Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

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HUGO SCHUCHARDT

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The abstracts are alphabetically organized according to the
first author's first name.
The two invited talks are excluded from this arrangement.

Susanne Maria Michaelis

(Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History - Jena)

The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures:
A more complete picture of creole typology

In this talk, I will show that the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (Michaelis & Maurer & Haspelmath & Huber (eds.), OUP 2013, apics-online.info) makes possible rigorous comparison of a large number of creoles with other creoles, and with non-creoles world-wide.

For a long time, comparative creolists have been biased towards the analysis and comparison of one sub-group of creoles, namely Atlantic creoles. At the same time they have prematurely generalized from this narrow historical group to creoles in general. It is now time to get non-Atlantic creoles (South Asian, Southeast Asian, Australian, and Pacific creoles) systematically into the picture of what/how creoles may look like. APiCS offers rich comparable data on a considerable number of non-Atlantic creoles. Inclusive/ exclusive pronouns, purely aspectual tense-aspect systems, genitive possessive constructions, indirect object constructions – just to mention a few – are well-attested features of creoles even though they are hardly found in Atlantic creoles.

But APiCS not only enables us to strictly compare different historical groups of creoles with each other: As 48 structural features of APiCS have been adopted from the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), we can now compare creoles with non-creoles world-wide. One result surely strengthens the important role of substrate effects in creolization: We detect systematic substrate influences in certain core areas of creole grammars, but not in others. For example, argument marking and event framing show constructional imitation of substrate patterns, whereas word order features overwhelmingly mirror the lexifiers' grammars.

Hugo C. Cardoso

(Universidade de Lisboa)

Schuchardt's archive and the 'lost' Asian-Portuguese creoles

Hugo Schuchardt is credited as one of the pioneers in the study of creole languages, having published linguistic descriptions of many and inspired others (such as Sebastião Dalgado) to do likewise. While Hugo Schuchardt's range of interests was extremely vast, he was particularly intent on determining the distribution of Portuguese-based creoles in Asia. In fact, these languages feature prominently in his scholarly production of the 1880s, which included articles on the creoles of Cochin (1882), Diu (1883a), Mangalore (1883b), Mahé and Cannanore (1889a), Batavia and Tugu (1890), and on Indo-Portuguese [i.e. Asian-Portuguese] in general (1889b).

In order to collect linguistic data, Schuchardt resorted to a wide network of informants who posted information from the field; as a result, his personal archive held at the University of Graz is a treasure trove of data about the languages he worked on. With respect to Asian-Portuguese, a great deal of it was transcribed and analysed in his published studies, but there is still much that remains unpublished.

The letters in Schuchardt's collection account for the presence and status of Asian-Portuguese creoles not only in places for which there is a significant amount of old and/or recent evidence (e.g. Diu, the Malabar/Kerala, Ceylon/Sri Lanka, Malacca, Macau) but also in less well-documented – or otherwise entirely undocumented – locations from which the languages have since disappeared. In this talk, we will explore the contribution of Schuchardt's archive for the documentation of Asian-Portuguese Creoles in these more obscure places: the Coromandel/Tamil Nadu (Pondicherry, Tranquebar, Mylapore, and Madras/Chennai), the Bengal region (including modern-day Bangladesh), Burma/Myanmar, and the Indonesian island of Flores.

Alain Kihm

(CNRS, UMR7110 / Université Paris Diderot)

West African Portuguese Creoles' many copulas

WAPCs are noteworthy for the multiplicity of copula forms they present, not only distinguishing tense-aspectuality values, but also occurring in distinct syntactic constructions. For instance, Guinea -Bissau Kriyol has three forms for the predicational copula: *i*, *yera(ba)*, and *sedu*. (I have nothing to say about the locative copula *sta* 'be in'.) The first form occurs in the {NP COP NP} construction, where COP is aspectually perfective and temporally present (e.g. *Santxu i amigu di Katxur* 'Monkey is Dog's friend'). The second form occurs in the same construction, but with past temporality (e.g. *Santxu yera(ba) amigu di Katxur* 'Monkey was Dog's friend'). The third form appears in three contexts: (i) as a base form in the scope of a TMA marker (e.g. *Santxu na sedu amigu di Katxur* 'Monkey will be Dog's friend'); (ii) as a nonfinite form in clauses embedded under factive verbs (e.g. *N misti pa Santxu sedu amigu di Katxur* 'I want Monkey to be Dog's friend'); (iii) instead of *i* in a so-called 'exposed' position (e.g. *Amigu di Katxur ku Santxu sedu* 'It's Dog's friend that Monkey is'). Similar facts are observed in all varieties of Cape Verdean (e.g. Sotavento *e*, *era*, and *ser*) and in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles (e.g. Principense *era*, *sa*, and null).

The present study addresses this issue from two angles. On the one hand, it aims to achieve a simple and coherent description of such apparently complex and disorderly phenomena, using the formalism of Information -based Morphology (Bonami & Crysmann 2013), a development of Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump 2001). It will be shown for instance that, within the lexeme SEDU, *i* and *yera(ba)* should be considered two stems of one lexical entry, whereas the three *sedu* forms correspond to separate lexical entries.

