	1760-1790	Bantu (Niger-Congo)
Haïti	1680-1740	Kwa (Niger-Congo)
Louisiana	1760-1790	Atlantic, Mande (Niger-Congo)

It stands to reason that a developing language would be influenced by the languages most widely spoken at the time of its development. Mauritian Creole is thought to have stabilized sometime in the last third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a time when the vast majority of slave imports were Bantu speakers (Baker 1984: 114). Singler (1996; quoted in Lefebvre 1998: 54, 56) believes that Haïtian Creole stabilized sometime between 1680 and 1740, a time when speakers of Kwa languages made up the majority all slave imports to Haïti. As for Louisiana Creole, it is said to have stabilized between 1760 and 1790. Although Atlantic and Mande speakers had lost some ground to speakers of Kwa and Bantu since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, they remained the largest group until the end of the slave trade (Klingler 2003).

The languages spoken at the time of stabilization of each language (Table 3-2) and whether the language stabilized at all (Table 3-3) contributed greatly to whether or not each language subsequently developed article incorporation. In Mauritius, a creole language

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<sup>5</sup>Since Réunionnais is not an actual creole language, it has been omitted from this section.

developed at a time when Bantu speakers were dominant; the result of this was that a very large number of nouns with incorporated articles became part of the language. In Haïti and Louisiana, creole languages developed, but speakers of Bantu languages were a minority in both places; the result of this was that some article incorporation became part of these languages, but on a smaller scale than in Mauritius. In Réunion, Bantu speakers were dominant during the same period as in Mauritius; however, a true creole language never developed. Therefore, the article incorporation that was part of the pidgin vernacular of Bantu-speaking slaves did not become part of the Réunionnais language.

### *3.3 - Baker's Bantu Hypothesis*

In 1984, Philip Baker proposed a theory of why article incorporation occurs, and more specifically, why it occurs so much more frequently in Mauritian Creole than in other French Creoles like Réunion Creole or Haïtian Creole. Baker deals only with the incorporation of an entire syllable, (type two in section 2) because he believes that consonantal incorporation is fairly unremarkable in that it occurs in similar numbers in all varieties of creole French, while the distribution of the more interesting syllabic article incorporation varies widely from language to language (Baker 1984: 89).

Baker (1984: 108)(and others (Chaudenson 1979, Grant 1995)) believe that “the agglutination of complete French articles must result from non-Francophones acquiring French lexical items before appreciating the role of articles in that language”; this predicts a correlation between the number of incorporated forms and the ratio of French-speakers to non-French-speakers during the period of language stabilization (Baker 1984: 108), because

presumably the more non-Francophones there are, the fewer opportunities there would be to learn the true function of the French article. This taken alone would imply that Haitian Creole should have at least as many instances of article incorporation as Mauritian Creole, since the ratio of Francophones to non-Francophones was similar, but this is not the case since Haïtian Creole has only a quarter as many as Mauritian Creole (Baker 1984: 109). So, although the above may play a role, especially regarding the relationship between Réunionnais and other creoles, it must be taken in combination with other factors, such as the substrate languages of each creole.

Baker claims that the large number of syllabic incorporated articles in Mauritian Creole occur because of influence from speakers of Bantu languages, which have no articles, but which have monosyllabic noun class prefixes that attach to the beginning of all nouns (see section 4.3.4) (Baker 1984: 110). He believes that Bantu-speaking slaves would have been likely to associate the highly recurrent French articles *la, le, les, de, du, and des* to the classifiers with which they were familiar from their own languages (Baker 1984: 110). Here, Baker (1984: 110-111) stresses that he does not intend to imply that Bantu speakers consciously analysed French articles as classifiers<sup>6</sup>, but rather the following;

- a) “high-frequency French words which almost always occur following the same article [...] were liable to be interpreted as a single morpheme”,
- b) slaves whose mother-tongues included articles would quickly identify the true function of the French article,
- c) Bantu-speaking slaves would have had no reason to interpret the article as an article and would therefore have interpreted it as the initial syllable of the noun, and

---

<sup>6</sup>But, see section 4.2.1.5 for my views on this subject.

**d)** Bantu-speaking slaves “would have acquired many items sharing one of a small number of initial syllables such as la-, di-, le- etc. but would not have seen in this anything unusual, being familiar only with the situation in their mother tongues in which groups of several hundred nouns all share the same initial syllable, the latter being noun class prefixes”.

In Baker’s view, a creole language which stabilized at a time when most slaves were Bantu-speaking would be likely to end up with more article incorporation than a creole which stabilized under other circumstances (ie. when other substrate languages were dominant) (Baker 1984: 111). He identifies three demographic events that would have played a role in determining when a creole stabilized (Baker 1984: 116):

1. when the number of slaves was greater than the number of members of the ruling class.
2. when the number of locally-born slaves was greater than the number of members of the ruling class.
3. when the regular supply of slaves ended.

Baker (1984: 116-119) explains the significance of these events as follows. Before there were any locally born (creole-speaking) adult slaves in Mauritius, slaves would have communicated using pidginized varieties of French, since that was the only language they were all subjected to (Baker 1984: 116). However, as long as members of the ruling class (French-speakers) outnumbered slaves, the children of these slaves would most likely have reached adulthood as competent French speakers (albeit with some creole-like features)(Baker 1984: 117) . Therefore, Baker (1984: 117) believes that it is unlikely that a creole language would have developed prior to Event 1.

After Event 1, the slaves exposure to French would have declined steadily, and consequently locally-born slaves would have grown up with a less and less complete knowledge of French (Baker 1984: 117). The effect of this is thought to be that a continuum would have emerged, with French on one end and a creolized version on the other, with the variety spoken by each (locally-born) individual being determined by age and by their amount of exposure to French (Baker 1984: 118). Furthermore, as the number of slaves relative to whites continued to increase, more and more locally-born slaves would have been speaking the creolized varieties (Baker 1984: 118). After Event 2, foreign-born slaves would have been increasingly exposed to the language of the locally-born slaves, and if this situation continued for a substantial length of time the result would be a break in the continuum and the emergence of a homogeneous creole distinct from its lexifier (Baker 1984: 118). Event 3, the end of large-scale slave imports, “would have led to a gradual reduction in the proportion of pidgin-speaking members in the population”(Baker 1984: 118). Baker states that the effect of this event on the language in question would depend on the length of time between Events 2 and 3; if they occurred around the same time, the trend towards the development of a homogeneous creole would be reversed and a continuum would survive indefinitely, but if Event 3 took place a generation or more after Event 2, a homogeneous creole would become “firmly established” and would be irreversible (Baker 1984: 118-119).

As mentioned above, Baker (1984: 119) claims that the period in which a homogeneous creole language would stabilize is between Events 2 and 3, as long as there is at least one generation between the two events. For Mauritian Creole, this period would have been between 1773 and 1810, a period in which slave imports were completely dominated by

Bantu speakers (Baker 1984: 119). This period of approximately 35 years was more than enough time for the creole to stabilize, and since Bantu speakers dominated during this time, Bantu-like features, including article incorporation, became part of the language. So, here we have a situation where locally-born slaves are speaking a language that is just beginning to stabilize, while at the same time huge numbers of Bantu-speaking slave arrivals are influencing the language in the direction of article incorporation. By the time slave imports stop in Event 3, the language has already stabilized, complete with incorporated articles.

The situation in Réunion was quite different from that in Mauritius, despite their identical substrate languages. First, Event 1 didn't occur until around 1710, approximately 50 years after the start of settlement (Baker 1984: 117), during which time a Réunionnais non-creole language, very similar to the language spoken in Réunion today, had already developed through levelling of French dialects (Baker 1984: 120). Second, although Event 3 took place around 1810 like in Mauritius, this was only five years after Event 2 (1805), which is not enough time for a homogeneous creole language to develop; instead, as predicted above, a continuum of more or less creolized versions of French still exists in Réunion (Baker 1984: 120).

The works of Héry (1828-1856; quoted in Baker 1984) gives us some very interesting insights into the situation in Réunion. His works, which deal with the speech of African-born slaves in Réunion, indicate that article incorporation was common in the speech of this sub-unit of the population at the time of his research (Baker 1984: 115). What this suggests is that

Bantu speakers in Réunion interpreted the Réunionnais article<sup>7</sup> as part of the noun, but since a creole never actually developed, this feature never became part of the language and all but 12 forms consequently died out with the last Bantu-speakers (Baker 1984: 120).

As for Haïti, Baker (1984: 120) determines that Event 1 must have taken place well before 1715, and that Event 2 would have occurred no later than 1730. Event 3 occurred around the same time in Haiti as in the Indian Ocean (in the first few decades of the 1800s). This means that the period of time between Events 2 and 3 was more than sufficient for stabilization to occur (80 years); however, despite this ideal situation, Haitian Creole did not end up with the amount of article incorporation that Mauritian Creole did. The reason for this is that when the creole began to stabilize in the mid-1700s, Bantu-speakers were a minority (Baker 1984: 122). Therefore, some article incorporation occurred (112 forms), but not on the same scale as in Mauritian Creole.

Although Baker does not discuss Louisiana Creole, it is possible to apply his observations to what we already know about the colony. Event 1 would have taken place around 1725, and Event 2 could conceivably have occurred around 1750 (based on what we know about when the language stabilized). Event 3 would presumably have occurred at the same time as in Haïti and the Indian Ocean since all were at that time administered by the French. This means that there was plenty of time for a homogeneous creole to develop (approximately 50 years). However, very little article incorporation developed in Louisiana

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<sup>7</sup>See section 3.2.3 above. Since the Réunionnais language already existed when the Bantu speakers arrived, the articles that they were exposed to were Réunionnais, not French.

Creole because Bantu speakers were always a minority in Louisiana. Although some article incorporation survived due to the small amount of Bantu influence, it did not develop nearly as much as Mauritian Creole.

### *3.4 - Conclusion*

In the first part of this chapter, I investigated the effect that a language's historical development and substrate languages may have had on whether or not it developed an extensive system of article incorporation. The first important factor was whether or not the language actually creolized. As we saw from our discussion of Réunionnais, a language that does not creolize is not likely to end up with many instances of article incorporation. The second factor is what substrate languages were spoken. In Mauritian Creole, a language with several times more instances of article incorporation than Haitian or Louisiana Creoles, Bantu languages were the dominant substrate languages at the time of stabilization, while in Haiti and Louisiana, Bantu languages played a minor role. This implies that it was Bantu languages that influenced article incorporation in Mauritian Creole.

In the next part, I discussed Baker's (1984) Bantu hypothesis, which states that the influence of noun class prefixes from Bantu languages caused Mauritian Creole to develop hundreds of examples of article incorporation. Baker's hypothesis is supported by the facts provided in the preceding section. I presented the facts of Réunionnais, Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole within Baker's framework, and showing that the theory can be applied to these languages as well. In the next chapter, I will add to Baker's observations regarding Bantu influence in Mauritian Creole article incorporation, explaining why certain nouns

received incorporated articles while others did not, and why the article **la-** is so much more common than other articles.

## Chapter Four

### SUBSTRATE INFLUENCE AND LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS IN MAURITIAN CREOLE ARTICLE INCORPORATION

#### *4.1 - Introduction*

In the last Chapter, it was shown that the most striking difference between the historical development of Mauritian Creole, Haitian Creole and Louisiana Creole was the languages that were spoken at the time that each creole stabilized. For Mauritian Creole, which has several hundreds more nouns with article incorporation than Haitian Creole or Louisiana Creole, the dominant substrate languages at the time of its development were Bantu languages. I hypothesized, following Baker (1984), that the reason for Mauritian Creole's extensive system of article incorporation was precisely because of its heavy influence from Bantu languages. In this Chapter, I will discuss the nature of the Bantu influence on Mauritian Creole article incorporation. Examples of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole are given in (47).

(47)	lera	'le rat'	rat
	lavi	'la vie'	life
	diri	'du riz'	rice
	lezel	'les ailes'	wing

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Baker's (1984) paper on article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, discussed in Chapter 3, establishes the groundwork for my hypothesis. Baker claims that article incorporation is a result of influence from the noun class prefixes found in Bantu languages.

I accept this theory and expand on it, proposing that noun class prefixes became part of Mauritian Creole through a process of transfer because of their similarity to French articles. In essence, the French morphemes took on the semantic role of the Bantu morphemes. Another feature of Bantu languages, vowel harmony, is partly responsible for determining which nouns will receive an incorporated article and which will not. According to my hypothesis, an article that is in harmony with the first vowel of its noun is more likely to be incorporated than an article that is not in harmony with its noun. Following from this, the hypothesis predicts that the article **la-** will be more commonly incorporated than other articles because of how the vowel /a/ behaves with respect to Bantu vowel harmony. /a/ doesn't usually participate in vowel harmony in Bantu languages; it is neither a trigger nor a target. My hypothesis predicts that /a/ behaves in the same way in Mauritian Creole, meaning that the vowel /a/ will be able to cooccur with any other vowel, whereas other vowels must agree in height with other vowels in a word. In other words, **la-** is always in harmony with the noun it precedes, while **le-** or **di-** can only precede nouns whose first vowel agrees with them in height.

The evidence for the above hypothesis comes from Bantu languages, all of which have noun class prefixes, and most of which have vowel harmony. I describe the Bantu system of noun class prefixation in detail before moving on to a description of regressive raising vowel harmony in the Kikuria language of Tanzania and Kenya. It is this language and others like it that have influenced the vowel harmony seen in Mauritian Creole article incorporation. This particular type of vowel harmony found in Kikuria affects noun class prefixes, causing mid vowels in these prefixes to become high when followed by high vowels

or the glide /j/ (48).

- |      |    |                    |            |                            |
|------|----|--------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| (48) | a. | obo-béebe          | ‘badness’  |                            |
|      |    | <b>ubu</b> -mítítu | ‘coldness’ | (Chacha & Odden 1998: 132) |
|      | b. | egeé-nto           | ‘thing’    |                            |
|      |    | <b>igi-túúmbe</b>  | ‘stool’    | (Chacha & Odden 1998: 131) |

The vowel harmony found in Kikuria is exactly the same as a process of vowel harmony found in several Mauritian Creole article incorporated nouns (49). Here, we see that mid vowels in incorporated articles sometimes become high when followed by a high vowel or the glide /j/ in the noun.

- |      |              |           |                 |
|------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|
| (49) | <b>lizur</b> | ‘le jour’ | daytime         |
|      | <b>lipye</b> | ‘le pied’ | foot            |
|      | <b>liki</b>  | ‘le cul’  | female genitals |
- (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

In addition to influence from Bantu noun class prefixes and vowel harmony, there are several other issues and contributing factors to the phenomenon of article incorporation. Homophony avoidance is shown to be an important factor in article incorporation, because incorporated articles often serve to disambiguate nouns from each other. Baker’s (1984) “Frequency of Collocation” principle shows that if a noun usually occurs with one particular article, that article is more likely to be incorporated. The number of syllables of a French noun may also play a part in determining whether it will receive an incorporated article, since the majority of article incorporated nouns would be monosyllabic without their incorporated article; this suggests that Mauritian Creole nouns prefer to be bisyllabic, something that is also likely to have been influenced by Bantu languages. The date of a word’s entry into the language is also a factor; most nouns with incorporated articles entered the language early in its development. Data from the 19<sup>th</sup> century are considered, and show us that article

incorporation did not happen all at once; different speakers used different versions of the nouns that eventually stabilized as article incorporations. Consonantal article incorporation is considered, and it is shown to have been influenced by universal principles of syllable structure, as well as by the substrate languages.

Section 4.2 discusses Bantu influence in Mauritian Creole article incorporation, with section 4.2.2 introducing the hypothesis and 4.2.3 discussing the evidence. Section 4.3 introduces other factors in article incorporation, in the form of universals as well as substrate influence.

#### *4.2 - Substrate Influence in Mauritian Creole Article Incorporation*

##### *4.2.1 - Introduction*

This section discusses Bantu substrate influence on Mauritian Creole article incorporation. Section 4.2.2 proposes the hypothesis, where I claim that Bantu noun class prefixes and vowel harmony influenced Mauritian Creole in the direction of article incorporation. A chi square analysis is then used to test the hypothesis proposed in the preceding sections. Section 4.2.3 describes the linguistic evidence for the hypothesis, in the form of noun class prefix and vowel harmony data from certain Bantu languages.

##### *4.2.2 - The Hypothesis*

###### *4.2.2.1 - Introduction*

In this section, I discuss the effects of Bantu noun class prefixes and vowel harmony on article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. First, following Baker (1984), I claim that the

large number of instances of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole as opposed to other French creoles is due to the presence of Bantu speakers during Mauritian Creole's development. I claim that incorporated articles in Mauritian Creole are modeled on noun class prefixes from Bantu languages, and that noun class prefixes became part of the Mauritian Creole system due to transfer, a process that occurs in second language acquisition whereby patterns from the mother tongue are carried over into the language being learned. I then propose a hypothesis for why certain nouns received incorporated articles while others did not, and why the article **la-** is so much more common than any other article. I claim that article incorporation is affected by vowel harmony, which is a feature of Bantu languages that was also transferred to Mauritian Creole, in that if an article is in harmony with its noun, it will be more likely to be incorporated. As a consequence of this, the article **la-** is more common than other articles in article incorporation because of its harmonic properties. As will be shown in section (4.3), the vowel /a/ rarely participates in vowel harmony in Bantu languages; /a/ can cooccur with any vowel, but /i, u, e, o/ must agree in height with neighboring vowels. I hypothesize that /a/ behaves the same way in Mauritian Creole, which means that **la-** would be in harmony with any root, making it much more likely to be incorporated.

#### *4.2.2.2 - French Articles and Noun Class Prefixes: SLA and Transfer*

In my analysis of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, I follow Baker's (1984) theory that the presence of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole is due to the presence of speakers of Bantu languages in Mauritius at the time of the language's stabilization. In this

section, I discuss the issue of why noun class prefixes influenced Mauritian Creole in such an important way, and why they took the form of incorporated French articles. I will argue that while Bantu speakers were learning French (either as their target language or more subconsciously), transfer occurred, causing features of noun class prefixes to become part of the developing creole, with French articles as their model.

Most creolists would agree that substrate languages have played an important role in the development of creoles, affecting areas of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics (Siegel 2003: 186)(eg. Baker 1984, Corne 1999, Keesing 1988, Kouwenberg 1996, Lefebvre 1986, 1993, 1998a, Lumsden 1999a, McWhorter 1997, Migge 1998, Mufwene 1986, 1990, 1999, Siegel 2000, Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Another commonly held belief is that creolization involves a form of second language acquisition<sup>1</sup>, where the resulting language (ie. the creole) shows evidence of interference from the mother tongue (Arends 1995, Arends et al. 1995, DeGraff 1999, Lumsden 1999, Mufwene 1990, 1999, Siegel 1997, 1999, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Winford 1997). The concept of *transfer* is commonly invoked to explain how these substrate features actually enter the developing creole (eg. DeGraff 1999, Mufwene 1990, Siegel 1997, 1999, Wekker 1996). Transfer is a concept that originated in second language acquisition research (eg. Odlin 1992, Andersen 1983), but it is increasingly being used by creolists as a mechanism for explaining substrate influence in

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<sup>1</sup>Baker (1990, 2000) opposes this interpretation, because he believes that the goal of individuals involved in a creolization scenario is not to learn the superstrate language, but to create a new language with all the means at their disposal, including those of the superstrate.

creoles<sup>2</sup> (eg. DeGraff 1999, Mufwene 1990, Siegel 1997, 1999, Wekker 1996). Transfer can be defined as “a form of cross-linguistic influence found in SLA [that] involves carrying over of mother tongue patterns into the interlanguage”, where structures of the language being learned are reanalyzed according to properties of the individual’s first language (Siegel 2003:187). In using transfer as a strategy, learners are treating structures in the target language as though they are the same as their equivalents in their mother tongue (Helms-Park 2003: 213).

Researchers have proposed various constraints on transfer, which determine the conditions under which transfer can occur. One constraint states that in order for transfer to occur, the substrate languages must be homogeneous (Helms-Park 2003: 213). What this means is that the substrate languages must be similar enough to all have the relevant feature or features. If all or most of the “learners” have the relevant feature in their languages, it is more likely that feature will be adopted into the developing language. Another constraint called “Transfer to Somewhere” was proposed by Andersen (1983), and states that a feature of the substrate language will only be transferred if there is a compatible feature in L1 (Helms-Park 2003: 214). This means that there has to be somewhere for the feature to transfer to; there has to be a structure in the target language that can be reanalyzed according to an individual’s mother tongue’s pattern (Siegel 2003: 200). A third constraint involves perceptual salience. Siegel (2003: 200) claims that it is very important in transfer that a

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<sup>2</sup>Note that the results of transfer in true second language acquisition and in creole formation are slightly different: the resulting language in second language acquisition is specific to one individual, whereas the resulting language in creolization is created and shared by an entire community.

feature of the superstrate language be perceptually salient, for example a separate word or a stressed syllable, and that it have a similar meaning or function to the corresponding morpheme in the substrate. Finally, another proposed constraint on transfer requires that the feature involved in transfer be universally unmarked (Helms-Park 2003: 231).

Transfer in creolization is a strategy used by learners when there is a need for immediate communication, and as mentioned above, it is especially effective when most of the learners are mother-tongue speakers of typologically similar but mutually unintelligible languages (Helms-Park 2003: 230). When a group of people all use features transferred from their similar first languages, the features become crystallized through repeated use (Helms-Park 2003: 234). During the language's stabilization, there is a process of leveling whereby certain features are kept and others are discarded (Helms-Park 2003: 234, Siegel 2003: 187); if a feature is shared by many substrates, it is more likely to be kept during this leveling process.

