

A CORPUS-BASED VARIATIONIST DESCRIPTION OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN HAITIAN CREOLE

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Doctor of Philosophy Languages and Social Sciences

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Abstract

This dissertation sets out to mitigate the crucial problem posed by misconceptions on Haitian Creole (HC) that stem from lack of readily available and verifiable linguistic evidence. The study appeals to Corpus Linguistics (CL) as a modern tool that offers researchers opportunities to look at the use of any language and draw conclusions from attestations rather than (mis)perceptions. This study investigated radio broadcasts from two Haiti's iconic radio stations, Radio Kiskeya and Radio Signal FM, by transcribing and converting six days of combined radio broadcasts into searchable data treated by the CL platform AntConc, in quest of some specific linguistic facts.

The study uses HC demonstratives as an object of investigation within the variationist framework as postulated by Gadet (2007). In this framework, the data generated by the broadcasts are explored to investigate synchronic, diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic and diamesic variations of this linguistic category. The study is envisioned as a prototypical one, to frame the way for other categories of HC then extend to other Creoles. The constituted corpus of 137,850 words allows the description and verification of the system of demonstrative determiners in HC, their functioning in the language, and the types of variations -if any- they contain. The main forms of HC demonstratives singular *sa a*, the plural *sa yo* and their alternative counterparts *sila a* and *sila yo* are analyzed via a transformative quantitative and qualitative mixed method. Besides the identification and the exemplification of HC demonstratives extracted from the corpus, the five identified uses of demonstratives theorized by Grylling (2019) are identified in the corpus: spatial deictic, background deitic, affective, spatio-temporal, and anaphoric/cataphoric uses of demonstratives. The transformative method based on Cresswell (2017) ends with an action agenda necessary given the inevitable defensive nature of Creole advocates in general and HC in particular. This action agenda aims at pursuing avenues that would lead to maintaining and increasing the generated HC corpus for continuous and viable research in creolistics.

Key words: demonstratives, deictics, variationist framework, diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, diamesic variations, *sa a*, *sa yo*, *sila a*, *sila yo*, action agenda

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While I am completing this project, I cannot stop thinking about my first 14 years of formal education in Haiti from primary to secondary school. During those years, although HC is my native language, I never received any formal instruction in it except of course when my teachers had no choice but to resort to this language to instill some key concepts where French, the language of instruction at the time, could not do the job. My first exposure to formal instruction in HC was during my first year at the State University of Haiti, at the École Normale Supérieure (Teacher's Training College) when I was introduced to general linguistics and HC linguistics by the eminent Haitian linguist, the late Dr. Yves Déjean. This introduction was the beginning of my long journey of work in this language. I am thankful for the opportunity to have gathered so much from my early instructors among

them is also the late Dr. Pierre Vernet, Dean of the department of linguistics (Faculté de Linguistique Appliquée) of the State University of Haiti. This giant linguist was taken away from us much too early by the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. The knowledge gathered through the years has guided me into entreating more for HC. As I was learning other languages, the power of the native language and its influence in everyday life became overwhelmingly evident. Also has become devastatingly clear the damage inflicted by the false narrative of debasing the mother tongue of Haitians. I am therefore thankful and joyful to report that both my daughters Soila Magdalena and Teresa Ann are fully bilingual speakers of HC and English. The jubilation of listening to them proficiently using HC alongside English has been one of the guiding forces of my research in HC. Therefore, this thesis is dedicated to them and to the entire nation of Haiti that has provided me with this language that I can call my native language, of which I have never been ashamed and in which I have learned so much from my early life until now. May this dissertation be a testament of my appreciation for HC, my thankfulness for having been exposed to linguistics as the science of language early enough to not have been deviated from the truth of the matter as far as language is concerned. This thesis is not a religious exegesis or eisegesis but suffice it to mention the powerful words of Christ echoed throughout the centuries, 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free' (John 8:32, KJV Bible). The greatest freedom a person can acquire is indeed freedom from ignorance. The ultimate aspiration of this dissertation is to place in the symbolic hands of all ready and willing researchers a humble contribution to the truth about HC, by using the modern tools provided by Corpus Linguistics (CL).

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Table of Abbreviations	
∅Det	Zero marker for the Determiner
1PersPl	1 st Person Plural
1PersSing	1 st Person Singular
2PersPl	2 nd Person Plural
2PersSing	2 nd Person Singular
3PersPl	3 rd Person Plural
3PersSing	3 rd Person Singular
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
AdvLoc	Adverb of location
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
AuxDel/Aux∅	Auxiliary Deletion
Card	Cardinal adjective
Card+N	Cardinal plus Noun (to indicate time/age/date in HC)
Comp	Comparative
Conj	Conjunction
CopDel/∅	Copula Deletion
DDet	Definite Determiner
Dem	Demonstrative Adjective Sing
DemPl	Plural Demonstrative Adjective
DemPr	Demonstrative Pronoun
Det	Determiner
Emp	Emphatic
Excl	Exclamation/Exclamative
Exp	Expletive
F	Figure
FP	French Phrase
Ft	Future
Imp	Impersonal

ImpPrtV	Impersonal Presentative Verb
ImpV	Impersonal Verb
Ind	Indefinite
InfV	Infinitive Verb
IntPr	Interrogative Pronoun
Loc	Locative
LocAdj	Locative Adjunct
MV	Modal Verb
N	Noun
Neg	Negation, Negative
NP	Noun Phrase
Obj	Object
Ord	Ordinal Adjective
P	Personal
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Pers	Person
Pl	Plural
Poss	Possessive
Pr	Pronoun
PreDet	Predeterminer
Prep	Preposition
PrepP	Prepositional Phrase
Prog	Progressive marker
Pst	Past marker
Refl	Reflexive
Rel	Relative
S	Subject
Sing	Singular
Sup	Superiority
V	Verb

Table 1 – Table of Abbreviations

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CHAPTER 1 - Problem of the Social Status of Haitian Creole

1.1 Statement of the Problem and purpose of the study

In many Caribbean countries, and mainly in Haiti where most of the country speaks only one language, a Creole, the language situation creates significant hindrances evident in all areas of Creole speakers' lives. Because language permeates all sectors of human activity including thinking, learning, and identity (Deyhle, 2007; Rapp & Beeson, 2003; van Lier & Walqui, 2012), negative attitudes towards native Creole languages result in very serious impediments. Those impediments have the effect of debasing both the Creole language and the Creole speakers. In Haiti, education is delivered in French, a language initially unknown to most learners (Dejean, 1977; Jean-Pierre, 2011, 2015). This education, in many instances, has resulted in systematic failure. Understandably, there are, nonetheless, some exceptional success stories of high achieving Haitian scholars. The language policies which impede the use of Creole in certain contexts reinforce negative language attitudes towards Creole, and those attitudes reach their zenith in native Creole speakers' beliefs that their language cannot foster academic knowledge or advance social status in their country. This issue of disfavouring one's native language is, in fact, a constructed ideological self-destructive weapon from the colonial period. The quotes below speak volumes in substantiating this claim.

In both the past and present, language discrimination and violent language policies victimize people across the globe as evidenced by Olko & Sullivan (2016), Shauchenka (2015), and Kochetova (2018) below. In all those instances what is fundamentally at issue is the discrimination against the language of the minorities as a typical attitude of colonial and/or modern dominating powers, as is the case for language policy in Haiti. As in the other communities and as Olko & Sullivan (2016) signal, those discriminations if not addressed may lead to the extinction of the languages of these communities or their unjustifiable underuse.

Some of the major problems faced by European minorities resemble those experienced by local communities outside Europe: overt and covert violation of language rights, inefficient or discriminating language policy, negative language ideology, absence of local languages in the national education system, scarcity of teaching and literary materials in endangered languages as well as spaces for their use, many forms of

economic and sociopolitical pressure, among others. This said, we need to emphasize that all of these factors continue to affect, to a degree that cannot be overestimated, indigenous groups in Mexico. The result, in a large number of communities, has been an increasing interruption in language transmission, terminating many times in the total extinction of native languages. The postcolonial policy of dominance and discrimination with respect to indigenous communities and its enduring impacts constitute an unresolved challenge, both for indigenous people and for collaborating external partners who are interested in the revitalization; this needs to be taken into account when planning and implementing each community-based project. (Olko & Sullivan, 2016, pp. 348-349)

The resolution of the congress stated the following: 'to change the violent and discriminating language policy, adopt an official bilingualism (Belarusian and Russian), legitimate the possibility of choice of the medium language of instruction'. However, after the congress the legislation was not changed. The Belarusian language remained the only official language of the independent Republic of Belarus. (Shauchenka, 2015, p. 68)

In Britain language hierarchy is based on class division of British society where Standard English is characteristic of High Class. In USA it is based on national or racial prejudice and is the result of long-standing discriminating language policy which is aimed at strengthening the role of Standard English as the language of Caucasian majority.

Political, historical and cultural factors along with autonomy of language development in these countries underlie language ideologies and sociopolitical attitudes that divide people on the basis of race (USA) or class (Great Britain). Covert prestige of language standard gave rise to resistance of Standard English to the influence from the outside. (Kochetova, 2018, p. 99)

This issue of language discrimination and violent policies is at the centre of the massive disservice to young children, because starting school in a language unknown to them impedes their progress. Such a system causes his or her own language and his or her own being to be vilified and disparaged (See section 2.6.7, to survey along with DeGraff the number of scholars from Martinique and Haiti who embarked on that route). Therefore, resolving this issue and establishing a strong case to corroborate scientifically the necessity to use the native language will contribute to bring a greater understanding in the sociolinguistic field of creolistics. While this thesis is not about schooling in L1, it does show the internal coherence of HC as an L1. This showcasing is at the core of the overarching goal of this dissertation which is to create a prototypical study of verifiable facts of a Creole L1 supported by CL. These facts display the capability of HC to foster like any other languages the propagation of knowledge in fields that

include but not limited to schooling (see section 4.2). Anti-Creole discrimination seems to have become the norm even in the time of Simon Bolivar as claimed by Earle (2001): “Thus, in his ‘Jamaica Letter’, an eloquent denunciation of anti-Creole discrimination Simón Bolívar described the victims of the conquistadors as ‘Americans’. By metonymy, the suffering Indians came to stand for the disgruntled Creoles” (p. 174-175). As pointed out in section 2.6.7 later, most of the scholars that argued against Creole use in education, for instance, did so under false premises, such as not being able to write in Creole and going backward (Aimé Césaire); or not being able to think abstractly by using it (Aimé Césaire, Raphael Constant) or not being able to use it for basic science or advancement of knowledge (Metellus). The aim of this work is to contribute to the nurturing of a positive attitude toward acceptable and observable HC facts. Those facts will be treated with modern technological tools such as the ones designed by Corpus Linguistics (CL). The search for factual evidence of HC demonstratives in a set of radio broadcast transformed into searchable corpora, I hypothesise, will help build a viable reference for provable language facts.

1.2 Attempt at resolving the problem

Many scholars in the past have qualified the language situation of Haiti of bilingualism (Comhaire-Sylvain, 1936) or of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959). Both are pervasive misrepresentations (Dejean, 1983) that have permeated all the levels of the national discourse in Haiti until the Bernard Reform in 1979. Joseph Bernard was an education minister who initiated a comprehensive reform of the Haitian education system that bore his name. This system raised the status of HC to language of instruction and to a subject of study. Haiti is just a monolingual country with about 5% -10% of its population using French at different levels of proficiency (Dejean, 1985, 2010). Since 1936, HC has been studied theoretically for its morphology and syntax (Piou, 1982; Comhaire-Sylvain, 1936), for its sound system (Ferere, 1974, 1975; Tinelli, 1974), for the purpose of literacy (Dejean, 1977; Vernet, 1980) and for its grammar (DeGraff, 1992, 1993, 2001, 2007). Apart from these structural studies of HC, studies about variation through data generated by news broadcast in HC are non-existent. This is even though the use of the mother tongue in education and other domains, including communication, has been

extensively documented in the literature. This study provides factual evidence of the capability of HC as a mother tongue to foster any linguistic activity. Therefore, there is no need for this language to be neither discarded in education as it is today, nor underused. The description of demonstratives also encompasses any other linguistic domains and subdomains (read section 3.8.4 to see the pervasive role of demonstratives in language). The most recent summary by Honeyman (2016) expounds an array of rationales that justify the use of the mother tongue in education:

What language(s) should children use in school? There is a significant research evidence that children learn best when the first language of instruction and examinations is their mother tongue (L1). The rewards of schooling in local languages outweigh the costs, with gains in education quality and inclusion leading to savings from reduced school repetition and drop-outs. When vocabulary and literacy skills are built in the mother tongue, along with building oral fluency in the second language, students can more easily master learning in the second language (L2). Education planners must confront a number of practical issues in this regard: language choice in multilingual contexts; the optimal length of mother tongue instruction; codifying unwritten or non-standardized languages; and preparing mother tongue curricular materials and teachers. (Honeyman, 2016, p. 59)

Concluding this view on the importance of the mother tongue, Honeyman (2016) advised: “Teach children in their mother tongue language for at least 6 years before they switch fully to a different language of instruction” (p. 59). Section 1.3 that follows, lays out the research questions. The questions are framed in conformity with the objective of the dissertation to describe HC demonstratives in the variationist framework. As explained above, the present study is intended to be proto-typical, showcasing that HC is equipped with all linguistic features to transfer and acquire knowledge in all domains. The study of demonstratives proves that this linguistic subsystem is an actual example of this assertion since demonstratives are involved in most NPs instrumental in knowledge construction. Therefore, the study of demonstratives sheds greater light on all language domains. In addition to the construction of knowledge in which demonstratives are involved, the variationist aspect of the study confirms that the way demonstratives are used in this language and specifically their pervasiveness across domains of knowledge makes them ever present in different localities where HC is spoken in the country. It is also true that across the different social strata as well as the media of

diffusion of the language, demonstratives, because of their deictic function play a vital role throughout.

1.3 Origins of this study

This research stems from the necessity to deepen the current knowledge of demonstratives in HC. While it has a lot to do with a language structure, it becomes particularly important because HC has faced heavy historical opposition during its sociolinguistic trajectory. The corpora collected will highlight demonstratives in HC. Diessel (2006) investigated the diachronic role played by demonstratives via their expressive function. A decade earlier, Frajzyngier (1996, p. 169, cited from Frajzyngier, 1991; Greenberg, 1978, 1991;) substantiated that the significance of demonstratives stems from the fact that “they are considered to be a source of many other grammatical morphemes, such as definite markers, third person pronouns, anaphors, i.e. expressions referring to previous mentions, in discourse, complementizers, relative, temporal and conditional markers.” Additionally, Diessel (2012), grounded in the two-field theory of pointing and naming of Büelher, showed that demonstratives have both a deictic and a naming source as explained in the frame of diachronic grammar. Furthermore, Diessel (2013) also argued that the pervasive role of demonstratives can be construed as the vivid cues of how deictics function. These cues point to the relationship between demonstrating and the use of body language for grammatical and communicative purposes. This argument is based on Arbib’s (2012) Mirror System Hypothesis (capability for observation and imitation of actions based in some area in the brain). Ewing (2014) established, based on the analysis of Diessel (1999, cited in Ewing, 2014), a taxonomy of demonstrative functions based on a demonstrative paradigm found in a language such as Javanese. Some studies present an account of the internal positions of the nouns, possessors, and demonstratives in Javanese (Davies & Dresser, 2005). Javanese is a language from the “Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) family” (EB). However, like HC it contains post-nuclear demonstrative determiners (Zen, 2019). This may offer opportunities to search for universal features that could be shared with HC. The fundamental lesson here and for the purpose of this research is that there is an essential role for demonstratives in language in general. Because spoken language originated from gestures,

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which, in turn, cannot be vocalized without the deictic or pointing traits embodied in demonstratives (Diessel, 2013), it stands to reason that demonstratives have a critical role to play in any linguistic endeavour.

1.4 Research questions

The scope of this study is of infinite interest due to the socio-historical importance of a Creole language. However, to emphasize the direction this thesis must follow, some guidelines will be established. The following questions will help shape the design of the study. They will assist in the formulation of some precise answers that this dissertation will attempt to provide to the following questions:

Q1: What are the demonstratives of HC?

Q2: What are the functions of HC demonstratives and how do they compare to their counterparts in European languages?

Q3: Does the HC demonstrative system display variation? If so, what causes it?

Q4: Are the HC demonstrative variations synchronic, diachronic or else?

Q5: How do earlier instances of HC demonstrative variation compare to contemporary variation?

1.5 Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The goal is to study demonstratives in Haitian Creole (HC) using the tools provided by Corpus Linguistics (CL). This approach aims to show the sociolinguistic ramifications of empowering Creole studies with HC as a prototypical “locus classicus” for creolization (DeGraff, 2009). In the first chapter of this thesis, the crucial problem posed by the status of HC in Haiti will be examined. As the need for affirming the official language status of HC is stated, it is followed by a quick consideration of the efforts deployed toward that goal. This entails five questions that this dissertation will answer.

The second chapter of the dissertation deals with the historical background of both Haiti and HC. The chapter will present previous scholarship on the creolization process to underline

the specific social and historical components that have allowed the development of Creoles: This underpins the sociolinguistic focus of the current thesis. The section covers 'how the Haitian nation came to be' and the origins of this study. This part introduces the origin of Creole languages. The section shows traits of Creole emergence and its dynamic nature and goes on to review the case of Creole as studied by creolist Robert Chaudenson. Besides, this part presents the origin of HC, its connection to Niger-Congo and the socio-historical contexts in which it arose. This section also introduces Creole as a social phenomenon with linguistic implications. It goes on to cover Creole socio-historical bonds and the role of French alongside HC in Haiti. It reviews how France influences the language situation of Haiti, explores the use of HC and French in educational reforms, the effect of a linguistic ideology in Haiti, language identity, and the historical place of HC.

The third chapter of the dissertation covers an introduction to demonstratives. To show how pervasive demonstratives are in language, they are situated in a bigger linguistic set. Demonstratives being a part of determiners, are seen in their difference from bare determiners. Their impact on language instruction is alluded to, based on some work on the importance of noun phrases (NP) in the transfer of knowledge across content areas. An in-depth investigation establishes the philosophico-semantic underpinnings of demonstratives. This section continues with the significance of demonstratives and points to their necessity in language use. It looks at our current knowledge of demonstratives and show how they fit in the Variationist approach. The last segment of this part contrasts the universal features of demonstrative determiners and the HC demonstrative determiners. It goes on to show the linguistic features of demonstratives, and contrast determiners with demonstrative determiners. It examines HC demonstrative determiners and shows the pervasive and ubiquitous linguistic implications of demonstratives.

The fourth chapter of this thesis presents the theoretical background of the study. It covers different designs in linguistic investigations that used data generated from CL. This chapter presents a brief history of CL and provides clues in terms of theory and practice of CL on a methodological standpoint. The linguistic literature contains about forty frameworks. This investigation opts for the framework-free approach of Haspelmath (2008) with a consideration

for the insights provided by the generativist framework of Chomsky and the functional approach of Hengeveld (2007) and Hengeveld and Lier (2010). The framework-free approach will open the door for an in-depth look into the variationist framework as formulated by Gadet (2007) and Loiseau (2010). This section goes into the role of journalistic theories as they relate to the corpus data. It lays down the rationale for a corpus-based approach and details the necessity, significance, and justification of CL in modern linguistic investigation by looking at the study of variation through corpora. The variationist framework will be instrumental for the unpacking of the data provided by the HC broadcast corpus. This section also looks at the role of code-switching and code-mixing in the interpretation of the data and concludes with how HC demonstratives are interpreted within the corpus-based approach.

Chapter five deals with the methodology that is used in the dissertation. It details the theoretical background information of both the transformative quantitative and qualitative data analysis. This section also presents how the data are collected and how they are treated, and the tool utilized in the analysis section (chapter six). It also presents the process in the transcription of the HC data along with the HC orthography history. It presents the phases of the HC spelling system, the marginalised vowels, and the principles for transcribing HC. This section also explains the rationale for the choice of data. Two radio stations are recorded for a total of 6 days. The two major sources for the corpus are introduced (Radyo Kiskeya and Radyo Signal FM). Each day yields about two hours of continuous speech from news broadcasts from the two radio stations. The most popular radio, Radyo Kiskeya, provides five days of news broadcast, and Radio Signal FM provides the other day. The news broadcast provides a wide range of topics, which makes it possible to look at the demonstratives in a wide variety of contexts. Some of the themes include politics, education, health, science, and literature, to name a few. This section also provides the rationale for a corpus-based approach and discusses the need for a study that involves CL. The aim is to use these tools to study variation in linguistics through HC demonstratives, employing the blueprint created by Gadet (2007) as a guide. This section also justifies the approach to understand CL. Furthermore, this section details the CL tool

AntConc that is used to identify and analyse both the HC demonstratives and demonstrative adjuncts of the data before concluding.

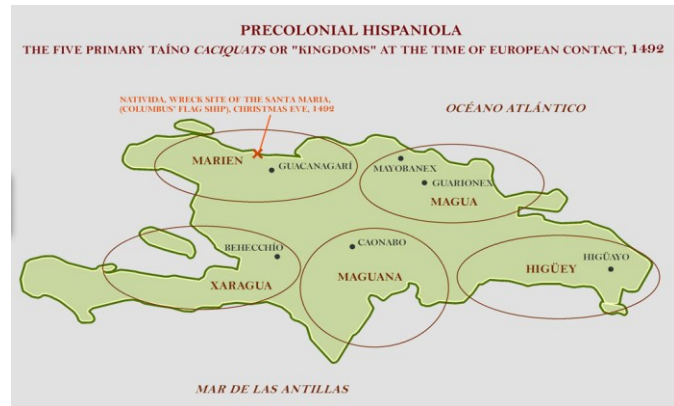
Chapter six of the dissertation consists in the analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the findings. This section offers a closer look at demonstratives and demonstrative adjuncts. The data are analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The section displays the representation and meaning of demonstratives in the HC corpus and Gadet's variation. After providing the interpretation of the data, the section concludes the discussion.

Chapter seven of the dissertation contains the final remarks that lead to the summary of the findings and the answers to the research questions. This study's results are compared to the findings concerning demonstratives in the existing literature. There is a discussion on how to establish a prototypical corpus-based HC exploration. This section presents the limitations of the investigation and possible further developments. To conclude, the dissertation discusses the application of the results and alludes to avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2 - Historical Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains some historical background for this work. Since the language being investigated is Haitian Creole (HC), it stands to reason that we should cast a historical look at this Caribbean territory rich in sometimes paradoxical stories. Both the contextualization of HC emergence and the documentation of its present status are sought here. This dissertation avoids the labels of “contact language” and “pidgin” in any detailed fashion because it is pointing to the synchronic form of HC as used in radio broadcast in Haiti.



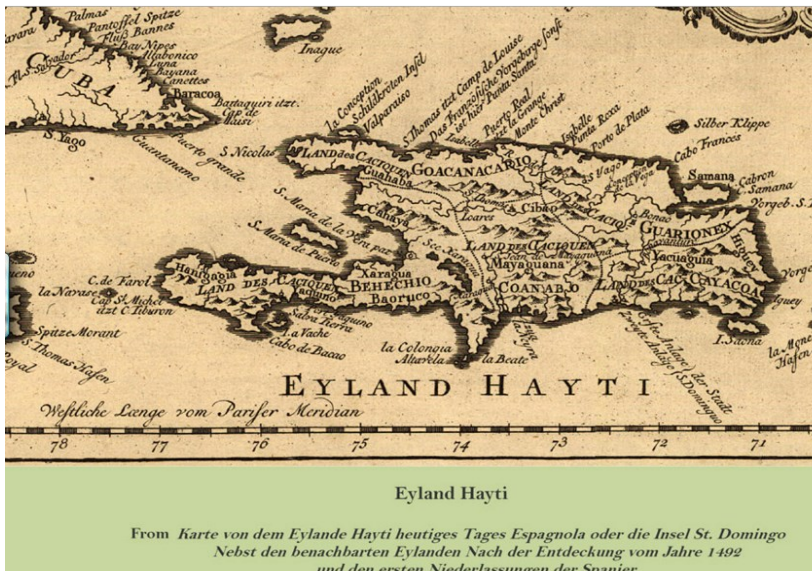
Map 2.1 The island of Haiti (Ayiti, Hispaniola, Quisqueya ou Boyo)¹, reprinted from Yale University Genocide Studies Program

Nonetheless, those terms will be alluded to in the broader context when it is necessary to understand the history behind Creole formation. This historical section aims at providing a chronological understanding of this language that came to be known as HC. The thesis points to a route that can be similar to other languages much older than HC. However, these languages are devoid of the historical clashes associated with Creole formation. While covering how the Haitian nation came to be, a quick overview of the inhabitants that preceded Haitians on the land is provided. This aspect is important because the HC lexicon includes items of Indian origin like ‘woukou’ (annatto), ‘joumou’ (squash), ‘mabouya’ (skink) etc. and items from English ‘bokit’ (bucket) or from Spanish ‘fresko’ (sweet snowcorn), ‘kabicha’ (nap) to name a few. That is to say that both pre- and post-Columbian historical insights may help understand the specific emerging path followed by HC. This section contains the origins of Creole languages and HC. It covers traits of Creole emergence in general, then the case of HC. The connection of HC to Niger-Congo is presented followed by the specific socio-historical context

of Creoles and HC. The section that deals with Creole as a social phenomenon with linguistic implication displays several items. In respective order, it goes from the socio-historical bonds of Creole, then shows how France and French have influenced the Haitian language situation. It then covers both HC and French in educational reforms and the effect of a linguistic ideology in Haiti. The segment concludes with language identity in Haiti and the historical place of HC.

2.2 The emergence of the Haitian nation

The country known now as Haiti has gone through numerous phases from the pre-Colombian era to the Haitian revolution in 1804 and onward. Tracing back the origins of the name of Haiti has not been an easy matter for historians because of the involvement of many ethnic sources. It is generally acknowledged that the word Haiti means “rugged, mountainous”



Map 2.2 The Island of Haiti (EYLAND HAYITI) as shown on a 1754 map, reprinted from Yale University Genocide Studies Program website

(Geggus, 1997). Additionally, Geggus has expanded on the fact that “in the Taino Arawak language, the word was assumed to be the aboriginal term for the island Columbus christened “La Española” (p. 43). Historians seem to have been surprised by the resurfacing of the Taino Arawak term three centuries after the

annihilation of that tribe. History then recognized that this Indian tribe was not always powerless. Instead, the newly born nation in 1804 after the independence war was for a long time inspired by its violent resistance to the Spanish rule (Geggus, *ibid.*). Some historians have extensively narrated the plight of the so-called Indians (Columbus mistakenly thought he had reached India while on the island of Haiti). It occurred mainly because of the skin colour of the

inhabitants that populated Hispaniola (the combined land of Haiti and the Dominican Republic) before Columbus' arrival until the colonies established by the French on the West and the Spanish on the East of the island (Ardouin, 1853; Dorsainvil, 1925; Janvier, 1886; Madiou, 1848). Hispaniola bears the meaning of "little Spain" in a tribute to Spain by Christopher Columbus (Rogoziński, 2000). The island of Haiti is notably divided into two countries, the Haitian Republic on the western portion of the island and the Dominican Republic on the eastern side. Given the linguistic focus of this work, only a concise historical presentation of this land of tumultuous past encounters will be provided.



Map 2.3 The Republic of Haiti – Political and Administrative map, reprinted from a UN map source, cartographic section - Copyright © 1998-2018:nationonline.org

2.3 Origins of Creole languages

This part begins with an introduction to creolization to show the fact that there is a second language acquisition process at play in the social construction of Creole. It touches upon creole emergence; then, it highlights the traits of this emergence to emphasize its dynamic nature. This sub-section also details the case of creoles as studied by Chaudenson.

2.3.1 – Introduction to creolization and Second Language Acquisition

On various levels of both linguistic and sociopolitical continua, the core elements of Creole formation tend to include some cues from second language acquisition that DeGraff (2009) argued have been neglected in Creolistics, although essential to the understanding of creolization. The appropriate instances of second language learning processes yielded by HC in its initial development makes it a prototypical case of Creole formation. According to DeGraff this helps understand the historical origins of Creole structures. In his own words:

These continua would entail, *throughout colonial history*, corresponding continua of second-language (L2) learner varieties of the superstrate language – or, more accurately, *L2 varieties of the superstrate’s colonial dialects and koinés thereof, many of which are quite distinct from contemporary (standard) varieties of the corresponding European languages as spoken in Europe and the Caribbean.* (DeGraff, 2009, p. 893)

Clearly stated, creolization can be viewed as instances of second language acquisition as it has been for classical Latin that evolved into many Romance languages. Creolization, from what preceded, must take into consideration language learning in all its facets and mainly compared and contrasted to what goes on in the minds of language learners whether they are first language learners (L1 learners) or second language learners (L2 learners).

On a “prudent epistemological stance” that he requested to be granted to him, DeGraff (2009, p. 894) insisted, in consonance with the above paragraphs, that there can be neither a rigid structural description nor a socio-historical paradigm that would make what is called Creole equal or similar from one territory to another. Because of these facts, DeGraff deemed that HC, as he is referring to it more precisely in his endeavour, has placed him on a more solid empirical ground. This stance is borne out of the large-scale language contact evidence provided by HC. For DeGraff, it stands to reason to use HC as a prototypical Creole and a source of “linguistic criteria” that can enable Creolistics researchers to separate Creoles from

non-Creoles across the globe. Furthermore, expanding the term even more, DeGraff (2005) quoted:

One related terminological note: The native speakers of Caribbean Creoles call their own speech either “Creole” (in, e.g., Haiti), “Creolese” (e.g., in Guyana), “Patwa” (in, e.g., Jamaica), “Broken English” (in, e.g., Carriacou), or “Gumbo” (in Louisiana). In some estimates, there are around 20 million speakers of Creole languages worldwide, and this number immediately quadruples or quintuples if languages like Nigerian Pidgin English are, perhaps controversially included in the count. (Faraclas, 1996, p. 1-2, cited in DeGraff, 2005, p. 542).

Considering Creoles as instances of second language acquisition helps understand this phenomenon. However, a caveat while considering any SLA process, is that other intermediary steps such as pidginization (the fact or process of producing a simplified or hybrid language, a pidgin; a pidgin that becomes a mother tongue is a Creole – Oxford), koinéization (the process by which a koine, or common language is formed - *ibid*) and the formation of the interlanguage need to be considered along the path between L1, the learning of L2 then the formation of the new language. Additionally, proper verification of Creole claims can be conducted by contrasting current theories and their applicability to the socio-historical phenomenon of Creole.

2.3.2 Traits of Creole emergence

Creoles cannot emerge without the combination of many primarily sociopolitical, then, sociolinguistic phenomena, later refined in appropriate linguistic developments. It must be noted that from the substrate (mostly African) languages combining with the superstrate (mostly European) languages, the entire process that creates a Creole language is embedded in a particular history. Chaudenson (2000, 2002) reminded us that Creole cannot be construed solely as a linguistic phenomenon but also a sociolinguistic one, and then, he rightfully questioned whether one can speak about Creole without mentioning its genesis. Although as alluded to earlier, Creole studies have been ignored and neglected in early 19th century in most European countries and mainly in France, they have encouragingly become more pervasive in the 21st century. Europe was entangled in a battle to restrain former slaves. It has ignored their languages and conditioned their social status to a silence that never materialised. In the same

vein, Lewis (2004), in his thesis “Creolising translation, translating creolisation,” showed how European nationalism discarded “other discourses” by making of European languages the norm and therefore “...when norm meets power it becomes prescription, reified as systems which are imposed without interrogation or analysis” (p. vii).

2.3.3 The vigilant nature of Creole emergence

Nevertheless, it seems that the importance of Creole languages was established on many fronts. Contrary to languages that already have acquired overt or concealed acceptance, Creole languages seem to always have to be introduced for what they are and what they are not. For example, in the case of Creole in Cap Verde or the Republic of Cabo Verde, this Creole is Portuguese-based, and therefore, considered as a Roman-based Creole like its sister Creoles (Quint, 2005). In Quint’s account, it is indicated after an eminent expert linguist in Portuguese, Paul Teyssier, that “...Creoles are not bastardized European languages” but “new languages,” such a claim is still relevant today since I heard, in 2001, from a licensed linguist that “Cape Verdean is degenerate Portuguese” (p. 124 –my translation). Although Quint does not mention the name of the linguist in question, it is, nonetheless, unconvincing and appalling for such an argument to surface at the onset of the 21st century. According to Quint, Paul Teyssier sees the importance of Creole, in first, the grammatical autonomy of Creole grammars, and second, the possibility it offers for the comprehension of the Portuguese language itself.

2.3.4 Chaudenson on the case of Creoles

In “*Le cas des créoles*,” Chaudenson (2002) provided an interesting overview of all the conditions necessary for Creole languages to emerge. This scholar has explicitly stated what creolization is which is similar to what was stated earlier (see section 2.3.2 above). To cement this concept in the readers’ mind, he proposed three metaphors that are worth mentioning here. They are namely: “l’état civil” (the civil status), “les trois unités” (the three units) and “la recette de sorcière” (the witch’s recipe). To expound these metaphors, Chaudenson explains that in any creolization, contrary to other natural languages, one can know more accurately where and

when a Creole language originated. Creole languages originated mostly on remote islands between the 16th and the 17th centuries. By identifying the languages Creoles came from, Chaudenson makes their precise genesis clear through the civil status metaphor. For the second metaphor, the three units, Chaudenson asserts that for any creolization there is a time unit, a space unit, and an action unit. The time unit is remarkably quick and does not start with the language of the European colonizers, albeit majoritarian, but instead with the agro-industrial development of the colonized territories that leads to the massive immigrations of workforce. For the space unit, there are no territories more confined than an island, he argues. For the action unit, Chaudenson sees the slave colonization operating in the context of plantations as the initial phase of development that leads to the implantation of agro-industrial production of mostly coffee and sugar. This phase that lasts between thirty and fifty years is essential to any creolization. The third metaphor, which is the witch's recipe, signifies that creolization is not a mixing of some of the elements above but that all elements must be present for creolization to occur (p. 61). This clearly substantiates why creolization cannot be an exclusive linguistic phenomenon.

Chaudenson seemed to have predicted the significance of creolization in providing influences beyond linguistics when he explicitly described the origin of the word and provided information on how the term Creole can be used at a macro-semantic level (broader meaning of discourse that goes beyond linguistics subsystems and includes, say sociolinguistic level and beyond). Hammers (1992, p. 265, cited in Siegel, 2005, p. 144) appeared to have, much earlier than Chaudenson, capitalized on this view by making of linguistics a metaphor for other socio-cultural domains to expand the concept of creolization:

As languages have different dimensions such as grammar, phonology, and lexicon, and as creole languages are formed as unique combinations and creations out of the interaction between languages in these various dimensions, so creole cultures come out of multidimensional cultural encounters and can put things together in new ways.
(Hammers, 1992, p. 265, cited in Siegel, 2005, p. 144)

This section covered some specific traits of Creole emergence such as studied by Chaudenson. Chaudenson also provided five arguments that make the case of Creoles. He argued that all five have to be present for the making of Creoles. Creole emergence is also seen

as a dynamic phenomenon. Although the above assertions are mostly rooted in a historical perspective, Creoles are above all languages. Therefore, their linguistic significance cannot be ignored.

2.4 An overview of the origins of Haitian Creole

Overviewing the origin of HC will lead to the investigation of the connection of this language to Niger-Congo, in addition to the French language. The exact timeline of HC emergence is pointed out and the different African language branches and subbranches that are involved. This section also contains insights into the socio-historical nature of HC.

2.4.1 Haitian Creole, the linguistic connection to Niger-Congo

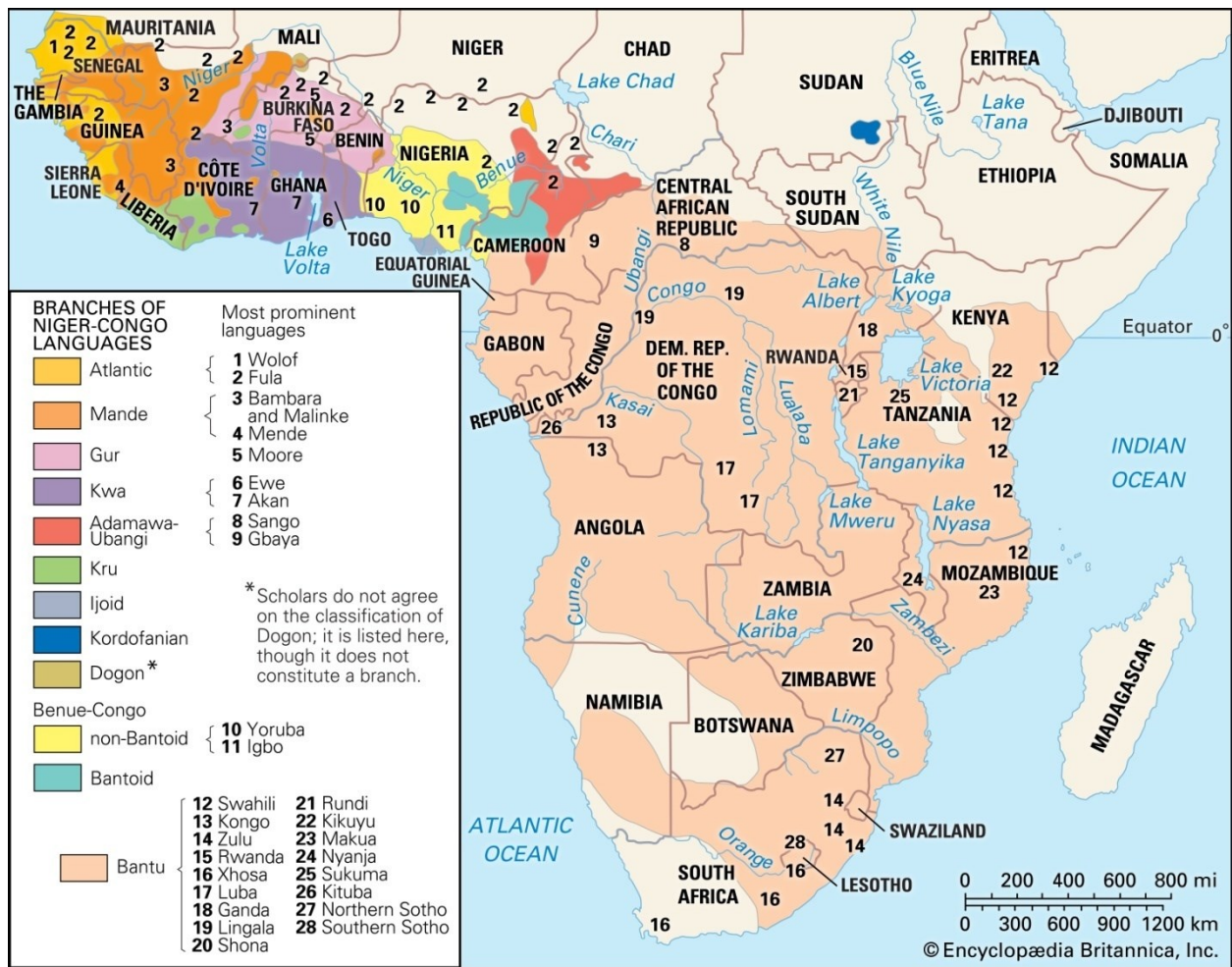
HC's origin dates as far back as the 17th and 18th century. It is generally admitted that this language originates from the contact of the slaves with the European colonizers of the second largest island of the Caribbean (DeGraff, 2007). HC is known as "Kreyòl" by Haitians, and it is spoken by the entire population, the vast majority of which is monolingual in HC (Dejean, 1993, cited in DeGraff, 2007). DeGraff concludes that some dialects of French have been instrumental in the making of HC. Nevertheless, the African sources of HC need some greater clarification because of the multiplicity of languages that populate the African landscape. In a direct synopsis, DeGraff proposed that HC has "emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries out of the contact among regional and colloquial varieties of French and the various Niger-Congo languages spoken by the Africans brought as slaves to work the colony's land" (p. 101). The role of French in the making of HC has been documented by many scholars. Fattier (1995) has shown how 17th century French has been carried over into HC until these days, in the current form of the subject pronouns of HC. Other scholars have given, directly, the African roots pertinent to HC as from Fon, Fon Gbe, or Kwa (Déprez & Benjamins, 2003; Lefebvre, 1982, 1986, 1996). Fon is a language of the Kwa family (Lefebvre, 1996, and see Figures 2.4 and 2.5 below for the geographical location of the African languages related to Niger-Congo). Singler (1996), while finding some "vexing issues" with the relexification hypothesis of Lefebvre and Lumsden, has attributed the African sources of HC to Gbe dialects. Lefebvre (1986) appears convinced that HC originates from Fon and Ewe, basing her conviction on "...a detailed

comparison of HC and Fon (and closely related language e.g., Ewe), including phonological, morphological, and syntactic processes. We expect to find a closer relationship between Haitian Creole and Fon and say, Ewe than between Fon and other languages of the Kwa family” (p. 283). Examinations of spoken corpora, such as the ones displayed in radio broadcast in HC and interactions with monolingual HC speakers, provide sufficient evidence that overlaying the French lexicon upon the African substrate syntax does not generate a language comprehensible to a HC monolingual. Moreover, the argument of the relexification theories regarding the inability of the slaves to acquire the complexity of the superstrate language, is linguistically counterproductive. Singler (1996) argued that ab ovo Creole making gave rise to a language that is different from the relexified language. However, this origination of Creole is attributed solely to the adult speaker of the substrate language. This assumption is contrary to the abundant literature of language acquisition including first language acquisition. Second language or perhaps new language acquisition (to use the term adopted by New York State since 2012, to signify that most learners already knew more than one language) does not exclude language creation, innovation, and process in contact situations. The first part of this argument is also sustained by DeGraff (2002). Additionally, one fact about relexification that must be pointed out is the debasing of the substrate it implies. It also negates the socio-historical and psycholinguistic complexity of language creation, especially in the case of HC. It must be understood, however, that the African region Niger-Congo seems to have extended from the western part to a significant southern part of Africa to include a great number of countries. According to Bendor-Samuel (2018, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, EB), the Niger-Congo languages represent the “largest language family in Africa.” The languages spoken in this language family extend “from Dakar, Senegal, at the westernmost tip of the continent, east of Mombasa, in Kenya and south to Cape Town, South Africa.” From this group, as EB puts it, must be excluded regions, such as

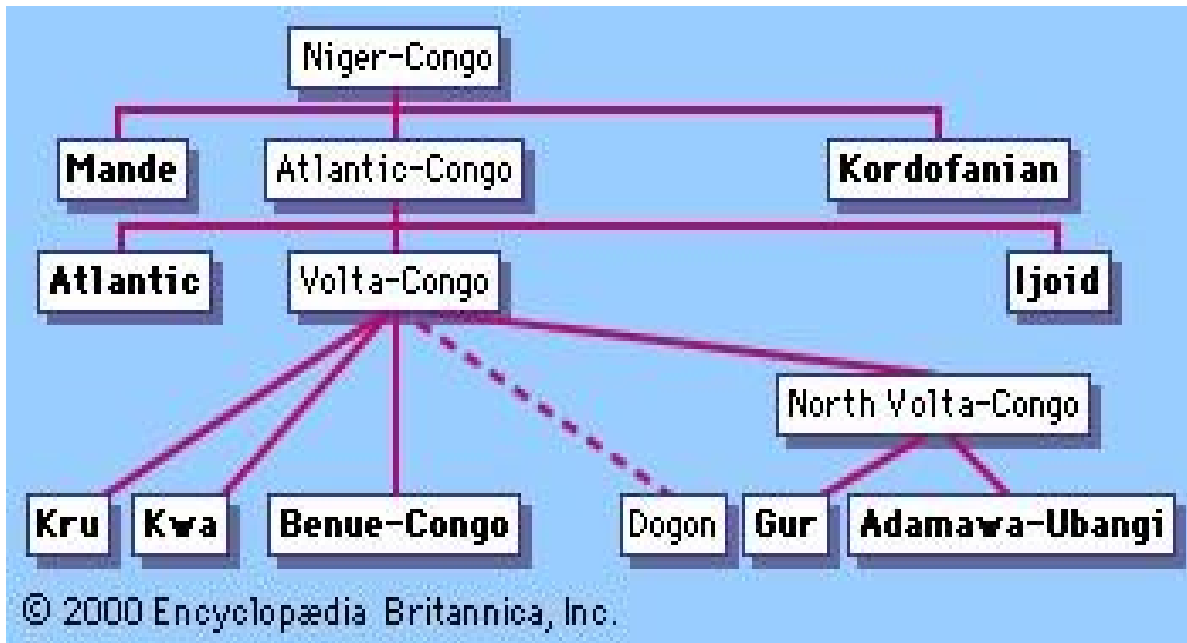
...northern Africa (Mauritania to Egypt and the Sudan) and the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia to Somalia), some 85 percent of the population of Africa – at least 600 million people – speak a Niger-Congo language. In two countries, Niger and Chad, Niger-Congo languages are spoken by a minority. In northern Nigeria, northern Uganda, and Kenya there are substantial populations speaking other languages, but even in these countries

the majority of the population speaks a Niger-Congo language (Bendor-Samuel, 2018, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, EB).

The following maps identify the regions covered by the nomenclature Niger-Congo (Maps 2.4-2.5). In this map, with a total of 12 branches of language that are colour coded on the African map (Map 2.4), the nine most prominent languages are Wolof, Fula, Bambara and Malinke, Mende, Moore, Ewe, Akan, Sango and Gbaya. Yet, Map 2.5 presents the subdivision of the Niger-Congo region in four subareas (Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, and North Volta-Congo). The nine present day branches of languages of the Niger-Congo are: Mande, Kordofanian, Atlantic, Ijoid, Kru, Kwa, Benue-Congo, Gur and Adamawa-Ubangi.



Map 2.4. The 9 predominant Niger-Congo Languages and their respective regions, reprinted from EB



Map 2.5 Branches of Niger-Congo Languages, reprinted from Encyclopaedia Britannica, online, 2018



Map 2.6 The language families of Africa, reprinted from Encyclopædia Britannica, online, 2017

Given the fact that the Niger-Congo branches of African languages have been diverse and scattered from western to southern Africa, it is understandable that researchers will find different linguistic features from many other languages that are reproduced in the language of

Haitians. However, so far in the literature, it seems that most languages mentioned and investigated as originators of the African substrate of HC are from the Kwa branch. This branch includes the sub-branch Gbe to which pertain Fon and Ewe. The most southernly branch, Bantu, is also visible in the literature as a viable substrate contributor to HC. DeGraff (2002) presented the word *wanga* 'fetish' as a Bantu word to ascertain the full-fledged participation of Niger-Congo in HC.

2.4.2 The specific socio-historical context of Creoles and HC

The existence of HC though spoken by the entire population of Haiti does not mean that this language has acquired a full acceptance through its usage. Perhaps this is the most troubling sociolinguistic challenge of Haiti. The socio-historical factor in language origin appears to be inescapable. Although explaining a merely grammatical structure, Mufwene (2000) has captured this phenomenon in some quite vivid terms: "Creole languages do not exhibit morphosyntactic features that are specific to them, but they are related by the particular socio-historical settings of their emergence, in language-contact situations" (p. 113). Similarly, but in a broader perspective, Véronique (2000) concurs that Creoles as well as Pidgins "share some properties and, often, analogous socio-historical circumstances" (p. 2). The socio-historical circumstances argued by Véronique are precisely significant because of the struggles and clashes inherent to Creole creation (See Section 2.4.4). Those struggles, whether sociolinguistic or psycholinguistic, do not stop after its full-fledged formation. Creole and Creole speakers are socio-historically connected. Creole speakers do not need to receive any formal or informal training to understand the plight of Creole languages and Creole speakers; they have experienced first-hand prejudice for both sociolinguistic and ideological reasons.

2.5 A Social phenomenon with linguistic implications

This section covers the socio-historical bonds of HC and what it means in the sociology of language. It then presents the role of French alongside this language after its emergence. The current situation of Haiti is analysed as well under this light. Then, the role of ideology in the

language situation of Haiti is examined at both the micro and the macro levels. As a follow-up, a close look is taken at the role of HC and French in the Haitian educational system. This section continues to tackle the effect of ideology in Haiti, which is a very crucial phenomenon as it will be seen. It continues with a discussion of language identity in Haiti and the historical position of HC and ends with a view against Creole Exceptionalism (CE).

2.5.1 Creole socio-historical bonds

In furtherance of the variationist approach of this dissertation, it is necessary to see how the community outlets may be involved to provide potential diatopic and/or diaphasic variations that exemplify the connection between Creole and Creole speakers. Since Creole is a socio-historical and linguistic phenomenon (Chaudenson, 2000), it goes without saying that while a Creole language is being formed, it is generating some socio-historical bonds. The concept of socio-historical bonds, here, is couched as the mutual relationship among communities and community members who share similar social and historical values. This view is in line with the one presented by MacKinnon et. al. (2011) in relation with their title *“Globalisation, labour markets and communities in Contemporary Britain.”* Earlier and more specific to the language aspect of these bonds, Firth and Wagner (2007) spelled out the “relationships between language use, language learning and language acquisition” (p. 800) while studying Second Language Acquisition (SLA) or Foreign Language Acquisition (FLA) as a social accomplishment. Because she sees second language learners as “socially constituted beings,” Pavlenko (2002) also reported that poststructuralists usually view language as a social phenomenon (p. 286). This poststructuralist view of language as a social phenomenon is contrary to the Chomskyan cognitive approach of innateness in language learners. Plaza and Below (2014) credits the modern era with all its technological amenities. This modern era provides communication tools, such as Facebook, Skype, and YouTube. The technological occurrence of these means has expanded “over time to include longer distance movement, Caribbean people always brought with them aspects of their Creole cultural socialization and a desire to return home one day (Lowenthal, 1972, cited in Plaza & Below, 2014, p. 25). In fact,

whether on the motherland of the colonized or in the colonizer's homeland, there are many circumstances that can exemplify the socio-historical bonds of Creole languages. These examples that encompass social, linguistic and cultural connectedness in a Creole-speaking community is not the forté of just Creole speakers. They are intrinsic to any linguistic community because of the place of culture within languages. It is not surprising that these interconnectedness and relationships are reflected in the variations investigated in chapter 3.

2.5.2 The role of French alongside HC

Historically, French has always been a part of Haiti long before the Independence war of 1804. In fact, the independence act was written in French. Socially, however, the entire population of Haiti speaks HC with about 95% using it as their sole means of expression (Dejean, 1983). In Haiti, French is, therefore, primarily spoken by about 5 percent of the population who use it mostly for administrative purposes (Dejean, 1980, 1983, 2010).

Admittedly, Haitian speakers of French speak it with varying degrees of proficiency. Others use it for many social functions (Valdman, 1988). The interplay of French and HC has brought some scholars to mistakenly characterize the language situation of Haiti as more or less bilingual (Comhaire-Sylvain, 1936); which has brought one particular scholar, Charles Ferguson, to present the language situation of Haiti again mistakenly as a classic example of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959, 1991). This view has been systematically contended head-on by the Haitian linguist Yves Dejean (Dejean, 1983). A significant flaw of Ferguson's diglossic view of the language situation of Haiti is the total disregard for the real situation of the country. In agreement with Dejean, my own experience with the real language situation of Haiti confirms that the Haitian nation speaks two languages, one of which, HC, is spoken by the vast majority of the population. Additionally, diglossia, as presented by Ferguson, erroneously positioned HC and French as two varieties of the same language. Neither sociolinguistics nor historical linguistics can justify such an assumption.

2.5.3 How France or French influences the language situation of Haiti

The notion of France’s influence in the language situation of Haiti is not new. Many scholars who studied the language situation of Haiti made some direct or indirect allusion to this influence. Nevertheless, because of the post-colonial sway in the literature of Creolistics, what is said about this influence needs to be considered with caution. In a seminal article on Creole morphology and ideology, DeGraff (2001) attempted to depict the views of many influential scholars. These scholars erroneously tend to see only Pseudo-French in some HC word formation strategies. Although this present assumption is at the micro level, what is set by these scholars can create some misconceptions if not properly addressed. For the role of French, it is seen that “The French influence in Haiti, like that of Latin in Francophone countries, manifests itself by its effect on the vernacular lexicon: French is the source of most HC neologisms” (Valdman, 1979, p. 99, cited in DeGraff, 2001, p. 63). DeGraff (2001) however, opposed this view by claiming that it is the fallout of the confusion between morphology and etymology that generates this assumption. He claimed that “the diachronic/etymological source of much HC morphology is localized in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French lexicon, but HC synchronic morphology (e.g, as part of the idiolects of monolingual HC speakers with no exposure to French) functions independently of French” (p. 63). It appears that the scholars who DeGraff took to task do not grant any morphological creativity to HC. Instead of perusing available data, some of the HC words that do not calque French are considered to be Pseudo-French words. The examples extracted from DeGraff (2001) are to be considered as Haitianisms in the case of the Xsyon/Xzyon inflexion where words in HC are formed the same manner they are in French, English, and Spanish as in this chart:

Xsyon Words in HC and their French, English and Spanish Counterparts			
HC	French	English	Spanish
nasyon	nation	nation	nación

Table 2 - Xsyon word sample table

DeGraff put forth a Null Hypothesis by way of which for specific intrinsic linguistic or even psycholinguistic reasons HC stands alone, at least for now, that is until further research can disconfirm it.

“Therefore, the null hypothesis is that the data in (4)* reflect a productive relation between Xsyon and X in the minds/brains of HC speakers. This relation extends to the formation of words such as those in (5), which may count as Haitianisms”.

(5)	dekoupasyon ‘dividing wall, screen’	cf. dekoupe ‘to cut up, to carve’
	eklerasyon ‘enlightment’	cf. eklere ‘to enlighten’
	levasyon ‘education, upbringing’	cf. leve ‘to educate, to rear’
	pansyon ‘anxiety’	cf. panse ‘to think’
	pèdisyon ‘false pregnancy, menorrhagia’	cf. pèdi ‘to lose’
	vivasyon ‘conviviality’	cf. viv ‘to live’

DeGraff, 2001, p. 65

To expand the argument, there are similarities between some morphophonological rules in French and HC. These similarities point to the flaw inherent to the strict version of relexification (See section 2.5.1). The examples that illustrate this point are presented in the table below, generated from examples found in HC and French, as alluded to by DeGraff (2002).

Complex morphophonological rules displayed in HC	
Diskisyon ‘discussion’	from diskite ‘to discuss’
Desizyon(sic) ‘decision’	from deside ‘to decide’
Pèmision ‘permission’	from pèmèt ‘to permit’
Dijesyon/dijestyon ‘digestions’	from dijere ‘to digest’
Konstriksiyon ‘construction’	from konstrui/konstui ‘to construct’
Soustraksiyon ‘subtraction’	from soustrè ‘subtract’
Arestasyon ‘arestment’	from arete ‘to arrest’
Salitasyon ‘salutation’	from salye ‘to salute’
Devosyon ‘devotion’	from devwe ‘to devote’

*The data in (4) refer to a list of 26 Xsyon words such as exemplified in the Xsyon Word Sample table above.

At the macro level, when looking at the situation of the Caribbean, Demas (1978) compared the linguistic situation of the different countries in the region. He saw the French

influence in Haiti on the same footing as the influence of Spanish in Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico; the English language for the Commonwealth in the Caribbean, and the Dutch language for the territories of Suriname and the islands that pertain to the Netherlands. He later on even equated the French situation in Haiti as one and the same as the influence of “French in the three overseas departments of France” (p. 235). It is interesting that, as in par with DeGraff (2001), that that attitude towards Creole studies has gone to a period of lapidescence (that is near absence). Concurrently, Demas’ article seems to reach as far as nonexistence of HC because only French is mentioned in the case of Haiti and this in 1978.

2.5.4 HC and French in educational reforms

One of the major reforms launched in Haiti in 1979 (Constant, 2007; Février, 2009; Saint-Germain, 1997) proposed the use of Creole as a language of instruction in the first four years of education (Dejean, 2010). The language situation has been identified as neither bilingual nor diglossic but essentially monolingual (Dejean, 1983, 2010). Despite the move for the use of HC in education in 1979, Valdman noted that opponents to this move feared the use of HC because of the prominent social status held by French in Haiti. Besides the political and educational elites, even non educated parents opposed the spread of HC in education for sometimes ideological reasons and often unsubstantiated motives (Février, 2009). Février spelled out the social resistance to education in Creole: “la majorité des parents ont déployé une forte résistance, considérant le créole comme une langue vulgaire, parlée par les analphabètes, les pauvres et les marginaux. À noter que la résistance est surtout manifeste, voire farouche, chez les parents des couches moyenne et défavorisée!” (Charlier-Doucet, 2000, cited in Février, 2009, p. 10). Yet, compared to other Caribbean Creoles, HC offers a better chance of implementation in a prospective bilingual education system (Youssef, 2002). This assumption is based on an ethnographic study carried out throughout Haiti by Valerie Doucet (2000, cited in Youssef,

¹ Most parents displayed strong resistance, considering Creole as a vulgar language, spoken by illiterates, poor and marginalized. Note that the resistance is especially obvious, even fierce, among parents of middle and disadvantaged strata (my translation).

2002). In this study, it was found that Haitians favour the use of HC in education as eagerly as they support the teaching of French. With new clues from the proposed study, some critical issues pertaining to bilingual education may be facilitated by insights gathered from both Corpus Linguistics and Contrastive Analysis. These points will be argued in the analysis section as the data from the corpora are being unpacked. In the situation of Haiti, the facts speak for themselves when it comes to the benefits of using HC in a bilingual setting as it has been unofficially. HC, from my own experience, has been used to support the learning of any subject taught in the Haitian school system. The corpora of this dissertation aim at showing via the use of HC in radio broadcast, how the language is equipped to effectively transfer knowledge in various domains. As demonstratives are identified in the data, they are, by nature, tied to the noun phrases of any domain of expertise. CL offers the added benefit of quantifying and qualifying the data to provide a firmer referential grasp of HC in multiple domains of knowledge.

In terms of the languages used in educational reforms, besides the above scholars who provided some valuable insights, Jean-Pierre (2011, 2015) provided a historical outlook of Haitian school reforms and their respective language(s). The following table contains a summary of Jean-Pierre's account of some major school reforms in Haiti in a post-colonial context:

Haitian School Reforms		
Year	Reform Name	Traits
1844	Reform of Honoré Féry	Emphasis on morality and religion
1860	Reform of Elie Dubois	Very significant in the first century of independence, the emphasis was on French.
1911	Reform of Tertulien Guilbaud	The focus was on teachers' training, teachers' salaries, school inspections, and the increase of the number of schools.
1941	Reform of Maurice Dartigue	Reform efforts intended to broaden access to public education, professionalize Haiti's civil service system, acquire resources by collaborating with foreign nations (particularly the United States), and promote a Haitian national culture that was self-defined, rather than dependent on French culture (Verna, 2007)
1979	Reform of Joseph Bernard	As the most significant, this reform introduced the system of basic education from K-9 th grade (which is from kindergarten to first high school year) and HC as language of instruction from K-5 th grade.

Table 3 - School Reforms in Haiti in the post-colonial era, based on Jean-Pierre (2011, 2015)

Besides the above reforms, Jean-Pierre (2015) took notice of the debate in the Haitian parliament in 2013 regarding the creation of a HC Academy, which led its actual creation in 2015. Interestingly, the table above starts in the post-colonial era. Racine (2007) reminded her readers clearly that "Throughout the colonial period, formal education in Haiti was practically non-existent" (p. 206). Additionally, Racine (2007) laid down the struggle of Henry Christophe to deviate the post-colonial country from the French influence as exemplified by Christophe's propensity towards Englishness. It was so because of the enmity between Haiti and France after the Independence war of 1804. Henry Christophe was first president, then proclaimed king following the assassination of the first ruler of Haiti, Jean Jacques Dessalines (Barskett & Malo, 1819) after the war of independence. As in line with King Christophe's stance, for the reform of Maurice Dartigue in 1941, it is known that:

He advanced reform efforts intended to broaden access to public education, professionalize Haiti's civil service system, acquire resources by collaborating with foreign nations (particularly the United States), and promote a Haitian national culture that was self-defined, rather than dependent on French culture. (Verna, 2007)

Despite the observation of Verna (2007) regarding the stance of Maurice Dartigue in the early 1940s, some years after the American occupation of Haiti, Jean-Pierre (2015), documented as part of the ethnographic phase of his dissertation, that a situation of tension exists in Haiti when educators are faced with the dilemma of using HC everywhere and French on some rare occasions. Yet, HC is still associated with the colonial stigma. The society, including the teachers of his investigation, know through experience that HC is the language spoken at home, but as one of the participating teachers of his research put it,

Well, we have a serious problem in this country. Our nation rejects its own culture and values other cultures. Creole is ours, but French is not. When I go somewhere I have to force myself to speak French. So, in the school also we have to do our best to help students to learn some French to be able to fend for themselves in the society. (p. 2)

Beyond the theoretical fray that populates the ideological world of some Haitian intellectuals, some down-to-earth educators seem to be enlightened by their everyday HC and French usage reality. What is needed is a strong voice that supports their experience in a more theoretically-sound way. This dissertation might encouragingly contribute to at least a database where some HC linguistic facts can be investigated.

2.5.5 The effect of a linguistic ideology in Haiti

There is no current extensive and exclusive research on the effect of a linguistic ideology in Haiti or the pair language and ideology in Haiti. Nevertheless, this topic is in no way a negligible one. To investigate the concept, I looked at the general meaning of ideology and then attempted to discover how it applies in the case of Haiti. Freeden (2013) pointed out how ideology deviated from its original meaning as the “study of ideas.” Therefore, he proposed five major areas that are worth considering. Out of the five areas mentioned, only one cross-paths directly with linguistics. Given the magnitude of the concept of ideology, it is totally unproductive to exclude the other areas. Besides, Freeden’s endeavour is situated in a cross-disciplinary approach to the understanding of ideology. It seems that there is a perennial core tendency to associate ideology to politics. But sadly, observed Freeden (2013), it is also associated at least perceptively to totalitarianism. The aspect that concerns this dissertation is the five-prong approach where first, at a certain moment in time, ideology was “caught up in

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the debate whether the study of politics is a science or an art" (p. 2). The second prong elucidates the ideological battle of liberalism against communism and fascism. The third point evokes the individualism associated with the Western and mostly American civilization. The fourth prong, which relates to this study, is connected to modern trends in linguistics, philosophy, and psychology to retrieve their long gone Marxist significant setting. That significant setting is construed in the sense that "it is once again exposed as a dissimulative device. But those developments also encourage a critical stance in a non-Marxist sense, as a reflective exploration of the features of ideology" (p.3). The fifth point refers to the reconstruction of ideology as a versatile variation of political reasoning.

The five-prong view above appears to encapsulate the crux of ideology, leading to the point where it intersects with linguistics. In this particular vein, the language situation of Haiti has been heavily influenced by the ideological thinking of the colonial era. As pointed out by DeGraff (2001), almost all those who approach Creole studies could not evade their given attitude to Creole languages or Creole speakers. This includes intellectuals and non-intellectuals as well as linguists and non-linguists both nationally and internationally.

Not too much is said regarding language and ideology in Haiti except fairly recently when Valdman, Villeneuve, and Siegel (2015) took "On the influence of the standard norm of Haitian Creole on the Cap Haitian dialect" in an article bearing the same name. Nevertheless, Valdman et. al. touched on a contrast between the HC variety spoken in Port-au-Prince considered as a standard version by these three authors. For the first time, the notion of Standard Haitian Creole (SHC) is introduced. Nevertheless, the justification provided appeared to be just an idiolectal syntactic representation of possession in Cap Haitian realized as 'kin a + pronoun' as opposed to the so-called Port-au-Prince SHC version 'pou + pronoun' (both instances mean for+pronoun, that is for him, for her, for us etc.). Besides those dialectal differences with possession, the authors also alluded to the difference between SHC third person singular pronoun 'li' as opposed to its Cap Haitian counterpart 'i'. Additionally, they postulated that the SHC version has more prestige in the eyes of a Cap Haitian HC speaker. My personal experience in Haiti with HC, indeed, ascertains the possessive difference of expression

between Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitian speakers. Additionally, the third person singular form of the pronoun is, indeed, present in the Cap Haitian dialect of HC but also in the Southwest of Haiti (Jacmel), where my own father originated. Nevertheless, a variety of HC has never been perceived as being more prestigious than another except if it is a French-based version. As the Haitian linguist Yves Dejean taught his many students, including myself, at both *École Normale Supérieure* (Normal School) and *La Faculté de Linguistique Appliquée*, you write as you speak (*selon pale w se selon ekri w*). Paradoxically, Valdman et. al. referred their readers to Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) to discuss the relation between language and ideology in Haiti. In analysing the sociolinguistics of Haiti, Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) appear to concur that “For Haitians, the history and ideology that are associated with *kreyòl* and French have social and political implications that are played out in all social relationships” (p. 178). Therefore, it appears that the forces at play imply HC vis-à-vis French in Haiti and not empirically yet proven that the same occurs between dialectal varieties of HC. For a more elaborate assessment of the critical role of ideology in Creolistics, refer to section 2.6.7 below.