Then questions of origin will be considered in order to try and comprehend how these forms were reanalysed and redistributed from a Portuguese mini -paradigm presumably consisting in 3SG present indicative é, 1SG/3SG imperfect indicative *era*,

infinitive *ser*, and possibly – to account for **sa** –3PL present indicative *são* and/or 3SG present indicative *está* of the other Portuguese copula *estar*. Lexical conflation was also at work, e.g. between *ele* 'he' and *é* 'is', the two sources of **i** and **e**, which accounts for the special placement of the negator **ka** 'not', which follows these items, while it precedes all other verbs (including reflexes of *era* and *ser*).

Alan N. Baxter

(Universidade Federal da Bahia)

Some aspects of Malacca Creole Portuguese
as evidenced in 19thC documentation

Documents researched in the *Hugo Schuchardt Archiv* (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria) reveal that between 1883 and 1884, Professor Schuchardt wrote to several individuals in Singapore and Malacca, seeking information concerning Malacca Creole Portuguese (MCP). Among the responses, in 1884 he was fortunate to establish contact with Fr Nicolau Theophilus Pinto, a Goan priest fluent in MCP, knowledgeable about details of the language and various socio-cultural aspects of the community in Malacca. With the assistance of Fr Pinto, Schuchardt obtained a small, but diverse set of materials in MCP, including dictated texts which constitute the earliest texts of MCP clearly identified as originating from native speakers. In ongoing correspondence, Schuchardt discussed with Fr Pinto various details of the grammar and lexicon.

This paper considers some key aspects of Fr Pinto's notes on MCP grammar and of the content of three of the MCP texts. Topics include Fr Pinto's accounts of the mechanisms of possession and plural marking in noun phrases, the forms and TMA functions of the verb, variables reflecting register differences in MCP, and preposition and conjunction use. Each of these topics reveals a degree of difference in relation to modern MCP, the implications of which are discussed in terms of change and stability in MCP grammar. Thus, on the one hand, while variation is observed in the form of the post-nominal genitive in the 19thC data, in modern MCP the overall system is retained while variation in forms is diminished. On the other hand, change is evident in the mechanism of coordination, the coordinating conjunction of the 19thC texts being absent from the modern language. Furthermore, the paper suggests answers to specific questions posed in research on modern MCP, such as the status of the now rare TMA variant *sta* (Baxter 1988:133; Rêgo 1998[1942]:186), which is associated with register in the 19thC data, and the origin of stress shifting on verbs (Baxter 1988, 2012; Becker & Veenstra 2003; Clements 2009), which Fr Pinto relates to TMA function. The paper

includes comparisons with the grammars of other varieties of (South)east Asian CP, such as Macau CP (Batalha 1974, Nunes 2010 and Ferreira 1996), Batavia/Tugu CP (Maurer 2013) and Bidau CP (Cardoso & Baxter *in preparation*).

Alfred Benjamin Baiden + Nana Yaw Ofori Gyasi

(University of Ghana + Koforidua Polytechnic)

Word Formation Processes in Student Pidgin in Ghana

This paper explores the word-formation processes in Student Pidgin (SP): the variety of Ghanaian Pidgin English spoken by students in the various second-cycle and tertiary institutions in the country. The study of Pidgins and Creoles has been one of the central topics in Linguistics in recent decades. Heretofore, pidgins and creoles have been mainly mentioned in passing as languages that are not worth studying. However, the situation seems to be changing as more and more studies are being conducted on them. This can be attributed to the belief held by some linguists that a lot can be learnt about language history from the study of the origins of pidgins and creoles. This linguistic situation has been no different in Ghana. As a language emerging from a long period of neglect, Pidgin English is now being studied at all levels, with the majority of these studies focusing on the sociolinguistic aspects of this variety.

Data for this morphological study were gathered by recording students of the University of Ghana and the observer technique was also employed as a supplement. Analysis of the data reveals that though speakers of Student Pidgin depend heavily on English for the bulk of their vocabulary, they still employ various word-formation processes to satisfy their communicative needs. This flies in the face of claims made by scholars such as Seuren and Wekker (1986:66) that morphology is insignificant to pidgin and creole languages. It is further revealed that most of the words that have undergone these processes are unique to Student Pidgin, thereby lending further weight to the view that most speakers of Urban Youth Languages in Africa use their language(s) to create an identity that sets them apart from the dominant society.

Alla Klimenkowa

(Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

***Criollo / crioulo*: the fatality of transatlantic birth**

The main purpose of this contribution is to approach the etymology and semantics of the Spanish lexeme *criollo* and its Portuguese cognate *crioulo* using an enlarged multisource database and new analytical frames. The assumptions presented base on the recently discovered archival material and a thorough contrasting of Spanish and Portuguese primary sources. The focus on rather underestimated aspects of the early transatlantic slave trade enables to reverse the previous estimates, first, by reducing the temporal gap between the first attestations of the word in Portuguese and Spanish, and, second, by questioning a supposed scarce familiarity of the Portuguese with the lexeme.

The paper regards *criollo* or *crioulo* as a convergent term resulting from an intense commercial and cultural interaction between West Africans and Europeans, particularly the Portuguese and the Spanish. A cultural crucible the concept and its linguistic term are hypothesized to have emerged in is to search on the Cape Verde Islands, primarily on the Leeward island Santiago, from where it was taken to the Caribbean. The answer will be given, by what means this transmission took place. Considering a deeply rooted Spanish-Portuguese cooperation in the context of slave trade, the paper discusses the notion of a 'vocabulary pool' resulting from an accumulated knowledge of both speech communities. The term *criollo* or *crioulo* can be seen as an instructive instance of their common vocabulary of slavery.