Two final points regarding SLA in creoles remain to be discussed. First is the issue of the nature of the target language in creolization. In SLA, the target is always the same, but in creolization, although the target in the initial stages of acquisition is the superstrate, the target for newer arrivals to a community is the developing creole (Helms-Park 2003: 234). Baker (1990, 2000) believes that the issue of target language is irrelevant; he believes that the people involved in creolization were creating a new language, not actually trying to learn the superstrate language<sup>3</sup>. The second issue, somewhat related to the first, addresses the

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<sup>3</sup>I don't believe that the ideas of SLA and transfer in creolization are necessarily incompatible with Baker's "creationist" view. Even if one's goal is not to learn the language, if one is taking parts of the language to build another language it seems to

question of why SLA did not progress further in creolization; why didn't the population eventually learn the superstrate in its full form? There are many possible answers to this question. First, Baker (1990, 2000) would say that the population did not acquire the target language because there was no target language and no SLA. He also points out that when the French speaking masters or plantation owners began to learn the nonstandard version of the language, they would most likely have used this version to communicate with their slaves, effectively ending the transmission of French to the Bantu speakers (Baker 1984: 113). Other explanations include the "relative size, status and power of the L1 and L2 groups", as well as the influence of motivation (as long as they could communicate effectively, people weren't necessarily concerned about perfecting their French) and social identity (Siegel 2003: 198-199).

So how does all of this apply to the Mauritian Creole situation? Bantu speakers began to arrive in Mauritius around 1737 (Baker 1984: 114), not long before the creole language is thought to have begun to stabilize. When the language did begin to stabilize around 1775 (give or take a few decades), Bantu speakers outnumbered other slaves by a ratio of 9:1 (Baker 1984: 114). These people spoke a variety of different, mutually unintelligible, though relatively homogeneous Bantu languages, while their masters spoke French. According to the theory discussed above, as each individual Bantu speaker tried to communicate with speakers of other languages, one of the strategies they used was transfer, using some structures from their native languages in their own idiolects. Since Bantu speakers had access

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me that principles of transfer would still apply.

to similar linguistic structures in their first languages, certain structures would have become quite common in the pidgin, or developing language. As the language stabilized and became a true creole (as all of the individual idiolects converged from generation to generation), a process of leveling occurred, whereby certain structures were lost, while others were preserved (Siegel 2003: 187).

Why were noun class prefixes preserved and why were they preserved in the form of incorporated French articles? First, and probably most importantly, noun class prefixes were transferred because there is a morpheme in French that occurs in a similar position, has a similar shape and also has a similar meaning. That morpheme is, of course, the French article. Both morphemes occur before the noun, both morphemes are a single syllable usually with the shape CV-, both encode a singular/plural distinction, and both are markers of gender (in the sense of noun class). According to the “Transfer to Somewhere” principle (Anderson 1983), this morpheme is an ideal candidate for transfer, while morphemes that don’t have somewhere to transfer to are not very likely to be transferred. For instance, Bantu verbs have concordial prefixes that agree with noun class prefixes. They are essentially the same as noun class prefixes, however, since French has no comparable morpheme, no concordial prefixes were transferred to Mauritian Creole. Second, Bantu noun class prefixes are unmarked within the Bantu language family; they occur productively in all branches of Bantu without exception. Third, in terms of perceptual saliency, French articles are salient in that they are full words, even though they are unstressed. Noun class prefixes are also salient in Bantu, in that they are initial syllables. This means that Bantu noun class prefixes obey all of the constraints discussed above, making it unsurprising that they would be transferred into

Mauritian Creole.

In this section, I have discussed the issues of SLA and transfer as they relate to article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. I have claimed that article incorporation is a result of the transfer of the process of noun class prefixation from Bantu languages into Mauritian Creole, modeled on the structure of French articles. In the next section, I will discuss why certain nouns received incorporated articles and others didn't, and why the article **la-** is more commonly incorporated than others.

#### *4.2.2.3 - Vowel Harmony and Mauritian Creole: Phonological Transfer*

In this section, I discuss the relationship between article incorporation in Mauritian Creole and vowel harmony in Bantu languages. I will claim that due to influence from Bantu languages (phonological transfer) there is a tendency for incorporated articles to harmonize with the first vowel of the root, and that it is often this harmony between root and article that determines whether an article will be incorporated in a particular noun. The article is more likely to be incorporated when its vowel and the first vowel of the noun are consistent with principles of vowel harmony in the substrate Bantu languages. In addition, I will claim that the reason for the disproportionately high number of nouns with incorporated **la-** is also due to vowel harmony, because since the vowel /a/ is usually not affected by Bantu vowel harmony, it is able to cooccur with any other vowel.

Although vowel harmony is not particularly pervasive in Mauritian Creole it does occur in incorporated articles as well as in certain roots. Since vowel harmony is not characteristic of the French language, it seems likely that these few instances of vowel

harmony result from Bantu influence on the language. Some examples of vowel harmony (and one of consonant harmony) in Mauritian Creole roots are given in (50). The examples in (50a) show regressive raising in incorporated articles, where a mid height vowel becomes a high vowel when followed by a high vowel. The examples in (50b), show regressive raising in roots. The example in (50c) shows a more unexpected type of regressive lowering harmony, where the vowel /o/ of the French root has become /a/ when followed by the vowel /a/. The example in (50d) is a regressive consonantal harmony, where /l/ becomes /n/ when followed by an /n/.

(50)	a.	<u>li</u> su	le chou	cabbage
		li <u>zye</u>	les yeux	eye
	b.	vi <u>ni</u>	venir / venu	to come / came
		la <u>si</u> mine	la cheminee	chimney
	c.	le <u>ma</u> ma	le moment	moment
	d.	<u>ni</u> net	lunettes	glasses

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Knowing that vowel harmony does occur in a variety of environments in Mauritian Creole, we may hypothesize that vowel harmony is actually more pervasive than it appears on the surface, and that it is possible for it to affect other systems in the language, including whether an article becomes incorporated into a noun or not.

In terms of article incorporation, regressive raising vowel harmony is found in some Mauritian Creole nouns when **le-** becomes **li-** if it is followed by a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) or the glide /y/ in the first syllable of the root (51).

(51)	a.	liku	le cou	neck
	b.	lisyē	le chien	dog

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

As will be examined more closely in section (4.2.2.3.3), this process of vowel harmony

exactly parallels one of the types of vowel harmony found in the Bantu language Kikuria (Chacha & Odden 1997: 131-133)(and possibly Kikuyu (Mugane 1997: 26)), where regressive vowel harmony raises the vowel in noun class prefixes (52).

- (52) a. ege-té 'chair'  
       igi-túúmbe 'stool' (Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)  
       b. omo-góóndo 'plowed field'  
       umu-sí 'sugar cane' (Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)

I propose that it is this process of vowel harmony (or one like it) that influenced the Mauritian Creole vowel harmony that affects incorporated articles.

Based on the evidence from Bantu languages and from Mauritian Creole, I propose that when Bantu speakers were faced with French articles, they tended to associate these articles with noun class prefixes, attaching these syllables to the beginning of the noun. However, the treatment of the article as a noun class prefix was influenced by whether that article harmonized with the first vowel of the root. If there was harmony between the article and the noun, the speaker would tend to see it as a more Bantu-like word, and therefore would assume that the article was a noun class prefix. If vowel harmony did not occur, the speaker would exercise one of two options. The first, more common option would simply be not to incorporate that article (ie. not treat the article as a noun class prefix). They would interpret the non-harmonic article + noun combination as a non-Bantu string, and therefore would not analyze the article as a noun class prefix. The following examples show Mauritian Creole nouns that do not have incorporated articles, where the French article and noun are not harmonic (53).

- (53) a. bulāze            le boulanger            ‘baker’  
 b. klima            le climat            ‘climate’  
 (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The second, less common option would be to make the article harmonize with the noun. The only vowels with which **le-** could not cooccur are /i/ and /u/, so in a few instances, when **le-** was heard with a noun whose first vowel was /i/ or /u/, the speaker would (subconsciously) adapt the disharmonic string to make it sound like a Bantu word (54).

- (54) a. lili            le lit            ‘bed’  
 b. lizye            les yeux            ‘eye’  
 (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

In terms of why **la-** is so much more common than **le-** or any other article, one prediction of the vowel harmony theory is that it follows from the harmonizing properties of the vowel /a/ in Bantu languages. If height harmony was transferred to Mauritian Creole from Bantu languages, then /a/ should behave in Mauritian Creole as it does in Bantu. As we will see in section (4.2.2.3.3), /a/ is not affected by vowel height harmony in most Bantu languages, including Kikuria, the language that best illustrates the parallels between Mauritian Creole and Bantu vowel harmony. Therefore, the reason that **la-** is so common as an incorporated article versus **le-** or **di-** is because /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony. Since it does not participate, it can cooccur with any other vowel, whereas other vowels can only cooccur with vowels that have the same height. This reduces the chances for **le-** and **di-** to be incorporated, and increases the chances for **la-**.

In this section, I have discussed the role of vowel harmony in Mauritian Creole article incorporation. I have claimed that vowel harmony plays a role in whether or not a particular

article is incorporated into a particular noun, such that if an article harmonizes with a noun, it is more likely to be incorporated. In addition, I have claimed that the reason that **la-** is more common as an incorporated article is also due to vowel harmony, because the vowel /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony and therefore can cooccur with any other vowel, whereas **le-** can only occur with /e/ or /o/. In the following subsection, I test the hypothesis developed in the previous two sections by means of a chi-square analysis.

#### *4.2.2.4 - Testing the Hypothesis: Chi Square*

Chi square is “a non-parametric test of statistical significance for bivariate tabular analysis” (Chi Square Tutorial 2003); in other words, it is “a statistical test to determine the probability that an observed deviation from the expected event or outcome occurs solely by chance” (University of Washington Chem 372 Definitions of Course Terms 2000). This type of test is able to indicate the degree of confidence one can have in one’s hypothesis (ie. whether to accept it or reject it) by determining whether or not different samples are different enough in some characteristic that we can make a generalization that the rest of the populations from which our samples are drawn are also different in that characteristic (Chi Square Tutorial 2003). In terms of the Mauritian Creole article incorporation data, a chi square test can show us whether or not vowel harmony is a significant factor in article incorporation, and whether or not the distribution of **la-** versus other articles is significant.

The following table shows the distribution of nouns with article incorporation and those without in terms of whether or not they are consistent with Bantu vowel harmony. According to the chi square analysis, the distribution is significant (ie. does not occur by

chance). This table shows the results for all Mauritian Creole nouns (from Baker & Hookoomsing 1987) whose French root begins with the letter 'b' (Table 4-1).

**Table 4-1: Chi Square: Article Incorporation and Vowel Harmony**

	<b>Article Incorporation</b>	<b>No Article Incorporation</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Vowel Harmony</b>	40	185	225
<b>* Vowel Harmony <sup>4</sup></b>	0	58	58
<b>Total</b>	40	243	283

Degrees of freedom: 1

Chi-square = 12.008

p is less than or equal to 0.001.

*The distribution is significant.*

(Chi Square Calculator 2003)

The above table shows that out of 40 nouns exhibiting article incorporation, all 40 are consistent with Bantu vowel harmony. In other words, in this sample, there are no instances of article incorporation that do not obey vowel harmony. On the other hand, this table also shows that out of 243 Mauritian Creole nouns without article incorporation, 185 would have obeyed vowel harmony if their article had been incorporated. What this indicates is that the presence of vowel harmony does not guarantee that article incorporation will occur, but if article incorporation occurs, it is likely that vowel harmony will be obeyed.

The following chi square table shows the distribution of **le-** and **la-** in terms of their compatibility with Bantu vowel harmony. According to the Chi square analysis, their distribution is significant. This table takes into account all instances of article incorporation involving **le-** or **la-** (Table 4-2).

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<sup>4</sup> \* **Vowel Harmony** = not compatible with vowel harmony

**Table 4-2: Chi Square: Vowel Harmony and the Articles *le-* and *la-***

	<b>la-</b>	<b>le-</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Vowel Harmony</b>	425	54 <sup>5</sup>	479
<b>* Vowel Harmony</b>	0	9	9
<b>Total</b>	425	63	487

Degrees of freedom: 1

Chi-square = 62.8551423943852

$p$  is less than or equal to 0.001.

*The distribution is significant.*

(Chi Square Calculator 2003)

The preceding table shows that whenever **la-** is incorporated, the resulting word is always compatible with vowel harmony. It also shows that whenever **le-** is incorporated, the resulting word is compatible with vowel harmony 84% of the time. This proves a) that **la-** is more compatible with vowel harmony than **le-**, and b) that article incorporation occurs more frequently when the resulting word is compatible with vowel harmony than when it is not, regardless of the article.

The following table (4-3) considers the distribution of the incorporated articles **la-**, **le-** and **li-/lu-** in terms of the root vowels they precede. According to the Chi square analysis, their distribution is significant. This table includes all nouns with incorporated **la-**, **le-** or **li-/lu-** listed in Baker & Hookoomsing (1987).

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<sup>5</sup>This number includes nouns whose article is **li-** or **lu-**.

**Table 4-3: *la-*, *le-* and *li-/lu-* in Combination with Mauritian Creole Vowels**

	<b>la-</b>	<b>le-</b>	<b>li-/lu-</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>a</b>	131	23	0	154
<b>e</b>	107	12	0	119
<b>i/y</b>	78	4	4	86
<b>o</b>	71	9	0	80
<b>u<sup>6</sup></b>	38	5	6	49
<b>Total</b>	425	53	10	488

Degrees of freedom: 8

Chi-square = 35.4099664387538

*p* is less than or equal to 0.001.

*The distribution is significant.*

(Chi Square Calculator 2003)

The above table shows that **le-** occurs more than twice as often with the vowels /a/, /e/, and /o/ as it does with the /i/, /y/, or /u/, which proves that it is more common for **le-** to occur preceding a root with whose vowel it harmonizes. This table also shows that out of 10 occurrences of the article **li-** or **lu-**, all of these occur preceding a high vowel or glide. This means that the occurrence of **li-** or **lu-** is 100% determined by vowel harmony.

In this section, I have found that according to a chi square analysis, vowel harmony is a significant factor in the occurrence of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole as predicted in the last section. Vowel harmony not only affects whether or not article incorporation occurs (Table 4-1), but it also affects whether or not a particular article is incorporated (Tables 4-2 and 4-3). In the next section, I discuss my assumptions regarding

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<sup>6</sup>The corresponding glide /w/ does not cause raising in Mauritian Creole (See section 4.2.2.3.3)

the morphological status of incorporated articles in Mauritian Creole.

#### 4.2.2.5 - Article Incorporation as Nominal Marking

Baker (1984: 110) stresses that Bantu speakers did not necessarily believe that French articles *were* nominal classifiers. He implies rather that Bantu speakers unconsciously “related the highly recurrent syllables [la], [lə], [le], [dy], [de] and [dø], found in noun phrase initial position in French, to the class prefixes occurring in noun phrase initial position in their own Bantu languages” (Baker 1984: 110). It is also implied in the literature that incorporated articles are meaningless and have no independent morphological status. In this section I will present evidence that Bantu speakers may in fact have analyzed the French articles as noun class prefixes, and that they were, and to some extent still are treated as nominal markers of some sort. At the same time, I argue that incorporated articles do have an independent meaning, however vague or opaque. There are four pieces of evidence in support of these claims.

The first piece of evidence comes from vowel harmony. In section 4.4.3 above, I discuss the process of vowel harmony which affects *le* nouns in Mauritian Creole, where the /e/ in *le-* can become /i/ when followed by a high vowel or glide in the next syllable (55).

- (55) a.    lizɔr            le jour            ‘daytime’  
      b.    lipɛc            le pied            ‘foot’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

This particular process of vowel harmony only affects nouns with an incorporated *le-*, and it only affects the vowel of the article. The trigger for this type of vowel harmony is the vowel in the second syllable of the noun, or rather, the first syllable of the French root. The

fact that the French root is the trigger in this process suggests an awareness of the existence of the root, and this suggests that the article is not part of the root. This indicates that the incorporated article has some kind of morphological status.

The second piece of evidence comes from certain noun-verb pairs in the language.

Many nouns and verbs share the same French root in Mauritian Creole (56).

(56)	a.	bave	‘baver’	to drool	
		labav	‘la bave’	drool	(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)
	b.	dāse	‘danser’	to dance	
		ladās	‘la dance’	dancing	(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The fact that there is a difference in the meaning or the category of the word depending on whether or not the article occurs shows that the article has a meaning of its own. Speakers of the language would most likely identify the incorporated article with nominal meaning, at least subconsciously.

The third piece of evidence involves the optionality of the article on certain nouns.

The article is optional in a total of 32 syllabic article incorporated nouns in Mauritian Creole (57).

(57)	lafreyer / freyer	la frayeur	fear
	lisufler / sufler	le choufleur	cauliflower
			(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The fact that the article is optional in these forms is also an indication of the existence of the root, independent of the article. If the article is separable from the root in these few cases, it shows that a speaker would be aware of the independent existence of each.

The last piece of evidence that incorporated articles are nominal markers with their own separate identity is simply that they have that status in both of the languages involved.

In Bantu languages, the noun class prefix is found on nouns and they have a specific meaning and function in the language. French articles are also found only with nouns, and they also have specific meaning and function in the language. If I am claiming that incorporated articles are a combination of French articles and Bantu noun class prefixes which share a similar meaning and function (which I am), then it makes sense that they would carry some aspect of this meaning into the creole.

In this section, I have argued, counter to Baker's (1984) claim, that Bantu speakers did in fact analyze French articles as noun class prefixes, and that incorporated articles can be seen as markers of nominal meaning. Evidence for this hypothesis was given, based on vowel harmony, noun-verb pairs, optionality in article incorporation, and their status in both Mauritian Creole and Bantu languages.

#### *4.2.2.6 - Conclusion*

In this section 4.2.1, I proposed a hypothesis for why article incorporation is so common in Mauritian Creole, and why **la-** is incorporated so much more often than other articles like **le-**. According to this hypothesis, the large number of instances of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole is due to the presence of speakers of Bantu languages at the time of Mauritian Creole's development. Incorporated articles are modelled on Bantu noun class prefixes, and these noun class prefixes became part of Mauritian Creole through a process of transfer during the Bantu speakers' acquisition of French.

Vowel harmony also plays an important role in article incorporation. According to the hypothesis, an article is more likely to be incorporated into a noun if the vowel of the

article and the first vowel of the noun are consistent with principles of Bantu vowel harmony. As a consequence of this assumption, **la-** is more likely to be incorporated because of the behaviour of /a/ in Bantu vowel harmony. Because /a/ is the only vowel that does not participate in vowel harmony and can cooccur with any other vowel, **la-** is much more likely to be incorporated than an article with /e/ or /i/.

The last part of my hypothesis involves the status of incorporated articles. Although Baker (1984) claims that Bantu speakers did not analyze French articles as noun class prefixes as such, I suggest that they did. I give four pieces of evidence for this claim, involving vowel harmony, noun-verb pairs, optionality in article incorporation, and their status in both Mauritian Creole and Bantu languages. In the next section (4.2.2) I present evidence for the hypothesis developed in this section (4.2.1).

### *4.2.3 - The Evidence: Bantu Languages*

#### *4.2.3.1 - Introduction*

In this section, I will discuss various aspects of Bantu languages, especially as they relate to the study of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. The goal of this section will be to provide evidence in support of the hypothesis discussed in section 4.2.1, namely that article incorporation is influenced by noun class prefixes and vowel harmony from Bantu languages. In section 4.2.2.2, I give a general description of some features of the Bantu language family and Niger-Congo, its phylum. I also describe the system used for classifying Bantu languages, in order to clarify where the languages discussed in this thesis fit in with other Bantu languages. In section 4.2.2.3, I discuss aspects of noun classification in Bantu

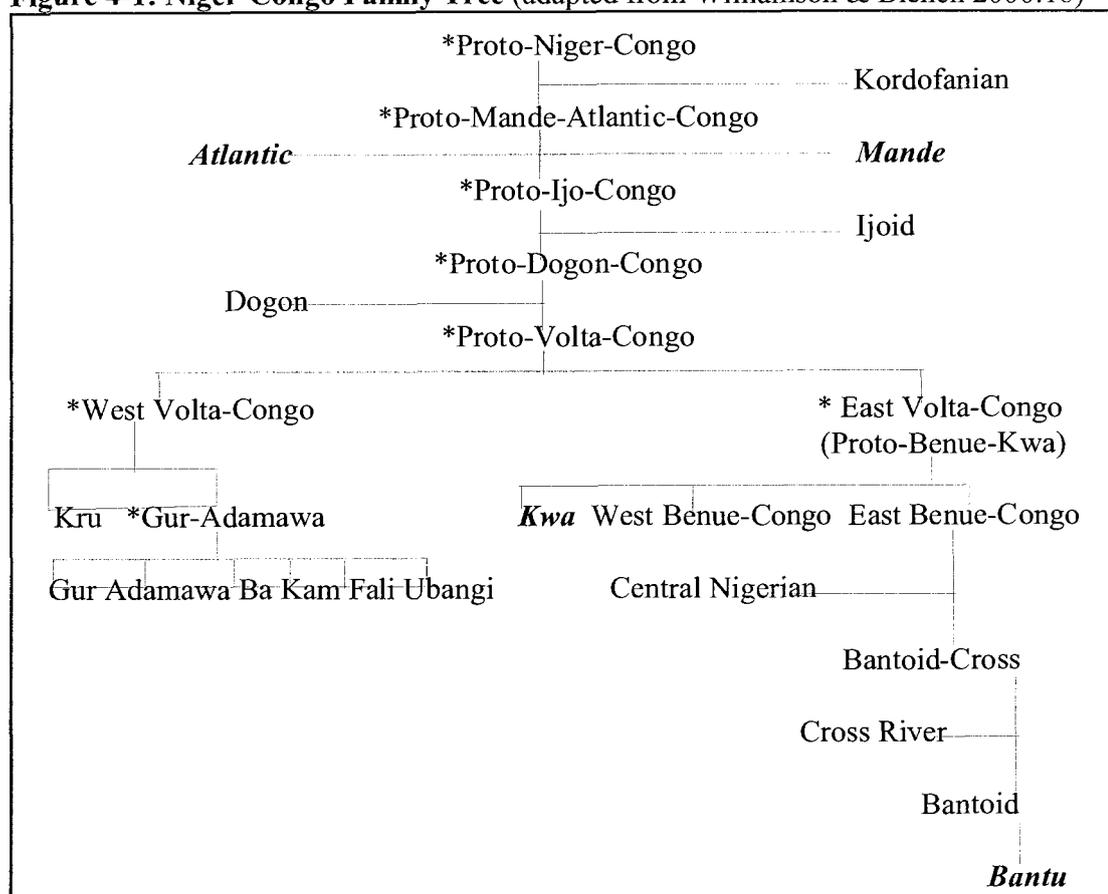
languages, and in section 4.2.2.4, I discuss vowel harmony in Kikuria, the language whose vowel harmony system is the most similar to that of Mauritian Creole.