2.5.6 Language identity in Haiti and the historical place of HC

Although the primary role of any language is to enable communication, this communication tool goes far beyond this fundamental role. One of the salient aspects of language as spoken in a community of individuals is the identity that it creates. In Haiti, language identity is not a straightforward issue but instead, it has many interrelated sub-components that are rooted in the very history of the nation. Gibson (2011) reported that scholars, such as DeGraff (2009), Doucet (2011), Valdman (1988), and Zephir (1995) refer to the notion of French as a High (H) language compared to HC, at least how it is perceived within the population. This notion of H language stemmed out of the diglossic situation erroneously attributed to Haiti by Ferguson (Some scholars still erroneously see a perfect application of Ferguson’s diglossia even in the case of Caribbean Creoles (Winford, 1985). Gibson (2011) concurs with DeGraff that the situation of Haiti is similar to a “linguistic apartheid” (DeGraff, 2009, p. 126, cited in Gibson, 2011, p. 21). The concept of ‘linguistic apartheid’ as formulated

here in the context of Haiti stems from the fact that the vast majority of monolingual HC speakers are excluded from a proper education. Education is conducted in French (more pervasively prior to 1979), that is the system assumes that French is the language of all Haitians whereas 95% cannot truly learn in French from the start. It is particularly true from those who come from a totally monolingual HC home. Haitians have been highly creative to help their children learn. Parents rely on tutoring, where older students, teachers, or an available family member would support or guide students in completing their homework or understanding a concept being taught in French. By way of a direct definition “linguistic apartheid” in the case of Haiti stands to mean “segregation on the basis of language, with roots in the French colonial system” (DeGraff, 2019, p. xi). Gibson recognizes the role language plays in Haiti in maintaining social classes, but he quoted Zephir who claimed that language is also a unifying factor among Haitians. Because of the different social classes, it appears evident that any perceived unity will be within the boundary of the respective languages at play, HC, and French. More precisely, “the French language and culture of Haiti’s former colonizers has been used by a small and powerful elite to validate their claims of power and prestige while blocking the majority of Haitians from participating in national life” (Buchanan, 1979, cited in Gibson, 2011, p. 21). More strikingly however, it is found that in Haiti the masses adhere to the prestige of French against HC and the elite (Dejean, 1993; Doucet, 2011; Schieffelin & Doucet, 1992, cited in Gibson, 2011, p. 22). This stance is in accordance with the view of the Brazilian educational philosopher Paulo Freire that “the masses have internalized the dominant ideology of the oppressor” (Dejean, 1993, cited in Gibson, 2011, p. 22). In the same vein, in an interview given in relation to his famous book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire stated in the form of rhetorical question: “Do you see it’s impossible to think of language without thinking of ideology and power?” (Freire, 1972, oral interview). Gibson pointed to some significant instances in the shaping of the language and identity relationship in Haiti in the rise of Creole, after the departure of the Duvalier regime in 1986. Alluding to the American occupation of Haiti from 1915-1934, there was a tendency to return to African roots out of nationalism and to reconnect with Africa. Nevertheless, this drive still fostered the use of French to promote this return to Africa. It is

after the said departure of the Duvaliers that Creole becomes, for the first time, the official language of Haiti alongside French.

While examining the place of language identity in Haiti, one must consider the pervasive nature of this identity and its tendency to cross over frontiers to wherever Haitian roots are present. Isabelle Airey captured the essence of this fact in her 2008 dissertation entitled "*The nexus between language and identity in the Caribbean/Caribbean American context.*" In this compelling work, Airey attempted to confirm her Haitianness and stated: "It was important for me to explore the issues of language and identity in Haiti as well as other Caribbean regions, because I believe they share the experience of a complex and intense colonial history/tragedy" (p. 17-18). The colonial history she mentioned is at the core of the formation of HC and its identity. The poignant question is how does this identity reflect in the literature of Creolistics or Creology² and what is its meaning for Creolity or Creoleness? While Creolistics is fundamentally linguistic, Creolity would include the identity of the Creole speakers within their language of expression. Nevertheless, Collins (2017) appears to have seen a militantism in Creolistics and a broader perspective in Creolity. As Rauzduel-Lambourdiere (2007) clarified, Creole as a language is also a code that allows the expression of culture and of both collective and individual identities. To further expand the specific distinction provided by each term, a brief summary of the way they are used in the available literature is provided in the subsequent lines. Let us first posit that creolity as pursued here is the English rendition of the French *créolité* and the term *créolité* has been used exclusively by Hall (2015) in his paper entitled "*Créolité and the Process of Creolization*". Therefore, in its narrower sense creolity "must be understood as a specific discourse, arising from a certain critically self-conscious Francophone reading of, or a theoretical reflection on, the broader processes of creolization..." (p. 19). Hall continues to reveal

² "Creology" in WordSense.eu Online Dictionary (20th January, 2019); same as creolistics.
W. Douce, PhD Thesis, Aston University 2023

that most theorists of creolization argue that this process has generated not the devalued mixed vulgar vernacular culture incapable of promoting excellent work, but it is a powerful new source of widespread innovation with all uniqueness, inventiveness, and is well equipped “to capture the realities of daily life in postcolony...” (ibid.). For these theorists, Hall emphasizes that creolity is the realistic and emotional source for traditional creation “for writing, poetry, music, art. It has the status of a literary programme of philosophical ‘manifesto’, a call to arms for creative practitioners and intellectuals...” (ibid.). It is worth mentioning that Hall views creolization as the combination of the triple African, European and American presences with different levels of arrangements or rearrangements that yield diverse spaces for creolization in say Haiti, Cuba, Dominica, Jamaica, Guadalupe etc.

Besides creolization and creolity alluded to above, the term creology is very common and probably one of the oldest among other related terminologies as it stands for “the study of pidgins and creoles” (Sandefur, 1979, p. 11). Pidginization is briefly alluded to in section 2.3.1, par. 2). Creolistics is viewed as the same as creology (Oluwole-Olusegun, 2023, online) and also as the study of Creole languages, which places them (creolistics or creology) as a “subfield of linguistics. Someone who engages in this study is a creolist” (ibid., p. 1). In the same vein, some scholars attempt to provide an in-depth overview of Creole in general and its correlates. Such endeavour is entertained by Knörr (2010) and the established correlation produced some contemporary clarification and

“For now it is important to recognize that (a) creolization must be distinguished from other forms of mixing and merging by means of specific criteria, (b) creolization as a process must be distinguished from creoleness as a quality (resulting from creolization), and (c) creolization as a process must be distinguished from creolization as a concept, the latter serving as a tool to conceptualize and analyze the former” (Knörr, 2010, p. 733-734)

Looking at creoleness, Seifert (2002) sees it as a concept unique to the Americas and refers to the sudden fluxing of diverse traditional and racial “groups on islands or otherwise isolated regions, resulting in the creation of a new cultural organization” (p. 216). Seifert’s distinction resembles Chaudenson’s take on the case of Creoles (See section 2.3.4). In *Conversations on Creoleness*, Edwards (2004) reports that contributors to these conversations, to cover all the general terms in an eclectic fashion, were brought to discuss *créolité* and creolization in terms of their “ethical, theoretical, political, cultural, global and diasporic modalities and effects” (p. 222). Besides what is stated above in the literature, some scholars found that “it has been stated many times that creolistics is a point of overlap of anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics and contact linguistics” (Walczynski, 2012, p. 211). This proven overlapping of different domains and areas that goes both within and beyond linguistics, has placed creolistics, it appears, in quite an interdisciplinary continuum.

In terms of literary production in HC, some recent theses, such as the one defended by Airey (2008), Jean-Pierre (2011) and Hermann-Bell (2013), have respectively embraced the importance of language identity, language in post-colonial context and the “Littérisation of Contemporary Haitian Literature.” Hermann-Bell presented two emblematic HC writers that dominated the artistic, intellectual, and Creole language scenery of the Haitian nation for many years. These authors are Frankétienne (Frank Étienne) and Felix Morisseau-Leroy. Frankétienne is well known to have produced two iconic masterpieces written in HC, *Dezafi* and *Pèlen Tèt*. Felix Morisseau-Leroy is known to have brought to the fore in HC, *Antigòn*, a rendition of the famous Greek writer Sophocles’ tragedy. These authors have arguably affirmed, sustained, and exemplified the inextricable role of Creole in projecting the true identity of Haitians. In furtherance of this fact, regarding Frankétienne, Hermann-Bell (2013) argued that “...as political oppression and the suffering of his compatriots increased under Duvalier’s *noiriste* dictatorship,

so too did his awareness of the issues of language, identity, and political writing, and he began his life-long pursuit of producing texts in Kreyòl” (p. 38).

In school, HC was admittedly despised, although the entire population speaks it; it was not taken advantage of until the Bernard Reform initiated since 1976 but instituted in 1979 (Gibson, 2011, p. 23). Sadly, the Haitian school system was used to diminish the very potential of HC (DeGraff, 2009, cited in Gibson, 2011). In more vivid terms and quoting an eminent Haitian linguist,

Worse, Dejean (2010) describes practices in Haitian schools that punish Creole speakers and force students to monitor each other’s speech by telling on those who speak Creole rather than French, demonstrating the broad disrespect that is show[sic] toward the Creole language in Haitian schools. (p. 23).

Gibson admits that despite this, HC still maintains its strong role in the Haitian society.

In the educational system, although the Bernard Reform that places HC as a language of instruction has never been fully implemented, some traces of the reform appear to be minimally visible. Some schools decided to follow the reform and some others, especially private schools, decided to continue to educate their students in French. Because the program was initiated by the department of Education, some schools implemented some modified version of it, such as to teach HC as a subject instead of using it as a language of instruction (Gibson, 2011). Truthfully, the overwhelming body of literature that supports the use of mother tongue in education plays well in the advantage of HC in education.

2.5.7 View Against Creole Exceptionalism (ACE)

DeGraff, has argued “Against Creole Exceptionalism.” Creole Exceptionalism is summarized in his own words:

Many Creolists throughout the history of Creole languages have relied on a variety of dualist (...) assumptions whereby Creole languages constitute a special class of languages apart from ‘normal/regular’ languages (...). Some of these assumptions were implicitly handed down to us from (neo)colonial history without ‘any break in transmission’, so to speak. In the colonial era, these anti-egalitarian assumptions were part and parcel of the imperialist construction of political, cultural, and racial hegemony and the concomitant discursive elaboration of scientific authority through scholarly(-looking) texts (...). (DeGraff, 2004, p. 391)

To showcase the tentacular implication of Creole Exceptionalism, DeGraff (2005) has shown that this type of exceptionalism goes beyond the theoretical realm of Creolistics but much deeper with observable damages in real life:

“Creole Exceptionalism” is defined as a set of beliefs, widespread among both linguists and non-linguists, that Creole languages form an exceptional class on phylogenetic and/or typological grounds. It also has nonlinguistic (i.e., sociological) implications, such as the claim that Creole languages are a “handicap” for their speakers, which has undermined the role that Creoles should play in the education and socioeconomic development of monolingual Creolophones. (DeGraff, 2005, p. 533)

In his view, exceptionalism tends to relegate Creolistics into a pseudo-scientific area of accepting the unacceptable without solid proof anchored in evidence-based linguistic criteria. In standing “Against Creole Exceptionalism,” DeGraff found his motivation in the work of de Saussure, who tasks the linguist with the arduous work of refuting fallacies and inaccuracies that can damage the science of language. The task given by de Saussure to linguistic scholars is formulated as such: “ ‘no other subject [outside of language] has fostered more absurd notions, more prejudices, more illusions and more fantasies...[I]t is the primary task of the linguist to denounce them, and to eradicate them as completely as possible’ ” (de Saussure, 1916, [1986, p. 7], cited in DeGraff, 2003, p. 391). In furtherance of this Saussurian mandate, DeGraff questions, “What if the existence of these illusions, prejudices and fallacies underlies some of the foundations in Creole studies”? This dramatic question signals how DeGraff and many other linguists are engaged to combat those identified fallacies. In debating “Creole Exceptionalism,” DeGraff endeavours to redress the many biases that have tainted a great number of scholarly works in Creole studies. The biases pervade simultaneously the “theoretical, methodological and sociological levels” of scholarly work (DeGraff, 2005).

Furthermore, tagging “Creole Exceptionalism” as one of the “most dangerous myths” after a notorious label from Montagu (1942, cited in DeGraff, 2005, p. 534), DeGraff rephrased the term ‘Creole Exceptionalism’ as “the postulation of exceptional and abnormal characteristics in the diachrony and/or synchrony of Creole languages as a class” (p. 534). Additionally, DeGraff argued on the grounds of “intellectual history” that the exceptionalist approach is the corollary of a succession of “epistemological dualisms” generated by both racist and slave

discourses (ibid). De Saussure's full thought on the importance of linguistics and, thereby, its practical role in real world with deeper moral obligations is formulated in this quote from DeGraff:

[O]f what use is linguistics? . . . In the lives of individuals and of societies, language is a factor of greater importance than any other. For the study of language to remain solely the business of a handful of specialists would be a quite unacceptable state of affairs. In practice, the study of language is in some degree or other the concern of everyone. But a paradoxical consequence of this general interest is that no other subject has fostered more absurd notions, more prejudices, more illusions and more fantasies. From a psychological point of view, these errors are of interest in themselves. But it is the primary task of the linguist to denounce them, and to eradicate them as completely as possible. (Saussure 1916 [1986:7]), cited in DeGraff, 2003).

Along with DeGraff's observation, it becomes clear why this present dissertation must include the transformative method (see chapter 4) given the fact that Creole languages and the significant role they must play are constantly under attack. Not only non-linguist intellectuals but also linguists have contributed to debasing Creoles and the role they can play as exemplified by the following notes from DeGraff (2005) under the criteria of "Creole Exceptionalism":

[We] would not have been able to write in Creole.... I don't even know if this is conceivable...one aspect of Martinique's cultural backwardness is the [expressive] level of its Creole language.... Which level is very low ... The Creole language has remained... in a stage of immediacy, unable to express abstract ideas. (Césaire, 1978, p. x-xi, cited in DeGraff, 2005, p. 542)

The problem [with Creole] is ... dealing with a language in which you don't think abstractly. (Raphaël Confiant as quoted in Mooney, 2000, cited in DeGraff, 2005, p. 542)

But [HC] is not a language that can be used for basic science or that can be used in the advancement of knowledge. (Métellus, 1997, p. 18, cited in DeGraff, 2005, p. 542)

As undertaken by DeGraff in the context of the Saussurian mandate, the work of linguists liberated from the shackles of pseudo-science and ideological blindness can no longer be taken lightly. The well-being of many speakers of Creoles all over the world is dependent upon it. This is in the sense that the removal of prejudice or misconceptions toward Creole languages and Creole speakers will encourage a positive attitude toward them. In pointing out to the "dangerous myth" of "Creole Exceptionalism," DeGraff presents the triple colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial views with both theoretical and practical underpinnings that are

exemplified in real life. In his concluding remarks, he envisions a greater role for post-colonial linguistics in debunking and doing away with “certain (mis)practices in Creole Studies” via redirecting the same “with its scientific results and its reflexive mediations” (p. 579). The expected outcome is also to draw “attention to the socio-historical determinants and sociological consequences of metalinguistic attitudes in, and outside, linguistic research” (p. 579). The stake is high, but one must adhere to facts and endeavour to elevate oneself to the rational conclusions delivered by scientific investigations. If it is the case, both linguistic Creole researchers and sceptics will benefit by allowing the truth to have its hearing. This dissertation that integrates CL in its investigation will provide a way to verify HC linguistic facts beginning with HC demonstratives.

As argued at the beginning of the dissertation (section 1.1), negative attitudes towards Creole languages have created a lot of hindrances and impediments that led to the debasing of both Creole languages and Creole speakers in addition to their cultures and territories. The fact that Creole languages are constantly under attack, as stated before, is widespread in the literature. Couti (2016) surveyed the attack on Creole in the literature by analyzing French Caribbean discourses during the period running from 1806 to 1897. Couti’s work exhibits different facets of the attacks on Creoles on the forms of “attack on Creole culture by Frenchmen of dubious character...” (p. 59) and also “...Creole history is in jeopardy, and Creoles under attack” (p. 110), “Creole communities under attack” (p. 65), “Creole woman as a symbolic space under attack” (p. 6), “Creoles...victims of French metropolitan” and “Creole life...depicted as under attack” (p. 117) and the list of instances showing the same goes on and on. Even before the period covered by Couti, the historical records archived “a relentless attack on Creole language” (Marcelin, 2020, p. 23). Sometimes in history, this attack is expressed in quite a paradoxical way when in the case of Jamaica vis-à-vis England that the abolition of slave trade is perceived as “a direct attack on Creole way of life and safety” (Ono-George, 2010, p. 75). It was reported in the same time frame covered by Couti that on the Dutch side in

relation to sugar production, a certain writer “is quite explicit in his attack on Creole technology in sugar manufacturing in the colony...” (Knight, 2014, p. 59). The kind of attacks alluded to here and as well in section 1.1 go beyond the Creole languages but reach as far and deep as their people, their culture, their territories, and anything related to Creoles.

2.6 Conclusion

Knowing well the origin of HC, its pathway out of slavery, its historical roots, may contribute to swinging the sociolinguistic pendulum. Many linguists and scholars have now come to terms with the necessity to use the mother tongue, HC. Hitherto, the population is yet to accept HC in its proper place in the school system in the same way that this language is already firmly established in all other sectors of the population. Although threatened and vilified for socio-political reasons, HC has never been absent in the Haitian society and its historical significance has not suffered any break in terms of actual and effective language use among the different social strata. Therefore, this study aspires to contribute to cementing the vital role HC can play among Haitians. Many well-intentioned Haitians, both intellectuals and non-intellectuals, have fallen into the trap of linguistic ignorance. Undeniably, most of them are honestly wrong. In the era of computerized data, CL will assist these citizens of Haiti or elsewhere to debunk fallacies, to differentiate facts from fiction, and to adhere to what is provable. Placing a tool such as HC data via CL in the hands of linguists, language specialists, social scientists and educators at large may help to bring this outcome to fruition. At least partially, this work is a contribution at making such a means available.

CHAPTER 3 – Toward a Description of Demonstratives

Introduction

The third chapter of the dissertation provides an introduction to demonstratives. They are situated in the bigger linguistic set known as determiners to show pervasiveness in language. Demonstratives, as a subset of determiners, are contrasted with adjectives. In perusing the details, aspects of language are considered, followed by the parts of speech, determiners, in general, then in HC. The impact of demonstratives on language instruction is alluded to, based on some work on the importance of noun phrases (NP) in the transfer of knowledge across content areas. An in-depth overview attempts to establish the philosophico-semantic underpinnings of demonstratives. This section continues with the significance of demonstratives and points to their necessity in language use. I look at our current knowledge of demonstratives and show how they fit in the variationist approach. The last segment of this part contrasts the features of demonstrative determiners in general and the HC demonstrative determiners. It goes on to show the linguistic features of demonstratives, and contrast determiners generally with demonstrative determiners. It examines HC demonstrative determiners and shows the pervasive and ubiquitous linguistic implications of demonstratives.

3.1 On the aspects of language

Human language has always been a part of any social structure. Some scholars explain it based on the necessary repetitive intercommunications inherent to a diverse community (Gong et al., 2004; Gong & Wang, 2005). There are some language units such as discourse, a form of social practice with dialectal differences implicating a socio-cultural and institutional frame. There is also text, any instance of written or spoken language (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, cited in Van der Houwen, 2005). This difference between discourse and text can shed some light on comprehending the depth and the usefulness of language as a tool. It is true that language has been and is still being perceived as a communication tool that implies at least two interlocutors (a speaker and a hearer, encoding and decoding acoustic messages according to a

signifying and a signified continuum (De Saussure & Baskin, 2011). In sign language however, the acoustic representation may not be necessary for the deaf, but if the interlocutor needs to interpret to others, it is. A monologue does not escape the speaker/hearer duality.

Understandably, in a monologue, the speakers are speaking to themselves at least at the surface, but if it is at a performance, there is an audience. In that vein, it is known that “In order to process successfully and thereby achieve a coherent interpretation of a monologue; the listener must grasp the network of concepts and semantic relations underlying the surface text” (Thompson, 1994, p. 58). Notwithstanding, in later analyses, language has been described as a “system of discrete infinity” (Berwick et al., 2013, p. 90); this fact is due to the ability a speaker has to produce an infinite number of expressions that are meaningfully shared with an interlocutor that speaks the same language.

While a language in use allows the interaction of the different linguistic subparts or skills such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing, these skills still function at the macrolinguistic level or higher order of organization of the language. Other aspects are studied at the microlinguistic or language specific level (Glosser & Deser, 1992), as it will be in the case of demonstratives in HC. Because of the high complexity of languages, the question is raised whether or not languages and even aspects of languages are worlds within worlds (Pareyon, 2007). Demonstratives belong to the bigger category of determiners. Thus, they can be perceived as a world in themselves that may inform both theoretical linguistics and language policy applied to say the journalistic use of language. Scholars who studied the aspects of language have elaborated a long list of components that goes beyond the four basic language skills mentioned earlier or the basic linguistic subsystems (phonetics, phonology, syntax, semantics, morphology). The list also includes the geolinguistic dimensions of language (Bolinger, 1975). This aspect will be explored in section 3.7.3 that covers some language variation that is known as diatopic, for targeting existing regiolects.

3.2 On parts-of-speech

Besides the macrolinguistic and the microlinguistic dimensions of language, there is a hierarchy within language that allows all its components to be unified into speech. Expanding the specific aim of this dissertation of HC demonstratives, the identification of the different parts of speech will be necessary. Although this is not the basic framework for our data analysis, which is corpus-based within the variationist framework, it is, however, crucial to mention the functional approach for subsequent reference. First, this undertaking is situated in the perspective of functional linguistics. The necessity for this perspective is spelled out in the following words of the theoretical linguist from the University of Amsterdam, Kees Hengeveld, stating that “One of the major advantages of a functional approach, as compared with a notional or a morphosyntactic approach is that it allows for generalization across highly divergent languages...” (Hengeveld, 1992, p. 29). Next, while investigating the notion of parts of speech and how those parts correlate, it is important to relationally situate demonstratives in the ensemble of parts of speech. As demonstrated by some scholars such as Hengeveld et. al., the proper typology of the parts of speech may have an illuminating effect in disambiguating the function of each part. More specifically, it has been “shown that the nature of the parts-of-speech system of a language imposes restrictions on the syntactic properties of that language, which can be explained in terms of their disambiguating function” (Hengeveld et al., 2004, p. 564). HC does not escape this reasoning articulated by Hengeveld.

In the same vein, there is interrelatedness between the parts-of-speech system of a language and the morphological structure of that language (Hengeveld, 2007). Although Hengeveld’s approach seems to be clearly functional, one of his critics has described him as one of the “lumpers,” i.e. tenants of the theoretical approach that tend to combine the parts of speech like the four main ones (verb, noun, adjective, adverb) as opposed to “splitters,” who expand the four categories proposed by Hengeveld (1992). This critic sees Hengeveld’s approach as emphasizing the “function-indicating morpho-syntax (Croft, 1991, p. 58, cited in Croft, 2000, p. 68). Croft (2000) appears to suggest to not neglect semantic theories while determining the proper categories of the parts of speech. If all categories pertaining to the parts

of speech in a given language have to be construed as part of the language lexicon, there should be a reconciliation of the functional approach with the semantic approach. This is perhaps because of the “interdependency between lexical and morphosyntactic typology” (Lier, 2006, p. 239). Without any obvious refutation of being termed “lumpers” intended, Hengeveld and van Lier (2010) have designed a map that comprises all parts of speech without negating the semantic nature of the process of implication of the parts of speech. This is constructed as follows:

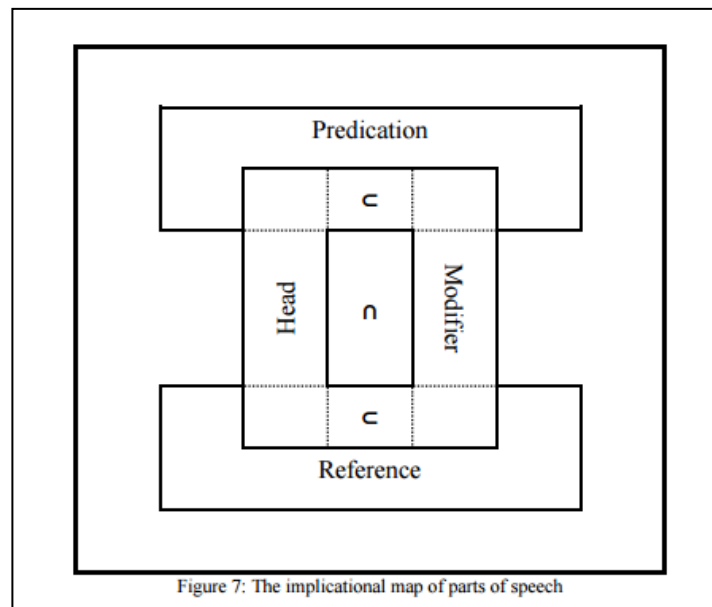


Figure 3 - The implicational map of the parts of speech

In their own words, Hengeveld and van Lier see in the implicational map the following purpose:

In the parts of speech map, the predication-reference parameter and the head-modifier parameter each pertain to different functional dimensions, neither of which is connected to the denotational semantics expressed by the linguistic units involved but rather connected to ways in which lexical items are used to create predicating and referring expressions. (Hengeveld & van Lier, 2010, p. 153)

This pictorial representation may provide an expeditious co-relational reference to the interrelatedness of the parts of speech alluded to above. Therefore, the parts of speech in their correlation and their interconnectedness appear to confirm an important fact. That is, the study of demonstratives can be informed by the other parts of speech if necessary, because of their interrelatedness. This present study aims at examining the HC demonstratives in a specific

corpus generated by the news media. The parts of speech will be alluded to whenever the data warrant insights from Hengeveld's function-indicating morpho-syntax.

3.3 On determiners

The category of determiners to which demonstratives belong, have known instances of parameterization, that is the setting of parameters, defined in Chomskyan terms as "a finite set of alternatives" (oxfordreference.com, 2020). A parameterized Determiner Phrase (DP) Hypothesis was elaborated by scholars such as Bašić (2004), Pereltsvaig (2007), Caruso (2011) Bailyn (2012), Pereltsvai (2013), in LaTerza (2015). LaTerza conducted a cross-linguistic analysis of the acceptable categorial attribution of determiners (D) as opposed to adjectives (A) to which were conflated many categories according to traditional grammar. Beginning with Chomsky in 1957 and more formally theorized since Abney in 1987, articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, numbers, and possessives, which previously pertained to A, have come to be properly classified. The new theorizing has gone as far as "placing adjectives within the class of lexical categories, and determiners within the class of functional categories" (LaTerza, 2015, p. 86). This study of the HC demonstratives though aiming at a framework free approach included a close look into the functional approach as theorized by Hengeveld (1992) and expanded by Hengeveld and Lier (2010) whenever it informed this dissertation. I also included in my analysis insights from other predominant frameworks when necessary (See Section 4.3 for the discussion on theoretical frameworks). Contrasting the different views yields a more decisive result in the understanding of the variations of demonstratives within the corpus generated by the news broadcast (Vanderbauwhede, 2012a).

3.4 On determiners in Haitian Creole (HC)

The notion of determiners in HC needs to be explained in a way that is validated in the actual use of the language. Validation is used here in the hypothetico-deductive sense, where what is known theoretically about HC variation of demonstratives as determiners, was investigated for confirmation in the data provided by the news broadcast. It was expected that

the tools that Corpus Linguistics (CL) provides in the analytical part of this project would achieve this validation for demonstratives. First, I considered some of the studies in HC that provide a greater insight in the linguistic category of determiners. Some post Chomskyan linguists studied subparts of determiners such as articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, numbers, and possessives (LaTerza, 2015). In his work on HC, DeGraff (2007), has shown a great number of the linguistic categories that pertain to HC. Within the categories listed in LaTerza (2015), DeGraff (ibid.), before LaTerza had mentioned adjectives that have to be kept different from verbs (p. 112). The claim for this distinction is because some analyses in the past such as the ones by Göbl-Gàldi (1934, p. 258) recognized only two categories in Creole languages, noun, and verb.

Articles, both definite and indefinite are apart from adjectives, pertaining to actual determiners listed in LaTerza (2015), formerly presented in DeGraff (2007). The definite articles 'la' is claimed to be a superstrate, or standardized form of a deictic, the French locative 'là' (Chaudenson, 1993, cited in DeGraff, 2007, p. 117). The determiner *la* is commonly analyzed in the linguistic literature as a clausal determiner (Lefebvre, 1992; DeGraff, 1992b, 1994b, cited in DeGraff, 2007). This determiner has some phonological variants (Joseph, 1988, cited in DeGraff, ibid.) and has allomorphs such as 'a, an, lan and nan' (DeGraff, 2007, p. 117). This definite article holds a post-nuclear position just like the possessives in HC (Douce, 2015).

Demonstratives as one of the categories subjacent to determiners have the form *sa, sa a* or *sila a* in HC (section 3.8.3). They are essentially post nuclear like all the HC determiners. One of the forms, *sa a* has to be differentiated from the HC homophone and homograph relative pronoun *sa*, written and pronounced without the lengthening of the 'a'. However, the Haitian linguist Yves Dejean as well as DeGraff provided some methodological and epistemological caveats in the handling of the HC demonstratives (Dejean, 1982, 1999; DeGraff, 1999a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, cited in DeGraff, 2007). The plural marker of the demonstratives is the plural morpheme 'yo' that is also used in almost all plural markings in HC except for the indefinite article that has a zero morphological marking.

3.5 On impact of demonstratives on language instruction

Some researchers looked at the crucial role of demonstratives in second language learners' interlanguage process. Aston et al., (2004) revealed through a study that involves Polish second language speakers of English and their "use of demonstratives anaphora markers" (p. 105-106), that the analysis of learners' corpora confirms the need to address crucial language learning issues. Earlier however, it seems that researchers had worked to differentiate via the study of demonstratives a distinction between language and text that is, a distinction between the spoken expression of language as compared or opposed to its literary use and function. Demonstratives seem to favor this type of study for allowing the convergence or the overlapping of many hypotheses (Gary-Prieur & Léonard, 1998). Whether it is the spoken version or the academic form of the language, the study of demonstratives will provide insights. The contrast between the Noun Phrase (NP) headed by a demonstrative (Dem) to create a syntagmatic structure of the form NPDem may facilitate mutual understanding at the stylistic and semantic levels in an interaction between a French and a Dutch speaker. This conclusion comes from the contrastive study of demonstratives of French and Dutch with an emphasis on their referential functions (Vanderbauwhede, 2012a). Furthermore, Vanderbauwhede (2012b) has established a framework in order to elucidate the different roles played by demonstratives in their various semantic roles. This framework may inform this thesis in which HC demonstratives were analyzed in the corpora of the present study. Two reasons explain this possibility: First French is the European leg of HC (See Part 3.7.2 above and especially 4.7.2 below where a contrastive study of demonstratives in English and Norwegian led to a comparison between English and HC demonstratives). Second, because of the conviction held by some linguists that to fully study a language one has to do it primarily from itself but also from other languages' perspective (Carrera Díaz, 2001). Beyond the single grammatical aspect that a demonstrative may represent, its pervasive inclusion in NP across languages will make its study useful. Similarly, its contextual understanding may be instrumental in diminishing the challenge brought about by academic language. The mastery of academic language is known and confirmed as one of the greatest demanding tasks presented by the language of schooling.

This is based on the role played by the complexity of “nouns and nominal structures in constructing knowledge in different subject areas and the challenges they present for comprehension of academic texts” (Fang et al., 2006, p. 147).

3.6 In depth with demonstratives

This section contains insights some scholars provided in their study of demonstratives. The seemingly simple structure of demonstratives tends to deceive many. The form may appear simplistic: *sa a* or *sila a* and the plural *sa yo* or *sila yo* in HC; *ce, cet, cette, ces*, in French; *este, esta, este, estos, estas, aquel, aquellos, aquellas* in Spanish; *this, that, these, those* in English. In HC the form is the same for both closeness and distality when the pointing action is implied. When there is no pointing, the phrase *‘lòt bò a’* (over there) is used to mark the distance. Although the forms may vary to incorporate plurality, the phonological realization of demonstratives appears nonetheless to be fairly short in most languages. Braun (1996) explored ‘the linguistic meaning of demonstratives’ and exhaustively provides the significance of demonstratives, illustrating primarily from the English language. I will briefly look into his work here.

Braun (1996) lists the demonstratives in English among what he calls ‘indexicals’. Indexicals are defined as “expressions whose reference varies from utterance to utterance or from context to context” (p. 1). Braun further states that “pure indexicals are (roughly) indexicals that refer “automatically” just in virtue of being uttered: the best examples are ‘I’, ‘today’, ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ (ibid.). Braun adds that “(‘here’ and ‘now’ are often included, though the spatial and temporal extents of their referents seem to be determined by something other than mere utterance)” (p. 2). Braun is interested in the semantics of ‘true demonstratives’. His view of true demonstratives abbreviated in demonstratives is worth noting: ‘True demonstratives are indexicals which require something more than mere utterance in order to acquire a referent. The paradigm example of a true demonstrative is ‘that’. Others include ‘this’, ‘you’, ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘there, and ‘then’. In HC, the list includes *sa a/sila a* (this/that), ‘ou’ (you), ‘li’ (he, she, it), *la* (there), and ‘alò’ (then). This list evidently includes not only strictly demonstrative elements but also all elements that include a deixis whether or not it is

grammatically categorised as demonstratives. Not all were investigated in my corpora except the allomorphs of basic HC demonstratives or some locative demonstratives (Van Valin, 2001) or locative adjuncts (DeGraff, 1999).

Before using this list of demonstratives, it was necessary to dig deeper into the process by which Braun (ibid.) discovered the demonstrativeness of those items. In *“Demonstratives, Demonstrations, and Demonstrata”*, Reimer (1991) questions the relationship between an ‘ostensive gesture’ accompanying a ‘visual demonstrative’ and a ‘demonstratum’, that is the ‘referent of that expression’ (p. 187). Additionally, Reimer emphasizes the fact that one scholar well-versed in the philosophical, logical and epistemological underpinnings of demonstratives, David Kaplan, had abandoned his original thoughts. Kaplan in ‘Afterthoughts’ (as cited in Reimer, 1991) no longer believed that “a demonstraion has bearing on the determination of the demonstratum, which instead is determined by” the “directing intention of the speaker” (ibid.). In order to exemplify the significance of the “directing intention” of an utterance, Reimer explains that Kaplan believes that pointing to Spot while saying ‘That dog is Fido’, may confuse the listeners, but the ‘directing intention’ of the speaker does not change. Therefore, according to Kaplan (cited in Reimer, 1991) the pointing is of no semantic value but is just a support for communication. Granting this rather philosophical stance may as well clash with a reality check where the deictic function of demonstratives may not be optional (See section 3.7.1 below for the argument about the lost hiker).

3.7 Significance of demonstratives

Showing the significance of demonstratives may start with a macro-level cue from a sociolinguistic context. Then, the philosophical realm provides additional proof that leads to a semantic dimension as in a tridimensional importance of demonstratives. Beyond the grammatical implication of demonstratives, this linguistic sub-system of determiners can be used effectively to influence and benefit from a political discourse (Acton & Potts, 2014). These scholars managed to show this fact in a quantitative study set out to examine former vice-presidential United States candidate, Sarah Palin’s communication strategy in relation to the

sociolinguistics of demonstratives. Acton and Potts looked at previous studies that “presume perspectival alignment between interlocutors and hence can foster a sense of common ground and shared perspective” (p. 6). Although this broad view appears comprehensive to them, yet it has not been proven quantitatively. They needed their own study with appropriate corpora to investigate “the core social significance of demonstratives”. Compared to other interlocutors, Sarah Palin has statistically more and longer sentences with demonstrative determiners. The end results of their study yielded that Sarah Palin used linguistic devices, such as the coronal –ing- the first-person plural –us- and a “potently affective demonstrative” (p. 22). Examples of coronal -ing include instances such as ‘rootin’ for rooting, ‘fishin’ for fishing (Gardner, 2010).

Much earlier, Taschek (1987) suggested a philosophical significance of demonstratives akin to Kaplan’s view of the Fregean theory of demonstrations (see section 3.6 above). Taschek’s take on what he termed “the cognitive significance of a demonstration”, is reproduced below and may serve as a valid reference when it comes to interpretation of data containing demonstratives:

In so far as the context of a demonstration is relevant to what is demonstrated, the beliefs of a speaker/auditor concerning the relevant features of the context will inevitably affect the cognitive significance for him of a given demonstration. That the cognitive significance of a demonstration in use should be sensitive in this distinctive way to the speaker’s collateral beliefs about the context of use seems an obvious and inevitable feature of how demonstratives work. (Tashek, 1987, p. 177)

Slater (1992) came to grasp the significance of demonstratives in their philosophical writings. Yet Slater recognized that, “the symbolization of demonstratives by means of choice functions has to date remained obscure” (p. 181). Looking still in the philosophical realm of the representativeness and significance of demonstratives led to Weigelt (2008)’s position. In his doctoral dissertation regarding the signified world in relation to Husserl’s phenomenology of meaning, he referred to an article published by Walter De Mulder in 1994, entitled *Demonstratives and intentionality Searle and Husserl on meaning and perception*. Weigelt investigated the meaning ascribed to demonstratives by Edmund Husserl (“principal founder of phenomenology,” Beyer, 2018, 2022) concluded that he viewed them as an outside support for reference in the interconnected world of experience. Demonstratives, therefore, pertain to

real world inter-communication, despite their elevated use in the philosophical world.

Demonstratives can also construct their meaning semantically. They make up a network where the connotation is not captured unless others have “the significance of anaphoric dependents” (Brandom, cited in Penco, 2008, p. 182).

3.7.1 Need for demonstratives

The argument about the need for demonstratives cannot escape its philosophical dimension. Bensusan and de Pinedo (2008) attempted to answer the question about how thinking relates to the world. In lieu of an answer, they referred to the stumbling Davidsonian (“empirical theory that one constructs to interpret...” (Joseph, 2011) notion of thoughts “and the nature of items of the world that cannot be described or referred to without the aid of demonstratives” (p. 15). Miśra (1990) alluded to a scenario only hypothetically where a language may be devoid of descriptive words or does not have the need of demonstratives. Such a language will end up in the metaphysical realm of philosophical thoughts. Metaphysical bears here the meaning of wrongly formulated questions that resulted in wrong answers (ibid.). However, in real life or simply put in usual linguistic codes, demonstratives offer a non-graphic means to select items and it is what is signified in a singular demonstrative such as *that* in English (Pylyshyn, 2001, 2009). Elaborating on ‘the need for demonstratives in encoding beliefs’ Pylyshyn (2000) quoted the example of the philosopher John Perry (Perry, 1979) to explain the dilemma of the lost hiker to distinguish between this and that while referring to “the Mt. Tallac trail” and “Gilmore Lake” (p. 199). Pylyshyn (ibid.) using interchangeably indexical, demonstrative, and deictic concluded that without demonstratives in the case of the lost hiker, it would not be possible regardless his belief “to directly select the referent of a descriptive term and link the perceived object to its cognitive representation...” (ibid.). This brought Rabin (2019) to conclude that “One cannot avoid the need for demonstratives” (p. 24). In furtherance of this stance Rabin (ibid.) continued:

“...the meta-semantic link between our representation for conscious experience (i.e., phenomenal terms and concepts) and demonstratives is *ineliminable*. We or some god-like creatures, might be able to get on the cats, water, and Africa, without using

demonstratives. But conscious experience can't be accessed in the same way. Consciousness must be demonstrated" (p. 25).

In the same vein, as Duran (1987) reported after Ayer (1972), in the need of depictions there is a postulation that parameters can be rationalized, "it is only in the possible need for demonstratives that an echo of particulars is retained" (p. 467). Consequently, the philosophical world clearly recognizes that the need for demonstratives goes beyond abstraction and is strongly anchored in real life. Since my data are from the broadcast of events in real life, this point is expected to be substantiated in their analysis.

3.7.2 Our current knowledge of demonstratives

This section contains my current knowledge of demonstratives. For a concise but up-to-date ready-to-follow state of research on demonstratives, I will look at the 2019 Master's thesis of Jacob Schjerven Grylling. Grylling (2019) presented a contrastive study of demonstratives in English and Norwegian. Grylling's thesis has the value of presenting a set of demonstratives that appear to exist cross-linguistically. He distinguished and pointed to seven instances of demonstratives. For the scope of this dissertation, I will concentrate on the first five that deal with the use of demonstratives. Those instances are: 1) Special deictic use of demonstratives (p. 6), 2) Background deictic use of demonstratives (p. 7), 3) Affective use of demonstratives (p. 8), 4) Spatio-temporal deictic use of demonstratives (p. 8) and 5) Anaphoric use of demonstratives (p. 9). The next two are respectively 6) Referent accessibility and demonstratives (p. 10) and 7) The Givenness Hierarchy (GH). I generated a table that will aid in capturing the five types of use of demonstratives as exemplified in English and Norwegian in Grylling's thesis, but the table is in English and HC below. The goal is to produce an immediate correspondence for these different types of use of demonstratives in HC, exemplify them, and then attempt to confirm their representativeness in the corpus for this dissertation later.

Type of demonstrative use	English Example	HC Translation
Spatial deictic use of demonstratives	Could you pass me that ? Could you pass me that box?	(Èske) ou ka pase m <i>sa a</i> ? (Èske) ou ka pase m bwat <i>sa a</i> ?
Background deictic use of demonstratives	Do you remember that hotel where we stayed during our first visit? Do you remember this hotel where we stayed during our first visit? (X)	(Èske) ou sonje otèl <i>sa a</i> kote nou te desann nan premye vizit nou an ? (Èske) ou sonje otèl <i>sa a</i> kote nou te desann nan premye vizit nou an ?
Affective use of demonstratives	I really hate that Carl.	Mwen vrèman rayi Kal <i>sa a</i> . / Mwen rayi Kal <i>sa a</i> tout bon.
Spatio-temporal deictic use of demonstratives	" That year was much hotter than this one is" (Vaysi and Salehnejad, 2016, p. 1410 in Grylling, 2019 p. 9)	Ane <i>sa a</i> te pi cho pase ane nou ye <i>la a/kounyeya (la a)</i> .
Anaphoric/Cataphoric use of demonstratives	In addition to a wonderful garden, there was a gorgeous patio surrounding the house. This patio had been built for the comfort of the house's inhabitants. Peter fell down the table when he was six years old. This left him paralyzed from the waist down ever since. " This is what I have to say to your request: absolutely not."	An plis de yon jaden mèveye, te gen yon lakou byen bèl ki antoure kay la. Yo te bati lakou <i>sa a</i> pou byennèt moun nan kay yo. Pyè te tonbe sot sou tab la lè li te gen sizan. Sa te kite li paralize soti nan tay li desann depi lè <i>sa a/a</i> . <i>Sa a</i> se sa mwen gen pou m di sou demand ou an: absoliman pa/non.

Table 4 - Type of demonstrative use in English and HC, based on Grylling (2019)

This table shows the direct correlation between the five uses of demonstratives spelled out by Grylling for the English and Norwegian. HC with almost no major differences from English displays the same use. Still looking into the current knowledge of demonstratives, Taremaa (2017) deemed that present knowledge to be fortunately situated for the understanding it provides. However, she complained that most studies on demonstratives have

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been dedicated to demonstrative pronouns and neglected demonstrative adverbs or demonstrative locative adverbs (ibid.). Her thesis was an effort to fill that gap.

3.7.3 Demonstratives and the variationist approach

Little is said in the literature about demonstratives and variation except in one study conducted by André Müller entitled *Linguistic convergence within the 'Kachin' languages*. Müller (2016) found in the Greater Burma Zone some demonstrative variation trends, in the language spoken in the area, Kachin. Kachin is “a super-ethnic category” that includes “Jinghpaw also spoken in China and Northeast India...” (p. 34). In this language, demonstratives displayed some variation that are related to the mountainous landscaping of the region. Besides the demonstratives **this**, **that** and **yon**, they also have the equivalence of English locative demonstratives adjuncts but in single words that mean **that up there**, **that over there** and **that down there**. Besides, “There are one or two words that also mean ‘**this here**’”. However, Müller fell short of attributing these forms to any diatopic variation.

3.8 HC demonstratives and linguistics: features, demonstrative determiners and HC demonstrative determiners

This subsection covers, some specific features of demonstrative first. These features go far beyond the dichotomy proximity and distality. The sub-section then goes into what is known in the study of determiners in general as compared to demonstrative determiners. While remaining open to additional features of HC demonstratives, the sub-section continues to show via a summary table, the features of the HC demonstratives. Then, it concludes after showing the ubiquitous linguistic and other implications of demonstratives.

3.8.1 Demonstrative linguistic features

Many scholars undertook the investigation of the features of demonstratives. Some pursued different linguistic phenomena in different linguistic processes including creolization. In re-evaluating the relexification in the case of Jamaican Creole, Parsard (2016) looked into the

features of demonstratives. While among demonstrative traits a constant deixis or pointing feature is identified within the dichotomy [+proximate] and [-proximate] (Lefebvre, 1997, 2006), such dichotomy in HC with the pair *sa a* and *sila a* is knowingly refuted by DeGraff (1999). Nevertheless, in studies on demonstratives in other languages, there is the notion of [+proximate] and [-proximate] also known as *proximalization* and *distalization* (Grylling, 2019). Parsard (2016) identified a three-way features of demonstratives in Kongo that includes *super distal* besides *proximal* and *distal*. A language such as Somali displays one degree of proximity but three degrees of distality at least historically, which are medial, medio-distal and distal while admitting that the medio-distal has disappeared in contemporary Somali (Green & Morrison, 2016). Kratochvil and Delpada (2015) based on Diessel’s typology of demonstratives, created a table, reproduced below, to show the features associated with demonstratives in a group of Alor-Pantar languages. Those languages are “Spoken on the south of the Bird’s Head Peninsula, West Papua Province, Indonesia, and on the island of Timor and the neighboring islands, of Alor and Pantar in the Lesser Sundas (Nusa Tenggara region of Indonesia; East Timor)” (Oxford, 2020).

language	DISTANCE	ELEVATION	VISIBILITY	KNOWLEDGE	VIEWPOINT	source
Western Pantar	+ (3-way)	+	+	-	-	Holton 2014:57-59
Teiwa	+ (2-way)	-	-	-	-	Klamer 2010:130-138
Kaera	+ (2-way)	?	?	?	?	Klamer 2014:117
Blagar	+ (2-way)	+	+	-	+	Steinhauer 2014:181
Adang	+ (2-way)	+	-	-	-	Robinson and Haan 2014:256-257
Abui	+ (3-way)	+	-	-	+	Kratochvil 2011
Klon	+ (2-way)	+	?	?	?	Baird 2008:58-61
Kamang	+ (2-way)	-	-	+	-	Schapper 2014b:310
Sawila	+ (2-way)	-	+	-	-	Kratochvil 2014a:376-377
Wersing	+ (2-way)	-	-	-	-	Schapper and Hendery 2014:469-470

Table 2. Features encoded by deictic words in Alor-Pantar languages

Table 5 - Features encoded by deictic words in Alor-Pantar languages. Printed from Kratochvil & Delpada, 2015

The features of the demonstratives in those languages are either two-way or three-way and are set in the spectrum ranging from distance, elevation, visibility knowledge and

viewpoint. This table is instrumental in aiding in the identification of a possible similar spectrum in the HC news broadcast corpora (see section 6.3).

3.8.2 Determiners and demonstrative determiners

Direct research on determiners and demonstrative determiners is sparse. Nevertheless, some significant studies are worth considering to inform this dissertation. Klose's thesis entitled *A quantitative study on definite and demonstrative determiners* (Klose, 2011), used a corpus-based approach, which makes it relevant to our current effort about HC demonstratives. The core of Klose's discovery is the low incidence of anaphoric subjects identified in her corpus as opposed to non-subject anaphoras. A third of the utterances of her corpus displayed subject anaphoras compared to about two third non-subjects. Nevertheless, Klose (ibid.) would like to see other studies taking on anaphoras for both demonstrative pronouns and personal pronouns in order to make a broader analysis available. In her view, to capture a full picture, a study aiming at demonstratives per say must not entirely eliminate insights that may be gained from the three other categories of determiners (definite, indefinite and possessive) -mentioned above. In her doctoral thesis, Yolande Vanessa Botha studied the role of definite (articles), possessive and demonstrative determiners (Botha, 2012). The aim is to look at the role that each type of determiner plays in the nominal group. The entire chapter five of Botha's thesis is dedicated to determination in general with a specific sub-section targeting demonstrative determiners. Demonstratives are seen along with possessives "as determiners with inherent definiteness" (p. 195). Interestingly, Botha (2012, p. 195) lays out the different nomenclatures for determiners in general, based on some other scholars. Nonetheless, the first term "deictic" in accordance with Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 312) seems to overlap with the general grammatical and conceptual traits of demonstratives. The second term used along with Payne and Huddleson (2002, p. 355) is "determiner". The third term used based on Quirk et. al. (1985, p. 253) is "determinative element". Finally, the fourth term Botha used in accordance with Langacker and Langacker, 2008, p. 263) is "grounding element". All these elements are presented as pertaining to different types of nominal groups. This particular distinction is significant because of the

following analytical underpinnings laid out by Botha, which in my view assisted in the analysis section of this dissertation. The following captured the analytical arguments that seems to provide some tools to analyse demonstratives as determiners or grounding elements. Botha's arguments here are to expound on the role of determiners in the nominal group presented as her own summary of Langacker and Langacker's approach:

- i. A grounding element evokes the ground **implicitly**, but does not profile a facet of the ground; rather, it contributes to the profiling of the thing referred to by the nominal or the process in the finite clause.
- ii. The lexical content of a grounding element is very schematic. Rather than being conceptually rich, grounding elements serve an **epistemic** function, indicating in a fundamental way what the speaker and hearer know about the status of events and the identifiability of participants (referents).
- iii. Grounding elements have **grammatical**, rather than lexical meaning, "their schematized meanings residing more in construal than in any specific conceptual content" (my emphasis – YVB). (Botha, 2012, p. 197)

Besides the interpretive access provided by demonstratives for implicit ground, epistemic function and grammatical explanation, Botha concluded with some additional insights on the use of demonstrative determiners. The use of demonstrative determiners is associated with the need to inquire about "...the additional uses of the distal demonstratives..." (p. 278) in her particular analysed corpora. Botha used concordances from an untagged version of her corpora to elicit the use of demonstratives but also utilized an "error-tagged version of a subcorpus..." (p. 274) to discover the special relationships inter alia with demonstrative determiners and other determiners, most conspicuously the definite determiners. Conclusively, Botha found that the use of demonstratives determiners is to "specifically mark specific reference" (p. 327).

In a contrastive study of the Spanish and French translation of the short story "Macario" by Juan Rulfo, Sara Quintero Ramirez produced a compelling study of nominal phrases (Quintero Ramirez, 2015). This study mended a significant theoretical and interpretive gap by providing a clear continuum for determiners. Quintero Ramirez elucidated this continuum based on Universals and Typology (UNITYP), to explicate the range of determiners that form it ending with demonstratives. This continuum encompasses two major poles "constituted by the principles of extensionality (or referentiality) and intensionality (or attribution)" (p. 187). While

extensionality is the function that specifies the noun’s reference; intensionality is the one that reveals some traits that characterise the noun (Ramirez, 2015). Based on the elements pertaining to these two poles, the following table is created to facilitate subsequent references as permitted in the context of our data analysis. The table is based on the analysis of “Macario,” other corpus evidently provides either similarity or dissimilarity. Some candidates to complete this table may include negative determiners as argued by scholars, such as Progovac (1993), Krifka (1999), Tovená (2003), Rakhlin (2007), Valdivia Pujol (2014) and Leu (2015). These authors discussed at varying degree a level of demonstratives (involving a syntactic configuration) that is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Quintero Ramirez’s Determiners’ Continuum					
Extensional (or Referential Determiners)	Definite Articles	Indefinite Articles	Quantifiers	Possessive Determiners	Demonstrative Determiners
Intensional (or Attributional Determiners)	Prepositional Phrases	Evaluative Adjectives	Relative Clauses		

Table 6 - Quintero Ramirez's Determiners' Continuum Based on Quintero Ramirez, 2015, p. 187

3.8.3 HC demonstrative determiners and their traits

The HC system of demonstratives displays the proximal or distal pair *sa a* and *sila a*. While this section was used to direct the data analysis in section 6 below, it bears rephrasing that there is contention in the dichotomy proximity and distality as hypothesized by Lefebvre (1997, 2006), Govain (2016) but refuted by DeGraff (1999). Refer to section 4.5.5 below for this argument. This section is expanded to capture the use of HC demonstratives. The table displays the demonstrative locative(s) (adjuncts) and any relevant information.

Demonstratives	Type	Singular	Plural	Proximity	Distality
<i>sa a</i>	Adj.	+	Sa (a) yo	+	+
<i>sila a</i>	Adj.	+	Sila (a) yo	+	+
la a	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	+	-
(bò) isit	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	+	-
(bò) isit la	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	+	-
(bò) isi	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	+	-
(bò) isi a	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	+	-
(bò) lòtbò/lòt bò	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	-	+
(bò) lòtbò a.	Loc. (adjunct)	+	+	-	+

Table 7 - Haitian Creole Demonstratives Overview Table

The inclusion of **bò isi**, **bò isi a**, **(bò) isit**, **(bò) isit la** and **(bò) lòtbò**, **(bò) lòtbò a** on the list (appeared in section 6.3 par. 8) of possible locatives (adjuncts) that accompany the HC demonstratives is of significance. They are regular occurrences in HC with striking differences with the language of radio broadcast as per how they appear in the corpus. As argued in section 7 however, a body of data bigger than the one utilized in this dissertation is necessary for an in-corpus verification. In chapter 7, in section 7.2, the answers to the research questions are formulated. It turns out that both answers to questions 1 and 5 emphasize that there are 19 possible demonstratives in HC, including the associated locatives (adjuncts). The corpus exhibits 13 of the 19 and the six not appearing are the ones discussed here (see section 7.2 with answers to questions 1 and 5 for the argument about the possible reason for this occurrence). The HC demonstratives do not by themselves convey either the idea of proximity or distality outside a pointing gesture. The language makes use of **bò isi**, **bò isi a**, **(bò) isit**, **(bò) isit la** to convey the

proximal feature of the demonstrative deictic and **(bò) lòtbò**, **(bò) lòtbò a** for the distal feature (see section 4.5.5). The use of these locatives is necessary to capture the available possibilities in HC as studied throughout the radio broadcasts that constitute the core of the corpus of this dissertation. This list does not exclude some other interesting ways to express distality or proximity, however. According to the corpus some instances are proximal with specific time frame expressions such as, *jodiya* (today), *mwa* (month), *semèn* (week) and *segond* (second). These expressions appear in section 6.4.4 in items 193, 195, 198, 202, 463 and 478. Besides proximity expressed with these time expressions, distality is expressed with specific geographical terms such as New York as it is referred with a demonstrative while reporters are reporting from within Haiti (see section 6.4.4 item 46).

3.8.4 Pervasive and ubiquitous linguistic (and other) implications of demonstratives

Thus far, much has been said about demonstratives. As it will be seen, the implications of demonstratives are manifold. They encompass experimental psychology and electrophysiology (electrical, neural phenomena associated with nervous and bodily activity) combined with deixis within their grammatical insinuations such as pointing. Surprisingly, demonstratives constitute a linguistic subcategory that crosses path with syntax, semantic and the philosophy of language (Refer to the arguments made in sections 3.6 and 3.7.1). This present section, however, will single out the linguistic implications of demonstratives as a pervasive subcategory. Quoting Diessel (2006), De Brigard (2018) explains that the role of demonstratives is to aid to harmonise the centre of attention amid speakers. Hertenberg (2015) argued that there must be a referential representation made in the short-term memory of the addressee for an “extra-linguistic use of demonstratives” (p. 59). However, when there is a discourse situation in the extra-linguistic context, the addressee’s short-term memory is not necessarily involved. A language such as Vietnamese has about seven demonstratives where “each has not just one meaning or sense, but rather a complex network of related senses, or *polysemy network*” (Bui,

2014, p. i Bui). (The sociolinguistic significance of demonstratives is presented in section 3.7). Besides, the proximal and distal dichotomy characterizing demonstratives, in some languages such as Lingala, one of the Bantu languages in Central Africa, one of the three forms of its demonstratives, *wâná*, produces in addition to distality an emotional effect (Meeuwis & Stroeken, 2012), (see also section 3.7.2 above). Meeuwis & Stroeken quoted other scholars who studied “emotional deixis” (Lakoff, 1974, in Meeuwis & Stroeken, 2012, p. 155), “empathetic deixis” (Lyons, 1977, p. 577, in Meeuwis & Stroeken, *ibid.*), “metarepresentation” (Nicolle, 2007, in Meeuwis & Stroeken, *ibid.*). The linguistic implications of demonstratives in terms of their effects on memory also vis-à-vis location was investigated (Gudde et. al., 2015). Gudde et. al. (*ibid.*) found via an experiment with demonstratives that a proximal demonstrative such as “this” would “activate peripersonal space more when looking at an object than “that” and therefore that the memory differences are a direct result of differences in peripersonal space activation during encoding” (p. 835). A year earlier, Stevens (2014) expands further the linguistic outreach of demonstratives by making three key predictions in a study that involved electrophysiological evidence. His predictions rephrased would be: first virtual remoteness is employed as one basis for demonstrative form choice (Stevens, *ibid.*). Second, the heft of virtual remoteness in demonstrative form choice will decline with communal visual contemplation amid the interlocutors. The third prediction postulates that demonstrative use would display as a trend, more reliance on the joint discourse directing movement for a language user (e.g., English) that has fewer demonstrative expressions than another (e.g., Japanese). It appears that Stevens’ thesis is an attempt to lead demonstrative research to a clearly para-linguistic dimension without letting it shy away from the fundamental role of demonstratives as deictics in language use. The resolution of those predictions yielded that besides geospatial remoteness, speakers of a language depend on joint-discourse in defining the appropriate use of demonstrative form and exhibit language-specific thoughtfulness to the occurrence of gesticulation or not when demonstratives are examined. Stevens’ conclusion of his approach “offers a more grounded account for language use, such that conceptual divisions between proximal and distal demonstrative forms are derived from the interaction of the language users’

bodies with their environment” (p. 121). In terms of functions of attention allocators hypothesized by Diessel (Diessel, 1999, cited in Wallentin et. al., 2018), gender does not appear to influence the leftward movement forced by deictic proximity. Such is the outcome of Wallentin et. al. (2018)’s research that set out to explore the effects of demonstratives. The experiment conducted by these researchers attempted to find whether “Analyses of gender tested the presence of a gender identification and a gender stereotype bias, where either own or male gender is given prominence and thus placed on the left” (p. 2651). However, neither hypothesis was confirmed in the test that involved gender, grammar, and demonstratives. It is not known if similar studies replacing the demonstrative adverbs (here, there) used by Wallentin et. al. would yield the same results as deictic similar to the ones I am investigating here. The answer does not belong to the scope of this study either. Nevertheless, the information provided in this section helped me clearly delineate what to look at in my data from what not to consider. It is, however, important to have a broader view of the different implications of demonstratives albeit the concentration on variation in their use in the data will remain preeminent.

3.8.5 Conclusion

Part three of this dissertation attempted to thoroughly define demonstratives and all their conceptually related terms. Demonstratives in this dissertation is investigated in their sense of deictics (words usually context or reference dependent) associated with pointing with the exclusion of pure indexicals (cf. section 3.6). It turns out that based on Botha (2012) and Quintero Ramirez (2015); demonstratives must be situated in a continuum of determiners to capture all the functions they are called to fulfil. As long as the communicative function of language is ongoing, the weightier content of any discourse will call upon noun phrases. Demonstratives as the final element of the demonstrative determiners chain, will have to contribute in the determining enterprise to fulfil their defining semantico-syntactic (or the other way around) mandate. Although demanding, looking into the role of demonstratives in the literature and, therefore, across languages is strikingly illuminating. Besides research within the

English language, some insights were garnered from languages, such as Lingala (Meeuwis & Stroeken, 2012), Kachin (Müller, 2016), Jamaican Creole (Parsard, 2016), Kongo (Parsard, 2016), and Somali (Green & Morrison, 2016), to name a few. Those languages present some aspects of demonstratives that provide an in-depth outlook of this linguistic subcategory and, therefore, placed me in a better position to investigate the demonstratives found in HC news broadcast in the variationist framework.

CHAPTER 4 - Theoretical Background

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at providing the multi-faceted theoretical background needed to guide the different angles of this dissertation. The first look is at the design of the study and it begins with the reasoning that dictated the design of the study and continues with a brief overview of different theoretical frameworks, to settle on the ones that explore the functional approach, which will be instrumental in this work. The selection of the framework at play is followed by an overview of the corpus data in relation to some fundamentals of journalistic theories. This overview is necessary to provide the underlying understanding of what is in motion in the production of linguistic data through the news broadcast. The journalistic background summary is followed by some details on the rationale for a corpus-based approach. This rationale opens the way for the exploration of the necessity, the significance and the justification of CL in a project of this kind. The dissertation then presents a brief history of CL and deepens the perspective that aims at making use of CL as a theory and a method. Once this is accomplished, the thesis turns to a major part that deals with the essence of the study of variation through corpora. Then the investigation heads towards the use of CL for HC in line with the variationist approach à la Gadet, looking into the interplay of diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic and diamesic variation theories. Given the way variations take place within the use of HC demonstratives, the study looks at the role of code-switching and code-mixing to understand some particular variations in the use of HC demonstratives. The last section to be covered in this chapter involves an overview of HC demonstratives within the corpus-based approach.

4.2 Design of the study

At issue is the challenge through which a country such as Haiti has gone when it comes to choosing the language of instruction of its citizens. A thoughtful consideration of the matter led me to consider both the history of Creole languages, in general, and the history of HC (see sections 2.3 and 2.4). The goal of the historical look was to come to terms with the making of a

Creole and, therefore, of Haitian Creole (HC) as well. The study will show that by the very nature of a Creole language, its origin, its sociopolitical and sociolinguistic dimensions, it has many obstacles to surmount that, European languages, usually considered as one leg of the two-legged nature of Creole, do not face. This dissertation is drawing on the variationist approach in the data analysis and will use Corpus Linguistics (CL) as a scientific way to identify and exemplify linguistic facts. The effectiveness of HC to foster communication in multi-disciplinary settings will be displayed in the corpus.

The demonstrative determiners are investigated for two essential reasons. The first is for being the logical continuation of the study of possessive determiners in HC I conducted in 2015 (Douce, 2015). The second is the possibility that demonstratives offer to cross paths with all other linguistic subcategories. This stated fact makes it possible to apply the generated design to many linguistic subcategories.

By showing that there is no hindrance in making HC data available via a defined set of corpora, the argument will point toward a paralinguistic justification of the misuse or the underuse of HC for communication at any level, be it education or else. This study will show there is a scientific alternative to the baseless arguments that place HC and HC speakers at a disadvantage.

4.3 Toward a theoretical framework

Although the literature contains an abundance of theoretical frameworks related to language investigation, a framework that is specifically designed to study a language trait to reinforce its theoretical underpinnings is rather atypical. Nevertheless, the instances of frameworks that exist amount close to 40 but with varying degrees of significance and relevance to this present study. The review that follows will focus on some frameworks that involve CL to a certain degree. For the final analysis, however, it rests on the variationist approach, the framework-free approach of Haspelmath, the structural, the generative, and the functional frameworks. These frameworks will be the background of the analysis of the data and their use will be essentially inferential and, therefore, only aspects directly relevant to this study are

alluded to in this theoretical overview. I will emphasize the framework that employs the tools that CL provides (see section 4.5 pr. 1). In *A Corpus-Based Analysis of Be+Being+Adjective in English from the Appraisal Framework Perspective*, Kheovichai (2017) showed how CL provides statistical evidence for the analysis of related linguistic features. Such evidence has led to additional discoveries. Those discoveries show how some linguistic traits can modify both the meaning and function of the specified phrasal prototypes. That is, phrases that appear first in a body of data and, therefore, can be used as reference in subsequent studies. As to pave the way of this investigation, the work of Bhatia (2014) seems to point to a dimension of the framework that would lead to a practical use of applied linguistics. This author clearly foresaw based on Candlin (1993)'s question that the notion of genre in discourse analysis can bring together under one terminological roof "literary scholars, rhetoricians, sociologists, cognitive scientists, machine translators, computational linguists and discourse analysts, ESP specialists and language teachers" (p. ix). What Bhatia anticipated is similar to what to expect in the study of variation of demonstratives as represented in the radio broadcast corpus. In this corpus, the variationist display of HC demonstratives is anticipated in the multiple sources provided by the broadcast. What was shown in any linguistic theoretical framework is the role of schemata viewed as primary pragmatic processes that without the need of inferential processes can help provide "explicit content of utterances" (Hall, 2014, p. 93; Mioduszezwska, 2014, p. 106). Additionally, toward the mid-20th century, Robinson (1965) saw a linguistic framework that would in time be called upon to supply the necessary technique for considering interrelated forms within an utterance. Robinson stated:

Most promising of all, from a linguist's point of view, is the development of a theoretical framework in linguistics within which can be fitted the description of the covariance of form and meaning at the syntactic level, extending beyond the morpheme and the word and into the sentence, where propositions are stated and interrogated. (p. 11)

In relation to data collected from News outlets, a specified theoretical framework known as Multimodal Analysis of Positive Discourse (Di, 2014) was proposed. This theoretical framework requires concrete resources. However, only the requirement of this framework, i.e., the use of said means, will be used in this dissertation. In *Language Documentation: An*

Introduction, Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari (2010) asserted that there is no need for a new “theoretical framework” but instead, a new methodology for the collection of data. Nevertheless, the collection of data produces “a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community” (Himmelman, 1998, in Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari, 2010, p. 17). More fundamental, however, is the claim that since the late fifties, around 1957, the dominant theoretical framework in linguistics has been Generative Grammar, due to the Chomskyan revolution (Panther & Thornburg, 2017). Noam Chomsky indeed proposed the notions of competence and performance in language production by a human brain. Chomsky is mostly known as a mentalist with the innate approach to linguistic competence, which is the antithesis of the previous trends of behaviourism in linguistics (ibid.). In fact, one of the seminal structural works on HC syntax conducted by Claire Lefebvre, H el ene Magloire-Holly and Nanie Piou used the theoretical framework elaborated by Chomsky in 1977 (Lefebvre et al., 1982). Although their work did not involve the modern use of CL, the researchers did mention the existence of a corpus of HC utterances where their illustrative examples originated.