Ana Krajinović Rodrigues

(University of Lisbon, CLUL)

Verb system of Indo-Portuguese of the Malabar:

diachrony and sociolinguistic variation

Schuchardt's work on Indo-Portuguese creoles of the Malabar (Schuchardt 1882, 1883, 1889b) provides us with a 19th century written corpus of the creoles of Cochin, Mangalore, Mahé and Cannanore. More recently, some fieldwork in Cochin and Cannanore (still ongoing) has brought about new data (Cardoso 2014a) regarding the present-day creole.

By comparing the 19th century corpus with recent fieldwork data, one finds considerable linguistic differences which need to be accounted for. For instance, although in both corpora we see usage of the Indo-Portuguese TMA markers *jə*, *tə* and *lɔ* with an uninflected verb form, in the 19th century corpus some inflected verb forms may also be found. Let us compare the verb morphology in examples (1) – (3).

(1) *Respondeo   eu [...]*
    (Schuchardt 1882:11) answer-
    PAST I
    'I answered [...]'
    (PAST – past morpheme)

(2) *Quem ja   fala?*
    (Schuchardt 1882:6) who
        PAST speak
    'Who spoke?'

(3) *ag   jə   suwi.* (Cochin: elicitated corpus,
    Cardoso 2010) water PAST rise
    'The water rose.'

In example (1) we can see the past form *respondeo*, which can be used for all grammatical persons and which uses the morphology of a Portuguese third person singular in past perfect. However, in examples (2) and (3) the past is expressed by the Indo-Portuguese past marker *ja/jə*. In the present-day creole there are only three verbs that developed from Portuguese inflected past forms rather than from a past marker and Portuguese infinitive. Those verbs are *foy* ("was"), *tinha/tin(i)* ("had") and *karinhi* ("wanted"), out of which only *foy* requires the addition of the past marker *ja/jə*.

Cardoso (2014b) has shown that linguistic variation (i.e., different degrees of creolization) has been very present in Indo-Portuguese creoles. The creole past marker *ja/jə* can then be classified as a basilectal characteristic, while a Portuguese-like verb inflection is more acrolectal in that respect. Schuchardt's corpus has attested both registers (cf. examples (1) and (2)) and indeed shows more internal variation than the modern data from Cochin and Cannanore, which has a more basilectal register (cf. example (3)).

The goal of this work is to compare the two corpora in order to analyze the diachronic course of the Indo-Portuguese verb system and understand which grammatical strategies and sociolinguistic registers have remained predominant in the present-day creole. Also, the description of the creole verb system will contribute to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic variation in the 19th century creole, thus facilitating the study of its corpus.

Ana Lívia Agostinho

(Universidade de São Paulo)

A language game in Lung'Ie

The goal of this paper is to describe a language game in Lung'Ie, a Portuguese-based creole language spoken in Príncipe Island, São Tomé and Príncipe. Furthermore, this ludling will shed light on some phonological issues in Lung'Ie such as the position of the onglide and the offglide inside the syllable structure and the importance of stress.

This language game inserts CV syllables with [p] as an onset and a copy vowel as the nucleus (pV). The ludling pV is inserted after the tonic syllable of the word and the ludling syllable becomes the tonic:

(1) a. [u'dɛdʊ]   [udɛ'pɛdʊ]   'finger'

     b. [u'muɲɐ]   [umu'puɲɐ]   'nail'

     c. [ka'bɐ]   [kaba'pa]   'to finish'

     d. ['primʊ]   [pri'pimʊ]   'cousin'

Whenever there is a coda in the input (cf. Agostinho 2014), it will appear as a coda in the inserted syllable and it will not be copied:

(2) a. ['goʃ.to]   [go.'poʃ.to], *[goʃ.'poʃ.to], *[goʃ.'po.to]   'gosto'

     b. [tu.'sã]   [tu.sa'pã], *[tu.sã'pã], *[tu.sã'pa]   'sentar'

In words with long vowels, the ludling syllable will also be long, i. e., the branched nucleus is entirely copied:

(3)   ['paːtɐ]   [paː'paːtɐ]   'silver'

According to Araujo and Agostinho (2014), language games are usually used as an argument for the position of glides in the syllable structure (cf. Davis & Hammond 1995; Lee 1994).
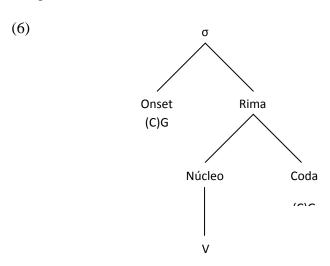
The onglide will behave like a consonant and will not be copied in the ludling syllable, which shows that the onglide is part of the onset, since if it was part of the nucleus we would have *[abja'pja], *[nwɛ'pwɛsɛ] e *[wɛ'pwɛ]:

(4)   a.   [a'bja]   [abja'pa], *[abja'pja], *[aba'pja]   'creek'

        b.   ['nwɛsɛ]   [nwɛ'pɛsɛ], *[nwɛ'pwɛsɛ], *[nɛ'pwɛsɛ]   'half a coconut'

        c.   ['wɛ]   [wɛ'pɛ], *[wɛ'pwɛ]   'to go'

The offglides have the same behavior of codas, that is, they become part of the coda of the inserted syllable:

(5)   a.   [u'baw]   [uba'paw], *[ubaw'paw], *[ubaw'pa]   'clay'

        b.   ['sej]   [se'pej], *[sej'pej], *[sej'pe]   'six'

If the offglide was part of the nucleus, we would have a copy of the nucleus and the output would be *[ubaw'paw] and *[sej'pej]. The fact that offglide have the same behavior as a consonant, demonstrates that it is in the coda of the syllable.