#### *4.2.3.2 - Description and Classification of Bantu languages*

The Bantu language family is part of the much larger Niger-Congo language phylum, which also includes the Mande, Atlantic and Kwa language families discussed in Chapter 3 (Williamson & Blench 2000: 12). The Niger-Congo family is the largest phylum in the world, including 1,436 languages spoken by approximately 400 million people and covering the largest area of any other African language phylum (Williamson & Blench 2000: 11); approximately ½ of the continent.

The Niger-Congo family tree is shown below in Figure 4-1, with language families relevant to this study given in bold italics. Recall from Chapter 3 that the Atlantic and Mande languages are those that were the most influential during Louisiana Creole's development, while the Kwa languages are those that were the most influential during Haitian Creole's development. And of course Bantu languages, our main interest in this section, are the languages that were the most influential during Mauritian Creole's development.

**Figure 4-1: Niger-Congo Family Tree** (adapted from Williamson & Blench 2000:18)

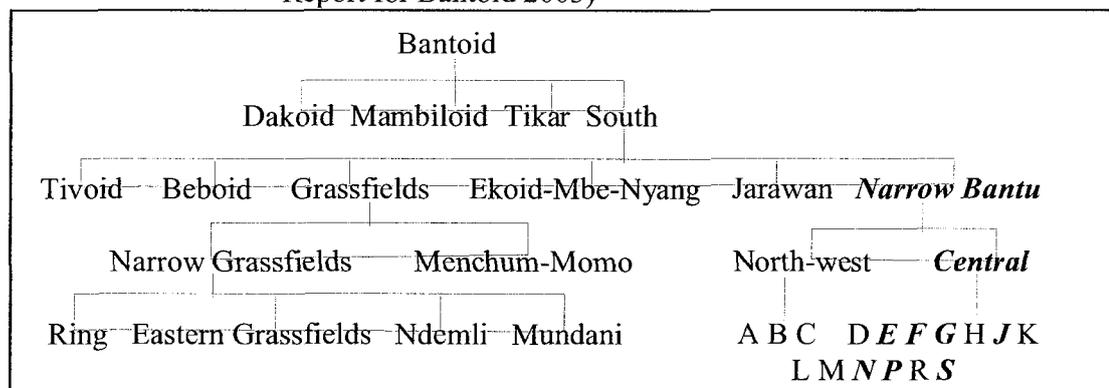


The Bantu language family is by far the largest in the Niger-Congo phylum. Narrow Bantu, which is what is usually meant by “Bantu”, has approximately 500 languages<sup>7</sup> (Ethnologue report for Bantoid 2005) spoken in 27 countries, covering about 1/4 of the African continent. Central Bantu alone has 328 languages. The family tree for Bantoid is given in Figure 4-2, with the language groups relevant to this study given in bold italics. The

<sup>7</sup>Nurse (2001: 1) points out that the number of languages as quoted by any researcher should not be seen by the reader as having absolute validity, mainly because of the uncertainty about what constitutes a language versus a dialect. The number of “Bantu” languages varies from 440 (Guthrie 1967-1971) to 680 (Mann, Dalby et al. 1987, quoted in Nurse 2001).

E, F, G, J, N, P and S subgroups include the languages spoken along the East Coast of Africa, the area from which most slaves bound for Mauritius most likely came.

**Figure 4-2: Bantoid** (adapted from Williamson & Blench 2000: 35; Ethnologue Report for Bantoid 2005)



In the next section, I discuss two particular features of Bantu languages: noun classification and vowel harmony. It is these two features that I hypothesized in the last section to have influenced Mauritian Creole article incorporation. I claimed that articles became incorporated under the influence of noun class prefixes, while vowel harmony was partly responsible for determining which nouns received incorporated articles and which did not.

#### 4.2.3.3 - Bantu Noun Class and Noun Class Prefixes

“Noun classes [...] are grammaticalized agreement systems which correlate - at least in part - with certain semantic characteristics” (Aikhenvald 2003: 19). In Bantu languages, noun classes are marked with monosyllabic prefixes on the noun, its modifiers, and the predicate (Aikhenvald 2003: 35). Examples of noun class prefixes from several Bantu languages are given in (58), with the noun class prefixes shown in bold.

(58)	Kikuria	a.	<b>e-séésé</b>	‘dog’	(Class 9)
		b.	<b>iki-rúúngúuri</b>	‘soft porridge’	(Class 7)
		c.	<b>abaá-nto</b>	‘people’	(Class 2)
		d.	<b>iri-tóro</b>	‘buttock’	(Class 5)
(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131-132)					
	Kimatuumbi	a.	<b>a-téleki a-kúlu a-kúlu ba-wiile</b>		(Class 2)
				‘The large cooks are dead’	(Odden 1996: 22)
		b.	<b>ma-gobóle ma-kúlu ma-kúlu ga-púwaaniike</b>	(Class 6)	
				‘The large muskets are broken’	(Odden 1996: 22)
	Kinyamwezi	a.	<b>mu-hógo</b>	‘cassava’	(Class 1)
				(Maganga & Schadeberg 1992: 58)	
		b.	<b>mi-lomo</b>	‘lips’	(Class 4)
				(Maganga & Schadeberg 1992: 59)	
		c.	<b>ka-goso</b>	‘squirrel’	(Class 12)
				(Maganga & Schadeberg 1992: 63)	
	Swahili	a.	<b>ch-umba ki-me-chafuka</b>		
				‘The room is untidy’	(Ashton 1944: 15)
		b.	<b>wa-geni wa-me-fika</b>		
				‘Strangers have arrived’	(Ashton 1944: 28)

Although most branches of Niger-Congo exhibit some kind of noun classification system, the Bantu languages are probably the most well known in this respect, primarily because of the huge number of noun classes and because of their impressive range of grammatical functions (ie. inflection, derivation, agreement, etc...) (Welmers 1973: 159). In this section, I explain how noun class systems are related to gender systems, and I discuss some characteristics of the noun class system in Bantu, including the shapes of the class prefixes, the system of concord with other parts of speech and the semantics of each class. Finally, I give a brief description of the noun class systems of other Niger-Congo languages.

All Bantu nouns are divided into semantically based categories, or classes. This type

of division is reminiscent of the gender systems found in many Indo-European languages, and indeed, the terms *gender* and *noun class* are often used interchangeably (Aikhenvald 2003: 19). There are similarities between the two, in that different groups of nouns are distinguished by affixes and in that there is grammatical agreement between the nouns and their modifiers (Welmers 1973: 159); however, there are also some important differences. First, traditional gender systems are usually based on a sex distinction, whereas in noun class systems the masculine vs. feminine distinction is largely irrelevant (Creissels 2000: 242, Welmers 1973: 159). Second, gender systems usually have only two or three categories (Welmers 1973: 159), whereas noun class systems can have many more; Bantu languages often have around twenty (Creissels 2000: 243). Third, in Indo-European, the singular and plural marker for a particular gender are usually related phonologically (eg. Greek masculine -os and -oi, feminine -a and -ai), but in Bantu, “each singular and plural affix is autonomous and mono-morphemic” (Welmers 1973: 159, 165)(59).

(59)	Kikuria	<b>omoó</b> -nto	‘person’	(Class 1)
		<b>abaá</b> -nto	‘people’	(Class 2)
				(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131-132)
	Swahili	<b>ji</b> -cho	‘eye’	
		<b>ma</b> -cho	‘eyes’	(Ashton 1944)

Each noun class is associated with one class prefix and each class prefix usually has either singular, plural or neutral meaning. So, Bantu class prefixes are portmanteau morphemes containing both a semantic meaning and a number distinction (Aikhenvald 2003: 22). Every noun in the language belongs to two classes<sup>8</sup>; one when it’s singular and one when

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<sup>8</sup>Although nouns usually are associated with two particular noun classes, they can sometimes be combined with other class prefixes to achieve derivational type meaning. For example, the noun ‘tree’ in Swahili normally occurs with the class 3/4 prefixes

it's plural (Aikhenvald 2003: 24) (60).

(60)	Kikuria	<b>e-ng'</b> áámwí	'cat'	(Class 9)	
					(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
		<b>ichi-ng'</b> áámwí	'cats'	(Class 10)	
					(Chacha & Odden 1998: 133)
	Kimatuumbi	<b>mw-aána</b>	'child'	(Class 1)	
					(Odden 1996: 21)
		<b>ba-ána</b>	'children'	(Class 2)	
					(Odden 1996: 21)

One of the most basic characteristics of any noun class system is that noun class markers (prefixes in the case of Bantu) mark agreement between the noun and other constituents in the phrase. Bantu languages mark the noun class on all modifiers of the noun (adjectives, pronouns etc...) as well as on the predicate. In Bantu noun classes, we see alliterative concord, where all words are marked with the same prefix<sup>9</sup> (61).

(61)	Swahili	<b>ki-kapu</b>	<b>ki-kubwa</b>	<b>ki-moja</b>	<b>ki-li-anguka</b>	
		7-basket	7-large	7-one	7-PAST-fall	
		'One large basket fell'				(Aikhenvald 2003: 35)

Concord in Bantu languages is far more complicated than the above may imply, however it is beyond the scope of this study to describe it in more detail.

The other basic and defining characteristic of noun class systems is that each class is defined semantically; although morphological and phonological criteria can also play a

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which indicate plants etc..., but when it is combined with the class 7/8 prefixes which denote inanimate objects, the meaning becomes 'stool' (Welmers 1973: 161), for example:

<i>m-ti</i>	'tree'	<i>ki-ti</i>	'(wooden) stool'
<i>mi-ti</i>	'trees'	<i>vi-ti</i>	'stools'

<sup>9</sup>Although, in many languages phonological changes have taken place, obscuring the effect of alliterative concord. See the following example of concord in Zulu.

**uku-dla kw-ethu ko-nke ku-phelile**  
 'All our food is finished' (Aikhenvald 2003: 36)

role, “no system of noun classes is completely devoid of semantic motivation” (Aikhenvald 2003: 25). Aikhenvald gives the following table showing the semantics of noun classes in Bantu (Spitulnik 1989: 207, quoted in Aikhenvald 2003: 282) (Table 4-4).

**Table 4-4: Semantics of Bantu Noun Classes** (Spitulnik 1989: 207, quoted in Aikhenvald 2003: 282)

<u>Class</u>	<u>Semantics</u>
1 / 2	Humans, a few other animates
3 / 4	Plants, plant parts, foods, non-paired body parts, miscellaneous
5 / 6	Fruits, paired body parts, miscellaneous inanimates
7 / 8	Miscellaneous inanimates
9 / 10	Animals, miscellaneous inanimates, a few humans
11 / 10	Long objects, abstract entities, miscellaneous inanimates
12 / 13	Small objects, birds
6	Masses
14	Abstract qualities, states, masses, collectives
15	Infinitives

Despite the core meanings described above, the modern Bantu system is quite opaque semantically (Aikhenvald 2003: 281). None of the above categories are absolute, providing only “partial semantic motivation” for membership in a given Bantu noun class (Aikhenvald 2003: 281).

For the remainder of this section, I will discuss the issue of noun class in three other families of Niger-Congo; Atlantic, Mande and Kwa. These three language families were discussed in Chapter 3, where an attempt was made to understand article incorporation in three other French-based languages: Réunionnais, Haitian Creole and Louisiana Creole. While Réunionnais was discovered to have very little substrate influence, Haitian Creole was found to have been most heavily influenced by Kwa languages, and Louisiana Creole was found to have been most heavily influenced by Atlantic and Mande languages. In the

following three paragraphs, I will describe noun classification in Atlantic, Mande and Kwa in order to have a greater understanding of why Haitian Creole and Louisiana Creole have so little article incorporation compared to Mauritian Creole.

Noun classification is very common in Atlantic languages, exhibiting similarly large numbers of classes to Bantu languages (Creissels 2000: 243). However, the most important difference between Atlantic and Bantu noun class systems is that while Bantu noun classes are marked by prefixes, noun classes in most Atlantic languages are usually not marked by prefixes<sup>10</sup>. Williamson & Blench (2000: 22) describe Atlantic as having a full noun class system whose original prefixes are weakened and renewed by suffixes or augments. See (62) for examples of noun classes in Fula (also called Fulfulde or Pulaar) and Wolof.

(62) **Fula** (Arnott 1970: 79)

Class 1	laam- <i>ɗo</i>	‘chief’
Class 3	‘ullu- <i>ŋgel</i>	‘kitten’
Class 7	loo- <i>ŋga</i>	‘big pot’

**Wolof** (Stewart, Babou & Pedtke 1966: I7-I11)

<i>dy</i> class	baay <i>dyi</i>	‘the father’
<i>s</i> class	suuf <i>si</i>	‘the ground’
<i>b</i> class	hale <i>bi</i>	‘the child’

As we see from the above example, Fula noun classes are marked by suffixes on the noun, while Wolof noun classes are marked by the shape of the definite determiner which follows the noun.

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<sup>10</sup>However, Dimmendaal (2000: 165) points out that there is some variation within this language family, where we find prefixation and circumfixation in addition to the more common suffixation.

Diola	<i>a-jola</i>	‘a Diola person’
Fulfulde	gor- <i>ko</i>	‘person’
Serer	<i>o-kor-oxa</i>	‘person’

Mande languages are usually said to have no noun classes and no traces of a former system at all (Williamson & Blench 2000: 38, Welmers 1973: 184), although Williamson & Blench (2000: 38-39) claim that there is some evidence of earlier prefixes based on noun-initial consonant mutations. They describe Mande languages as having only remnants of noun classes (Williamson & Blench 2000: 21). A look at the Mende language confirms the above; Innes (1967) makes no mention of noun classes.

Kwa languages are described by Lefebvre (1998: 60) as having “no true noun classes” and by Williamson & Blench (2000: 30) as having only reduced or remnant<sup>11</sup> noun classes. These observations are confirmed for Fon by Ndayiragije (1989: 316), who declares that the language has some noun class markers, but that they are no longer productive, and for Ewe by Westerman (1930: 43) who states plainly that “Ewe has no grammatical gender”.

In this section (4.2.3.1), I have described noun classification in the Bantu language family as well as giving a brief overview of noun classification (or the lack thereof) in Atlantic, Mande and Kwa languages. In the following section (4.3.3.3), I will describe vowel harmony in Bantu languages.

#### *4.2.3.4 - Vowel Harmony in Kikuria and Mauritian Creole*

Vowel harmony is a process whereby “vowels in the word tend to agree in a given distinctive feature” (Clements 2001: 135). In the following examples of vowel harmony from the Kikuria language, vowels agree in height (63).

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<sup>11</sup>One Kwa language, Ega, is said to have a full and productive noun class system (Williamson & Blench 2000: 30).

- (63) a. uku-gííngír<sup>12</sup> 'to shave it for him' (Chacha & Odden 1998: 133)  
 b. oko-réénd-ér-á 'to guard for' (Chacha & Odden 1998:141)  
 c. ubu-kúúngu 'female adulthood' (Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)

Vowel Harmony is very common across Bantu languages, occurring in all but a few isolated cases (Hyman 1999: 236,239). However, there is considerable variation in the types and scope of vowel harmony from one language to another (Hyman 1999: 236). Bantu vowel harmony can involve the features of vowel height (raising or lowering), backness (backing or fronting) or [ATR] (advanced tongue root or non-advanced tongue root), and it can be progressive (where a vowel on the left affects a vowel on the right), regressive (where a vowel on the right affects a vowel on the left), or both. In this section, I will concentrate on a process of regressive vowel raising that I have hypothesized is the origin of the Mauritian Creole vowel harmony process seen in article incorporation.

To illustrate this regressive vowel harmony, I will concentrate on the Kikuria language, spoken in Kenya and Tanzania (Chacha & Odden 1998: 129), just east of Lake Victoria (Language maps of Tanzania 2005, Language maps of Kenya 2005). Kikuria has a particularly interesting system of vowel harmony, consisting of four separate processes: 1. raising /e, o/ to /i, u/ when followed by a high vowel, a glide or a palatal consonant, 2. raising /ɛ, ɔ/ to /e, o/ when followed by a high vowel, 3. lowering a high vowel to an upper-mid vowel when preceded by an upper-mid vowel, and 4. lowering an upper-mid vowel to a lower-mid vowel when preceded by a lower-mid vowel (Chacha & Odden 1998: 130). Here, we will concern ourselves only with the first process, which, among other things, raises mid

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<sup>12</sup>The vowel /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony in Kikuria (Chacha & Odden 1998).

vowels in noun class prefixes to high when followed by a high vowel (or glide or palatal consonant) in the root.

Regressive raising vowel harmony in Kikuria affects the noun prefixes of classes 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14 and 20 (Chacha & Odden 1998: 131-2) (64). These noun class prefixes all have mid vowels underlyingly, but when they are followed by a high vowel in the root, they raise to high.

(64)	Class 1	omo-sááchá	‘male’	
		<b>umu-múra</b>	‘young man’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 3	omo-té	‘tree’	
		<b>umu-sí</b>	‘sugar cane’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 4	eme-té	‘trees’	
		<b>imi-sí</b>	‘sugar canes’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 7	ege-sáka	‘stream’	
		<b>igi-túúmbe</b>	‘stool’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 9	e-ng’áámwí	‘cat’	
		<b>i-tííni</b>	‘animal’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 11	oro-réme	‘tongue’	
		<b>uru-gúta</b>	‘wall’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 14	obo-béébe	‘badness’	
		<b>ubu-mítítu</b>	‘coldness’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 20	ogo-tábo	‘huge book’	
		<b>ugu-síri</b>	‘huge rope’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)

The prefixes of classes 2, 5, 6, 8 and 10 are not affected by regressive raising vowel harmony, either because they already contain high vowels, or because they contain the vowel /a/, which is neither a trigger nor a target for vowel harmony in Kikuria (Chacha & Odden 1998: 132-3) (65).

(65)	Class 2	aba-rífsya	‘boys’	
		abaá-nto	‘people’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 5	iri-hííndi	‘corn cob’	
		iri-tóro	‘buttock’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 6	ama-síko	‘yards’	
		ama-té	‘big chairs’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 8	ibi-gúrúbe	‘small pigs’	
		ibi-sáka	‘streams’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 133)
	Class 10	ichiin-déme	‘tongues’	
		ichiin-gúta	‘walls’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 133)

Regressive raising harmony in Kikuria is also triggered by the palatal consonants /ñ/ and /tʃ/<sup>13</sup> (66a) as well as the glides /j/<sup>14</sup> and /w/ (66b) (Chacha & Odden 1998: 144-146). It is important to note, however, that in many nouns the glide /w/ does not trigger raising (66c). In fact, based on the data given in Chacha & Odden (1998: 146-147) it seems that /w/ only triggers raising in noun class prefixes when the /w/ is the result of vowel coalescence (66d).

(66)	a.	<b>umu-chóóri</b>		‘drawer’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 144)
		<b>iki-ñúñi</b>		‘bird’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 145)
	b.	<b>ubu-syó</b>		‘forehead’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 147)
		<b>ugu-twá</b>		‘pick fruit’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 147)
	c.	<b>eke-wéere</b>		‘gnu’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 147)
		<b>ogo-hwá</b>		‘huge thorn’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 147)
	d.	<b>um-wéeri</b>	/omo-ɛri/	‘month’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 146)
		<b>um-woócho</b>	/omo-ocho/	‘sort’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 146)

Regressive raising harmony affecting noun class prefixes does not occur in all Bantu languages. For example, of the six languages I surveyed, only Kikuria (Chacha & Odden 1998) and Kikuyu (Mugane 1997: 26) exhibit regressive raising vowel harmony affecting noun class prefixes, while Swahili (Ashton 1944), Yao (Whiteley 1966), Kimatuumbi (Odden 1996) and Kinyamwezi (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992) do not. The interesting thing

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<sup>13</sup>Spelled ‘ch’ in both Kikuria and Mauritian Creole

<sup>14</sup>Spelled ‘y’ in both Kikuria and Mauritian Creole

about the languages that do not exhibit regressive raising is that none of these languages have mid vowels in their noun class prefixes. These languages have only high or low vowels in their prefixes, which implies that even if there were an underlying process of regressive raising vowel harmony, it would apply vacuously. The prediction that can be made then, is that if a language is lacking mid vowels in its noun class prefixes, regressive raising vowel harmony will not apply, whereas if a language has mid vowels in its noun class prefixes, regressive raising vowel harmony can apply. However, this prediction should be tested further before any serious claims can be made. Another prediction that is related to the above is that if a given Bantu language doesn't have noun class prefixes with mid vowels, it is likely that a speaker of that language would tend to incorporate articles with high vowels (/i/ or /u/) and low vowels (/a/), but not mid vowels (/e/ or /o/). If a Bantu speaker was not used to seeing noun class prefixes with mid vowels, he/she would have been less likely to assume that **le-** was a noun class prefix, and more likely to assume that **la-** was a noun class prefix.

The regressive raising vowel harmony found in Kikuria is exactly parallel to the regressive raising vowel harmony seen in some Mauritian Creole article incorporated nouns. Regressive raising vowel harmony affects the incorporated article of eleven Mauritian Creole nouns. The incorporated article in all cases has an underlying mid vowel /e/ which is raised to /i/ or /u/ when followed by a high vowel (67a) or the glide /j/ (67b).