The scope of our work implicates the analysis of data from two news networks. The data is in HC, and the structure of the language will be taken into consideration mostly by referring to structuralism as a linguistic framework (Coup e et al., 2017). Nevertheless, the primary commitment to the function of the demonstratives will be kept in place. Therefore, the structure of utterances where demonstratives appear in the corpus will be simply mentioned as such in situations relevant to the scope of our work. This examination will detect whether those demonstratives are bare demonstratives or just possible allomorphs within the specified corpora to analyse.

Furthermore, in presenting their “Intelligent Language Tutors,” Holland et al. (2013) argued there was no use of any specific theoretical framework. However, they concurred that all the systems used by the Intelligent Computer-assisted Language Learning (ICALL) they analysed pay “allegiance to some theoretical framework in linguistics, foreign language pedagogy, or cognitive and experimental psychology” (p. x). It appears that any computational device that will be used in CL will take into consideration this view of Holland, Sams, and

Kaplan above. The explanation provided by these authors that led to their conclusion is found in the following lines that made their argument rather compelling: “The levels of language analysis offered to users and the features of each level are the overriding concern; the linguistic frameworks used to represent those features are incidental” (p. 2). Also, “We have virtually no data on the utility for language learning of particular linguistic frameworks, feedback strategies, or reliability thresholds” (p. 5).

Lizardi (2000) showed a departure from the generative approach. The pervasiveness of the generative approach brought him to term such approach as “grammar gene” (p. 1).

Assuming that researchers who were investigating generative grammar were looking in the wrong direction, he proposed a three-dimensional theoretical framework claiming that:

- 1) Language acquisition is a product of the biologically endowed architectural structures of neural networks that are able to store environmental input.
- 2) Linguistic input is stored in long term memory depending on statistical frequencies; and
- 3) Language production is the result, not of genes, but of the problem of transferring multidimensional representation of thought into a linear (monodimensional), string of words (p. 3).

It is clear here that Lizardi’s approach although innovative precludes neither the sign and the signified view of de Saussure in descriptive linguistics nor the generative approach of Chomsky (de Saussure approach is alluded to in section 3.1 and Chomsky four paragraphs above). Nevertheless, not all studies have taken the approach consisting of analysing their data under a specific framework. In his thesis, Gonitzke (2007) looks for instances where the phenomena, the ordering of word order, for that purpose under scrutiny “do not seem to fit in a basic theoretical framework in linguistics” (p. 1). Teilanyo (2015) sustained such an approach in studying intercultural communication. Before Teilanyo, Schaarschmidt (1982), introducing the work of Jean-Pierre Benoist, related to the functions of word order of novels of Gorki, claimed that this author goes beyond any linguistic theoretical framework. However, having the French linguist André Martinet as his spiritual father, Jean-Pierre Benoist has adopted the functional theoretical framework. Nevertheless, other researchers have gone as far as proposing a

“Framework-Free Grammatical Theory by Haspelmath” (1999, 2000, 2002, 2004, cited in Gonitzke, 2007). This framework is a theory of morpho-syntax and “It is not a restrictive theoretical framework but allows the research to examine the language and describe it in its own terms” (Haspelmath, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004, cited in Gonitzke, 2007). In formulating his Framework-Free Grammatical Theory, Martin Haspelmath put forth the following argument:

Framework-free grammatical description/analysis is argued here to be superior to framework-bound analysis because all languages have different categories, and languages should be described in their own terms. Frameworks represent aprioristic assumptions that are likely to lead to a distorted description of a language. I argue against restrictive theoretical frameworks of the generative type, against frameworks of functional approaches such as Functional Grammar and Role and Reference Grammar, and against Linguistic Theory. (Haspelmath, 2008, p. 1)

Haspelmath’s stance appears to be quite a demarcation from the dominant theoretical framework, generative grammar. It is worth noting that whereas generative grammar is seen as dominating the linguistic field, variationist sociolinguistics dominates studies where social strata are at play within the language. The founding father of sociolinguistic changes in languages, William Labov, by design adopted “the structural-functionalist social paradigm” (Bell et al., 2016, p. 3). However, in the explanation Haspelmath provided, he made the case for an eclectic view of theoretical framework to combat biases and to attain more viable, prejudice-free results and interpretations. It is important to understand that Haspelmath offered a different but enriched view of the various stages of a research design. He provided some fundamental definitions that researchers need to consider. For Haspelmath, the generative model has provided some interesting features. However, he sees *analysis* in this framework to mean “description within a particular framework” (p. 3). He pinpointed “a fairly framework-free description of the relevant phenomena (“the data”) and then go on to provide a second, framework-bound description (“the analysis”)” (p. 3). Haspelmath held a rather specific definition of theory when dealing with a linguistic theoretical framework. He distinguished four meanings for the term theory and claimed to be using the fourth one in his arguments. For clarity, the four senses are presented here:

Sense 1: “descriptive framework” for a sophisticated metalanguage for describing languages. Some of these frameworks have theory in their name (e. g. Government-

Binding Theory, Optimality Theory, Basic Linguistic Theory). Framework-free descriptions are sometimes seen as “atheoretical,” and this is correct if theory is used in sense (1).

Sense 2: A theory is sometimes understood as an abstract model or description of a complex empirical domain. Thus, one can say that a description of English is a theory of the competence of an English speaker.

Sense 3: A theory can be a set of coherent hypotheses or claims about a particular phenomenon, e.g., a theory of what caused dinosaurs to die out, or a particular theory of restrictions on wh-movement.

Sense 4: Finally, the term theory can be used in a loose sense, referring to theoretical (i.e., not-applied) scientific work, or “theorizing.” It is in this sense that usage-based theory and valency theory should be taken in this handbook, and it is in this sense that theory is used in the title of this chapter. (Haspelmath, 2008, p. 2)

The true working meaning that Haspelmath used can surely support the framework-free approach. In addition to the specific sense of *theory* that Haspelmath used, he took the description portion of a framework to mean,

the characterization of grammatical regularities of particular languages. Grammatical descriptions must make use of abstract general entities such as rules, schemas and constraints, because all languages allow an indefinitely large amount of sentences and it is therefore not possible to describe a language by listing all its sentences. (p. 2-3).

In the same vein, Haspelmath used analysis as a synonym of description. The linguistic usage of this term, he argued, implies a certain level of generalization through rules, schematas and constraints. Haspelmath concluded that analysis could also be defined as a “description within a framework” (p. 3). This is in the sense that the researcher is not inclined to any framework that is a priori influenced by either the Latin language in the past, or the English language in the modern era. The generative approach was based on the English language and, therefore, the patterns of English may influence the description of other languages. By contrast, the greatest disadvantage of the framework-free grammatical theory lays in its greater difficulty to be constructed and understood than other familiar frameworks. Besides, a framework-free grammatical theory is known to demand a greater intellectual endeavour to yield results. The American structuralists have encouraged the use of the framework-free strategy and

encouraged their PhD students to utilize it when describing new languages in their own terms (Haspelmath, 2008).

Quite a few frameworks have been overviewed so far in this study. I intend to adopt a framework-free approach underpinned by the variationist approach with the 'dia' architecture to pinpoint variation types in the HC news broadcast corpora. Some reference will be made to the generative and the functional frameworks and some of the above-mentioned frameworks where appropriate and in accordance with the nature and the types of variation under investigation. The analytical section will benefit from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as appropriate (see section 4.5 below).

4.4 The corpus data and journalistic theories

Knowing about journalistic theories is not a requirement to use the data from radio broadcast. However, since it is the first study of this kind involving HC, knowing the process and the theories behind news gathering will provide a stronger background knowledge for both understanding and analysing the corpus generated by the news broadcasts. This dissertation focuses on broadcast output delivered by radio stations. Data generated by these news broadcasts make up a corpus that facilitates the investigation of demonstratives in media data. In addition to being language production, a news broadcast also adheres to the theories of gatekeeping and gate watching in journalism (Bagshaw, 2013). Gatekeeping practice is construed as "officiating" (news management and cueing) ...live events (Livingston & Bennett, 2003, p. 363). The gatekeeping theory was formulated by the psychologist Kurt Lewin after World War II as a process whose "theory of how items are selected or rejected as they pass through channels could be applied to the flow of news" (Shoemaker et. al. 2001, p. 233).

Livingston & Bennett (2003) and Bennett (2003) distinguish four leading pure types of gatekeeping in the literature. These types are respectively:

1. The reporter's personal and professional news judgment.
2. Organizational news-gathering routines that establish the working relations between reporters and sources.
3. Economic constraints on news production.

4. Information and communication technologies that define the limits of time and space in news gathering. (Livingston & Bennett, 2003, p. 368)

The news broadcast of our data seems to correspond to features one and two. Since the data of the dissertation is from news broadcasts, perhaps the forthcoming analysis will help escape the verdict that “newspaper gatekeeping is influenced more by forces on the routine level of analysis than by individual staff writers’ characteristics” (Shoemaker et. al. 2001, p. 233). Correspondingly, gate watching is probably better captured by the prediction of Scott Adams in the *Dilbert Future*, that “In the future everyone will be a news reporter” (Adams, 1998, p. 208, in Bruns, 2003, p. 1). Yet, Axel Bruns sees in gate watching the antithesis of the ‘rusted gatekeeper or gatekeeping’ but precisely as “the underlying paradigm for a variety of online publishing efforts from blogging to open news publishing; it is a practice which is highly suited to the overall informational structure of the World Wide Web” (Bruns, 2003, p. 7). In 2018, Axel Bruns recast the idea by showing the collapse of both professional journalists and non-professional news users into enthusiastic gate watchers (Bruns, 2018). What is of fundamental interest is that paralleled to the in-house theories pertaining to journalism, CL allows researchers to navigate through incredible amounts of data generated by the news broadcast. The type of approach to the analysis of the data becomes central to this research that reaches beyond journalistic output. The dissertation’s approach provides powerful repositories of searchable and accessible data from news media that can enlighten researchers both linguistically and sociolinguistically, to mention a partial possible scope of domains of knowledge.

Bagshaw (2013) adopted the qualitative data analysis approach to analyse the passage of a news broadcast via YouTube, from amateurism to the main media. He adopted a mixed methods approach consisting of qualitative content analysis and textual analysis. The qualitative content analysis is framed as a computer-aided qualitative content analysis to establish the posture of YouTubers as they relate to gatekeepers and those YouTube users’ strategies to go through the gates. Espinar & Ruiz (2010), studying crimes in informational Spanish Television media, offered a qualitative analysis that centred on a piece of news selection and its analysis. Eijaz et. al. (2016), reviewing peace process in international media, presented a comparative table that displayed both quantitative and qualitative indicators for

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global peace. This sample of actual use of both the qualitative and quantitative indicators in a news items reinforce the appropriateness of this approach for the present dissertation. It also showcases an informative way to use concrete resources. (See section 4.5 above).

Qualitative Indicators for Global Peace	Quantitative Indicators for Global Peace
Political Terror Scale	Estimated number of deaths from organized conflict (external)
Military capability/sophistication	Number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people
Ease of access to small arms and light weapons	Military expenditure as a percentage of GDP
Relations with neighboring countries	UN Peacekeeping Funding
Political instability	Volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as supplier (exports) per 100,000 people
Level of organized conflict (internal)	Number of external and internal conflicts fought
Level of violent crime	Number of displaced people as a percentage of the population
Perceptions of criminality in society	Number of homicides per 100,000 people
Likelihood of violent demonstrations	Number of jailed population per 100,000 people
	Number of internal security officers and police 100,000 people
	Number of deaths from organized conflict (internal)

Table 8 - Qualitative and Quantitative Indicators Table. Reprinted from Eijaz et. al., 2016, p. 688-689

The contrast between the quantitative and the qualitative approach is clearly framed here in terms of the uniqueness of each procedure. In terms of content analysis in the qualitative approach, it is brought to bear the unambiguous meaning of “the specific assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods” (Riffe et. al., 2014, in Karlsson & Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 1-2). Karlsson and Sjøvaag (2016) presented the table below that appears to provide some direction in terms of how to look at the data under a three-pronged analytical lens. The table is reproduced here for reference:

TABLE 1

Overview of different approaches to content analysis of online news and their traits in relation to core conceptual aspects

	Established content analysis	Liquid content analysis	Big data analysis
Mode of analysis	Quantitative with qualitative elements	Quantitative with qualitative elements	Quantitative
Variable design	Deductive	Primarily inductive	Inductive/ deductive
Scope/sampling size	Hundreds to thousands of news items	Tens of news items	Millions
Sampling procedure	Random	Purpose and somewhat inductive	"Census"
Unit of analysis	News item	"Floating" digital objects	Data structures
Recording/storage	Archiving crucial	Not necessary	Yes and no
Generalizability	Intermediary	Deep/limited	Shallow/ encompassing
Key agent	Human	Human and computer	Computer
Analysis aim	Descriptive	Explanatory	Descriptive/ predictive

Any given project will have limited resources and the researcher can utilize them by going wide or deep (not taking specific research questions/aims into account). This taxonomy presents a map of the principal choices one can make.

Table 9 - Approaches to content analysis Table. Reprinted from Karlsson & Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 3

The above researchers presented their qualitative approach in a practical manner that can provide some insights to this dissertation. The investigation of those approaches was necessary to accurately inform on the best practices in news broadcast analysis. In conclusion, Bednarek and Caple (2014) seem to convincingly outline the capacity of the CL approach to foster both qualitative and quantitative analysis. CL being conducted on computers can evidentiate the quantitative aspect of analysed data. The qualitative aspect is also well-established, due to the possibility a software such as AntConc offers to analyse the news broadcast data by using features such as: word forms, clusters, lemmas (lemma is the base word along with its inflections), concordances, and even collocation (By way of definition, collocation implied terms in the corpus that are associated either by juxtaposition or apposition)(although only lightly alluded to later) etc. to provide detailed information about a corpus. More directly applied to news broadcast, this is the view of the above authors. They

hope that our two case studies have demonstrated that corpus linguistic analyses of frequency (of word forms, clusters, lemmas) can provide a useful indication of the discursive construction of newsworthiness in a given text or corpus, without being complete or exhaustive. (Benarek & Caple, 2014, p. 151)

In fact, the conclusion from the news items will be around the qualitative and the quantitative information provided by the corpus of this dissertation. More specifically, it will

exhibit how the frequency of the HC demonstratives and the types of sentences in which they appear can bring some light on demonstratives, per se, and how they can be understood in the bigger context of CDA. Additionally, because this dissertation uses the transformative methodology that leads to an action agenda in terms of further development of a prototypical corpus-based study of HC as argued in sections 7.4 and 7.6 the considerations that follow are made. In the making of a bigger corpus, the above section can be beneficial in selecting areas to explore targeted content that will grow the HC corpus. Undeniably, this section pointed to some areas of exploration above that include politics, military, weaponry, geopolitics, international (organized) conflicts, violent crime, criminality perceptions in society, demonstrations, and violent demonstrations, to name only these partial potential sources of data for a greater HC corpus based on the above table from Eijaz et. al. (2016). Data from these possible areas can be analysed after being categorized along the lines of the three headings provided by Karlsson & Sjøvaag (2016), which are: established content analysis, liquid content analysis and big data analysis. While this outline is significant in providing direction for data collection in the making of a bigger corpus for HC, it is not exhaustive.

4.5 Rationale for a corpus-based approach

CL is utilized because of the possibility it offers to use “large relatively representative corpora and corpus searching tools” (Mollin, 2014). The idea of having access to relatively large corpora and being empowered to peruse the corpora is scientifically reassuring, especially in the case of HC where documented research is needed. In the case of Sandra Mollin studying *(Ir)reversibility of English binomials via corpora* (ibid.), there is in her argument the resemblance of a Null-hypothesis. Because computation allows expeditious detection of high frequency occurrences in the corpora, the above author seems to find the appropriate way to show this effort. The process allows “for the computation of a reliable (ir)reversibility score, reversibility being the main focus of the study” (p. 24). In Mollin’s effort, binomials such as a) long and short, b) law and order, are found as investigated in the British National Corpus (BNC) (p. 1). In the examples, a) is reversible and b) is irreversible. Lynne Flowerdew wanted to use CL in what

she termed as textlinguistics (Flowerdew, 1998). The idea is to use CL exploratory tools to dig into specialised corpora. Al-Surmi (2012), looking at a way of investigating authenticity in TV shows, used a multidimensional analysis perspective. He rejected assumptions and perceptions of practitioners and embraced a corpus-based register analysis tool to pinpoint the linguistic depiction of usual discussion. Gupta (2013) investigated the women's suffrage movement in the *New York Times* using CL to "combine historical research into corpus linguistics analysis of social discourses and approaches drawn from critical discourse analysis" (p. 4). CL integrating news examination stands out as an interdisciplinary enterprise. It offers reporters a greater range of viewpoints on dogmas as communicated in a language (Gupta, 2013). Yet, the literature documents that the constitution of corpora dated as far back as the 13th Century when Biblical scholars initiated "This method of exegesis based on detailed searches for words and phrases in multiple contexts across large amounts of text..." (McCarthy and O'Keeffe, 2010, p. 1). Since the notion of finding concordances is central in perusing data with CL tools, these authors provide the etymological definition for concordance and explain its particular early history:

The etymology of concordantia is the Latin cum, meaning 'with', and cor meaning 'heart', which ties in with the original ideological underpinning of this painstaking endeavour, namely to underscore the claim that the Bible was a harmonious divine message rather than a series of texts from a multitude of sources. (p. 3)

Concluding her work on the role of CL in forensic linguistics (FL), Janet Cotterill formulated this role in the following terms. Although this dissertation deals with descriptive linguistics (DL), Cotterill's observation about CL being the most scientific endeavour in FL, is evidently true for DL:

Corpus linguistics is almost certainly the best placed of all the tools at the disposal of the forensic linguist to enable linguistic evidence to be admitted in court, since aside from forensic phonetics work which operates with sound scientific and statistical principles and has a formal accreditation process, corpus linguistics is the most 'scientific method employed by linguists. (Cotterill, 2010, p. 588)

4.5.1 Necessity, significance and justification of Corpus Linguistics

Lindquist and Levin (2018) took on the task of differentiating branches of linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics where the first term of the nomenclature establishes the field of study. However, CL is not a branch in par with the above nomenclature. Instead,

Corpus linguistics is not a branch of linguistics on a par with these other branches, since 'corpus' does not tell you what is studied, but rather that a particular methodology is used. Corpus linguistics is thus a methodology, comprising a large number of related methods which can be used by scholars of many different theoretical leanings. (p. 1)

The lines below will show some selected areas as far as data collection and retrieval are concerned.

By its tools that allow researchers to accurately navigate through massive amount of data, CL has become increasingly far-reaching in numerous types of investigations. I, therefore, considered the trilogy necessity, significance, and justification of CL. The necessity of CL as a reliable tool is prominent in the literature. Crible (2017) pinned down "the necessity of corpus linguistics in theory-building" because of "the large coverage and authentic nature of corpus data" (p. 27). Before Crible, Porto (2005) after Mair (2004) portrayed this necessity for CL in grammaticalization because of the empirical nature of the examination of authentic language facts extracted from numerous "computerized corpora" with the purpose of probing and expanding the evidence pulled from the literature (p. 5). Because CL allows us to discriminate in the data instances that can confirm or disprove a hypothesis, that makes it a necessity in a data driven investigation that deals for example with translation (Janssen et. al. 2016). In his search of the application of CL in many fields of knowledge to show its justification, Faure Walker (2019, after Stubbs (2006), though with a caveat, asserted in order to provide boldly empirical data in the context of a mixed methods approach, "the necessity of corpus linguistics to any analysis of language, if it is to provide an adequate account of the world" (p. 65). If the necessity of CL is well-established in the literature, it will be interesting to ponder its significance.

Many scholars have provided insightful arguments for the significance of CL. In addition to the take of Lindquist and Levin (2018) above, in reviewing their work, Phoocharoensil (2017) presented these scholars' view on "the development of language corpora over time and the significance of corpus linguistics" (p. 86). Using CL as a framework for legal investigation, it is shown that the "significance of corpus linguistics for legal interpretation goes beyond the methodological" (Goldfarb, 2017, p. 1359). In Goldfarb's view, CL and specifically corpus-based lexicography has produced novel means of reflecting on word meaning and the analysis of words in specific situations. The significance of CL has been extolled for permitting the identification, for example, of true synonymy between cute, pretty, and beautiful. The use of a corpus generated by students permitted the confirmation of the true synonymy as compared to some Korean students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and teachers' perceptions (Ly and Jung, 2015). Similarly, about a year earlier, the significance of CL was shown in a contrastive study of both English and Chinese students related to the use of lexical cohesion in advanced English writing (Zhao, 2014). The data from the corpus demonstrated quantitatively that the Chinese students were at disadvantage in their writing as compared to their English counterparts and this rang the alarm for both teachers and students. The gap between second language theories and practice was shown to be reduced in Iran due to the significant role of CL (Shirvan & Maddah, 2016). Although the different areas of significance of CL above encompassed legal, linguistic, and educational domains, as far as the current study is concerned, news broadcast does not restrict the domains and fields of knowledge that can be involved. In addition to the aforementioned areas, there are also in the literature studies of corpora aiming at verbs analysis in Bible writing (Burggraff, 2011), of "large-scale corpus analysis in EFL lexicography" (Herbst and Popp, 2011, p. XI), and a study that displayed the significance of CL "for the analysis of medical interviews" (Cerny, 2015, p. 231). I will turn to the justification of the use of CL, encouraged by both the necessity and the significance of this multi-disciplinary tool.

CL is easily adapted to any discipline. Chonglong Gu (2019) managed to incorporate the following terms into his doctoral dissertation: "interpreter agency, (re)contextualisation,

dialogised heteroglossia, corpus linguistics, political discourse, ideological mediation, interpreter-mediated communication, institutional alignment, political press conferences, premier's press conferences, corpus-based CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and image (re)construction" (Gu, 2019, p. 1). The magnitude of the capability of CL to embrace so many areas and seamlessly provide insights to the researcher is forcefully telling. From the onset of his dissertation, Gu stated clearly that he had drawn "on corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)" (p. 10). Prior to this thesis, the author used corpus-based CDA to study "triadic political communication" (2018), "mediat(is)ed discourse" (2018), "corpus triangulation" (2017), "Metadiscourse on Government interpreters" (2017) to name a few.

Ehrett (2019), however, is one of the rare scholars to argue against CL. His argument is articulated to portray that his reasons are the "collapse of essential distinctions between resource quality, the entrenchment of covert linguistic biases, and a loss of reviewability by higher courts" (p. 50). Ehrett's argument is essentially legalistic, favoring individualised examination by judges. The core of his argument is counter-linguistic because it excludes large amount of data, which is essential to study consistent trends in language production. Ehrett then asserted that large amount of data eliminates "the need to pick through an arbitrarily chosen sample of materials and evaluate each 'piece' individually" (p. 62). But no definition is provided for what is implied by "piece," whether it is a legal or a linguistic item.

In his doctoral thesis, Adam Berry pointed to an "almost apologetic defence of corpus linguistics" (Berry, 2012, p. 73) presented by Mautner (2009). Mautner comforted her audience of CDA practitioners who had been familiarized to old procedures to use CL. For her, "As an ancillary method, corpus linguistics is flexible and unobtrusive and if handled appropriately, will enrich but not prejudice the rest of the research design or the interpretation of the results" (Mautner, 2009, p. 124-125, in Berry, 2012, *ibid.*). Ehrett (2019) was not the only scholar who is sceptical about the benefits of CL. Raukko (1999, cited in Berez & Gries, 2008) feared the tendency to subjectivity especially in the analysis of polysemous items in corpus-based research. However, Berez and Gries provided the necessary explanation as to what would cause any issue in a "bottom-up data driven analysis of the semantics of lexical elements to determine

how many senses of a word to assume and what their similarities and differences are" (p. 157). Therefore, CL stands out when it comes to picking the different meanings of a polysemous lexical item. The root cause for disbelief and criticisms of CL, argued accurately by Berez and Gries, is the fact that "some more broadly applied criticisms of corpus linguistics that we feel are a result of a lack of information in the field about the nature and purpose of corpus-based research" (p. 157). Therefore, it seems that an appropriate exposure to the intricacies of CL is the key to the understanding of its necessity, significance, and justification.

In addition to the general information provided about CL establishing its necessity, significance, and justification (section 4.5.2), this section will take a brief historical look in the development of CL then focus on its theory and method. Furthermore, the section will look at the major theoretical and methodological contributions of CL while showing their influence on the present study.

4.5.1a Brief history of CL

The history of CL originated in the late 1950s (McEnery & Hardie, 2013). The early history of CL has been marked by the opposition of Noam Chomsky who shied away from the empiricism of CL in favour of rationalism (ibid.). Some even see a resemblance of a chasm between empiricism via observation on the one hand with Holliday and rationalism via introspection with Chomsky on the other hand (Assunção & Araújo, 2019). Although modern CL approaches are applied to various languages, the early development of CL has been characterized by work in English and primarily in lexicography and grammatical description. In times, CL has embedded key concepts such as collocation and techniques like corpus annotation (ibid.). In the early days of CL, two views stood out and they are the history of CL as a methodology and the neo-Firthian view "within which the study of words, phraseology and collocation in corpora are the keystone of linguistic theory (McEnery & Hardie, 2013, p. 1). Before the above-mentioned work of McEnery and Hardie, Stubbs (2007) presented a chronological view of the development of CL beginning with an emphasis on early works in concordances and collocations. The earliest work mentioned by Stubbs is the concordance of the Bible of Alexander Crudens published in 1737 and the "index of words in Shakespeare"

published by Samuel Ayscough in 1790 (p. 1). Like McEnery and Hardie above, Stubbs presented the 1950s to 1970s as the time where information was “input into machines on punched cards, and early programming languages” (p. 2). In addition to these early days of CL, Stubbs (ibid.) provided a clear chronological path of the early days of CL to the modern views and approaches in CL in the following lines:

An early seminal text (Sinclair et al 1970/2004) is ‘the OSTI report’ (UK Government Office for Scientific and Technical Information). This reports quantitative research carried out between 1963 and 1969, but hardly accessible until it was formally published in 2004. The main findings are based on 135,000 words of computer-readable spoken text, and the report makes substantial progress towards a statistical theory of collocation (Stubbs, 2007, p. 2).

Some computer-assisted project was recorded in 1975 by Allén et. al (Stubbs, 2007) in line with the climate of the time when linguists emphasized introspection but there was yet an urge to underscore the “‘meaningful quantification’ of authentic material” (p. 2). It appears that, from that time, the field was prepared to make profitable use of CL the way it is now known as far as authentic materials are concerned. Additionally, Stubbs identified different moments of the history of CL that cover a “corpus tool for phraseology extraction... such as the Williams Fletcher’s PIE database (Phrases in English ...ibid.) This is the domain of the British National Corpus (BNC) with its “100 million running words of spoken and written British English (ibid.) Furthermore, Stubbs reports on some significant theoretical proposal that came out of corpus studies from Sinclair but in 1998 and 2005 that touched upon “extended lexical units” (ibid.). The areas covered in this time of development of CL are collocation, colligation (relation between the node words and grammatical categories), semantic preference (relation between the node word and the semantically related words in a lexical field) and semantic prosody (discourse function of the unit) (p.4). These advancements have notably moved the needle in CL systematically from words to phraseology. This is a useful aspect of CL that will become truly instrumental in CDA and indeed has informed this dissertation in the analysis of the portion of text in section 6.5. The fundamental search tool of KWIC has been instrumental in furtherance of corpus study.

While admitting no specific time of inception of this specific function in CL tools, Stubbs (2007) stated that some “concordance packages were available since the mid-1960s” (p. 2). He further mentioned after Reed (1986, cited in Stubbs, 2007) the fact that “COCOA (COunt and COncordance Generation on Atlas) was developed in 1967, and the CLOC (CoLOCation) software was commissioned by Sinclair in the 1970s” (ibid.)

In a concise exposition of contributors to the study of CL, Assunção & Araújo (2019) listed many prominent researchers and linguists in the field. The most prominent names as presented by these two scholars are notably “Chomsky (1959), Jones (1989), Leech (1992), Stubbs (1997, Oostdijk, 1997), McEnery and Wilson (1996), Kennedy (1991, 1998, also 2014), McEnery and Wilson (2001), Sardinha (2000, 2004), Sinclair (1987), Teubert (2005, 2010), Halliday (1970), Halliday et. al. (2004) and Rajagopalan (2007)...” (p. 40). Interestingly, Assunção and Araújo mentioned Chomsky among the contributors. One may tend to substantiate that his contribution is by contrast, given he approached linguistics as a rationalist. Chomsky emphasized language competence instead of language performance investigated by CL. Additionally, Chomsky was reported to state in the year 2000 that “Corpus linguistics does not exist” (Bonelli, 2010, p. 14). Some of the other researchers mentioned have distinguished themselves in their work in CL both theoretically and practically as they are mentioned throughout this section.

As seen in the above snapshot of the trajectory of CL, it mainly contrasts the Chomskyan rationalism via introspection and expands on empiricism via observation. In the direct application of this view, the computer-assisted analysis of our corpus data is an exemplification of how CL can be used both for the benefit of HC studies as well as studies in creolistics. To wrap up this brief historical overview of CL, it is important to mention the significant growth known in CL with the notable Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) built in 2008 (Davies, 2008), which enjoyed about 400 million words in 2010 (Davies, 2010). This repository of very large American English corpora displays more than one billion words (COCA, online) at the time of

writing this dissertation. It is one of the reasons why this thesis envisions to be a springboard for a sizable corpus of HC from this point on.

4.5.1b CL as a theory and a method

By way of definition, CL is perceived as “the study of language data on a large scale - the computer-aided analysis of very extensive collections of transcribed utterances or written texts (McEnery & Hardie, 2011). These leading figures in CL (McEnery & Hardie), have laid out some significant distinctions between different types of occurrences in the field. CL is not seen as a discipline that studies any specific aspect of a language like one might study in linguistics, but instead it is a set of procedures and methods, for studying language (McEnery & Hardie, 2011, p. 1). Although these scholars acknowledge the fact that CL may centre on a number of methods to study language, they concur that the set of methods are not usually consensually agreed upon. In terms of general view on CL however, it does allow to answer some specific research questions using a sizable amount of text that cannot be done with just bare hands and eyes in a reasonable amount of time (McEnery & Hardie, 2011). Because this thesis is a corpus-based description, it is necessary to highlight the differences pinpointed by the above-mentioned authors between a corpus-based and a corpus-driven study. Based on Tognini-Bonelli (2001), McEnery & Hardie (ibid.) view a corpus-based study as one that uses “corpus data in order to explore a theory or hypothesis” (p. 6) and this is in search of certain validation or not of a method. Whereas a corpus-driven study rejects the idea of CL as a method and considers the corpus data itself as the only “sources for our hypotheses about language” (p. 6). With this kind of reasoning within the corpus-driven approach, “It is therefore claimed that the corpus itself embodies its own theory of language” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p.84-85, cited in McEnery & Hardie, 2011, p. 6). This binary distinction would lead to sort out all corpus related work to either corpus-based or corpus-driven. However, McEnery and Hardie reject this distinction because they do not assign any theoretical status to the corpus itself and therefore consider all corpus linguistics work as corpus-based (ibid).

The data of my dissertation is entirely made of transcribed text from HC radio broadcasts and therefore correspond to the first possible sources of CL data (*transcribed*
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utterances). The key feature of this approach that envisions to use CL for the HC news broadcast corpus is the systematicity it offers in treating data and the easiness with which it allows to find linguistic patterns in use throughout the dataset.

The approach that triggers linguistic patterns finding in the investigation of large corpora has been utilized in furtherance of English lexicography (Hanks, 2004). In line with the endeavour undertaken in this dissertation, specifically in 2 and 3 below, Sardinha and Barbara (2009) explicitly provide three main axes intertwined in their CL investigation and they are:

1. a focus on individual business genres, or socially recognisable communicative events, rather than on 'business language as a whole';
2. the application and development of computer tools for business discourse analysis, as an aid in both the retrieval of information from and the discovery of otherwise unnoticeable patterns in electronic corpora;
3. an interface with systemic functional linguistics, as the main theoretical framework underpinning our corpus analyses, since it provides a wide range of resources for handling and interpreting discourse data. (Sardinha & Barbara, 2009, p. 8).

Sardinha and Barbara alluded not only to the discovery of patterns in the data but also they embrace "an interface with systemic functional linguistics as their main theoretical framework" (ibid). In congruence with the entirety of the ultimate goal of this dissertation to offer a means to allow HC linguistic patterns finding, its data are treated through the lens of knowledge that "The patterns of language use that can be discovered through corpus linguistics will continue to reshape the way we think of language" (Reppen & Simpson-Vlach, 2019, p. 103). As it is argued at the conclusion of my analysis section (Chapter 6), through CL it is expected that many scholars and researchers interested in facts about HC will find a useful way to take advantage of the corpus generated by this present research.

The use of CL in the dissertation goes beyond concordances given the nature of this research and its analytical approach. The fundamental aspects of CL use start indeed with KWIC because this feature allow to identify patterns of use of HC demonstratives in the news broadcast. These patterns are further searched to describe these actual uses and how they function in the variationist framework. The survey of the literature as presented in section 4.5.5 has not yielded any use of this approach to investigate HC in general, let alone for

demonstratives. The studies that edge yet not directly to the one conducted here are reported on in section 4.5.3. Notwithstanding, the current study is in essence an original attempt to bring to the fore the important tools of CL to the study of HC. The rationale stated in section 4.5 is two-fold. First, it is to make justice to HC that has been disadvantaged by the lack of provable studies due to the absence of verifiable data and second, this study provides a way to mitigate this serious lack by establishing data of HC within a corpus of the actual language in use, and make them available to researchers and users to access. At the time when there was not a great deal of research documents about the approaches and methods of CL, an insightful review provided by Barnbrook (2001) spelled out the main functions of CL and their methods and approaches and they seem to align to the way this dissertation has used CL. The areas of investigation include “‘the use of language features’ and ‘the characteristics of varieties’” (Biber & Conrad, 1998, cited in Barnbrook, 2001, p. 122).

In addition to the description of HC demonstratives based on Gadet’s approach that the tools of CL allowed to achieve, another significant element of the process is the use of CDA. The aspects of CDA used in this dissertation for the analysis of a portion of text is in line with the view of researchers such as Mautner (2009), who explicitly provided the steps to use CL in a CDA framework. These steps have been followed in section 6.5 of the analysis and allows to bring some light on a particular apparent dichotomy existing between the forms **sa a** and **sil a** of the HC demonstratives. The application of CDA in the manner made explicit by Mautner and incorporated in the above-mentioned section is useful because it allows an effective use of an untagged corpus.

4.5.2 Study of variation through corpora

Although there is no current study of HC variation through corpora via CL tools, this kind of study is common for other languages. Peters (2013) took on the variation in choice of personal pronouns in different varieties of English using information from the International Corpus of English to contrast data from the variety of English used in Australia, New Zealand, and England. Taha and Jawad (2018) extracted a paper from a dissertation to show the

importance of corpora in general and corpora for Kurdish EFL learners in particular in the quest for better academic performance. They provided a list of 20 reasons why the use of corpus is important, and the 18th reason is, “It shows language variation through corpora” (p. 3). They went on to show the widespread use of corpora beginning with the Corpus of Contemporary American English known as COCA.

The literature of sociolinguistics has also shown another reason to study variation through corpora. The purpose is presented in a study that involved three countries: Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland. The stated motivation for using corpora is compelling “In a country with a long-standing normative tradition, guided by the belief in a single (superior) language variety, exploring language variation through corpora has been a really mind-broadening change” (Kontra et. al., 2009, p. 368). Corpora as data, appear to offer more than observation to reach the ability of making predictions. In reviewing the book of Chengyu and Jing entitled, *Text genres and registers: The Computation of linguistic features*, Fang, and Cao (2015) came to an interesting conclusion. They determined that “Meanwhile, the use of NLP (natural language processing) approaches (e.g., machine learning techniques in the field of Artificial Intelligence) extends the power of corpora from observation to prediction, successfully advancing corpus-based linguistic studies to the practical applications in NLP” (p. 1818). The use of corpora is perceived here as facilitating both observation and prediction in CL. Some variations are multidisciplinary though occurring in one language, like in the involvement of say “Finance, medicine and ecotourism” (Maglie et. al. 2005). Summarizing the research on language variation through corpora via the collected papers in their book, Sigley & Yamazaki (2013) see those papers as representing the scopes that follow:

...many different dimensions of variation, including: differences in (frequency of) use under different linguistic conditions; differences between styles or registers of use; change over time; differences between regional varieties; differences between social groups; and differences in use by individual on different occasions. (Sigley & Yamazaki, 2013)

Clearly stated, the study of variation through corpora encompasses all the ‘dia’ architecture as presented by Sigley and Yamazaki (2013) in respective order: the diaphasic, diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, and diamesic variations (see section 3.7.3 above). As seen in this section, the use of corpora via the tools of CL is very widespread

and encouragingly presents the means for assigning high scholarly value to studies such as the one that is being undertaken throughout this dissertation.

4.5.3 Use of Corpus Linguistics for HC – Variationist approach à la Gadet (diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, diamesic variations)

This section covers the theoretical background needed to look at the HC corpus through the lenses of the variationist approach following Gadet. Geographic linguistics and sociolinguistics have revealed that variation is an enduring trait of any regular language (Ferrer, 1995). In fact, it seems “that the absence of change may be even more difficult to account for than its presence” (Labov, 1994, p. 42 in Ferrer, 1995, p. 77). In a more refined observation, “Language is inherently variable in a number of structural levels – in phonology, morphology, and syntax in particular (Milroy and Milroy, 2017). Yet, there is no work in HC that has used the variationist approach. The primary reference point will be the work conducted by Gadet (2007) in which a synoptic table (see below) presenting the types of variations encountered in French is shown. The investigated variations are identified along two basic axes, according to the user and according to the usage of the language. This identification appears to encompass the crux of the variationist framework (Loiseau, 2010). Since users can be situated in time, space, and a community, this gives rise to three types of variations: across time (diachronic), across regions (diatopic) and across community outlets (diastratic). The second axis in Gadet’s table refers to variation according to usage and gives rise to two different types based on the one hand on styles, levels, and registers (diaphasic) and on the medium that could be either oral or written (diamesic). In this dissertation, the HC corpus used is made of news broadcast and, therefore, is primarily oral. Nevertheless, the interaction between the oral and the written version of the language becomes indistinct in the news broadcast setting. News broadcasters usually have some pre-scripted version or guidelines of the news (see the sixth paragraph of this section below).

Tableau 1
Représentation de la variation

Variation selon l'utilisateur	temps	changement	diachronie
	espace	géographique, régional, local, spatial	diatopie
	société, communauté	social	diastratie
Variation selon l'usage	styles, niveaux, registres	situationnel, stylistique, fonctionnel	diaphasie
	canal	oral/écrit	diamésie

Table 10 - Gadet's Variation Table Copy of Appendix G. Printed from Gadet, 2007, p. 23

The literature appears to be informed by some corpus-based work conducted in English historical linguistics (Hilpert & Gries, 2014). As a result, knowledge of varieties within languages along with genres and registers have expanded via corpora generated by quantitative corpus linguistics. The constituted diachronic corpora, whether short-term or long-term, continue to foster the line of research suggested by the above authors. Therefore, this work involved searching the HC corpora for the aforementioned types of variations within demonstratives.

Because of the time span, the diachronic variation is not expected to be prominent in the data set. I have examined the corpora for possible diatopic variations as well as the others. There are no articles related to diatopic variation studied via CL in HC in general, let alone HC demonstratives. Nevertheless, looking at the 2006 publication of Bollée and Nembach entitled *Diatopic Variation in Haitian Creole*, this article contains information worth mentioning. The authors present the work of Albert Valdman related to variation in HC in which three varieties of HC are hypothesized: northern, central and southern. Bollée and Nembach (2006) claimed that they have verified these varieties in "Fattier's 1988 (sic) by far the most comprehensive description of Haitian Creole so far..." (p. 225). They attempted to establish dialect boundaries on the forms of groups of "isoglosses," that is "linguistic borders that separate different word

usage..." (*Oxford Linguistics Dictionary* henceforth *Oxford*) in the north and in the south that are different from the rest of Haiti. Bollée's and Nembach's diatopic study is lexical. Nevertheless, they alluded to Valdman's study that implied "lexical items, morphophonological and morphosyntactic items, and phonetic features" (p. 226). As a result, their data lack in insights related to possible variations in demonstratives. Looking for diatopic insights in another language like French, to inform this dissertation, the study of Jones (2011) stood out. This author identified some diatopic variations in regional French that is in her view more established than the "Labovian diastratic variation" (p. 505, see also diastratic variation discussion below). Jones stipulated a caveat because of the ideological charges associated with the study of diatopic variations in French. Those charges are based on the normative positioning of some language views that tend to promote a unified and homogeneous language and the annihilation of the patois. The greatest lesson learned in Jones' work is that the study of regional dialects while benefitting from descriptive linguistics has also opened the way for the promotion of an idealized form of the French language. The key documentation in Jones' study is the constituted *Atlas linguistique de la France* exhibiting contents that draw "clearly on the methodological framework associated with French dialectology" (p. 507). Therefore, when looking at Fattier's (1998) 'L'atlas linguistique d'Haiti', Jones' caveat must be borne in mind. Jones' work also has the significant aspect of establishing a diatopic typology that takes into consideration the different varieties of the French language and they are: 1) Common French (français commun), 2) French (français), 3) Local or dialectal French, and 4) Patois (see Jones' table below). It is expedient to look at any similarities with the French situation in the investigation of the HC demonstratives in the news broadcast corpora. HC has not been classified in terms of commonness or localness, but the closest known qualification is the above-mentioned regional boundaries. Therefore, it was anticipated that a modified map would display data on the ground of dialectal differences in the different regions.

Table 1 Typology of diatopic linguistic varieties in France

	Variétés	Dialectalité	dialectales		Étendue de l'aire de diffusion
			Marques	Quantité		Qualité
Langue	1. français commun	—	absence	—	maximale
Mélange à dominante français commun	2. français	'français'	minimale	minimale	grande
Mélange à dominante dialectale	3. français local ou dialectal	'patois'	moyenne	moyenne	petite
Patois	4. patois	patois	maximale	maximale	minimale

Table 11 - Typology of diatopic linguistic varieties in France. Reprinted from Jones 2011, p. 508

The table provided by Jones helped identify whether the data provided by the HC news broadcast could justify any diatopic linguistic varieties displayed for HC demonstratives. Varieties are taken here in the sense that “The notion of variation also points to the debate around the variety concept, with the hypothesis that the facts of language variation are arranged into varieties” (Gadet, 2021, p. 11) (my translation³). This was explored along the way.

Aside from French, the Italian language has benefited, recently, from the work of a pair of researchers who tackled not only the diatopic variation but also the diamesic and the diaphasic variations of Italian (Savy & Cutugno, 2009). Here variation is perceived as Savy’s and Cutugno’s study is important to our work because of their use of spoken corpora in a strictly corpus linguistics setting. The diatopic variation presents a historical importance. The 15 regions involved in Savy’s and Cutugno’s study include their socio-economic, geo-, and socio-linguistic aspects based on four criteria: development, infrastructure, demographics, and social organisation. Additionally, the diatopic variation functions in alternance with the other varieties as the authors accurately put it: “Diatopic variety is interleaved, as obvious, to the diastratic variation and furthermore to the diaphasic one too, while this last is partly related to the communication medium” (Savy & Cutugno, 2009, p. 3). They structured their study since its onset to yield stratified varieties at the diatopic, diamesic, and diaphasic levels. They generated a stratification table with the components below:

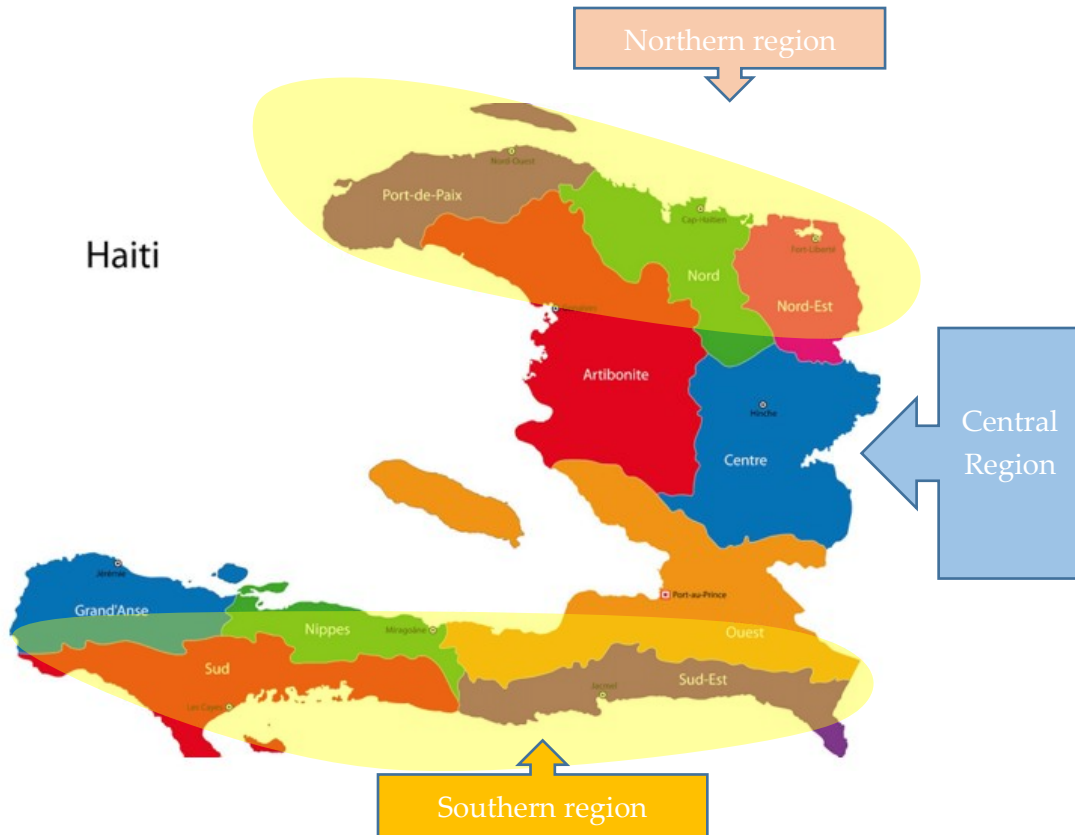
³ La notion de variation renvoie aussi au débat autour de la notion de variété, avec l’hypothèse que les faits de variation d’une langue s’organisent en des variétés.

Dimensions					
diaphasic/diamesic	Dialogic (elicited)	Read speech	Radio and TV	Telephonic	Ortho- phonic
Diatopic	<i>15 regional varieties</i>	<i>15 regional varieties</i>	<i>15 regional varieties</i>	<i>15 regional varieties</i>	<i>standard</i>
Textual	<i>map-task</i>	<i>read sentences</i>	<i>broadcast</i>	<i>Auto</i>	<i>read sentences</i>
	<i>spot the difference</i>	<i>word list</i>	<i>talk show</i>		
			<i>commercials</i>	<i>WoZ</i>	
		<i>culture</i>			

Table 1. Corpus stratification.

Table 12 - Corpus Stratification Table. Reprinted from Savy & Cutugno, 2009, p. 4

This table presents aspects that appear in the preliminary perusal of this study's corpora such as dialogues conducted by the anchors or correspondent journalists in the news broadcast as well as "read speech (p. 4)" for press notes read by the news anchor. Similarly, the telephonic aspect is present in the HC data because the anchor usually communicates with the meteorologist via telephone. Savy and Cutugno chose about seven cities based on their geo-linguistic area of pertinence. In the case of Haiti, Bollée and Nembach (2006) identified, after Valdman (2015), three main regions in Haiti with diatopic variations, which I highlighted on the map of Haiti, but I combined all the northern sections (northeast and northwest) and the southern sections (southeast and southwest). The two maps show a broad indication of the different departments of the country (the first one) and a more detailed 3D aerial view of these areas (the second map). The first map directly displays the geographical distribution of the 10 departments of Haiti via their chief towns.



Map 4.1 Vector Map of Haiti, from Volina's Portfolio, online



Map 4.2 3D Map of Haiti from: <http://www.maphill.com/haiti/3d-maps/satellite-map/>

Those maps were further enhanced, as the data from the corpus were unpacked to correlate each geographical area with any specific variation.

Another study of significance to this dissertation is from Koprivová et al. (2014), in which they undertook the task of eliciting diatopic and diachronic variations of the Czech language. They use two spoken Czech corpora ORTOFON and DIALEKT that were built by the institute of the Czech National Corpus to create "...dialect feature maps, confrontation with isoglosses previously established through the effort of dialectologists etc." (p. 376). Although they were looking for isoglosses, the diatopic nature of the effort shone some light on my effort to find diatopic variations within HC demonstratives. Koprivová et al. set their specific goal as to make the data generated by the above corpora available to users to "explore diatopic and diachronic variation in spoken Czech..." (p. 381). This goal is like the one being pursued here for HC. On another front, analysing verb clusters in Swiss German dialects in an earlier study, Seiler (2004) posited that, "diatopic variation simply means all kind of geographical contrasts between grammars" (p. 381). Seiler, however, concurred that further kinds of variation originated in one scheme of grammar is unequivocally important (p. 382). This reasoning leads to the consideration of diastratic variation.

The diastratic variation as the word implies, it is the variation across the different social levels of the land where the language is spoken. In fact, 'dia' means across and 'stratus' simply put means 'a spreading' (etymologyonline.com). Scholars such as Picton and Dury (2017) study diastratic variation as applied in the context of language for special purposes. Though lamenting the lack of a precise definition, they observe that the diastratic variation is sometimes merely added to a list of possible language variations. They stress that some authors prefer the term 'sociolectal variation' for being clearer (ibid.). Nevertheless, to contribute to the clarification of the term, Picton and Dury "note that diastratic variation is often reduced to the expression of the difference between specialized language, for specialists, and popularized language for non-experts" (p. 59). Exemplifying diastratic variation of a language in the medical field, Picton and Dury (2017) list the following specific functions:

- Scientific in the official communication between physicians (at conventions, major conferences, etc.)

- Scientific in the official communication between physicians (in the hospital wards, etc.)
- Professional in the communication between doctor and patient;
- Non professional in the communication between patients;

(Picton & Dury, 2017, p. 59)

Furthermore, these scholars agree that the diastratic variation is utilized in accordance with the characteristics of the speakers. In her doctoral thesis, De Pascale (2013) alluded to the notion of diastratic factors. These factors are aside from the sociolectal aspect subsequently exemplified in the medical field by Picton and Dury (2017), and previously mentioned in De Pascale (2013). De Pascale (ibid.) includes in the list of “diastratic differences of the use of language...factors”, such as “same age, gender, socio-economic status, educational background and ethnicity” (pp. 20-21). De Pascale traced the introduction of both diatopic and diastratic variations to Coseriu (1973). These variations emphasize the dynamic role of language users in the output of the linguistic message (De Pascale, 2013). Furthermore, De Pascale asserts considering the study of Estuary English, the diastratic variation of a language is equated to a middle-ground variety, that is, a variety many agree on based on the possibility of multiple perspectives (p. 92, 146). Because of Estuary English used as register-hypothesis established by Altendorf Ulrike in 2003, De Pascale used the higher or lower level of consciousness among users in a case study in her doctoral thesis to show how the diastratic variation could give rise to the diaphasic variation of language. This hypothesis derives from the thought that:

“Estuary English is a register used by speakers of other accents as part of an effort of audience design. These speakers can approach Estuary English from a more marked social or regional accent background as well as from Received Pronunciation (RP)-background” (p.79).

While considering the intricacies of the diaphasic variation, the arguments lead back to the study of Savy and Cutugno (2009). These scholars proposed a cohesive scheme constituted in “the production of calibrated and stratified speech corpora” (p. 2). The aim is to align “different varieties of spoken language along the diamesic, diaphasic, diastratic and diatopic dimensions...” (ibid.). While the data of this study is spoken corpora, it is worth questioning the best way to avoid speech that does not reflect the natural setting of language production. The diaphasic variation that aims at the different degrees of formality within language is

intertwined with the diamesic one that is intrinsic to the communication medium (Savy & Cutugno, 2009). Furthermore, these authors confirm that the “diaphasic variation determines a sort of internal articulation in every diamesically determined sub-corpus” (p. 4). Because of textual typologies such as the ones found in both radio and television production, they continue to argue that there could be a “further internal diaphasic articulation”. Radio and television are known to produce the same diaphasic varieties of language. Based on this precise argumentation, the content of those varieties in the diaphasic continuum in Savy and Cutugno (2009) assisted in generating the following table that guided in the perusal of the radio news broadcast spoken corpora of the study:

Diaphasic Varieties Continuum in Radio News Broadcast		
Type of variety	Occurrences	Different styles
Traces of textual organization similar to writing	News reading	Read speech/Read acted speech
Formal conversation	Live programs	Interview-based dialogues
Informal conversation		Multi-speaker talks shows
		Debates without control of the turn taking

Table 13 - Diaphasic Varieties Continuum in Radio News Broadcast Table. Inspired from Savy & Cutugno, 2009, p. 5

Using the French language, Hansen (2013) attempted to demonstrate the outcome of a diaphasic variation in the context of informalization and democratization. Because of the coexistence of diaphasic variation and procedural transformations, “in language use, ...informal registers in many cases turn into the new standard” (p. 126). Hensen’s caveat, however, leans on the side of caution because of the possibility to confuse a stylistic variation with a diaphasic one if the corpora are not broad enough. Although it was argued about two decades earlier, “diaphasic variation – (is) sometimes indicated with approximation as style selection - ...” (Ferrer, 1995, p. 79). Nevertheless, the clearest distinction was established by Wolf Dieter Stempel in 1994 (Ferrer, 1995), who provided a strong epistemological distinction between registers and styles. The former term refers to widespread choices within a community and the latter refers to mostly idiosyncratic varieties. But precisely, the “diaphasic dimension embraces highly marked

registers and colloquial registers” (p. 80). Subsuming the terms used by both Koch and Oesterreicher in 1990, Ferrer (1995) generated the following table that also integrated the diachronic vectors:

variables:	diastratic/diatopic	→	diaphasic	→	diamesic
categories:	socio-cultural/regional		situational		medial/“conceptional”

Figure 4.1 Variables and Categories Chart Reprinted from Ferrer, 1995, p. 81

Ferrer’s work has the intended role of showing the relationship between the different types of variations and synchronic variation. The goal was to show the relationship between Linguistic Variation (LV) and Linguistic Change (LC). His next table displays pictorially this significant relationship in setting the functional theory of variation and LC. Additionally, Ferrer (1995) believed that this theory explains precisely what has happened synchronically and diachronically with the Latin language:

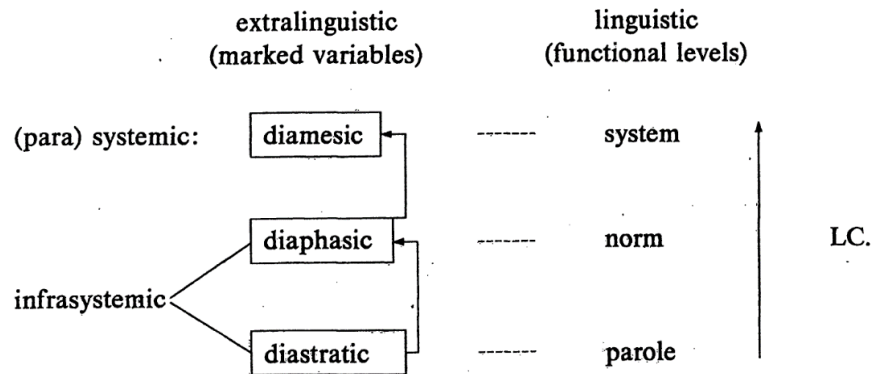


Figure 4.2 Extralinguistic variables and linguistic functional levels. Reprinted from Ferrer, 1995, p. 82

Additionally, this model presents the benefits of “interpreting the (diachronic) resolution LV. > LC. and in capturing the real progress of LC. in a standardized language” (p. 82-83). Therefore, in light of Ferrer’s argument, the diastratic, the diaphasic and the diamesic variations are responsible for all LC whether small or big. This third figure captures the mechanism of the phenomenon that leads in stages (1-3) the change in variation but at a morphosyntactic level “from the diastratic and diaphasic dimension (that is from an infrasytemic level) to the diamesic dimension overriding its higher marked, systemic variant” (p. 84).

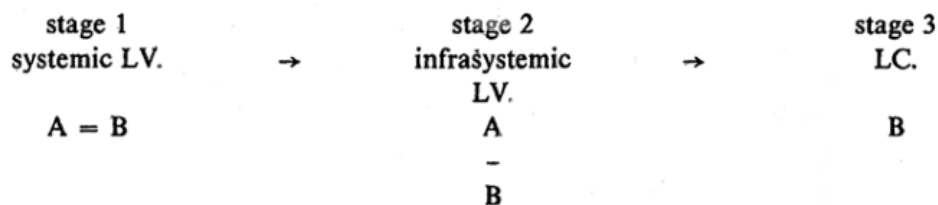


Figure 4.3 Stages of Language Change. Reprinted from Ferrer, 1995, p. 8

From what preceded, the diamesic variation of a language is germane to the other variations. The fact that such variations are historically significant and capable of changing the trajectory of a language, make them more inestimable linguistically. Nevertheless, Wüest (2009) probed whether the notion of diamesy (French *diamésie*) is necessary. He recognized the notion is added to the ‘dia’ architecture along (diachrony, diatopy, diastraty and diaphasy) in the work of Alberto M. Moni in 1983 (p. 147). This appearance was in accordance with the original meaning intended by Eugenio Coseriu in his 1966 and 1973 work. There, diamesy stands to signify the difference between a written and a spoken code but not in a binary relationship (since such relationship is for two semiological codes) but instead as in ‘a continuum of intermediary degrees’ (my translation, *ibid*). Semiological or semiotic traits are perceived here as pertaining to linguistic signs (Oxford). However, Wüest disavowed the continuum option based on assumptions expressed by Gregory (1967), and Gregory and Carroll (2018) on the opposite view. According to Wüest (2009), these authors did not exclude the binary relationship. Wüest further reinforced his claim based on Koch and Oesterreicher (1990), whose work presents a simple relationship between the written and the spoken codes, excluding the communicative continuum (p. 149). Yet, Koch and Oesterreicher (2001) still see a continuum but between two extreme situations of communication with about ten universal traits or parameters presented below (Table 14) as they appeared in Wüest for the French version and later in Landert (2014) for a corresponding English version. These linguistic correlates provide some tactical lexical indications that can assist in finding some clues for diamesic variations in this study’s HC corpora:

French	English Translation	French	English Translation
<i>Immédiat Communicatif</i>	<i>Communicative Immediacy</i>	<i>Distance Communicative</i>	<i>Communicative Distance</i>
1. Communication privée	1. Private communication	Communication publique	Public communication
2. Interlocuteur intime	2. Intimate interlocutor	Interlocuteur inconnu	Unknown interlocutor
3. Émotionnalité forte	3. Strong emotionality	Émotionnalité faible	Low emotionality
4. Ancrage actionnel et situationnel	4. Action oriented and situational anchoring	Détachement actionnel et situationnel	Action oriented and situational detachment
5. Ancrage référentiel dans la situation	5. Referential anchoring in the situation	Détachement référentiel de la situation	Referential detachment from the situation
6. Coprésence spatio-temporelle	6. Spatio-temporal co-presence	Séparation spatio-temporelle	Spatio-temporal separation
7. Coopération communicative intense	7. Intense communicative cooperation	Coopération communicative minimale	Minimal communicative cooperation
8. Dialogue	8. Dialogue	monologue	monologue
9. Communication spontanée	9. Spontaneous communication	Communication préparée	prepared Communication
10. Liberté thématique etc.	10. Thematic freedom	Fixation thématique etc.	Thematic fixation

Table 14 - Linguistic correlates in a communicative continuum, adapted from Wüest, 2009, p. 148

In the table above, which appeared in Holtus et. al. (2001, p. 586) and Wüest (2009, p. 148) those traits distinguished by Koch and Oesterreicher (ibid.) offer two basic, but comprehensive scenarios also known as conceptual extremes. The items on the left are responsible for the communicative immediacy and the ones on the right yield the notion of communicative distance. The translation is mine, performed with the intention of staying as close as possible to the French original. Landert & Jucker (2014) brought about the parameters in English that also appeared in Koch (1999) as follows:

Extreme Communicative Immediacy	Extreme communicative distance
a) Physical (spatial, temporal) immediacy	Physical distance
b) Privacy,	Lack of familiarity
c) Familiarity of the partners	Low emotionality and so on
d) High emotionality	
e) Context embeddedness	
f) Deictic immediacy (ego-hic-nunc, immediate situation)	
g) Dialogue,	
h) communicative cooperation of the partners	
i) Free topic development	
j) spontaneity	

Table 15 - Communicative Immediacy and Distance, adapted from Landert & Jucker, 2014, p. 1426

In the same vein, as if to summarize the parameters presented by Koch and Oesterreicher (ibid.), Landert (2014) presented a three-dimensional diagram that captures how those parameters are implemented in the present mass media platforms of communication such as Facebook. The response Wüest (2009) was pursuing in terms of the acceptability of the notion of diamesy was provided at the end of his article. In his view, the notion of continuum of the diamesic variation can apply to the Italian-speaking milieu but not to the French-speaking one. For the French-speaking milieu, the opposition between the spoken form and the graphic form is more complex and includes the diaphasic dimension in part and the combination of the two codes but with a lesser implication of the graphic code. Those considerations are alluded to in the context of the HC corpus that was analysed.

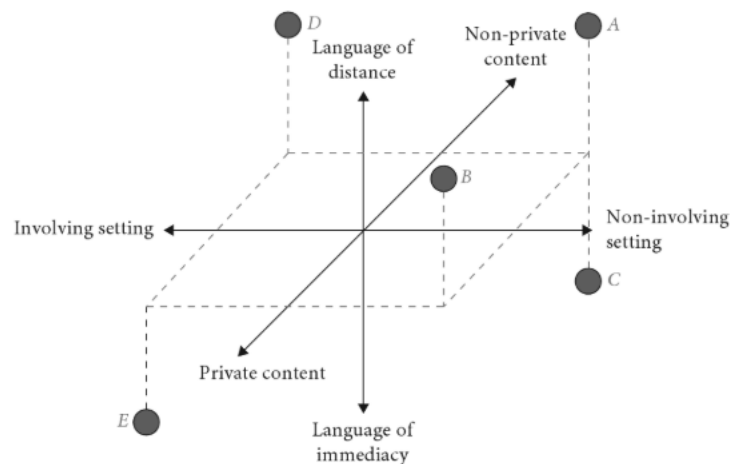


Figure 2.3 Locating texts with different personalisation strategies in a three-dimensional model

Figure 4.4 Three-dimensional Model of Text Representation. Reprinted from Landert, 2014

Landert (2014) explained the above three-dimensional figure in the following terms:

B, C, and D illustrate positions in which personalisation features are only present on one of the three dimensions. Communication acts at position B contain private topics, but they occur in a non-involving setting and are formulated in language of distance. For position C, the linguistic realisation shows a high degree of immediacy, while the topics are non-private and the setting is non-involving. Communication acts located at position D occur in an involving setting, but deal with non-private content and are formulated in language of distance. (Landert, 2014, p. 30)

4.5.4 The role of code-switching and code-mixing

The terms code-switching and code-mixing appear many times in this section and are instrumental in explaining and understanding some of the variations encountered or not in the data. A direct insight leads to the understanding of code-switching as the alternative use of at least two linguistic varieties in the same utterance (Gadet, 2010; Mabule, 2015). Linguistic varieties are seen here as dialectal differences within the same language (Oxford). In the same vein, code-mixing is construed as the intentional collaborative use of two languages where the second language does not modify the grammar of the first. I will posit what code-switching and code-mixing mean and what some other related concepts involve. In code-switching, the languages are kept separate, and it can be a tag-switching where only a word or phrase from a language is inserted into a sentence of another language. The switch can be intersentential or intrasentential (Bandia, 1996). However, much earlier, Singh (1985) sees an instance of intrasentential switching as code-mixing. A key understanding is that “code-switching and code-mixing have a discourse, referential and sociolinguistic significance in a text” (Bandia, 1996, p. 153). This theoretical view is further tested in the qualitative explanatory section below.