In (6), we can see the glides represented as consonants in the syllable structure of Lung'Ie:

(6)

Ana R. Luís

(Universidade de Coimbra)

Early patterns of plural marking in 17th century Afro-Portuguese

One of the linguistic innovations of 17th century *Lingua de Preto* is the emergence of inflectional plural marking within the Noun Phrase. As our data will show, a number of different determiners can bear the plural suffix:

(1) *a.* **os** *colação* > o coracão 'the heart'

   b. **as** *mão* > as mãos 'the hands'

   c. **humas** *dança* > algumas danças 'some dance/s'

   d. **huns** *Neglo* > alguns negros 'some Black/s'

The plural suffix also appears on possessive pronouns and in so-called portmanteau prepositions:

(2) a. **tuas** *oyo* > teus olhos 'in your eyes'

   b. **meus** *bida* > minha vida 'of my life'

   c. **suas** *cabelo* > seus cabelos 'his hair'

(3) a. *aos Berem* > a Belém 'to Bethlehem'

   b. *nos terra* > na terra *'in the land'*

   c. *pelos oyo* > pelos olhos 'through the eyes'

Plural marking on determiners continue to surface in 18th century *Lingua de Preto* (Kihm&Rougé 2013) and has also been documented in 19th century Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (Baxter&Lopes 2009). In fact, this property of the Noun Phrase has become one of the hallmarks of partially restructured Afro-Portuguese varieties (Holm 2004) and has also survived in some West-African Portuguese Creoles. This pluralization strategy however is absent from 16th century *Língua de Preto,* suggesting

that it may have developed during the 17th century by the Afro-Portuguese community living in Portugal (Luís&Estudante to appear).

The goal of this paper will therefore be two-fold: i) to lay out the morphosyntactic properties of plural marking and ii) to examine the possible origins of this linguistic pattern and its influence on the development of plural marking in other Afro-Portuguese varieties.

Angela Bartens

(University of Turku / University of Helsinki)

Language ideologies in the creole communities of
San Andrés (Colombia) and Nicaragua

Closely related English-lexifier creoles are spoken on the Colombian islands of San Andrés and Old Providence as well as the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast. Until this day, speakers profess a high amount of loyalty towards the British and their language and, by default, to English in general. Forced Hispanization and Catholicization began around 1900 in both cases. Only in the 1980s and 1990s did the creole-speaking territories gain (partial) autonomy from the central governments: the Nicaraguan North Atlantic Autonomous Region (RAAN) and the South Atlantic Autonomous Region (RAAS) were created in 1987 and elected their first regional governments in 1990; the present Colombian Constitution was ratified in 1991, granting the Department of San Andrés a special status as elaborated in Law 47 of 1993. These legislative measures allow for a certain degree of both territorial and linguistic self-determination (cf. Bartens 2013a and 2013b).

Whereas Spanish, the sole official language during most of the 20th century, is generally resented, the stigmatization all creole languages suffer even among their speakers has led to a state of affairs in which the opportunities for the officialization and standardization of the creoles granted by the legislation have not been made use of to their full potential.

The Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua led to massive alphabetization campaigns modeled on the Cuban experience but, differently from linguistic communities such as the Miskitu, the prevalence of the creole speakers professing an Anglo identity resulted in English being employed as the non-Spanish language in the bilingual education program for Nicaraguan Creole English speakers. The poor results of the program are reported on, for instance, by Hurtubise (1990) cited in Freeland (1993: 81). The most recent effort to introduce Creole as the L1 of creole-speaking children is part of the new Intercultural Multilingual Education Project implemented in 2007 (cf. Koskinen 2010).

Bilingual education in the Colombian Department of San Andrés has evolved more or less on the same terms. The lack of continuity and underlying reluctance of decision-makers to acknowledge a creole and not (only) English heritage jeopardize educational efforts in a community the language of which is highly endangered by the increasing influence of Spanish and the reintroduction of Standard English into the repertoire of the speech community.

The aim of this paper is to trace a comprehensive picture of the evolution of language ideologies in these creole communities, with a certain emphasis on educational issues.

Arthur K. Spears

(City University of New York)

Language Contact and Grammatical Complexification:

African American English

A number of recent writings have dealt with complexity vis-à-vis language contact outcomes (Aboh & Smith 2009, Faraclas & Klein 2009, Kusters 2003, Dahl 2004, DeGraff 2009, McWhorter 2007, Trudgill 2011, Shosted 2006; Bakker, Daval-Markussen, Parkvall, & Plag 2011, and Trudgill 2011 among others). Trudgill 2011 distinguishes two basic types of language contact, one producing complexification: that involving (A) radical social and cultural upheaval with eventual new language genesis and language shift (e.g., pidgins and creoles) and (B) that involving prolonged, extensive bilingualism in one community, *leading to grammatical complexification*. An example of the second type is Sri Lankan Malay.

Looking at the AAE auxiliary system, we observe, not so much the "doubling" of auxiliaries (from 2 language sources, each set of auxiliaries having basically the same range of communicative functions), but complexification of the auxiliary system involving a primary auxiliary system (that of General American English) complemented by a uniquely AAE auxiliary system (Labov 1998), its members usually having restricted qualifying (e.g., intensifying) and emotive functions (e.g., signalling disapproval). Stressed BIN and STAY are examples of some AAE auxiliaries.