(67)	a.	<b>liki</b>	le cul	'female genitals'	
		<b>liku</b>	le cou	'neck'	
		<b>lili</b>	le lit	'bed'	
		<b>lipu</b>	le/s pou/x	'louse'	
		<b>lisu</b>	le chou	'cabbage'	
		<b>lisufler</b>	le choufleur	'cauliflower'	
		<b>lizur</b>	le jour	'daylight'	
		<b>lulu</b>	le loup	'wolf'	
		b.	<b>lipye</b>	le/s pied/s	'foot'
			<b>lisyē</b>	le chien	'dog'
<b>lizye</b>	les yeux		'eye'		

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Since neither of the palatal consonants that cause raising in Kikuria (/ñ/ and /ch/) are found in any article incorporated nouns in Mauritian Creole, it is impossible to know whether they would cause raising if given the chance. However, according to the hypothesis discussed in section 4.2.1, it seems likely that if the article **le-** were perceived preceding a noun beginning with one of these consonants, a Bantu speaker would not assume that the article was a noun classifier because of the lack of vowel harmony. Note also that /w/ does not appear to cause raising in Mauritian Creole; this can be seen as following the Kikuria pattern noted above in which /w/ does not cause raising in nouns unless the /w/ is the result of vowel coalescence. Since /w/ in Mauritian Creole is never a result of vowel coalescence, it does not cause regressive raising harmony in noun class prefixes.

The hypothesis discussed in section 4.2.1 states that the reason that **la-** is so much more common as an incorporated article is because the vowel /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony. This is perfectly in keeping with the facts of Kikuria vowel harmony, where /a/ is never a trigger or a target for vowel harmony. In (68a), we see that /a/ does not cause

vowel harmony<sup>15</sup>, and in (68b) we see that /a/ is not affected by vowel harmony either. This shows that /a/ can cooccur preceding or following any other vowel.

(68) a.	Class 1	omo-sáácha	‘male’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 7	ege-sáka	‘stream’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 131)
	Class 8	ibi-sáka	‘streams’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 133)
b.	Class 2	aba-ríísyá	‘boys’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 6	ama-té	‘big chairs’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)
	Class 2	aba-sáácha	‘males’	(Chacha & Odden 1998: 132)

In Mauritian Creole, /a/ can also occur preceding or following any vowel (69). **la-** can occur preceding high vowels because it is not affected by vowel harmony, which is why it is so much more common than **le-**, which cannot occur preceding high vowels unless it undergoes vowel harmony itself.

(69) a.	lamel	la meule	‘grindstone’
	laraz	la rage	‘anger’
	laflit	la flute	‘flute’
b.	leba	le/s bas	‘sock’
	dimal <sup>16</sup>	du mal	‘pain, hurt’
	latas	la tâche	‘task, job’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

In this section, I have shown that the Mauritian Creole regressive raising vowel harmony found in some nouns with article incorporation is parallel to the regressive raising vowel harmony found in Kikuria noun class prefixes. In both Kikuria and Mauritian Creole, a mid vowel in the prefix (noun class prefix or incorporated article) becomes high when followed by a high vowel in the root. /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony in either

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<sup>15</sup>Since /a/ is a low vowel, it would not be able to cause raising anyways. However, these examples show that /a/ does not cause lowering harmony either.

<sup>16</sup>Recall from Chapter 2 that the /i/ in the article **di-** is from the French vowel [y], not a result of vowel harmony.

language. I claimed in section 4.2.1.3 that Mauritian Creole vowel harmony is modeled on Kikuria vowel harmony (or on a similar system), and in this section, I have provided the evidence to back up my claim.

#### *4.2.3.5 - Conclusion*

In section 4.2.3., I have provided evidence for the hypothesis proposed in section 4.2.2. According to this hypothesis, article incorporation in Mauritian Creole is due to influence from noun class prefixes found in Bantu languages, and whether or not a given noun receives an incorporated article is partly due to influence from vowel harmony. In section 4.2.3.2, I gave a description of some features of the Bantu language family and described Bantu's place in the larger Niger-Congo language phylum. In section 4.2.3.3, I discussed noun class prefixes in several Bantu languages in order to give the reader a better idea of just what it is that influenced article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. In section 4.2.3.4, I described vowel harmony in the Kikuria language, whose regressive raising harmony affecting noun class prefixes is exactly parallel to the vowel harmony found in Mauritian Creole article incorporation.

### *4.3 - Additional Issues in the Study of Article Incorporation*

#### *4.3.1 - Introduction*

In this section, I discuss some other issues in the study of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, including some additional substrate influence and some influence from linguistic universals. First, I address the universal principle of homophony avoidance as an

important issue in article incorporation. Next, I discuss the importance of Baker's (1984) "Frequency of Collocation" principle. The number of syllables of nouns with incorporated articles is discussed next, with the fact that most are bisyllabic being attributed to Bantu influence. I then discuss the importance of when a word entered the language and I address the 19<sup>th</sup> century data introduced in Chapter 2. Finally, I discuss the issue of consonantal article incorporation, which I hypothesize can be attributed to both substrate influence and language universals.

#### *4.3.2 - Homophony Avoidance*

A very interesting aspect of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole (and perhaps other French-based creoles) is the principle of homophony avoidance. In this section I will discuss the role of incorporated articles in the avoidance of homophony among many Mauritian Creole nouns.

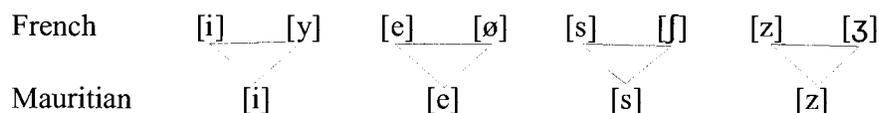
It has been noted in various works that languages tend to prefer to have a phonological contrast where there is also a semantic contrast (eg. Kiparsky 1983, Clark 1987, Aronoff 1976, Carstairs-McCarthy 1994 and Flemming 1995); in other words, different functions should have different forms and vice versa. More recent proposals dealing specifically with homophony avoidance include Yip (1998), who discusses the avoidance of adjacent homophonous morphemes in Mandarin, English and Classical Greek, as well as the avoidance of homophonous morphemes on adjacent words in Hindi and English. Czaykowska-Higgins & Urbanczyk (2001) describe homophony avoidance involving two reduplicative morphemes in Nxa'amcín, and Crosswhite (1999) discusses the blocking of

vowel reduction when it would result in homophony between two morphologically related words in Russian and Bulgarian.

In addition to the above, there has been some work on homophony avoidance in creole languages. Kouwenberg (to appear, 2001) discusses how prosody disambiguates different meanings in reduplication in Jamaican Creole and other Caribbean creoles. Sebba (1981) discusses constraints on the occurrence of homophonous reduplicated forms belonging to the same category. In a previous paper (Strandquist 2003), I discuss homophony avoidance in Mauritian Creole verbs. In this paper, I found that stress patterns are used to avoid homophony between continuative reduplication and iterative reduplication, while truncation of the final vowel of the verb is used to avoid homophony between transitive and intransitive verbs.

It has been pointed out by at least one author (Baker 1984, 1997) that if not for article incorporation, Mauritian Creole would contain many more homophones than it already does, due not only to the homophones that exist in French and were adopted into Mauritian Creole, but also to the collapse of several phonemic contrasts in Mauritian Creole (Figure 4-3).

**Figure 4-3: Collapse of Phonemic Contrasts in Mauritian Creole**



However, many nouns in Mauritian Creole that would have been homophonous are distinguished by the presence on one of an incorporated article, or by each noun having a different incorporated article.

There are three types of homophony avoidance due to incorporated articles in Mauritian Creole. The first involves Mauritian words which are not homophonous in French, but that would be homophones in Mauritian Creole due to the loss of phonemic contrast mentioned above. For example, (70a) shows Mauritian Creole nouns derived from the French words ‘vie’ [vi] and ‘vue’ [vy]. In French, these nouns are clearly distinguished by the quality of the vowel. However, in Mauritian Creole, since the vowels [i] and [y] have collapsed into [i], these words would be homophonous *vi* and *vi* if not for the presence of the article. Some nouns which would be homophonous due to this loss of phonemic contrast are distinguished in Mauritian Creole by an incorporated article on one of them (70).

(70)	a.	lavi	[lavi]	la vie	[la vi]	‘life’
		vi	[vi]	vue	[(la) vy]	‘view’
	b.	lamus	[lamus]	la mousse	[la mus]	‘froth’
		mus	[mus]	mouche	[(la) muʃ]	‘fly (insect)’
	c.	laser	[laser]	la chaire	[la ʃɛr]	‘flesh’
		ser	[ser]	soeur	[(la) sœr]	‘sister’

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The second type of homophony avoidance includes nouns which are homophones in French, but which are distinguished from each other in Mauritian Creole by the presence of an incorporated article (71) For example, in (71a), we see three different Mauritian Creole nouns, derived from three homophonous nouns in French. *Foi*, *foie* and *fois* are all pronounced [fwa] in French. Thanks to the incorporated article in Mauritian Creole, each of these three different meanings has a different pronunciation.

(71)	a.	lafwa	‘la foi’	faith
		lefwa	‘le foie’	liver
		fwa	‘(la) fois’	time(s)
	b.	lever	‘le ver’	worm
		ver	‘(le) verre’	glass
	c.	lemer	‘le maire’	mayor
		lamer	‘la mer’	sea
		mamer	‘ma mère’	mother superior

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The third type of homophony avoidance due to article incorporation includes nouns derived from a single French etymon, but which are distinguished in Mauritian Creole by an incorporated article on one (72). For example, in (72a) we see two nouns that are both derived from the word *langue* in French (the two nouns are homophonous in French as well), whereas in Mauritian Creole, the two separate meanings have separate pronunciations.

(72)	a.	lalāg	‘la langue’	tongue
		lāg	‘langue’	language
	b.	listwar	‘l’histoire’	history
		zistwar	‘les histoires’	story
	c.	lizur	‘le jour’	daylight
		zur	‘jour’	day

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Baker’s (1997: 100) interest in the matter of homophony avoidance is at least partly motivated by his belief that the creators of a creole language were not interested in actually learning the superstrate language, but rather that they sought to develop a language to fit their needs; the use of incorporated articles to distinguish words can be seen of evidence of this. Another related point that Baker makes is that the presence of article incorporation in the modern language proves that decreolization is not taking place in Mauritius (1997: 100). Even though most speakers of Mauritian Creole now speak French and therefore understand the function of the French article, article incorporation has remained an important part of the

language.

Although homophony avoidance is an important factor in article incorporation, it cannot explain the phenomenon as a whole. Despite many examples of homophony avoidance with incorporated articles, the majority of nouns with incorporated articles do not have a corresponding potentially homophonous form, and there are still numerous examples of homophony in the language (eg. **lasen** can mean ‘la chaîne’, ‘la scène’, ‘la cène’ or ‘la seine’).

#### 4.3.3 - Frequency of Collocation

Baker’s main explanation for why certain nouns have incorporated articles while others do not is what he calls the “Frequency of Collocation Principle” (1984: 111-112). This principle states that “the more often a French noun occurs immediately following one particular French article, the more likely that the sequence of article + noun would have been interpreted as a single morpheme” (Baker 1984: 112); indeed, Bybee (2000: 20) in her analysis of liaison in French, claims that “collocations of words that are used frequently have strong memory representations”. Words most likely to have an incorporated article, then, are high frequency nouns that usually occur with the same article, like the French words *(du) feu* ‘fire’, *(la) fumée* ‘smoke’ and *(de l’) eau* ‘water’ (Baker 1984: 111). Nouns least likely to have an incorporated article would be those whose referents are typically found in groups of two, three and four, like the French nouns *(la) chaise* ‘chair’ and *(le) couteau* ‘knife’ because these nouns would have been likely to follow a variety of different definite or indefinite articles as well as cardinal numbers (Baker 1984: 112).

While I have no doubt that the frequency of collocation principle plays an active role

in deciding which nouns have incorporated articles and which do not, I do not believe that this can be the only answer. First, knowing how frequently words are heard would require a detailed corpus analysis, which to the best of my knowledge has not been done. Second, the frequency of collocation explanation does not account for why **la-** occurs more frequently in Mauritian Creole, as it would imply that feminine nouns are said more frequently than masculine nouns in French. I believe that the frequency of collocation principle should be viewed as a tendency rather than an absolute, just like the process of vowel harmony discussed above.

#### *4.3.4 - Number of Syllables*

The number of syllables in a French noun also seems to play a role in whether that noun will end up with an incorporated article in Mauritian Creole. According to Grant (1995: 159), 70% of the 840 syllabic incorporated nouns in the Indian Ocean creoles (Mauritian, Seychelles and Rodrigues Creoles, excluding Réunionnais) are monosyllabic without their article, whereas only 35% of French nouns are monosyllabic without theirs. According to my calculations, 65% of **le-** and **la-** nouns in Mauritian Creole would be monosyllabic without their article. What this means is that although there are monosyllabic nouns in Mauritian Creole, there seems to be a tendency for the language to avoid them, repairing them by attaching an incorporated article (Grant 1995: 159).

Since monosyllabic nouns are common in the language as a whole, it seems that this predisposition for avoiding monosyllabic words may be restricted to nouns. In light of what we know about Bantu languages' use of class prefixes on nouns and Mauritian Creole's

Bantu-like system, we can hypothesize that Mauritian Creole has modeled its noun shapes on Bantu languages. Since monosyllabic Bantu nouns are extremely rare (a Bantu noun could only be monosyllabic if the root were monosyllabic and its class prefix were  $\emptyset$ ), it is likely that Mauritian Creole would have inherited this restriction against monosyllabic nouns from the Bantu substrate.

#### *4.3.5 - Date of Entry into the Language*

Another important consideration pointed out by Grant (1995) is that article incorporation is most likely to have occurred on nouns that were introduced into the language early in its creation. This is consistent with the assumptions of the thesis, since article incorporation would only have occurred under influence from Bantu speakers, and there would have been no Bantu speakers left after the last of the slaves born outside of Mauritius died; the descendants of these slaves all spoke the creole language<sup>17</sup>. Grant (1995: 158) claims that words which were introduced after this crucial period rarely have incorporated articles, with the notable exception of some place names (especially country names). Examples given are from Haitian Creole: **Lasiri** ‘Syria’ and Mauritian Creole: **Larisi** ‘Russia’ (Grant 1995: 158). Grant (1995: 159) also points out that pairs of nouns with and without incorporated articles usually differ in the date of their entry into the language. The counterparts with incorporated articles generally refer to objects that would have been present in Mauritius long before those without (eg. **labuzi** ‘candle’ vs. **buzi** ‘sparkplug’).

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<sup>17</sup>By this logic, the potential for Bantu influence on Mauritian Creole would have ended sometime between 1850 and 1900 (depending on how much Bantu influence became a permanent part of Mauritian Creole).

#### 4.3.6 - 19<sup>th</sup> Century Data

In chapter 2, I introduced examples of nouns recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that had article incorporation where their modern counterparts did not, nouns that had no article incorporation whereas their modern counterparts have, and nouns that had a different incorporated article than their modern counterpart. Some examples are repeated in (73).

(73)	19 <sup>th</sup> Century Form	Current Form	French	English
a.	laplim	plim	la plume	pen
	levoler	voler	le voleur	thief
	lisime	sime	le chemin	path, road
b.	diont	laont	du honte / la honte	shame
	lasab	disab	la sable / du sable	sand
c.	butik	labutik	la boutique	store, shop
	syel	lesyel	le ciel	sky
d.	liker	leker	le coeur	heart
	lezur	lizur	le jour	daytime
	lezye	lizye	les yeux	eye(s)

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The kinds of examples shown in (73a,b) most likely show that while Bantu speakers still existed, they used different variants of nouns involving article incorporation. Although the language as a whole had stabilized at this point, Bantu speakers (for whom Mauritian Creole was not a first language) were still using variants with article incorporation even if a non-incorporated form was usual. In addition, Bantu speakers were using different incorporated articles for words that already had article incorporation. The examples shown in (73c) show that other individuals, possibly not first language Mauritian Creole speakers or Bantu speakers, were using variants with no article incorporation, even though article incorporated nouns were usual in the creole. Finally, the examples in (73d) show that some speakers were not applying vowel harmony to the nouns, whereas their counterparts that became part of the

language do obey vowel harmony.

#### 4.3.7 - Consonantal Article Incorporation

Although my analysis in this chapter has focused on syllabic article incorporation, I will now give some attention to consonantal article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. Two examples of consonantal article incorporation are given in (74).

(74)	a.	ladres	l'adresse	address
	b.	zanimò	les animaux	animal(s)

(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Neither Baker (1984, 1997) nor Grant (1995) give much attention to consonantal article incorporation, primarily because it is quite unremarkable. This type of article incorporation is found in all French creoles in fairly equal numbers (Baker 1984: 89); in Baker & Hookoomsing (1987) there are roughly 550 Mauritian Creole nouns with an incorporated consonant (l-, z- or n-), and several more if one includes biconsonantal incorporation where there is consonantal incorporation (liaison) as well as syllabic incorporation. If Baker (1984: 89) is correct, there should be roughly the same number in other French creoles. It is because consonantal article incorporation is so common and regular across French based creoles that it has been largely ignored up to this point.

The process of consonantal article incorporation parallels two similar processes in French: liaison and contraction. In French liaison, the final consonant of some words are resyllabified to become the first consonant of the following word (75). It is result of this process that we see in Mauritian Creole words that incorporate **z-** or **n-** (76).

- (75) a. les [z] autres 'the others'  
 b. un [n] ancien ami 'an old friend' (Bybee 2001: 4)
- (76) a. zwazo les oiseaux bird  
 b. nam une âme soul (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

The situation with **l-** nouns is somewhat different, since the French *l'* is not the last consonant of a preceding word, but rather a contracted form of the definite article. However, the contracted *l'* in French is pronounced as the onset of the first syllable of the noun, just as in liaison (77). It is the result of this process that we see reflected in Mauritian Creole consonantal article incorporation involving **l-** (78).

- (77) *l'orange* [lo.rãʒ] the orange  
*l'animal* [la.ni.mal] the animal
- (78) *linyõ* [lin.yõ] union  
*letonmã* [le.ton.mã] astonishment (Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Grant (1995: 159) suggests that during a French creole's early development, most vowel- or glide-initial nouns would have received an incorporated article. If consonantal article incorporation was so far reaching, it seems like there may have been an additional factor at work here, to explain why so few nouns showed up lacking an incorporated consonant. For example, according to the frequency of collocation principle (Baker 1984: 111-112), nouns that occurred with many different articles should have ended up without an incorporated article. However, according to Grant (1995: 153-154), the vast majority of vowel initial nouns ended up *with* an incorporated consonant. Why is this so? This can be at least partially explained by appealing to constraints on optimal syllable structure<sup>18</sup>.

Most linguists would undoubtedly agree that vowel initial syllables are sub-optimal,

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<sup>18</sup>See also Grant (1995: 154).

and that syllables with onsets are universally preferred. Thus, it seems reasonable that Mauritian Creole, a creole language that is also influenced by language universals, would prefer this type of syllable. Reinforcing this universally motivated explanation is the fact that Bantu languages also prefer syllables with onsets, with CV being the basic shape for Bantu (Clements 2000: 140).

A final observation regarding consonantal article incorporation ties it back in with syllabic article incorporation. It is very likely that, when faced with a vowel initial French word with a liaised consonant, Bantu speakers would have parsed it in exactly the same way as they would have parsed phrases with an article preceding a noun; they would have treated the initial CV syllable as a noun class prefix. The examples from (78) above are repeated in (79) below.

(79)	<b>li</b> -nyõ	[li.nyõ]	‘l’union’	union
	<b>le</b> -tonmã	[le.ton.mã]	‘l’etonnement’	astonishment
				(Baker & Hookoomsing 1987)

Additional research would be required to find evidence of this and to understand the role of vowel harmony.

In this section, I have proposed that consonantal article incorporation is heavily influenced by French patterns of contraction and liaison, and that it is reinforced by the desire to avoid onsetless syllables. I have also suggested that the initial syllable of a consonantal incorporated noun was parsed as a noun class prefix. In the next section, I will summarize the findings of section 4.3.

#### *4.3.8 - Conclusion*

In this section, I have discussed additional factors that must be taken into account for a study of Mauritian Creole article incorporation. First, I discussed homophony avoidance in Mauritian Creole nouns, showing how incorporated articles often help to disambiguate one noun from another. Next, I described Baker's (1984) "Frequency of Collocation" principle, which states that nouns that are frequently heard with the same article would be more likely to incorporate that article. Then, I discuss how the number of syllables in a French root affects article incorporation, finding that the tendency towards bisyllabicity can be attributed to Bantu influence. The date of the noun's entry into the language was found to also affect article incorporation, in that nouns that entered the language early in its history are more likely to have incorporated articles than those that entered the language later. Then, it was found that the 19<sup>th</sup> century data introduced in Chapter 2 can give us an indication of how creolization was progressing at that time. Finally, I addressed the issue of consonantal article incorporation, which I hypothesized was influenced by both substrate influence and by language universals.

#### *4.4 - Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have examined the nature of the Bantu influence on Mauritian Creole article incorporation, as well as determining what other factors play a role in this phenomenon. I have hypothesized, following Baker (1984), that article incorporation in Mauritian Creole is due to influence from Bantu speakers during the language's development, and more specifically, to the noun class prefixes found in these languages. I

propose that vowel harmony is also a factor in article incorporation, to the effect that if an article is in harmony with the initial vowel of the noun, it is more likely to be incorporated. This proposal also applies to why the article **la-** is so much more frequently incorporated than other articles. The vowel /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony in Bantu languages or consequently in Mauritian Creole, which means that since **la-** obeys vowel harmony rules no matter what vowel it precedes, it is that much more likely to be incorporated than articles whose vowels must have height harmony with the vowels they precede. According to a chi square analysis, vowel harmony is a significant factor in article incorporation, as predicted in the preceding section. Evidence for the proposed hypothesis comes in the form of linguistic data from Bantu languages. Noun class prefixes are described, and vowel harmony from the Kikuria language is shown, and is proposed to have been a model for the vowel harmony that occurs in Mauritian Creole.