4.5.5 HC demonstratives within the corpus-based approach

The literature of creolistics does not currently contain any particular corpora-based study of HC demonstratives that uses the tools of CL. There are some studies dedicated to HC demonstratives but not necessarily using the systemic corpus-based approach of CL. However, the aim of this section is to search the inventory of studies that have embraced any corpus-based approach to investigate HC demonstratives. It is necessary to explore what is meant by HC demonstratives in the literature of creolistics. In her study touching upon demonstrative terms in HC, Lefebvre (1997) referred to HC data, which was not any type of corpora in the sense pursued in this dissertation. Nevertheless, one of the key distinctions described by Lefebvre (1997) and repeated by the same author in 2006 and Govain (2016) between the two forms of demonstratives *sa a* and *sila a* are nowhere to be found in any data of HC speakers (DeGraff, 1999). Déprez (2007) studied ‘*Nominal Constituents in French lexifier creoles*’, which includes HC.

Though Déprez does not use a corpus-based approach, the contrastive nature of her study allowed to see the demonstrative architecture cross-linguistically. The HC projected demonstrative structure though arguably controversial has the value of permitting researchers to map the demonstrative syntactic structure in HC. The structure is as follows in the HC sentence **Liv sa yo (la)** (These books). The diagram below however, displays 'liv yo sa la', which is not attested in the corpus of this dissertation. In addition, the widespread representation of the HC demonstrative in the corpus of the dissertation is **sa a** and the locative (adjunct) that is attested is **la a**:

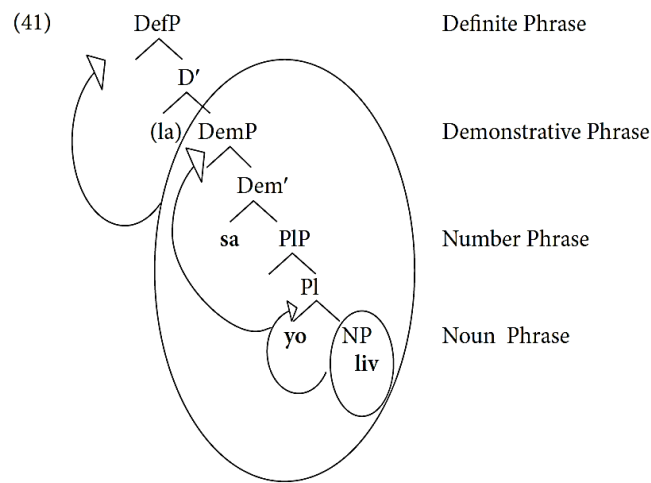


Figure 4.5 Demonstrative structure. Reprinted from Déprez, 2007, p. 300

Déprez's representation of the demonstrative structure for HC is discussed later in section 7.3 that contrast what Déprez presented and what is found in the corpus of this dissertation. The perceived controversial morpheme analysed as a determiner operator along with the demonstrative phrase (DemP) is not found in the corpus. Nevertheless, Déprez presented examples within the context of her paper to exemplify her claims. Lepore & Ludwig (2000) claimed without a single example let alone a corpus, that "In Haitian Creole, demonstratives followed by nominals must be preceded by a determiner" (p. 217). In the same vein, Reimer (1991) seemingly offered the same argument, as if to exemplify HC in English using English without providing a concrete HC example. The entire note 22 is reproduced here to look into the claim:

7. To conclude her overview of the HC demonstratives, Lefebvre alluded to the semantic and syntactic properties of the lexical entries of these demonstratives as follows:

(39)	a. /sa/ [+deictic]	‘this/that’	HAITIAN
	b. /sila/ [+deictic] [-proximate]	‘that’	HAITIAN

(=(8) in Lefebvre 1997)

(Lefebvre, 2006, p. 91)

The above seven claims allowed to look into the data of this dissertation to find whether or not Lefebvre’s claims stand. It bears repeating that there is no corpus associated with her analysis. Before going into the corpus, while looking at the examples provided, it is very difficult to deduce from a particular instance where the HC deictic is an exclusive *sa* or *sila* without the lengthening phonological *a* yielding the forms *sa a* and *sila a* except as demonstrated in chapter 6, when the deictic is pronominal instead of adjectival. In addition to *sa a*, *sila a* and the plural *sa yo* and *sila yo*, HC displays what Van Valin (2001) called in English locative demonstrative such as *there*. Grylling (2019) in *Demonstratives in Contrast* called the same a locational adverb but includes it in the bigger category of demonstratives not only the demonstrative determiners but also demonstrative pronouns. Taremaa (2017) referred to demonstrative locative adverbs as an area of demonstratives she was investigating. This locative demonstrative is *la a* (here) in HC. DeGraff (1999) referred to the same item in HC and some varieties of it as locative adjuncts and contrary to Lefebvre (1999, 2006) and Govain (2016), he claims that the dichotomy proximity and distance is expressed by (bò) *isit/isit la/isi a* and (bò) *lòtbò/lòtbò a*. More is said about these forms of demonstratives as the corpus is explored and analyzed in chapter 6.

4.5.6 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the design of the study before gravitating toward a theoretical framework that fosters the functional approach. The functional theoretical framework has provided stronger underpinnings to this dissertation, particularly for the subsequent analysis of data from a news broadcast corpus. The chapter then reviewed different theoretical frameworks

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to pinpoint the framework free approach with significant insights from the functional approach in the interpretation and analysis of the data. The corpus data has been established vis-à-vis some journalistic theories since it was generated along the lines of the gatewatching and the gatekeeping of the news. This part of the dissertation continues to detail the rationale for the corpus-based approach while explaining the necessity, significance, and justification of CL. The chapter also provides an overview of the study of variation through corpora. While this variation is approached linguistically, what is shown in section 4.4 about journalistic theories reveals the relationship between the social and the linguistic components of the news-making process. Journalistic theories appear to also provide an in-vivo view of variation as the news as a language generation system is moving from amateurism or even a regular citizen to the professional media. This section then details how CL can be used for HC while investigating variation as introduced by Gadet. The chapter continued to explore the role of code-switching and code-mixing in the study of HC demonstratives within the corpus generated with HC news broadcast.

CHAPTER 5 – Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodology used in this dissertation, which is the transformative quantitative and qualitative data analysis. It offers an explanation of the process of quantitative data analysis followed by the qualitative analysis. It details the method of data transcription. The first step is an introduction to the process utilised to transcribe the HC newsbroadcast. The chapter goes through the different phases of the HC official spelling system, identifies marginalised vowels of HC and goes into the principles for transcribing HC by utilising the official HC orthography. This sub-section is followed by an explanation of the rationale for the choice of data. It further explains the processing of the data from streaming to recording. Details are provided regarding the storage of the data, the transcription organisation followed by information related to data transcription organisation. Those details include an overview of the structure of the AntConc programme used to analyse the corpus that establishes the data of this dissertation. The chapter concludes with a section that explains how I have built on CL foundations to study how this language, in its performance, is investigated in the corpus of HC broadcast.

5.2 Transformative quantitative data analysis

Because of the advocacy level necessary for a topic that deals with HC, I project an action agenda at the end. I will advocate for a plan to create a HC online corpus that researchers from various fields can access. The action agenda will focus on creating a prototypical HC corpus, structured to provide immediate insights and to grow in time. Therefore, a transformative explanatory or exploratory mixed method will be used. In Figure 5.1 and the Four Worldviews Table, Table 16 (Table 1.1 from Cresswell), there is a pictorial view of the Sequential Explanatory Design, the Sequential Exploratory Design, and the Sequential Transformative Design in research methodology. Additionally, the last two boxes of Figure 5.1 provide some hints at the advocacy worldview of the Sequential Transformative Design.

The Framework-free grammatical theory of Haspelmath¹ (Haspelmath, 2008) is integrated into the overall design. The goal is to maximize the theoretical insights needed to capture all the features of the variation phenomenon. As mentioned in section 4.3, this framework allows the data and the nature of the language determine the best approach to be used. The corpus generated from the Haitian radio stations (Radyo Kiskeya and Radio Signal FM) will provide the quantitative and qualitative data. As indicated in Table 16 below, four worldviews can underpin a research endeavour. Additionally, Figure 5.2 shows that the adopted philosophical view will lead to research approaches and methods and finally to a corresponding design. I opted for the transformative worldview. The transformative aspect of the method is employed to actively contribute to the transformation of a negative attitude toward HC into a positive one and more so in communication. The results will assist in creating an “action agenda” (Creswell & Creswell, 2017, p. 9), as indicated at the beginning of this section.

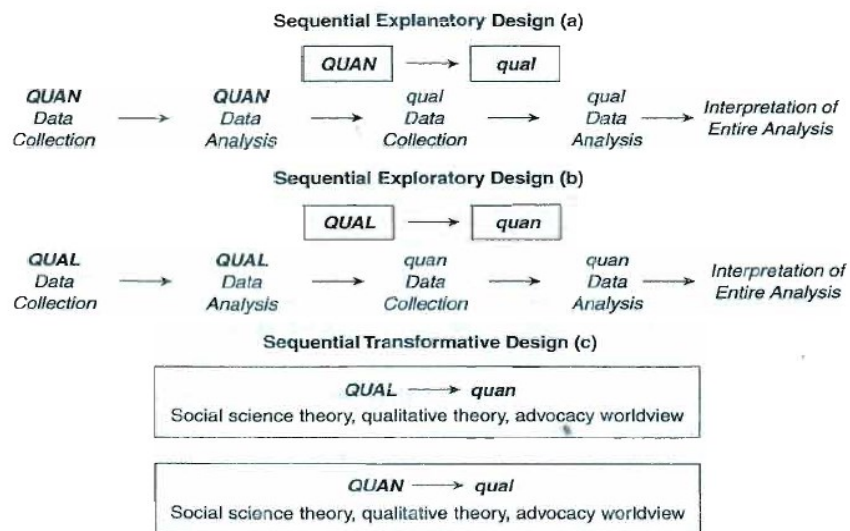


Figure 5.1 Sequential Designs, printed from the adaptation of Creswell et. al. (2003), Creswell, 2009



Figure 5.2 The three Components Involved in an Approach. Reprinted from Cresswell & Cresswell, 2017, p. 5

Table 1.1 Four Worldviews	
Postpositivism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determination • Reductionism • Empirical observation and measurement • Theory verification 	Constructivism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding • Multiple participant meanings • Social and historical construction • Theory generation
Transformative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • Power and justice oriented • Collaborative • Change-oriented 	Pragmatism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consequences of actions • Problem-centered • Pluralistic • Real-world practice oriented

Table 16 - Four Worldviews. Reprinted from Cresswell & Cresswell, 2017, p. 6

5.3 Transformative qualitative data analysis

Mertens (2007) summarized the transformative design with a mixed method involving both quantitative and qualitative in the following terms:

A qualitative dimension is needed to gather community perspectives at each stage of the research process, while a quantitative dimension provides the opportunity to demonstrate outcomes that have credibility for community members and scholars. Transformative mixed methodologies provide a mechanism for addressing the complexities of research in culturally complex settings that can provide a basis for social change. (Martens, 2007, p. 212)

Martens' view regarding the transformative paradigm is applicable in this context. This research deals with a type of linguistic variation that is inclined to produce language change in

the long run. However, because of the situations in which HC has progressed, providing this language with its proper place may be instrumental in fostering an equitable sociolinguistic change. Additionally, Martens explained how that quantitative dimension of the design would establish the credibility of the research among both community members and scholars. Mainly among the scholars that work on the variationist design; scholars researching variations in HC may have a proven viable reference dataset with an available HC corpus. The qualitative aspect Martens (ibid.) explained will identify perceptions as spelled out in the data. One of the radio stations that provide the data also has an online live chat that records reactions of listeners via YouTube, which documents the perceptions of the listeners. The listeners' perceptions provide a diamesic dimension to HC, which allows enhancing this research. From the diatopic to the diastratic variation of a language, one can ascertain how necessary it is to provide an accurate interpretation of the data as it relates to the different strata of the diastratic variation as an example (See section 3.7.3 for this discussion). In addition to the above, the transformative lens of a mixed method approach aims at "incorporating intent to advocate for an improvement in human interests and society through addressing issues of power and social relationships" (Sweetman et. al., 2010, p. 441). Furthermore, Mertens (2012) suggested that the transformative paradigm can provide a theoretical background that stresses on ethics in terms of social awareness. This awareness will lead to producing mixed methods that are conducive to a collective transformation. When looking at the news data, from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective, Monika Bednarek and Helen Caple seem to favour the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and they modified this approach into corpus-assisted multi-modal discourse analysis (CAMDA) (Bednarek & Caple, 2014bed). Benadek and Caple did not work on HC, but their framework allows for "(critical) linguistic analyses of news discourse" (p. 135). The multi-modal perspective will not be taken here. Because of the focus on specific HC demonstratives within the variationist framework, a sample of text will be utilized to illustrate what transpires, at least, from CDA. This perspective is significant to my thesis because it provides a framework for the data analysis that will combine under the roof of CL both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis.

5.4 Methods of data transcription

This section contains the process of the HC data transcription and this language's transcription and orthography history. It shows that the official spelling system of HC has had a long history spread over different phases. Then, the section consists of, very briefly, some principles to transcribe HC and the CL software that is used in the analysis of the transcribed data.

5.4.1 Introduction to HC data, transcription and HC orthography history

The orthography of HC has gone through a lot of instability across time. Haiti did not have an official spelling system until the Bernard's reform initiated in 1979 with the official orthography published in 1980. Seminal HC works such as the one published by Suzanne Comhaire Sylvain in 1936 could not benefit from a well-thought out and coherent spelling system. None existed at that time. Dejean (1977), in his doctoral thesis entitled "Comment Écrire le Créole d'Haiti," provided a detailed history of the HC spelling system. Writing HC became necessary as the nation started to embrace the concept of learning to read and write. Haitians were convinced of the necessity to become literate in their native language. Also, more forcefully with the missionaries from across Europe and the United States, the urge to learn the gospel in HC has never been more necessary for both social and spiritual purposes. Becoming literate and being able to read the Bible in one's native language is fundamentally appealing. Dejean (1977) noticed that the first phonetic-based HC writing system was designed by Ormonde McConnell. Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) reported the following that provides an earlier official use of HC and for what purpose and what kind of system it was:

One of the earliest records of written Kreyòl was issued by a French delegate from Bonapart's regime, Sonthonax. It is an abstract (from the French) of the proclamation to the slaves abolishing slavery in 1794. This, and other documents at the time, were read to the nonliterate population and did not circulate as written documents. The orthography used in this document and others resembles a simplified French spelling in use at the time and is best viewed as invented ad hoc as it had no basis in any systematic conventions for representing the sounds of Kreyòl. This approach, representing Kreyòl as

a diminished or simplified version of French, persisted well into 1930s and reflected many ideas about the nature of Kreyòl and its speakers. (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994, p. 430-431)

This study of Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) has the added value of presenting the number of spelling systems proposed, eleven, and also indicated that there were three major ones. These three are summarized for more clarity and for a direct reference in the tables that follow.

5.4.2 Phases of the official spelling system

Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) reported that in 1970 there was mounting social pressure for using a unified orthography throughout the country. The *Institut Pédagogique National* (IPN) in collaboration with linguists from the university René Descartes formulated an official system with 32 sounds as in the official chart, the fourth one below (Table 10). That is, the chart that was used for the transcription of my HC data. Vernet (1980) in “*Techniques d’écriture du créole haïtien*” also included in the repertoire of the sounds of HC the front rounded vowels generally present in the speech of 5-10% of the population educated in the French language. Those sounds are screenshot below the official HC orthography chart.

Three major HC spelling systems from 1920s to 1980s

33 sounds/spelling																
Proposed in 1940 by a protestant missionary Ormonde McConnell																
Oral vowels	a	é	è	i	o	ò	u									
Nasalized vowels	â	ê	ô													
Semi-vowels	i/y	w	u (in the diphtong ui)													
Consonants	b	d	f	g	h	j	k	l	m	n	p	r	s	t	v	z
Digraphs	sh	gn														

Table 17 – HC Spelling System 1

33 sounds/spelling Proposed in 1943 by Ormonde McConnell joined by literacy expert Frank Laubach																		
Oral vowels	a	é	è	i	o	ò	ou											digraph ou
Nasalized vowels	â	ê	ô															
Semi-vowels	i/y	ou	u (in the diphtong ui)															
Consonants	b	d	f	g	h	j	k	l	m	n	p	r	s	t	v	z		digraphs: ch gn

Table 18 – HC Spelling System 2 called McConnell-Laubach

30 sounds/spelling Proposed in 1947 by Pressoir who opposed McConnell-Laubach																		
Oral vowels	a	é	è	i	o	ò	u											digraph ou
Nasalized vowels	an	in	on															
Semi-vowels	i/y	ou	u (in the diphtong ui)															
Consonants	b	d	f	g		j	k	l	m	n	p	r	s	t	v	z		digraphs: ch, gn

Table 19 – HC Spelling System 3 of Pressoir

32 sounds/spelling graphemes Proposed in 1980 by IPN																		
Oral vowels	a	e	è	i	o	ò	ou											
Nasalized vowels	an	en	on	oun														
Semi-vowels	w	y	u (in the diphtong ui)															
Consonants	b	ch	d	f	g	h	j	k	l	m	n	ng	p	r	s	t	v	z

Table 20 - The official HC Spelling System published on January 30, 1980, by the IPN

5.4.3 The marginalized vowels and principles for transcribing HC

The following is the screenshot of the marginalized sounds of HC in words that are used in HC but pronounced according to the French sound system:

front rounded vowels /ü/, /ö/, /œ/, and /œ̃/
Reprinted from Schieffelin & Doucet (1994, p. 184)

These vowels are likely to appear in French words, such as *dur*, *noeud*, *peur* and *un*, which would be spelled according to French-based HC pronunciation respectively *du*, *neu*, *peù*, *eun*. Most Haitians will pronounce the same words as *di* (hard), *ne* (knot), *pè* (afraid, priest) and *en* (one). This has been a contentious debate even after the official publication of the HC spelling system. For the HC transcription in this work, I used the official system. As Dejean usually put it and as previously mentioned, ‘Selon pale w se selon ekri w’ (You write the way you speak). This principle is used to produce a transcription verbatim, based on the official orthography.

5.4.4 Rationale for the choice of data

With the rise of the Internet, radio streaming of news broadcast has become very pervasive, which is a steady source of data in HC. These news broadcasts, when streamed out of their respective networks, can be recorded, transcribed, treated, and analysed for multiple linguistic purposes. HC has not benefited from any study of this kind in the past. Besides, there exist very few linguistic studies that involve radio corpus and even fewer implicating HC. Sand (1999) utilised a radio corpus along with newspaper corpus to study variation in Jamaican Creole. Vaillant (2009) made a loose reference to an unspecified radio corpus at a creolistics workshop. He used the radio corpus to study the “Induction of French into Creole grammar in the French overseas” (2009, p. 1). Joseph (2018) used the radio corpus of adult HC speakers in the first of a two-part study to create a tagger to research morphosyntax acquisition of HC-speaking children. Apart from these studies, a radio corpus of the vernacular in Welsh (not HC) (Prys, 2016) provides significant insights, which have helped me frame the process of gathering the data for this dissertation. Therefore, this study will utilise those insights to describe the collection of data forming the corpus of HC news broadcast.

5.4.5 Data from streaming to recording

One week was selected to gather data sufficient for a robust corpus. The broadcasts occurred in December 2018 (See Table 11 below). In Haiti, December has been historically the month where most of the world events of the past year are revisited. This type of review provides the news cycles with a broad range of information that covers events from both different countries and seasons. This section introduces the two programmes that were selected to be streamed, provides the rationale for their choice, and indicates the differences and similarities between them. The first programme selected is from Radio Signal FM; it is the broadcast *Moman Verite* (Moment of Truth), which is hosted by the journalist and lawyer Peguy Jean. Besides legal experts, jurists, civil right activists, trade union and political leaders, the host also welcomes representatives from popular movements and from everyday walks of life in Haiti. Consequently, there is a wide spectrum of HC usage available within the data. The second broadcast, *Jounal Katrè* (Four O'clock News), is from Radio Kiskeya and is hosted by Liliane Pierre Paul. This anchor hosts representatives from all walks of life and delivers international news as well. Because of the fast pace of the news cycle the six days were set to begin with the Saturday of the preceding week; this was done to establish a bridge between two weeks of continuous information. The chosen radio stations, like most radio stations in Haiti, do not broadcast news on Sundays.

Radio Signal FM's Saturday broadcast is hosted in the form of a special round table that lasts five hours. This round table includes speakers from around the country who join either by coming to the studio or via their phones to discuss various issues of the week. The following five days streaming are from Radio Kiskeya. Its iconic multi-decade news broadcast show, *Jounal Katrè* (Four O'clock News) is recorded from Monday to Friday in the voice of the well-known HC news anchor. Each of Radio Kiskeya's news broadcasts lasts between one hour and a half and two hours. Both Jean's and Pierre-Paul's broadcasts discuss a wide range of topics as they follow the news cycle in Haiti. Additionally, Pierre-Paul's newsroom receives many specialists from different domains of knowledge. This provides useable data on the properties of demonstratives (the broader study's central topic of interest) across various themes.

Although Pierre-Paul’s broadcasts are entirely in HC and have very few items, such as names of people and places in French, Jean’s broadcast includes occasional code-switches into French. Jean’s broadcast yielded 50,664 word tokens and Pierre-Paul’s broadcast contains 87,186 word tokens. The combine corpora contain 137,850 word tokens.

5.4.6 Data from storage to transcription organization

Both broadcasts are available on YouTube. Nevertheless, Radio Kiskeya’s broadcasts were downloaded as a backup copy from mixcloud.com/radiokiskeya through a fast process and kept on a specific file that is assigned to this project, and they can be accessed as needed by transcribers. To properly organise the data, provide access to the transcribers (See section 4 below) and easy access to the transcribed file, a file management page was created with Google Docs. This page displays the links to the audio file as recorded on YouTube. This audio file can be listened to while cross-checking the transcribed version presented as a separate link. This file management page is shown as Table 21 below.

Day	Date and URL	File name	Radio Station	Type of program	Other	Transcription Link
Saturday 8953 words	December 15, 2018 https://rb.gy/Sjaysg	Moman Verite Part 1 Host: Peguy Jean	Signal FM	Moman Verite	Completed	https://rb.gy/ggx4sa
Saturday 41220 words	December 15, 2018 https://rb.gy/zkrwsu	Moman Verite Part 2 Host: Peguy Jean	Signal FM	Moman Verite	Completed	https://rb.gy/x3ga4n
Monday/ Lendi RM 17584 words	Monday December 17, 2018 https://rb.gy/5v95qv	Journal 4è, 17-12-18 (Prsentatrice Liliane Pierre-Paul)	Radio Kiskeya	Journal 4trè	Completed	https://rb.gy/5zjclh
Tuesday/ Madi CD/WD 17,814 words	Tuesday December 18, 2018 https://rb.gy/nvikpf	Radio Kiskeya - Journal 4è, 18 12 18 (Presentatrice Liliane Pierre Paul)	Radio Kiskeya	Journal 4trè	Completed	https://rb.gy/5zjclh
Wednesday/ Mèkredi HD 17787 words	Wednesday December 19, 2018 https://rb.gy/uvacul	Journal 4è, 19-12-18 (Prezantatris Liliane Pierre-Paul)	Radio Kiskeya	Journal 4trè	Completed	https://rb.gy/jcsis6
Thursday/ Jedi 18,450 WD	December 20, 2018 https://rb.gy/5v95qv	Journal 4è, 20-12-18 (Prsentatrice Liliane Pierre-Paul)	Radio Kiskeya	Journal 4trè	Completed	https://rb.gy/tpxrdl
Friday ED/WD 16,554 words	JOURNAL 4trè - Vendredi 21 Décembre 2018 / NOUVEL Total sou Kiskeya ak Liliane Pierre-Paul https://rb.gy/rdwykg	Journal 4è, 21-12-18 (Prsentatrice Liliane Pierre-Paul)	Radio Kiskeya	Journal 4trè	Completed	https://rb.gy/c1siph

Table 21 – Audio Files Transcription Management

As seen in Table 21, the file management has seven columns and eight rows. The first row displays the headings that signal the type of information each column contains. The first column mentions the day of the recording, the transcriber's abbreviated name and the number of words in the file. The second column exhibits the date and the YouTube link of the file. The third column shows the name of the file; the fourth mentions the name of the radio station; the fifth contains the name of the broadcast; the sixth shows the transcription status of the file; the seventh displays the link to the transcribed file. With this document in place and all the pieces properly coordinated, the transcription of the data could be appropriately managed.

5.4.7 Data transcription

The data is transcribed by listening to the link (when the Internet access was available) or the recorded data from a computer or a handheld device (based on the transcriber's own equipment), at least for Radio Kiskeya broadcasts. There are a total of five transcribers for this project. All of them are native HC speakers and are proficient in the official HC spelling system. One is from the university of Haiti and has worked in translation from and into HC (RM). Three of them were educated in Haiti and the United States (HD, CD, and me). The other transcriber is a native HC speaker and has a doctorate from a United States University and received training in the official spelling system (ED). Each transcriber has access to their own file via a file management page shared on Google Docs. They upload their data as they transcribe; this continued until the audio file was completely transcribed. Some transcribers handwrite their transcriptions and then type it in later in their respective online files. While typing or writing, the transcribers are instructed to mention the name of each speaker, place a colon, and then write the words of the speaker. The speaker's name is maintained in bold. During data analysis, these last two formatting devices will be hidden with a tool provided within the AntConc software. The transcription is done verbatim, therefore all forms of speech productions or the lack thereof including false starts, pauses, coughs, interjections etc. (see Appendices C, D, E and F below) are transcribed as per conventions or existing code books of transcription rules. Where there are interactions, especially in an interview or in a round table, the crosstalk and the

interjections of the interlocutors are indicated within parentheses by following the guide from Dister (2007) and Azevedo et. al. (2017) as adapted for this project in HC (Appendices A, B and C). After a file is transcribed, it is converted from .doc or .docx version to .txt, which is the plain text format, the only one recognised by AntConc. The original typed format is organized in such a way that it provides information related to the file being transcribed. It displays the date of the file, the name of the programme it belongs to, the day of the week, the type of programme and the name of the host: there is also a section labelled 'other' to supply any information that may appear during the transcription. The transcription follows the current official HC orthography (see section 5.4.2), as opposed to the other historically prominent systems for consistency's sake. The choice is justified through the details of the history of the HC spelling system in section 4.8.2 above. The sample transcription of seven minutes and three seconds from Radio Kiskeya's *Journal Katrè* (Four O'clock News), which is shown in Appendix A, depicts what the raw text looks like. As shown in Appendix A, the raw text is typed in paragraph. Each paragraph is a new theme in the ongoing news broadcast. Turn boundaries are indicated with the name of the speaker at the beginning of the utterances. The sample in Appendix A is from the introduction of the news broadcast, which deals with several topics with quick succession; therefore, the paragraphs are brief.

5.4.8 Transcription, CL tool AntConc and a closer look at the demonstratives and demonstrative adjuncts of the data

The entire transcription of the data that constitutes the corpus and its subdivisions follow the HC official orthography as explained in section 5.4.7 above. The data format is organized in a way to follow Gadet's variation framework and how it is reflected in the HC corpus and sub-corpora.

Tableau 1
Représentation de la variation

Variation selon l'utilisateur	temps	changement	diachronie
	espace	géographique, régional, local, spatial	diatopie
	société, communauté	social	diastratie
Variation selon l'usage	styles, niveaux, registres	situationnel, stylistique, fonctionnel	diaphasie
	canal	oral/écrit	diamésie

Gadet, 2007, p. 23

Copy of Appendix G, Reprinted from Gadet, 2007, p. 23

See section 3.7.3 for the insights from Gadet's variation. In this section, the HC corpus used is made of radio news broadcast and, therefore, is oral. Nevertheless, the interaction between the oral and written versions of the language takes place in a continuum in the news broadcast setting. In particular, the broadcast from Radio Signal FM offered the chance of live interaction through YouTube. Some HC listeners did respond in writing, making this a viable repository of diamesic variation. The corpus also offers the possibility for some parts of the programme to be pre-scripted. Diachronic variation is not studied here because the data is conflated to one week and not across time. Nevertheless, due to the generational gap existing between the two anchors, some apparent time diachronic variations will be identified. Public records indicate an age difference of approximately 20 years between them.

The data is organized in sections that are labelled in file names as potential repositories of either diatopic, diaphasic, diastratic and diamesic variations based on whether they are from 'Journal Katrè' or from 'Moman Verité'. Those sources are closely scrutinised as they are processed in the AntConc tool when the appropriate description of the HC demonstratives is unfolding.

5.4.9 Software for data collection treatment and analysis

Many programmes are utilized to implement the methods of analysis of CL. AntConc is chosen for the analysis of the corpus data of this study. AntConc is a single file executable programme and can be launched from any computer loaded with it. This programme managed the texts input from news broadcast from Radio Kiskeya daily 'Jounal Katrè' (Four O'clock News) by the news anchor Liliane Pierre Paul (Lilyàn Pyè Pòl in HC) and the weekly round table broadcast of Radio Signal FM 'Moman Verite' (Moment of Truth) by the anchor Peguy Jean (Pegi Jan). The process to input the text of the corpus and the basic features of this CL platform are provided, followed by examples how the system is set up to let the files containing the transcribed data to be uploaded into it. Also, all the output displaying text from AntConc is extracted and converted into figures generated with both Notepad and Microsoft Word. Suffice it to mention some key aspects of the AntConc software as it is kown in CL.

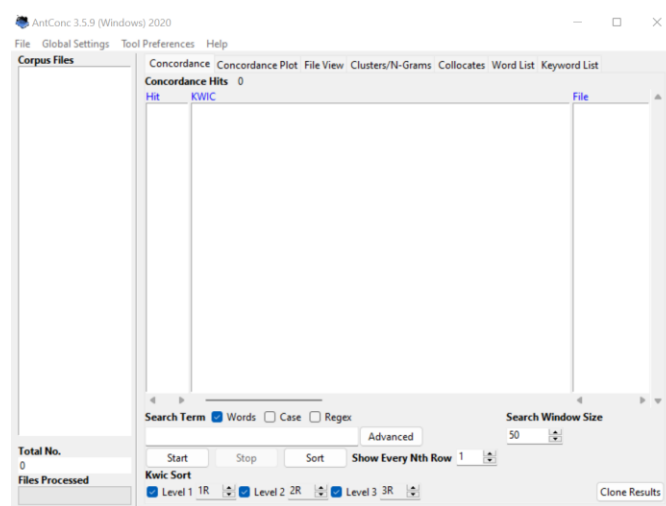


Figure 5.4 View of a page without data in AntConc

Figure 5.4 shows what the AntConc platform looks like on the computer screen when it is launched. The left side of the screen with the heading 'Corpus Files' will display the different files of the corpus. The content of the files when selected appears on the right of the screen. The top row displays many options from 'concordance' to Keyword list. Given the investigation of demonstratives pursued by this dissertation, the Word List option is instrumental in populating the third row below, which displays Hit (for the

number of words). The concordance option allows to detect, KWI (Key Word in Context, for the display of the words of the corpus in context) and File (for the name of the file where the key word in context appears). When the files of the corpus are selected and open is pressed, this blank screen is populated as follows:

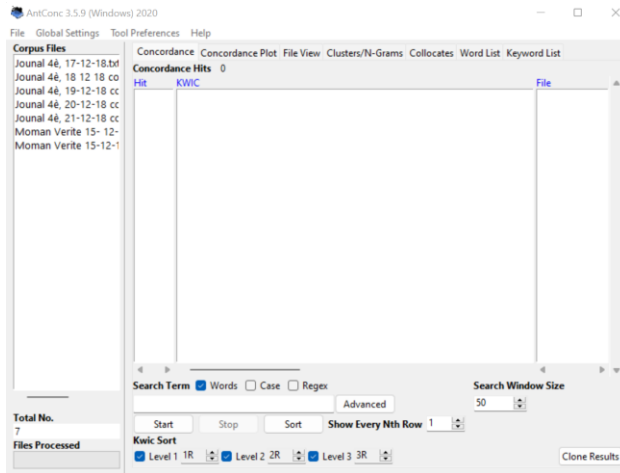


Figure 5.5 AntConc page with file names displayed

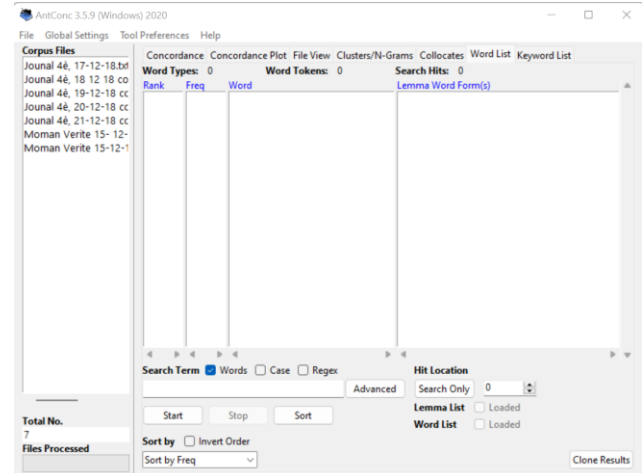


Figure 5.6 AntConc page when Word list tab is pressed

The only difference here is that the files that will be processed by AntConc are displayed on the left side of the screen. The names of the files appeared as they are named by broadcast programme and date. When the 'Word List' option is selected, and 'start' is pressed a second and third rows display options such as 'Word Types' (number of unique word forms). Word Tokens (number of individual words in the text) and 'Search hits' (second row); it is currently 0 because no term was searched as evidenced by the blank form under the 'search term' in Figure 5.5 and then for the third row (Figure 5.6 (for the frequency of the word and 'Word' (for the actual individual words that appear in the corpus) and Lemma Word(s) form. The dissertation does not pursue lemma word forms in this investigation of demonstratives. HC displays rare inflections that are associated with mostly suffixes, largely in nouns that express some rare gender forms derived from French such as 'chinwa, chinwaz' (Chinese), 'fransè, fransèz' (French), 'italyen, italyèn' (Italian) etc. As indicated earlier the key features of AntConc utilized in this dissertation are mostly concordance, word list and the initial display of the list of words that features rank, frequency, and the word as it appears in context.

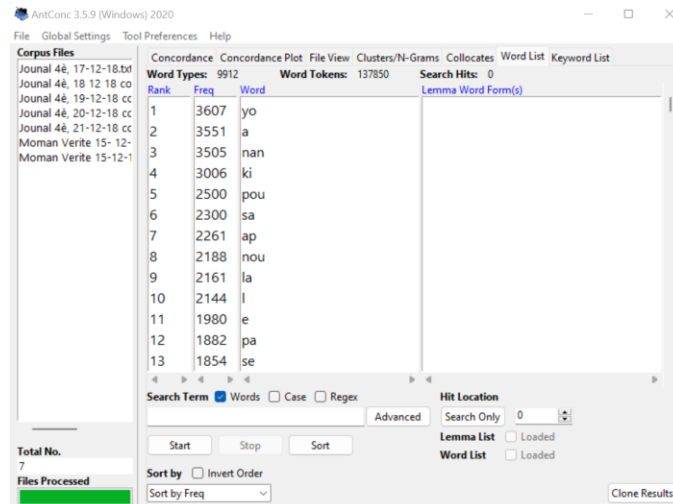


Figure 5.7 AntConc page when the start is pressed

Figure 5.7 shows how the blank spaces fill up with the rank, the frequency, and the actual words of the corpus. The targeted demonstratives *sa* as partially represented is ranked number 6 with a frequency of 2,300. A detailed discussion is provided for the number appeared here and the actual demonstratives *sa a* in the argument regarding the data in chapter 6. Prior to this is an overview of how this dissertation has built on CL foundations.

5.4.10 Building on CL foundations

Building on the foundation that CL is at the core of linguistic performance, the gathered HC broadcast corpus data constituted the field where the above-mentioned CL theory and method are implemented. The investigation of HC demonstratives is therefore corpus-based, and the search of the demonstratives allows to look at the patterns of use of the language as performed by various types of speakers in news broadcast.

As per correlation, this dissertation uses CL to investigate demonstratives in HC under the lenses of Gadet's variation. The KWIC method of discovery and preparation for analysis is used to separate and then look into variations such as diatopic, diaphasic, diastratic, diamesic as they appear in the corpus (See chapters 6 and 7 for those findings

and the conclusion reached). Botley and McEnery (2001) show a presence of variation at the grammatical level whereas Gadet's variation studied in this thesis' corpus is mostly sociolinguistic but the analysis of these authors with a set of research questions to be answered at the conclusion of the corpus analysis is similar to the one used in this dissertation. There is besides this observation the CDA approach elaborated on by Mautiner that is implemented while using certain CL tools in the analysis.

The field of applied linguistics has not recorded a lot of studies that imply demonstratives and CL, let alone HC demonstratives in a corpus-based approach as undertaken in this dissertation. Some of those that are recorded are reviewed here with an emphasis on their applicability to the present study although they are conducted in other languages. The processes used are the target of this brief overview. A study that involves demonstratives in a corpus-based approach but in English is the one conducted by some scholars, one of which is alluded to throughout this present section but also in section 6.2. Botley & McEnery (2001) conducted a corpus-based study of demonstratives in English. These authors used "three 100,000 words corpora to study the English for mostly the annotation and explorations of the demonstrative pronouns **this, that, these** and **those** (p. 7). Although the variationist view in the manner of Gadet (2007) was not associated with this study, the process is worth pointing out for alluding to the anaphoric and the cataphoric uses of the demonstratives like the one encountered in our study (see sections 3.7.2, 3.8.2 , 6.3, 6.4 and 7.1).

The conclusion brought forth by Botley and McEnery suggests that their study of proximal and distal demonstratives in English needs an annotated corpus to be thorough. The previous study of Ariel (1988) they alluded to and the one they conducted did not provide enough evidence to conclude on the cognitive effect of anaphoric antecedents to determine clearly how proximal and distal demonstratives function. The steps followed lay the foundation for such a study in HC when an established HC tagger becomes

available. This conclusion emphasizes the necessity of the functional and the framework-free approaches associated with the interpretation and the analysis of the data of this dissertation. Additionally, the study of Botley and McEnery uses English as the language under investigation which does not necessarily rely on locative (adjuncts) like HC does, to express proximity or distality.

Another interesting study of demonstratives in English using a spoken corpus shows some aspects related to difficulty for second language learners of English to express distality and proximity properly due to constraints imposed by their native language (Kim, 2009). What is concluded in terms of alleviating the way to express proximity and distality in English is to rely on “practical, realistic examples” (p. 1). The notion of practical and realistic illustrations tied to the real use of the language argued by Kim is the fundamental drive of this study that appeals to CL to investigate HC broadcasts with the aim of finding realistic use of this language’s demonstratives.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the entirety of the methodology used in this dissertation. It presented the design of the study based on the situation of Creole languages in general as exemplified by the typical case of HC. It also points to the transformative quantitative and qualitative methodology used to aim in the end at an action agenda that this dissertation frame may help lead. The chapter continues to present the methods for data transcription that details the process from the use of the HC official orthography to produce the transcription and make explicit how the data is generated, stored, transcribed, and prepared for analysis. The chapter ends by pointing at the way I have built this dissertation architecture on the trends in CL. Both CL processes and theorists are closely observed and analysed to create a coherent set of steps to follow that can benefit both HC and any other world language in need of investigation.

CHAPTER 6 - Analysis and Findings

6.1 Introduction

This section of the dissertation is dedicated to the analysis of the findings as documented by CL. It offers a quantitative representation of the HC demonstratives in the corpus and attempts to make explicit all the variations associated with them. The quantitative description is immediately followed by the qualitative interpretation of the data. The sequence pursued is first the identification of the basic demonstratives, their alternative forms, and then the different locative(s) (adjuncts) that are in some instances associated with the HC demonstratives to signal proximity or distality. This chapter also offers an in-depth comparison between the locative *la (a)* and the definite demonstrative determiner homophone and homograph *la* that can help establish a clear-cut differentiation between them. The end of the chapter is dedicated to the representation and the meaning of the HC demonstratives mostly in Gadet's variation framework and other associated code-switching and code-mixing theories. The section ends with a discussion aiming at confirming or justifying the type of variations of the HC demonstratives represented in the corpus and its corresponding sub-corpora.

6.2 A closer look at the demonstratives and locative (adjuncts) of the data

Now the data is available for analysis, and notably, the corpus they belong to conveys an acceptable representativeness. The intervention of speakers from all walks of life in Haiti makes the data valuable in terms of a strong illustrative sampling as per Biber (1993), Leech (1991) and McEnery et. al. (2006). Besides representativeness, the corpus presents a certain balance in the sense that "A balanced corpus usually covers a wide range of text categories which are supposed to be representative of the language or language variety under consideration" (McEnery et. al., 2006, p. 3). This variety is achieved specifically with the range of hosts and other interviewees who provide the content of the six days of news broadcast from Radio Kiskeya and the round table from Radio Signal FM. Let us therefore look at some sentences that

exemplify the core singular and plural HC demonstratives (See section 3.8.3 for the core HC demonstratives and the overview table).

6.3 Quantitative description and interpretation of data: Expectations and how the dataset will be used

As argued in section 5.2, by necessity, this thesis resorts to the transformative quantitative approach. The aim was to conduct a robust follow-up made possible by the constancy of the data output and their rapid quantifiability. This creates a fast access to data that can foster a transformative worldview of HC. A transformative worldview in social science theory employs the means of a mixed-method approach such as the quantitative qualitative process to reach in the case of this thesis, an advocacy worldview (section 5.2) of HC that is solidly anchored in CL. This worldview will lead to an action agenda. The factual representation of the language in the data as captured by CL creates a verifiable reference of linguistic facts related to HC. This platform is needed to avoid subjective views based on suppositions. Therefore, all the demonstratives appearing in the overview table below are searched in the data and quantified. This quantification spans from Figures 6.2 to 6.14 and includes Table 7 below as well. All searches are conducted in the order the items appear in the overview table. In line with the initial methodological goal stated in chapter 5, the quantification of data is conducted while bearing in mind that it must be in a continuum with the Sequential Transformative Design (section 5.2) where the quantitative analysis precedes the qualitative one but also where they supplement each other.

The figures shown below include the view of the text from the AntConc platform. They alternate with tables that show quantitatively the basic form of demonstratives in HC. The singular form of the demonstrative is *sa a* and the plural form *sa yo*. Besides, some locative(s) (adjuncts) are commonly used in HC. Those locative(s) (adjuncts) indicate either proximity or distality. The table below (copy of Table 7 in chapter 3) summarises the demonstratives of HC. These demonstratives are analysed in section 6.4 that provides the qualitative description and

interpretation of data. The locative(s) (adjuncts) that are likely to co-occur with both singular form *sa a* and plural form *sa yo* are discussed later in the analysis.

Demonstratives	Type	Singular	Plural	Proximity	Distality
sa a	Adj.	+	Sa (a) yo	+	+
sila a	Adj.	+	Sila (a) yo	+	+
la a	Loc. adjunct	+	+	+	-
(bò) isit	Loc. adjunct	+	+	+	-
(bò) isit la	Loc. adjunct	+	+	+	-
(bò) isi	Loc. adjunct	+	+	+	-
(bò) isi a	Loc. adjunct	+	+	+	-
(bò) lòtbò/lòt bò	Loc. adjunct	+	+	-	+
(bò) lòtbò a.	Loc. adjunct	+	+	-	+

Table 22 (Copy of Table 7) - Haitian Creole Demonstratives Overview Table

The subsequent section takes into consideration the above overview table as the data are being quantified. The six days in final count yielded about 137,588 words (excluding metadata) distributed among the two anchors as shown in Table 23 below.

Six days of radio broadcast			
Radio Signal FM	Anchor Jean Peguy	Day	Number of Words
		Day 1, part 1	8,974
		Day 1, part 2	41,210
Radio Kiskeya	Anchor Liliane Pierre-Paul	Day 2	17,643
		Day 3	16,932
		Day 4	17,627
		Day 5	18,444
		Day 6	16,756
Words Total			137,588

Table 23 – Anchors, Radio Stations, and number of words

Parallel with the above is the visual cue of the entire data in files as entered in Antconc:

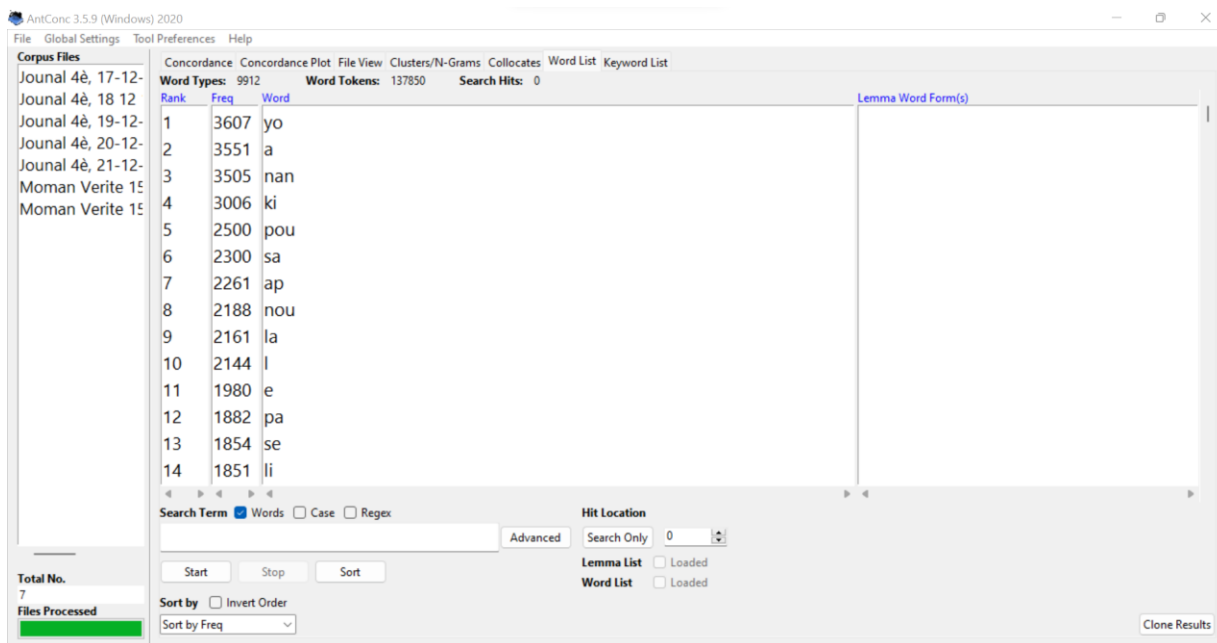


Figure 6.1 – Visual cue of entire corpus data

The above shows 9,912 word types for a total of 137,850 tokens, with the inclusion of metadata. The first part *sa* of the targeted demonstrative *sa a* is sixth on the list with a frequency of 2,300 whereas the second part ‘*a*’ appears in second position in the word list with a frequency of 3,551. Nevertheless, it is important to clarify whereas there is no singular demonstrative adjective in HC without the second element ‘*a*’ of *sa a*; ‘*a*’ does not necessarily belong to the HC demonstrative pronoun because this ‘*a*’ can be a part of the locative adjunct *la a* or a bare determiner ‘*a*’. This explains the higher frequency of ‘*a*’ as compared to *sa* in the corpus.

Nevertheless, the Key Word In Context (KWIC) features allows to identify 868 contexts where the demonstrative *sa a* appears. When conducting a search of *sa a* in the data and including one left (1L) and one right (1R) contexts, the result demonstrates that AntConc is directed to treat the HC demonstrative as one element whereas it is made of two. The left context in red and the right in green shows the observation made:

1	li anpil. Sadrak Deudone: Pou kesyon sekurite a, sa a, li se youn k ap raple deu devalyeu,
2	epi ki pa gen otorizasyon, eksetera. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk leu sa a, avoka sa
3	menm se aspè sa a (Pegi: Non, sa a sa a entolerab.) yo bat on avoka (Pegi: Mhm), fòk
4	Duplan e nan wòl yo jwe nan krim abominab sa a. E yo mande lajustis e pou yo louvri
5	montre sa. Sa a pa montre sa.) Paskal Adriyen: Sa a sa l ye. Sa a li menm se
6	se ta yon aksidan ki lakòz dufeu a. Aksidan sa a rele kòkòt minut, ou konnen bonm yo konn
7	è distribusyon sa a. Minis lan fè konnen aktivite sa a e se rezilta anpil travay avèk volonte òganizatè
8	ap vini la a, vandredi ak samdi. Nan aktivite sa a ap gen fwar gastwo, artizanal e ee daprè
9	ozisyon gastwonomik, donk manje, nan kad aktivite sa a. E li, l ap pote plus presizyon e
10	, madam Mirlande Floritus e ki fè konnen aktivite sa a ap reyalize pou etudyan yo nan lekòl hotelière
11	oune an anfèt venndeudeu desanm nan nan kad aktivite sa a. LPP: Vwala, se te madam Mirlande Floritus. E
12	totalman, ki fè pati deu frankofoni an. Aktivite sa a k ap fèt deumen se anbasad peyi Lafrans
13	milti Dorval, anbasad Kanada ann Ayiti. Aktivite sa a l ap fèt deumen mèkredi diznèuf desanm nan,
14	konsa nan mikwo Amos Breville. NJ & JJ: Aktivite sa a k ap òganize la a se Komisyon Episkopal
15	(Pegi: Mwen te presize l nan debu emisyon an) Sa a li menm, (Pegi: Se pa prewogativ avoka a
16	menm kapab nome menm yon minis nan gouvèneman an, sa a s on bagay ki grav. E jodiya (Pegi:
17	esyon budjè a domine aktualite a nan finisman ane sa a. E puiskeu gouvènman an depoze budjè pwojè lwa

Figure 6.2 – KWIC displaying *sa a* with 1L (red) and 1R (green) highlighted (17 out of 868 Hits)

To prepare for the analysis of an appropriate representative sample of the 868 HC demonstrative contexts, a comparison is drawn between the 1L and 1R contexts in figure 6.2 and then the 1L and 2R contexts in figure 5.3. Looking at the left context is significant because the HC demonstratives as all HC definite determiners are post nuclear. This context allows the observer to look whether the demonstrative determines one noun or more, an entire noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. With this type of left and right contexts set at 1L and 2R, the HC demonstratives *sa a* is singled out and shown in blue and the left and right contexts are shown in red and green respectively. AntConc concordance option uses four different colours besides the regular black. The search term appears in blue and the three default levels 1, 2 and 3 use the colours red, green, and purple. The colour purple is for level 3, green for 2 and red for 1. Each level can be either L or R and the number indicates how far to the left or right of the main search term an item is displayed.

1	menm se aspè sa a (Pegi: Non, sa a sa a entolerab.) yo bat on avoka (Pegi: Mhm), fòk
2	li anpil. Sadrak Deudone: Pou kesyon sekurite a, sa a, li se youn k ap raple deu devalyeu,
3	epi ki pa gen otorizasyon, eksetera. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk leu sa a, avoka sa
4	Duplan e nan wòl yo jwe nan krim abominab sa a. E yo mande lajustis e pou yo louvri
5	montre sa. Sa a pa montre sa.) Paskal Adriyen: Sa a sa l ye. Sa a li menm se
6	se ta yon aksidan ki lakòz dufeu a. Aksidan sa a rele kòkòt minut, ou konnen bonm yo konn
7	ap vini la a, vandredi ak samdi. Nan aktivite sa a ap gen fwar gastwo, artizanal e ee dapre
8	, madam Mirlande Floritus e ki fè konnen aktivite sa a ap reyalize pou etudyan yo nan lekòl hotelière
9	ozisyon gastwonomik, donk manje, nan kad aktivite sa a. E li, l ap pote plus presizyon e
10	è distribusyon sa a. Minis lan fè konnen aktivite sa a e se rezilta anpil travay avèk volonte òganizatè
11	totalman, ki fè pati deu frankofoni an. Aktivite sa a k ap fèt deumen se anbasad peyi Lafrans
12	konsa nan mikwo Amos Breville. NJ & JJ: Aktivite sa a k ap òganize la a se Komisyon Episkopal
13	milti Dorval, anbasad Kanada ann Ayiti. Aktivite sa a l ap fèt deumen mèkredi diznèuf desanm nan,
14	oune an anfèt vennde desanm nan nan kad aktivite sa a. LPP: Vwala, se te madam Mirlande Floritus. E
15	(Pegi: Mwen te presize l nan debu emisyon an) Sa a li menm, (Pegi: Se pa prewogativ avoka a
16	menm kapab nome menm yon minis nan gouvèneman an, sa a s on bagay ki grav. E jodiya (Pegi:
17	pase a li te a kenz pousan donk ane sa a dapre enfòmasyon keu n genyen ...ap travay pou

Figure 6.3 – KWIC displaying *sa a* with 1L (red) and 2R (green) contexts

1	menm se aspè sa a (Pegi: Non, sa a sa a entolerab.) yo bat on avoka (Pegi: Mhm), fòk
2	li anpil. Sadrak Deudone: Pou kesyon sekurite a, sa a, li se youn k ap raple deu devalyeu,
3	epi ki pa gen otorizasyon, eksetera. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk leu sa a, avoka sa
4	Duplan e nan wòl yo jwe nan krim abominab sa a. E yo mande lajustis e pou yo louvri
5	montre sa. Sa a pa montre sa.) Paskal Adriyen: Sa a sa l ye. Sa a li menm se
6	se ta yon aksidan ki lakòz dufeu a. Aksidan sa a rele kòkòt minut, ou konnen bonm yo konn
7	ap vini la a, vandredi ak samdi. Nan aktivite sa a ap gen fwar gastwo, artizanal e ee dapre
8	, madam Mirlande Floritus e ki fè konnen aktivite sa a ap reyalize pou etudyan yo nan lekòl hotelière
9	ozisyon gastwonomik, donk manje, nan kad aktivite sa a. E li, l ap pote plus presizyon e
10	è distribusyon sa a. Minis lan fè konnen aktivite sa a e se rezilta anpil travay avèk volonte òganizatè
11	totalman, ki fè pati deu frankofoni an. Aktivite sa a k ap fèt deumen se anbasad peyi Lafrans
12	konsa nan mikwo Amos Breville. NJ & JJ: Aktivite sa a k ap òganize la a se Komisyon Episkopal
13	milti Dorval, anbasad Kanada ann Ayiti. Aktivite sa a l ap fèt deumen mèkredi diznèuf desanm nan,
14	oune an anfèt vennde desanm nan nan kad aktivite sa a. LPP: Vwala, se te madam Mirlande Floritus. E
15	(Pegi: Mwen te presize l nan debu emisyon an) Sa a li menm, (Pegi: Se pa prewogativ avoka a
16	menm kapab nome menm yon minis nan gouvèneman an, sa a s on bagay ki grav. E jodiya (Pegi:
17	pase a li te a kenz pousan donk ane sa a dapre enfòmasyon keu n genyen ...ap travay pou

Figure 6.4 – KWIC displaying *sa a* with 1L (red), 2R (green) and 3R (purple) contexts

As in Figure 6.3 above, Figure 6.4 shows that the demonstrative *sa a* appears in blue in all the 868 items of the corpus (illustrated by item 17). This allows all the instances to be singled out much easily. The demonstrative in blue is followed by two items on the right respectively in green and in purple. Therefore, Figures 6.3 and 6.4 present the basic case scenario where AntConc displays the actual two-part demonstrative *sa a* with the corresponding left and right contexts that are significant in the subsequent analysis. The significance lays in the fact that the

left and right contexts of the HC demonstratives help determine their anaphoric and cataphoric use.

Similarly, the HC demonstrative plural *sa yo* has 332 occurrences in the raw data as shown in Figure 6.5 (with the caveat as shown later that some instances of *sa yo* are not necessarily the typical demonstrative adjective but instead instances of two words pertaining to two distinct clauses as seen in section 6.4.5). Both the singular and the plural HC demonstratives *sa a* and *sa yo* have a non-demonstrative adjective counterpart (homophones and/or homographs of the very demonstratives). They are demonstrative pronouns and are identified and singled out in many instances exemplified in items 60 and 542 of section 6.4.4 below. The cases where the non-demonstrative adjective form appears include sentence initial position, after a preposition, after a verb, after a conjunction, after a possessive or reflexive pronoun (See Table 16 in section 6.4.5 for examples).

1	a. Li di yo pral mete sou mache a sa yo rele bon trezò, se kiyès k ap achte
2	lakou siperyè dè kont ak kontansye administrativ sa yo rele petro kamping nan dezyèm jounen an jodiya
3	yo fè konnen se anba direksyon Bout Janjan aksyon sa yo te fèt. N ap tandè yo nan mikwo
4	lavi chè k ap trakase yo pandan dènye ane sa yo. San konte dola ameriken an ki pajanm sispann
5	) Wi (Pegi: Si l panse li pral kanpe anfas sa yo vle a et on a vu un Stanley
6	travay l ap fè pa rapò ak tout angajman sa yo li pran. Komisè Paul Eronce Villard anonse li
7	prezan pa gen ankenn plent ki te depoze anketè sa yo te depoze nan direksyon jeneral lan pou ta
8	yo chita. Ne serait-ce pou yo redi ankò sa yo kwè ladan l, sa yo konprann. Men kòm
9	kesyon première dame pendan dix dernières années sa yo? Nou vle pale de Sofia Senlui Malfini. E
10	peye yo 3 mwa kat debi yo dwe yo. Anplwaye sa yo denonse administratè a tou, epi yo mande prezidan
11	ère deu famiy responsab, nou fin travay deja apre sa yo kite nou nan yon sitiyaasyon difisil pou nou
12	adan yo genyen tankou Etazini e Israyèl. Men apre sa yo retire kò yo, yo di yo pa dakò
13	ap bagay ki fè nou la a toujou. Apre sa yo t ap fè masak yo t ap touye
14	dapre sa òganizasyon an di. Yo fè konnen atak sa yo bay kòm rezilta ken swasantrèz ka moun ki
15	valè moun ki viktim ee deu fason sistematik atak sa yo te fèt kont yon gwoup byen presi e
16	kòm si patisipe nan konkou an. Nou di atis sa yo nou kòm si site la a, se dè
17	lansanm manm de komite yo kapab enimerè non atis sa yo pou nou. Yon lòt fwa ankò n ap

Figure 6.5 – KWIC displaying *sa yo*

These observations will expand to the analysis of the corpus and its sub-corpora to identify whether or not variation à la Gadet is occurring. Before considering other aspects of the data relevant to the analysis of the demonstratives, it is worth perusing it for the locative (adjuncts) - as shown in the HC Demonstratives Overview Table - with their frequency displayed.

Demonstratives	Type	Frequency
<i>sa a</i>	Adj. sing*	868
<i>sa yo</i>	Adj. pl*	332
<i>sila a</i>	Adj. sing	11
<i>sila yo</i>	Adj. pl	5
la a	Loc. (Adjunct)	307
isi	Loc. (Adjunct)	1/3
isi a	Loc. (Adjunct)	2
bò isi	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
bò isi a	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
isit	Loc. (Adjunct)	8
isit la	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
isit lan	Loc. (Adjunct)	1
bò isit	Loc. (Adjunct)	3
bò isit la	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
lòt bò	Loc. (Adjunct)	3
lòtbò	Loc. (Adjunct)	4
lòtbò a	Loc. (Adjunct)	1
bò lòtbò	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
bò lòtbò a	Loc. (Adjunct)	0

Table 24 – Demonstratives, locative(s) (adjuncts) and their frequencies in corpus data

**While most of the examples are adjectives, there are significant HC demonstratives that are pronouns and some instances of non-demonstratives for the plural form *sa yo*. Refer to section 6.4.4 to identify examples in context. The items corresponding to demonstrative adjectives are labelled Dem and the demonstrative pronouns DemPr.*

The abbreviation Dem is used to represent the demonstrative adjective as the most pervasive in HC and confirmed in the corpus. The corpus contains 868 instances of the demonstrative *sa a*; most of them determine a noun hence the choice of Dem. DemPr is chosen to point to the demonstrative function played by the demonstrative in the corpus data and as they appear in their respective contexts. The function indicating Dem or DemPr corresponds to the actual demonstrative adjective function of *sa a* or *sa yo*, as they are used in the broadcast and reflected in the analysis.

For the differentiation criteria of *sa yo* as Dem or DemPr or as a non-demonstrative, it is incumbent on the correct analysis of the context as it is conducted in section 6.4.5 to showcase the instances where *sa yo* does not determine any noun in the sentence but instead represents two

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separate words belonging to two distinct clauses. The corroborating examples appear in section 6.4.5, and they are items 138, 150 (after a preposition), and also item 214 (after a verb) and 134 (after an adverb). These instances are clear usage in HC of *sa yo* as non-demonstrative.

6.4 Qualitative description and interpretation of data

The AntConc platform easily quantifies the corpus. In line with the transformative quantitative and qualitative explanatory mixed method argued in chapter 4, this section contains a set of interpretative mechanisms that allows explaining how demonstratives function in HC. The arguments built will aim at promoting a verifiable methodology of HC for analysis. Admittedly, CL allows to warrant an explanatory power anchored in both quantity and quality within the dataset. The immediate step is the identification of the demonstratives *sa a* and *sa yo* and their non demonstrative homophones and homographs. To conduct this interpretive work, the first and last ten items are looked first to test whether the expected functions (see section 3.7.2) of the demonstratives in HC are verified. Once this is accomplished, the entire corpus is explored through different items looking at some demarcation from the basic determining function to examine trends such as anaphoric and cataphoric features of the demonstratives (see section 3.7.2). In terms of syntactic position, features such as intra and extra sentential positions of the HC demonstratives, are explored. Further, in the quantitative analysis, it is shown that the HC demonstratives co-occur with the locative *la a* (here) to convey proximity. Some sentences show the insertion of *sa a* but among some French Phrases (FP) and, thus, demonstrate how the HC demonstrative functions in a code-switching or code mixing setting (see section 6.5), which signals Gadet's diastratic variation. Before her seminal work on variation in 2007, Gadet (1992) has signaled based on Labov's work that there would not be much more to say about variation if it was just an internal, stylistic phenomenon. However, because of code-switching, variation cannot be conceived as just stylistic (diaphasic) but precisely also as diastratic because of the social factor involved in code-switching. (see also section 4.5.3 for a more in-depth review of the details of the variationist approach à la Gadet). Some morpho-phonological variation of the singular HC demonstrative is compared to show

that the lengthening of the vowel in the demonstrative or the lack thereof is a significant contrast that syntactically allows the differentiation between the adjectival and the pronominal functions of the HC singular demonstrative where long form *sa a* is most of the time demonstrative adjective and the shorter form *sa* is pronoun. The corpus also shows instances of *sa a* in sentence final position where it is exclusively proximal with a proximity warranted by some specific time expressions such as ‘jodiya’ (today). It further displays the anaphoric use of *sa a* with a preposition and a cataphoric structure with apposition (see items 21 and 46 below). This cataphora also implies distality via a geographic expression such as ‘eta Nouyòk’ (New York state) in item 46. As the analysis of the corpus proceeds, it is shown that *sa a* can determine an adjectival phrase where the adjective is head initial or head medial. The corpus also shows a rare instance of the cataphoric use of *sa a* in a question (item 117 below). These features are part of the basic functions of demonstratives alluded to in this thesis. The HC demonstrative is proven to determine multiple nouns and cardinals at the same time and also an instance of proximal deictic with a percentage expression. The corpus shows two instances where the singular demonstrative is repeated, one implies emphasis, and the other repetition displays the contiguous use of *sa a* as demonstrative adjective and pronoun. There are instances of *sa a* in the corpus that appear both intrasententially and extra sententially. These instances are generated via a wildcard search. Although *sa a* is the dominating singular form of the HC demonstrative, the corpus exhibits a few instances where this singular form is followed by the plural marker morpheme ‘yo’ to yield ‘*sa a yo*’. These few instances are singled out and analysed below.

As for the plural *sa yo*, a test similar to the one conducted with the singular version is performed to confirm its basic determining functions and then how other functions come into play. The first consideration is given to the peculiar use of the singular determiner ‘a’ at the end of the plural HC *sa yo* to yield ‘*sa yo a*’. This use is analysed and interpreted within its assumed specified context. The result is shown below in this chapter. Similarly, the corpus contains instances where the plural HC demonstrative is followed by the plural marker ‘yo’ to yield *sa yo yo*. The contexts are analysed below for elucidation.