AAE doesn't fit language contact situation A, and indeed it isn't a P/C (rather, a "partially restructured language"). Also, it has an auxiliary set that formally and functionally has its source in a specific language (English).The auxiliaries have ancillary functions and in most cases their source language (or languages) is not clear; they may all even have resulted from internal change or calquing from input languages (creole and West African) in AAE genesis, a calquing which today is not transparent. (There is some evidence that at least one, *come*, marking strong disapproval, has a West African source.)

AAE doesn't fit into language contact situation (B) (based on descriptions of specific languages in scenario B) because it didn't emerge from a situation of prolonged, extensive bilingualism. Also, its creation did not lead to grammatical doubling (two systems having basically the same communicative function), but instead led to a primary TMA-marking auxiliary system from one language (English), and an ancillary auxiliary system that is communicatively restricted. From these observations, it would follow that we should distinguish at least 2 basic types of language contact situations and outcomes that may or tend to produce complexification in grammatical subsystems, the first represented by situation (B), the second represented by AAE.

Aymeric Daval-Markussen

(Aarhus University / University of Auckland)

Refining the notion of bi-clans in creole studies

Unlike traditional languages, which are characterized by descent from a single ancestor, creole languages have multiple origins in the languages present in each specific contact situation. A long-standing debate in cross-linguistic studies comparing creoles to non-creoles concerns the use of unbalanced samples reflecting a bias towards Atlantic creoles when searching for cross-creole universals (Holm & Patrick 2007: vi). There has been a long tradition in creole studies of taking Atlantic creoles as representative of creoles in general, but as new data on creoles, in particular those based on non-Indo-European lexifiers, have lately become available (especially with the publication of Michaelis et al. 2013), such convenience samples are simplistic at best and therefore inadequate for formulating generalizations about creole languages.

A recent proposal was put forward to overcome this problem, which relies on the concept of bi-clans (Michaelis 2014). In this model, the affiliations of both the lexifier and main substrates are taken into account so as to reflect the multiple origins of creoles and the typological diversity of the languages present in the contact situation. Thus, a creole such as Jamaican is considered to descend from English (the lexifier) and languages from the Macro-Sudan zone (the West African substrates) as defined by Güldemann (2010). This macro zone encompasses languages spanning from Sudan to West Africa and includes Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan languages.

However, there are three caveats to this approach: i) the slaves involved in the creation of creoles originated from areas in West Africa that span several of Güldemann's macro-areas (e.g. Kimbundu and other Bantu languages of West Africa), ii) a number of Nilo-Saharan languages are included in the Macro-Sudan belt but were not involved in the creation of creoles, and therefore iii) the scope of the bi-clan model does not adequately represent the diversity of languages present in the various contact situations.

In this paper, we propose to narrow down on the scope of bi-clans by selecting languages at the subgroup level, rather than at the macro-area level. We will compare results of phylogenetic analyses using i) a convenience sample of creoles and non-creoles, including both lexifiers and substrates, ii) a restricted sample selected by bi-clans, and iii) a larger sample including languages with a broader range of bi-clans based on subgroups of the major families involved in the formation of creoles (such as Romance and Germanic for Indo-European lexifiers, and Atlantic, Kwa, Ijoid and Mande for Niger-Congo substrates).

Birgit Dorn

(University of Graz)

Croato-Italian language contact in letters addressed to Hugo Schuchardt

Folena (1968: 338) is convinced that the dialect of Venice may have added more loans to foreign languages than standard Italian. This is due to the history of the Republic of Venice: during a period of approximately 800 years until the end of the Republic in 1791, Venice conquered parts of northern Italy and controlled large areas east of the Adriatic Sea. These included a number of trading cities along the Croatian coast (Eufe, 2006: 15-24). With the expansion of this empire, the Venetian dialect spread and came into contact with local languages, which led to mutual linguistic influence. Still, due to immigration and trade, other kinds of Italian, including the literary variety, had an effect as well.

The reciprocal influence of these languages in the Croatian areas of contact was researched by Bidwell (1967) among others. Even before that, Hugo Schuchardt treated a number of linguistic contact phenomena in the territory of modern Croatia in his 1884 work *Slawo-Deutsches und Slawo-Italienisches.* Concerning his work, Bidwell (1967) remarks that

> Schuchardt unfortunately fails to make clear whether the usages
> he reports are those of native speakers of colonial Venetian or of
> Slavs to whom Venetian was a second language, perhaps
> imperfectly mastered. (1967: 25)

However, a close examination of a number of letters preserved in the *Sondersammlung* of the University of Graz indicates that in order to gain information Schuchardt sent concrete questions to former students and scholars living in the area. A careful interpretation of a number of the answers to these reveals that Schuchardt was indeed concerned about the social and linguistic background of the speakers who produced the contact varieties in the Croatian coastal area. This allows at least a partial reinterpretation of Schuchardt's *Slawo-Deutsches und Slawo-Italienisches* and some of the key linguistic phenomena that he analysed.