In addition to the Bantu influence from noun class prefixes and vowel harmony described above, there are several other issues and factors that contribute to the phenomenon of article incorporation. Homophony avoidance is an important part of article incorporation, because incorporated articles often disambiguate nouns that would otherwise be homophonous. Baker's (1984) "Frequency of Collocation" principle shows that if a noun usually occurs with one particular article, that article is more likely to be incorporated. The number of syllables of a French noun also plays a part in deciding whether that noun will receive an incorporated article. Since the majority of article incorporated nouns would be monosyllabic without their incorporated article, this implies that Mauritian Creole nouns prefer to be bisyllabic, something that is also likely to have been influenced by Bantu

languages. The date of a word's entry into the language is also important, since most nouns with incorporated articles entered the language early in its development. Data from the 19<sup>th</sup> century are considered, and show us that nouns have not always been the same with respect to article incorporation; it is likely that different speakers used different versions of the nouns that eventually stabilized as article incorporations or lost their incorporated articles. Consonantal article incorporation is also considered, and it is shown to have been influenced by universal principles of syllable structure, as well as by Bantu languages.

## Chapter Five

### CONCLUSION

#### *5.1 - Summary*

In this thesis, I have examined the phenomenon of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, a French-based creole language spoken in the Indian Ocean. Although all other French-based creole languages have article incorporation, Mauritian Creole has the most nouns with syllabic article incorporation, with a total of 518 nouns incorporating **la-**, **le-** or **di-**. This is several times more than any of the French creoles of the Caribbean or the Americas, most of which have between 100 and 200 forms, or Réunionnais, which has only 12 such nouns. One goal of this study has been to understand why article incorporation is so much more common in Mauritian Creole. Another interesting fact of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole is that **la-** is much more common as an incorporated article than **le-**. While there are 425 nouns with an incorporated article derived from the French *la*, there are only 62 nouns derived from *le*. Since *le* and *la* have the same function and occur in roughly the same numbers in French, it seems strange that **la-** should be so much more common than **le-**. Therefore, another goal of this study is to determine why **la-** is so common in article incorporation.

It was Philip Baker (1984) who originally proposed that the large number of nouns with article incorporation in Mauritian Creole was due to influence from the Bantu languages

spoken by the slaves taken to Mauritius. He proposed that French articles were incorporated into Mauritian Creole nouns by analogy with noun class prefixes found in Bantu languages, and that the reason that other French creoles have fewer nouns with article incorporation was because they had very little influence from Bantu speakers during the time of their development. In this thesis, I have expanded on Baker's proposal, hypothesizing that his theory of Bantu influence can be applied not only to an explanation of why article incorporation is so common in Mauritian Creole, but also to explanations of why certain nouns receive incorporated articles while others do not and why **la-** is more commonly incorporated than other articles.

I hypothesize that Bantu influence on syllabic article incorporation came from two sources. First, as proposed by Baker (1984), Bantu noun class prefixes were a kind of model for article incorporation. Although Baker believes that there is no actual language learning involved in the process of creolization, I propose that as Bantu-speaking slaves in Mauritius learned French, a process of transfer occurred and French articles were analysed as noun class prefixes. The second kind of Bantu influence is vowel harmony; I hypothesize that vowel harmony is responsible for determining which nouns receive an incorporated article and which do not. Articles which are in harmony with their noun are more likely to be incorporated than articles that are not in harmony with their noun. If an article does not harmonize in height with the first vowel of the following noun, one of two things will happen. The first and most common solution is for article incorporation not to occur. The second solution is for the vowel in the article to raise in order to harmonize with the following noun; this occurs in a total of nine nouns derived from the article *le*. The reason

for **la-** being more common in article incorporation follows from the above. **la-** is more common in Mauritian Creole article incorporation because of how the vowel /a/ behaves with regards to Bantu vowel harmony. In most Bantu languages, /a/ does not participate in vowel harmony; it can cooccur with any other vowel, because it does not affect vowel harmony, nor is it affected by vowel harmony. This means that whereas **le-** is restricted in its domain (ie. it can only occur preceding /e/ or /o/), **la-** is free to occur on any noun.

This thesis also deals with the historical development of Mauritian Creole, Haïtian Creole, Louisiana Creole and Réunionnais (a semi-creole), with the goal of understanding if any social or historical factors have played a role in the development of article incorporation in these languages. It was discovered that the substrate languages that were the most widespread at the time of each of these language's development did contribute to whether or not they developed an extensive system of article incorporation. This finding is backed up by the results discussed above. In the case of Mauritian Creole, the most important substrate languages present at the time of creolization were Bantu languages, whereas in Haïtian Creole and Louisiana Creole, Bantu influence was minimal. In Réunionnais, although Bantu languages were as widely spoken as in Mauritius, a true creole language never developed, which means that article incorporation never became established.

The findings described above show very strong support for the substrate hypothesis of creolization, which states that creole features are derived from their substrate languages (the native languages spoken by the creators of the creole). However, we also saw that the universalist theory of creolization, the theory that creole features come from language universals, is also represented in article incorporation. Although vowel harmony is a strong

tendency in determining which nouns receive incorporated articles, it is not absolute; several other universal factors also play a role in article incorporation in Mauritian Creole. One such factor is homophony avoidance. In many instances, two words would be homophonous in Mauritian Creole if not for the presence of an incorporated article in one. Also important is Baker's proposed "Frequency of Collocation" principle (1984), which states that if a noun is usually found following one particular article, that article is more likely to be incorporated. Other contributing factors include the number of syllables in a noun and the date of the noun's entry into the language.

This thesis has made several important contributions to the study of article incorporation and the field of creole studies in general. First, I have provided an in depth examination of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, as well as an exhaustive list of forms to which other researchers can refer (see appendices). Second, I have compared the phenomenon of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole with the same phenomenon in three other creole languages, showing the relevant similarities and differences, and laying out the factors that have contributed to article incorporation in each language. Third, I have provided an explanation for why certain nouns receive incorporated articles and why **la-** is more common in article incorporation than other articles. And finally, this research has contributed to the debate on substrate vs. universal influences in creole development, showing that the Bantu substrate has heavily influenced article incorporation in Mauritian Creole, while language universals have also played a small role.

## 5.2 - *Future Research*

In this thesis, I have attempted to contribute to a greater understanding of article incorporation in Mauritian Creole and other creole languages, as well as addressing some specific questions regarding how article incorporation works. However, several questions have remained unanswered or have been answered less than satisfactorily. In this section, I suggest several areas that could benefit from future research.

Vowel harmony has been identified as an influence on article incorporation, as have several other factors, such as homophony avoidance and frequency of collocation. However, the issue of just how much each of these factors affects article incorporation has not been addressed. It would be useful to have an understanding of how much each factor in article incorporation contributes to whether or not article incorporation will occur. We know that vowel harmony tends to affect article incorporation, but does this mean that in nouns where article incorporation occurs but vowel harmony does not there is necessarily another factor at work, such as homophony avoidance or frequency of collocation? It would be beneficial to study each article incorporated noun in greater detail, not just in regards to vowel harmony, but also taking into account all of the other possible explanations proposed in section 4.3. In this way, we might gain a greater understanding of how all of the relevant factors work in relation to each other and how substrate influences and universal influences interact.

Consonantal and biconsonantal article incorporation have been addressed in this thesis, but it would be useful to study these types of article incorporation in greater detail. Consonantal and biconsonantal article incorporation have been largely overlooked, both in

previous research and in the present work, because they are said to be less interesting than syllabic article incorporation. However, an understanding of how these two types of article incorporation work would be beneficial to an overall study of article incorporation. They are interesting because of their influence from language universals, which appear to play a more central role in consonantal article incorporation than in syllabic article incorporation.

The large number of nouns with incorporated articles in Mauritian Creole has been attributed to influence from Bantu languages, but a study of this nature could benefit greatly from a deeper study of the specific Bantu languages that were spoken at the time of Mauritian Creole's development. Although this is an extremely difficult task due to the lack of records from that era, a first-hand understanding of the Bantu languages of Eastern Africa would enrich this study in many ways. First, it would enable us to make more accurate comparisons between the creole and the substrate, which would make their relationship much clearer. Second, if we understood what the substrates really consisted of, we would be able to make better judgements on whether or not a particular feature was from a substrate language. Finally, we would have a better understanding of how the substrate influences the creole, and what aspects of a substrate are likely to be adopted into the creole. If Bantu languages were as influential to Mauritian Creole as I believe they were, the study of any topic in Mauritian Creole, including article incorporation, would benefit from more extensive research on these languages.

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## APPENDICES

•all data/definitions from Baker & Hookoomsing's 1987 dictionary of Mauritian Creole

Appendix 1: la-

Number	Mauritian Creole	French	English
1	{fer} <sup>1</sup> ladyet	la diète	<i>go on a diet</i>
2	{fer} laplās	la planche	<i>to float</i>
3	{gaz} lakrimozen	la crymogène	<i>tear-gas</i>
4	{karang} lanasyō	la nation	<i>fish species</i>
5	{met en} laris	la riche	<i>borrow money</i>
6	{perdi} lafas	la face	<i>to lose face</i>
7	{pwason} laperl	la perle	<i>fish species</i>
8	laās	la hanche	<i>hip</i>
9	laarp	la harpe	<i>harp</i>
10	labalen	la baleine	<i>whale</i>
11	labāk	la banque	<i>bank</i>
12	labar	la barre	<i>tiller, helm</i>
13	labarak	la baraque	<i>place name</i>
14	labarb	la barbe	<i>1. beard, stubble 2. be fed up</i>
15	labaskur	la basse-cour	<i>poultry-yard</i>
16	labav	la bave	<i>saliva</i>
17	labay	la baille	<i>bucket</i>
18	labaz	la base	<i>procedures of political or social organization</i>
19	labe	la baie	<i>bay</i>
20	labek	*le bec <sup>2</sup> (la peque?) <sup>3</sup>	<i>beak</i>

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<sup>1</sup>When a noun is preceded by a word in curly brackets { }, it means that the noun only occurs following that word.

<sup>2</sup>An asterisk preceding an item \* indicates that the modern French article is not the same as the incorporated article, or that the Mauritian Creole article **la-** is not derived from the French article *la*.

<sup>3</sup>A question mark following a French noun indicates that the origin of the Mauritian Creole noun is uncertain.

21	labib	la bible	<i>bible</i>
22	labil	la bile	<i>bile</i>
23	labit	la butte	<i>under sea sand dune</i>
24	labivet	la buvette	<i>bar at a local shop, temporary bar</i>
25	laboks	la boxe	<i>boxing</i>
26	labôte	la bonté	<i>goodness</i>
27	labraget	la braguette	<i>fly (of pants)</i>
28	labrasri	la brasserie	<i>place name</i>
29	labre	*le brai	<i>tar</i>
30	labrez	la braise	<i>1. embers 2. dung of animals</i>
31	labrid	la bride	<i>bridle</i>
32	labriz	la brise	<i>breeze, wind</i>
33	labu	la boue	<i>mud</i>
34	laburs	la bourse	<i>grant, bursary</i>
35	laburzwazi	la bourgeoisie	<i>bourgeoisie</i>
36	labus	la bouche	<i>1. mouth 2. inclination to talk</i>
37	labusri	la boucherie	<i>butcher's shop</i>
38	labutik	la boutique	<i>general store</i>
39	labuzi	la bougie	<i>candle</i>
40	labwasō	la boisson	<i>alcoholic drink</i>
41	labwet	la boete	<i>bait</i>
42	labyel	la bielle	<i>connecting rod</i>
43	labyer	la bière	<i>beer</i>
44	ladās	la danse	<i>dancing</i>
45	ladefās	la défense	<i>defence lawyer</i>
46	ladesāt	la descente	<i>descent, way down</i>
47	ladig	la digue	<i>jetty, pier</i>
48	ladob	la daube	<i>stew</i>
49	ladrog	la drogue	<i>drugs (as a social problem)</i>
50	ladrwat	la droite	<i>the right (politics)</i>
51	ladwan	la douane	<i>customs and excise</i>
52	laen	la haine	<i>hate, hatred</i>
53	lafam	la femme	<i>venereal disease</i>
54	lafamin	la famine	<i>famine</i>
55	lafarin	la farine	<i>flour</i>
56	lafarmasi (farmasi) <sup>4</sup>	la pharmacie	<i>pharmacy</i>
57	lafasō	la façon	<i>1. the way sth. has been made 2. piece work</i>
58	lafatig (fatig)	la fatigue	<i>tiredness</i>
59	lafayet /	*poste à fayette	<i>place name</i>

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<sup>4</sup>Items in parenthesis following a Mauritian Creole noun indicate a form that can also be found without its article.

	poste lafayette		
60	lafē	la faim	<i>hunger</i>
61	lafē (fē)	la fin	<i>end</i>
62	laferm	la ferme	<i>1. farm 2. place name</i>
63	lafet (fet)	la fête	<i>celebration, festival</i>
64	lafil (fil)	la file	<i>file, line, row</i>
65	lafime	la fumée	<i>smoke, vapour</i>
66	lafisel	la ficelle	<i>string</i>
67	laflam	la flamme	<i>flame</i>
68	laflit	la flute	<i>flute</i>
69	laflora	la flora	<i>place name</i>
70	lafnet	la fenêtre	<i>window</i>
71	lafo	la faux	<i>scythe</i>
72	lafoli (foli)	la folie	<i>madness</i>
73	lafōdri	la fonderie	<i>foundry</i>
74	lafōt	la fonte	<i>cast iron</i>
75	lafōten	la fontaine	<i>1. stand-pipe 2. fountain</i>
76	lafore	la forêt	<i>forest</i>
77	lafors	la force	<i>strength</i>
78	laforz	la forge	<i>forge</i>
79	lafot (fot)	la faute	<i>1. fault 2. responsibility for something wrong</i>
80	lafrās	la France	<i>France</i>
81	lafrēgal	la fringale	<i>extreme hunger</i>
82	lafreser (freser)	la fraîcheur	<i>coolness, cold</i>
83	lafreyer (freyer)	la frayeur	<i>fear</i>
84	laful	la foule	<i>crowd</i>
85	lafurs	la fouche?	<i>tree species</i>
86	lafuy	la fouille	<i>1. digging, excavation 2. variant on dominoes</i>
87	lafwa	la foi	<i>faith</i>
88	lafwa	*à la fois	<i>simultaneously</i>
89	lafwar	la foire	<i>fair, fete; weekly market</i>
90	lafwin	la fouine	<i>trident used for fishing</i>
91	lafyev	la fièvre	<i>fever</i>
92	lagal	la gale	<i>scabies</i>
93	lagam	*être de gamme	<i>happiness, engaging atmosphere</i>
94	lagar	la gare	<i>railway station; bus station</i>
95	lagarson	la garçonne	<i>boyish hairstyle on a girl</i>
96	lagazet	la gazette	<i>newspaper</i>
97	lagel	la gueule	<i>mouth, face (of an animal)</i>
98	lager	la guerre	<i>fight (n,v); war</i>
99	laginy	la guigne	<i>stroke of misfortune; bad spell</i>

100	lagitar (gitar)	la guitare	<i>guitar</i>
101	laglas	la glace	<i>mirror</i>
102	lagli	la glu	<i>sticky, tacky</i>
103	laglwar	la gloire	<i>glory</i>
104	lagolet	la gaulette	<i>place name</i>
105	lagom	la gomme	<i>eraser</i>
106	lagorz	la gorge	<i>throat; mouthful; interpretation of a song</i>
107	lagos	la gauche	<i>le Left (politics)</i>
108	lagrāz	la grange	<i>barn</i>
109	lagras	la grace	<i>grace (of God)</i>
110	lagratel	la grattelle	<i>itch, itching, itchiness</i>
111	lagrek	la grecque	<i>coffee strainer</i>
112	lagrē	le/la grain(e) <sup>5</sup>	<i>grain; bead; seed (of flora), pip</i>
113	lagres	la graisse	<i>fat, grease</i>
114	lagres	la Grèce	<i>Greece</i>
115	lagrev	la grève	<i>strike</i>
116	lagrip	la grippe	<i>heavy cold</i>
117	lagrot	la grotte	<i>small shrine</i>
118	lagul	la goule	<i>neck of a bottle</i>
119	lakal	la cale	<i>hold (of a ship)</i>
120	lakābiz	la cambuse	<i>bar of a local general store</i>
121	lakāpany	la campagne	<i>countryside, rural area</i>
122	lakāgren	la gangrène	<i>gangrene</i>
123	lakātin	la cantine	<i>bar serving food and snacks; canteen</i>
124	lakany	la cagne	<i>lazy, unresourceful, slow and clumsy</i>
125	lakanyot	la cagnotte	<i>kitty (in gambling games)</i>
126	lakarlen	la carlingue	<i>female genitals</i>
127	lakav	la cave	<i>cellar, cave</i>
128	lakaz	la case	<i>house, dwelling; home</i>
129	lake	la queue	<i>tail; queue; penis</i>
130	lakes	la caisse	<i>cash register; cash desk; kitty</i>
131	laket	la quête	<i>collection (in church)</i>
132	lakir	la cure	<i>vicarage; place name</i>
133	laklas	la classe	<i>classroom, school class</i>
134	lakle	la clé	<i>key; spanner; can-opener; really difficult problem</i>
135	laklers	la clairce	<i>sugar cane juice after evaporation</i>

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<sup>5</sup>Possibly a combination of 'le grain' /grē/ and 'la graine' /gren/.

136	laklos	la cloche	<i>bell</i>
137	lakok	la coque	<i>shell (of egg or nut); scab (of wound); hull (ship)</i>
138	lakoklis	la coqueluche	<i>whooping cough</i>
139	lakoklis	?	<i>tree species</i>
140	lakol	la colle	<i>glue</i>
141	lakoler (koler)	la colère	<i>anger</i>
142	lakolin (kolin)	la coline	<i>hill</i>
143	lakomedi	la comedie	<i>theatrical play (any kind)</i>
144	lakomet	la comète	<i>comet</i>
145	lakominyõ	la communion	<i>communion (at church)</i>
146	lakõtätmã (kõtätmã)	la contentement	<i>contentment</i>
147	lakord	la corde	<i>rope, cord, string; bore (n)</i>
148	lakore	la corée	<i>gristle</i>
149	lakot	la côte	<i>coast</i>
150	lakot	la cote	<i>price, odds (betting)</i>
151	lakož	la cause	<i>cause (person or thing responsible for something)</i>
152	lakož	*à cause	<i>because of; because</i>
153	lakraṗ	la crampe	<i>shiver (n)</i>
154	lakras	la crache	<i>saliva</i>
155	lakre	la craie	<i>chalk</i>
156	lakrem	la crème	<i>cream; quiet, good-tempered person</i>
157	lakres	la crèche	<i>creche, child-minding service</i>
158	lakret	la crête	<i>comb (of a cock)</i>
159	lakros	la crosse	<i>disagreement, dispute; kind of singing competition</i>
160	lakrut	la croute	<i>crust</i>
161	lakraṽa	la croix	<i>cross</i>
162	lakraṽaze	la croisée des chemins	<i>crossroads</i>
163	lakup	la coupe	<i>sugar cane harvest; hair style</i>
164	lakur	la cour	<i>open space adjoining a building; court, courtroom</i>
165	lakutpay	la courte paille	<i>drawing lots</i>
166	lakuzin	la cuisine	<i>kitchen</i>
167	lakwen	la couenne	<i>pork crackling; excess fat (of people)</i>
168	lakwin	la 'queen	<i>place name</i>
169	lakwis	la cuisse	<i>thigh</i>
170	lalāṗ	la lampe	<i>lamp</i>

171	lalāg	la langue	<i>tongue; tongue of shoe</i>
172	lalen	la laine	<i>wool</i>
173	lalep	la lèpre	<i>leprosy</i>
174	lalev	la lèvre	<i>lip</i>
175	laliberte (liberte)	la liberté	<i>liberty</i>
176	lalig	la ligue <sup>6</sup>	<i>league</i>
177	lalimay	la limaille	<i>metal filings</i>
178	lalimyer	la lumière	<i>light, source of light</i>
179	lalin	la lune	<i>moon; menses</i>
180	lalin (lin)	la ligne	<i>line (fishing, telephone); lines (punishment)</i>
181	lalis	la liste	<i>list (of items)</i>
182	lalit	la lutte	<i>struggle</i>
183	laliv	la livre	<i>per pound; pound sterling</i>
184	laliza	la louisa	<i>place name</i>
185	lalora	la lora	<i>place name</i>
186	lalup	la loupe?	<i>fish species</i>
187	lalus	la louche	<i>ladle</i>
188	lalwa	la loi	<i>law</i>
189	lalwet	la lulette	<i>clitoris</i>
190	lalwiz	la louise	<i>place name</i>
191	lalyan	la liane	<i>creeping plant</i>
192	lamal	la malle	<i>trunk, chest</i>
193	lamādyā	le/la mendian(te) <sup>7</sup>	<i>element in two fish names</i>
194	lamās	la manche	<i>handle; sleeve</i>
195	lamāt	la menthe	<i>mint</i>
196	lamar	la mare	<i>pond, pool</i>
197	lamar	la mare	<i>residue, deposit; unpleasant aftertaste</i>
198	lamare	la marée	<i>tide</i>
199	lamarel	la marelle	<i>hopscotch</i>
200	lamari	la marie	<i>place name</i>
201	lamarin	la marine	<i>merchant navy</i>
202	lamars <i>march</i>	la marche	<i>step, stair; march (demonstration); (military)</i>
203	lamarye	la mariée	<i>bride</i>
204	lamarz	la marge	<i>margin, border</i>
205	lamas	la masse	<i>populace, the masses</i>

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<sup>6</sup>Phonetically, this corresponds to the French ‘la ligue’, but semantically, it corresponds to the English ‘league’

<sup>7</sup>A combination of ‘le mendian’ /mādyā/ and ‘la mendiante’ /mādyāt/.