After those instances of ‘*sa a yo*’, ‘*sa yo a*’ and *sa yo yo*, the analysis turned to the alternative forms of HC demonstratives *sil a* and *sil yo*. There, the analysis goes deeper to include potential diatopic variation within a specific journalistic language register. The map of Haiti is utilized and modified with Microsoft Word using the three-dimensional (3D) rotation option to slant it in order to allow the alignment of the instances of *sa a* and *sa yo* and to project them directly via a thin black arrow over the specific geographical location from where correspondents of Radyo Kiskeya are reporting. The 3D rotation allows individual X, Y and Z rotations and they are set respectively at 327.4°, 310.2° and 45.6° to allow a better reading of the map and some specific locations indicated by the arrows. This section is followed by the analysis of the locative (adjuncts). The locative (adjunct) *la a* is differentiated from the determiner *la* and different displays are provided to show how they are identified in the corpus (section 6.4.1). The remaining locative (adjuncts) identified in the above overview table are presented in the order they appeared on that table.

6.4.1 The locative (adjunct) *la a* (307) and the definite determiner *la*

The locative (adjunct) *la a* as seen in Figure 6.6 below is quite pervasive in the corpus.

La a adds the idea of proximity when used with the HC demonstrative.

1	nan peyi a la a. Kote n kanpe a la a anpil moun mouri; nou pa ka negosye ak
2	tire la reverans. Eu Charlo sot di taleu a la a, dans un mandat il y a la durée,
3	: Enben talè w a rantre) Jan w di a la a, dyalòg la pa yon dyalòg de sourds, dyalòg
4	et du secteur de la construction. E taleu a la a e prevnan, prezidan prezidan komisyon an sot e
5	yo touye nou. Pase yo konn tout deyò a la a. E zo reken an yo ki an pagon
6	. Jounen jodiya m kwè ke dyalòg ki lanse a la a fò l seryeu. Si s on w dyalòg
7	eu seyans odisyon CSPN nan, sou klima sekurite a la a, gen moun ki di se teyat, sa pa
8	li fè (Pegi: Mhm) travail d'évaluation sa a? La a il est surtout question d on ansanm deu
9	fè a. Enben se sa k mete peyi a la a jounen jodiya. Pa gen pèsonn moun ki respekte (
10	g on flòt à partir deu apre midi a la a k ap gen dis kamyon ladan l plus
11	konnen nan dènye evènman ki gen nan peyi a la a, kesyon sa k pase nivo Lasalin e travay
12	kote ki fè pi gwo masak nan peyi a la a. Kote n kanpe a la a anpil moun
13	, nan moman l desann nan nan fen dane a la a kote manman ak papa pitit deja pa konn
14	ka ale myeu. Men sa y ap fè a la a li pa ka ede peyi a nan anyen.
15	m pa konn poukisa, nan faz nou rive a la a, m pa kwè ke se kadav pou peyi
16	: Èske syèj yo ap reprann nan fen ane a la a? Minis Jan Woudi Ali: E wi, maten an
17	çon méthodologique, nan faz ke nou rive jodiya a la a, nou andwa pou n di ke, le pre-

Figure 6.6 – Locative (adjunct) *la a* in the corpus

Different forms of adjuncts sometimes accompany a demonstrative or are used alone. An adjunct is perceived in the linguistic sense as an element of a structure that is not part of the nucleus of the sentence (Oxford). An adjunct, if removed, will not fundamentally change the

sense of the sentence. Therefore, it is considered as a dispensable element of the sentence (Payne, 2006; Carnie, 2010). In the corpus, the instances of demonstratives accompanied with a locative adjunct clearly demonstrate the dispensability of the adjunct. Figure 6.24 for example, displays seven co-occurrences of *sa a* with *la a*. The nonessential feature of the adjunct *la a* remains even when there is an instance of code-mixing of HC with French such as in item 7 of Figure 6. It appears that the fact that adjuncts are nonessential or dispensable holds true even when they are used with HC personal pronouns. The locative *la a* still functions as an adjunct in such instances. The following exemplifies this fact:

1 des dans des endroits diferan n ap gade avèk mwen la a genyen revolvè de kalib tranttuit, genyen pistol

Figure 6.7 – The locative *la a* with the pronoun *mwen* (me)

Examples with <i>la a</i> as locative (adjunct)						
...dans	des	endroits	diferan			
...Prep	Indef	N	Adj			
<i>From</i>	<i>some</i>	<i>areas</i>	<i>different</i>			
...from different areas						
n		ap	gade	avèk	mwen	la a genyen
SubPr-2ndPers-Pl		Prog	V	Prep	ObjPr-1stPer-Sing	LocAdj ImpPrstV
<i>you</i>		<i>are</i>	<i>looking with</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>there are</i>
you are looking at with me here there are						
revolvè de		kalib	tranttuit...			
N	Prep	N	Card			
<i>Guns</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>caliber</i>	<i>thirty-eight</i>			
guns of caliber thirty-eight...						

Figure 6.7a – Example with locative adjunct *la a* and the personal pronoun *mwen*

Figure 6.7 shows the use of the locative *la a* after the personal pronoun ‘*mwen*’ (me) in the sentence. The police commissioner is referring to weapons seized from a search and stated that

“...dans des endroits diféran n ap gade avèk *mwen la a* genyen revolvè de kalib trantuit...”
 (...from different areas you are looking at with **me here** there are guns of caliber thirty-eight...).

La a in this context is a typical locative adjunct based on the test of dispensability conducted in section 6 where it is shown that as a locative adjunct *la a* can be omitted without causing any break in the meaning of the sentence. Its dispensability will exclude its use as a topic marker. In the following examples, there are other instances of *la a* with the polysemous HC ‘li’ (read, he/she/it/him/her) as shown below:

1	kèkchoz de départ. Men leù atik sa a ou li la a , pa montre se kèkchoz de départ.) (UV:
2	è.) (Unidentified Voice (UV): Èskeu I te gen plas li la a?) M ap di w mwen menm avan
3	situyasyon sa a jan w wè n ap viv li la a , I antrene la dépréciation de la gourde

Figure 6.8 – The locative *la a* with the HC polysemous *li* (read, he, she, it, him, her)

<i>La a</i> with the HC polysemous <i>li</i>	
1	Men leù atik sa a ou li <i>la a</i> , pa montre se Conj Adv N Dem PPr-2ndPers-Sing V LocAdj Neg V V-3rdPersSing <i>But when article this you read here not show is</i> But when this article you read here, doesn't show it is kèkchoz de départ... IndPr Pep N... <i>Something of beginning...</i> Something to start...
2	Èskeu I te gen plas li <i>la a?</i> AdvP PPr-3rdPres-Sing Pst V N Pos LocAdj <i>Did he past have place his here?</i> Did he have his place here?
3	Situyasyon sa a jan w wè n ap N Dem N PPr-2ndPers-Pl V PPr-1stPers-Pl Prog <i>Situation this way you see we are</i> This situation the way you see we are viv li <i>la a, ...</i> V ImpPr-3rdPers-Sing LocAdj, ... <i>Live it here</i>

living it here, ...

Figure 6.8a – Examples of *la a* with the HC polysemous *li*

In all three items where ‘*li*’ co-occurs with *la a*, the locative *la a* is indeed an adjunct as seen in the three contexts presented above in this Figure 6.8a. In the second item of Figure 6.8a, *li* (*abbreviated in l*) co-occurs with *la a*. This restricts neither the subject nor the object form of this pronoun in this co-occurrence. See the sentence below with all the possible options. The context where the polysemous **li** is studied in relation to **la a** is the one here:

Èskeu l te gen plas li la a? (Did he/she/it have his/its/her place here?)

In this sentence, both the full form (**li**) of the pronoun and its clitic form (**l**) are used. As shown in the gloss in parentheses, the clitic *l* means he/she/it in the subject position and similarly the same means his/its/her in object position, hence the polysemous nature of the word as alluded to earlier. Besides, *la a* is one of examples where the adjunct test can be applied, and it is a straightforward locative adjunct, specifically if conveying the idea of proximity is not intended by the speaker. Alternatively, instead of being analyzed as a topic marker, *la a* alongside the polysemous *li* is a locative deictic that conveys the idea of proximity the same way it does when it is used with the demonstrative *sa a*, granted that the speaker intentionally wants to convey the idea of proximity.

Now let us look at some instances of *la a* with the pronoun ‘nou’ in the corpus.

1	, g on preumye peryòd gouvènman an te fè avèk nou la a, nou te reukrute pluzyè ekid, moun yo
2	m mande pou yo, pou yo, pou leta desitire nou la a, pou l retire nou la a. Yon
3	an yo ki an pagon ap bagay ki fè nou la a toujou. Apre sa yo t ap fè
4	pou rakonte sa ki te pase e ki mennen nou la a. Se pa premye fwa sa rive non
5	ap ka fè l konsa! Pa gen youn nan nou la a, ki nan klas mwayèn nan la a,
6	nou ye. Chalo : Bonjou Pegi, se yon plezi pou nou la a maten an nan emisyon Moman Vérité. Kòm
7	on unité d’action. Enben sèl mwayen k rete nou la a, se swa nou al nan afwontman an
8	, pou leta desitire nou la a, pou l retire nou la a. Yon lòt moun: Epi m ap pase
9	ti chay nan mache a grenn bal pete sou nou la a. Men malere sa a l gen on
10	toujou meprize nan tout istwa yo. Se pou yo nou la a e se avèk yo nou travay nan

Figure 6.9 – The locative *la a* with the pronoun *nou* (we, you, us)

In the preceding 10 items where the locative *la a* co-occurs with the pronoun ‘nou’ (we or you), in only the last one *la a* is not an adjunct, but a locative adverb as shown below. To attest the difference, the test of dispensability is applied. In this sentence, the locative *la a* cannot be

omitted without depriving the sentence of its meaning. It is so in the corpus whenever a locative is utilised. If its removal as in 10 of Figure 6.10 below robs the sentence of its meaning, this locative is not an adjunct.

<i>La a with pronoun nou</i>						
10.	Se	pou	yo	nou	la a ...	
	V	Prep	Obj-PPr-3rdPers-Pl	PPr-1stPers-Pl	CopDel	LocAdv
	<i>Be</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>here</i>
	It is for them we are here...					

Figure 6.10 – Example of *la a* as adverb and not adjunct with the pronoun *nou*

Note here that in this setting, the locative *la a* as an adverb of location, deletes the copula ‘be’ in HC as it is for all adverbs of location in this language. Therefore, item 10 has two instances of be (is, are) in English and only one in HC (se, \emptyset). ‘Se’ is a form of ‘be’ known in HC as a *presentator or presentative verb* (Piou, 1982), it is usually positioned at the beginning of phrases to present or introduce an idea and not deleted like the counterpart ‘ye’.

The final pronoun ‘yo’ which can also be the HC plural marker as well as a possessive adjective is displayed below with *la a*:

1	, mache Telele e tout kote ki gen gwo depo yo la a nou pra l leve yo. Epui tout
2	al, senp polisye ajan 2 ki t ap egzekute desizyon yo la a. Anplus tou gen kesyon (Pegi: Men w
3	3: ...Bandi yo tire dirèk wi, depi yo wè figi yo la a, depi yo kwaze avèk yo e bal
4	eswa degre de responsabilite, donk nou pral mande yo la a, nan fèt fen dane a, dayè nou
5	2021. Yo ba nou 5 mwa ase, rès la nan mwen yo la a, nou gen 3 mwa nou pa janm jwenn
6	fòk nou klè pou moun k ap koute nou yo la a. Sa k app ase la a egzakteman?
7	seri de aktivite ki nan jou k ap vini yo la a n ap fè anons ofisyèl yo. Men

Figure 6.11 – The locative (adjunct) *la a* with *yo* (they, the)

In these examples pointed out in AntConc, none of them is a locative adverb that is not dispensable (Refer to the attestation of this adjunct/non adjunct feature identification above about item 10). The fundamental difference is that the locative adjunct is dispensable as shown in all the instances of Figure 6.8 above except item 10 with the plural pronoun ‘nou’. Further insight about *la a* is reported in sections 6.4.3 and 6.4.4. Pursuing the same line of examination W. Douce, PhD Thesis, Aston University 2023

with the other locatives of the corpus yield the distinction between a bare locative and a locative adjunct per se. The distinction is that the bare locative cannot be omitted without making the sentence awkward and sometimes meaningless. Brief comments will be made on a case-by-case basis about the ones that follow *la a* in the list of locatives. Before exploring the other locatives that follow *la* in the list it is of a great need to establish the fundamental differences that exist between the locative *la (a)* and the definite determiner *la* in HC. The following section will delve into it as this distinction is made explicit throughout the corpus.

6.4.1a Distinction between locative (adjunct) *la a* and the definite determiner *la*

La is essentially the HC definite determiner (synonym of *a, an, nan* but restricted by the phonological ending of the determined noun) and never the form *la a* that is used strictly as a locative (adjunct) and therefore *la a* is not found in the HC corpus data as a DDet. However, *la* can also be a locative (adjunct), especially when it is pronounced [la a] though written *la*, which is quite often in HC usage where producers of the diamesic variation of this language alluded to in section 4.5.3, do not follow the basic spelling rules of HC. Notwithstanding, *la* -as seen later in this section- has specific circumstances that allow it to function as a locative without the lengthening vowel.

Instances of Definite Determiners in the HC Corpus

<i>Instances of a</i>	<i>Instances of an</i>	<i>Instances of nan</i>	<i>Instances of la</i>	<i>Instances of lan</i>
*1307 ⁴	378	174	524	202

Table 24a - Instances of Definite Determiners in the Corpus

The HC corpus of news broadcast shows a widespread use of *lan* as definite determiner. As shown in table 24a, the number of occurrences of the definite determiner *lan* (202) is greater than the number of occurrences of the definite determiner *nan* (174). The corpus also indicates that in the instances where *lan* is used only the definite determiner *la* can replace it as illustrated in the five examples below:

Item #	Examples from the corpus with <i>lan</i>	Equivalence with <i>la</i>
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⁴ *(Including instances of *sa a*. When the instances of *sa a* are excluded, the number is 439 (1307-868).

Item 1	...avèk minis lan ... with minister DEFDET ...with the minister...	...avèk minis la ...
Item 50	... nan mitan pèp lan ... in the midst of the people In the midst of people DEFDET	...nan mitan pèp la
Item 100	... premye minis lan ...the Prime Minister... Prime Minister DEFDET	...premye minis la ...
Item 139	Nan sikonstans lan... ...in the circumstance In circumstance DEFDET...	Nan sikonstans la
Item 202	...egzèsis fiskal deu mil disèt deu mil dizuit lan......fiscal year 2017 2018 DEFDET ...the fiscal year 2017-2018	...ane fiskal 2017-2018 la

Table 24b – HC Corpus Examples showing *lan* replacing *la* alone

Although Wespel (2008) argued after Hazaël-Massieux (2005) that there is a beginning trend for the definite determiner *lan* to replace all the other definite determiners in HC, the analysis of our corpus shows that overwhelmingly, the HC definite determiner *lan* replaces only the determiner *la* in the data analyzed. However, it can be argued that the reverse argument contains some possibilities that are interesting to pinpoint. While in the five items above *lan* and *la* may replace each other, the other definite determiners that can replace *lan* must not follow a noun ended by either an oral or a nasal vowel. The types of nouns would be like *so* (*seal*), *kado* (*gift*), *bè* (*butter*). Interestingly while in this context *so a* (*the seal*), *kado a* (*the gift*) and *bè a* (*the butter*) are possible and acceptable in HC, switching *a* to *lan* is not, and stating **so lan*, **kado lan* and **bè lan* are not acceptable in HC because speakers neither in our corpus nor outside of it use them. It appears that with further investigation needed to corroborate the following, the preliminary indications would suggest that examples such as *so an*, *kado an*, *bè an* are acceptable occurrences in HC although arguably possible among a restricted number of HC users.

Because of the fairly homophonic relationship between *la* and *la a*, or more precisely *la* without the lengthened vowel *a* to distinguish the adjunct feature from the invariable locative *la* discussed by Wespel (2008) and subsequently alluded to (this section), it is necessary to peruse the data of the corpus to spell out the differences. Straightforwardly put, the differences are quite major when one looks beyond the apparent allophonic and graphemic similarities. Wespel (2008)'s description of domains contains an exploration of the HC four- or five-headed⁵

⁵ *The fifth in addition to the four definite forms of the HC presented below by Wespel is the form *lan* that Wespel reports after Hazaël-Massieux*)

phonetico-phonologically based definite determiner under the headship of *la* alluded to as a leftover of the French locative *là* (there). My uneasiness lays in the fact that there was no sizeable corpus data involved in Wespel’s body of examples that he claimed originated from data collected from HC informants who are native speakers of the language. The examples are pieces of utterances that are possibly open to different interpretations. Nevertheless, the crafted argument can serve as a basis for a fruitful and in-depth interpretation of this locative and the assumed definite determiner in the corpus of this dissertation. One interesting finding from Wespel’s (2008) work is the fact that *la* as definite determiner and *la* as a locative is clearly delineated. Here is his clearest delineation with the corresponding examples:

“The phonological variability moreover distinguishes the determiner *la* from the homonymous HC locative deictic form *la*, which is unchanging:

- (3)a Nèg la la.
 Man DEF there ‘The man is there’.
- (3)b Fanm nan la.
 Woman DEF there ‘The woman is there’.
- (3)c Tifi a la.
 Girl DEF there ‘The girl is there’.
- (3)d Gason an la.
 Boy DEF there ‘The boy is there’” (Wespel, 2008, p. 95).

The tables below show that *la* appears 524 times in the corpus and *la a* 307 times. The differences between the two are clearly made. It is however important to point to an attempt to demonstrate via our corpus data that there is a striking difference between the “locative deictic” used by Wespel as **there** in English and the HC apparent equivalent *la*. In all four examples (3)a, (3)b, (3)c and (3)d above, the English **there** is not the straightforward equivalent of the HC

“C. Hazaël-Massieux (2005:38) reports that present-day HC exhibits a beginning tendency to simplify the phonology of the definite determiner in favour of a single form [lã]” (Wespel, 2008, note 58, p. 94).

la, which functions mainly as a locative deictic but with the expressed meaning of ‘somewhere unknown’ especially if no context is involved. For this reason, *la* in HC -at least in the examples provided by Wespel- has to be treated as a locative deictic with either a physical or a ‘mental deictic’ representation, and this ‘mental deictic’ is used after Boussaid (2022, p. 87-88; Nash & Wilkins (220, p. 470) and Roche-Jacques (2013, p. 51). The interesting semantics associated with these distinctions is the fact that *la a* can suggest the idea of proximity if used with *sa a* (this) to yield *sa a la a* (this here/this one) whether pointing is involved or not. However, if *la a* is accompanied by a pointing that suggests distality, it is the straightforward equivalent of the English **there**. Likewise, if *la a* is accompanied with a proximal pointing, its English equivalence will be the proximal deictic **this**. Without this visual clue, in HC, *la* as a locative only means as stated above, somewhere but unknown or/but untold. A careful analysis of the 524 occurrences of *la* in the corpus suggests that the overwhelming majority of these occurrences is the definite determiner of HC. As in the four cases depicting the use of *la* reported by Wespel above, in the 524 occurrences of *la*, there are examples that are similar, and others deserve a different contextual analysis that is provided below.

LA AND LA A IN THE CORPUS DATA	
Total appearances of <i>la</i> : 524	Total appearances of <i>la a</i> : 307

Table 24c – Appearances of *la* and *la a* in the corpus

The following examples where *la* occurs are extracted from the 524 appearances in the corpus and appear to be close to the way Wespel used *la* as a locative deictic with some analysis that would depict some specific traits that are captured in context.

Item 10	Bon l pa <i>la</i> .
Item 42	...komisè gouvènman ki te <i>la</i> ,...
Item 62	...jeneratris nou gen tan <i>la</i> .
Item 66	. Men, pa di misyon w fini <i>la</i> .

*Item 87	Nou sansib a sa k ap fèt <i>la</i> ,...
Item 98	...gen yon flagon <i>la</i> ,...
Item 112	Si n pa rive <i>la</i> ...
Item 113	...te gen ofisye subalterne ki <i>la</i> ...

Item 126	Paske si mwen wè yon bagay <i>la</i> ...
Item 129	alòskeu subalterne ou yo <i>la</i>
Item 139	Bon bagay la rive <i>la</i>
Item 165	...son nou gen tan la, jeneratris nou gen tan <i>la</i> .

Item 248	Ou wè sa k fèt <i>la</i> ...
Item 250	...m regrèt keu m pa <i>la</i> .
Item 270	jan ekspresyon an di l <i>la</i> ...
Item 283	...n ap pale a pou moun ki te <i>la</i> .

Item 292	...èske sa ap kanpe <i>la</i> ?
Item 298	Pwoblèm nan <i>la</i> .
*Item 325	...nouvo kontra sosyal sa a, se menm vye nèg sa yo ki enpoze Jovenel Moise <i>la</i>
Item 353	...ak sitwayen ki ap deplase sot <i>la</i> ...

Item 382	Se sèl pou ou m pa eksplisit <i>la</i> .
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Item 389	Kòman yo pa ka mande l <i>la</i> ?
*Item 432	Annou rete nan sa ki fèt <i>la</i> .
Item 439	fòk Jovenel Moïse pa <i>la</i> !
Item 456	Pakè a ki te disfonksyonèl <i>la</i> ,...
Item 461	Oke, Oke mèsèi senateur, kenbe <i>la</i> ,..
Item 488	Pegi: Se sa, merci, kenbe <i>la</i> .
Item 500	Renòl Jòj te <i>la</i> .
Item 504	Nan pwogram bale laru sa a keu yo vin avè l <i>la</i> ,...
Item 505	...li mouri la pou <i>la</i> .
Item 520	Non, nou pa <i>la</i> .

Table 25 – 31 Examples of *la* out of the 524 identified in the corpus

Out of the 524 occurrences of *la* in the corpus, most of them express straightforwardly the definite determiner (DDet) *la* (511 out 542, that is 94%). *La* as a reminder and sometimes *nan* are the only forms of the HC DDet that can be substituted with *lan* (see paragraph below and Figure 6.14 above). In numerous examples in the corpus, *la* appears to be the exact locative deictic portrayed by Wespel (2008) and these examples are found in items 10, 42, 62, 113, 298, 500 and 520 in Table 25 (See Appendix I for the meaning of each item in English). Examples with ambiguity without context are found in items 87, 113, 248 and 432. Some other examples display *la* as a locative deictic. This feature is context-embedded. The examples are singled out, but the exact meaning is confirmed by the context and the context is reported in Appendix I. The examples are found in items 66, 98, 112, 126, 129, 165, 250, 283, 292, 353, 439. *La* as separated from the nouns, appears in many instances especially where an entire clause is included between the noun and the determiner. This context is clearly identified when the

determiner changes by modifying the final word of the inserted clause to mirror the sound that would exclude the determiner *la*. An example is item 270:

Item 270 of 524	Jan ekspresyon an di l la
	N N DDet V ImpPr3PersSing DDet
	<i>Way expression the say it the</i>
	<u>The way the expression says it</u>

If the third person singular pronoun, which is a clitic, was to be deleted in 270 (doing so will not change the sense of the utterance), the determiner will match the ending sound of the verb that finishes the clause, which is ‘di’ (say) and yielding *Jan ekspresyon an di a* (The way the expression says it). Similarly, if the verb ending the clause had a different ending sound, the determiner would change accordingly. Instead of ‘di’ (say), let us use ‘sonnen’ (to sound). The sentence becomes *Jan ekspresyon an sonnen an* (The way the expression sounds). This type of test shows that the HC determiner follows, it appears, the same rule whether it determines a single item of more than one elements grouped in an inserted clause. Additional examples from the corpus are 325 with *sa yo* in the embedded clause. In item 382, ‘se’ (it is) as a *presentator or presentative verb* (see section 6.4.1 above, below Figure 6.10) introduces a clause followed by a definite determiner the same way it occurs when the determiner follows a noun. This holds true for item 382 as well.

Item 382	Se sèl pou ou m CopDel pa eksplisit la.
	ImpPrtV Adv Prep ObjPr2PersSing SPrt1PersSing Ø Neg Adj DDet
	<i>Be only for you I not explicit the</i>
	<u>It is only for you I am not explicit.</u>

In item 382 ‘*sèl pou ou m pa eksplisit*’ (only for you I am not explicit) functions similarly to a noun like ‘liv’ (book) in ‘*Se liv la*’ (It is the book). Likewise in item 389, the definite determiner undergoes a different analysis because of the clitic ‘l’, which is the abbreviation of the pronoun ‘li’ (it). This clitic stands for a noun. The analysis of the context (See Appendix I) suggests that it refers to the word ‘kontnu’ (content) of a contract. This also holds true for item 432 (see above and Appendix I).

Item 389	Kòman yo pa ka mande l la?
	Adv PPr3PerPl Neg MV V ImpPr3PersSing DDet
	<i>How they not can ask it the</i>
	<u>How come they cannot ask it?</u>

In 456, there is a case where *la* determines a relative clause in apposition with a noun and determiner 'pakè a' (the Prosecutor's office).

Item 456	Pakè a ki te disfonksyonèl la,...
	N DDet RelPr Past Adj DDet
	<i>Prosecutor's office the that was dysfunctional the</i>
	<u>The prosecutor's office that was dysfunctional</u>

The above-mentioned test can also be used to show that the HC demonstrative singular is truly *sa a* with the lengthening vowel, and the entire clause that includes the HC demonstrative determiner can also carry a determiner as in item 325. Especially that item 325 includes grammatical features such as appositive noun or phrase and the presentative verb 'se' (it is) discussed also in the presentation of item 382 above.

In items 461 and 456, *la* appears in a regular HC idiomatic expression used in greetings or for encouragement and it is 'kenbe la' (hold on). As it appears in both items:

Item, 461	Se sa, merci, kenbe la
	ImpPrtV DemPr V V Adv
	<i>Be that thank hold there</i>
	It is that, thank you, hold on
Item 488	Pegi: Se sa, merci, kenbe la

Similarly, item 505 showcases an instance of *la* duplicated but separated by the preposition 'pou' (for) to yield the common idiomatic expression '*la pou la*' (instantly, on the spot).

Item 505	...li mouri la pou la
	PPr3PersSing V Adv Prep Adv
	<i>He die there for there</i>
	<u>he died on the spot</u>

The entirety of the 31 examples from Table 25 above has allowed to get a handle of the usage of *la* as either a locative (adjunct) or a DDet. The contextual examples also allowed to ascertain the demonstrative *sa a*, and even in cases where this demonstrative is embedded in a clause that is itself determined by the HC DDet.

The following is a look into the element *la a* that often co-occurs with the HC demonstrative and function as a locative (adjunct) in the corpus. There are 307 occurrences of the locative (adjunct) *la a* and here are the first and last three. The locative adjunct *la a* is essentially proximal. The first three examples show how *la a* is coupled with expressions that make it a reinforced true proximal deitic. See the first three items from Figure 6.12 as presented in 1, 2 and 3 below:

1	...bon maten an la a... ... Adj N Det LocAdj ... <i>good morning the this...</i> ... <u>Well this very morning...</u>
2	Kote m ap pale la a... Adv P_Pr_1stPersSing Prog V LocAdj... <i>Where I ing talk here...</i> <u>Where I am talking here...</u>
3	Yo sou Plasditali la a... P_Pr_3rdPersPl CopDel Prep N LocAdj... <i>They are on Plasditali here (right now) ...</i> <u>They are on Plasditali right now...</u>

Nevertheless, item 306 in Figure 6.12 clearly shows that *la a* can also express a near proximity with the very expression ‘ki sot pase’ (that had just passed) as shown below:

306	...òganize dimanch ki sot pase la a. ... V N Rel Adv V LocAdj ... <i>organize Sunday that just passed here.</i> ... <u>organized Sunday that just passed.</u>
-----	---

1	deuvan kou superyèu dèkont lan yè bon maten an la a a minui kèlkeu minut apre nou te fin
2	ti aktivite lapli pou aswè a. Kote map pale la a a, tempèrature an limenm te ogmante pandan jounen
3	maleurezman ki abandone (Pegi: Yo sou plasditali la a!) a yo menm, anpil mou nap kite lakay
305	leta desitire nou la a, pou l retire nou la a. Yon lòt moun: Epi m ap pase mizè,
306	ki nan Mayami ki òganize dimanch ki sot pase la a yon seremoni pou te remèt kado bay timoun
307	, alaverite se pòtab la k fèmen. G on numewo la a? Èse g on nimewo l ka rele? Pa

Figure 6.12 – Occurrences of *la a*

1	e kote genyen abrogasyon kòd dentruksyon kriminèl la. A travè konvansyon nou siyen, e akteù yo pa
2	te nan lakou a, epi l tou bouche twalèt la. Ak kisa li bouche twalèt la? Li bouche twalèt
3	ak. Lè isye a di ke l siyifye ak la, ak la kouri. Or, vwala ke isye a se
4	, vwala ke isye a se soufle l soufle ak la. Ak la pa janm rive jwenn moun nan vrèman.
5	, le vay travèse zòn kote nò gòff La Gonaive la, ak zòn kote Sud. Kote van an ap soufle,
6	a pati de eleksyon ki ta dwe fèt dimanch la. Alòske kisa tout moun wè, yo wè ke yon
7	vite defisi nan budjè sa a, pandan ekzèsis fiskal la. Alòske, nou konnen, leta a fè yon pakèt defisi.
8	, depui w g on pozisyon ki diferan deu nèg la, alòskeu (Pegi: Men w konnen nèg isit travèse fasi
9	kay la avè l. Yo boule bagay nan kay la. Amòs Brevil: Avè w ou sove? Lèt fanm nan:
10	on senp sitwayen nan zòn nan. Bon l pa la. Amòs Brevil: Kiyès ki mete l deyò? Moun nan:
11	iyasyon politik li di, Jovnèl Moyiz deja twouve l la. an aktualite entènasyonal lan, dabò sezisman apre
12	an entre 28 à 32°C, e lap tonbe nan nwit la, an myayèn entre 18 a' 22°C humidité ki nan bassti
13	ite bay òganizasyon ayisyèn yo, nan sosyete sivil la. Anbasadeù Unyon Europeyèn nan ann Ayiti. Anbasade
14	epi misye te majistra Antananarivo ki se kapital la, Andry Rajoel, misye pral fè yon kout prezidan. E

Figure 6.13 – Occurrences of *la* as definite determiner in the corpus (14 out of 524)

The testing of the data allows confirmation that the locative *la a* functionally differs from HC definite determiner *la* both phonetically and syntactically. It is important to signal this distinction given the fact that some HC speakers may not tend to write the locative with two parts *la a*, though they pronounce as such, and thereby make it impossible to be distinguished in writing from the definite determiner except if the meaning analysis is involved. A comparison with Figure 6.13a below shows a search of *la* without the blank space yields 2161 items out of which the first 307 items are the locative (adjunct) *la a* as shown in Figure 6.12 above. This distinction is very significant with the caveat that although *la* without the blank space that follows yields the 307 instances of the HC locative *la a*, this only shows that *la* is part of *la a* orthographically and not semantically. In the transcription process, *la a* is used when the meaning implies that it is clearly the locative (adjunct), and the speaker pronounces it with the lengthening vowel.

1	deuvan kou superyèu dèkont lan yè bon maten an la a a minui kèlkeu minut apre nou te fin
2	ti aktivite lapli pou aswè a. Kote map pale la a a, température an limenm te ogmante pandan joun
3	maleurezman ki abandone (Pegi: Yo sou plasditali la a!) a yo menm, anpil mou nap kite lakay
4	lan. Sou kout kòb petwokaribe a. Bon maten an la a anpil demach fèt pou nou rive jwenn notifikasy
5	nan peyi a la a. Kote n kanpe a la a anpil moun mouri; nou pa ka negosye ak
6	senp polisye ajan 2 ki t ap egzekute desizyon yo la a. Anplus tou gen kesyon (Pegi: Men w dakò
7	Poulard, jou ki te nèt (9) Desanm ki sot pase la a. Ansyen prezidan Privert, a travè nèt sa a,
8	te demisyone nan dat nèt (9) Desanm ki sot pase la a aprè li te pase ven (20) mwa kòm delege.
9	senk moun yo ta dwe mete nan panteyon an la a. Asad Vòlsi: E, pou lenstan la a? Pegi:
10	li pa nan dwa konstitusyonèl sa w ap di la a. Asad Vòlsi: Èskeu w ta vle di yo
11	si s on negosyasyon ki fèt davans. Epi kounyeya la a avoka a bay yon pòt desòti.) Pa t
12	nou konstate paseu nou nan on demach mache kontre la a avèk d'autres partis politiques (Pegi: Mhm) don
13	chay yo voye pou li l al pran l la a bal pete nan tout pye l. Amòs Brevil:
14	kra yo tiye mari m (yon lòt vwa: bebe la a, bebe a la wi). Yo touye yo boule
15	Henry Ceant euu nan ti kalm keu w genyen la a ces derniers temps. Menm si opozisyon an tou,

Figure 6.13a – Occurrences of *la a* (first 15 of 307 out of 2161)

6.4.2 Locatives *isi* (1/3), *isi a* (2), *bò isit* (3), *isit* (8), Locative Adjunct *isit lan* (1)

The locative *isi* appears three times in the corpus, once by itself and twice in the counterpart *isi a*, hence the (1/3) behind the title above. However, in section 6.4.5 and Figures 6.14 below, there is a set of locatives that are synonyms of *isi* (*isi a*, *bò isit*, *isit lan*, *isit*), and more than ten are found in the corpus. These locatives appear in the above title where the number in parentheses indicates the number of appearances of these locatives in the corpus. Based on the distinction made between a bare locative and a locative adjunct (section 6.4.1 above), these locatives may take the adjunct features in specific instances that ascertain their dispensability. As appeared below, in Figure 6.14, there are three instances of *isi* (here) that functions as adjunct and it is exemplified by item 2 from the *isi/isi a* segment:

Locatives	In-corporis Examples	
isi/isi a	1	secondaire la. C'est à dire keu nenpòt sitwayen isi a, nenpòt sitwayen anndan sosyete a kapab achte d
	2	mesye yo bezwen pouvwa, yo kite lòt bò, vin isi, vin ba nou bèl pwomès y ap fè sesi
	3	a pa lontan nan de budjè keu nou vote isi a ke yo trete budjè sa yo de budjè
bò isit	1	'on lòt konkou chante nwèl ki ap fèt ba bò isit demen aprè midi n ap pale de konkou
	2	polis la an Frans. N ap vini e pa bò isit avèj pluzye anplwaye nan ministè afè sosyal ak
	3	ekspedye afè kourant sa nou konnen trè byen pa bò isit juskaskeu eleksyon fèt. Chal Michèl anonse demisy
isit	1	fè l pou konn nou. Nou genyen k abite isit, genyen k abite lòtbò. Se depui n vini la
	2	lòt konkou chante nwèl ki ap fèt ba bò isit demen aprè midi n ap pale de konkou nwèl
	3	afè kourant sa nou konnen trè byen pa bò isit juskaskeu eleksyon fèt. Chal Michèl anonse demisy
	4	la an Frans. N ap vini e pa bò isit avèj pluzye anplwaye nan ministè afè sosyal ak tr
	5	deu nèg la, alòskeu (Pegi: Men w konnen nèg isit travèse fasil) Non, non leù (Pegi: Nèg isit travè
	6	nèg isit travèse fasil) Non, non leù (Pegi: Nèg isit travèse fasil) Ban m di w leù kòm lideù
	7	sen mil timoun. Nou voye jwèt la non seülman isit lan men nan pluzyeù vil deu pwovens. Depui n
	8	sonje yo t ap bay tout otorite katon wouj isit. Komite ekonomik, finans ak budjè nan chanm depit
isit lan	1	Sen mil timoun. Nou voye jwèt la non seülman isit lan men nan pluzyeù vil deu pwovens. Depuis n

Figure 6.14 - Locatives *isi/isi a*, *bò isit*, *isit*, *isit lan*

The locative *isit* (here) in HC appears eight times in the corpus with the sixth instance, *isit lan*, a synonym of *isit* appearing only once in the corpus (see Table 7). Table 7 also shows the synonyms of *isit* (see additional details in paragraph above Figures 6.7 to 6.15). See section 6.4.2 above for additional insights on these locatives in the corpus.

Item 2 (*isi/isi a*). ...yo kite *lòt bò*, vin *isi*, vin ba ou bèl pwomès...

(...they left **overseas**, came **here** to make beautiful promises...).

Incidentally, item 2 displays another locative also seen in 6.4.3 below. In this item 2, *lòt bò* cannot be omitted without disturbing the true meaning of the sentence.

However, the locative *isi a* functions as an adjunct in item 1 in Figure 6.14.

Item 1. ...nenpòt sitwayen *isi a*, nenpòt sitwayen anndan sosyete a kapab achte...

(...any citizen **here**, any citizen inside society can buy...).

In Figure 6.14, *isi a* appears in the same instances from Figure 6.14 that deals with the locative *isi*, which is morphologically, part of *isi a*. In Figure 6.14, *bò isi* appears three times as adjunct, and the corpus signals that they always appear with 'pa/ba' to form the phrase 'pa/ba bò isi' (over here). Interestingly, Figure 6.14 provides the examples that allow to identify the conditions that dispel the adjunct feature of the locative. In item 1 of Figure 6.14 there are two opposite locatives (*isit*, *lòt bò*) and none is dispensable. Although Figure 6.14 highlights the locative *isit* specifically as shown in items 7-8, item 1 (of Figure 6.14) displays the two. Items 1 and 7 are the two examples where the locative *isit* (and also "lòt bò" for item 1) are not adjuncts. Here are items 1 and 7:

Item 1: Nou genyen k abite *isit*, genyen k abite *lòt bò*.

(We have/There are who live **here**, we have/there are who live **overseas**).

Item 7: Nou voye jwèt la non seùlman *isit lan men* nan pluzyeù vil deu pwovens.

(We sent the toy not only **here** but in many provincial cities).

In both items 1 and 7, the notion of dependent clauses helps explain and perhaps predict the adjunct features of at least the locatives in questions (*isit* and *lòt bò*). In 1, the relative clause keeps all the elements of the sentences dependent upon one another and thereby dispels the adjunct feature of the locative on both sides of the sentence. In item 7, something similar takes

place but with the presence of the correlative conjunction ‘non seùlman...men’ (not only...but). This type of expression in arguably any language or at least most languages, makes both parts of the arguments necessary to express a complete thought.

6.4.3 Locatives *lòt bò* (3), *lòtbò* (4), locative *lòtbò a* (1)

These locatives are not too pervasive in HC - as the corpus shows - but they are used to signal a certain distality. In its common use *lòtbò*, may alone means ‘overseas’ and the same when used with the word *dlo* (water) to yield ‘*lòtbò dlo*’ or ‘*lòt bò dlo*’ overseas as an adverb or an adjective. The word *lòtbò* may also mean “in another country,” referring to the fact that there is an inherent awareness that Haiti belongs to an island and that going to another country except the Dominican Republic that shares the island, will imply going on the other side of the water. Also, the words *lòt bò* or the locative ‘*lòt bò a*’ mean ‘the other side’ and ‘*lòt bò dlo*’ means “the other side of the water.”

Looking at these locatives from a different angle, ‘*lòt bò*, *lòtbò*, *lòtbò a*’ all mean ‘over there’. Figure 6.14 below shows the locative *lòt bò*, in two words, appear three times in the corpus and the counterpart *lòtbò* in one word appears four times (Figure 6.19) and *lòtbò a* once. Nevertheless, because these three items have the same meaning, it is safe to infer that the use of *lòt bò* or *lòtbò* reflects the idiosyncratic writing style of the transcriber whereas the use of *lòt bò/lòtbò* and *lòtbò a* reflects the idiosyncratic speaking style of the interlocutor(s). Nevertheless, a closer look such as in figures 6.37 and 6.38 suggests that *lòt bò* in addition to meaning *over there* may also mean *the other side*, as stated above, whereas *lòtbò* is the preferred form that is synonymous to *overseas* (also stated above). As indicated in items 1-3 below, a comparison is offered to help determine when HC would suggest writing *lòtbò* or *lòt bò*.

Locatives	In-corporis Examples
lòt bò	1 envite, tout fidèl Lagonav yo envite kèk moun ki lòt bò lamè k ap vini tou. Tout envite se
	2 m remake chak mesye yo bezwen pouvwa, yo kite lòt bò, vin isi, vin ba nou bèl pwomès y
	3 ki fèt, on moun on bò, on lòt on lòt bò. Mèt JJE: Bon, se nòmàl, mwen dakò avèk
lòtbò/lòtbò a	1 nou. Nou genyen k abite isit, genyen k abite lòtbò. Se depui n vini la a, l al pran
	2 yo ta al bay moun sekurite, al pote sekurite lòtbò a. Lè mwen m t ap rantrè m wè
	3 on on on on doum (Pegi: Sot lòtbò) sot lòtbò epi li nan bouda machin ni, li pral wè
	4 ki fè on on on on doum (Pegi: Sot lòtbò) sot lòtbò epi li nan bouda machin ni, li

Figure 6.15 - Locatives *lòt bò*, *lòtbò/lòtbò a* in the corpus

In furtherance of the difference made between the bare locative and the locative adjunct above, allow some interesting resolution. It is also important to remind that the AntConc software displays every time a word appears in a context when this particular word is searched in the corpus. This includes even if the word appeared before in a context sentence in which it was not the specific search word. Therefore, item 2 of Figure 6.15 appears above as item 2 of Figure 6.14 because the locative *isi* co-occurs with *lòt bò*. The three examples of Figure 6.15 however, allow to make the difference between when the meaning of the utterances demands the locative to be written either with one word (*lòtbò*) or two (*lòt bò*). In Figure 6.15 the first two items display the adjunct form of the locative *lòtbò* or *lòt bò* where in both examples it is an adjunct. They can be excluded from the sentence without any serious impact on the meaning. However, item 3 shows clearly that *lòt bò* is not an adjunct and must be written with two words. They appear in Figure 6.15 in the *lòt bò* segment:

F 6.15 Item 1:...kèk moun ki *lòt bò* lamè k ap vini tou.

(...some people who are overseas who are coming also.)

F 6.15 Item 2:...yo kite *lòt bò*, vin isi, vin ba nou bèl pwomès...

(...They leave overseas, come here, come to make us beautiful promises...)

F 6.15 Item 3:...on moun on bò, on lòt on *lòt bò*.

(...one person on one side, another on **another side**.)

In item 3 above, *lòt bò* cannot function as an adjunct and cannot be written in one word because it literally means *other side*. The fact that the first part of the sentence spells out *one side* (on bò) it becomes obligatory to use 'on lòt bò' (another side) to complete the argument. Item 1 in Figure 6.15 is the same as item 1 in Figure 6.14 above for which the argument was already made. It is repeated because the two locatives co-occur (*isit, lòtbò*). They were also searched by separate key words (*isit* and *lòtbò*). In item 2 of Figure 6.15, the locative *lòtbò* functions as an adjunct. Items 3 and 4 are the same, signaling the repetition of the locative by both the speaker and the host of the programme 'Moman Verite' and in both instances *lòtbò* is not an adjunct but instead a bare locative. It cannot be removed without breaking the acceptability of the sentence. Finally,

the locative *lòtbò a* as the single item in the segment *lòtbò/lòtbò a* of Figure 6.14, functions as a locative adjunct. Conclusively, the locative *lòtbò* can be written with either one or two words when it is an adjunct, but when it is not an adjunct and means *another side* as in item 3 from the *lòt bò* segment of Figure 6.15, it must be written with two words (*lòt bò*) to conform to its actual meaning in the sentence. Throughout this section, an adjunct carries the meaning of a dispensable element. As shown in the last three examples of Figure 6.14 above, the locative *lòt bò* cannot be removed from the sentences without making incomplete the meaning. Therefore, it is not an adjunct. If its removal would not have impacted the meaning of the sentences it would be an adjunct.

From the list of locatives (cf. Table 13) that are generally likely in theory to co-occur with the demonstratives, the following are absent in the data: *bò isi*, *bò isi a*, *bò isit la* (all means over here), *isit la* (here), *bò lòtbò*, *bò lòtbò a* (over there). These forms appeared in DeGraff (1999) as present in his own idiolectal use of this deictic and some of his knowledge. DeGraff also indicates a synonym to *lòtbò*, ‘*laba*’, that is not found in the present corpus. Nevertheless, by synonymy, they are counterparts to some locatives that are represented in the corpus. It appears that the specific missing forms may pertain to specific colloquial uses of the demonstrative locatives given their total absence in the news broadcast. The table below displays this synonymy relationship:

Absent in the corpus	Synonyms found in the corpus	Frequency in the corpus
<i>bò isi</i> , <i>bò isi a</i> , <i>isit la</i>	<i>isi</i>	1
“	<i>isi a</i>	2
“	<i>isit</i>	8
“	<i>isit lan</i>	1
<i>bò isit la</i>	<i>bò isit</i>	3
<i>bò lòtbò</i> , <i>bò lòtbò a</i>	<i>lòt bò</i>	3
	<i>lòtbò</i>	4
	<i>lòtbò a</i>	1

Table 26 - Synonymy relationship of some HC locatives

The low incidence of the locatives that are likely to co-occur with the HC deictic to express proximity and distality is a clear sign that the language uses other means to express these

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features at least in the most prominent variety of the language in news broadcasts. Figure 6.16 is a quick visual representation of these locatives, and it indicates which ones stand out on a bar graph. It is followed by the pie chart of Figure 6.17 depicting the same in terms of sizable chunk of data albeit small.

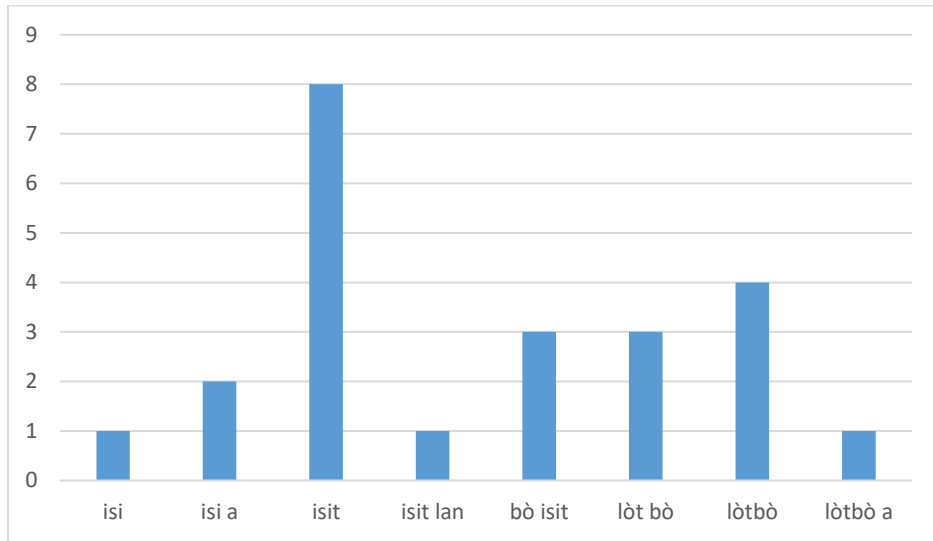


Figure 6.16 – Locatives frequency in the corpus

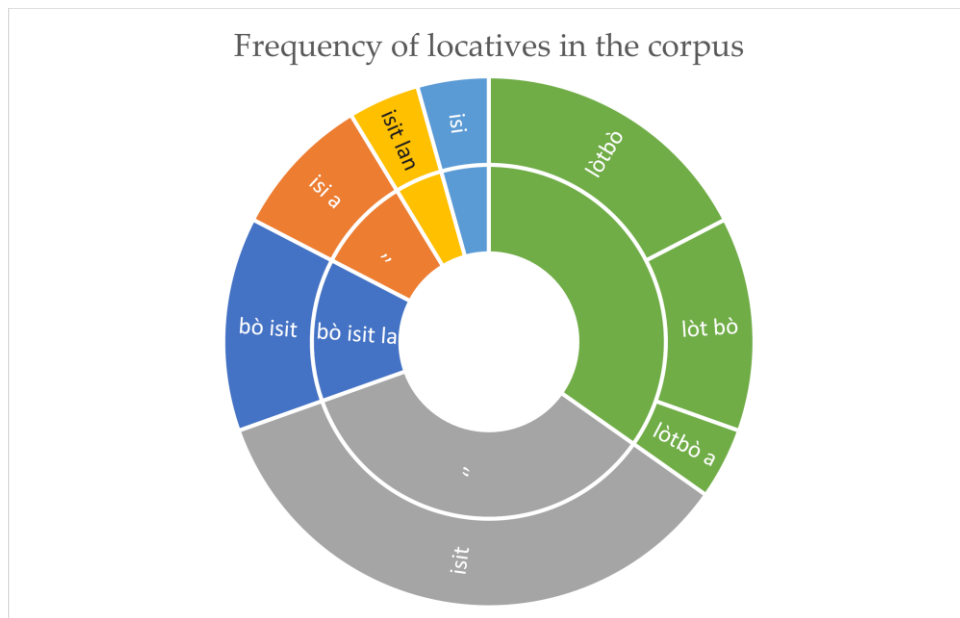


Figure 6.17 – Pie Chart view of the locatives

6.4.4 Identifying demonstrative and non-demonstrative adjectives *sa a*, the plural *sa yo* and the occurrence of *sa a yo*

This section contains a deductive approach that is based on what is known on demonstratives in HC. The following display shows the first and last ten examples of the singular demonstrative *sa a*, that is, items 1-10 and then 859-868 of the total 868 singular demonstratives:

1	menm se aspè sa a (Pegi: Non, sa asa a entolerab.) yo bat on avoka (Pegi: Mhm), fòk
2	li anpil. Sadrak Deudone: Pou kesyon sekurite a, sa a, li se youn k ap raple deu devalyeu,
3	epi ki pa gen otorizasyon, eksetera. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk leù sa a, avoka sa
4	Duplan e nan wòl yo jwe nan krim abominab sa a. E yo mande lajustis e pou yo louvri
5	montre sa. Sa a pa montre sa.) Paskal Adriyen: Sa a sa l ye. Sa a li menm se
6	se ta yon aksidan ki lakòz dufeu a. Aksidansa a rele kòkòt minut, ou konnen bonm yo konn
7	ap vini la a, vandredi ak samdi. Nan aktivite sa a ap gen fwar gastwo, artizanal e ee daprè
8	, madam Mirlande Floritus e ki fè konnen aktivite sa a ap reyalize pou etudyan yo nan lekòl hotelière
9	è distribusyon sa a. Minis lan fè konnen aktivite sa a e se rezilta anpil travay avèk volonte òganizatè
10	ozisyon gastwonomik, donk manje, nan kad aktivite sa a. E li, l ap pote plus presizyon e
859	e ki ta lakòz e dufeu a nan zòn sa a, nan katye populè sa a, e nan vil
860	di yo te tande gen yon restoran nan zòn sa a, yo pa wè l, yo pa wè restoran
861	populasyon an ki ap viv nan malsite. Òganizasyon sa a ki pwòch rejim nan denonse mizè e sitiyaasyon
862	pou keu li fè (Pegi: Mhm) travail d'évaluation sa a? La a il est surtout question d on
863	yalòg ak pouwva a. Kowòdonatè jeneral òganizasyon sa a deklare “se sèlman nan bon jan eleksyon...”, n
864	l ap dirije a e patisipe bò kote òganizasyon sa a ki sot nan dyaspora a pou fè distribusyon
865	ennsonn Kanje, pòt pawòl ak koòdonatè òganizasyon sa a, Kolektif e Lidè Angaje ki te di y
866	ire alyas Woday (1:00:41) ak pòtpawòl òganizasyon sa a, Makennsonn Kanje. Li te pale konsa nan mikwo
867	DH pou kontribusyon ou pote, e pou fè òganizasyon sa a pran plas li nan sosyete a e se
868	te pale konsa. Euuu yon lòt pa gen òganizasyon sa a yo rele Kolektif Lidè Angaje ki te al

Figure 6.18 – Instances of *sa a* in search of non-demonstrative adjectives

Items 1-10 and then 859-868 are straightforward demonstratives based on the Noun+Determiner structure of all HC determiners. In this instance, the structure is Noun+Demonstrative Determiner or N+DemDet. If an adjective qualifies a noun, this adjective is added without changing the post nuclear position of the demonstrative as exemplified by item 1. The items from Figure 5.18 with their English gloss are presented as follows in the examples below. For each illustrative sentence or phrase, there are four lines that are structured to present the HC sentence in normal font, the analytical line is in **bold font**, the analytical English gloss is in *italics* and the plain English gloss is underlined. The table of abbreviations is provided at the beginning of the thesis. Since the HC singular and plural demonstrative can express both proximity and distality without any morphological change, it is rendered by ‘this underscore that’ (this_ that) in the data. When either proximity or distality is ascertained, this or that is used in the data to convey the accurate meaning in the utterance.

	Items 1-10		Items 859-868
1	Zouti syantifik sa a... N Adj Dem <i>Tool scientific This_That</i> <u>This That scientific tool...</u>	859	Eleksyon sa a N Dem <i>Election This_That</i> <u>This That election</u>
2	Manifestasyon sa a N Dem <i>demonstration This_That</i> <u>This That demonstration</u>	860	Sistèm sa a N Dem <i>System This_That</i> <u>This That system</u>
3	Enfòmasyon sa a N Dem <i>Information This_That</i> <u>This That information</u>	861	Karavàn sa a N Dem <i>Caravan This_That</i> <u>This That caravan</u>
4	Rankont sa a N Dem <i>Meeting This_That</i> <u>This That meeting</u>	862	Tan represyon sa a N N Dem <i>Time repression This_That</i> <u>This time of repression</u>
5	Distribusyon sa a N Dem <i>Distribution This_That</i> <u>This distribution</u>	863	Kesyon baay dyalòg sa a N N N Dem <i>Question thing dialogue This_That</i> <u>This That question of dialogue thing</u>
6	Tan sa a N Dem <i>Time This_That</i> <u>This That time</u>	864	Mouvman sa a N Dem <i>Movement This_That</i> <u>This That movement</u>
7	Wout sa a N Dem <i>Way This_That</i> <u>This That way</u>	865	Kesyon dèmalòg sa a N N Dem <i>Question dèmalòg This_That</i> <u>This That Dèmalòg* question (topic)</u> <small>*DERMALOG: Haiti National Identification System</small>

8	Leù sa a N Dem <i>Time This_That</i> <u>This That time</u>	866	Dinamik sa a N Dem <i>Dynamic This_That</i> <u>This That dynamic</u>
9	Viktwa sa a N Dem <i>Victory This_That</i> <u>This That victory</u>	867	Pou n pa frajilize twòp Prep ObjPr-1stPersPl Neg V Adv <i>For us not to fragilize too much</i> <u>For us not to fragilize too much</u> fonksyon sa a N Dem <i>function This_That</i> <u>This That function</u>
10	Pwogram sa a N Dem <i>Program This_That</i> <u>This That program</u>	868	ap bay a fonksyon sa a Prog V Prep N Dem <i>Being given to function This_That</i> <u>Being given to This That function</u>

Both sides of this table show the pervasive noun-determining function of the singular HC demonstrative. The data also reveal that the singular HC demonstrative *sa a* can determine more than one noun in a syntactic chain as indicated in items 862, 863 and 865 above.

The corpus also discloses that the singular HC demonstrative can determine a noun phrase as in item 23:

23	Konferans pou laprès sa a N Prep N Dem <i>Conference for the press This_That</i> <u>This That press conference</u>
----	---

The corpus displays an anaphoric use of the singular HC demonstrative as demonstrated in item 21. The sentence that is also part of the sub corpus from Moman Verite, has a French and

HC extra sentential code-switching. The singular HC demonstrative is, therefore, a pronoun referring to the preceding French sentence. In item 597 of the corpus, the same refers to a preceding HC utterance.

21	Le président doit terminer son mandat. <i>Sa a</i> anpil moun, Det N V3PersSing Inf V Poss N. DemPr Adj N, <i>The president must complete his mandate. This_That many people,</i> <u>The president must complete his mandate. This That one many people,</u>
	gen moun ki te renmen l ImpPrstV N Rel Pst V Obj-Imp-Pr-3rdPers-Sing <i>there are people who ed love it</i> <u>there are many people who loved it</u>

597	<i>Sa a</i> ou te renmen l. DemPr P-Pr-2ndPers-Sing Pst V Obj-Imp-Pr-3rdPers-Sing <i>This_That you ed love it</i> <u>This That one you loved it.</u>
-----	---

It appears that the presence of an anaphora warrants the use of the HC demonstrative pronoun in addition to the use of a preposition as shown in item 35 where the host of Moman Verite states the following:

35	N ap vini sou <i>sa a</i> après. P-Pr-1stPers-Pl Ft V Prep DemPr Prep <i>We will come on this_that after</i> <u>We will get back to this that later.</u>
----	--

Nevertheless, item 172 exhibits the anaphoric use of *sa a* with a conjunction and item 210 displays it with a prepositional phrase (PrepP).

172	E <i>sa a</i> gen deu aspè ladan l. Conj DemPr V Card N Prep ImpPr-3rdPers-Sing
-----	---

	<i>And this have two aspects in it</i> <u>And this has two aspects in it.</u>
--	--

210	An plis de sa a... PrepP DemPr... <i>Besides this...</i> <u>Besides this....</u>
-----	---

The corpus presents the short form *sa* of the longer form *sa a* of the HC singular demonstrative as a demonstrative pronoun, but it is intersentential as in item 60 and intrasentential in item 542 although it has a comma separator. Therefore, items 60 and 542 are two instances where the second part '*a*' of the item belongs to the subsequent sentence or phrase. They are not demonstrative adjectives but instead demonstrative pronouns. In the broadcast both the falling intonation of the ending sentence, the gap in the utterance as well as the meaning of the sentence support this analysis.

60	Men m panse nou vle evolyeu vè sa. A chak Adv PPr-1stPers-Sing V P-Pr-1stPers-Pl V InfV Prep Dem-Pr. Prep Adj <i>But I think we want evolve towards that. To each</i> <u>But I think we want to evolve towards that. Every</u> fwa ou rann ou kont keu... N P-Pr-2ndPers-Sing V Refl-PPr-2ndPers-Sing N Rel-Pr <i>time you render yourself awareness that</i> <u>time you become aware that...</u>
----	---

542	... après sa, a nevé (9è)... ... Prep DemPr Prep Card+N... ... <i>after that at nine o'clock...</i> ... <u>after that at nine o'clock...</u>
-----	--

In item 69 and 162, the anaphoric use of the HC singular demonstrative pronoun occurs in object position with a verb:

69	Nou	pa	ka	kalifye	<i>sa a</i>	de	pirat
	P-Pr1stPers-Pl	Neg	Aux	V	DemPr	Prep	N
	<i>We</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>qualify</i>	<i>this_that</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>piracy</i>
	<u>We cannot qualify this that of piracy</u>						

162	Mesyeu	fò	m	fèmen	<i>sa a...</i>
	N	MV	P-Pr-1stPers-Sing	V	DemPr...
	<i>Sirs</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>end</i>	<i>this...</i>
	<u>Sirs I must end this...</u>				

In item 76, *sa a* intersententially and anaphorically appears with the locative adjunct *la a*. It is perhaps to signify that the analysis is not a sentence-by-sentence activity but it goes beyond a single sentence:

76	Nou	gen	douzan	depu	n	ap	fè	<i>sa a.</i>
	P-Pr-1stPers-Pl	V	Card+N	Conj	P-Pr1stPers-Pl	Prog	V	DemPr.
	<i>We</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>twelve years</i>	<i>since</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>this.</i>
	<u>We have been doing this for twelve years.</u>							
	Depui	douzan	n	ap	vin	la a...		
	Prep	Card+N	P-Pr1stPers-Pl	Prog	V	LocAdj		
	<i>For</i>	<i>twelve years</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>coming</i>	<i>here...</i>		
	<u>We have been coming here for twelve years...</u>							

The co-occurrence of *sa a* and *la a* can also be intrasentential as exemplified by items 230, 233 and 263 from the corpus.

230	nou	gen	wèlkòm	<i>sa a</i>	keu	m	jwenn	nan
	P-Pr1stPers-Pl	V	N	Dem	Rel-Pr	P-Pr-1stPers-Sing	V	Exp-Det
	<i>We</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>welcome</i>	<i>this_that</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>find</i>	<i>ØDet</i>
	<u>We have this welcome that I find here</u>							
	la a							
	LocAdj							
	<i>here</i>							
	here							

233	Donk	se	nan	situasyon	<i>sa a</i>	keu	w
	Conj	V-3rdPersSing	Prep	N	Dem	RelPr	P-Pr-2ndPers-Pl
	<i>So</i>	<i>it is</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>situation</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>you</i>
	<u>So it is in this situation (that) you</u>						
	ye	la a.					
	V-2ndPers-Sing	LocAdj					
	<i>Be</i>	<i>here</i>					
	<u>are here</u>						

263	Se	menm	<i>sa a</i>	wi	mwen	wè	ki
	V-Imp-3rdPersSing	Adj	DemPr	Emp	P-Pr-1stPersSing	V	Rel-Pr CopDel
	<i>Be</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>that is</i>
	<u>It is indeed this same I see that is</u>						
	pratikman	nan	dokuman	<i>sa a</i>	ki	la a.	Se
	Adv	Prep	N	Dem	RelPr	CopDel	LocAdj ImpPrstV
	<i>practically</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>document</i>	<i>this_that</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>here.</i>	<i>Be</i>
	<u>practically in this document that is here. It is</u>						

	menm	sa a	ki	nan	dokuman	an	ki	la a.		
	Adj	Dem	RelPr	CopDel	Prep	N	Det	RelPr	CopDel	LocAdj
	<i>same</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>document</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>here</i>
	<u>the same document that is here.</u>									

However, item 263 showcases two consecutive sentences in which two instances of *sa a* co-occur with *la a* followed by a sentence where one instance of *sa a* co-occurs with *la a*. This type of cooccurrence seems to pervade a code-switching setting where almost all other elements are French instead of HC such as seen in item 357 of the corpus.

357	...travail d'évaluation	sa a?	La a	il est surtout question...
	...FP	Dem	LocAdj	FP...
	<i>...evaluation work</i>	<i>this_that ?</i>	<i>Here</i>	<i>it is above all a question...</i>
	<u>...this that evaluation work? Here it is above all a question...</u>			

The insertion of *sa a* amid FP also appears without *la a* and it seems to be more common in a certain register signaling a diastratic variation of HC as in item 437. The diastratic variation is signaled by the social context as seen in Gadet's table (Appendix B). The data suggests that because of the use of French, the register is inherently higher (see Section 1.1 for further insight on the linguistic context of Haiti and the use of French as opposed to HC). In the same vein, because of the situational, stylistic, and functional levels of the context of production of these demonstratives and in line with Gadet's variation table, the diastratic and the diaphasic variations do overlap in this broadcast of 'Moman Verite'.

437	Pegi, Pegi je vous dis et	sa a	m	di l	péremptoirement.	
	FP	DemPr	PPr-1stPersSing	V	Imp-Pr-3rdPersSing	FP
	<i>Pegi, Pegi I you say and</i>	<i>this_that</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>say it</i>	<i>peremptorily</i>	
	<u>Pegi, Pegi I say to you and this that I say it peremptorily.</u>					

Three consecutive sentences appearing in items 396 and 397 provide some significant light on the basic difference between the HC demonstrative *sa a* with the lengthening vowel at the end and its counterpart *sa* without the lengthening vowel. The lengthened one is the demonstrative pronoun and the short form stands as relative pronouns in these examples. Though rare, the latter is exemplified in items 60 and 542. Here are the three sentences:

396 and 397	Sa a	sa	l	ye.	Sa a	li	menm	se	on	draft.	
	DemPr	RelPr	ImpPr-3rdPersSing	V	DemPr	ReflPr	V	Ind	N		
	<i>This_That</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>This_That</i>	<i>itself</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>draft</i>		
<u>This_That what it is. This_That itself is a draft.</u>											
	Sa a	li	menm,	se	yon	pwopozisyon de pacte de gouvernabilité				sou	
	DemPr	ReflPr	V	Ind	FP					Prep	
	<i>This_That</i>	<i>itself</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>proposition of pact of governability</i>					<i>on</i>	
<u>This_That is a proposition of pact of governability on</u>											
	baz	sa	acteurs	yo	yo					di.	
	N	RelPr	N	DetPl	P-Pr-3rdPersPl	V					
	<i>basis</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>actors</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>say</i>					
<u>the basis of what the actors say.</u>											

In furtherance of this differentiation, items 605 and 738 seem to show that both *sa a* and *sa* can be demonstrative pronouns but only *sa a* can be a demonstrative adjective.