Carlos Filipe G. Figueiredo + Lurdes Teresa Lopes Jorge
+ Márcia Santos Duarte de Oliveira
(University of Macau + University of Brasília
+ University of São Paulo)

O clítico "lhe" em relativas do Português do Libolo, Angola:
evidências de merge de beneficiário por traço edge

Neste trabalho, dos estudos do "Projeto Libolo", complementa-se a investigação do comportamento do pronominal de 3ª pessoa "lhe" em dados orais do português do Libolo, Angola (PLB) e apresenta-se investigação sobre valoração de traços formais de elementos verbais como em [1] e [2]:

[1] PLB:

Todo vão se esconder. O que **lhe** apanhar é que fica [ALJERM1]

(Interpretação: Todos vão esconder-se. Aquele a quem capturam é que morre)

[2] PLB:

(...) depois quem **lhe** apanhar fica lá [MARSAM1]

(Interpretação: (...) em seguida, essa pessoa que capturam morre)

Em [1] e [2] (relativa e relativa livre), o clítico "lhe", interpretado como experienciador/beneficiário, aparenta estar em posição proclítica ao verbo de que seria argumento. Para [1], analisado em Oliveira, Jorge & Figueiredo (2014), avançou-se a hipótese – centrada no minimalismo da derivação por fases (Chomsky, 1999; 2000; 2004; 2005; 2008) – de que a relação semântico-morfossintática entre elemento verbal da relativa e elemento Qu-, argumento do verbo, instanciaria, na derivação sintática, efeitos de valoração de *traços-phi* e movimento interno (*internal merge*) e, ainda, considerando que, em relativas do PLB, não há preenchimento de posições argumentais por pronomes lembretes, haveria evidência empírica de que "lhe", em [1], não é conectado (*merged*) em posição argumental do verbo da sentença relativa. Apresentou-se a hipótese de que "lhe" explicitaria efeito de traço de borda (*edge*), o que poderia ser

creditado à relação, na sentença relativa, entre traços formais do elemento verbal, do operador e da cópia apagada. Quanto a [2] (relativa livre), mantém-se a hipótese de haver um experienciador/beneficiário instanciado por "lhe", o qual, no curso da derivação, pode ser creditado a efeito de *merge* de um traço de borda (*edge*). O nosso objectivo recai, então, na comparação entre [1] e [2], quanto à investigação (também sob a perspectiva de derivação por fases) da distribuição e do comportamento do "lhe" quanto aos núcleos das fases vP e ou CP, tendo em vista a relação semântico-morfossintática entre a forma verbal e elementos Qu- das relativas. Com esta análise estendemos a ratificação das conclusões de Oliveira, Figueiredo & Jorge (2013), Figueiredo, Jorge & Oliveira (2014; a sair) às relativas livres como as representadas em [2], e, ainda, analisamos o estatuto de elementos verbais do PLB, quanto a traços formais/argumentais, no curso da derivação de relativas.

Christina Märzhäuser

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Bare nouns in African varieties of Portuguese

Article omission is described as a typical feature of Afro-Portuguese varieties (e.g. by Bacelar do Nascimento et al. (2008), Gärtner (1996), Lipski (2008), etc.). But while BN distribution in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is a frequent research topic (Schmitt & Munn 2002; Wall 2014), systematical data analysis for Afro-Portuguese varieties is still scarce. The absence of articles, especially the use of *bare nouns* (BNs), i.e. singular count nouns without overt determiner (and without further overt modification/ specification) deviant from the EP Standard, has frequently been attributed to language contact. This cross-linguistic comparison of BNs in Afro-Portuguese varieties explores the role of the semantics in contact for shifts in nominal determination patterns.

In the Portuguese of speakers of Capeverdean (Cardoso 2005), of Kriol in Guinea-Bissau (Fonseca 2012, Meisnitzer & Märzhäuser 2014) and on S. Tomé (Afonso 2009: 110), frequent BN use has been observed. Brazilian BN patterns coincide with the ones in Capeverdean (Inverno & Swolkien 2003), e.g. the generic PB example *Linguista a gente não pode conversar mais não*. (=PE *Com um linguista a gente* [...]) from Mateus *et al.* (2003: 502).

Lipski (2008) describes BN patterns for generic and definite NPs for Angolan Portuguese that coincide with BP noun phrases. But this could not be verified in fresh data from Inverno (2009, 2011, unpublished corpus) on Angolan Vernacular Portuguese. The BN patterns in the data from Fonseca (2012) for Guinea-Bissau and from Gonçalves (2010) for the Portuguese spoken on S. Tomé, yield BNs in subject and direct object position, in PPs (either postverbal = argumental, adverbial or modifying), sometimes coinciding with preposition drop (e.g. Gonçalves 2010)) for both definite (1) and generic (2) readings:

(1) Guinea-Bissau: *A mãe não queria ir embora e dizia para _ **filho:** […] – de repente surgiu o lobo […], o filho assustado não sabia o que fazer.* (Fonseca 2012: 73)

(2) S. Tomé: *Com mais idade isso cria ф **problema** para _ **homem**.* (Gonçalves 2010: 43)

In the data from Angola, on the other hand, the findings are rather negative so far. While there are examples such as (3) with an abstract noun,

(3) Angola: *Pára com _ **pressão**.* (Inverno 2009: 191)

more systematic BN uses were not visible in the Angolan data. Thus, there seems to be a significant difference in BN distribution for creole- versus non-creole contact settings. These are argued to depend on shifts in the underlying semantic patterns of nominal determination.