206	lamas	la masse	<i>negative pole of a car battery</i>
207	lamas	la masse	<i>mace; very large hammer</i>
208	lamaswar	la machoir	<i>jaw</i>
209	lamatyer	la matière	<i>pus</i>
210	lame	la main	<i>hand</i>
211	lamek	la mecque	<i>Mecca; Mauritian place name</i>
212	lamel	la meule	<i>grindstone</i>
213	lamelas (melas)	la mélasse	<i>molasses</i>
214	lamem	*là même	<i>right here, right there; precisely (after time adverbs)</i>
215	lamer	la mer	<i>sea</i>
216	lames	la messe	<i>mass</i>
217	lames	la mèche	<i>wick</i>
218	lamin	la mine	<i>mine (eg. coal); mine (eg. land); lead of pencil</i>
219	lamin	la mie?	<i>soft interior of a loaf or roll of bread</i>
220	lamizer	la mizère	<i>poverty</i>
221	lamizik	la musique	<i>music</i>
222	lamod	la mode	<i>fashion, style</i>
223	lamok	la moque ?	<i>emptied tin can used for various purposes</i>
224	lamone	la monnaie	<i>money; lots of money</i>
225	lamōtā / lamōte	la montant / la montée	<i>ascent, rise</i>
226	lamor	la mort	<i>death</i>
227	lamores	la mauresque	<i>knee-length underpants tied with cord</i>
228	lamorg	la morgue	<i>mortuary</i>
229	lamori	la morue	<i>fish species</i>
230	lamus	la mousse	<i>froth, foam; mousse</i>
231	lamwatye	la moitié	<i>half</i>
232	lamwel	la moelle	<i>bone marrow</i>
233	lanatir	la nature	<i>nature (world of living things)</i>
234	lanez	la neige	<i>snow</i>
235	lanikolyer	la nicolière	<i>place name</i>
236	lanobles	la noblesse	<i>nobility</i>
237	lanos	la noce	<i>wedding festivities</i>
238	lanuris	la nourrice	<i>place name</i>
239	lanwel	la Noël	<i>Christmas</i>
240	lanwi(t)	la nuit	<i>night, whole night</i>
241	lao	la haut	<i>high up, up there, upstairs; on top of; top</i>

242	laõt	la honte	<i>shame</i>
243	lapât	la pente	<i>slope, gradient</i>
244	lapâtkot (pâtkot)	la pentecôte	<i>Pentecost</i>
245	laparol	la parole	<i>public address, one's turn to address the crowd in a meeting</i>
246	lapartaz	*le partage	<i>sharing out</i>
247	lapas	la passe	<i>gap in the reef through which boats can pass</i>
248	lapat	la patte	<i>paw; hand or foot of a person (pejorative)</i>
249	lapat	la pâte	<i>dough, paste</i>
250	lapay	la paille	<i>straw, dried vegetation in general</i>
251	lape	la paix	<i>peace; place name</i>
252	lapel	la pelle	<i>spade</i>
253	lapeluz	la pelouse	<i>lawn</i>
254	lapen	la peine	<i>trouble, effort, sorrow; be unable to, not in a position to</i>
255	lapēs	la pince	<i>crow-bar</i>
256	lapētir	la peinture	<i>paint</i>
257	laper	la peur	<i>fear</i>
258	lapert	la perte	<i>loss</i>
259	lapes	la pêche	<i>fishing; to fish; track down, search for</i>
260	lapes	la peste	<i>plague</i>
261	lapey	la paye	<i>wages, salary, pay</i>
262	lapip	la pipe	<i>place name</i>
263	lapipi	la pipée?	<i>type of bait</i>
264	lapipi	la pepie	<i>pip (disease which affects hens)</i>
265	lapirte	la pureté	<i>purity</i>
266	lapis	la piste	<i>track, trail</i>
267	laplas	la place	<i>parking for taxies or trucks</i>
268	laplaz	la plage	<i>beach</i>
269	laplen	la plaine	<i>any flat open space, esp. a sportsground</i>
270	lapli	la pluie	<i>rain</i>
271	laplipar	la plupart	<i>most</i>
272	lapo	la peau	<i>skin</i>
273	lapolis	la police	<i>policeman; police force; police station</i>
274	lapomad	la pommade	<i>haircream; ointment</i>
275	lapōp	la pompe	<i>water pump</i>
276	laport	la porte	<i>door</i>

277	lapos	la poste	<i>postal service; post office</i>
278	lapoz	la pose	<i>posture, affected behavior; opening move in dominoes</i>
279	lapratik	la pratique	<i>practice</i>
280	laprenez	la preneuse	<i>place name</i>
281	laprêses	la princesse	<i>princess</i>
282	lapreri	la prairie	<i>place name</i>
283	lapres	la presse	<i>printing press; all Mauritian newspapers</i>
284	laprier	la prière	<i>prayer</i>
285	lapropte (propte)	la propreté	<i>cleanliness</i>
286	laprosesyō	la procession	<i>procession</i>
287	lapud	la poudre	<i>powder</i>
288	lapusyer	la poussière	<i>dust</i>
289	lapwēt	la pointe	<i>headland; place name</i>
290	larad	la rade	<i>harbour</i>
291	laraf	la raffle	<i>raffle</i>
292	larâtre	la rentrée	<i>reopening of school/parliamentary session</i>
293	larap	la rape	<i>grater</i>
294	larat	la rate	<i>spleen</i>
295	laraz	la rage	<i>anger, rage; rabies</i>
296	lare	la raie	<i>species of ray fish</i>
297	larealite (realite)	la réalité	<i>reality</i>
298	lareg	la règle	<i>ruler (for drawing lines)</i>
299	larekolt (rekolt)	la récolte	<i>harvest</i>
300	larelizyō (relizyō)	la religion	<i>religion, religious belief</i>
301	laremōt	la remonte	<i>stepping back one vacant square in hopscotch</i>
302	laren	la reine	<i>queen; large, fertile female bee/ant/wasp</i>
303	larenyō	la Réunion	<i>Reunion island</i>
304	larestā	la restant	<i>remainder (money)</i>
305	larevolisyō	la révolution	<i>(French etc...) revolution</i>
306	larezin	la résine	<i>resin</i>
307	larezō	la raison	<i>reason</i>
308	larezō	*à raison de	<i>at the rate of</i>
309	lari	la rue	<i>road, street</i>
310	larises	la richesse	<i>wealth</i>
311	larisi	la russie	<i>Russia; Mauritian place name</i>
312	larivyer	la rivière	<i>river, stream</i>
313	laron	la ronde	<i>round (song/dance)</i>
314	laroza	la rosa	<i>place name</i>

315	laroze	la rosée	<i>dew</i>
316	larozyer	la rosière	<i>place name</i>
317	lars	la hache	<i>axe</i>
318	laru	la roue	<i>wheel</i>
319	larul	la roule	<i>large wave</i>
320	larut	la route	<i>road, journey; (good or bad) conduct</i>
321	larwi / lerwi	la rouille	<i>rust</i>
322	lasal	la salle	<i>large room</i>
323	lasaler (saler)	la chaleur	<i>warmth, heat</i>
324	lasalin	la saline	<i>salt-pan</i>
325	lasaliv	la salive	<i>saliva</i>
326	lasam	la chambre	<i>room; inner tube</i>
327	lasan	la cendre	<i>ash(es), cinders</i>
328	lasās	la chance	<i>(stroke of) luck</i>
329	lasāsir	la censure	<i>ensorship</i>
330	lasâte	la santé	<i>health; toast to someone's health</i>
331	lasapel	la chapelle	<i>chapel</i>
332	lasarz	la charge	<i>load (of a truck etc...)</i>
333	lasas	la chasse	<i>hunt, hunting</i>
334	lasel	la selle	<i>saddle; 'stools', excrement</i>
335	lasemen	la semaine	<i>weekly</i>
336	lasemine / lasimine	la cheminée	<i>chimney</i>
337	lasen	la chaine	<i>chain, necklace</i>
338	lasen	la scène	<i>stage (of a theatre)</i>
339	lasen	la seine	<i>large fishing net, seine</i>
340	lasen	la cène	<i>holy communion</i>
341	lasētfas	la sainte face	<i>pictorial representation of Christ's face</i>
342	lasenvyerz	la sainte vierge	<i>the Virgin Mary</i>
343	laser	la chair	<i>flesh</i>
344	laserē	la serein	<i>shower of rain early in the morning</i>
345	laserp	la serpe	<i>hedging-bill</i>
346	laservel	la cervelle	<i>brains</i>
347	lasesres	la sécheresse	<i>drought</i>
348	lasezō (sezō)	la saison	<i>season</i>
349	lasi	la scie	<i>saw; Fish Species</i>
350	lasigal	la cigale	<i>cicada</i>
351	lasik	la sucre	<i>sugar</i>
352	lasikore	la chicorée	<i>chicory</i>
353	lasin	la chine	<i>China</i>
354	lasir	la cire	<i>beeswax; wax floor polish; ear wax</i>

355	lasiren	la sirène	<i>mermaid; seductive woman; siren, alarm, hooter</i>
356	lasiri	la scierie	<i>sawmill</i>
357	laskul	la 'school'	<i>Royal College</i>
358	laso	la chaux	<i>lime (mineral); fish species</i>
359	lasomyer	la chaumière	<i>place name</i>
360	lason	la sonde	<i>probe (surgical instrument)</i>
361	lasos	la sauce	<i>gravy, sauce; gullible fool</i>
362	lasudir	la soudure	<i>weld, welding</i>
363	lasufrās	la souffrance	<i>suffering</i>
364	lasup	la soupe	<i>soup; quiet, good-tempered person</i>
365	lasurdin	la sourdine	<i>place name</i>
366	lasurs	la source	<i>spring (source of water); place name</i>
367	laswa	la soie	<i>silk</i>
368	laswaf (swaf)	la soif	<i>thirst</i>
369	laswis	la suisse	<i>Switzerland</i>
370	laswit	la suite	<i>consequence, sequel; excellent</i>
371	lasyās	la science	<i>science</i>
372	lasyed	la Suède	<i>Sweden</i>
373	lasyer	la sueur	<i>sweat</i>
374	lasyes	la sieste	<i>siesta, afternoon nap</i>
375	latab	la table	<i>table</i>
376	latāt	la tente	<i>tent</i>
377	latāt	la tempe	<i>temple (part of the head)</i>
378	latas	la tâche	<i>task, job</i>
379	latay	la taille	<i>waist</i>
380	later	la terre	<i>soil, earth, ground; land; planet earth</i>
381	latet	la tête	<i>head; leader, pioneer; brains behind a movement</i>
382	latizan	la tisane	<i>herbal infusion</i>
383	latol	la tôle	<i>metal panelling of motor vehicle</i>
384	laton	la tonne	<i>per ton (in quoting prices)</i>
385	latrāp	la trempé	<i>drunk (adj.)</i>
386	latrap	la trappe	<i>trap</i>
387	latren	à la traine	<i>trolling</i>
388	latres	la tresse	<i>tape (ribbon); tape measure; magnetic tape</i>
389	latristes	la tristesse	<i>sorrow, sadness</i>
390	latrup	la troupe	<i>throng, gang, band; troupe; herd</i>
391	latur	la tour	<i>tower</i>

392	laturne	la tournée	<i>round</i>
393	latus	la touche	<i>frets (of a guitar); whip (for a top); aloe fiber</i>
394	latusē	la toussaint	<i>all saint's day</i>
395	latwal	la toile	<i>cloth</i>
396	lavani	la vanille	<i>vanilla; vanilla plant</i>
397	lavāt	la vente	<i>sale, auction</i>
398	lavaper	la vapeur	<i>steam</i>
399	lavarāg	la varangue	<i>veranda</i>
400	lavaryol	la variole	<i>smallpox</i>
401	laven	la veine	<i>vein</i>
402	laveret	la vairette	<i>disease which affects chickens</i>
403	laverite (verite)	la vérité	<i>truth; that's right!</i>
404	lavesi	la vessie	<i>bladder</i>
405	lavey	la veille	<i>eve; on the eve of</i>
406	lavi	la vie	<i>life; existence</i>
407	lavil	la ville	<i>town, urban area</i>
408	lavwa	la voix	<i>voice</i>
409	lavwal	la voile	<i>sail</i>
410	lavyan	la viande	<i>meat</i>
411	lavyerz	la vierge	<i>Virgin Mary; feast of Assumption</i>
412	lavyolās (vyolās)	la violence	<i>violence</i>
413	lazam	la jambe	<i>leg</i>
414	lazāt (zāt)	la jante	<i>rim of a wheel</i>
415	lazenes	la jeunesse	<i>youth</i>
416	lazēg	la jungle	<i>jungle</i>
417	lazete	la jetée	<i>jetty, pier</i>
418	lazistis (zistis)	la justice	<i>justice</i>
419	lazle	la gelée	<i>jelly</i>
420	lazol	la geôle	<i>prison, jail</i>
421	lazonis	la jaunisse	<i>jaundice</i>
422	lazo(r)z	la jauge	<i>dipstick; penis</i>
423	lazu	la joue	<i>cheek</i>
424	lazurne	la journée	<i>during the day; whole day; day's pay</i>
425	lazwa	la joie	<i>joy, enjoyment</i>

## Appendix 2: le-/li-

Number	Kreol	French	English
1	{fer}lekuyō	{faire} le couillon	<i>act stupidly</i>
2	leba	le bas (les bas?)	<i>sock</i>

3	lebra	le bras (les bras?)	<i>arm</i>
4	ledã	le dent (les dents?)	<i>tooth</i>
5	lede	le de	<i>thimble</i>
6	lede	le dais	<i>canopy</i>
7	ledo	le dos	<i>back</i>
8	ledwa	le doigt (les doigts?)	<i>finger</i>
9	lefe (fe)	le fait	<i>fact</i>
10	lefrer	le frère (les frères?)	<i>monk</i>
11	lefwã	le foi	<i>liver</i>
12	legã	le gant (les gants?)	<i>glove</i>
13	legule	le goulet	<i>place name</i>
14	lekarir	*la carrure <sup>8</sup>	<i>shoulder width</i>
15	leker	le coeur	<i>heart</i>
16	lekontrer	le contraire	<i>opposite, contrary</i>
17	lekor	le corps	<i>body</i>
18	lekurs	le course (les courses?)	<i>race, racing, horse-racing</i>
19	lema	le mat	<i>mast; tv/radio antenna</i>
20	lemaryan	les mariannes	<i>place name</i>
21	lemazer	le majeur	<i>second finger</i>
22	lemer	le maire	<i>mayor</i>
23	lemesi	le messie	<i>messiah</i>
24	lemon	le monde	<i>world</i>
25	lemorn	le morne	<i>place name</i>
26	lemwa	le mois (les mois?)	<i>menses</i>
27	lemwayẽ	le moyen (les moyens?)	<i>means of doing something</i>
28	lenor	le nord	<i>north, northern part of</i>
29	lenwar	le noir	<i>opium</i>
30	leo	le haut (les hauts?)	<i>high ground</i>
31	leose	le hochet	<i>place name</i>
32	lepap	le pape	<i>pope</i>
33	leparaz (paraz)	le parage (les parages?)	<i>neighborhood</i>
34	lepase	le passé	<i>the past</i>
35	lepep	le peuple	<i>populace, the people, the masses</i>
36	lepor	le port	<i>port, harbour</i>
37	lera	le rat (les rats?)	<i>rat, mouse</i>
38	leral	le rale	<i>death-rattle</i>
39	lerẽ	le rein (les reins?)	<i>loins; kidney</i>

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<sup>8</sup>An asterisk preceding an item \* indicates that the modern French article is not the same as the incorporated article.

40	leres	le reste	<i>remainder</i>
41	lerim	le rhume	<i>cold (illness)</i>
42	lerip	le ripe (les ripes?)	<i>wood shavings</i>
43	lerwa	le roi	<i>king; one rupee coin; certain fish names</i>
44	leser	le soeur (les soeurs?)	<i>nun</i>
45	lesid	le sud	<i>(in the) south</i>
46	lestasyõ (stasyõ)	le station	<i>police station; bus station</i>
47	lesuf	le souffle	<i>breath; stamina</i>
48	leswar	le soir	<i>in the evening, at night</i>
49	lesyel	le ciel	<i>sky, heaven</i>
50	letã	le temps (les temps?)	<i>time, weather; when</i>
51	letur	le tour (les tours?)	<i>lap, circui, rotation; stroll</i>
52	leval	le val	<i>place name</i>
53	lever	le ver (les vers?)	<i>worm</i>
54	liki	le cul	<i>female genitals</i>
55	liku	le cou	<i>neck</i>
56	lili	le lit	<i>bed</i>
57	lipu	le pou (les poux?)	<i>louse</i>
58	lipye	le pied (les pieds?)	<i>foot (of body); foot (of mountain)</i>
59	lisu	le chou	<i>cabbage</i>
60	lisufler (sufler)	le choufleur	<i>cauliflower</i>
61	lisyẽ	le chien	<i>dog</i>
62	lizur	le jour	<i>daylight; glimmer of hope; understanding</i>
63	lulu	le loup	<i>wolf</i>

### Appendix 3: di-

<b>Number</b>	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
1	diber	du beurre	<i>butter</i>
2	dible	du blé	<i>wheat</i>
3	dibri	du bruit	<i>disagreement, especially in the home</i>
4	dibri	du bruit	<i>noise</i>
5	dibwa	du bois	<i>wood (timber); wooden</i>
6	dibyẽ	du bien	<i>wealth, inheritance; good (n)</i>
7	dife	du feu	<i>fire</i>
8	difer	du fer	<i>iron</i>
9	difil	du fil	<i>thread</i>

10	dile	du lait	<i>milk</i>
11	dimal	du mal	<i>pain, hurt; evil</i>
12	dimun	du monde	<i>person, people, the people; indefinite pronoun</i>
13	dimwa	*du mois <sup>9</sup>	<i>of the month</i>
14	dimyel	du miel	<i>honey</i>
15	dinor	*du nord	<i>of the north</i>
16	dinwar	du noir	<i>coal tar</i>
17	dipē	du pain	<i>bread, bread roll</i>
18	dipey	*du pays	<i>of the country</i>
19	dipi	du pus	<i>pus</i>
20	dipwav	du poivre	<i>pepper</i>
21	diri / duri	du riz	<i>rice</i>
22	diroz	du rose	<i>pink colored rouge</i>
23	diruz	du rouge	<i>rouge</i>
24	disab	du sable	<i>sand</i>
25	disā	du sang	<i>blood</i>
26	disel	du sel	<i>salt; fertilizer</i>
27	disid / desid	*du sud	<i>of the south</i>
28	disik	du sucre	<i>sugar; darling</i>
29	disō	du son	<i>sawdust</i>
30	diswar	*du soir	<i>in the evening</i>
31	diswif	du suif	<i>soot</i>
32	dite	du thé	<i>tea</i>
33	ditē	du thym	<i>thyme</i>
34	ditor	du tort	<i>harm</i>
35	ditu	*du tout	<i>at all</i>
30	divā	du vent	<i>wind; flatulence</i>
31	divē	du vin	<i>wine, kind of sea-slug</i>

### Appendix 4: 1-

Number	Kreol	French	English
1	{fer} lagreab	l'agreable	<i>make amourous overtures</i>
2	{fer} lēteresā	l'intéressant	<i>attract attention to oneself</i>
3	{fis} lekā	ficher le camp	<i>get the hell out of here</i>

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<sup>9</sup>An asterisk preceding an item \* indicates that the incorporated article is derived from the French preposition *du*, rather than the article *du*.