605	La a,	li	pa	montre	sa.	Sa a	pa	montre	sa.	
	LocAdj	Imp-Pr-3rdPersSing	Neg	V		DemPr	Dem	Neg	V	DemPr
	<i>Here</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>show</i>	<i>this_that</i>	<i>This_That</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>show</i>	<i>this_that</i>	
<u>Here, it does not show this that. This/This does not show this that.</u>										

738	Sa a	se	sa	l	fenk	ekri	m	la	a.
	DemPr	V	RelPr	P-Pr-3rdPersSing	Adv	V	ObjPr-1stPersSing	LocAdj	

	<i>This_That is what he_she just write me here</i>
	<u>This_That is what he just wrote to me here.</u>

The singular demonstrative also appears to be proximal when placed at the end of a sentence. It is evidenced either by context or a time marker such as day, month, or year as in items 119, 25 and 27. The context will also make explicit whether *sa a* is a proximal or distal deitic. However, expressions such as ‘jodiya, jounen jodiya’ (today), ‘mwa *sa a*’ (this month), ‘segond *sa a*’ (this second), ‘semèn *sa a*’ (this week) are explicitly proximal as shown in items 193, 195, 198, 202, 463 and 478.

119	...de mil kenx (2015), de mil sèz (2016), e ankò ane sa a .
	... Card, Card, Conj Adv N Dem.
	... <i>two thousand fifteen, two thousand sixteen, and again year this.</i>
	... <u>two thousand fifteen, two thousand sixteen, and this year again.</u>

25	pou fasilite aktivite lapli sou peyi a, e sitiyasyon sa a ap dure
	Prep V N N Prep N Det Conj N Dem Prog V
	<i>To facilitate activity rain on country the and situation this_that is lasting</i>
	<u>to facilitate rain activities on the country, and this situation will continue</u>
	72 zè k ap vini la a.
	Card+N Rel Prog V LocAdj
	<i>72 hours that is coming here</i>
	<u>for the next 72 hours.</u>

27	jounen mache nwèl l ap òganize venteyen ak ventdeu desanm N N N Pr-3rd-Pers-Sing Ft V Card Conj Card N <i>day market Christmas it will organize 21 and 22 December</i> <u>Christmas market day it is being organized on the twenty first and twenty second of December</u> k ap vini la a, vandredi ak samdi. Nan aktivite sa a ap gen fwar gastwo Rel-Pr Prog V LocAdj N Conj N Prep N Dem Ft V N N <i>that is coming here Friday and Saturday in activity this will have fair gastro</i> <u>that is up coming, Friday and Saturday. In this activity there will be a gastro fair</u>
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193	... akouche pouvwa sa a jodiya. ... V N Dem Adv ... <i>gave birth power this today.</i> ... <u>gave birth to this power today.</u>
-----	---

195	... nan emisyon sa a , jodiya... ... Prep N Dem Adv... ... <i>In emission this today...</i> ... <u>In this program today...</u>
-----	--

198	Lopinyon ki pibliye enfòmasyon sa a jounen jodiya. N RelPr V N Dem N Adv <i>(The)opinion that publish information this day today</i> <u>The opinion that publishes this information today.</u>
-----	---

202	... avan mwa desanm sa a... ... Prep N N Dem... ... <i>before month December this....</i> ... <u>before this month of December...</u>
-----	--

463	...yo echape m nan segond sa a.
	... S-P-Pr-3rdPersPl V ObjPr Prep N Dem
	... <i>they escape me in second this</i>
	... <u>they escape me in this second.</u>

478	...nan semèn sa a...
	... Prep N Dem...
	... <i>in week this...</i>
	... <u>(in) this week...</u>

Sa a as an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun can appear with a preposition as in item 35:

35	N ap vini sou sa a aprè
	3^d-Per-Pl-Pers-Pr Ft V Prep DemPr Prep
	<i>We will come on this_that after</i>
	<u>We will get back to this that after</u>

Sa a as demonstrative adjective appears to determine two nouns in a cataphoric structure within an appositive setting as exemplified by item 46. In this example, the geographical inference warrants the distality of the deitic **sa a**.

46	...nan eta Nouyòk lan jan keu pwokurè eta sa a,
	... Prep N N Det N RelPr N N Dem
	... <i>in state New York the way that prosecutor state that,</i>
	... <u>in the state of New York the way the solicitor general of that state,</u>
	Barbara Oundèwoud te egzije l.
	N N Pst V Pr-3rdPer-Sing
	<i>Barbara Underwood ed demand it</i>
	<u>Barbara Underwood, demanded it.</u>

Sa a can also appear in appositive settings without determining two nouns as in item 63:

63	Vilard aksepte al pran pòs sa a, commissaire du gouvernement.
	N V V V N Dem N
	<i>Vilard accept go take position this, government commissioner</i>

	<u>Vilard accepts to go and take this position, government commissioner</u>
--	---

A similar cataphoric use of *sa a* appears in items 83 and 88:

83	<p>...yo te plus chita sou defans polisye sa a,</p> <p>Pr-3rdPers-P1 Pst CompSup V Prep N N Dem</p> <p>...<i>they were more sit down on defense police officer this,</i></p> <p>... <u>they were more focused on defending this police officer,</u></p> <p>Djimi Cherizye alyas Barbekyou...</p> <p>N N N N</p> <p><i>Djimi Cherizye alias Barbekyou</i></p> <p><u>Djimi Cherizye alias Barbekyou...</u></p>
----	---

88	<p>Nan yon konferans pou laprès dirijan sendika sa a,</p> <p>Prep Ind N Prep N N N Dem</p> <p><i>In a conference for the press leader union this</i></p> <p><u>In a press conference this union leader,</u></p> <p>Duclos Benissoit, kritike otorite yo</p> <p>N N V N Det-3rdPers-P1</p> <p><i>Duclos Benissoit, criticize authorities the</i></p> <p><u>Duclos Benissoit, criticizes the authority</u></p>
----	--

In item 65, it appears that the singular HC demonstrative *sa a* persists even in a register where almost all surrounding words are French. The demonstrative in this setting determines a FP 'ak de kouraj' (act of courage), although this phrase is pronounced in HC. The FP does retain the French demonstrative *cet* (this_that). It seems that a political discourse here triggered by the mention of the Prime Minister tends to activate an automatic code-switching of even the demonstrative. In other instances, such as items 146 and 236, there is a FP in the sentence without code-switching the demonstrative.

65	devan ak de kouraj sa a , d'abord la primature Prep NP Dem FP <i>In front act of courage this_that first the Prime Minister</i> <u>Facing this that act of courage, first the Prime Minister</u>
	pran akt de cet acte de courage V N FP <i>takes act of this_that act of courage</i> <u>notices this that act of courage</u>

146	...feùy deu wout sa aFP Dem... <i>...roadmap Dem...</i> <u>...this roadmap...</u>
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236	Se pa eta despri sa a .. V-3rdPersSing Neg FP Dem... <i>is not state of mind this...</i> <u>It is not this state of mind...</u>
-----	--

In items 109 and 111, the singular demonstrative *sa a* determines an adjectival phrase where the adjective is either head initial or head medial.

109	...nan katye populè sa a.. ...Prep N Adj Dem <i>...in neighborhood popular this_that...</i> <u>...in this popular neighborhood...</u>
-----	---

111	...ki konstituye tèt yo ...Rel-Pr V N 3rdPerPl-Poss_Refl <i>...who constitutes head their_themselves</i>
-----	---

	... <u>who constitutes themselves as</u>
	pati sivil fanmi sa a...
	N Adj N Dem...
	<i>party civil family this_that..</i>
	<u>civil party for the family...</u>

In item 117, *sa a* is a cataphoric demonstrative pronoun in a rare instance of usage of the HC demonstrative in a question. A plausible explanation for such a question to be rare is the fact that it requires at least a setting where the interrogator has more than one person to question. In this particular instance, the reporter was questioning some people that were displaced from a town after an accident.

117	E ou menm sa a e pitit ou?
	Conj Per-Pr-2ndPersSing Emp_ExplAdj DemPr V N Poss-2ndPersSing
	<i>And you (yourself) this is child your</i>
	<u>And you, is this your child?</u>

In item 131, *sa a* determines a noun phrase (NP) that is in essence French but rendered in the HC spelling system, the demonstrative remains in HC.

131	...wòl deu vijil sa a
	... N Prep N Dem
	... <i>role of vigilante this_that</i>
	... <u>this that role of vigilante</u>

In item 135, *sa a* as a proximal deictic determines a series of three nouns and two cardinal adjectives (Card)s.

135	Se jounen leundi disèt desanm deu mil dizuit
	V3rdPersSing N N Card N Card

	<i>Is day Monday seventeen December two thousand eighteen</i>
	<u>It is today this Monday December seventeenth twenty eighteen</u>
	<i>sa a egzamen bak... pèmanan yo demare atravè peyi a.</i>
	Dem N N... Adj DetPl V Prep N DetSing
	<i>this exam baccalaureate...permanent the start throughout country the</i>
	<u>the permanent baccalaureate exam...has started throughout the country</u>

There is also one instance of proximal deictic with the use of percentage as in item 840:

840	<i>E anndan 2,8% sa a...</i>
	Conj Prep Card Dem...
	<i>And inside 2,8% this...</i>
	<u>And within this 2,8%...</u>

An instance of the duplication of the HC singular demonstrative *sa a* appears in item 143. Its analysis suggests an emphasis like the duplication of personal pronouns and verbs in HC rather than one determining the other.

143	<i>Non, sa a sa a entolerab.</i>
	Neg DemPr DemPr CopDel Adj
	<i>No this_that this_that is intolerable.</i>
	<u>No, this is intolerable.</u>

1	<i>in tente epi ki pa gen otorizasyon, eksetera. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk lèu sa a,</i>
2	<i>: Mhm) nou menm se aspè sa a (Pegi: Non, sa a sa a entolerab.) yo bat on avoka (Pegi:</i>

Figure 6.19 – Repetition and duplication of *sa a*

The entire corpus exhibits only two instances of *sa a* that are repeated but only one is a clear instance of duplication for emphasis. Item 1 in Figure 6.19 as shown below represents two instances of *sa a* but the first one is a demonstrative adjective and the second one a demonstrative pronoun. The second appears as item 2 in Figure 6.19 but as item 143 above. The proper identification of duplication of the demonstrative has the semantic value of informing

whether in the analysis of the HC demonstrative there is emphasis with demonstration or demonstration without emphasis.

Item 1, Figure 6.19	Leù	<i>sa a,</i>	<i>sa a</i>	se	vakabondaj.
	N	Dem	DemPr	ImpPrstV	N
	<i>Time_when</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>Vagrancy</i>
	<u>When that (happens), that is vagrancy.</u>				

There are instances where *sa a* appears twice intrasententially without duplication as in item 38:

38	Donk	leù	<i>sa a,</i>	avoka	<i>sa a,</i>	kapab	pran,	
	Conj	N	Dem	N	Dem	V	V	
	<i>So</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>attorney</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>take</i>	
	<u>So this time, this attorney,</u>							
	kapab	pran	sanksyon.					
	V	V	N					
<i>can</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>sanctions</i>						
<u>may receive sanctions.</u>								

A wildcard search produced a total of four instances of *sa a* appearing twice in Figure 6.20. In those instances, only item 4 is intersentential. Item 3 in this table is the repetition without duplication alluded to in Figure 6.19 as item 1 or item 143 in the overall representation of the entire corpus of 868 items featuring the singular HC demonstrative *sa a*. Therefore, items 1, 2 and 3 are where *sa a* appears twice intrasententially. It is also clear from the representation on Figure 6.20 that item 2 precedes item 1 in the actual production of utterances in the news broadcast.

1	samdi pou pèmèt popilasyon zòn pa yo suiv deba sa a. Semèn sa a, bon e nou chaje kou
2	k antrepriz. Toujou nan menm konferans pou laprès sa a, fwa sa a li denonse politik Ministè Afè
3	. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk leù sa a, avoka sa a, kapab pran, kapab pran sanksyon.
4	in tente epi ki pa gen otorizasyon, eksetera. Lèu sa a, sa a se vakabondaj. Donk leù sa a,

Figure 6.20 – HC singular demonstrative *sa a* appearing twice intrasententially

The different examples of the singular HC demonstrative *sa a* as well as the plural *sa yo* reveal the core trends of demonstrative functions and their types as deictics. These trends were hinted in section 3.7.2 where this dissertation aimed at discovering five identified types of demonstratives and confirm or disconfirm the occurrences in the corpus. The types of demonstratives hinted at in this section are spatial deictic, background deictic, affective, spatio-temporal deictic and anaphoric/cataphoric use of demonstratives. The data of the corpus as analysed above for the singular demonstratives and in the subsequent sections exhibiting the corresponding plural alternative form *sila yo* of the regular *sa yo* have indeed shown the basic types of HC deictic as they are used in the corpus. The following examples summarize the types of deictic in use in the corpus data. The left of the table displays the types of deictic and the right provides the examples of these types within the corpus with the reference of the Figures and items where they appear. In these examples below, the same procedure for the description of the sentences is used except this time, the demonstratives are in bold in both the HC sentence and the English gloss.

Samples of the types of demonstratives shown in the corpus of section 3.7.2 (Table 27)	
Spatial deictic use of demonstratives	<p><i>Item 263 –</i></p> <p>Se menm sa a wi mwen wè ki</p> <p>V3rdPers-Sing Pr Dem Excl PPr-1stPers-Sing V Rel</p> <p><i>is same this yes I see that</i></p> <p><u>It is indeed this same I see that</u></p> <p> pratikman nan dokiman sa a mwen</p> <p>CopDel Adv Prep N Dem PPr-1stPers-Sing</p> <p><i>is practically in document this I</i></p> <p><u>is practically in this document that</u></p> <p>wè la a.</p> <p>V Loc</p> <p><i>see here</i></p>

	<p><u>I see here.</u></p> <p><i>Item 396 –</i></p> <p>Sa a sa l ye? Sa a li menm</p> <p>DemPr IntPr ImpPr-3rdPersSing V DemPr ReflPr-3rdPersSing</p> <p><i>This what it is This itself</i></p> <p><u>This</u> what is it? <u>This</u> itself</p> <p>se on draft.</p> <p>V IndArt N</p> <p><i>is a draft</i></p> <p><u>is a draft</u></p>
<p>Background deictic use of demonstratives</p>	<p><i>Figure 5.28, Item 4 –</i></p> <p>N ap fè sonje, se pa premye</p> <p>PersPr-1stPersPl Prog V InfV V Neg Ord</p> <p><i>We are+v +ing+inf is not first</i></p> <p><u>We are reminding it is not the first</u></p> <p>fwa militan sila yo pran mikwo laprès...</p> <p>N N DemPl V N N</p> <p><i>time militants these_those take microphone the press...</i></p> <p><u>time these militants have gone to the press...</u></p>
<p>Affective use of demonstratives</p>	<p><i>Amòs Brevil – Open Mike dialogue, Line 11 –</i></p> <p>...gen de moun ki pa vle sitire yo.</p> <p>ImpPrstV Det N Rel Neg V InfV DetPl</p> <p><i>there are some people who don't want to tolerate them</i></p> <p><u>...there are some people who don't want to tolerate them.</u></p> <p>Nan menm sans sa a tou yo tou parèt.</p> <p>Prep Adj N Dem Adv PPr-3rdPersPl Adv V</p> <p><i>In same sense this also they also appear</i></p>

	It is for this reason they appear also.
Spatio-temporal deictic use of demonstratives	<p><i>Figure 5.29, Item 9 –</i></p> <p>...peryòd fen dane sa a ka rete entak...</p> <p>N N N Dem Mod V Adj</p> <p><i>Period end year this may stay intact</i></p> <p><u>...this end of year period may remain unchanged...</u></p> <p><i>F6.39, I8 –</i></p> <p>...ane sa a dapre enfòmasyon keu n</p> <p>N Dem PP N Rel Ppr-1stPersPl V</p> <p><i>Year this according to</i></p> <p><u>...this year based on the information that we</u></p> <p>genyen...</p> <p>V</p> <p><i>have</i></p> <p><u>have...</u></p>
Anaphoric/Cataphoric use of demonstratives	<p><i>Item 172 –</i></p> <p>E sa a gen deu aspè ladan l.</p> <p>Conj DemPr ImpPrstV Card N Prep P-3rdPersSing</p> <p><i>And this there are two aspects in it</i></p> <p><u>And this has/there are two aspects in it.</u></p> <p><i>Item 117 –</i></p> <p>E ou menm sa a e pitit ou?</p> <p>Conj ReflPr-2ndPersSing DemPr V N Poss-2ndPersSing</p> <p><i>And yourself this is child your</i></p> <p><u>And you is this your child?</u></p>

Table 27 – Some of the types of HC deictics represented in the corpus

This figure, as explained below, provides the instances of ‘*sa a yo*’ in the corpus. As explained below, though the first part *sa a* remains a demonstrative, the second part ‘yo’ does not always reflect the plural of the deictic but instead belongs to a subsequent clause.

1	ri 1.5% ane kwasans 4 dènye ane yo. E anndan 2,8% sa a yo pa oblije pran an konsiderasyon sa nou
2	l fè konnen sou sit entènèt li. E blokaj sa a yo poko janm wè sa. Se yon aktivite
3	ki wè pèp sa a ap mache vè demokrasi sa a, yo di fòk yo kase batay pèp la.
4	kou e justis nan peyi a ki pran desizyon sa a, yo otorize yon vil pou mete mezu sa
5	. Li di ke objektif Etazini te fikse nan dosye sa a, yo rive atenn objektif lan, yo rive mete
6	pwomès ke yo fè popilasyon an. Yon ti kichòy, sa a yo te konn rele lontan an “woy woy”,
7	k fè tou e chak lè yo sonje kontribusyon sa a, yo toujou di e fò yo kontinue akonpanye
8	lane a san konte supò MUNIJUS gras a kooperasyon sa a yo rele mache pran yo wi, lapolis nan
9	pa bouke non, yo epuize . Epui avèk mwa kriz sa a yo sot pase avèk jilè jòn yo epui
10	, pou sèvi avè l. Ou wè se tikras kòb sa a yo mete alòskeu se deu kote pou yo
11	bagay la sa pito yo ta kapab pran lajan sa a yo depanse l nan agrikultu nou an. Nou
12	Duvernè tou epi te gen Yves-Clausel Alexis, lè sa a yo t ap travay nan Vision 2000. IJC: Yo
13	oblije pran on desizyon pou entèdi afè mandisite sa a. Yo fè sa tou nan peyi Lafrans kote
14	de ventwit (28) mil goud de salaire mensuel, moun sa a yo yo pral gen yon ti ogmantasyon nan
15	lane a, san konte supò Minijus. Gras a operasyon sa a yo rele ‘Mache Pran Yo’, wi, lapolis lan
16	de pwojè ki mennen, men ou wè tout pwojè sa a yo, si w byen gade, w ap wè
17	kite lakay yo ki bay pwoblèm. Jodiya nan seyans sa a, yo te pote statistik an matyè dsekurite nan
18	è konnen kè sote ke yo genyen konsènan sityasyon sa a. Yo mande tout moun ki ap sèvi ak
19	wè pwojè vwayaj yo boulvèse e akoz deu situyasyon sa a. Yo pale de plis de san di mil
20	yo kabab pran desizyon sa a apati deu vil sa a, yo ka etann ni, layite l pou lòt
21	di yo te tande gen yon restoran nan zòn sa a, yo pa wè l, yo pa wè restoran
22	te pale konsa. Euuu yon lòt pa gen òganizasyon sa a yo rele Kolektif Lidè Angaje ki te al

Figure 6.21 – Instances where *sa a* appears with *yo*

Throughout the corpus, *sa a* is fundamentally singular. A search of *sa a yo* nonetheless, displays 22 items (Figure 6.21). However out of the 22 items only two, that is 9.1% are the plural of the demonstrative or an alternate form of *sa yo*. The two exceptional examples are shown in items 16 and 22. Therefore the remaining 20 items, that is 90.9% of the total occurrences are conjoined propositions where ‘yo’ is semantically associated with the phrase following the one headed by the singular demonstrative *sa a* but stands on its own in association with the second or following phrase. Items 8 and 18 confirm this analysis. As transcribed news broadcast is being dealt with, the rhythmic pattern of the spoken data has been key in permitting the separation of sentences and utterances to accurately postulate this clear distinction.

16	<p>...ou wè tout pwojè <i>sa a yo</i>, si w</p> <p>...PPr-2ndPersSing V PreDet N Dem Conj P-Pr-2ndPersSing</p> <p>...<i>you see all project these_those if you</i></p> <p>...<u>you see all these/those projects, if you</u></p> <p>byen gade...</p> <p>Adv V...</p> <p><i>well look...</i></p> <p><u>look well...</u></p>
----	--

22	<p>...moun <i>sa a yo</i> yo pral gen yon ti ogmantasyon...</p> <p>...N DemPl P-Pr-3rdPersPl Ft V Ind Adj N...</p> <p>...<i>people these_those they will have a little increase...</i></p> <p>...<u>these those people will have a little increase...</u></p>
----	--

8	<p>E anndan 2,8% <i>sa a yo</i> pa oblije pran an konsiderasyon...</p> <p>Conj Prep Card Dem PersPr-3PPI Neg V V Prep N</p> <p><i>And within 2,8% this_that they not obligated take in consideration...</i></p> <p><u>And within this that 2,8% they are not obligated to take into consideration...</u></p>
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18	<p>Te gen Pharez Duverné tou epi te gen Yves-Clausel Alexis,</p> <p>Past V N Adv Adv Past V N</p> <p><i>Was there Pharez Duverné also then was there Yves-Clausel Alexis,</i></p> <p><u>There was also Pharez Duverné also then there was Yves-Clausel Alexis,</u></p> <p>lè <i>sa a yo</i> t ap travay nan Vision 2000.</p> <p>N Dem PersPr-3PPI Past Prog V Prep N</p> <p><i>time that they were working at Vision 2000.</i></p> <p><u>at that time they were working at Vision 2000.</u></p>
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The plural demonstrative *sa yo* appears 332 times in the corpus. The first and last five of the occurrences are shown below:

1	a. Li di yo pral mete sou mache a sa yo rele bon trezò, se kiyès k ap achte
2	lakou siperyè dè kont ak kontansye administrativ sa yo rele petro kamping nan dezyèm jounen an jodiya
3	yo fè konnen se anba direksyon Bout Janjan aksyon sa yo te fèt. N ap tandè yo nan mikwo
4	lavi chè k ap trakase yo pandan dènye ane sa yo. San konte dola ameriken an ki pajanm sispann
5	) Wi (Pegi: Si l panse li pral kanpe anfas sa yo vle a et on a vu un Stanley
328	. Toujou gen deu batay k ap fèt nan zòn sa yo, pou kontwòl de territoire entre des gangs armées
329	mòd deu fonksyonman nou? E kòm leta tou. Èskeu sa yo pa kreye pwoblèm tou justeman?) Yon komisèr du
330	Je Klere ak RNDDH. Fòk nou di deu òganizasyon sa yo, patizan polisye a sible yo nan koferans pou
331	i fè on pledwaye en faveu renfòseuman òganizasyon sa yo, pou pèmèt n ap site: “demokrasi vanse”, li
332	e yo te remete an koz entegrite deu òganizasyon sa yo ki te mennen ankèt sou krim san parèy

Figure 6.22 – First and Last Five occurrences of the Plural *sa yo*

The first three items are rather peculiar with the plural demonstrative *sa yo* appearing with the determiner ‘a’ yielding the form ‘*sa yo a*’. Though this represents only 0.9% of the total, the use of ‘*sa yo a*’ signals some association with political discourse. Both users have specific political role in the Haitian society, one is a police chief and the other one an attorney and former government commissioner. Similarly, the first three of the last five items display a peculiar use of the plural demonstrative *sa yo* with the third person personal plural pronoun ‘yo’. However, these occurrences reveal that the second ‘yo’ is not part of the preceding demonstrative phrase but rather syntactically and semantically part of the following phrase as shown in items 328-330.

1	Ou wè, nan ka <i>sa yo a</i> , ...
	PPr-2PSing V Prep N DemPl
	<i>You see in case these_those</i>
	<u>You see in these/those cases,...</u>

2	...nan ka <i>sa yo a</i> puiske ou gen konpetans...
	... Prep N DemPl Conj PPr-2PSing V N
	<i>...In case these_those since you have competence</i>
	<u>...In these cases since you have competence...</u>

Items 1 and 2 belong to the same utterances. That is, it is apparently not a slip of the tongue of the user but rather an established idiosyncratic use that awaits more data to ascertain how widespread it is.

1 & 2	<p>Ou wè, nan ka <i>sa yo</i> a, PPr-2PSing V Prep N DemPl, <i>You see in case these_those</i> <u>You see in these/those cases,...</u></p> <p>nan ka <i>sa yo</i> a puiske ou gen konpetans... Prep N DemPl Conj PPr-2PSing V N <i>In case these_those since you have competence</i> <u>In these/those cases, since you have competence...</u></p>
3	<p>...telefòn <i>sa yo</i> a, se dè moun ...N DemPl ImpPrstV Ind-Pl-Det_Pr N <i>...phone these are (ø)_some people</i> <u>...these phones are (from) (some) people</u></p> <p>ki viktim deu gang... Rel CopDel Adj Prep N... <i>who Be victim of gangs...</i> <u>who are victims of gangs...</u></p>
328	<p>...donk 2 mesye <i>sa yo</i>, yo te entèdi yo ...Conj Card N DemPl PPr-3rdPersPl Pst V ObjPr-3rdPersPl <i>...so 2 men these_those they ed prohibit them</i> <u>...so these/those 2 men, they prohibited them</u></p> <p>nan eleksyon 2013 la... V Prep N Card Det... <i>participate in election 2013 the...</i> <u>to participate in the 2013 election...</u></p>
329	<p>...nan okazyon distribusyon <i>sa yo</i> yo te fè pou timoun... ...Prep N N DemPl PPr-3rdPersP Pst V Prep N...</p>

	... <i>in occasion distribution these_those they Past+make for children...</i> ... <u>at the time of these those disctributions they had for children...</u>
--	---

330	E	eleskyon	sa yo,	yo	te	dwe	òganize
	Conj	N	DemPl	PPr-3rdPersPl	Pst	V	V
	<i>And</i>	<i>election</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>have to+past</i>	<i>organize</i>	
	<u>And those elections, they had to organise</u>						
	nan	finisman	dezyèm	e	dènye	manda	Kabila a...
	Prep	N	Ord	Conj	Adj	N	N Det...
	<i>in</i>	<i>end</i>	<i>second</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>last</i>	<i>mandate</i>	<i>Kabila the</i>
	<u>at the end of the second and last Kabila's mandate...</u>						

The above boxes have displayed items from the corpus that exemplify both the HC singular and plural demonstratives. The following part will compare and contrast the singular and the plural to uncover a major dichotomy the corpus has revealed. Many instances of demonstratives are acceptable in terms of possibility of occurrence in the language. Those instances do not violate any rule of HC. However, since our corpus is anchored in real life, where utterances are being produced, it is interesting to see how much and how often the grammatical rules of the language are corroborated. The caveat though is that the absence of those rules does not necessarily cancel them out of the HC grammar. An absence may instead signal that a bigger corpus is needed to confirm the rules via CL.

The corpus allows to clearly delineate the difference between the HC singular demonstrative adjective and the demonstrative pronoun **sa (a)**. The plural **sa yo** has a demonstrative counterpart different to the pervasive singular **sa a** in the sense that **sa yo** may belong to two separate clauses apposed without break and therefore only the semantics of the utterance will allow an accurate analysis of their true nature. This is what is presented in the right side of Table 28 where these differences are pointed out. All the instances of **sa a** in the corpus are either demonstrative adjectives or pronouns. However,

the same Table 28 demonstrates in examples such as the one below that the plural **sa yo** may be non-demonstrative. The following is a close look of how these differences are treated in this dissertation via Table 28.

Item Number from the singular set of <i>sa a</i>		Identified	Examples with the singular <i>sa a</i>	Item Number from the plural set of <i>sa yo</i>	Identified	Examples with the demonstrative or non demonstrative plural <i>sa yo</i>
227, 447		After a preposition	Donk se sou sa a ... (<i>So it is on this one...</i>) E sou sa a ... (<i>And on this one...</i>)	128, 150	After a preposition	... apre sa yo kite nou nan yon sitiyasyon difisil... (... <i>after that they left us in a difficult situation...</i>) ...se pou sa yo mande yon delè... (... <i>it is for that they ask for a postponement...</i>)

Table 28a – Overview of the differences between *sa a* and *sa yo* in the corpus

6.4.5 Dichotomy between the singular and the plural of the HC demonstratives

Besides the noun-determining function of the HC demonstratives operating as demonstrative adjectives alluded to above, the corpus shows that away from those contexts, the demonstratives are exclusively pronouns in the focused examples summarized in the table below. However, the plural form does not always equate the function of the singular HC demonstrative as shown in the examples. The English gloss is in parentheses, the demonstratives and their homophones and homographs are in bold italics. The abbreviation NFIC stands for Not Found in the Corpus. The targeted identified item and the demonstratives are kept in bold in both the HC and the English for faster tracing.

Item Number from the singular set of sa a	Identified	Examples with the singular sa a	Item Number from the plural set of sa yo	Identified	Examples with the demonstrative or non demonstrative plural sa yo
227, 447	After a preposition	Donk se sou sa a ... (<i>So it is on this one...</i>) E sou sa a ... (<i>And on this one...</i>)	128, 150	After a preposition	...apre sa yo kite nou nan yon sitiyasyon difisil... (<i>...after that they left us in a difficult situation...</i>) ...se pou sa yo mande yon delè... (<i>...it is for that they ask for a postponement...</i>)
345	After a possessive or reflexive	...mwenn menm mwenn bay tèt mwenn sa a ... (<i>...me I give myself this one...</i>)	NFIC		NFIC
377, 546	After a verb	...nou di sa a ... (<i>...we say this/that...</i>) Mpanse sa a ... (<i>I think that one...</i>)	214, 223	After a verb	Nou pa bezwenn konnen sa yo pral fè... (<i>We don't need to know what they will do...</i>) E moun ki te fè sa yo ... (<i>And the people who did that/those...</i>)
Item 2 in Figure 5.23	After an adverb	...se sitous sa! (<i>...it is especially this/that!</i>)	133, 134	After an adverb	...sitou sa yo konsène taks... (<i>...especially that they concern taxes...</i>) ...yo redi ankò sa yo kwè ladan... (<i>...they say again what they believe in...</i>)
381, 437, 443, 489	After a conjunction even a French one	...e sa a li g on enpòtans... (<i>...and this/that one it has its importance...</i>) ...et sa a ... (<i>...and this/that one...</i>) ...e sa a m pa konnen... (<i>...and this one I don't know...</i>) Donk sa a mwenn pansè... (<i>So this one I think...</i>)	212, 226	After a conjunction	Donk sa yo, sa yo poze ti pwoblèm... (<i>So those, those cause some problems...</i>) E sa yo rele akteù... [<i>And what they (or those they) call...</i>]
444, 385, 392, 396	Initial of sentence or proposition	..., sa a m pa... (<i>...this/that one I am not...</i>) sa a li konnen... (<i>This/That one he knows...</i>) sa a li menm... (<i>This/That one itself...</i>) sa a li menm se on draft. (<i>This/That one itself is a draft...</i>)	115, 125, 325	Initial of sentence or proposition	Sa yo ki pa gen ni rele ni reponn. (<i>Those who have neither someone to call nor someone to answer them.</i>) ..., sa yo ki toujou imilye... (<i>..., those who are always humiliated...</i>) Sa yo yo pajanm konprann... (<i>Those that they never understood...</i>)
407	Appositive structure	...kesyon sekurite a, sa a , se yon... (<i>...the question of safety, this/that one, it is a...</i>)	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC
685	After the conjunction 'lè' (when), implying suddenness	Donk lè sa a rive... (<i>So when this/that one happens...</i>)	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC
75	After the exclamative 'bon' (well)	Bon sa a s on bagay... (<i>Well this/that one is something...</i>)	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC
729, 741	After the exclamative 'non' (no)	Non sa a se politik. (<i>No this/that one is politics.</i>) Non sa a se taktik... (<i>No this/that one is tactics.</i>)	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC

Table 28 – Summary of the non-demonstrative adjective function of sa a and sa yo in HC

Item Number from the singular set of <i>sa a</i>	Identified	Examples with the singular <i>sa a</i>	Item Number from the plural set of <i>sa yo</i>	Identified	Examples with the demonstrative or non demonstrative plural <i>sa yo</i>
227, 447	After a preposition	Donk se sou sa a... Conj ImpPrstV Prep DemPr <i>So it is on this</i> So it is on this one... E sou sa a... Conj Prep DemPr <i>And on this</i> And on this one...	128, 150	After a preposition	...apre sa yo kite nou nan Prep DemPr PPr-3rdPersPl V ObjPr-1stPersPl Prep <i>After this_that they leave us in</i> ... after that they left us in yon sitiya syon difisil... IndDet N Adj <i>a situation difficult</i> a difficult situation... ...se pou sa yo mande yon delè... ImpPrstV Prep DemPr PPr-3rdPersPl V IndDet N <i>Is for this_that they ask a delay</i> ...it is for that they ask for a postponement...
345	After a possessive or reflexive	...mwen menm mwen RefPr PPr-1stPersSing <i>Myself I</i> I myself bay tèt mwen sa a... V EmpRefPr DemPr <i>give myself this</i> ... give myself this one...	NFIC		NFIC
377, 546	After a verb	...nou di sa a... PPr-1stPersPl V DemPr <i>We say this</i> ...we say this/that one... Mpanse sa a... PersPr-1stPersSing V DemPr <i>I think that</i> I think that one...	214, 223	After a verb	Nou pa bezwenn konnen sa yo PPr-1stPersPl Neg V InfV Pr PPr-3rdPersPl <i>We don't need to know what they</i> We don't need to know what they will do... pral fè... Ft V <i>will do</i> will do E moun ki te fè sa yo... Conj N Rel Past V DemPr DetPl <i>And people who did do these_those the</i> And the people who did these/those...
Item 2 in Figure 5.23	After an adverb	...se sitou sa! ImpPrstV Adv DemPr <i>it is especially this/that</i> ...it is especially this/that!	133, 134	After an adverb	...sitou sa yo konsène taks... Adv DemPl V N <i>Especially these-those concern taxes</i> ... especially those are concerning taxes... ...yo redi ankò sa yo kwè ladan... PPr-3rdPersPl V Adv Pr PPr-3rdPersPl V Prep <i>They repeat again what they believe in</i> ...they say again what they believe in...

Table 28, part 1 – Summary of the non-demonstrative adjective function of *sa a* and *sa yo* in HC

381, 437, 443, 489	After a conjunction even a French one	<p>...e sa a li ^g Conj DemPr Pr-3rdPersSing V <i>And this it has</i> ...and this/that one it has</p> <p>on enpòtans... IndDet N <i>an importance</i> its importance...</p> <p>...et sa a... Conj DemPr <i>and this</i> ...and this/that one...</p> <p>...e sa a m Conj DemPr PPr-1stPersSing <i>And this I</i> ...and this one ...</p> <p>pa konnen... Neg V <i>not know</i> don't know</p> <p>Donk sa a mwen Conj DemPr PPr-1stPersSing <i>So this I</i> So this one I</p> <p>panse... V <i>think</i> think...</p>	212, 226	After a conjunction	<p>Donk sa yo, sa yo poze ti pwoblèm... Conj DemPr-Pl DemPr-Pl V Adj N <i>So these_those these_those cause little problem</i> So those, those cause some problems...</p> <p>E sa yo rele akteù... Conj DemPr-Pl AuxDel V N <i>And these_those are called actors</i> And those are called actors...</p>
444, 385, 392, 396	Initial of sentence or proposition	<p>..., sa a m pa... DemPr PPr-1stPersSing Ø Neg <i>This that I am not</i> ...this/that one I am not...</p> <p>Sa a li konnen... DemPr PPr-3rdPersSing V <i>This that he know</i> This/That one he knows...</p> <p>Sa a li menm... DemPr ReflPr-3rdPers Sing <i>This that itself</i> This/That one itself...</p> <p>Sa a li menm... DemPr ReflPr-3rdPers Sing <i>This that itself</i> This/That one itself...</p> <p>se on draft. ImpPrstV IndDet N <i>is a draft</i> it is a draft...</p>	115, 125, 325	Initial of sentence or proposition	<p>Sa yo ki pa gen ni rele ni reponn. DemPr Rel Neg V Conj InfV Conj InfV <i>These_Those who don't have neither to call nor to answer</i> Those who have neither someone to call nor someone to answer them.</p> <p>..., sa yo ki toujou imilye... DemPrPl Rel AuxDel Adv V <i>These_Those who are always humiliated</i> ..., those who are always humiliated...</p> <p>Sa yo yo pajanm konprann... DemPr PPr-3rdPersPl Adv V <i>These_Those they never understand</i> Those that they never understood...</p>

Table 28, part 2 – Summary of the non-demonstrative adjective function of sa a and sa yo in HC

407	Appositive structure	<p>...kesyon sekurite a, sa a, N N Det DemPr <i>question security the this</i> <i>...the question of safety, this/that one,</i></p> <p>se yon... ImpPrstV IndDet <i>is a</i> it is a...</p>	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC
685	After the conjunction 'lè' (when), implying suddenness	<p>Donk lè sa a rive... Conj Conj DemPr V <i>So when this_that happen</i> <i>So when this/that one happens...</i></p>	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC
75	After the exclamative 'bon' (well)	<p>Bon sa a s Excl DemPr V <i>Well this_that is</i> Well this/that one is</p> <p>on bagay... IndDet N <i>a thing</i> something...</p>	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC
729, 741	After the exclamative 'non' (no)	<p>Non sa a se politik. Excl DemPr V N <i>No this_that is politics</i> No this/that one is politics.</p> <p>Non sa a se taktik. Excl DemPr V N <i>No this_that is tactics</i> No this/that one is tactics.</p>	NFIC	NFIC	NFIC

Table 28, part 3 – Summary of the non-demonstrative adjective function of sa a and sa yo in HC

The difference between **sa a** as NP determiner and **sa a** as Demonstrative pronoun are presented in sections 6.3 par. 3, 6.4.5 and 6.6 par. 8. As seen in these sections, the pronominal feature of the HC demonstrative **sa a** is associated with both anaphoric and cataphoric uses of the associated pronouns.

The tables above display different instances of the use of the singular HC demonstrative in the corpus. It is broken in three parts to allow a better perusal of its content. While all the examples with the singular demonstrative **sa a** have a grammatical plural counterpart in the language, the corpus yields only one such case displayed in item 2 from Figure 6.23 below for the singular appearing on the left side of Table 17 and for items 133 and 134 appearing on the right side of the same table for the plural **sa yo**. The data undoubtedly suggest that HC speakers treat the plural demonstrative **sa yo** differently from the singular counterpart. It seems that most of the use of the form is non demonstrative and when it is used, the pronominal demonstrative is more frequent.

1	pase an France, y ap denonse enjistis fiskal la sitou sa yo konsène taks yo mete sou konsomasyon kote
2	I fè sa dans le respect des normes, se sitou sa! Paske si w ap voye monte, e ke
3	keùy nan okazyon distribusyon y ap fè bay timoun , sitou sa yo ki nan sitiyasyon difisil. Timoun ki ap

Figure 6.23 - Adverb *sitou* with *sa*

The adverb ‘sitou’ (especially) - as shown in the three items of Figure 6.23 - restricts the demonstrative to its pronominal function whether it is in the singular or the plural form. Item 3 confirms the pronominal demonstrative:

F6.23, Item 3	<p>...sitou sa yo ki nan yon sitiyaşyon difisil</p> <p>Adv DemPr Rel CopDel Prep IndDet N Adj</p> <p><i>especially these_those who are in a situation difficult</i></p> <p>...especially those who are in a difficult situation.</p>
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1	akouche kèlkeu choz koule dans du béton. Dokuman sa a ki la a, nan kad dyałòg la, ansanm
2	pou n antann nou sou on bagay definitif. Dokuman sa a ki la a tou, se pa yon premye
3	sa a wi mwen wè ki pratikman nan dokuman sa a ki la a. Se menm sa a ki
4	ennan. Pandan on mwa nèg yo depanse tout kòb sa a. La a ou ka konprann ki rezon ki
5	baz yo, nou di nou pap fè bak; sistèm sa a ki la a ki reprezante oligachi a, ki
6	travay ke tout kouch ap tann! Paske kòd travay sa a ki la a, li merite chanje. Sa se
7	pou keu li fè (Pegi: Mhm) travail d'évaluation sa a? La a il est surtout question d on

Figure 6.24 – Search of *sa a* with *la a* in the corpus with *sa a * la a* search

In Figure 6.24, *la a* does the opposite of ‘sitou’ by restricting the demonstrative to its determining adjective function and all 7 items prove it as exemplified by item 3:

F6.24, item 3	...dokuman <i>sa a</i> ki <i>la a</i>
	N Dem Rel CopDel Loc
	<i>Document this that is here</i>
	... this document that is right here).

In items 1-5, both the demonstrative *sa a* and the locative adjunct *la a* appear intrasententially and yet in items 6-7 - though they appear intersententially - the restriction persists as shown by item 6:

F6.24, item 6	...yo depanse tout kòb <i>sa a. La a</i> ou ka
	PPr -3rdPersSing V PreDet N Dem Loc PPr-2ndPersSing MV
	<i>they spend all money that here you can</i>
	... <u>they spend all this money. Here you can</u>
	konprann...
	V
	<i>understand</i>
	<u>understand...</u>

Item 6 is also the only one of the series here that does not imply the relative ‘ki’. The asterisk picked up the period that is at the boundary of two sentences. In Figure 6.24, the concordance levels are 1R, 2R and 3R, but the use of the asterisk in the search ‘*sa a*la a*’ interposes a lexical item between *sa a* and *la a* and this item is the relative ‘ki’ (that, who) in all 7 examples.

1	ennan. Pandan on mwa nèg yo depanse tout kòb sa a. La a ou ka konprann ki rezon ki
2	pou keu li fè (Pegi: Mhm) travail d’évaluation sa a? La a il est surtout question d on

Figure 6.25 – Search of *sa a la a* in the corpus

The search results showed in Figure 6.25 are like Figure 6.24 above with the difference that the search does not include the asterisk and thereby there is no lexical item between the

demonstrative and the locative adjunct. The search of *sa a la a* yielded 2 items. Both the demonstrative and the locative adjunct appear intersententially, and item 2 exhibits a FP as the noun that is determined by *sa a* as shown in item 2:

F6.25, item 2	<p>...travail d'évaluation <i>sa a</i>? La a il est surtout question...</p> <p>N FP Dem Loc(Adj) FP</p> <p><i>Work of evaluation this here it is especially question of</i></p> <p>...this evaluation work? Here it is especially question of ...</p>
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This is a peculiar case where although the demonstrative and the locative adjunct are caught between two FP, they still remain in HC. Besides, this example is from 'Moman Verite' where we find most of the sentences where the French demonstratives are used in the corpus.

1	nou gen wèlkòm sa a keu m jwenn nan la a. Ministè sa a, depui jou keu n rive
2	. Donk se nan situasyon sa a keu w ye la a. E sa a ta dwe fè moun ki

Figure 6.26 – Search of *la a * sa a* in the corpus

In Figure 6.26, the search criteria are the reverse of Figure 6.24 with *la a* appearing on the left side of the asterisk. The search yielded two items and interestingly with one instance of demonstrative adjective on the left and one of demonstrative pronoun on the right for item 1. The use of *la a* around the demonstrative seems to attract both the pronominal and the adjectival functions of the demonstrative as signaled by this despite low incidence of occurrences. Here are both examples:

F6.20, item 1	<p>Donk se nan situasyon <i>sa a</i> keu w ye la a.</p> <p>Conj ImpPrtV Prep N Dem Rel PPr-2ndPersSing V LocAdj</p> <p><i>So it is in situation this_that that you are here</i></p> <p>So it is in this situation that you are right now.</p> <p>E <i>sa a</i> ta dwe...</p> <p>Conj DemPr Cond V</p> <p><i>And this should</i></p> <p>And this one should have....</p>
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However, for item 2, which is:

F6.20, item 2	<p>...wèlkòm sa a keu m jwenn nan la a. Ministè sa a,</p> <p>N Dem Rel PPr-1stPersSing V Det LocAdj N Dem</p> <p>welcome this that I find the here ministry this</p> <p>...this welcome that I find here. This ministry,</p> <p>depuis jou...</p> <p>Prep N</p> <p><i>since day</i></p> <p>since the day...</p>
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Both sides of the locative adjunct display a demonstrative adjective.

6.4.6 The alternative demonstratives to *sa a*, *sila a* (11)

Sa a is the most common form of the HC demonstrative and is used by all HC speakers even those who use the alternative form “*sila a*.” While there is no semantic difference between the two forms, there are some stylistic differences and some underlying restrictive use in real life that are captured by the corpus. There are instances in HC, as seen in the corpus, where the two parts of the plural form of the demonstrative *sa yo* belong to two different clauses but also possess a meaning that is far from the HC demonstrative. These distinctions are presented in section 6.4.5.

1	, liv ak manje. Daprè Lucner Dumont depa byenfetè sila a, Jean Henry Chéry, ki mouri a 73 zan plonje
2	nan lekòl sila a pou yo kontinye èv byenfetè sila a paske gen anpil pwofesè ki poko touche. N
3	kanson l nan tay li pou l fè djòb sila a; paske nan Nòdwès, Pòdepè an patikilye, travay k
4	vo direktè a, Pierre Joseph, salye depart grantòm sila a, Jean Henry Chéry, mande tout pitit Kòk Chant
5	Georges, te fè yon lansman pwojè kakawo nan komin sila a nan objektif pou l kapab retounnen avèk kakawo
6	eyini en assemblé pou l te kapab reyalize lansman sila a Lendi dizwit (18) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018) la.
7	Petit Fort, a senk lòt ak ansyen pyonye lekòl sila a. N ap souliye ke fondatè Lekòl Lamitye SODEC
8	Chant ki te resevwa pen de lenstriksyon nan lekòl sila a pou yo kontinye èv byenfetè sila a paske
9	, aprè yon lanne, wit (8) mwa l pase nan pòs sila a. Jij tribinal premye enstans Pòdepè a, mèt Fresne
10	, ki te konn bay sèvis li a etablisman skolè sila a gen gwo enkyetid aprè depart fondateur lekòl Lami
11	snel Desrosiers, ki te pwosede a prestasyon sèman sila a, ayè Madi dizwit (18) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018)

Figure 6.27– *sila a* as alternative to *sa a*

6.4.7 The alternative singular form *sila a* and the plural *sila yo*

The above examples show in their majority that *sila a* is the alternative form of the widespread singular demonstrative *sa a* in HC as represented in this corpus. It is also the same for the plural counterpart *sila yo* alternating with *sa yo*. Because of the rather low but constant incidence of both forms (11 for *sila a* and 5 for *sila yo*), it is worth wondering who uses these alternate forms and where they use them. The following duplicated map of Haiti undergirded by a table at the bottom will provide the answers. Notwithstanding, the use of both demonstrative singular and plural alternative forms *sila a* and *sila yo* are not set in stone for some of the users as shown in figures 5.29 and 5.30 below. These figures show how some correspondents of Radyo Kiskeya and the anchor Lilyàn Pyè Pòl use the alternative forms. Besides the alternative forms, *sila a* and *sila yo*, some correspondents also use the regular counterpart forms *sa a* and *sa yo*.

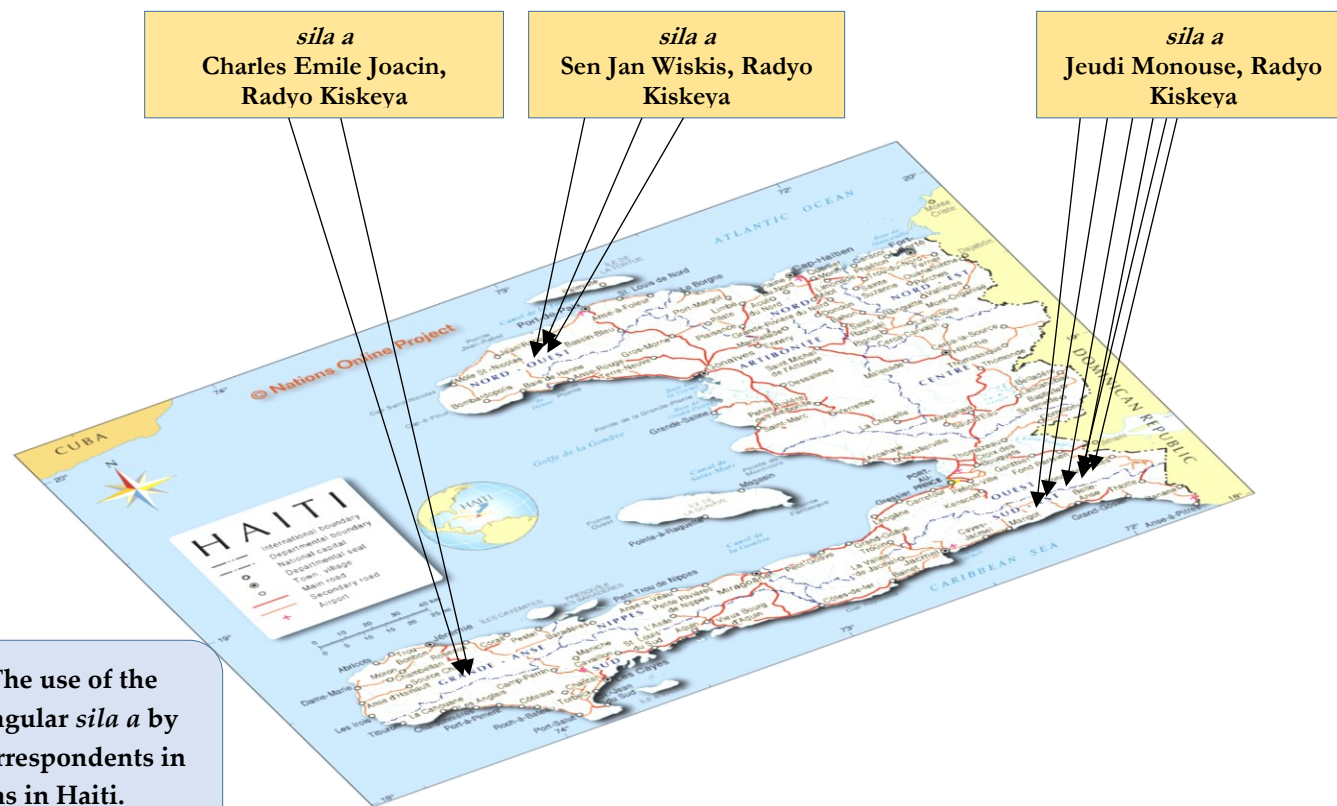


Figure 6.27a – The use of the demonstrative singular *sila a* by journalists and correspondents in different areas in Haiti.

Item #	Sentences with <i>sila a</i>	English Gloss	Speaker	Region
1.	...prestasyon sèman <i>sila a</i> , ayè Madi dizwit (18) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018)...	... this/that oath taking...	Sen Jan Wiskis	Nòdwès (Northwest)
2.	Jacques Petit Fort, ki te konn bay sèvis li a etablisman skolè <i>sila a</i> gen gwo enkyetid...	... this/that school building...	Jeudi Monouz	Sudès (Southeast)
3.	...depa byenfetè <i>sila a</i> , Jean Henry Chéry, ki mouri a 73 zan plonje kominote a nan yon gwo chagren	... this/that benefactor...	Jeudi Monouz	Sudès (Southeast)
4.	Nouvo direktè a, Pierre Joseph, salye depart grantòm <i>sila a</i> , Jean Henry Chéry...	... this/that great man...	Jeudi Monouz	Sudès (Southeast)
5.	...aprè yon lanne, uit (8) mwa l pase nan pòs <i>sila a</i>.	... this/that post...	Sen Jan Wiskis	Nòdwès (Northwest)
6.	...pou l te kapab realize lansman <i>sila a</i> lendi dizwit (18) desanm de mil dizwit (2018) la.	... this/that launching...	Charles Emile Joacin	Grandans (Southwest)
7.	gwoup ansy...yon plak donè a ansyen direktè lekòl la, polisye Jacques Petit Fort, a senk lòt ak ansyen pyonye lekòl <i>sila a</i>.	... this/that school...	Jeudi Monouz	Sudès (Southeast)
8.	Majistra komin Mowon an, Joël Georges, te fè yon lansman pwojè kakawo nan komin <i>sila a</i>...	... this/that commune...	Charles Emile Joacin	Grandans (Southwest)
9.	...pou yo kontinye ev byenfetè <i>sila a</i> paske gen anpil pwofèsè ki poko touche.	... this/that benefactor...	Jeudi Monouz	Sudès (Southeast)
10.	...mande pou nouvo delege a met kanson l nan tay li pou l fè djòb <i>sila a</i>...	... this/that job...	Sen Jan Wiskis	Nòdwès (Northwest)
11.	...mande tout pitit Kòk Chant ki te resewva pen de lenstriksyon nan lekòl <i>sila a</i> pou yo kontinye...	... this/that school...	Jeudi Monouz	Sudès (Southeast)

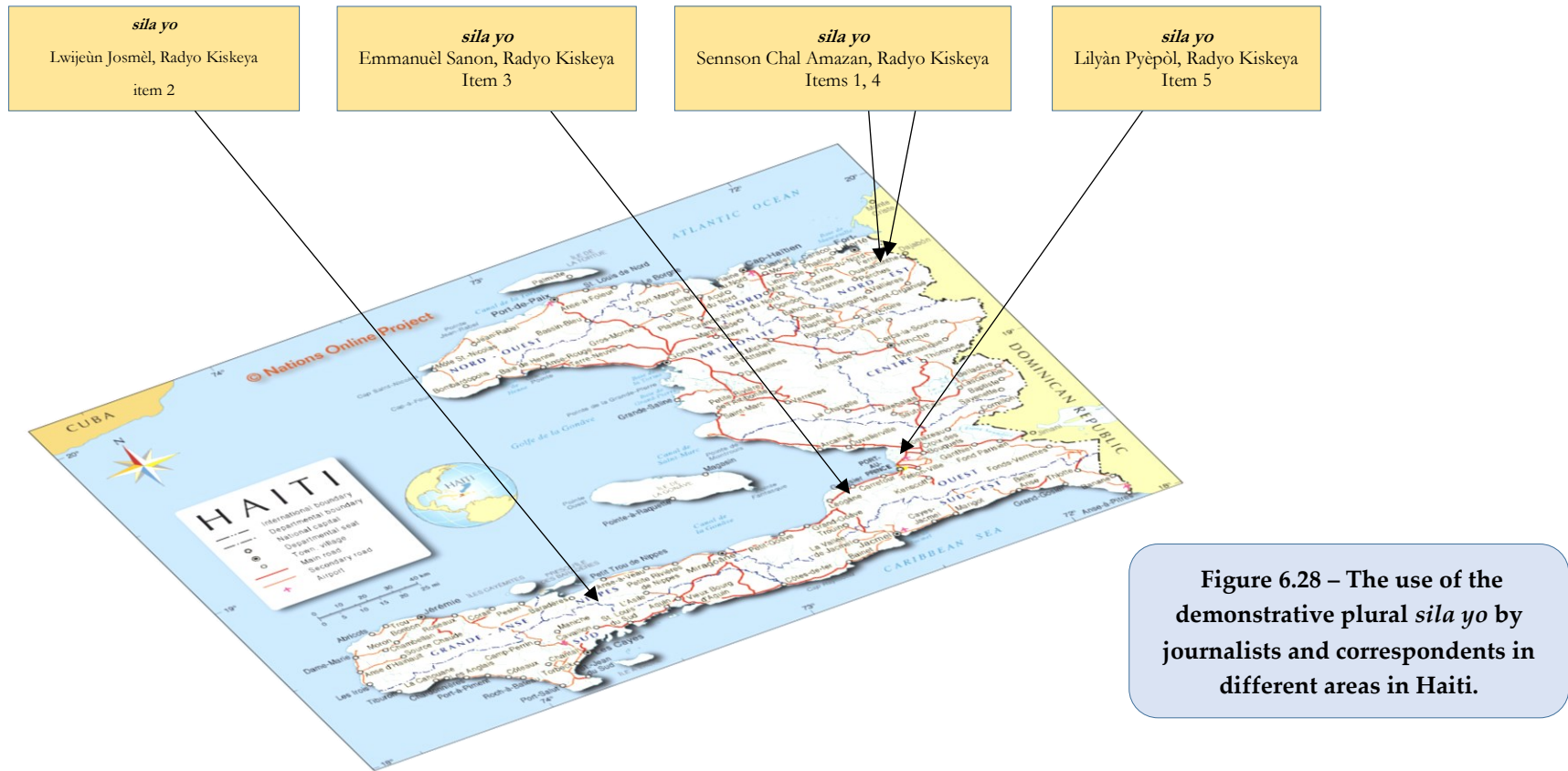
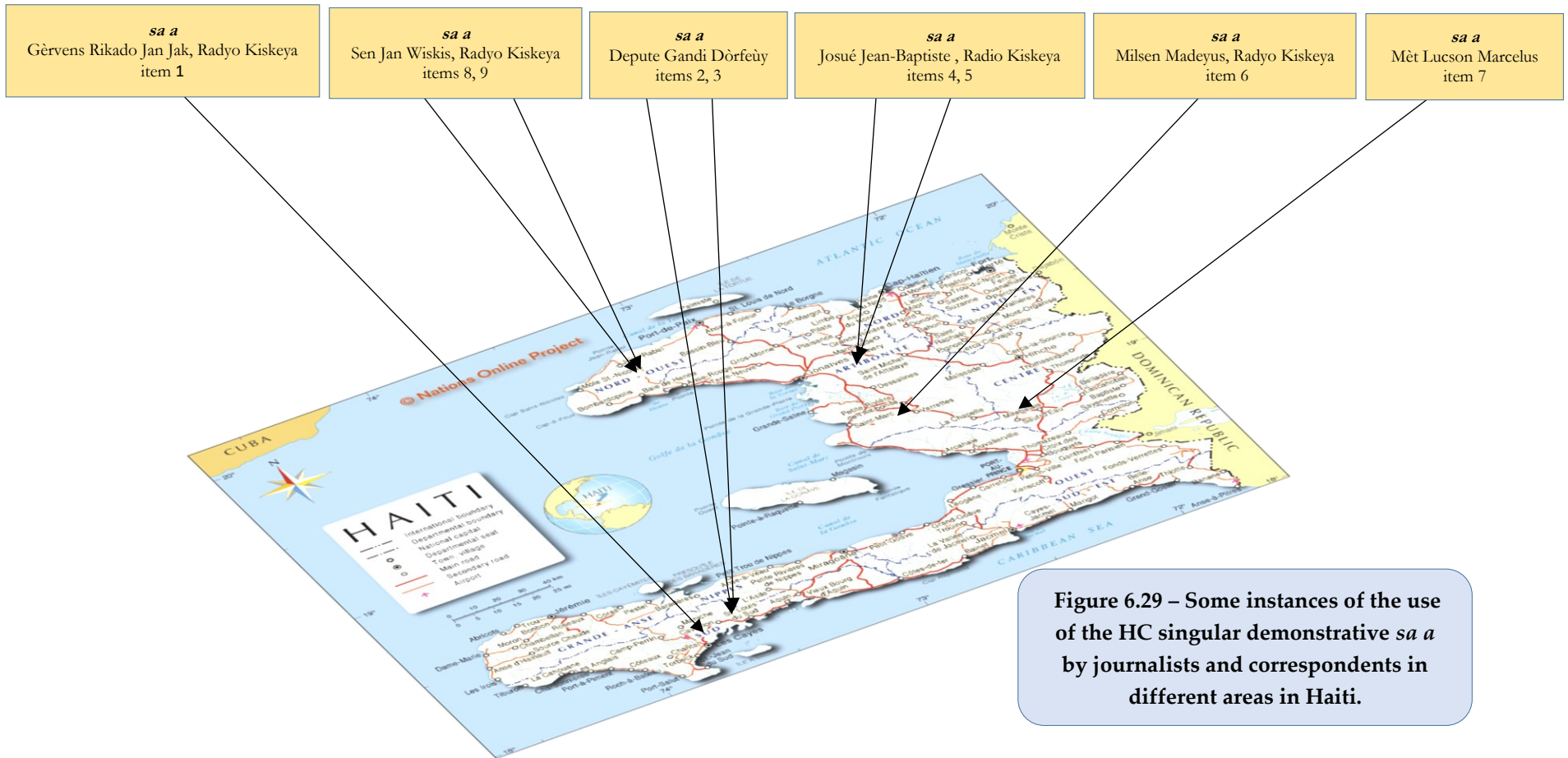


Figure 6.28 – The use of the demonstrative plural *sila yo* by journalists and correspondents in different areas in Haiti.

Item #	Sentences with <i>sila yo</i>	English Gloss	Speaker	Region
1.	Militan sila yo denonse konpòtman vis delege awondisman Wanament lan...	These/Those militants...	Senmsonn Chal Amazan	Wanament (Northeast)
2.	Moun sila yo ki di yo pa konn kisa yo dwe fè lage situasyon kritik sa a bay Bondye.	These/Those people...	Lwijeùn Josmèl	Nip (Southwest)
3.	Se yon Bak pèmanan, nan filozofi ministè a ki pèmèt a sila yo ki pa t pase...	...to those who did not pass...	Emmanuel Sanon	Lewogàn (West)
4.	N ap fè sonje, se pa premye fwa militan sila yo pran mikwo laprès...	... these/those militants...	Senmsonn Chal Amazan	Wanament (Northeast)
5.	...e sila yo tou k ap resevwa n sou platfòm entelijan yo.	...and those who are receiving us...	Lilyàn Pyè Pòl	Pòtoprens (West)

Figure 6.28 – The use of the demonstrative plural *sila yo* by journalists and correspondents in different areas in Haiti



Item #	Sentences with <i>sa a</i>	English Gloss	Speaker	Region
1.	Pandan tan <i>sa a</i> , kisa ki di pou yon kantite elèv ki soti nan bakaloreya...	During this/that time,...	Gèrvens Rikado Jan Jak	Sid (South)
2.	...se pou rezon <i>sa a</i> nou envite w maten...	...It is for this/that reason...	Depute Gandhi Dòrfeùy	Senlwi Disid (South)
3.	<i>Sa a</i> se nan kad preparasyon...	This one it is in the context...	Depute Gandhi Dòrfeùy	Senlwi Disid (South)
4.	Kisa ki ka fèt pou n redrese sitiyaasyon <i>sa a</i> ?	... this situation?	Josué Jean-Baptiste	Latibonit (North-Central)
5.	...se peyi Kanada ki bay kòb <i>sa a</i>...	...that gave that money...	Josué Jean-Baptiste	Latibonit (North-Central)
6.	E se sa ki ba yo gwo satisfaksyon <i>sa a</i>.	...this great satisfaction.	Milsen Madeyus	Ba Latibonit (Lower North-Central)
7.	...e l mennen m kote ke li lage kò jèn gason <i>sa a</i>.	...the body of this/that young man	Mèt Lucson Marcelus (Justice of peace)	Mibalè, Plateau Central (Center)
8.	Bak pèmanan <i>sa a</i> ki demare atravè peyi a...	This/That permanent High School Final Assessment	Sen Jan Wiskis	Nòdwès (Northwest)
9.	...peryòd fen dane <i>sa a</i> ka rete entak...	... this end of year period...	Sen Jan Wiskis	Nòdwès (Northwest)

Figure 6.29 – Some instances of the use of the HC singular demonstrative *sa a* by journalists and correspondents in different areas in Haiti

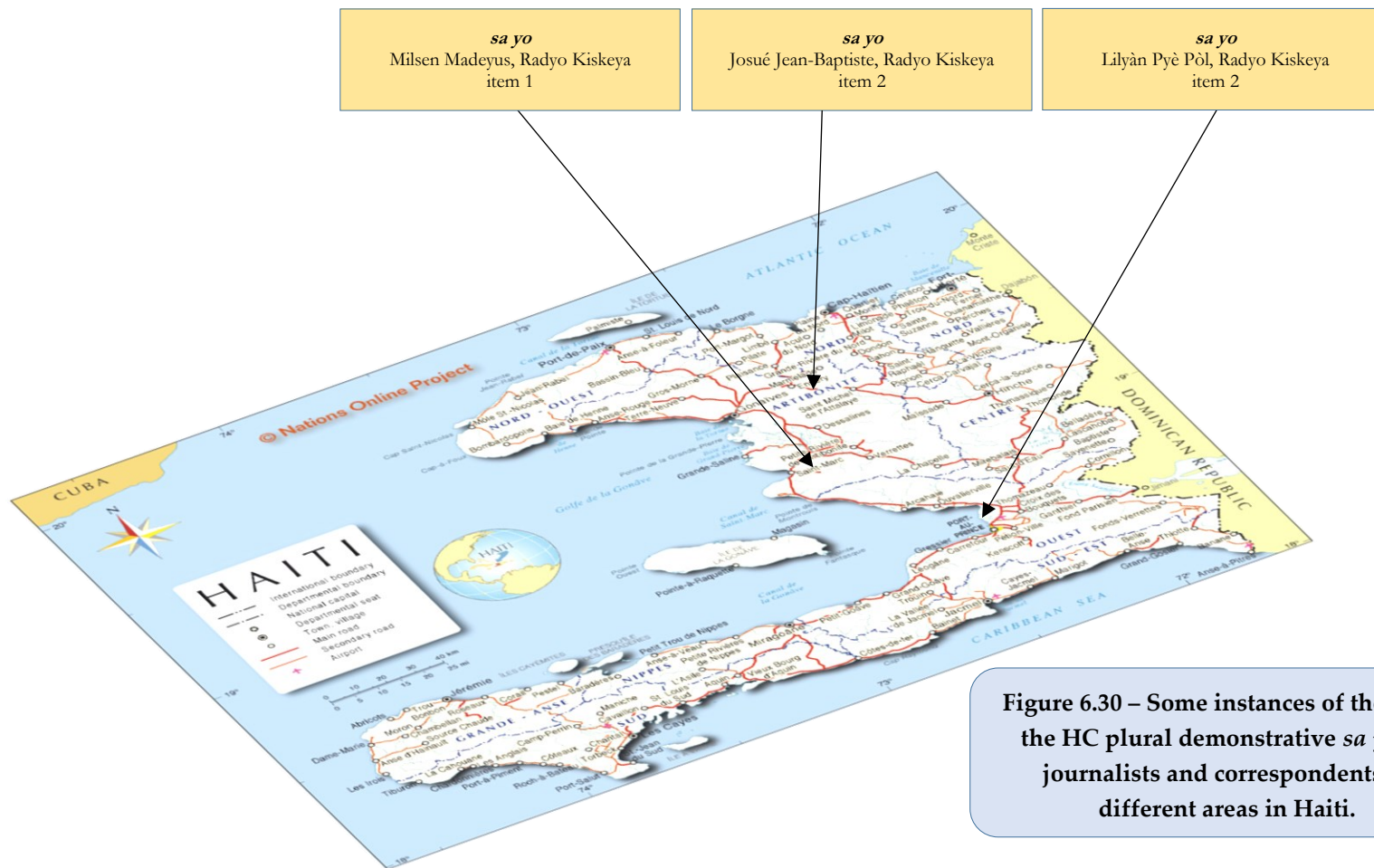


Figure 6.30 – Some instances of the use of the HC plural demonstrative *sa yo* by journalists and correspondents in different areas in Haiti.

