

**Grammaticalization effects on complementizers:
A comparative analysis of creole languages**

Marlyse Baptista
Miki Obata
University of Michigan
baptistm@umich.edu
obata@umich.edu

This paper focuses on the grammaticalization effects on complementizers introducing relative and interrogative clauses in English, and in English-based creoles such as Krio, Sranan, and Bislama. The other languages under examination are Cape Verdean Creole, Negerholland and Hebrew. This paper demonstrates that creoles may provide insights into the processes of grammaticalization which can also apply to languages outside the creole group. We investigate how the grammaticalization of verbs into complementizers endow the latter with verbal features yielding interesting *wh*-extraction patterns in the languages under consideration.

It is generally assumed that the grammaticalization cline follows the following pattern: content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix (see Bruyn, to appear).

We argue in this paper that either inherited lexical features (along the lines of Nylander, 1996) or clitic properties allow the grammaticalized complementizer to be present not only in the case of object extraction but also subject extraction.

This paper is divided into two sections: In the first part, we provide an overview of the literature discussing the development of verbs into grammatical markers such as complementizers (Byrne (1987; to appear), Croft, (1991), Hopper and Traugott (1993; 2003), Givón (1991), Keenan (1985), Lehmann (1988), Lord (1976), Nylander (1996), and Heine and Kuteva (2003; 2005)). The second part is divided into two sections: In the first, we focus on the English-based creole Krio whose complementizer shows traces of verbal origins (cf. Mitchell (1986); Traugott (1992)). In the second section, we analyze the clitic properties of complementizers in Bislama (Meyerhoff, 2002), Sranan (Bruyn, to appear), Negerholland (Muysken, 2003), Cape Verdean Creole and Hebrew (*ki* and *e* respectively) and note how the interrogative clauses in which they appear show the same type of subject and object extraction patterns (across the complementizer), as was observed in Krio. In the third part, we develop a theoretical analysis in which we argue along the lines of Nylander (1996) that for the complementizers which inherited verbal features via grammaticalization, those lexical features allow them to be proper governors for the subject trace in the case of subject extraction. On the other hand, for the complementizers that are endowed with clitic properties, we can argue (cf. Shlonsky, 1988) that cliticization is free to occur not only in the phonological component of the grammar but also in the syntax. The absence of complementizer-trace phenomena in the creoles under consideration can be accounted for by assuming an operator *à la* Pesetsky in Spec-CP which merges with the complementizers and allow them to carry its features. This turns the overt *Comp* into an appropriate governor for the subject trace. We will show how such properties can be argued to be possible effects of grammaticalization.