4	labataz	l'abattage	<i>slaughtering</i>
5	labatwar	l'abattoir	<i>1. abattoir 2. place name</i>
6	labazur (abazur)	l'abat-jour	<i>lampshade</i>
7	labi	l'habit	<i>clothes</i>
8	labitid	l'habitude	<i>custom, habit, knack</i>
9	labiy mā	l'habillement	<i>clothes, clothing</i>
10	labolisyō	l'abolition	<i>abolition</i>
11	labōdās	l'abondance	<i>abundance</i>
12	labonmā (abonmā)	l'abonnement	<i>subscription</i>
13	ladisyō (adisyō)	l'addition	<i>total, bill, addition, adding</i>
14	ladministrasyō (administrasyō)	l'administration	<i>administration</i>
15	ladmirasyō	l'admiration	<i>admiration</i>
16	ladres	l'adresse	<i>address</i>
17	ladverser	l'adversaire	<i>opponent</i>
18	laerodrom	l'aerodrome	<i>aerodrome</i>
19	lafeksyon	l'affection	<i>affection</i>
20	lafis	l'affiche	<i>poster, placard</i>
21	lafrik	l'Afrique	<i>Africa</i>
22	lafrōtmā	l'affrontement	<i>confrontation</i>
23	lagdenesās (agdenesās)	l'acte de naissance	<i>birth certificate</i>
24	lagremā	l'agrément	<i>place name</i>
25	lakalmi	l'accalmie	<i>calm</i>
26	lakasya	l'acacia	<i>acacia</i>
27	lakey	l'accueil	<i>welcome</i>
28	lakizasyō	l'accusation	<i>accusation</i>
29	lakize	l'accusé	<i>the accused</i>
30	lakōpanymā	l'accompagnement	<i>accompaniment (musical)</i>
31	lakor	l'accord	<i>agreement</i>
32	lakordeō (akordeō)	l'accordéon	<i>accordion</i>
33	lakorite (akorite)	l'accorité	<i>willingness, cooperation</i>
34	laks	l'axe	<i>axle</i>
35	laksā	l'accent	<i>accent</i>
36	laksyō familyal	l'action familiale	<i>family planning</i>
37	lakusmā	l'accouchement	<i>confinement</i>
38	lale	l'allée	<i>pathway, alley</i>
39	lalen	l'haleine	<i>breath</i>
40	lalē	l'alun	<i>alum</i>
41	lalfabet (alfabet)	l'alphabet	<i>alphabet</i>
42	lalkol	l'alcohol	<i>alcohol; methylated spirits</i>
43	lalmanak (almanak)	l'almanach	<i>almanac</i>

44	lalmany	l'Allemagne	<i>germany</i>
45	lalõz	l'allonge	<i>reach (of a boxer)</i>
46	lalwa	l'aloès	<i>plant species</i>
47	lalwes	l'aloès	<i>fibre made from lalwa</i>
48	lalyās	l'alliance	<i>alliance; wedding ring</i>
49	lalzeri	l'Algérie	<i>Algeria</i>
50	lamak	l'hamac	<i>hammock</i>
51	laman	l'amende	<i>fine, penalty</i>
52	lamar	l'amarre	<i>mooring (rope, cable)</i>
53	lābara	l'embarras	<i>difficulty</i>
54	lābarkader (ābarkader)	l'embarcadère	<i>wharf, landing stage</i>
55	lābasad (ābasad)	l'ambassade	<i>embassy</i>
56	lābeli (ābeli)	l'embellie	<i>lull (in stormy weather)</i>
57	lābetmā	l'embêtement	<i>bother</i>
58	lābilās	l'ambulance	<i>ambulance</i>
59	lābisyō	l'ambition	<i>ambition</i>
60	lāblem	l'emblème	<i>emblem</i>
61	lābyās	l'ambiance	<i>(good) atmosphere</i>
62	lamerdmā	l'emmerdement	<i>bother, worry</i>
63	lamerik	l'Amérique	<i>America</i>
64	lamidal (amidal)	l'amygdale	<i>tonsil; tonsilitis</i>
65	lamidō	l'amidon	<i>starch</i>
66	lamikal	l'amicale	<i>friendship society</i>
67	lamitye	l'amitié	<i>friendship; place name</i>
68	lamizmā	l'amusement	<i>entertainment, fun</i>
69	lamnisti	l'amnistie	<i>amnesty</i>
70	lamonyak	l'ammoniaque	<i>ammonia</i>
71	lamori	l'amaury ?	<i>place name</i>
72	lāper	emparer?	<i>pay held back until particular piece of work is complete</i>
73	lāperer	l'empereur?	<i>black marlin, blue marlin</i>
74	lāpir	l'empire	<i>empire</i>
75	lāplasmā	l'emplacement	<i>business site</i>
76	lāplwa	l'emploi	<i>job, employment</i>
77	lāpul	l'ampoule	<i>light bulb</i>
78	lāpwaz	l'empoisonneur?	<i>tiresome or annoying person</i>
79	lamsō	l'hameçon	<i>fish-hook</i>
80	lamur	l'amour	<i>love</i>
81	lamurprop	l'amour-propre	<i>self-respect</i>
82	lamyab	l'amiable	<i>helpful, friendly</i>
83	lamyāt	l'amiante	<i>asbestos</i>
84	lanaliz	l'analyse	<i>analysis</i>

85	lādormi	l'endormi	<i>apathetic, listless; fish species</i>
86	lādrwa	l'endroit	<i>place</i>
87	lādrwat	l'endroit	<i>right (as opposed to wrong) side of something</i>
88	lane	l'année	<i>year, whole year; new year's day; new year holiday</i>
89	lanemi	l'anémie	<i>anaemia</i>
90	lāfā	l'enfant	<i>girlfriend</i>
91	lāfās	l'enfance	<i>childhood</i>
92	lāfaz	l'emphase	<i>emphasis</i>
93	lāfer	l'enfer	<i>hell</i>
94	lang	l'angle	<i>angle</i>
95	lāgar	l'hangar (le hangar)	<i>shelter, hut</i>
96	lāgazmā	l'engagement	<i>the indenture system; political commitment; vow</i>
97	lāgleter	l'Angleterre	<i>England</i>
98	lāgre	l'engrais	<i>fertilizer</i>
99	lāgrenaz	l'engrenage	<i>system of gear wheels etc in a motor vehicle</i>
100	laniler	l'annulaire	<i>third finger</i>
101	lanis	l'anus	<i>anus</i>
102	laniverser	l'anniversaire	<i>birthday</i>
103	lāk	l'encre	<i>ink</i>
104	lāk	l'ancre	<i>anchor</i>
105	lākadremā	l'encadrement	<i>frame (door, window etc...)</i>
106	lāket	l'enquête	<i>survey, enquiry</i>
107	lāklim	l'enclume	<i>anvil</i>
108	lāklo	l'enclos	<i>small chicken run, chicken coop</i>
109	lanōs	l'annonce	<i>announcement (in a newspaper)</i>
110	lārezistremā	l'enregistrement	<i>registration</i>
111	lāsā	l'encens	<i>incense</i>
112	lāsar	l'hansart	<i>handsaw</i>
113	lāseny	l'enseigne	<i>sign board, shop sign</i>
114	lāsenymā	l'enseignement	<i>teaching</i>
115	lāspek	l'anspect	<i>difficult, annoying or tiresome person</i>
116	lātāt	l'entente	<i>agreement, concord</i>
117	lāten	l'antenne	<i>antenna</i>
118	lātermā	l'enterrement	<i>funeral, burial; any dull or unwelcome event</i>

119	lātikite	l'antiquité	<i>antiques; ancient times</i>
120	lātonwar	l'entonnoir	<i>funnel</i>
121	lātrak	l'entracte	<i>interval (at a theater etc...)</i>
122	lātre	l'entrée	<i>entrance; entry fee; written entry in book etc...</i>
123	lātred	l'enr'aide	<i>mutual aid</i>
124	lātrekup (ātrekup)	l'entre-coup	<i>the interval between two sugar cane harvests</i>
125	lātrenmā (ātrenmā)	l'entraînement	<i>training</i>
126	lātrepriz (ātrepriz)	l'entreprise	<i>business concern, firm</i>
127	lātretyē	l'entretien	<i>maintenance, keeping something in good order</i>
128	lāturaz	l'entourage	<i>enclosure surrounding a house; friends people mix</i>
129	lāuymā	l'enuiement	<i>worry, nuisance</i>
130	lāver	l'envers	<i>inside out</i>
131	lāvi	l'envie	<i>desire, wish; birthmark</i>
132	lāvironmā	l'environnement	<i>environment</i>
133	lāvlop	l'enveloppe	<i>envelope, cover</i>
134	lanyer	l'annuaire	<i>telephone directory</i>
135	lāzelis	l'angelus	<i>angelus (prayer service); sound of the angelus</i>
136	lapādisit	l'appendicite	<i>appendicitis</i>
137	lapang (apang) <i>bottom</i>	l'apangue (la pangue?)	<i>burnt rice stuck to the bottom of a pan</i>
138	laparās	l'apparence	<i>appearance</i>
139	laparey	l'appareil	<i>technical apparatus, piece of equipment, instrument</i>
140	laparisyō	l'apparition	<i>ghost</i>
141	lapel (apel)	l'appel	<i>call; roll call; appeal (against a judgement)</i>
142	lapelasyō (apelasyō)	l'appellation	<i>invocation of the spirits</i>
143	laperitif (aperitif)	l'apéritif	<i>aperitif</i>
144	lapeti	l'appétit	<i>appetite</i>
145	lapremidi	l'après-midi	<i>afternoon</i>
146	lapsolisyō	l'absolution	<i>absolution</i>
147	lapwētmā	l'appointement	<i>salary</i>
148	lar	l'art	<i>art</i>
149	larabi sawdit	l'Arabie seoudite	<i>Saudi Arabia</i>
150	larāzmā	l'arrangement	<i>agreement, arrangement</i>
151	larb lāgrenaz	l'arbre + lāgrenaz	<i>gear shaft?</i>

152	larbdenwel	l'arbre de Noël	<i>Christmas tree</i>
153	larbit	l'arbitre	<i>referee, umpire</i>
154	larbitraz	l'arbitrage	<i>arbitration</i>
155	larder	l'ardeur	<i>heat of the sun</i>
156	lardwaz	l'ardoise	<i>slate (as used in school)</i>
157	largimã	l'argument	<i>argument</i>
158	larivaz	l'arrivage	<i>arrival (of goods, boats, aeroplanes)</i>
159	larive	l'arrivée	<i>finishing post in a race</i>
160	lark (ark)	l'arc	<i>arch, arc</i>
161	larkäsyl (arkäsyl)	l'arc en ciel	<i>rainbow</i>
162	larkdetrïöf (arkdetrïöf)	l'arc de triomphe	<i>monument in France</i>
163	larne	l'armée	<i>army</i>
164	larmonyom (armonyom)	l'harmonium	<i>harmonium</i>
165	larmwar	l'armoire	<i>cupboard</i>
166	larne	l'harné	<i>harness</i>
167	larozwar	l'arrosoir	<i>watering can</i>
168	larpätaz (arpätaz)	l'arpentage	<i>land surveying</i>
169	larpö (arpö)	l'harpon	<i>harpoon</i>
170	larse	l'archet	<i>bow (of a violin, etc...)</i>
171	larsenik	l'arsenique	<i>arsenic</i>
172	larsitek (arsitek)	l'architecte	<i>architect</i>
173	larter	l'artère	<i>artery</i>
174	lartik	l'article	<i>article (goods on sale in a shop); article in a newspaper</i>
175	larut	l'arrow-root	<i>arrowroot</i>
176	laryaz	l'enrayage	<i>handbrake in an ox-cart; toy; mean person; prostitute</i>
177	larzã	l'argent	<i>silver (metal); silver color; money</i>
178	larzil	l'argile	<i>clay</i>
180	las	l'as	<i>ace</i>
179	las	l'asthme	<i>asthma</i>
181	lasãble	l'assemblée	<i>assembly</i>
182	lasãser	l'ascenseur	<i>elevator</i>
183	lasãsyö	l'ascension	<i>ascension day</i>
184	lasasë (asasë)	l'assassin	<i>assassin, murderer</i>
185	lasdepik	l'as de pique	<i>parson's nose (rear of poultry); Muslim</i>
186	lasid	l'acide	<i>acid</i>

187	lasirās	l'assurance	<i>assurance, insurance</i>
188	lasistās (asistās)	l'assistance	<i>participation; assistance, help</i>
189	lasiz	l'assise	<i>assize court</i>
190	lasōpsyō	l'assomption	<i>assumption (holy day)</i>
191	lasosyasyō (asosyasyō)	l'association	<i>association; syndicate formed for buying lottery tickets</i>
192	laspe	l'aspect	<i>aspect</i>
193	lasye	l'acier	<i>steel</i>
194	lasyet	l'assiette	<i>plate (crockery)</i>
195	latak	l'attaque	<i>attack</i>
196	latāsyō	l'attention	<i>attention</i>
197	latasmā	l'attachement	<i>affection</i>
198	latelye	l'atelier	<i>workshop</i>
199	laterisaz	l'atterissage	<i>landing (of an aeroplane)</i>
200	latitid	l'attitude	<i>behavior, attitude</i>
201	latmosfer	l'atmosphere	<i>atmosphere</i>
202	latrupmā	l'atroupement	<i>mob, unlawful assembly</i>
203	lavāgard	l'avant-garde	<i>vanguard</i>
204	lavās	l'avance	<i>advance (payment in advance); lead (in a race)</i>
205	lavāsmā	l'avancement	<i>promotion</i>
206	lavātaz	l'avantage	<i>gain, advantage, privilege</i>
207	lavantir	l'aventure	<i>adventure; place name</i>
208	lavāvey	l'avant-veille	<i>two days ago</i>
209	laveni	l'avenue	<i>avenue</i>
210	lavenir	l'avenir	<i>future; place name</i>
211	lavortmā	l'avortement	<i>abortion</i>
212	lavwan (lavwen)	l'avoine	<i>oats</i>
213	lay	l'ail	<i>garlic</i>
214	laz	l'age	<i>age, epoch</i>
215	lazā (azā)	l'agent	<i>agent</i>
216	lazās	l'agence	<i>agency</i>
217	lazi	l'asie	<i>Asia</i>
218	lazil	l'asile	<i>asylum</i>
219	lazut	l'ajout	<i>piece added on</i>
220	le(k)splikasyō	l'explication	<i>explanation</i>
221	leben (eben)	l'ébène	<i>ebony</i>
222	led	l'aide	<i>help</i>
223	ledikasyō (edikasyō)	l'éducation	<i>education</i>
224	lefe	l'effet	<i>effect</i>
225	leg	l'aigle	<i>eagle</i>

226	legliz	l'église	<i>church</i>
227	legzame	l'examen	<i>exam, test</i>
228	legzāp	l'exemple	<i>example</i>
229	legzekitif	l'exécutif	<i>executive</i>
230	legzersis	l'exercice	<i>physical exercise</i>
231	legzistās	l'existence	<i>existence</i>
232	lekay	l'écaille	<i>fish scales; movie; plastic; plectrum</i>
233	leker	l'équerre	<i>set square</i>
234	lekeri / lekiri	l'écurie	<i>stable</i>
235	lekilib	l'équilibre	<i>balance</i>
236	lekim	l'écume	<i>lather, froth, foam</i>
237	lekip	l'équipe	<i>team</i>
238	lekipaz	l'équipage	<i>crew; equipment</i>
239	lekipmā	l'équipement	<i>equipment</i>
240	lekleraz	l'éclairage	<i>lighting, light</i>
241	leklips	l'éclipse	<i>eclipse</i>
242	leko	l'écho	<i>echo</i>
243	lekol	l'école	<i>school</i>
244	lekonomi	l'économie	<i>economy (of a country); thrift</i>
245	lekors	l'écorce	<i>tree bark</i>
246	lekrā	l'écran	<i>projection screen</i>
247	lekritir	l'écriture	<i>writing, handwriting</i>
248	leksitasyō (eksitasyō)	l'excitation	<i>over-excitement</i>
249	lekut	l'écoute	<i>sheet of a sail</i>
250	lel	l'aile	<i>wing of a political party, a movement etc ...</i>
251	lelā	l'élan	<i>impetuosity, momentum</i>
252	lelefā	l'éléphant	<i>elephant</i>
253	lelvaz	l'élevage	<i>rearing of livestock</i>
254	lema	l'aimant	<i>magnet</i>
255	lemab	l'aimable	<i>over-politeness</i>
256	lembri	l'émeri	<i>emery</i>
257	lemorazi	l'hémorragie	<i>haemorrhage</i>
258	lemosyō	l'émotion	<i>emotion</i>
259	lēpak	l'impact	<i>impact</i>
260	lēpas	l'impasse	<i>stalemate</i>
261	lēportās	l'importance	<i>importance</i>
262	lēportasyō	l'importation	<i>importation</i>
263	lēpost	l'imposte	<i>fan-light, small window at the top of a door or window</i>

264	lēpresyō	l'impression	<i>impression</i>
265	lēprimri	l'imprimerie	<i>printing press, printing works</i>
266	len	l'Inde	<i>India</i>
267	lēdeks	l'index	<i>index finger</i>
268	lēdepādās	l'indépendance	<i>independence</i>
269	lēdistri	l'industrie	<i>industry</i>
270	lēduis	l'hindouisme	<i>Hinduism</i>
271	lenerzi	l'énergie	<i>energy</i>
272	lēfirmri	l'infirmerie	<i>old people's home</i>
273	lēflamasyō	l'inflammation	<i>inflammation</i>
274	lēfliās	l'influence	<i>influence</i>
275	lēformasyō	l'information	<i>information</i>
276	lēfrastriktir	l'infrastructure	<i>infrastructure</i>
277	lēfyenza	l'influenza	<i>influenza</i>
278	lenmi	l'ennemi	<i>enemy</i>
279	lēstalasyō (ēstalasyō)	l'installation	<i>installation</i>
280	lēstē	l'instinct	<i>instinct</i>
281	lēstiti	l'institut	<i>institute</i>
282	lēstriksyō	l'instruction	<i>instruction</i>
283	lēstrimā	l'instrument	<i>musical instrument; penis</i>
284	lētāsyō	l'intention	<i>intention</i>
285	lētātaNs	l'intendance?	<i>tree species</i>
286	lētelizās	l'intelligence	<i>intelligence</i>
287	lētere	l'intérêt	<i>interest</i>
288	lēterferās (ēterferās)	l'interference	<i>interference</i>
289	lēterval	l'interval	<i>interval</i>
290	lēteryer	l'interieur	<i>interior</i>
291	lētestē	l'intestin	<i>intestine</i>
292	lēvāsyō (ēvāsyō)	l'invention	<i>invention</i>
293	lēvāter	l'inventaire	<i>inventory</i>
294	lēvitasyō (ēvitasyō)	l'invitation	<i>invitation</i>
295	lēzistis	l'injustice	<i>injustice</i>
296	lepe	l'épée	<i>sword</i>

297	lepeser	l'épaisseur	<i>thickness</i>
298	lepidemi	l'épidémie	<i>epidemic</i>
299	lepifani	l'épiphanie	<i>epiphany</i>
300	lepilepsi	l'épilepsie	<i>epilepsy</i>
301	lepizet	l'épuisette	<i>scoop, bailer</i>
302	lepizod (epizod)	l'épisode	<i>episode</i>
303	lepok	l'époque	<i>former times</i>
304	lepōz	l'éponge	<i>sponge</i>
305	leprev	l'épreuve	<i>galley proofs</i>
306	ler	l'heure	<i>hour; particular time of day; when</i>
307	ler	l'air	<i>air, atmosphere; manner, appearance; tune, melody</i>
308	lerb	l'herbe	<i>grass; plant name; cannabis</i>
309	lerer (erer)	l'erreur	<i>mistake, error</i>
310	leritaz (eritaz)	l'héritage	<i>heritage</i>
311	lerminet	l'herminette	<i>adze</i>
312	lermitaz	l'hermitage	<i>place names</i>
313	lerni	l'hernie	<i>hernia</i>
314	lerop	l'europe	<i>Europe</i>
315	leropor	l'aéroport	<i>airport</i>
316	les	l'est	<i>east</i>
317	lesafo	l'échafaud	<i>scaffolding</i>
318	lesafodaz (safodaz)	l'échafaudage	<i>scaffolding</i>
319	lesās	l'essence	<i>essence; petrol</i>
320	lesāz	l'échange	<i>exchange, swap; telephone exchange</i>
321	lesapmā	l'échappement	<i>exhaust pipe system</i>
322	lesarp	l'écharpe	<i>sling; lady's scarf; diagonal support beam</i>
323	lesel	l'échelle	<i>ladder, step-ladder; scale</i>
324	leskalye	l'escalier	<i>staircase; place names</i>
325	leskiz	l'excuse	<i>excuse, apology</i>
326	lesklavaz	l'esclavage	<i>slavery</i>
327	lesop	l'échoppe	<i>stall selling goods, tobacconist's kiosk</i>
328	lespas	l'espace	<i>space</i>
329	lesperās	l'espérance	<i>hope; place names</i>
330	le(k)speryās	l'expérience	<i>experience</i>
331	lespes (espes)	l'espèce	<i>species, kind</i>
332	lespri	l'esprit	<i>intellect, mind</i>
333	lespwar	l'espoir	<i>hope; place names</i>
334	lestim	l'estime	<i>respect, admiration</i>

335	lestoma	l'estomac	<i>stomach; chest</i>
336	lestrad	l'estrade	<i>stage of a theatre</i>
337	leta	l'état	<i>state of affairs; state (country)</i>
338	letabli	l'établi	<i>workbench</i>
339	letal	l'étal	<i>market stall</i>
340	letalaz	l'étalage	<i>display of merchandise; showing off, ostentatious</i>
341	letābo	l'étambot	<i>stern-post</i>
342	letamin	l'étamine	<i>flour-bag cloth</i>
343	letā	l'étang	<i>pond</i>
344	letap	l'étape	<i>stage in a process or journey</i>
345	letaz	l'étage	<i>storey</i>
346	letazer	l'étagère	<i>shelf</i>
347	lete	l'été	<i>summer</i>
348	letē	l'étain	<i>tin (metal)</i>
349	leter	l'éther	<i>ether; any anasthetic</i>
350	leternite	l'éternité	<i>eternity</i>
351	letid	l'étude	<i>study, research, schoolwork</i>
352	letiket (etiket)	l'étiquette	<i>label</i>
353	leto	l'étau	<i>vice (tool)</i>
354	letof	l'étoffe	<i>cloth for making a lounge suit</i>
355	letonmā	l'étonnement	<i>astonishment</i>
356	letrāze (etrāze)	l'étranger	<i>stranger</i>
357	letrav	l'étrave	<i>stem (of a ship)</i>
358	letup	l'étoupe	<i>sawdust; rags used for various purposes</i>
359	letyopi (etyopi)	l'Éthiopie	<i>Ethiopia</i>
360	levātay	l'évantail	<i>fan (hand operated)</i>
361	levāzil	l'évangile	<i>gospel</i>
362	levek	l'évêque	<i>bishop</i>
363	levenmā (evenmā)	l'événement	<i>event</i>
364	levese	l'évêché	<i>bishop's headquarters</i>
365	levidās	l'évidence	<i>evidence</i>
366	lezip	l'égypte	<i>Egypte</i>
367	lidātite (idātite)	l'identité	<i>identity</i>
368	lide	l'idée	<i>idea</i>
369	lil	l'île	<i>island</i>
370	lilot	l'ilot	<i>place name; rock appearing just above the surface</i>
371	lim	l'hymne	<i>hymn</i>
372	limanite	l'humanité	<i>humanity</i>