Item #	Sentences with <i>sa yo</i>	English Gloss	Speaker	Region
1.	...koreksyon fen egzamen <i>sa yo</i> ap fèt tousuit...	...grading of these final exams	Milsen Madeyus	Ba Latibonit, Senmak (Lower North Central, St Marc)
2.	Pwofesè Rony Desroches, fè deklarasyon <i>sa yo</i> sware Madi dizwit (18) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018) lan...	...made these statements	Josué Jean-Baptiste	Latibonit (North-Central)
3.	...konsènan menm egzamen <i>sa yo</i> ki komanse jodiya...	...concerning these /exams...	Lilyàn Pyè Pòl	Pòtoprens (West)

Figure 6.30 – Some instances of the use of the HC plural demonstrative *sa yo* by journalists and correspondents in different areas in Haiti.

Figures 6.27-6.30 above indicate the places where the alternative forms of the HC demonstratives are used. The examples include both the singular and the plural forms. Figure 6.31 displays the 11 instances of *sila a* as they appear in the corpus and labelled items 1-11.

1	, liv ak manje. Daprè Lucner Dumont depa byenfetè sila a, Jean Henry Chéry, ki mouri a 73 zan plonje
2	nan lekòl sila a pou yo kontinye èv byenfetè sila a paske gen anpil pwofesè ki poko touche. N
3	kanson l nan tay li pou l fè djòb sila a; paske nan Nòdwès, Pòdepè an patikilye, travay k
4	vo direktè a, Pierre Joseph, salye depart grantòm sila a, Jean Henry Chéry, mande tout pitit Kòk Chant
5	Georges, te fè yon lansman pwojè kakawo nan komin sila a nan objektif pou l kapab retounnen avèk kakawo
6	eyini en assemblé pou l te kapab reyalize lansman sila a Lendi dizwit (18) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018) la.
7	Petit Fort, a senk lòt ak ansyen pyonye lekòl sila a. N ap souliye ke fondatè Lekòl Lamitye SODEC
8	Chant ki te resevwa pen de lenstriksyon nan lekòl sila a pou yo kontinye èv byenfetè sila a paske
9	, aprè yon lanne, wit (8) mwa l pase nan pòs sila a. Jij tribinal premye enstans Pòdepè a, mèt Fresne
10	, ki te konn bay sèvis li a etablisman skolè sila a gen gwo enkyetid aprè depart fondateur lekòl Lami
11	snel Desrosiers, ki te pwosede a prestasyon sèman sila a, ayè Madi dizwit (18) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018)

Figure 6.31 – The alternative singular demonstrative *sila a*

Figure 6.27a above exhibits three areas where news broadcasters repetitively use the form *sila a*. This figure reveals two instances of this form from correspondents of Radio Kiskeya in the southwest region of Haiti known as Grandans (Grand Anse in French), three instances on the northeast regions and six instances on the southeast regions. Interestingly, Figure 6.27a indicates that it is not a single occurrence. They transpired in the broadcasts of both December 17 (six instances) and December 19 (five instances). The corpus suggests that this form is currently used in journalistic broadcasting that embraces a rhythmical style and it dictates this specific form of the demonstrative likely in addition to their operating regions. Listening to all three correspondents from Radyo Kiskeya in the above-mentioned three regions displays the specificity of their discourse; this version of the demonstrative makes the tone both appealing and professional. It is as if they were using a phrasing extracted from their radio station correspondent journalistic style book. At a very young age, the author of this dissertation noticed the use of the alternative demonstrative form *sila a* and *sila yo* in the language of the arts and more specifically in theatrical performances. It appears that outside theaters, this form has successfully spilled over in the journalistic discourse but with a concentration on the function of correspondents from Radyo Kiskeya leading the usage as signaled in the corpus.

1	Bak pèmanan, nan filozofi ministè a ki pèmèt a sila yo ki pat pase dès juin yon opòtinite pou
2	sou www.radiokiskeya.com kelekesya kote yo ye, e sila yo tou kap resevwa n sou platfòm entelijan yo.
3	egrasyon yo prese prese nan bwat leta yo. Militan sila yo denonse konpòtman vis delege awondisman Wanament
4	: N ap fè sonje, se pa premye fwa militan sila yo pran mikwo laprès pou fè mòd deu revandikasyon
5	te dola ameriken an ki pajanm sispann monte. Moun sila yo ki di yo pa konn kisa yo dwe

Figure 6.32 - The alternative plural *sila yo*

6.5 Representation and meaning of demonstratives in the HC corpus and Gadet's Variation

This subsection first looks at the corpus vis-à-vis Gadet's variation while looking at actual text for analysis. It looks into nine figures and two tables to provide deeper insights on the meaning of demonstratives in the corpus.

The corpus suggests that in line with the variation axes established by Gadet, the data shows only one instance of demonstrative use that may be due to the diachronic use of the HC demonstratives. That is, the alternative form *sila yo* of the HC demonstrative plural *sa yo* is used by the host of Radio Kiskeya as opposed to the use of the demonstrative by the host of Radio Signal FM, Peguy Jean. The two anchors - based on public records - have a difference of about 20 years in age, with Peguy Jean being younger. Yet, the background of the younger host, who is also an attorney by profession may be a viable explanation for the difference, since this alternative form is used mostly by journalists in the corpus. The data from the program "Moman Verite" do not display any occurrence of the alternative form *sila yo* but exclusively *sa yo*. However, this may be due to the diastatic variation of the demonstrative since most of the interlocutors of 'Moman Verite' are speakers of the upper echelon of the Haitian society, including mostly attorneys, government officials, sociologists, and various technocrats of the nation whose speech constantly displays code-switching between HC and French. Whereas there is no avoidance of the HC demonstrative per se, due to its pervasive and seemingly unavoidable use in the HC discourse, low instances of the French demonstratives appear in the corpus compared to the HC ones.

The diatopic variation of the HC demonstrative appears to be somehow localized and specified. The entire country based on the data transcribed from many of the speakers, including the two anchors of the two programmes for the entire six days, displays the predominance of the form *sa a* for the singular and *sa yo* for the plural. However, as shown on

Figures 6.27 – 6.30, the singular alternative form *sa a* appears 11 times in the corpus and is noticed in three regions where three correspondents from Radio Kiskeya are reporting. These regions are Grandans (southwest) with two instances, northwest with three instances and south with six instances. The alternative plural demonstrative *sila yo* though with a lower incidence appears in four different regions from correspondents from Radio Kiskeya and one instance from the anchor of ‘Jounal Katrè’ (Four O’clock News), Lilyàn Pyè Pòl. This form appears once in the region of ‘Nip’ (southwest), once in Lewogàn (west), once in Pòtoprens (west) and twice in Wanament (northeast) as shown on Figure 6.29. To confirm whether these alternative forms occur in other regions, instances of the regular demonstrative *sa a* were searched in the other regions where correspondents are reporting from the provinces to the mother station. Figure 5.29 shows a total of nine occurrences of *sa a* spreading from the Sid (greater south), one instance; from Senlwi Disid (south) two instances; from the northwest, two instances; from Latibonit (north-central) two instances; from Ba Latibonit (lower north-central) one instance and from Mibalè (center) one instance. Finally, Figure 6.30 shows three instances of *sa yo* by correspondents spread from Ba Latibonit (lower north-central) with one instance, to Latibonit (north-central) with one instance and Pòtoprens (west) with one instance. Interestingly though, two of the correspondents who use the alternative forms also use the regular forms and in two instances they do alternate both forms of the demonstratives after the same noun. To reach a viable conclusion of the reason behind this alternate use of *sa a* and *sila a* by the same speaker, an attempt is made below to look closer into the transcript of the broadcast in search of clues.

The southwest of Haiti (Kòk Chant), is where the correspondent of Radyo Kiskeya Jeudi Monouse provided some deeper textual clues for the analysis of the demonstratives including the non-demonstrative determiner *sa yo*. Monouse’s string of text encompasses the singular demonstratives *sa a*, and its demonstrative alternative form *sila a*.

Jeudi Monouse: *Kominote Paul Martin, lokalite Kòk Chant, 9èm seksyon kominal nan Jakmèl, rann yon omaj postum a fondatè lekòl Lamitye a samdi 15 desanm 2018 la. Seremoni sa a ki te dewoule an prezans plizyè pèsonalite, elèv ak ansyen elèv, pami yo direktè salle des nouvelles Signal FM nan, Tom Dumont, yon ansyen elèv Lucner Dumont, fè konnen jan Henry Chéry te fonde lekòl sa a an 1986 pou te pèmèt timoun nan kominote a jwenn pen de lenstriksyon gratis, epi ba*

*yo unifòm, liv ak manje. Daprè Lucner Dumont depa byenfetè **sila a**, Jean Henry Chéry, ki mouri a 73 zan plonje kominote a nan yon gwo chagren paske daprè **sa yo** di 100% elèv yo konn reyisi nan egzamen sètifika. Yon ansyen direktè, Jacques Petit Fort, ki te konn bay sèvis li a etablisman skolè **sila a** gen gwo enkyetid aprè départ fondateur lekòl Lamitye SODEC la, Jean Henry Chéry. Nouvo direktè a, Pierre Joseph, salye départ grantòm **sila a**, Jean Henry Chéry, mande tout pitit Kòk Chant ki te resevwa pen de lenstriksyon nan lekòl **sila a** pou yo kontinye èv byenfetè **sila a** paske gen anpil pwofesè ki poko touche. N ap raple gwoup ansyen elèv lekòl Lamitye SODEC la te remèt nan fen seremoni an yon plak donè a ansyen direktè lekòl la, polisye Jacques Petit Fort, a senk lòt ak ansyen pyonye lekòl **sila a**. N ap souliye ke fondatè Lekòl Lamitye SODEC la, Jean Henry Chéry, te mouri 15 septembre 2018, yo te antere l 25 septembre 2018. Jakmèl, Jeudi Monouse, Kiskeya.*

Translation:

Jeudi Monouse: *The community of Paul Martin, Kòk Chant Locality, 9th Communal section in Jakmèl, paid a posthumous respect to the founder of the school in Lamitye on Saturday 15 December, 2018. **This** ceremony that took place in the presence of many personalities, students and alumni, among them the director of Signal FM newsroom, Tom Dumont, an alumnus Lucner Dumont, stated how Henry Chéry founded **this** school in 1986 to allow the children in the community to receive free education, then provided uniforms for them, books and food. According to Lucner Dumont the departure of **this** benefactor, Jean Henry Chéry, who died at the age of 73, plunged the community into a deep sadness because according to **what they** say, 100% of the students use to succeed in the official exam of the end of primary years. A former principal, Jacques Petit Fort, who used to serve in **this** school has considerable worries after the departure of the founder of the SODEC Lamitye school, Jean Henry Chéry. The new principal, Pierre Joseph, salutes the departure of **this** great man, Jean Henry Chéry, asks all the sons of Kòk Chant who received instruction from **this** school to continue the work of **this** benefactor because there are many teachers who have not been paid yet. We are reminding that the group of alumni from SODEC Lamitye school handed at the end of the ceremony a plaque of honor to the former principal of the school, police officer Jacques Petit Fort, and to five other former pioneers of **this** school. We are highlighting that the founder of SODEC Lamitye school, Jean Henry Chéry, died on 15 September, 2018, he was buried on September 25, 2018. Jakmèl, Jeudi Monouse, Kiskeya.*

Although Monouse's use of the HC demonstrative is predominantly the form *sila a*, two instances of *sa a* appear at the beginning of the report. However, towards the end, Monouse resorted to the use of *sila a* even after a lexical item such as 'lekòl' (school) previously determined by *sa a* was relegated in two occasions to *sila a* and even three if one considers 'etablisman eskolè' (school building/institution) as synonymous of 'lekòl' (school).

Besides Jeudi Monouse, the corpus shows that the correspondent of Radyo Kiskeya for the northwest region of Haiti alternates the use of the HC demonstrative *sa a* and *sila a* as shown in the text below:

Sen Jan Wiskis: *Dordoille Wesley se nouvo delege departmantal Nòdwès ki ranplase nan pòs sa a, enjenyè agwonòm Owell Theock, ki te demisyone nan dat nèf (9) Desanm de mil dizwit (2018) pase a, aprè yon lanne, uit (8) mwa l pase nan pòs sila a. Jij tribinal premye enstans Pòdepè a, mèt Fresnel Desrosiers, ki te pwosede a prestasyon sèman sila a, ayè Madi dizwit (18) desanm de mil dizwit (2018) lan, mande pou nouvo delege a met kanson l nan tay li pou l fè djòb sila a; paske nan Nòdwès, Pòdepè an patikilye, travay k ap tann li an, se yon travay ki difisil.*

Translation:

Sen Jan Wiskis: *Dordoille Wesley is the new Northwest departmental delegate who replaces in **this** post, agronomist engineer Owell Theock, who resigned on the date of 9 December two thousand eighteen (2018) that has just passed, after a year, eight (8) months he spent in **that** position. The judge of the court of first instance of Pòdepè, Attorney Fresnel Desrosiers, who proceeded to **this** oath taking, yesterday Tuesday eighteen (18) December two thousand eighteen (2018), asks that the new delegate girdle his loins to do **this** job; because in the Northwest, Pòdepè in particular, the work that is waiting for him, is a difficult task.*

In this short report, Sen Jan Wiskis alternates *sa a* and *sila a* with the same word 'pòs *sa a*' (this post), 'pòs *sila a*' (this post) from the beginning of the report and then continues with two exclusive instances of *sila a* afterwards: 'prestasyon sèman *sila a*' (this oath taking), 'djòb *sila a*' (this job).

It appears that the preferred form of the demonstrative for both Monouse and Wiskis is the alternative form *sila a*. The analysis shows that - mostly when a noun is repeated - both forms are used as if to stylistically avoid the repetition of the same form after the same noun. Monouse used 'lekòl *sa a*' (this school) on line five but 'lekòl *sila a*' nine lines below.

Interestingly on line nine where a synonym of school, ‘etablisman eskolè’ is used, *sila a* is employed and maintained even when ‘lekòl’ reappeared before it on line 11. The repetition of ‘lekòl *sila a*’ on line 14 reinforces the conclusive reasoning that follows. The same argument holds true for Sen Jan Wiskis who utilized ‘pòs *sa a*’ on line one and ‘pòs *sila a*’ on line three. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that *sila a* is the ideal form of the HC singular demonstrative in the discourse of some journalists who work as correspondents for Radyo Kiskeya, nevertheless, for stylistic reasons the two forms alternate to avoid the repetition of the same demonstrative after the same noun. Although the predominant form of discourse of the news broadcast is highly spontaneous, in the case of the correspondent journalists, it is reasonable to conclude that in the process of gathering information especially when they are filing a report, they have a guideline or somehow a pre-written outline of what will be reported. It is not uncommon for the journalist to avoid repetitions when an alternate form of the HC demonstrative is available. The text analysis showed that both correspondents successfully did that in the use of *sa a* and *sila a*.

The diastratic variation of the HC demonstrative is characteristically non-existent because of the pervasiveness of its use by different users regardless of their social status in the country. Nevertheless, whenever a speaker code-switches, consistent instances of the French demonstratives *ce, cet, cette* (this) and *ces* (these) appear but exclusively within the confine of French phrases or utterances. That is, the use of French demonstratives instead of the HC ones in a phrase requires at least a meaningful chunk of the utterance to be in French. The speakers within the corpus do not code-switch or code-mix the HC demonstrative as abundantly shown in the entire data. One logical reason is the syntactic structure of the demonstratives in HC and French. Demonstratives are post-nuclear in HC and pre-nuclear in French. This structure forces the HC speakers to stick to the HC demonstrative forms unless the phrase is entirely in French as shown in Figures 6.41-6.44 below.

1	yo pase a 29,6 milliards. Ça veut-dire que dans ce budget, les ressources domestiques diminuent, les
2	de gouvernabilité constitue donc la résultante de ce dialogue ant le pouvoir actuel, l’opposition (Peg
3	konfyans. Lè sa a pou rasure leurs participants à ce dialogue. (Pegi: Èskeu gen on reprezantan egzekut
4	w gen substans kèlkeu part (Pegi: Mhm). D’où ce document (Pegi: S on draf li ye.) keu l’
5	route. (UV: Egzakteman.) Paskou, j’avais proposé ce document que Jovnèl accepte de faire de ces trois

6	éral, la primature en quelque sorte par rapport à ce dossier bien spécifique’ ou mande m pou keu mwen
7	ak ke l te poze dans le cadre de ce dossier, e m ap fè sa lalwa di m
8	’elle avait engagé l’état dans le cadre de ce dossier? Il faut une enquête. Il faut une enquête
9	men l tranpe ladan l? Sadrak Dyeudone: Ebyen de ce fait m pa kwè yo bezwen fè anyen pou
10	, donk il faudra ke nou pote très attention à ce financement qui a augmenté de 41% dans la version
11	parkè a pandan ‘un certain temps. (Pegi: Mhm) De ce lieu’ nou kapab di ke e ‘la démission de
12	wè kisa yo di w se a partir de ce moment la yo vin di w keu yo pa
13	ki forme k ap reflechi sou li, men à ce moment li enpòtan pou keu les acteurs politiques
14	yo kapab mete men nan mache a epi à ce moment là nou kapab dekonjyone lari a definitiv

Figure 6.33 – Instances of *ce* in the corpus

1	teknisyen du dwa à la barre nous avons demantelé cet acte d’accusation pou n te rive avèk liberasyon
2	sa a, d’abord la primature pran akt de cet acte de courage. Et deuzyèm bagay ki enpòtan ‘c’
3	skeu de quoi parlons-nous? (Pegi: Enben, pourquoi cet empressement pou keu buwo sekretè deta komunikasy
4	pa t gen volonte pou l te frape. Pandan cet temps li fè on recours nan tribunal. Se kòm

Figure 6.34 – Instances of *cet* in the corpus

1	ou menm gen des dossiers volumineux par rapport à cette affaire de Smartmatic et de dermalogue, pou n ta
2	ant conscient des défis et des engagements liés à cette charge. Je salue spécialement le travail réalisé
3	ta kapab di mefyan, paskeu dans le cadre de cette cohabitation on aurait eu, sa m rele on feuille
4	Port-au-Prince, mes actions vont tout droit vers cette confiance dans l’action publique. En tant que mai
5	Pourquoi ? Ma première action, c’est de renforcer cette confiance dans l’action publique. Ma deuxième act
6	gie. Nous avons aujourd’hui l’urgence de rétablir cette confiance perdue par la population Haïtienne dans
7	, se paleman ki ka revoke premye minis. Et dans cette conjuncture ou le parlement est très décrié, donk
8	itienne, (Pegi: Et l’urgence d’agir) aujourd’hui, cette crise qui est beaucoup plus conjonctu.. e structu
9	a. Se aucune façon, aucun moyen de sortir de cette crise sans la démission du président de la républ
10	part nou te soulinye l’appréciation par rapport à cette décision, cette décision personnelle de l’ancien c
11	inye l’appréciation par rapport à cette décision, cette décision personnelle de l’ancien commissaire du go
12	e continue, quel est le contexte qui a accompagné cette démission? Te g on disfonksyónman evidan de parkè
13	missionner, d’une part la primature prend acte de cette démission tout pandan nou mete bemòl par rapport
14	, quelle a été la position de la primature avant cette démission, une semaine avant aujourd’hui, quelle
15	les Jésuites comme mon successeur à la tête de cette famille, devenant ainsi le 5e recteur de l’Univer
16	et satisfait de mon passage à la tête de cette famille, et c’est avec plaisir que je vous
17	Wout nasyonal nimewo a pou nou di Jovenel Moïse cette fois nou bouke avèl. Nou pa nan trèv la,

Figure 6.35 – Instances of *cette* in the corpus

1	realize memwa w pour la licence et puis après ces 5 ans se dezan edmi ankò w bezwen pou w
2	la perception quand même Charlo?) En fonction de ces choses là, (Pegi: Perception ou konnen l?) La a,
3	te prezan pou Radyo Kiskeya. Mak Antwàn Mezoneuv: Ces derniers jours korespondans eecourt superieure de
4	euu nan ti kalm keu w genyen la a ces derniers temps. Menm si opozisyon an tou, genyen
5	uées, maintenant ce qui est souhaitable c’est que ces deux parties se hissent à la hauteur de la
6	moment, je suis appelé à faire face à résoudre ces différentes crises qui, à mon avis, réclament des

7	devoir de faire notre possible pour reconstituer ces dossiers. Si on ne peut pas les reconstituer, on
8	, je suis heureux et fier de partager avec vous ces informations, j'allais dire bonne nouvelle; c'en
9	dressées aux institutions concernées espérant que ces institutions apporteront une suite diligente à la
10	, la probité, la vérité, l'impartialité, aucun de ces mots n'est trop fort pour caractériser mes actes
11	des objectifs ainsi que des étapes pour atteindre ces objectifs. Il fallait tout d'abord étendre la pré
12	nous avons pour devoir de respecter les droits de ces personnes qui sont gardées en détention. LPP: Vwa
13	te gon mauvaise jesyon du palais de justice tous ces problèmes a ce moment m rankontre des anciens com
14	keu nou remake nan peyi D'Ayiti au cours de ces trente dernières années e se deuzyèm rezon ki fè
15	roposé ce document que Jovnèl accepte de faire de ces trois dernières années, la fin de la transition.
16	e e mèt Jak Seyus. Kikonk konn listwa de ces zones Lasalin eu eu Mache Tèt Beuf, Potay Sen
17	ce que pouvwa sa a li menm li pase ces étapes de façon normales (Pegi: Mhm). Maintenant

Figure 6.36 – Instances of *ces* in the corpus

In conformity with the diaphasic variation, it goes with the style, the level of formality, the register as well as the situation and the functional use imposed on the users (Gadet, 2007). Within the exclusively HC instances of the broadcast, it appears that most of the correspondents who use the alternative form *sila a* and *sila yo* have internalized these forms as a specific style that is also anchored in a journalistic register. By way of contrast, the following tables and figures will show in disaggregated form the distribution of the HC demonstratives frequency compared to the French forms shown in the four preceding figures. It is revealing to notice in the data of the corpus how the use of French is isolated from the HC and this endeavour is mostly from the speakers who participate in the broadcast of 'Moman Verite', which constitutes a sub corpus of the overall data. The HC forms of demonstratives totally disappear in the French utterances and phrases of the corpus. Nevertheless, the French demonstratives appear consistently in the sentences that display the 72 instances of *ce* and the four instances of *cet* instead of *sa a*, in the 52 instances of *cette* instead of *sa a* and the 17 instances of *ces* instead of *sa yo*.

HC Demonstratives	Frequency in the corpus	French Demonstratives	Frequency in the corpus
<i>Sa a</i>	868	Ce	72
		Cet	4
		Cette	52
<i>Sa yo</i>	332	Ces	17
<i>Sila a</i>	11		
<i>Sila yo</i>	5		

Table 29 – Frequency of demonstratives of HC and French compared in the corpus

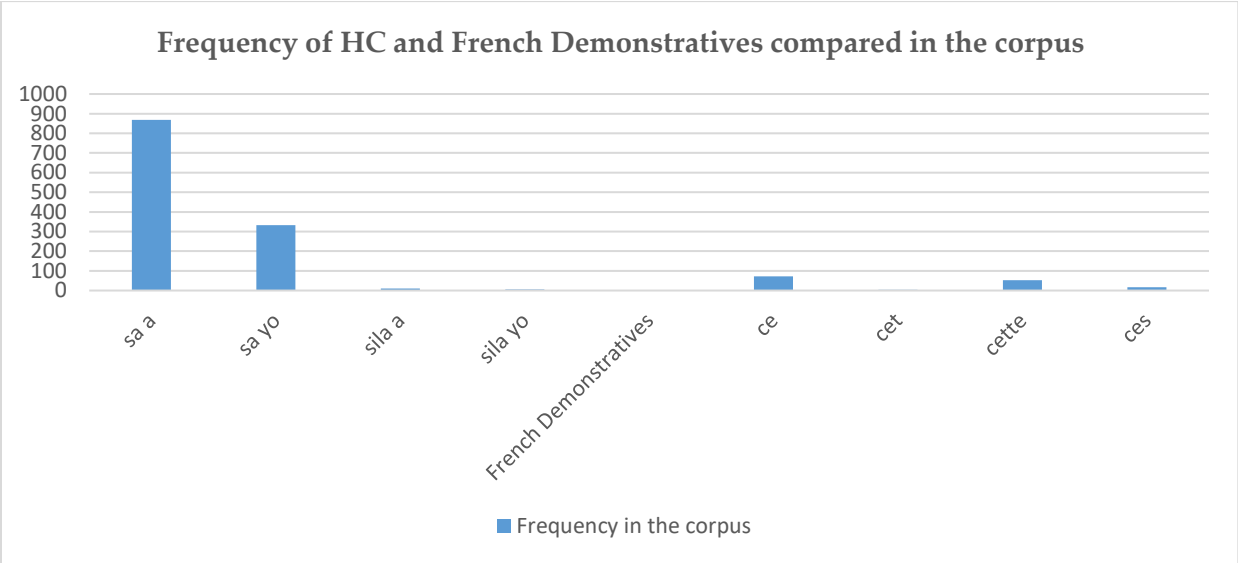


Figure 6.37 – Graph depicting side by side the frequency of both HC and French demonstratives in the corpus

In Gadet’s table, diastratic variation is associated with social change and may be assigned to a society or a community. The press community seems to reflect the part of the community that has adopted the alternative forms *sila a* and *sila yo* of the demonstratives. The journalists who use these forms seem to adhere to it rather consistently in their report to the mother station. As signalled below, two of them have staggered the use of the regular form with the alternative form, which confirm a given style embraced and maintained throughout the six days of broadcast data production.

The data do not have a specified diamesic variation of the HC demonstratives although the broadcast is the oralized form of the written version of the language, as expected in news broadcast. However, many interviews from the capital city of Port-au-Prince and throughout the provinces of Haiti provided a steady flow of spontaneous speech via different types of

interviews as well as press conferences contained in the corpora. It is noted that the alternative forms of *sa a* and *sa yo*, that are *sila a* and *sila yo* only appear in the speech of journalists and mainly correspondents from the provincial cities of the northeast, south, southwest of the country for the singular forms and from the south, north-central and west of the country for the plural form. Those forms overlap with the seemingly diatopic variation of the HC demonstratives as argued a couple of paragraphs above. Additionally, a mini sub-corpus generated by the reactions to the news broadcast from Radio Signal FM, yielded some forms of the demonstrative via the written response of some YouTube users and listeners of ‘Moman Verite’. This data shows no instance of the demonstrative singular and two instances of the HC demonstrative plural. This mini corpus is generated as the listeners of the broadcast of the round table on YouTube are interacting through the chat option of the platform. The data is their live interactions as recorded in the chat option of YouTube. The two plural demonstrative instances are shown in Figure six point thirty-seven. This diamesic variation of the data is characterized by a duplication of the second part of the plural demonstrative, for emphasis purposes when closely analysed. Savy & Cutugno (2009), under the heading of ‘Diamasic/diaphasic stratification’ stated that “Diaphasic variation determines a sort of internal articulation in every diamesically determined sub-corpus” (p. 4). If Savy and Cutugno’s assumption holds true, even in this mini corpus where potential diamesic variations occur, the diaphasic variation implication cannot be avoided.

Although there are no instances of the singular HC demonstrative in its standard written form in this potential diamesic variation, this is not due to the absence of this deictic but instead to the use of the non-standard form *sa* of the demonstrative. The literature of HC orthography spells out the dichotomy between *sa* (which is both relative pronoun and demonstrative) according to the context and *sa a* which is exclusively demonstrative. The analysis of Table 19 shows that items 4, 5 and 12 are exclusively demonstratives but the YouTube users do not seem to be aware of the difference in writing. The table displays this demonstrative on the left and the re-written accepted standard form on the right.

Item #	Form of the demonstrative in the written reaction	The standard re-written form	English Gloss
Item 4	...peyi <i>sa</i> gen pou'l enfondre ak nou tout...	...peyi <i>sa a</i> gen pou l efondre ak nou tout...	... this country will collapse with all of us...
Item 5	... poukisa se nan manda prezidan vòlè <i>sa</i>...	..... poukisa se nan manda prezidan vòlè <i>sa a</i> ...	Why is it during this thief-president's mandate...
Item 12	c nou la jenès ki pou revolte kont sistèm mafya <i>sa</i> ...	se nou lajenès ki pou revòlte kont sistèm mafya <i>sa a</i> ...	It is to the youth to revolt against this mafia system...

Table 30 – Written and re-written form of the demonstrative in a potential diamesic variation

Item #	Form of the demonstrative in the written reaction	The standard re-written form	English Gloss
Item 1	...politichien ayisyen <i>sa yo, yo</i> fò nan fè maskarad,...	...politichyen ayisyen <i>sa yo, yo</i> fò nan fè maskarad,...	...these dog politicians, they are good at masquerading...
Item 2	Tout neg laru <i>sa yo, yo</i> , ka jwen job selman nan tranzisyon .nan volo...	Tout nèg laru <i>sa yo, yo</i> ka jwenn djòb sèlman nan tranzisyon, nan vòlò...	All these street men, they can find jobs only in a transition, in stealing...

Table 31 – The demonstrative plural *sa yo* in the diamesic sub-corpus

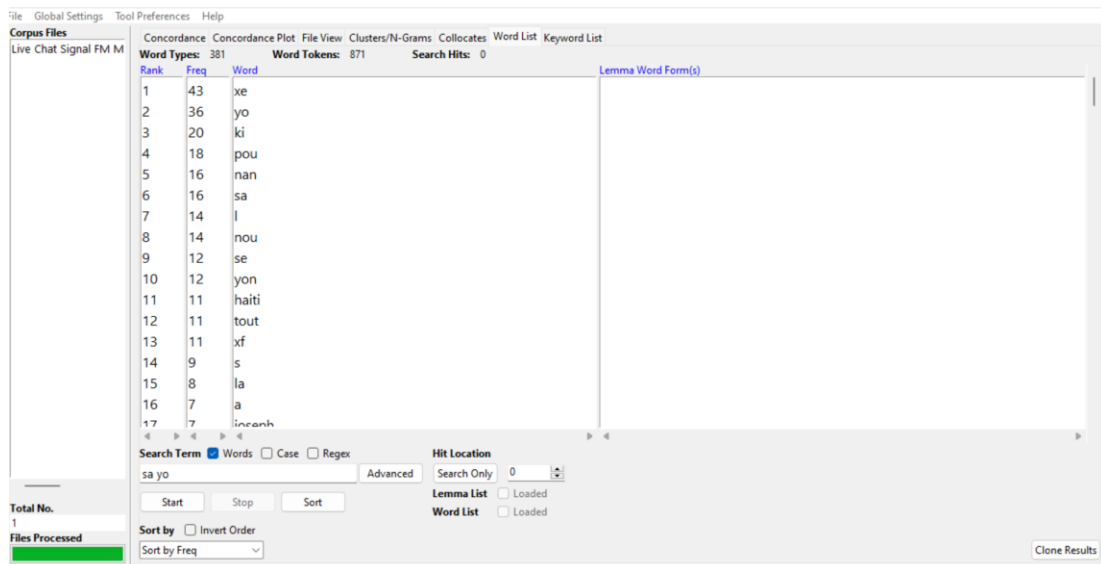


Figure 6.38 – Keyword list from Live Chat reaction to 'Moman Verite', Saturday December 15, 2020

This figure displays the entirety of the potential diamesic variation of the data, it is treated as a sub-corpus and yielded information on how the listeners are reacting to the news broadcast and thereby displayed spontaneous written response. HC has not been widely used in this manner and it is expected that the user will be struggling to maintain a certain stability in W. Douce, PhD Thesis, Aston University 2023

the writing added to the challenge that using a modern tool such as cell phone, tablet, or computer to write the language presents. Nevertheless, the data of this sub-corpus are instrumental in providing a prototype of how Haitian listeners react in writing to a piece of news of interest to them. Therefore, Figure 6.38 shows a total of 871 word tokens distributed into 381 word types. As in the main corpus, there is a word count for *sa* and 'a' separately since as stated earlier, the second part of the regular demonstrative *sa a* which is 'a' is also one of the HC determiners. The first part *sa* appears 16 times but the second part 'a' appears 7 times. The analysis of the 16 items confirms that the speaker does not make the difference in writing between the relative *sa* and the demonstrative *sa a* in HC. However, as shown in Table 18 and Table 19, there are 3 instances of the HC singular demonstrative and 2 instances of the plural one. Combining both singular and plural demonstratives of the sub-corpus yield a ratio of 5 over 16 that is 31% of the time *sa* is used, it is part of the demonstrative singular or plural in HC. This percentage is about 52% in the main corpus with the singular and plural demonstratives *sa a* and *sa yo* totalling 1,200 over the 2,300 instances of *sa*. It is quite telling when one considers that the main corpus is over 99% bigger than the sub-corpus discussed here (compare figures 6.38 – 6.40 with Figures 6.1 – 6.4). This signals that the use of demonstratives in HC is quite pervasive as expected for a deictic in any language.

1	GEDEUS Christaud Vitey? politichien ayisyen sa yo, yo fò nan fè maskarad, pou yo
2	eau?bann volé Joseph Jerome?Tout neg laru sa yo, yo, ka jwen job selman nan tranzisyon .

Figure 6.39 – Instances of *sa yo* in Live Chat reaction to 'Moman Verite', Saturday December 15, 2020

As shown in Figure 6.41, the demonstrative plural *sa yo* appears twice making it a 2 over 16 ratio or 12% of the demonstrative usage in this potential diamesic sub-corpus. This ratio in the main corpus is 332 over 1,200 or 28%. It is a 16% difference from the main corpus ratio and yet as argued earlier it is telling in terms of pervasiveness. The plural demonstrative in HC if both corpus and sub-corpus of this thesis represent an accurate usage, is generally less widespread than the singular counterpart. In this sub-corpus, it is a 2/5 ratio or 40% whereas the singular is 60%. In the main corpus, these percentages are respectively 28% and 72%.

Interestingly, both singular and plural HC demonstratives have a 12% difference of occurrences from the main corpus to the sub-corpus, that is, the difference between the occurrences of the singular demonstrative *sa a* in the main corpus and the sub-corpus is 12% and similarly the difference between the occurrences of the plural demonstrative *sa yo* in the main corpus and the sub-corpus is 12%.

1	te chargeeeee Joseph Jerome? e bann kob yo sa Asad te pran nan afe sosyal sou tranzisyon-
2	ki gin dwan prive ban journalier parle de sa ban journalier Yon Sèl Solisyon Revolisyon?
3	racist Yon Sèl Solisyon Revolisyon? pou ki sa frantz exantus ti sousou pou ki sa y
4	'n pa pran desten nou an men, peyi sa gen pou'l enfondre ak nou tout sonel
5	rand Dieuveny? poukisa se nan manda prezidan vòlè sa gentan wè ou dè trenzisyon ankò salopri Ted
6	Demosthene? asad se yon kinape moise te di sa Jean Demosthene? asad se yon chef gang bar
7	yo fermin dwan prive ban journalier sousou ce sa ki fet mw tjrs di pa gin journalist
8	ap mande yo ce tax yo paye ce sa ki koze yo gin kob pou yo charitew
9	pou ki sa y pa mande pou ki sa moune yo di ki gin largent yo et
10	pou nou nan chili, pou nou wer ki sa nou ka fer. nap ret tann li kounye
11	olisyon Revolisyon?ban journalier sousou parle de sa pou yo fermin dwan prive ban journalier sousou
12	la jenès ki pou revolte kont sistèm mafya sa, psk si'n pa pran desten nou an
13	te ba nou répons lan bann kk esk sa se yn peyi mw kotew ye a mw
14	ki sa frantz exantus ti sousou pou ki sa y pa mande pou ki sa moune yo
15	GEDEUS Christaud Vitey? politichien ayisyen sa yo, yo fò nan fè maskarad, pou yo
16	eau?bann volé Joseph Jerome?Tout neg laru sa yo, yo, ka jwen job selman nan tranzisyon.

Figure 6.40 – Instances of *sa* in the Signal FM, Moman Verite chat sub corpus

This Figure 6.40 exhibits the 16 items of the sub-corpus where a syntactic analysis, beyond the frequencies displayed by AntConc, led to the understanding of the representation of the HC demonstratives in this body of text. The 5 demonstratives clearly identified are in items 4, 5 and 12 for the singular demonstratives. As re-written on Table 30 above the warranted syntactic features of the sentences show that only the HC singular demonstrative *sa a* can follow the nouns 'peyi' (country), 'vòlè' (thief) and 'mafya' (mafia) in those sentences. The HC demonstrative *sa yo* does not have such a zero-marking choice for the second part of the demonstrative 'yo' to transform it into a relative pronoun. To express the plural demonstrative, the 'yo' has to be spelled out as shown in items 15 and 16 of Figure 6.40. In the case of the singular HC demonstrative, although the extra vowel is rendered in the syntactic and phonetico-phonological representation of the spoken expression, the exact spelling is not easily accessible to an ear not trained in the HC sounds and graphemes relationship. This is therefore an area of the analysis that has to be handled with care. The potential diamesic sub-corpus is the

direct reproduction of the written interaction of listeners to the news broadcast. The writing is directly from the listeners and reflect whatsoever ability to write HC in line with the official spelling system or the lack thereof these listeners have. The data suggest that these listeners are more familiar with the French spelling system than the HC one.

6.6 Discussion and conclusion

This section attempted to show the different types of variations as established by Gadet, and these variations can be observed through the HC demonstratives within the corpora analysed. It starts with Figure 3 exhibiting the different components of Gadet's variations. The intent is to follow them through the data presented in this dissertation and rule out what is represented or not. Variation as envisioned by Gadet is studied either according to usage or according to the user. The main corpus comprising data from Radio Kiskeya and Radio Signal FM, seems to reflect to varying degrees the different types of variations. The data are represented on both tables and figures generated from the corpus treated by AntConc and studied throughout this chapter. The main corpus displays illustrative items from both radio stations, but it is expected that some particularities will arise depending on whether the item is from Radio Kiskeya straight news broadcast or from Radio Signal FM whose broadcast is generated from a round table where the news cycle of the week is represented but within the confine of analysis from different experts. The reader of this dissertation can easily locate the origin of each item by looking at the right of the figure and identify whether it is from Radio Kiskeya (Jounal Katrè) or Radio Signal FM (Moman Verite). There are a total of 7 tables and 48 figures that are used to direct the reader to where the data appear, their frequencies, their place of occurrences, their role in the analysis of the HC demonstratives, and the discussions about them. From the tables and figures are extracted as many as 134 items illustrating different aspects of the analysis as the demonstratives are distributed throughout the main corpus and the tentative sub-corpus. In search of establishing what a strictly scripted oralised news broadcast may teach as opposed to the direct expression of the newsmakers, the actual population of Haiti, or experts showing up to the news broadcast programmes as 'envite'

(guest) a special search is conducted. This search allows to also look at ‘mikwo’ (microphone) where the host Lilyàn Pyè Pòl from Radio Kiskeya referred to whenever she is announcing a special interview conducted by one of the station correspondent journalists either in the capital city of Port-au-Prince or in any other city from any department (county or commune) in the country. Another searchable term explored in quest of deeper explanation is ‘konferans’ (conference), where in special critical occasions some popular organizations will give a press conference to settle a particular score, such as to propose or announce a demonstration or to respond to a government decision. Finally, in the street interview or vox pop style of interview, the corpus exhibit instances of spontaneous responses captured by correspondents in the field. To pick up those instances, the term ‘vwa’ (voice) is searched with a focus on instances where the transcriber places a colon to initiate data from a direct interview from an unknown participant providing input into the broadcast. What these terms yielded from the corpus is further searched for instances of demonstratives. Next is a look at the frequency of these terms in the corpus:

1	Pegi men e pa rapò panèl nou toujou envite a eee ki fè keu anplis pa rapò
2	enkulpe avoka a, oubyen yo dwe, yo vle envite avoka a, ou pa ka annik konvoke avoka
3	de St Marc. Eu avè nou nan panèl envite e Moman Verite ee jodiya e kòm mwen
4	jodiya n ap gen senk a sis ee envite e nan ee panèl ee Moman Verite ee
5	gouvernement, alors e maten an m pèdu on envite, eee m, m pèdu mèt Klodi Gasan maten
6	wè se pa seül mwen menm g on envite eksetera. Alò la question, comment le chef du
7	Journalis Kiskeya: Ki pakou ke n ap fè? Envite: Fò m di w nou pa pral fè
8	a a. Lasuèd, lajustis entèdi mandyan, mandisite. Envite jounal katrèu aprè midi a, se ansyen depute
9	e. Jen Wiskis Pòrdeupè, Radyo Kiskeya. LPP: Mèsi. Envite Jounal Katrè apre midi a se de majistra.
10	li ye la a nan République Démocratique Congo. Envite jounal katrè (4è) a aprèmidi a se ansyen
11	Science se te Arold... Mizik... LPP: San tranzisyon, envite jounal katrè (4è) a aprè midi a, ansyen
12	ap pale konsa. San tranzisyon n ap reusevwa envite Jounal Katrèu apremidi a. E se dirijan eu
13	mikwo Vilner Joseph. San tranzisyon, n ap resevwa envite Jounal 4è a ki se jounalis Israel Jacky
14	vin patisipe nan konferans pou laprès sa a. Envite Jounal 4è apre midi a, se de majistra
15	modifye yon mesaj yo te genyen konsènan Macron. Envite Jounal 4è apremidi a, n ap genyen yon
16	aussi... Pegi: Alò euu alò n g on envite k ta dwe an studio avèk nou èskeu
17	ap gen pou n debat li avèk panèl envite keu nou pral gen la a. Men Jean

Figure 6.41 – Instances of ‘envite’ in the corpus

1	di w on bagay grav ou fè nan mikwo a (Pegi: Mhm), on nèg di m o
2	. Ou mèt pale, depi w wè se nan mikwo a w ap fè m ni ou gen
3	ak Joël Joseph ki te pale konsa nan mikwo Amos Breville. NJ & JJ: Aktivite sa a k
4	ak jodiya Nickerson Justin ak Joël Joseph nan mikwo Amos Breville. Se la nou kanpe. Rete sou
5	la Chan Meyu ki te pale konsa nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. Chan Meyu: Nou pa wont pou
6	fè konnen, justis. Yo te pale konsa nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. E kèk nan pwotestatè yo, jeneralman
7	Jan Wolan Sidne ki te pale konsa nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. Epui nan Madagaska premye rezilta y
8	kite pouwva a, n ap koute l nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. Mèt Andre Michèl: Se pa atit
9	mèt Andre Michèl, sektè demokratik ak popilè nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. Ou sou Radyo Kiskeya, w ap
10	wi. LPP: Sendikalis Chanje Meyu alatèt APCH nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. Sou afè pri gaz la, premye
11	yo te fèt. N ap tandè yo nan mikwo Amòs Brevil. Yon fanm: Se nan nuit sa
12	Alen Jewòm ki te pale konsa toujou nan mikwo Amòs Brevis, se yon etidyan INAGHEI. Alen Jewòm
13	emwen evènman 17 desanm 2001 yo ki pale konsa nan mikwo Beethovens François Fils. Spot: Jounal 4 è, presi
14	mèt Jean-Joseph Exumé, ansyen minis Jistis nan mikwo Beethovens François Fils. Anons: Jounal katrè (4è
15	ap pale konsa sou sitiyasyon politik la nan mikwo Bitovenn Franswa Fis. N ap reitounen nan aktuali
16	, yo te reponn kesyon Bitovenn Franswa Fis: Nan mikwo Bitovenn Franswa Fis: Tout meri yo, tout peyi
17	Kafou Jud Edwa Pierre. Yo toulèdeu te nan mikwo Bitovenn Franswa Fis, kisa y ap fè nan

Figure 6.42 – Instances of ‘mikwo’ in the corpus

1	sèl, FJ, sekretè jeneral adjwent. Vwala, se mesaj konferans ayisyen relijyeu ak relijyeuz yo e CHR nan
2	, sent e eureuz ane deu mil diznèuf. Pou konferans ayisyen reulijyeu ak reulijyeuz yo, kiyès ki siye
3	ap toujou rete nan legliz katolik la. Gen konferans ayisyèn dè relijye ak relijyez CHR ki te
4	pou nou sonje nesans sovè a. Se toujou konferans ayisyèn relijye k ap pale, tankou konsa ke
5	delagasyon eksetera. Bon aprè msyeu kouri bay on konferans de presse di se pa sa l te
6	pase a. E l te menm gen yon konferans de près ankò yon lòt òganizasyon fè pou
7	Nangaa, l ap gen pou l bay yon konferans de près demen nan kapital la, Kinshasa, selon
8	men nan kòd travay la. JD: Nou gen konferans de près sa a maten an se pou
9	fè ekspozisyon foto, pwojte fim, y ap fè konferans deba e y ap mobilize. Nan yon entèvansyon
10	se te twazyèm e dènye entèvenan nan seri konferans deba ki òganize pa kolèj ebenezè pou make 46
11	pwofesyonèl majistra yo, se te okazyon pou fè konferans deba, kote Lorans Senlwi, majistra Loubenn Elize
12	minis edukasyon an t ap patisipe nan yon konferans deba nan Gonayiv te pwofite kritike epi denonse
13	tou ki se antrepriz piblik leta. Vwala, nan konferans deba sa a li te fè jounen jodiya
14	(2018) lan nan moman l te vin anime yon konferans deba sur le rôle du protestantisme dans l’
15	alyas Barbekyou. Men lè l t ap fè konferans deu près sa a g on dènye enfòmasyon
16	ouvo rektè a, professeur Jean-Marie Louis remèsye konferans episkopal la pou konfyans yo plase nan li
17	ta dwe fè menm jan an tou ak konferans episkopal lan ki trè enfluyan nan RDC, daprè

Figure 6.43 – Instances of ‘konferans’ in the corpus

1	a entre les lignes ou wè se twazyèm vwa a euh euh. Misyeu g on ekspresyon keu
2	ormiste, Emmanuel Ménard, soti tèt li kòm twazyèm vwa a. Paseu lè w ap suiv diskou a
3	? Apati deu kisa yo mete nou deyò? Lèt vwa 4: Apati de kisa? De on seri de bagay
4	an sa fèt. Atout lè polis ap... Lèt vwa 3: ...Bandi yo tire dirèk wi, depi yo wè
5	, yo kra yo tiye mari m (yon lèt vwa: bebe la a, bebe a la wi). Yo
6	vis e oubyen des catégoris byen spesifik? Dezyèm Vwa: Bon la a non s on pewòl jeneral
7	amplwaye yo nan peryòd sa a prensipalman. Dezyèm Vwa: Bon pratikman nou menm onivo dlameri se nou
8	cour des comptes. Men m tande yon lèt vwa de l'exécitif ki esplike keu la question
9	, patikilyèman nan zòn ibèn Pòtoprens lan. Dezyèm Vwa: Donk nou pran dè dispozisyon pou keu à
10	senk san vwa se sèt san e pik vwa. E twazyèmman vwa keu prezidan Jovnèl fè nan
11	ka fè yon bagay pou nou, ou konprann? Vwa 2: Fò m di w byen, lektu keu m
12	kesyon sa a nou menm poukò nou? Dezyèm Vwa: G on preumye, g on preumye peryòd gouvènman
13	se sèt san e pik vwa. E twazyèmman vwa keu prezidan Jovnèl fè nan eleksyon an, revini
14	yon prezidan ki elu a pa mwen de 500, 000 vwa, li soufri de sa yo rele la a
15	on lèt chèf avan sa nou menm? Lèt vwa 4: Lèt nan zòn nan. Non lèt chèf ki
16	pye l. Amòs Brevil: Kilè sa fèt? Plizyè vwa: Maten an, maten an sa fèt. Atout lè
17	Brevil: Sa w te al pran egzakteman? Lèt vwa 4: Maten an pandan yo voye on bagay pou

Figure 6.44 – Instances of ‘vwa’ in the corpus

In Figure 6.41, there are 48 occurrences of the word ‘envite’ (guest). The host of both programmes receive guests regularly during their broadcast. The search of ‘envite’ brings us directly in the contexts where these guests would use HC demonstratives. Table 32 below, summarizes some key instances from the four above figures depicting items within the context of the four specified words. The letter F stands for figure and I for item.

For Figure 6.42, the host refers to the term ‘mikwo’ in specific times of the broadcast when a reporter is referring to the conversation or interview previously held with a news provider and that the recorded information is about to be aired. As in the other items, the context is what is of interest. This leads to the news information provided by two representatives of the Justice and Peace Commission from the archdiocese of Port-au-Prince. The two representatives, Nickerson Justin (NJ) and Joël Joseph (JJ) are at the microphone of Radio Kiskeya’s correspondent, Amòs Brevil.

Figure 6.43 lays out the different contexts generated by the search of the word ‘konferans’ (conference). This word appeared 88 times in the corpus. There are five instances of the demonstratives exhibited on Table 32. These examples appeared with their gloss in Appendix B. Out of the 88 occurrences of the word ‘konferans’, none of them is directly determined by *sa a* but instead the phrase ‘konferans de près’ appears 3 times with one with the

demonstrative *sa a* and it is the one appeared in Table 32 as Item 8 from Figure 6.43. The same expression has a French-based version though written in HC; it is rendered with the marginalized vowel 'eu' to yield 'konferans deu près'. The transcribers usually use the marginalized front rounding vowels when it is noticed to be in use by the speaker. If the speakers alternate the same is reflected in the transcription. This phrase is determined by the demonstrative *sa a* and is recorded on Table 32 as Item 15 from Figure 6.43. This form appears only once in the corpus, and it is by the host Lilyàn Pyè Pòl who most of the time would use the phrase 'konferans pou laprès'. This phrase is the dominant form of the corpus and represents a total of 56 occurrences, that is about 64% of the time the word 'konferans' is used it is to report a 'konferans pou laprès' (press conference). Furthermore, 22 instances of those 56 are determined by the deictic *sa a* to yield 'konferans pou laprès *sa a*' (this/that press conference) as shown on Figure 6.45. This number represents 39% of the occurrences. The entirety of the occurrences is from the broadcast of Radio Kiskeya. Incidentally, the word 'laprès' itself has 107 occurrences in the corpus and only 1 is from Moman Verite. Additionally, 23 of them as expected are determined by *sa a* with the additional one on top of the previous 22 being an instance of a trade unionist speaking to the press and stating "...n ap pwofite de menm laprès *sa a*..." (...we are taking advantage of this same press...).

With the search of the word 'vwa' (voice), the data yielded as expressed before, examples where individuals from the happenings of their daily life are called upon to provide natural expressions that yielded some interesting clues into the HC deictic. Therefore, Figure 6.44 provides an exceptional instance of the search of the word 'vwa' (voice), which yields 43 items. Part of the items are the voices of Amòs Brevil, who conducted an interview with people who were displaced from an area that came under attack, there are indeed different voices providing different perspectives and original natural spontaneous use of the HC demonstratives and here are the sample items extracted for analysis. The entire context is reproduced in Appendix B and all the identified demonstratives have an in-context example associated with an English gloss.

The French version of the word ‘conférence’ appears twice in the corpus but neither in the context of demonstrative nor a press conference. Also, both belong to the sub-corpus generated by Radio Kiskeya during the news broadcast.

1	nan mikwo Lori Lujèun. Se te nan w konferans pou laprès ak minis afè sosyal la. Chal
2	Demokratik Kongo a e fè konnen nan on konferans pou laprès. Alòskeu juska prezan malgre vyolans ak
3	sekretè deta kominikasyon Edi Jaksonn Aleksi nan konferans pou laprès anvan nwèl kote Valdimir Maurice Ridore
4	domèn lajistis lan. Mèt Pradè Lewonar nan yon konferans pou laprès denonse meunas li di l ap
5	Emile Joissaint pou plis detay. CEJ: Nan yon konferans pou laprès, direktè departemental Grandans la, Jean Ernso
6	konn ki sen pou l priye. Nan yon konferans pou laprès dirijan sendika sa a, Duclos Benissoit,
7	l gen depute Prentan Belizèr, ki bay yon konferans pou laprès jodiya pou l anonse final konkou
8	dwaye pou yon devlopman altènatif, PAPDA, bay yon konferans pou laprès jodiya pou l bay enpresyon n
9	Gwoup Kwasans lan e Kesner Pharel, presize nan konferans pou laprès jodiyan kote li soulinye se moun
10	, Marie-Élise Brisson Gélin, li denonse nan yon konferans pou laprès jounen jodiya moun li di ki
11	konn ki sen pou l priye. Nan yon konferans pou laprès jounen jodiya, nan lokal li, MUTH,
12	... LPP: Vwala se pa yon entèvyou, se yon konferans pou laprès Junior Derosé bay ki site plizyè
13	you lòt fwa ankò randevou avèk laprès. Yon konferans pou laprès ki dure plizyè èdtan. Kote jounalis
14	la a, li te pale konsa nan yon konferans pou laprès kote kolaboratris nou Lori Lujèun te
15	Fayès la mesyeu Chal Ènès Chatelyeu nan yon konferans pou laprès kote Lori Lujèun te prezan pou
16	nan e n ap tandè avoka Lorenèl Lwi. Konferans pou laprès kote Wobennson Anri te prezan pou
17	. Ee komisè a te pale konsa nan on konferans pou laprès, kote Radyo Kiskeya te prezan: Wonal

Figure 6.45 – Occurrences of *sa a* with ‘konferans pou laprès’

Instances of occurrence of <i>sa a</i> or <i>sa yo</i> from the search of 'envite', 'mikwo', 'konferans' and 'vwa'					
Search word	Figure (F) and Item (I)#				
	F6.41, I1	F6.41, I7	F6.41, I8	F6.41, I8	
envite	...oditris ki branche emisyon <i>sa a</i> ...	Mekredi maten n ap kòmanse mouvman <i>sa a</i>.	...ane <i>sa a</i> dapre enfòmasyon keu n genyen ...	... kesyon ki gen rapò avèk tout eleman <i>sa yo</i> enpòtan.	
	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3			
mikwo	Aktivite <i>sa a</i> k ap òganize la a se Komisyon Episkopal Jistis...	E travay <i>sa a</i> kisa li vize fè?			
	F6.43, I8	F6.43, I15	F6.43, I61	F6.43, I61	F6.43, I64
konferans	JD: Nou gen konferans de près <i>sa a</i> maten an ...(LPP)	Men lè l t ap fè konferans deù près <i>sa a</i> ...(LPP)	Roro Pharel nan konferans pou laprès <i>sa a</i>...	...vle di se près yo k pral ogmante pou kapab finanse bidjè <i>sa a</i>.	... avoka a k te pale konsa nan mikwo e nan konferans pou laprès <i>sa a</i> ...
	F6.44, I3	F6.44, I3			
vwa	Nan menm sans <i>sa a</i> tou yo tou parèt.	Se nèg <i>sa yo</i> kòm Nènel.			

Table 32 – Demonstratives as they occur in context with search words 'envite', 'mikwo', 'konferans' and 'vwa'

In the dialogue appearing in Appendix B, the journalist started with an anaphoric use of the demonstrative pronoun on line 1. The first item displaying a demonstrative adjective is on line 11 where the speaker uses *sa a*. In line 15, the interviewee provides his own anaphoric use of the demonstrative pronoun *sa*. In line 15, Amòs Brevil followed up with a question that uses the demonstrative singular *sa a* to which the interviewee responded and used the plural demonstrative *sa yo* in the answer. The demonstrative pronoun reappeared in line 18 and the interview ends with the use of the singular demonstrative adjective *sa a* in line 26. See both

items from F6.44, I3 across the word 'vwa' in Table 32. The examples are expanded in Appendix B at the end of chapter 7. Paralleled to the above items derived from the search of 'vwa', the analysis of the data from both 'Jounal Katrè' and 'Moman Verite' suggests that users of HC as their sole language use the demonstratives exclusively in HC that is *sa a* for the singular and *sa yo* for the plural. In all the sub-corpora, the singular deictic outnumbers the plural one. The examples from Table 32 across the horizontal line for contextual deictic occurrences with the search of 'vwa' (voice) demonstrate the constant use of the HC demonstratives throughout the examples appearing in the table and in Appendix B. The data indicate that in their natural everyday language as well as in their spontaneous expressions, the HC speakers would use effectively and pervasively all the forms of the HC demonstratives: the singular pronoun *sa* as well as the singular demonstrative adjective *sa a*, which also often functions as a demonstrative pronoun. In section 6.5, Par. 10, it is argued that in terms of diastatic variation of the demonstratives it is non-existent for monolingual HC speakers who would use the above mentioned deictics exclusively. However, educated HC speakers tend to diaphasically use deictics for situational, stylistic, and functional change. The data suggest most variation displayed is the code-switching between the HC and the French demonstratives, but this variation is prominent among the guests, the host, and most participants of Moman Verite. These participants are known to belong to the Haitian nation elite, government officials, state representatives and the likes. What is reflected in the data of this thesis is that the use of the French demonstrative is germane to the use of a sizable chunk of the sentence in French. It is argued in the literature that the closer two languages are, the easier it is to find points of code-switching (Siegel, 2014). Nevertheless, HC and French have often been mistakenly taken for two varieties of the same language (Ferguson, 1959), which was debunked and was confirmed that they are not the same. Not only they are two different languages but also about 5%-10% of the Haitian people can speak French and the vast majority can communicate only in HC (Dejean, 1985, 2010). It is argued earlier in this section that one of the reasons why code-switching cannot occur with HC demonstratives is the different syntactic position of the deictic that is pre-nuclear in French but post-nuclear in HC. Many of the occurrences of the demonstratives in this corpus

are in HC. Even when other sentences or phrases may be in French, when it comes to demonstrative they are not always. Instances of French demonstratives as revealed also earlier in the section, demand some specific section of the sentence, mainly the nuclear section to be French to maintain the meaning of the sentence.

The diachronic variation is implied based on the age difference between the two anchors. The diatopic variation as well as the diastratic and diaphasic variations seem to be explained by the geographical distributions shown on the different figures where the use of a given instance of demonstrative is used by correspondents from a particular region in Haiti. The examples are from the journalists who are correspondents of Radio Kiskeya. This station appears second on a quick online overview (<https://mytuner-radio.com/radio/country/haiti-stations>). Radio Kiskeya is well known in Haiti for broadcasting in HC and to reach all the corners of the nation. Most uneducated Haitian citizens refer to this station for news as well as entertainment such as music before any other station. The use of the alternative forms is exclusively maintained by journalists except in one instance where a justice of the peace has used the alternative form of the demonstrative just like a correspondent journalist would do. The diamesic variation is made visible with the sub-corpus of the live chat produced by the audience of 'Moman Verite' and yielded some data that point to such a potential variation generated by the oralized form of the news broadcast, and a spontaneous written forms of the demonstratives generated with the written responses provided by the participants of the live chat of 'Moman Verite'. In accordance with what has been said so far, and analysed in the corpus, most of the variations anticipated by Gadet have been confirmed to a certain degree in the corpus. The exception is the diachronic variation, due the limitation of the time span of one week of data. Besides the age difference between the two anchors is the type of platform these anchors have used. Lilyàn Pyèpòl uses HC exclusively in her 'Nouvèl Katrè' show and there are no instances of systematic code-switching or code-mixing in her speech as a journalist. This observation is different for the other host, Pegi Jan. As an attorney, who is well-verse in French, the instances of code-switching and code-mixing have been corroborated throughout the five hours of the broadcast both for him and his guests. This part of the data constituted itself a sub-

corpus of the overall data and provides most of the variation of the demonstratives that can be termed as diaphasic and diastratic but within the confines of FP generated along the HC demonstratives. Instances were pointed to where the demonstratives remain in HC and other instances that force the use of the French demonstratives as shown above in Figures 6.41-6.45 and Table 18.

CHAPTER 7 – Conclusion

7.1 Overview

This final chapter provides a brief summary of the findings concatenated in answers to the five research questions. The conclusion then refers to the existing literature and compared it to the present research in order to project the contribution of this thesis to the broader field of research in creolistics. The subsequent subsections highlight what makes this study a prototypical one in HC using CL. They further point to the limitations of the study and allude to how the limitations are compensated for. Later on, the thesis overviews some possible developments in the study of demonstratives, proposes some applications of the study and looks into some avenues for further research. This chapter ends with the final remarks that lays down the core significance of this dissertation.

The data analyzed in this dissertation forms a corpus collected through the process outlined in chapter 5. This work has endowed HC with its first oral media corpus supported by AntConc. This corpus of 137,588 when some metadata are excluded, created from six days of news broadcasts and a round table in HC is a repertoire of authentic data for HC study. The goal was to establish a platform for the investigation of HC demonstratives within the variationist framework. The known list of HC demonstratives and locatives was compared to what is represented in the corpus data. The overall corpus displays the occurrences of the HC singular demonstrative *sa a*, of the plural counterpart *sa yo*, the alternative form of the singular demonstrative *sila a* and the plural *sila yo*. Table 7 in chapter 6 shows the spread of the locative(s) (adjuncts) often associated with the HC demonstratives. They are mainly a variety of *isi* for proximity and a variety of *lòtbò* for distality. These locatives appear on Table 7 as part of possible locative(s) adjuncts in HC.

Besides the structural description of HC demonstratives, the dissertation identifies, as detailed in chapter 5, a contrast between English and HC, which brings forth some additional roles played by demonstratives. Based on the contrastive table (Table 4) displayed in chapter 3, demonstratives have a spatial deictic use, a background deictic use, an affective use, a spatio-

temporal deictic use and an anaphoric/cataphoric use. These uses are documented in Table 4 as potential uses valid for HC, building on the comparative study conducted by Grylling (2019) between Norwegian and English. These types of demonstratives are identified in this corpus of HC and exhibited in Table 27 of chapter 6. The entirety of the corpus data has proven that both singular and plural of the two forms of the demonstratives are used in HC for either a proximal or distal noun. Therefore, the dichotomy proximal and distal for the pairs *sa a/sila a* for the singular and *sa yo/sila yo* for the plural was not verified in the corpus data.

7.2 Answers to the research questions

This dissertation has endeavoured to answer five specific questions. The following are the answers that the analysis of the data has suggested. The questions are reproduced in the order they were asked and followed by their respective answers.

Question 1: What are the demonstratives of HC?

Based on the corpus and what is already known in HC, this language displays one singular and one plural demonstrative with possibly 15 locatives or locative (adjuncts) to choose from to express proximity or distality. The other types of demonstratives considered as indexicals as explained in section 3.6, are not studied in this dissertation but mentioned in the said section to broaden the general view on demonstratives. The basic HC demonstratives are mentioned in 7.1 above. Contrary to the claims of Lefebvre (1997, 2006) regarding the distality expressed in the language by either *sila a* or *sila yo*, in the corpus data of this dissertation, proximity is expressed by specific locatives or locative (adjuncts) such as *la a*, *isi*, *isi a*, *isit la*, or *isit lan*. Although not specifically exemplified in the data, distality is known in HC to be expressed by certain locatives or locative (adjuncts) such as (*bò*) *lòtbò/lòt bò*. While these locatives are represented in the corpus and can grammatically co-occur with the HC demonstratives (see section 6.4.3 for a confirmation by DeGraff, 1999), they have not appeared in the corpus (see possible reason at the end of this answer to question 1). By way of comparison, the following table presents the list of the HC

demonstratives as they exist in the language (DeGraff, 2010; Diksyonè/Dictionary/Dictionnaire Kreyòl, 2007) and as they appear in the corpus.