Cláudia Roberta Tavares Silva + Fernanda Maciel Ziober

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Sujeito duplicado em línguas crioulas: por uma proposta de parâmetro

Duas iniciativas têm se dedicado a organizar os parâmetros existentes nas línguas do mundo: o *Word Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS) e o *Atlas of Pidgin and Creoule Languages Structures* (APiCS), levando a uma descrição tipológica de grande relevância aos estudos linguísticos. Neste trabalho, propõe-se a inclusão nesses Atlas de um novo capítulo de parametrização linguística, centrando a atenção nos sujeitos duplicados (doravante, SDs) presentes em diversas línguas naturais, a exemplo dos crioulos de base lexical portuguesa, espanhola e francesa, conforme evidenciam alguns dados preliminares extraídos do APiCS (ex.: kryol: *el i* (ele ele); crioulo de Cavite-Chabatano: *kel dos pábo akél el* (estes dois patos, eles) e crioulo de Louisiana: *nou, nou* (nós, nós)). Estudos linguísticos revelam que, embora produzidos, os SDs podem apresentar comportamento distinto entre as línguas. Silva (2004, 2006, 2013), Costa, Duarte & Silva (2006) e Silva & Ziober (2014), embasados na gramatica gerativa, observam que fatores de ordem semântica (*definitude do sujeito*), prosódica (*presença ou não de corte entonacional*), sintática (*status do pronome e natureza do DP sujeito*) e morfológica (*traço número-pessoal do sujeito*) devem ser considerados nas análises. No âmbito semântico, ao contrário do espanhol e do crioulo caboverdiano (CCV), sujeitos duplicados indefinidos são encontrados no português brasileiro (PB) (*uma criança ela...).* Já no que concerne à prosódia, não há obrigatoriedade em PB de corte entonacional entre o sujeito e o pronome que o duplica, ao contrário do francês (ex.: *Kester, il...* (Kester, ele...)). Quanto à sintaxe, Silva (2013) observa que o *status* do pronome que duplica o sujeito pode ser diferente nas línguas, tomando por base a proposta de Cardinaletti e Starke (1993) ao classificar os pronomes em fortes, fracos e clíticos e que a natureza do constituinte duplicado (se DP pleno ou pronome) deve ser considerada. No âmbito morfológico, a autora verifica que SDs ocorrem frequentemente com traço de terceira pessoa em PB, ao contrário do CCV em que predomina a primeira pessoa. Ademais, Duarte (2000) argumenta que línguas não-pro-drop, como o francês,

produzem mais SDs, não obstante, o Santomé, crioulo falado no Golfo Guiné, é uma contraevidência a essa proposta por apresentar poucos SDs (cf. HAGEMEIJER, 2007). Assim, a partir dos fatores (traços) linguísticos apresentados e embasando o estudo no campo tipológico e na gramática gerativa, será possível contribuir com os Atlas que ainda não contemplam os SDs, possibilitando a ampliação da análise aqui proposta para outras línguas naturais.

Conceição Cunha + Remus Gergel + Daniel Ferguson

(LMU München + KFU Graz + KFU Graz)

On the intonation of perfect and habitual auxiliaries
in African American English

The auxiliary system of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) has received a good deal of attention (e.g. Labov 1998, Dayton 1996, Green 1998, 2002, Terry 2004, 2010). We focus on habituals (including the AAVE realization of *used to* and habitual *be*) and the auxiliary of the perfect *done* because their intonational patterns are under-investigated. A key reported differences e.g. between AAVE *done* and an apparent similar item in Guyanese Creole is that the latter requires stress (Edwards 1991) while the African American *done* is invariably claimed to bear no stress (Green 2002). However, other auxiliaries can bear stress: e.g. the remote-past auxiliary *BIN* receives pitch accents in AAVE (*been* has a clear high pitch accent (H*) in *She been had glasses*).

We make use of acoustic analysis of F0 and vowel duration to investigate to what extent the analyzed auxiliaries are accented. Accented syllables are predicted to bear pitch accents and theirs vowels to be longer than unaccented ones (Cho 2004).

The current results show some variability on the realization of stress; however, instances of *done* were mostly unstressed in sentences like *You done used to cook in the fireplace*, but *done* carried the first part of the bitonal pitch accent H+L*. In sentences with two auxiliaries, as in *You done gone ate all the food* (where *gone* is an expressive-marker auxiliary, as we argue in an independent study), *done* carried the first high pitch (H*), followed by two down steps (!H*). *Done* carried the main accent of bitonal pitch accents (H+L*) in sentences in which it occupied the second auxiliary position as in *You be done finished the series in a night*. Habitual *be* carried a high pitch (H*) in the sentence *Bruce be at the gym on Monday,* but not in *Fay be studying*.

Overall, we show that both habitual *be* and the perfective *done* <u>can</u> receive a pitch accent in appropriate contexts. More fundamentally, the intonational system of AAVE

is thus based rather on phonological interaction and the relative prominence of the items interacting than on any fixed rules of +/- stress assigned to particular auxiliaries.

Selected sentences

1. You done used to cook in the fireplace.

       H+L*

2. You done gone ate all the food.

      H*   !H* !H*

3. You be done finished the series in a night.

     H+L*

4. Bruce be at the gym on Monday.

      H*

5. Fay be studying

   H*   L*

Cristina Martínez

(Gettysburg College)

The Creolization Debate: A Study of Verb and
Noun Features in Afro-Bolivian Spanish

Afro-Hispanic language has been attested from the 15th century to the early 20th century in Spain, Africa, and Latin America. The speech of bozales, or slaves born in Africa who could only speak an "imperfect" variation of Spanish, has frequently been used as evidence for monogenetic theories of Hispanic Creole formation, based on structural parallels and possibly Afro-Portuguese roots. However, recent studies, following Lipsky (1987), suggest that while cases such as Papiamentu, Colombian Palenquero, and 19th century Cuban/Puerto Rican bozal language point to common origins or mutually shared influences, most other Afro-Hispanic language varieties indicate an imperfect learning and incipient pidginiza-tion which arose spontaneously each time that Spanish and African languages came into contact.