374	limaz	l'image	<i>image, frame; eccentric person</i>
375	limazinasyō	l'imagination	<i>imagination</i>
376	limer	l'humeur	<i>mood, temperament</i>
377	limidite	l'humidité	<i>dampness, humidity</i>
378	limigrasyō	l'immigration	<i>immigration; emigration</i>
379	liniform (iniform)	l'uniforme	<i>uniform</i>
380	linisyativ	l'initiative	<i>initiative</i>
381	linite	l'unité	<i>unity; place name</i>
382	liniver	l'univers	<i>universe</i>
383	liniversite	l'université	<i>university</i>
384	linogirasyō	l'inauguration	<i>opening ceremony</i>
385	linōdasyō (inōdasyō)	l'inondation	<i>flood, flooding</i>
386	linyō	l'union	<i>trade union; place name</i>
387	linyorās	l'ignorance	<i>ignorance</i>
388	lipotek	l'hypothèque	<i>mortgage</i>
389	lirin	l'urine	<i>urine</i>
390	lirlād	l'Irlande	<i>Ireland</i>
391	listwar	l'histoire	<i>remote past, history</i>
392	litali	l'italie	<i>Italy</i>
393	litolite	l'utilité	<i>use, usage, usefulness</i>
394	lizaz	l'usage	<i>use, usage</i>
395	lizin	l'usine	<i>factory</i>
396	lizyen (izyen)	l'hygiène	<i>hygiene</i>
397	lobligasyō	l'obligation	<i>obligation</i>
398	lobskirite	l'obscurité	<i>darkness</i>
399	lobze	l'objet	<i>object</i>
400	lodas	l'audace	<i>daring</i>
401	loder	l'odeur	<i>smell</i>
402	lodit	l'audit	<i>audit office</i>
403	loditer (oditer)	l'auditeur	<i>auditor</i>
404	lodkolony	l'eau de cologne	<i>eau de cologne</i>
405	lodvi	l'eau de vie	<i>red rum</i>
406	lodyās	l'audience	<i>audience</i>
407	lof	l'offre	<i>offer, proposition</i>
408	lofās	l'offense	<i>offense</i>
409	lofāsiv (ofāsiv)	l'offensive	<i>offensive</i>
410	lofertwar	l'offertoire	<i>offertory</i>
411	lofis	l'office	<i>room adjoining the kitchen where tablecloths etc..</i>
412	lok	l'ocre	<i>ochre</i>
413	lokazyō	l'occasion	<i>opportunity</i>

414	lokipasyō	l'occupation	<i>little job, passtime etc... which helps pass time</i>
415	loksizen	l'oxygène	<i>oxygen</i>
416	lom	l'homme	<i>mankind</i>
417	lombraz	l'ombrage	<i>shade, shadow</i>
418	lomlet	l'omelette	<i>omelette</i>
419	lon	l'aune	<i>old French measurement</i>
420	loner	l'honneur	<i>honor</i>
421	lonete	l'honnêteté	<i>honesty</i>
422	lonorab	l'honorable	<i>member of parliament</i>
423	loperasyō	l'operation	<i>surgical operation</i>
424	lopiniō	l'opinion	<i>opinion</i>
425	lopital	l'hopital	<i>hospital</i>
426	lopozisyō	l'opposition	<i>opposition (in parliament)</i>
427	lopresyō	l'oppression	<i>asthma</i>
428	loptik	l'optique	<i>point of view</i>
429	lopyom	l'opium	<i>opium</i>
430	lor	l'or	<i>gold</i>
431	lorater	l'orateur	<i>eloquent</i>
432	loraz	l'orage	<i>thunder</i>
433	lord	l'ordre	<i>order</i>
434	lordinater	l'ordinateur	<i>computer</i>
435	lordonās	l'ordonnance	<i>doctor's prescription</i>
436	lore	l'oreille	<i>an ear for music</i>
437	lorfev	l'orfevre	<i>jeweller</i>
438	lorg	l'orgue	<i>organ</i>
439	lorganizasyō	l'organisation	<i>organization (association)</i>
440	lorgey	l'orgueil	<i>pride; proud</i>
441	lorizin	l'origine	<i>origin</i>
442	lorizō	l'horizon	<i>horizon</i>
443	lorkes	l'orchestre	<i>orchestra</i>
444	lorloz	l'orloge	<i>large clock</i>
445	lortograf	l'orthographe	<i>orthography</i>
446	loryā	l'orient	<i>orient</i>
447	lorye	l'oreiller	<i>pillow</i>
448	lorz	l'orge	<i>barley</i>
449	loseā	l'ocean	<i>ocean</i>
450	lospis	l'hospice	<i>old people's home</i>
451	lospitalite	l'hospitalité	<i>hospitality</i>
452	losterite (osterite)	l'austerité	<i>austerity</i>
453	losti	l'hostie	<i>bread consecrated at the eucharist</i>
454	lostrali	l'Australie	<i>Australia</i>

455	lot	l'autre	<i>other one</i>
456	lotel	l'hotel	<i>bar selling snacks and hot meals; hotel</i>
457	lotel	l'autel	<i>altar</i>
458	lotelye	l'hotelier	<i>manager of a hotel</i>
459	lotes	l'hotesse	<i>hostess</i>
460	loto	l'auto	<i>car</i>
461	lotopsi	l'autopsie	<i>autopsy</i>
462	lotorite	l'autorité	<i>authority</i>
463	lotozestyõ	l'autogestion	<i>business enterprise run by its workforce</i>
464	lotpey	l'autre pays	<i>abroad</i>
465	lotris	l'Autriche	<i>Austria</i>
466	lurs	l'ours	<i>bear</i>
467	lutraz	l'outrage	<i>outrage</i>
468	luvertir	l'ouverture	<i>opening</i>
469	luvraz	l'ouvrage	<i>work, job, housework</i>
470	lwes	l'ouest	<i>west</i>

### Appendix 5: z-

<b>Number</b>	<b>Mauritian Creole</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
1	(bred) zābalaz	les emballages	<i>plant species</i>
2	zabitā	les habitants	<i>inhabitant</i>
3	zaf	les aphtes	<i>aphtha</i>
4	zafer	les affaires	<i>thing, object; business, concern; personal matters</i>
5	zagraf	les agrafes	<i>clasp, fastener</i>
6	zalen	les alènes	<i>tool used by cobblers</i>
7	zalimet	les allumettes	<i>matchstick, matches</i>
8	zalwet	les alouettes	<i>species of bird</i>
9	zaman	les amandes	<i>almond</i>
10	zāberik	les amériques	<i>soya-beans</i>
11	zanana	les ananas	<i>pineapple</i>
12	zāfā	les enfants	<i>child; girl, girlfriend</i>
13	zanimu	les animaux	<i>animal; chinese gambling game</i>
14	zanõ	les anneaux	<i>ear-ring</i>
15	zāset (āset)	les ancêtres	<i>ancestor</i>
16	zātak	les antaques	<i>plant species</i>

17	zātray	les entrailles	<i>entrails</i>
18	zapot	les apôtres	<i>apostle</i>
19	zaprāti (aprāti)	les apprentis	<i>apprentice</i>
20	zarb	les arbres	<i>tree</i>
21	zarenye	les araignées	<i>spider</i>
22	zaret	les arêtes	<i>backbone of a fish</i>
23	zariko	les haricots	<i>bean</i>
24	zarm (arm)	les armes	<i>weapon</i>
25	zartiso / dartiso (artiso)	les artichauts / d'artichaut	<i>artichoke</i>
26	zasar	les achards	<i>pickles</i>
27	zat	les attes	<i>tree species</i>
28	zatas	les attaches	<i>tacking stitches</i>
29	zavari	les avaries	<i>trouble, difficulty</i>
30	zavirō	les avirons	<i>small oar</i>
31	zavoka	les avocats	<i>avocado</i>
32	zefe	les effets	<i>belongings</i>
33	zefor	les efforts	<i>effort</i>
34	zegret	les aigrettes	<i>egret; place name</i>
35	zegwi	les aiguilles	<i>needle; name in some fish species</i>
36	zekler	les éclairs	<i>lightning; éclair; fish species</i>
37	zekru	les écrous	<i>screw, nut</i>
38	zelev	les élèves	<i>pupil, school child</i>
39	zelryō	les ailerons	<i>fin</i>
40	zēdyē	les indiens?	<i>kind of cloth</i>
41	zētere	les intérêts	<i>own interest, personal advantage</i>
42	zepēg	les épingles	<i>pin</i>
43	zepi	les épis	<i>ear of corn</i>
44	zepinar	les épinards	<i>spinach</i>
45	zepis	les épices	<i>spice</i>
46	zepol	les épaules	<i>shoulder</i>
47	zepolet	les épauettes	<i>shoulder padding</i>
48	zeprō	les éperons	<i>spur</i>
49	zergo	les ergots	<i>spur of a cock</i>
50	zeritye	les héritiers	<i>heir</i>
51	zetēsēl	les étincelles	<i>spark</i>
52	zetrāze	les étrangers	<i>stranger</i>
53	zetrie	les étriers	<i>used in metalwork</i>
54	zetwal	les étoiles	<i>star; astrological influences</i>
55	zeye	les oeillets	<i>buttonhole; flower species</i>
56	zeyer	les oeilleres	<i>eye-tooth</i>

57	zibilisyō	les ébullitions	<i>spots resulting from food poisoning</i>
58	zil	les îles	<i>island</i>
59	zilo	les îlots	<i>islet</i>
60	zilwa	les islois	<i>pertaining to the small dependencies of Mauritius</i>
69	zimaz / limaz	les images / l'image	<i>image, frame of a film; eccentric person</i>
70	zirōdel	les hirondelles	<i>bird species</i>
71	zistwar	les histoires	<i>story, tale</i>
72	zoliv	les olives	<i>olive</i>
73	zom	les hommes	<i>man</i>
74	zong	les ongles	<i>nail</i>
75	zorâz	les oranges	<i>orange</i>
76	zorey	les oreilles	<i>ear; dog-ear</i>
77	zot	les autres	<i>they, them, you; their, your</i>
78	zoyō / zonyō	les onions	<i>onion</i>
79	zozo / zwazo	les oiseaux	<i>bird</i>
80	zursē	les oursins	<i>sea urchin</i>
81	zutí	les outils	<i>tool; penis</i>
82	zuvrie	les ouvriers	<i>worker</i>
83	zwa	les oies	<i>goose</i>
84	zwit	les huitres	<i>oyster</i>

### Appendix 6: n-

1	nam	un âme	<i>soul</i>
2	nide	une idée	<i>idea</i>

### Appendix 7: lez- / liz-

Number	Mauritian Creole	French	English
1	lezalātur	les alentours	<i>vicinity</i>
2	lezāviron	les environs	<i>surroundings, neighborhood</i>
3	lezel	les ailes	<i>wing</i>
4	lezo	les os	<i>bone</i>
5	lezo	les autres	<i>other (pl); other people</i>
6	lezwa (zwa)	les oies	<i>goose</i>
7	lizye	les yeux	<i>eye</i>

Appendix 8: dez-

Number	Mauritian Creole	French	English
1	dizef	des oeufs	egg

Appendix 9: del- / dil-

Number	Mauritian Creole	French	English
1	delo / dilo	de l'eau	water
2	delwil / dilwil	de l'huile	oil

Appendix 10: Extinct Forms

Number	Extinct Forms	Current Forms	English
1	(fer) laprid		<i>behave prudishly</i>
2	alyās	lalyās	<i>alliance; wedding ring</i>
3	ãdrwa	lãdrwa	<i>place</i>
4	ãfer	lãfer	<i>hell</i>
5	ãgliter	lãgleter	<i>England</i>
8	apot	zapot	<i>Apostle</i>
9	arne	larne	<i>harness</i>
10	baskur	labaskur	<i>poultry-yard</i>
11	butik	labutik	<i>general store</i>
12	deras		<i>thoroughbred</i>
13	dimõd	dimun	<i>people</i>
14	diõt	laõt	<i>shame</i>
15	egzãp	legzãp	<i>example</i>
16	ekritir	lekritir	<i>writing</i>
17	enmi, zenmi	lenmi	<i>enemy</i>
18	ergo	zergo	<i>spur of a cock</i>
19	eritye, leritye	zeritye	<i>heir</i>
20	espri, sipri	lespri	<i>intellect, mind</i>
21	evãzil	levãzil	<i>gospel</i>
22	fore	lafore	<i>forest</i>
23	fyev	lafyev	<i>fever</i>
24	gel	lagel	<i>mouth, face of an animal</i>

25	kātin	lakātin	<i>canteen</i>
26	laard		<i>clothing, cloth for making clothes</i>
27	laas	lars, las	<i>axe</i>
28	labā	bā	<i>seat, stall</i>
29	labatay		<i>battle</i>
30	labavā		<i>wind-break</i>
31	labenediksyō	benediksyon	<i>blessing, good wishes</i>
32	laberlok	berlok	<i>free time for plantation slaves</i>
33	labet		<i>silly behaviour</i>
34	labitasyō, zabitasyō	bitasyō	<i>rural area; dwellings built on sugar plantation land</i>
35	labominasyō		<i>abomination</i>
36	labrin		<i>nightfall</i>
37	labutey		<i>(someone who likes) drinking</i>
38	ladezolasyō		<i>desolation</i>
39	ladilizās		<i>diligence</i>
40	ladim		<i>tithe</i>
41	ladiskord		<i>dissention</i>
42	ladoz	doz	<i>dose</i>
43	ladrwatir		<i>righteousness</i>
44	laduler	duler	<i>pain</i>
45	ladutās		<i>doubt</i>
46	lafe	fe	<i>fairy</i>
47	lafinisyō	finisyō	<i>end, ending, conclusion</i>
48	lafiy		<i>daughter of a king</i>
49	lafles	fles	<i>arrow, catapult</i>
50	lafōdasyō		<i>beginning, foundation</i>
51	lafos		<i>pit</i>
52	lafrikē	afrikē	<i>african</i>
53	lafuzer	fuzer	<i>fern</i>
54	lafyer	fyer	<i>proud, conceited</i>
55	lafyerte	fyerte	<i>pride, conceit</i>
56	lagard		<i>guard, guard duty</i>
57	lagrat		<i>person who lives at another's expense</i>
58	lagren	lagrē	<i>grain, bead, seed</i>
59	lagrimas	grimas	<i>grin</i>
60	lakēt		<i>survey, enquiry</i>
61	lakim	lekim	<i>lather, froth, foam</i>
62	laklarte	klerte	<i>daylight</i>
63	lakokin		<i>unfaithful wife</i>

64	lakoloni		<i>colony (Mauritius)</i>
65	lakōpanyi		<i>French East India Company</i>
66	lakreasyō dimōd		<i>the creation of the world</i>
67	lakrupyer		<i>crupper</i>
68	lakurs	kurs	<i>errand; taxi ride</i>
69	laliker		<i>liquor</i>
70	laliny	lalin	<i>moon</i>
71	lalityer		<i>stable litter</i>
72	lalwa	alwa	<i>?</i>
73	lalwāz		<i>praise</i>
74	lalyan amāda	alamāda	<i>species of plant</i>
75	lam	nam	<i>soul</i>
76	lamalis		<i>wickedness</i>
77	lamanyer	manyer	<i>manner, style, way of doing things</i>
78	lamar vakwa	mar vakwa	<i>place name</i>
79	lamay		<i>trouble</i>
80	lamesāste		<i>wickedness</i>
81	lamezir		<i>as</i>
82	lamezō		<i>house</i>
83	lamigrē	migrē	<i>migraine</i>
84	lamikye	lamitye	<i>friendship</i>
85	lamin		<i>appearance</i>
86	lamir		<i>myrrh</i>
87	lamiray	miray	<i>wall</i>
88	lamokye, lamukye	lamwatye	<i>half</i>
89	lamōtany	mōtany	<i>mountain</i>
90	lāpang	lapāg / lapan	<i>burnt rice stuck to the bottom of a pot</i>
91	lamutard	mutard	<i>mustard</i>
92	lanesās	nesās	<i>birth</i>
93	lanet		<i>fennel</i>
94	lāsyē tā		<i>the old days</i>
95	lapasyō		<i>passion</i>
96	laplim	plim	<i>pen</i>
97	lapos	pos	<i>pocket</i>
98	lapovte		<i>poverty</i>
99	laprev	prev	<i>proof</i>
100	lapromnad	promnad	<i>stroll</i>
101	lapsēt		<i>absinthe</i>
102	lapudredor	pudor	<i>place name</i>
103	laravin		<i>ravine</i>
104	larepiblik		<i>French Republic</i>

105	larepōs	repōs	<i>answer</i>
106	larezireksyō		<i>resurrection</i>
107	larim	lerim	<i>cold (illness)</i>
108	laris		<i>beehive</i>
109	larivyer sek	rivyer ses	<i>place name</i>
110	lariz		<i>ruse</i>
111	larob	rob	<i>dress</i>
112	laros	ros	<i>rock, stone, pebble</i>
113	lars		<i>(Noah's) ark</i>
122	lasab	disab	<i>sand</i>
123	lasarite		<i>charity</i>
124	lasavan	savan	<i>place name</i>
125	lasazes		<i>wisdom</i>
126	lasit		<i>beauty spot</i>
127	lasitadel	sitadel	<i>citadelle</i>
128	lasomwar		<i>club (stick)</i>
129	lataras, latras	tras	<i>trace, vestige</i>
130	latrey		<i>vine</i>
131	latrip		<i>spineless (person)</i>
132	latrōpet	trōpet	<i>trumpet</i>
133	latwalet		<i>washing and dressing</i>
134	lavaler	valer	<i>value</i>
135	laviktwar	viktwar	<i>victory</i>
136	lavilbag	vilbag	<i>place name</i>
137	lavilnwar	vil nwar	<i>place name</i>
138	lavalōte	volōte	<i>willingness</i>
139	lazātiy		<i>good girl</i>
140	lazar		<i>large earthenware jar</i>
141	lazwa	lezwa	<i>goose</i>
142	lebut		<i>end</i>
143	lefanor		<i>showing off</i>
144	lefisdelom		<i>Jesus Christ</i>
145	lefiy		<i>girls</i>
146	lekinoks		<i>equinox</i>
147	leku	liku	<i>neck</i>
148	lemeter		<i>beau</i>
149	lemo		<i>words</i>
150	lener	ner	<i>nerve</i>
151	lēfeksyō	ēfeksyō	<i>infection</i>
152	lepir		<i>outline of a structure not yet built marked out on the ground</i>
153	lepla		<i>dishes</i>

154	lepol	zepol	<i>shoulder</i>
155	lepov		<i>poor people</i>
156	lepre		<i>leper</i>
157	lermit		<i>hermit</i>
158	lesaba		<i>sabbath</i>
159	lesenyer		<i>the lord God</i>
160	letāp	tāp	<i>temple</i>
161	letrō		<i>treetrunk</i>
162	letwa		<i>roof</i>
163	levoler	voler	<i>thief</i>
164	levwa	lavwa	<i>voice</i>
165	lezekritir, zekritir		<i>holy scriptures</i>
166	lezil	zil	<i>island</i>
167	lezom, om	zom	<i>man</i>
168	lezord, zord	lord	<i>command, order</i>
169	lezur	lizur	<i>daylight</i>
170	lezye	lizye	<i>eye</i>
171	liker, lekyer	leker	<i>heart</i>
172	likor	lekor	<i>body</i>
173	linwar		<i>slaves</i>
174	lipokrizi		<i>hypocrisy</i>
175	lira	lera	<i>rat</i>
176	lisimē	sime	<i>path</i>
177	litā	letā	<i>time, weather; when</i>
178	lōb		<i>shadow</i>
179	lōbrel		<i>parasol</i>
180	loptal, zopital	lopital	<i>hospital</i>
181	loragā, luragā		<i>cyclone</i>
182	fler lorāze		<i>orange blossom</i>
183	lorer		<i>horror</i>
184	lostoma	lestoma	<i>stomach</i>
185	lotfwa		<i>formerly</i>
186	lotpar		<i>elsewhere</i>
187	lotremō		<i>the opposite</i>
188	lwanyō	zoyō	<i>onion</i>
189	maswar	lamaswar	<i>jaw</i>
190	mōd	lemon	<i>world</i>
191	nabi, zabi	labi	<i>clothes</i>
192	namsō	lamsō	<i>fish hook</i>
193	nane	lane	<i>year, whole year; new year's day</i>
194	ōt / diōt	laōt	<i>shame</i>
195	pwav	dipwav	<i>pepper</i>

196	sakalye	leskalye	<i>staircase</i>
197	sāte	lasāte	<i>health</i>
198	syel	lesyel	<i>sky</i>
199	trāze	etrāze, letrāze	<i>stranger</i>
200	zafrō		<i>affront</i>
201	zābrevad, barvad, baravad, bravad	ābrevad	<i>plant name</i>
202	zami		<i>friend</i>
203	zāpano		<i>jack-rafter</i>
204	zāpoye		<i>employee</i>
205	zāduy		<i>large sausage</i>
206	zāgi	āgi	
232	zāgle	āgle	<i>English person</i>
233	met zāreyaz		<i>put the brakes on</i>
234	zāsyē		<i>ancients (distinguished people now deceased)</i>
235	zāz	āz	<i>angel</i>
236	zasasē	lasasē, asasē	<i>assassin</i>
237	zasosye		<i>partners</i>
238	zasyet	lasyet	<i>plate (crookery)</i>
239	zatak		<i>attack</i>
240	zatelye	latelye	<i>workshop</i>
241	zavoka	avoka	<i>barrister</i>
242	zedikasyō	ledikasyō, edikasyō	<i>education</i>
243	zeg	leg	<i>eagle</i>
244	zeko	leko	<i>echo</i>
245	zekolye	ekolye	<i>schoolchild</i>
246	zekonomi	lekonomi	<i>economy</i>
247	zelefā, alfā, zalfā	lelefā	<i>elephant</i>
248	zēpo		<i>taxes</i>
249	zēdepādā		<i>independent member of parliament</i>
250	zēfirmite		<i>infirmity</i>
251	zēvalid		<i>invalid</i>
252	zerbaz		<i>fodder</i>
253	zesas		<i>stilts</i>
254	zesel	lesel	<i>ladder</i>
255	zesklav	esklav	<i>slave</i>
256	zespes	lespes, espes, nespes	<i>species, kind</i>
257	zestrop		<i>toggle pin</i>
258	zipokrit	ipokrit	<i>hypocrite</i>

259	zirlāde	irlāde	<i>Irish (person)</i>
260	zivrony		<i>drunkard</i>
261	zoder	loder	<i>odor</i>
262	zofās		<i>offence</i>
263	zofisyē	ofisyē	<i>officer</i>
264	zofrād		<i>offering</i>
265	zorye	lorye	<i>pillow</i>
266	zurit	urit	<i>octopus</i>
267	zuvraz	luvraz	<i>work, job, housework</i>