Demonstratives and locative(s) (adjuncts) in HC	Type	Number of occurrences in the corpus
sa a	Adj. sing*	868
sa yo	Adj. pl*	332
sila a	Adj. sing	11
sila yo	Adj. pl	5
la a	Loc. (Adjunct)	307
isi	Loc. (Adjunct)	1/3
isi a	Loc. (Adjunct)	2
bò isi	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
bò isi a	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
isit	Loc. (Adjunct)	8
isit la	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
isit lan	Loc. (Adjunct)	1
bò isit	Loc. (Adjunct)	3
bò isit la	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
lòt bò	Loc. (Adjunct)	3
lòtbò	Loc. (Adjunct)	4
lòtbò a	Loc. (Adjunct)	1
bò lòtbò	Loc. (Adjunct)	0
bò lòtbò a	Loc. (Adjunct)	0

Table 33 - (modification of Table 24) – Demonstratives, locative(s) (adjuncts) and their occurrences in corpus data

Table 33 is a comparison with the earlier version of the table exhibiting the existing demonstratives, locatives, and locative adjuncts in HC. It shows which ones are represented in the news broadcast corpus. As shown in the table, the locatives *bò isi*, *bò isi a*, *bò isit la* (here, over here) and *bò lòtbò*, *bò lòtbò a* (there, over there) are not represented in the corpus. It appears from the comparison of the list of known demonstratives in HC with the demonstratives in the corpus data that all the locatives with a variation of *bò* at the onset of the locative are disappearing in certain uses of the language. Based on the synonymy relationship

between some forms of HC locatives presented on Table 26 in chapter 6, the absence of *bò* in these locatives does not change their meaning. This may explain their absence in the two-part locatives where *bò* is initial. Notwithstanding, this assertion will have to be more strongly substantiated when a bigger corpus is analyzed.

Q2: What are the functions of HC demonstratives and how do they compare to European counterparts?

Analysis of the corpus demonstrates that demonstratives in HC, as in other languages, perform a fundamentally deictic function. That is, the speaker is pointing to something, hence the idea of proximity and distality. In terms of grammatical functions, the analysis of the data in chapter 6 shows that the HC deictic can be either adjectival or pronominal. The pronominal function of the HC demonstratives displays and exemplifies both the anaphoric and the cataphoric use of HC demonstratives (see section 3.7.2 with Table 4 in chapter 3, and section 5.4 with Table 27 in chapter 6 for the discussion and the explanation regarding these functions). There is a morphological difference between the demonstratives of HC and of its European lexifier language, French. As indicated in chapter 3 dealing with key forms of demonstratives, the French language displays at least four basic forms of demonstratives. It is in part due to some specific morpho-phonological rules and some forms expressing proximity and distality while considering both gender and number. The following table offers a comparison. Syntactically however, HC demonstratives differ from all these European languages. Demonstratives like all HC definite determiners are post nuclear whereas they are pre-nuclear in those languages (see chapter 6 where the English gloss appears for the HC examples with different uses of demonstratives). The table includes Spanish and English to widen the scope of comparison with European languages.

Demonstrative type	Haitian Creole	French	Spanish	English
[Adj, Proximity, singular]	sa a /sila a	ce, cet, cette	este, esta, ese, esa	this
[Adj, Proximity, plural]	sa yo /sila yo	ces	estos, estas	these
[Pr, Proximity, singular]	sa a + la a	ceci celui-ci, celle-ci	este, esta, esto	this one
[Pr, distality, singular]	sa a + lòtbò a	cela celui-là, celle-là	eso, esa, aquel, aquella, aquello	that one
[Pr, Proximity, plural]	sa yo + la a	ceux-ci, celles-ci	éstos, éstas, éstos, ésas	these (here, over here)
[Pr, distality, plural]	sa yo + lòtbò a	ceux-là, celles-là	éso, ésa, aquellos, aquellas	those (there, over there)

Table 34 – Comparison of the demonstratives in HC, French, Spanish and English

This summary table shows that HC compared to these European languages is the only one that displays a demonstrative system without morphological change from proximity to distality. When these differences need to be expressed, HC resorts to the use of locatives or locative (adjuncts) such as *la a* for proximity and *lòtbò a'* for distality. French and Spanish display specific forms for proximity and distality as seen on the table (*ceci/ceux-ci* as opposed to *cela/ceux-là* for French and *este/estos, esta/estas* as opposed to *ese/esos, esa/esas* in Spanish to pick up and display features such as gender, number, proximity or distality. English resorts to some locative(s) (adjuncts) like HC, such as *here/over here* for proximity and *there/over there* for distality. As noted in chapter 3, some languages present certain degrees in their demonstratives; those degrees in other languages such as English are conveyed with expressions such as *beyond, yonder* etc. The data was not investigated for degrees of distality. Using a feature of the CL collocation tool can help identify if some locatives appearing as collocates of demonstratives may point to certain degree of distality or proximity.

Q3: Does the HC demonstrative system display variation? If so, what causes it?

The analysis of the corpus of this dissertation signals that the basic forms of the HC demonstratives *sa a* and *sa yo* have an alternative form. As seen in the analysis section in chapter 6, this variation is neither phonetico-phonological nor syntactico-semantic but is instead a restricted kind of use. This use is mostly repeated among journalists from Radio Kiskeya including the anchor, Liliane Pierre Paul. While both forms of the demonstratives are used throughout the corpus, the alternative forms appeared in some specific regions of the south, north and central Haiti where these journalists are located. This suggests that these uses may be diatopic while pointing as well to a journalistic rhythmical and stylistic way of entertaining with the delivery of the news. Compared to the original table displayed at the end of chapter 3, the data from the corpus of the dissertation did display all the forms of the known demonstratives in HC except six of them. As shown in Table 33 some demonstratives with the form *bò* at the onset of the demonstrative are absent in the data of the corpus.

In addition to this consideration, it happens that in HC as used in the political realm and seen in the roundtable from Radio Signal FM, there is some restraint imposed diastatically. What was observed in the data is that although HC demonstratives are post-nuclear and French pre-nuclear, via code-switching and code-mixing some speakers use the French demonstrative within the boundary of French phrases, while expressing themselves mostly in HC. That is, those circumstances yielded the use of both HC and French but never a switch of the HC demonstrative with the French demonstrative or noun. As explained in chapter 6, such an observation confirms the fact that the post-nuclear position of the HC demonstrative excludes its mixing with a FNP or the appendix of a French demonstrative to a HC NP.

Question 4: Are the HC demonstrative variations synchronic, diachronic, or else?

The types of variation as they appear in the data of the corpus is mostly synchronic given the data is collected through one week in December 2018. Some diachronic variation may be on display because of the age difference between the two anchors. However, there is only one

instance of the alternative form of the demonstratives by the anchor from Radio Kiskeya during the ten hours of broadcast from this station. This same form *sila yo* is totally absent from the subcorpus from Radio Signal FM. Further in the analysis and as expressed earlier in this section, the alternative forms of the HC demonstratives were tentatively treated as diatopic variations when the maps from Figures 6.27 to 6.30 consistently show that while both forms of the HC demonstratives are used throughout the data of the corpus, the alternative forms are only found in some specific areas in Haiti such as Wanament, Nip, Lewogàn, Pòtoprens etc. Besides the tentative diatopic variation suspected in the data, the constant code-switching and code-mixing between HC and French in the data from the sub-corpus from Radio Signal FM reveal that this part of the data suggests a diastratic and diaphasic variation of the HC demonstratives. These variations however are restricted to the code-switching or code-mixing between HC and French and it is shown that the two languages remain stable and unchanged when it comes to the place of the demonstratives because of the opposing syntactic nuclear position of each demonstrative.

Q5: How do earlier instances of HC demonstrative variation compare to contemporary demonstratives?

It appears that HC demonstratives have been stable throughout the time they have been documented. DeGraff (2010) has documented the use of *sa a* versus *sila a*, *sa yo* versus *sila yo* and he found contrary to Lefebvre (1996, 2006) and in line with the data of this corpus that the HC demonstratives do not by themselves convey the idea of proximity or distality without the visual cue of pointing. As it turns out, in the modern use of the demonstratives and as documented in this corpus, the alternative forms are visibly also relegated to the journalistic style of speech production for the news and reinforced by a diatopic possibility given these demonstratives appear in some specific areas in the country. Using this corpus as a reference for contemporary representation of HC demonstratives, out of the 19 possible forms of demonstratives and locative(s) (adjuncts) only 13 are represented in it. If this trend is to continue, HC has shed at the time of this dissertation 32% of its demonstratives, locatives, and locative (adjuncts). Nevertheless, the caveat is that this corpus is comprised of 137,588 words. It

will be interesting to uncover what a corpus of a bigger size will yield in terms of the representation of the full range of demonstratives and locatives associated with them as shown on Table 4 in chapter 3 and Table 7 in chapter 6.

7.3 This study and the existing literature

The comparison of this study to the existing literature has led to the inventory of what is known about demonstratives in general. This type of review is provided in section 3.7.2. The study of demonstratives within the variationist framework is an attempt to satisfy the need for a broader insight on this linguistic category in HC (section 3.7.3). From that point on in the dissertation, a contrasting view of HC demonstratives with the broader field of linguistics that led to the consideration of some features pertaining specifically to demonstrative determiners, is also presented. This occurs before looking into demonstrative determiners and HC demonstrative determiners (section 3.8.3). Therefore, this study has drawn from existing literature in a very significant way. First, it looked at studies that analyzed HC data not generally gathered from a corpus and attempted to compare them to the approach of this thesis that is based on corpus analysis. It turned out that most studies on HC mentioned corpora that were collected but only isolated examples were provided. Whether it is the study of HC syntax (Lefebvre, Piou & Holly, 1977), the genesis of HC (Lefebvre, 1996), the diatopic differences in the use of HC in different sections of the country (Fattier, 1997), a searchable corpus such as the one generated in this study has not been available. However, the previous studies mentioned in this dissertation have the value of guiding this present work into novel areas of exploration thanks to CL. The search of demonstrative features as mentioned in section 3.8 that presented the traits or structures to be investigated, allows the current researcher to remain on the lookout for such structures in the corpus. Some possibilities provided by the existing literature include traits such as proximalization and distalization (Grylling, 2019). These traits are straightforwardly confirmed by the corpus of the dissertation with the difference that these traits are not morphologically expressed within the HC demonstrative lexicon. Instead, HC is known to appeal to locative(s) (adjuncts) to express either proximity or distality. Based on the

data of this dissertation, HC does not appear to display a three-way feature of demonstratives (*proximal*, *distal*, and *super distal*) as it exists in some other languages but instead a two-way feature that includes *proximal* and *distal* with the use of locatives. Based on the corpus, the HC demonstrative lexicon does not display an affective demonstrative form. This specified assertion is due to the limitation of this study as spelled out in section 7.5 below. Section 3.8.1 of the dissertation, in addition to these features, presented a table that displays a set of ten languages whose demonstratives exhibit features such as distance, elevation, visibility, knowledge and viewpoint (Kratochvil and Delpada, 2015). The HC corpus is not investigated for all these features, but distance is expressed with specific locative(s) (adjuncts). Such locative(s) (adjuncts) are listed in Table 7. They are furthermore explored in sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.1a. As signaled in section 3.7.1, the literature that explores demonstratives vis-à-vis the variationist approach points to the Kachin language. This language displays a variation in their demonstratives like the English equivalence of **this**, **that** and the obsolete super distal **yon**. It also has forms that mean **that up there**, **that over there**, **that down there** and **this here**. This type of variation is mostly affected by the lexicon and the semantics of the language. These features are similarly picked up by the HC locative(s) (adjuncts). Another significant comparison with the existing literature is the work of Déprez mentioned in section 4.5.5. While instances of *yo sa la* and *sa yo la* as presented in Déprez's analysis are nonexistent in the corpus data, Figure 6.5 exhibits 322 items containing *sa yo*. The possibility to verify claims through the data of this corpus supports research in Creole, where HC appears to be a prototypical reference point.

7.4 Establishing a prototypical corpus-based HC study

As confirmed in section 7.7 par. 2 below, the method used in the data analysis of this dissertation culminates in an action agenda. Part of the reason for the action agenda is to keep HC linguistic facts available and accessible interactively and continuously to researchers. As indicated throughout the thesis, HC and all Creoles always suffer from prejudices, stigmatization and misconceptions associated with misrepresentations of what they are and

what they can accomplish in the different arenas of language function. This study has shown that through its internal coherence, HC, like any other language, can foster any kind of function in any field of knowledge whether it is education, science, economics, sociology, or politics to name just a few areas. A single language function is studied throughout the dissertation and that is the deictic function embodied by demonstratives. The interpretation provided through the different items extracted from the corpus demonstrates the interrelatedness of the linguistic functions. Inevitably, data that covers any linguistic function is likely to offer adequate insights on other functions within the language. This corpus will enable research on any HC linguistic feature. The different types of variation explored throughout the thesis demonstrate how HC can fulfill different linguistic functions. The corpus, by being available to researchers of all walks of life, will allow the authentication of assumptions about HC. It is also an invitation for researchers to take advantage of possible verification of linguistic facts provided by CL.

7.5 Limitations of the study

While this study has set itself apart by its grounding in CL, it was also limited to 137,850 words. This limitation exists because of the duration of the study and the origin of the data that has to be converted from oral to written form. This choice of radio news broadcast was necessary to warrant that the data of the dissertation are viable linguistic facts generated from real life events. This limitation is also addressed by the envisioned expansion of this corpus in time as signaled in the proposed action agenda and the application of the study in section 7.7 below. The study has nonetheless provided strong evidence for the assumptions made concerning demonstratives, although more data is still needed to increase the size of the corpus. There are 19 known demonstratives and locatives that sometimes go together with demonstratives in HC, only 13 were found in the data (Table 7, Chapter 6). The corpus does not allow to decide whether the six remaining forms are not used at all in HC or only in the type of data studied here. While the data may suggest a trend of this kind, a bigger corpus will give stronger evidence and confirm or refute the percentages represented in the current corpus.

This study also used very specific functions of CL to identify and research HC demonstratives as they appear in the data of the corpus. A feature of CL such as the use of a tagger to identify expeditiously the morpho-syntactic functions of the words of the language is a viable tool when available. A HC tagger exists (see sections 5.4.4 and 7.6) but is not currently available to researchers. Whenever the analysis of the HC demonstratives requires insights from morpho syntax, the identified examples from the CL tool concordances and the use of the Table of abbreviation (Table 1) compensates for this absence. These above limitations, while they have not impeded the unfolding of this present research, can be addressed by the proposed action agenda, and can invite HC scholars, as an avenue for further research, to perfect a tagger and make it available to other researchers.

7.6 Further developments in the study of demonstratives

This study provides a basis for further exploration not only of demonstratives in HC, but also of all linguistic categories (any linguistic category can be searched in the corpus data). The study as stated above is limited to the specific area touched upon in the thesis. The identification of the HC demonstratives, their description in the variationist framework was key. Further studies may involve the development of the above-mentioned tagger of HC (see sections 5.4.4, 7.5 above and 7.8 below) to explore other syntactic, morphological, phonetic, phonological, and semantic aspects associated with existing variation in HC demonstratives. These developments will provide additional confirmation of the findings and their analysis. Contrary to HC, some languages display some traits associated with demonstratives that go beyond the basic proximal and distal features. These features appear in Table 5, and they are reported to exist in Alor-Pantar languages (see 3.8.1). Some of these features include but are not limited to distance, elevation, visibility, knowledge, and viewpoint. This HC corpus can be explored to determine the existence of these features in HC and their relationship to the known deictics in this language.

7.7. Application of this study

This study could lead to potential applications. However, the primary one is to make it available to HC researchers to increase their data analysis accuracy and speed of result finding. However, for conciseness' sake, a deeper look will be taken at some possible areas of applications. These areas include a collaboration with an existing online site for the initial implementation of the action agenda. Then another possible option is a parallel look at HC demonstratives to confirm what has been found so far. This could involve a comparison with a similar set of data or with a set of written corpora such as newspapers, magazines, or academic journals. Beyond the linguistic repertoire offered by the corpus, it can also be used for investigation of news items.

As spelled out in chapter 4, the tools provided by CL make accessible the entirety of the data of this dissertation. In conformity with the aim of the action agenda that results from a transformative approach, the corpus of the dissertation will have an online repository in the foreseeable future. The author of this dissertation will immediately start the exploration of a collaborative effort with the website lektikreyol.com or other potential collaborators such as the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS Online) (<https://apics-online.info/>) to discuss the possible co-hosting of this dissertation's corpus data. APiCS displays online some structural features of some Creole languages with their glosses. This can be an interesting propagation of the numerous glossed entries analyzed in this dissertation. While this endeavour is envisioned as a first step, in the long run, the author hopes to host this corpus on a dedicated website. There, it will continue to grow through an incremental process that will be established, beginning with the data contained in the thesis and the books portrayed on lektikreyol.com. Additional sources will be explored to grow the HC corpus. Those sources are not limited to news broadcast programmes, but they will be a critical element. Therefore, other radio stations with news broadcast programmes may be explored to generate additional data to the current corpus. Other sources of HC production such as theatrical production, literary productions that include poetry, novels, plays, skits, and the likes that are produced in HC. Some HC

newspapers from the past and the present will be gathered for data collection and treatment in this endeavour. The goal will be to reach on a first step, at least a million-word corpus.

This corpus also offers researchers the possibility of verifying the claims that are made regarding demonstratives. Researchers may investigate all the items presented as examples extracted from the corpus. The examples used can be analyzed then confirmed. This endeavour will offer the confirmation or dismissal of a claim stated as a fact. Both options constitute a sizable benefit for the science of language in general and HC in particular.

As a set of searchable data via key words, collocations and the different search options offered by AntConc, the corpus can be used by journalists to investigate some specific news items as well. News items can be searched either by criteria that include a given day, a particular journalist, a specific correspondent, a certain region, or special information framed as a topic of interest. The fact that the overall data is indeed a corpus of the different sub-corpora covering two programmes from two radio stations, searches can also be made within a specific sub-corpus.

7.8 Avenues for further research

This dissertation is to be taken as a drop in a sea of possibilities. Nevertheless, because it represents a possible prototypical step in the creation of a HC corpus, the prospect for investigation of HC linguistic facts via CL is limitless. The caveat is, researchers need to be armed with the honest intent of proper linguistic scholarship, away from the misrepresentation of facts in creolistics as discussed in section 2.6.7. Further research needs to go beyond demonstratives (see section 6.8) so that all the linguistic categories can be explored through CL. The entire thesis corpus is constructed as a repertoire of evidence where mainly the HC demonstratives were searched, identified, contextually analyzed, and solidly referenced through real news broadcast. Therefore, this corpus can be confidently used to fulfill the function of finding linguistic facts anchored in authentic language activities and production. Three major areas that are yet to be studied or investigated in HC are semanalysis or the signifying theory at the origin of texts (Festić, 2015). Then stylistics, perceived with CL as two

approaches that study the actual proof of language in real life and rhetoric as the act of speaking or writing well with the aim to persuade a particular audience (Stone, 1996; Thevenet, 2020; Bradford, 2013; McIntyre & Walker, 2019). As *semanalysis*, stylistics and rhetoric are alluded to here, and given their critical functions in any language, it will be worth looking at the role they can play alongside CL and CDA as a novel approach to study other aspects of HC. The literature does not mention the role of rhetoric in a CL context. Since the link has been established between CL and CDA and how they can work hand in hand to further both depth and breadth in research, the explorations of these avenues will surely uncover many more linguistic facts that will reinforce the understanding of HC in various linguistic categories.

It is nevertheless with the expectation that in the future, the demonstrative *sa a* may be studied in some targeted contexts such as with *dabò* (first (of all)), *ansuit* (next), *avan* (before), *pita* (later), or any similar lexical items, as temporal deixis. Due to time constraints and the focalized nature of this thesis, these aspects have not been explored.

7.9 Final Remarks

This dissertation has explored the HC demonstratives within the confine of the variationist approach and used the transformative quantitative and qualitative method of analysis. The choice of the transformative approach is intentional due to its inherent action agenda. The historical background presented in this dissertation in chapter 2 made the case of the disfavor of both Haiti and its Creole since the birth of this nation. The dissertation has also demonstrated that historically countries that use Creole, including Haiti, have seen their language ostracized, diminished and debased on various fronts without any valid scientific and linguistic reasons. The advent of computer-based technology and the power of modern machines to process vast amounts of data very accurately has permitted CL to bloom. This ground-breaking tool has exponentially enhanced the certainty of linguistic investigations and HC among all other Creole languages has been one of the beneficiaries of this kind of computer-based investigation. Therefore, CL as used in this thesis has permitted not only the analysis of

15 hours of transcribed radio broadcast but also paved the way for a steady pursuit of a viable action agenda.

The components of this action agenda will include but will not be limited to the online co-hosting of the corpus of this dissertation, the hosting of the same on its own website, the exploration of the creation of a specific Channel (like YouTube) precisely for HC CL, fund raising and grant searching for the expansion of the HC corpus created in the course of this dissertation. The above-mentioned parts of the plan are just a springboard to launch this significant action agenda, but many more avenues will be explored if need be. The co-hosting option will aim at existing websites such as the ones mentioned in section 7.7 to start the dissemination of the HC corpus data. In the same vein, the creation of a specific website to house the corpus will not end any prior collaboration and cooperation with other entities supporting HC corpus but will create a greater sense of expansion and independence in the quest for the growth of HC linguistic data. Although HC is used by the entire population of Haiti, there is no well-known popularized Channels designed for the dissemination of general HC language data, let alone specific linguistic data made available via a platform such as YouTube. The action agenda inherent to this thesis imposes achieving this necessary goal. The last part of the action agenda mentioned here is the fundraising and grant searching aspect. The ultimate goal as argued earlier in section 7.7, is to grow the HC corpus to a million words in the foreseeable future. Therefore, through the transformative quantitative qualitative method via CL applied in this dissertation, this research that involves HC is a kind of interface, a symbiosis between theory and practice in full display. Scholars can navigate their way through the assumptions associated with the presentation of this thesis in the theoretical realm. Likewise, HC users, any Creole users or anyone interested in the practical aspect of this language use can benefit from any positive ramification this thesis may generate. It is more importantly an appropriate way to provide creolistics with a verifiable and interactive platform of data through HC.

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Appendix A - Transcription Reference and Codes

General Newsbroadcasts (Summarized from Dister, 2016; Translated in HC)	Interview Twa Etap Summarized from Azevedo et. al., 2017; Translated in HC
<p>Akwonim : Pwemye lèt majiskil (Eg. Naza)</p> <p>Kòd altènans: \$< >\$</p> <p>Amòsaj mòfèm: - (elikop-)</p> <p>Apokòp (son ki pèdi nan lafen yon mo) ak aferèz (son ki pèdi nan kòmansman yon mo): Pa gen mak pou yo</p> <p>Eleman paravèbal: parantèz (tous, estènye)</p> <p>Nimewo: Ekri tout an lèt (swasannde, swasannouz)</p> <p>Non pwòp e akwonim: Premye lèt an majiskil (George Clooney)</p> <p>Pasaj inodib:***</p> <p>Sig: Tout an majiskil san espas (APN)</p> <p>Tit (liv, fim, ekt): ^ ^</p>	<p>1. Prepare</p> <p>Twa aspè e chak sibdivize. Aspè yo se: Idantifikasyon materyèl (Bay chak entèvyou yon kòd) Plan tranzisyon (lineyè, tabilè, sekansyèl) Tip transkripsyon (natiralize, denatiralize)</p> <p>2. Ekri</p> <p>Konfidansyalite ak pwoblèm sansib (pa aplikab akòz ke se nouvèl)</p> <p>3. Edite</p> <p>Fòmataj tèks (1. Times New Romans oubyen Arial espas doub; maj 1.5 pous san endantasyon; Pawòl entèvyouwè a an karaktè gra 2. Antèt – idantifikasyon entèvyou, entèvyouwè ak transkriptè 3. Nòt anba paj – pou kòmansman ak finisman entèvyou a egz. 3/6)</p>

Appendix B - Four contexts generated by the search of 'envite' (guest), 'mikwo' (microphone), 'konferans' (conference) and 'vwa' (voice)

Appendix B - Four contexts generated by the search of 'envite' (guest), 'mikwo' (microphone), 'konferans' (conference) and 'vwa' (voice)						
Figure (F) & Item (I)	F6.41, I1	F6.41, I7	F6.41, I8	F6.41, I7	F6.41, I8	F6.41, I8
<p>Search Word: 'envite' and Reference Text with demonstratives (From Attorney Jak Seyus Jozéf) Tout avoka Aken ki manb DDEH mwen salue. Eeee nou tout eeeee mwen salye tout oditeur, oditris ki branche emisyon sa a. Nou ta di des millions d'auditeurs nan tou patou nan lemond pa sèlman an Ayiti avèk radyo ki relye yo. Men chaje eee moun ki branche emisyon sa a, ki sèvi avèk emisyon sa a kòm referans pa rapò kalite panèl yo. Pa rapò kalite envitasyon yo, avèk nivo d'analyse ee ou menm Pegi ou pèmèt ki genyen nan emisyon Moman Verite. Mèsi anpil pou envitasyon an.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(From host Lilyàn Pyè Pòl, after listening to a guest, Mackenson Cangé, speaking to a journalist at Radio Kiskeya)</p> <p>Mackenson Cangé: Se yon mouvman nou pral lanse ki rele katon wouj. Katon wouj vle di nou pral bay sistèm nan katon wouj ki refize kite peyi a fonksyone. Moun ki ladan l yo pou fè sistèm nan, kèlkeswa degre de responsabilite, donk nou pral mande yo la a, nan fèt fen dane a, dayè nou bezwen lapè nan peyi a. Moun ki anpeche peyi a mache, katon wouj pou yo, lamizè, ensekirite, ensalibrite. Epi nou pral di pèp la si w dakò jan sitiyasyon an ye la a ou santi w byen ladan, ret lakay ou. Men depi w pakò, n ap envite w pou pote rad wouj ou, katon wouj ou nan men w, chèche bouton katon wouj ou. Mouvman nou an rele katon wouj, nou enspire de yon mouvman nou wè k fèt Lafrans, enben nou inisye l la a. Mekredi maten n ap kòmanse mouvman sa a.</p> <p>LPP: Mackenson Cangé avèk Roday konsènan mouvman sa a, Katon wouj.</p> <p>Associated text in context for Figure 6.39, Item 8 (From a lower chamber member of the Haitian congress, providing his analysis of the economic and the related political situation of Haiti. There are some instances of demonstratives throughout the short intervention as shown below. The text displays many lexical items that are French but pronounce in Haitian Creole and therefore the HC spelling is used throughout, using some of the marginalized sound utilized by educated HC speakers.)</p> <p>Depute Dorfeüy: Enflasyon an nan ane k sot pase a li te a kenz pousan donk ane sa a dapre enfòmasyon keu n genyen ...ap travay pou nou.... sitiyasyon sa a li a douz pwen uit. Nou konnen depui gen enflasyon lavi chè, grangou, chomaj e ou pral rive on kote ou pral gade ou pral gen twoub sosyal kote popilasyon an kapab soti, pran lari, manifeste e ka gen dezòd ki ka fèt nan peyi a. Kote gen on klima ki pa seuren ditou kote pou yo ta òganize eleksyon. Lòt kesyon ki preokipe nou nivo komisyon ki nan kad budjè sa a, se lefèt nou wè keu gen on ogmantasyon a yon to deu vennsenk pousan nan budjè a donk pa rapò a lane dernière donk nou ta renmen konnen kòm nou ka atenn yon defisi kolosal donk pou n ka konnen ki travay misyon minis finans lan pral fè pou evite defisi sa a lè nou konsidere ke gen anpil finansman monétaire ki te fèt. Donk jodiya komisyon an chita, ap chita sou tout pwen sa yo avè w paskeu nou estime keu jodiya kesyon ki gen rapò avèk tout eleman sa yo enpòtan.</p>						

Demonstrative in context	...oditris ki branche emisyon sa a ...	Mekredi maten n ap kòmanse mouvman sa a.	...ane sa a dapre enfòmasyon ke n genyen ...	... konsènan mouvman sa a , Katon wouj.	...ap chita sou tout pwèn sa yo avè w paskeu...	... kesyon ki gen rapò avèk tout eleman sa yo enpòtan.
Gloss	...the listeners who are connected in this programme...	Wednesday morning, we will begin this movement.	... this year according to information that we have...	...about that movement, Red card.	...will sit down with you on all these points because...	...questions that are related to all these elements are important.
<p>Associated text in context for Figure 6.42, Item 3 Search Word: ‘mikwo’ and Reference Text with demonstratives NJ & JJ: Aktivite sa a k ap òganize la a se Komisyon Episkopal Jistis ak Lapè Pòtoprens ki ap òganize l nan kad repons stratejik nasyonal. Kisa l ye? Se yon aktivite kote ke n ap fè des forums sou kesyon dwa moun manje. Nou konnen pa tout dwa nou genyen yo, dwa pou moun manje se yon dwa ki, non sèlman li rekonèt nan yon seri de pactes international, Deklarasyon Inivèsèl Dwa Moun, epi nan Konstitisyon an tou li se yon bagay ki rekonèt. Maintenant kisa nou konstate nou menm o nivo komisyon an, nou konstate depi kèlke ane, peyi a ap fè fas avèk yon grav kriz ki sou kesyon manje, kesyon sekirite alimentè. E se nan sousi sa a depi plizyè ane Komisyon Jistis ak Lapè, o nivo nasyonal, òganize plizyè fowòm, de mil kenz (2015), de mil sèz (2016), e ankò ane sa a. E plizyè fòmasyon ki kapab sansibilize tout moun sou kesyon dwa pou moun manje de fason kòrèk. E travay sa a kisa li vize fè? Donk dabò li vize pou n chèche konprann fenomèn pwoblèm manje. Donk se objektif, se bi fowòm sa a ke Jistis ak Lapè Achidyosèz Pòtoprens ap fè nan lokal pastoral la pandan de (2) jou, jodiya ak demen.</p>						
Figure (F) & Item (I)	F6.40, I3	F6.40, I3	F6.40, I3	F6.40, I3	F6.40, I8	
Demonstrative in context	Aktivite sa a k ap òganize la a se Komisyon Episkopal Jistis...	E se nan sousi sa a depi plizyè ane...	E travay sa a kisa li vize fè?	...de mil sèz (2016), e ankò ane sa a .	Donk se objektif, se bi fowòm sa a ...	
Gloss	This activity that is being organized here it is the	And it is in this concern that for many years...	And what does this work	...two thousand sixteen (2016) and	So, it is the objective, it is the goal of this forum...	

	Episcopal Commission for Justice...		envision to accomplish?	this year again...	
<p>Associated text in context for Figure 6.41, Item 8 Search Word: ‘konferans’ and Reference Text with demonstratives LPP: Vwala se pa yon entèvyou, se yon konferans pou laprès Junior Deroze bay ki site plizyè non antreprenè avèk antrepriz. Toujou nan menm konferans pou laprès sa a, fwa sa a li denonse politik Ministè Afè Sosyal ak Travay ap mennen nan kesyon jan y ap pase men nan kòd travay la. JD: Nou gen konferans de près sa a maten an se pou nou kapab, yon lòt fwa ankò, voye yon mesaj klè bay minis Afè Sosyal la, Marie Elise Gélín.</p> <p>Associated text in context for Figure 6.41, Item 15 Men lè l t ap fè konferans deu près sa a g on dènye enfòmasyon l pòt ko genyen konsènan rekòmandasyon enspeksyon jeneral la te fè bay direksyon jeneral lan konsènan polisye sa a. Eeee enspektèu eee prensipal, Gari Derozye eeu l te kontakte Radyo Kiskeya nan telefòn kote l fè konnen ajan UDMO sa a, desizyon pran e direksyon jeneral polis la revoke l definitivman, pou vyolasyon dwa moun ak lefèt keu li bandone pòs li. N ap tandè presizyon eeee pòt pawòl annapre polis nasyonal la, Gari Derozye nan mikwo Gervens Ricardo Jan Jak.</p> <p>Associated text in context for Figure 6.41, Item 61 Search Word: ‘konferans’ and Reference Text with demonstratives E n ap tandè Roro Pharel nan konferans pou laprès sa a, kote Robinson Henry te prezan pou Radyo Kiskeya. RP: Les voies et moyens, 72 pwen 8 milliards de gourdes. Men twa fason pou rantrè lajan nan bidjè a: les ressources domestiques, 114,3 milliards de gourdes. Banm raple nou ke gouvènman an te prevwa nan vèsyon Jiyè a, avan evènman 6-7 yo te pase, vèsyon orijinal la, 176.3 milliards de gourdes. Don yo kontrakte egalman Yo te apeprè 30 milliards, nan vèsyon korije a li bese a 28,9 milliards. Sa ki enpòtan pou n gade la a, le financement a augmenté dans le budget déposé au parlement la semaine dernière. Yo te prevwa yon finansman de 21 milliards yo pase a 29,6 milliards. Ça veut-dire que dans ce budget, les ressources domestiques diminuent, les dons diminuent, donk finansman an vle di se prè yo k pral ogmante pou kapab finanse bidjè sa a.</p> <p>Associated text in context for Figure 6.41, Item 64 Mèt Fradè Lewonar: N ap bay kont dpwen sa a justeman pou n denonse ansanm pèsekusyon keu n ap fè objè sa gen plus keu dezan.</p>					
Figure (F) & Item (I)	F6.41, I8	F6.41, I15	F6.41, I61	F6.41, I61	F6.41, I64
Demonstrative in context	JD: Nou gen konferans de près sa a maten an ... (LPP)	Men lè l t ap fè konferans deu près sa a... (LPP)	...Roro Pharel nan konferans pou laprès sa a...	...vle di se prè yo k pral ogmante pou kapab finanse bidjè sa a.	... avoka a k te pale konsa nan mikwo e nan konferans pou laprès sa a...

Gloss	JD: We have this press conference this morning...	But whe he was giving this/that press conference...(LP P)	...Roro Pharel in that press conference...	...means it is the borrowings that will increase to be able to finance this budget.	...the attorney who spoke like this at the microphone and in this press conference...
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Associated text in context for Figure 6.42, Item 3

Search Word: 'vwa' and Reference Text with demonstratives

1. **Amòs Brevil:** Ou di maten an, kote **sa** fèt la a?
2. **Moun nan:** Wi maten an nan mache Kwabosal la. Kounyeya l tou desann nan mache a, manman an se nan mache a l ap vann ni. Kounyeya l tou pase, yo tou rache l.
3. **Lòt vwa 4:** Nan pye m li frape, bal la frape m.
4. **Amòs Brevil:** Sa w te al pran egzakteuman?
5. **Lòt vwa 4:** Maten an pandan yo voye on bagay pou mwen m al dèyè l, kò vòlè a debake sot kafou labatwa nan mache a yo vin tire sou moun. Epi menm kote a...
6. **Amòs Brevil:** Kimoun yo ki tire sou wou a?
7. **Lòt vwa 4:** Menm nèg bout Chasa Lasalin, (mhm) ki tire sou nou nan mache a maten an.
8. **Amòs Brevil:** E nou menm kimoun nou ye?
9. **Lòt vwa 4:** Nou menm nou se moun, nou se moun Chabon ki deyò yo. E yo k mete nou deyò, yo boule tout kay nou nan Chabon.
10. **Amòs Brevil:** Poukisa, kòman yo fè mete nou deyò a? Apati deu ki **sa yo** mete nou deyò?
11. **Lòt vwa 4:** Apati de kisa? De on seri de bagay y ap vin fè nan mache a gen de moun ki pa vle sitire yo. Nan menm sans **sa a** tou yo tou parèt.
12. **Amòs Brevil:** On mache k rele mache Chabon an?
13. **Lòt vwa 4:** Non, mache Kwadèbosal.
14. **Amòs Brevil:** Men gen on zòn ki rele Chabon?
15. **Lòt vwa 4:** Wi, sa vle di ti malerèz **sa yo** e nan e nan Chabon an yo rete. **Sa** ve di yo menn yo tou parèt nan Chabon an yo met dife.
16. **Amòs Brevil:** Men kounyeya zòn **sa a** kimoun ki kòmande l?
17. **Lòt vwa 4:** Nèg Bout Janjan yo. Ou g on chèf ki rele Ti Jowèl. Dezyèm chèf la rele Tibonm. Se nèg **sa yo** kòm Nènèl.
18. **Amòs Brevil:** Nou pa konn, nou pa t g on lòt chèf avan **sa** nou menm?

19. **Lòt vwa 4:** Lòt nan zòn nan. Non lòt chèf ki te nan zòn nan e te Bout Janjan. Lapolis arive arete l.
20. **Amòs Brevil:** Kote ote kote Ti Junyò li menm?
21. **Lòt vwa 4:** Ti Junyò pa nan zòn nan. Ti Junyò pa nan zòn nan.
22. **Amòs Brevil:** Men li te chèf tou nan zòn nan?
23. **Lòt vwa 4:** Non m pa konnen.
24. **Moun nan:** Ti Junyò te on senp sitwayen nan zòn nan. Bon l pa la.
25. **Amòs Brevil:** Kiyès ki mete l deyò?
26. **Moun nan:** Nèg Janjan yo. Ti Junyò li pa t dakò pou okenn moun lòt kote vin fè nou abu, vin fè malèzèz abu, vin pran tabliye malèzèz, vin takse malèzèz, li pa t dakò **sa a**.

Figure (F) & Item (I)	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3	F6.42, I3
Demonstrative in context	Ou di maten an, kote sa fèt la a?	Nan menm sans sa a tou yo tou parèt.	Sa ve di yo menn yo tou parèt nan Chabon an yo met dife.	Men kounyeya zòn sa a kimoun ki kòmande l?	Se nèg sa yo kòm Nènèl.	... nou pa t g on lòt chèf avan sa nou menm?	... li pa t dakò sa a .
Gloss	You said this morning, where did that happen?	In that same sense also, they appeared as well.	That means they themselves they also appeared and they started a fire.	But now this area who commands it?	It is those men like Nènèl.	...We didn't have another chief before that ourselves?	...he did not agree with this .

Appendix B - Four contexts generated by the search of 'envite' (guest), 'mikwo' (microphone), 'konferans' (conference) and 'vwa' (voice)

Appendix C - Main Transcription Conventions (Dister, 2016. p. 4)

Phénomène	Marque	Exemple
Acronymes	1 ^{re} lettre en majuscule	Il travaille à la Nasa
Alternance de code ¹	\$< >\$	ouais je sais je sais \$< hij was 22 jaar oud toen hij dit neer schreef >\$
Amorces de morphèmes	-	une piste d'atterrissage d'hélicop- pour héli- hélicoptère
Apocopes et aphérèses	aucune marque	Steph de Monac, ricain
Éléments paraverbaux	Entre parenthèses	(toux), (éternuements)
Nombres	écrits en toutes lettres, trait d'union du début à la fin	septante-deux, soixante-douze
Noms propres et acronymes	1 ^{re} lettre en majuscule	George Clooney
Passages inaudibles	***	
Sigles	tout en majuscule, sans espace	maintenant il pointe à l'ANPE
Titres (livres, films, etc.)	^ ^	il a regardé ^Autant en emporte le vent^

Appendix D - Translation of Appendix F

Kòd Entèvyou

Translated in HC from Azevedo et. al. 2017 (Same as Appendix F)

Lè nan anrejistreman...	Nan transkripsyon an	Egzanp
Ou pa ka tande sa moun nan ap di	Enfòmasyon an ant parantèz	(Segman tèks inodib)
Ou pa konprann sa moun nan ap di	Enfòmasyon an ant parantèz	Wi, egzakteman! Byen si (Segman enkopreyansib) reprezante yon tyè.
Ou pa si de sa moun nan ap di	Ant parantèz delimitè ak pwen entèwogasyon	Se pa jis yon kesyon fasiliteasyon, pa vre? E de? (<i>kapasite</i>)? men mank konesans!
Ou pa ka konprann akòz konvèsasyon kwaze	Moso enfòmasyon sa a ant parantèz	(Segman enkonpreyansib akòz konvèsasyon kwaze)
Yon konvèsasyon kwaze kòmanse	Ouvè yon kwochè	[
Yon konvèsasyon kwaze fini	Fèmen kwochè a]
Si w kwè entevyouwè a mal pwononse mo a	Transkripsyon egzak de sa k te di a e yon pwopozisyon ant parantèz, delimitè pa de ba oblik	Lavi / (Lanvi)/*
Entèripsyon/Mo a koupe	Tirè alafen	Repond-
Pou enkli nòt/eksplike entèripsyon	Tèks an italik anndan parantèz	(<i>ssssssssss</i>)
Son non-vèbal (e.g., emosyon)	Enfòmasyon anndan parantèz	(ri); (plenn)
Silans/poz	Twa pwen sispansyon ant parantèz	(...)
Moun nan peze sou pawòl	Souliye sa	Men li anfèt te fini pa vin yon epidemi (ton fò) e nasyonanman e entènasyonanman
Entèjeksyon	Dezinyasyon sa yo	Hmm Mm Ah

*The original English is life/(lie)/, which would be lavi/(manti)/ in HC. It is rendered in HC by Lavi/(Lanvi)/, which is in English Life/(Envy)/in English.

Appendix E - Interview Transcription Guidelines (Azevedo et. al., 2017, p. 163)

Table 1
Some practical guidelines and examples

Steps	Practical Guidelines	Options	Examples
1. Prepare	Material identification	Assigning a code to each interview	Int10; NUR3_M_Jan03
	Cover sheet	Divided into three parts: identification', contextual information', additional information'.	Identification: interviewer, interviewee, and transcriber Contextual information: location, sociodemographic data Additional information: notes, total number of pages
		Completed by the 'interviewer; 'transcriber	
	Identification of the interviewer and the interviewee	Several options available	Interviewer <i>versus</i> Participant; I <i>versus</i> Nur; I = Interviewer <i>versus</i> Nur = Participant
	Transition scheme	Linear	I: What is your opinion about nursing training on intervention in obesity? Nur3: It is an area where, unfortunately, there is not so much training as there should be.
		Tabular	I: What is your opinion about nursing training on intervention in obesity? Nur: It is an area where, unfortunately, there is not so much training as there should be.
		Sequential	II: What is your opinion about nursing training on intervention in obesity? Nur: It is an area where, unfortunate, there is not so much training as there should be.
	Type of transcription	Naturalized	But in terms of motivation, really, and openness to change habits and do something that requires sacrifices (interruption – phone rings but the call is ignored) I'm sorry. Hum... Overall, they are not very motivated to do this (pause). They want (laughs gently) a miraculous solution which is normally what they are looking for here! (gently laughs)
		Denaturalized	But in terms of motivation, really, and openness to change habits and do something that requires sacrifices...I'm sorry. Hum... Overall, they are not very motivated to do this. They want a miraculous solution which is normally what they are looking for here!
	3. Write	Confidentiality and sensitive issues	Omitting or removing data/information, replacing them with codes, changing words, or eliminating them	E thinks that I don't know about the disease; Ana thinks that I don't know about the disease; (removal of sensitive content) thinks that I don't know about the disease.
4. Edit	Text formatting	<i>Times New Roman</i> or Arial; double spacing; margins of 1.5 inches; no indents; interviewer's interventions in bold	E: How do you feel in those circumstances? PNur10: What do you mean? I don't understand? E: When, despite your recommendations, the patients return to the consultation with the same weight?
		Header: identification of the interview, the interviewer, and the transcriber	PNur10: I feel frustrated! I feel really frustrated! INT0402 I1 T2
		Footnote: page numbers	3/16
		Indicate the beginning and the end of interview	BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW - END OF THE INTERVIEW

Appendix F - Codebook of Interview Transcription (Azevedo et al., 2017, pp. 164-165)

Table 2
Codebook: Examples of Codes Used in Transcriptions

When in the recording...	In the transcription...	Example
You cannot hear what the person is saying	Information inside parentheses	(inaudible text segment)
You cannot understand what the person is saying	Information inside parentheses	Yes, exactly! Of course (<i>unintelligible segment</i>) are a third!
You are unsure about what the person is saying	Inside parenthesis and delimited by question marks	It's not just a matter of facilitation, isn't it? And of <i>?(capacity)?</i> but lack of knowledge!
You cannot understand because of cross-talk	That piece of information inside parentheses	(unintelligible segment due to overlapping speech/cross-talk)
A cross-talk begins	Open square bracket	[
A cross-talk ends	Closed square bracket]
If you believe that the interviewee mispronounced the word	The exact transcription of what was said and a proposal inside parenthesis delimited by slashes	Life/(Lie)/
Interruption/word is cut	Hyphen at the end	Respond-
To include notes/explain interruptions	Text in italic inside parentheses	(<i>xxxxxx</i>)
Non-verbal sounds (e.g., emotions)	Information inside parenthesis	(laughed); (sighed)
Silence/pauses	Three ellipses inside parentheses	(...)
The person emphasizes the speech	Underlined	But it indeed ends up being an epidemics (<i>strong intonation</i>) both nationally and internationally.
Interjections	The following designations:	Hmm Mm Ah

For the HC data transcription in general and when interviews are included in the broadcast, this table will be referred to with the terms translated into HC from French and English based on both Dister (2016) and Azevedo et al. (2017).

Appendix G - Variation according to Gadet

Tableau 1
Représentation de la variation

Variation selon l'utilisateur	temps	changement	diachronie
	espace	géographique, régional, local, spatial	diatopie
	société, communauté	social	diastratie
Variation selon l'usage	styles, niveaux, registres	situationnel, stylistique, fonctionnel	diaphasie
	canal	oral/écrit	diamésie

Gadet, 2007, p. 23

Appendix H - Sample of Data Collection from Radio Kiskeya

Date/Dat	Programme Name/ Non Pwogram nan	Duration/Dire	Day/Jou	Type of Programme/ Tip Pwogram	News Anchor/ Prezantatè(tris) Nouvèl	Other/ Lòt
20-12-18	Jounal 4è	1è 54m 14s Sample/Echantiyon 7m 3s	Jedi	News Broadcast/ Difizyon Nouvèl	Liliane Pierre Paul (Lilyàn Pyè Pòl or/oubyen LPP)	
Description/ Deskripsyon	<p>Introduction: Jounal katrè, katrè chak apre midi sou Radyo Kiskeya. Jounal katrè, yon sèl jounal a lè sa a, nan tout peyi a. Jounal katrè, nouvèl total. Mizik...</p> <p>LPP: Nou di tout moun bonswa, pi gwo nouvèl nou pral genyen pou n devlope pou ou apre midi a nan jounal sa a, Bawo Pòtoprens lan, ki te fè yon reyinyon an asanble reyonan \$<extraordinaire>\$ deside leve \$<provisoirement>\$ grèv yo t ap fè depui kòmansman mwa oktòb la pou te reklame yon pa e revokasyon komisè gouvènman Pòtoprens lan. Yon lòt pa arestasyon direktè polis nan lwès la avèk kèk polisye ki te enplike nan akwochay avèk yon seri de avoka nan zafè sikilasyon.</p> <p>E n ap genyen plis presizyon konsènan deklarasyon Mèt Paul Rachèl A Kadè, Batonye a.i sou desizyon ki pran jounen jodiya e karantuit èdtan mwens ke karantuit èdtan apre ke nouvo komisè gouvènman an tabli nan tèt pakè a.</p> <p>Epui jan Mavèl te anonse nou an, gen nouvo e nan dosye Lasalin nan. Biwo òganizasyon ki ap defann dwa moun yo, BODDH e avèk yon ekip avoka ki fè pati de rezo avoka ki ap defann dosye Petro Caribe a anonse e fanmi moun ki viktim nan Lasalin yo, gon gwoup nan fanmi yo ki depoze plent nan Kabinè Denstriksyon konsènan masak trèz novanm nan.</p> <p>Epui e genyen RNDDH ki publiye yon e diplus konsènan rapò li te deja mete deyò a. Kote li bay chif ki montre gen plus moun e ki te viktim nan masak sa a kidonk li revize alawos e chif viktim yo. E ni viktim moun mouri blese, epui avèk moun ki viktim anba kadejak fanm. E viktim yo antou se swasannonz yo ye. Moun yo asasine epi gen onz moun, fanm avèk tifi ki subi vyòl kolektif kadejak nan masak trèz novanm de mil dizuit lan. Dapre sa òganizasyon an presize nan yon dènye rapò.</p> <p>Lòt bò nan aktyalite a se polis lan direksyon lwès e bilan e nan okazyon fèt finisman lane a dabò yon angajman, polis la angaje l pou garanti sekirite tout moun nan okazyon finisman lane a. Se sa pòt pawòl Polis Nasyonal lan, pòt pawòl annapre Gari Dewozye presize nan yon konferans li bay pou laprès jodiya nan direksyon polis lan nan lwès. E pòt pawòl annapre a pale de senk san polisye ki mobilize nan departman lwès lan, donk lò w tandè pale de lwès sitou Pòtoprens pou fèt finisman lane a, san konte supò Minijus. Gras a operasyon sa a yo rele ‘Mache Pran Yo’, wi, lapolis lan e mennen nan plizyè katye nan zòn metwopolitèn nan, selon pòt pawòl annapre a, lapolis la rive fè arestasyon, sezi zam e pandan operasyon sa a, n ap vini avèk detay nan konferans pou laprès sa a.</p>					

Konsènan non polisye yo rele Dimmy Cherisier alyas 'Barbecue' ki SD nan **de** rapò, **de** òganizasyon ki ap defann dwa moun, Platfòm Je Klere e ak RNDDH sou evènman terib ki pase e nan Lasalin nan epi avèk rekòmandasyon RNDDH fè konsènan e polisye **sa a**. Ebyen, e selon pòt pawòl annapre polis nasyonal la, Gari Dewozye, li poko gen enfòmasyon sou ki desizyon direksyon jeneral la pran konsènan polisye **sa a** nou wè ki genyen apui puiske l te mete anpil moun nan laru (4:01) semèn pase a. E l te menm gen yon konferans de près ankò yon lòt òganizasyon fè pou supote l semèn **sa a**.

Epui nou te ale nan e sou plasditali, anba lavil la, pou n al wè kijan deplase Lasalin yo ye, e plis ke yon mwa depui moun **sa yo** kite kote yo t ap viv akòz de evènman **sa yo**.

Lòt pwèn e, deja gen pwoblèm ant otorite lokal yo nan vil \$<Port-de-Paix>\$. Majistra prensipal komun **sa a**, \$<Josue Alisma>\$ denonse nouvo delege a ki enstale yè, e Soni Wisle Dordòy, li di ki debake nan meri a avèk yon juj depè pou vin fouye biwo l. Dapre sa li denonse, majistra a, ki genyen yon manda dèyè l e ki nan mawon depui aksidan kote kòlèg li, majistra annapre Toni Vernyo te mouri. E l te pase e nan radyo Kiskeya jounen jodiya pou mande delege Dordòy suspann mete abse sou klou nan sitiasyon politik li di, Jovnèl Moyiz deja twouve l la.

Nan aktualite entènasyonal lan, dabò sezisman apre sa enkyetid konsènan desizyon prezidan ameriken an pran sanble san konsiltasyon, pou l retire militè ameriken ki te deplòtonnen nan yon rejyon kote Etazuni gen alye l ki se minorite e ki twouve yo sou fwontyè ant peyi Turki ak Siri. Apre desizyon an fè anpil moun pantan, e kouwèlyela a se laperèz. E lòt analiz tou montre malgre militè ameriken yo kenbe yon diskou publik ki montre yo pa ta gen pwoblèm ak prezidan **sa a**, men se pa vre.

RDC, eleksyon an repòte pou yon semèn. Kanpay lan ap kanpe demen. Se desizyon **sa a** konsèy elektoral Republik Demokratik Kongo a anonse jounen jodiya jan ke yo te prevwa.

E, Madagaskar, premye rezilta elksyon yo, byen ke yo di se nan kòmansman mwa janvyè a y ap bay rezilta yo e gen tan divize popilasyon an. Alòske pa t gen anpil moun ki te mobilize pou te al vote nan eleksyon **sa yo**.

Togo, eleksyon lejislativ – Opozisyon an mande bòykote eleksyon **sa yo**.

Epui Etazuni enkulpe de akè (hackers) chinwa, moun ki ap fè gwo aktivite e sou rezo, sou entènèt e paske yo atake, yo te fè a tak kont **douz** peyi dapre sa Etazuni e denonse.

Epui te gen yon gwo tranbleman detè, **sèt pwèn twa** nan e peyi kontinan yo rele Larusi a, nan Ekstrèm Oryan Larusi. Larusi kote Vladimi Poutin e te genyen you lòt fwa ankò randevou avèk laprès. Yon konferans pou laprès ki dure plizyè èSDan. Kote jounalis soti nan lemond antye pou vin patisipe nan konferans pou laprès **sa a**.

Envite Jounal **katrè** apre midi a, se de majistra nan zòn metwopoliten an, majistra komin Kafou an, e ki se tou prezidan federasyon an FENA, \$<Jude Edouard Pierre>\$ ak majistra Petyonvil la, Dominik Senwòk, k ap pale nou de ki operasyon netwayaj de komin **sa yo** ap fè nan finisman lane a. Y ap reponn kesyon Bitovenn Franswa Fis. Se enfòmasyon **sa yo** ak anpil lòt nou va gen pou nou devlope pou ou aprè midi a nan jounal **sa a**.

Appendix I - Selections of the use of *la* (from items 1-524) with context and English translation

Item 10	Bon l pa la.
Item 42	...komisè gouvènman ki te la,...
Item 62	...jeneratris nou gen tan la.
Item 66 Context for item 66	<p>. Men, pa di misyon w fini la.</p> <p>Dè ke w fin voye rapò a bay pakè ULCC desezi. Ou pa gen gwo pouvwa pase sa non. Depi w fin voye rapò a bay pakè ULCC desezi. E si on direktè ULCC ta eksplike konbye dosye yo voye bay pakè kote yo rekòmande la poursuite ou la mise en branle, mise en branle pajanm fèt, poursuite pajanm fèt, ou ta mete deu men nan tèt. Men, pa di misyon w fini la.</p> <p>After sending the report to the Prosecutor's office ULCC relinquished it. You have no greater power than that. After sending the report to the Prosecutor's office ULCC relinquished it. And if a ULCC director would explain how many files are sent to the Prosecutor's office where they recommend the pursuit or the activation, the activation never happened, you would put both hands on your head (shocked). But don't say your mission ends there.</p>
*Item 87	Nou sansib a sa k ap fèt la,...
Item 98 Context for item 98:	<p>...gen yon flagon la,...</p> <p>Pou lanmè a, nou mande vwalye yo pran prekosyon zòn Kotyè Nò, gen yon flagon la, e sitou mitan lanmè zòn Kotyè Sid e kote lanmè a ap move anpil pa rapò ak vag yo ki on ti jan trè elve nan zòn Kotyè Sid.</p> <p>For the sea, we ask the sailors to be careful in the North Coast area, there is a 'flagon' there, and especially in the middle of the sea in the South Coast area and where the sea is going to be very rough compared to the waves that are a bit too high in the South Coast area.</p>
Item 112 Context for 112:	<p>Si n pa rive la...</p> <p>Fò n jwenn yon nouvo kontra sosyal. Si n pa ka rive la, enbyen ann jwenn konpwomi an.</p> <p>We must find a new social contract. If we can't get there, then let's find a compromise.</p>
Item 113	...te gen ofisye subalterne ki la...
Item 126 Context for item 126:	<p>Paske si mwen wè yon bagay la...</p> <p>Men pa bliye, si les questions de procédures ne sont pas respectées, après ou pral tonbe nan yon bann voies de recours, ou pral tonbe nan vices de formes, vices de procédures. Mwen menm mwen se yon juriste! Mwen plis kwè kote procédurale kesyon an, ke mwen wè vakam li pale. Paske si mwen wè yon bagay la, fòk mwen fè sa lalwa di m fè.</p> <p>But don't forget, if the issues of procedures are not respected, then you will fall into a number of avenues of recourse, you will fall into vices of forms, vices of procedures. I am a lawyer! I</p>

	believe more about the procedural side of the question, that I see the uproar it brings. Because if I see something there , I have to do what the law tells me to do.
Item 129 Context for item 129:	alòskeu subalterne ou yo la Pegi: Eksè de zèl yo se yo ki koze pwoblèm, men se pa sa présence physique sur les lieux Wè, wè). Eksè dzèl, al komunike dirèk avèk moun yo alòskeu subalterne ou yo la . Pegi: The excesses of zeal are the ones that cause the problem, but not his physical presence on the premises See, see). Excessive zeal, go communicate directly with the people while your subordinates are there .
Item 139 Context for item 139:	Bon bagay la rive la Lè w di 16 desanm 90, se ansanm sektè demokratik la, se mouvans demokratik la ki te fè l. Bon bagay la rive la , ... When you say December 16, 1990, it was the whole democratic sector, the democratic movement that did it. Well, the thing got there , ...
Item 165 Context for item 165:	...son nou gen tan la, jeneratris nou gen tan la. E finalman gras a on avoka, on supò avoka Karlo Jèmen epui nou rive jwenn on notifikasyon. Donk pandan jounen an la a, n ap moute stang nou, son nou gen tan la, jeneratris nou gen tan la . And finally thanks to a lawyer, a support from the lawyer Karlo Jèmen and we get a notification. So during the day (here), we are going up our stand, our sound system is already there, our generators are already there .
Item 248	*Ou wè sa k fèt la...
Item 250 Context for item 250:	...m regrèt keu m pa la. Danton Leger on the phone: Memo m di, memo m di, memo m di deja m regrèt keu m pa la . M ekskuze oprè de tout publik la, de tout oditè yo. Danton Leger on the phone: My memo says, my memo says, my memo says, I already said I'm sorry I'm not there . I apologize to the public as a whole, to all the listeners.
Item 270	jan ekspresyon an di l la...
Item 283 Context for item 283:	...n ap pale a pou moun ki te la. Bon sa a, s on on ti nan pase resan nou il y a seulement katòzan, sa n ap pale a pou moun ki te la . Well, if we look at our recent past, about only fourteen years ago, what we are talking about those who were there .

<p>Item 292</p> <p>Context for item 292:</p>	<p>...èske sa ap kanpe la?</p> <p>Sitou lè Ozetazuni polisye Ameriken rale iPhoneX yon moun ki te an afè ak la jistis, pwente telefòn nan nan figi li pou li debloke l, sa te mache! Gwo tole te fèt sou sa, men èske sa ap kanpe la?</p> <p>Especialy when the American police pulled the iPhoneX of a person who was involved with justice, pointed the phone in his face to unlock it, it worked! There was a big uproar about this, but will it stop there?</p>
<p>Item 298</p>	<p>Pwoblèm nan la.</p>
<p>*Item 325</p>	<p>...vye nèg sa yo ki enpoze Jovenel Moise la</p> <p>Context for item 325: Jodiya, nèg yo te di yap bène kontra sosyal, nouvo kontra sosyal sa a, se menm vye nèg sa yo ki enpoze Jovenel Moise la.</p> <p>Today, the guys who said they are limiting a social contract, this new social contract, are the same old guys who imposed Jovenel Moise.</p>
<p>Item 353</p> <p>Context for item 353:</p>	<p>...ak sitwayen ki ap deplase sot la...</p> <p>Repons prezans polisyer, keu m ap bat bravo pou responsab yo (Pegi: Wi, wi) ki fè deplwaman sa a, ou ka wè nannwit kòm lajounen ou pase w ap wè gen polisye nan laru a, yo pral bezwen ranfòse l onivo deu lakwadèbosol, y ap bezwen ranfòse l sou wout en Martisan, y ap bezwen ranfòse l sou wout Kafou a, y ap bezwen ranfòse l sou Kanaran, ki ka pèmèt omwen sitwayèn ak sitwayen ki ap deplase sot la...</p> <p>The answer to the presence of police officers, I am applauding the officials for that (Pegi: Yes, yes) who made this deployment, you can see at night as during the day you will see policemen on the street, they will need to strengthen it at the level of the Lakwadèbosol, they will need to strengthen it on the Martisan road, they will need to strengthen it on the Kafou road, they will need to strengthen it on Kanaran, which can allow at least female citizens and male citizens who are moving from there...</p>
<p>Item 382</p> <p>Context for item 382:</p>	<p>*Se sèl pou ou m pa eksplisit la.</p> <p>E nou kwè (Pegi: Paskal se sa m te vle evite a!) Non, non (Pegi: Paskeu non) Kite m fini (Pegi: Mwen bezwen w eksplisit.) Se sèl pou ou m pa eksplisit la.</p> <p>And we believe (Pegi: Pascal this is what I wanted to avoid!) No, no (Pegi: Because no) Let me finish (Pegi: I need you to be explicit.) It's only for you I'm not explicit.</p>
<p>Item 389</p> <p>Context for item 389:</p>	<p>Kòman yo pa ka mande l la?</p> <p>Nou antre nan dwa konstitisyonèl la a.) (MJSJ: Men li pa nan dwa konstitisyonèl sa w ap di la a. Asad Vòlsi: Èskeu w ta vle di yo pa gen dwa mete kontnu manda a en kesyon, non? Charlo: Attends, attends. Kòman yo pa ka mande l la?</p>

	We are entering into constitutional right, here.) (MJSJ: But what you are saying here does not belong to constitutional right. Asad Vòlsi: Do you mean that they do not have the right to question the content of the mandate, no? Charlo: Wait, wait. How come they cannot ask about it?
*Item 432 Context for item 432:	Annou rete nan sa ki fèt la. (Pegi: Mhm) Alòskeu g on moman done, yo t ap revoke Ocnam, li t ap parèt on siyal de la volonté de faire un pwochè. Jodiya Ocnam pa demisyone oubyen yo revoke l puiskeu se revoke yo revoke l yo fè l ale (Pegi: Mhm) paskeu justeman e li vle g on g on siyal pase sa vle di nou te mande pouvwa a fòk li voye on siyal qu'en est de sa volonté (Pegi: Alò kanmèm se demisyone l demisyone. Annou rete nan sa ki fèt la(a). (Pegi: Mhm) While at some point, they would fire Ocnam, it would appear as a signal of the will to file a lawsuit. Today, Ocnam does not resign or they fire him since they indeed fire him, they fire him, they let him go (Pegi: Anyway he indeed resigned. Let us remain on what happened here.
Item 439 Context for item 439:	fòk Jovenel Moïse pa la! Pou pwochè Petwo Karibe a fèt, se tout peyi a ki dwe mobilize! Pou pwochè Petwo Karibe a fèt, fòk Jovenel Moïse pa la! For the Petro Karibe's trial to take place, the whole country must be mobilized! For the Petro Karibe's trial to take place, Jovenel Moïse must not be there!
Item 456	Pakè a ki te disfonksyonèl la,...
Item 461	Oke, Oke mèsèi senateur, kenbe la,...
Item 488 Context for item 488:	Pegi: Se sa, merci, kenbe la. Danton Leger on the phone: Per fas et nefas samedi prochain nous y serons. Pegi: Se sa, merci, kenbe la. Vwala, depute Jan Danton Leger ki ta dwe avè n nan panèl Moman Verite jodiyen men ki pale deu menas de mort. Danton Leger on the phone: Per fas et nefas samedi prochain nous y serons. Pegi: That's it, thanks, hold on. Well, Congressman Jan Danton Leger who should be with us in the Moment of Truth panel today but who talks about death threats.
Item 500 Context for item 500:	Renòl Jòj te la. Moun ki tande m pran Renòl Jòj yo tou, il y a deux semaines Renòl Jòj te la. Those who heard me take Renòl Jòj too, two weeks ago Renòl Jòj was there.
Item 504 Context for item 504:	Nan pwogram bale laru sa a keu yo vin avè l la,.. Nan pwogram bale laru sa a keu yo vin avè l la, yo fè n konprann se djòb li ye. In this street sweeping program that they came up with, they made us understand that this is employment.

<p>Item 505</p> <p>Context for item 505:</p>	<p>...li mouri la pou la.</p> <p>Gen Frantz Gedeyon alyas Fanfan e ki te gen senkantneuvan nan sware trèz novanm nan li t ap eseye chape soti lakay li lè l pran deu bal nan vant, li mouri la pou la.</p> <p>Frantz Gedeyon, alias Fanfan, and who was fifty-nine years old on the night of November thirteenth he was trying to escape from his home when he took two bullets in the stomach, he died instantly.</p>
<p>Item 520</p> <p>Context for item 520:</p>	<p>Non, nou pa la.</p> <p>Èskeu jodiya la a si mwen menm Paskal Adriyen mwen site laprezidans sa vle di mwen gen tan gen dwa dsiyatu pou m angaje larepublik? Non, nou pa la.</p> <p>If today here/now I, Pascal Adrien, I mention the presidency, does that mean I already have the signature right to engage the republic? No, we are not there.</p>