The present study seeks to investigate the development of verbal and noun features in a very isolated case of bozal Spanish in Yungas, Bolivia. This variety of bozal Spanish have experienced a very different sociolinguistic development from other Afro-Spanish dialects, partly due to their contact with Amerindian languages such as Aymara, and partly due to several socio-historical factors that impacted this isolated community, such as the end of the *hacienda* system in 1952. The results of this research, a cross-generational study undertaken in the *Yungueño* communities of Tocaña and Dorado Chico, show a case of systematic substitution of stigmatized basilectal Afro-Bolivian nominal and verbal features with more prestigious Bolivian Spanish ones, as predicted by Lipski (2008) and Sessarego (2011).

The key questions I investigate in this study are: (i) how do the verbal and nominal features in examples such as " Perro ta flojo" (The dogs are lazy) from Lipski (2003) exemplify the possible creole or semi-creole status of this variety, following Winword's (2001a) idea of *linguistic continuum* and Holm's (2004) notion of *partial language restructuring*?; (ii) which historical and sociolinguistic factors have

influenced the development of this variety?; and (iii) can this variety help to explain the pidgin-creole cycle, as understood by McWhorter (2005)?

Danae Perez

(University of Zurich)

Morphosyntactic simplicity meets semantic complexity:

Lexical semantic structures in Afro-Yungueño Spanish

The typological classification of Afro-Yungueño Spanish (AY), a contact variety of Spanish spoken in Bolivia, is still subject to debates. While Lipski (2008: 45) and Perez (fc.) hold that AY is likely to stem from a creole, Sessarego (2013: 364) claims that AY is rather an Andean dialect of Spanish that has retained features of untutored L2 acquisition. The evidence adduced in these discussions has so far focused on structural features that are commonly used to determine the varietal status of Iberian contact varieties, such as the lack of gender and number agreement or invariant verb forms (e.g. Lipski 2008).

In order to shed new light on this issue, I propose to expand the discussion from morphosyntactic evidence to semantic evidence. The AY lexicon predominantly consists of Spanish and Aymara, yet a closer look at the Spanish-derived vocabulary reveals that AY differs considerably from its lexifier. For example, AY speakers frequently employ particular mechanisms to convey meaning, such as circumscriptions, as illustrated in (1) and (2), and comparisons, as in (3):

(1) *Pablo taba   **pelando   diente***

    Pablo COP.PAST   peel.GERUND   tooth

    'Pablo was **smiling**'

(2) *yo   ta   **bulsíu   remangau***

    1sg   COP   pocket   roll-out.PARTICIPLE

    'I am **broke**'

(3) *cajué ta   **como tu   cara***

    coffee COP   like   POSS [black] face

'the coffee is **strong**'

From a morphosyntactic point of view, these examples seem to be rather analytic and simple (cf. McWhorter 2011). As their meaning is based on a metonymic relationship between the intended meaning and the literal meaning, however, they are highly context-dependent and thus semantically opaque (cf. Bakker 2008: 138). This suggests that AY shares semantic structures with pidgins (cf. Mühlhäusler 1997, Levisen 2014) and supports the hypothesis of the existence of a pidgin in the history of AY. In this paper, I describe a number of frequent semantic structures in AY on the basis of a corpus of ethnographic and linguistic data collected *in situ*. My aim is to add further evidence to the description of AY and to its classification among Iberoromance-lexified contact languages.

Donald Winford + Bettina Migge

(Ohio State University + University College Dublin)

**The tense-aspect systems of Kwinti and Matawai and their
implications for relationships among the Surinamese creoles**

This paper presents the first comprehensive overview of the tense-aspect systems of Kwinti and Matawai, two under-researched Maroon creoles of Suriname. It compares these systems with those of the Eastern Maroon Creole (EMC) group and Saamaka. Our analyses of Kwinti and Matawai are based on elicited and recorded data collected in Maroon villages in Suriname in late 2013. The questionnaire we used was based on Dahl's (1985) tense-aspect questionnaire, modified for use in Suriname. Our broader comparison draws on previous descriptions of the tense-aspect systems of Sranan (Winford 2000), the EMCs and Sranan (Winford & Migge 2007), and Saamaka (van de Vate 2011; McWhorter & Good 2012).

Our findings demonstrate that, overall, the two Maroon creoles display striking similarities to each other and to the other Surinamese creoles in the inventory of their tense-aspect categories, but there are differences in the forms of certain markers (e.g., the Prospective Future; the Imperfective) as well as in the combinatory possibilities of some markers (e.g., Imperfective and Future). For example, Matawai employs a (prospective) future *to* and allows combinations of this future marker with Imperfective *ta*, as in the following:

(1)   A   to   ta   sei   computer

        3sg   FUT   IMP   sell   computer

        "He'll be selling computers" (That will be his job)

This pattern is also found in Saamaka where *o* and *ta* can also be combined; in the EMC varieties, Kwinti and Sranan the corresponding forms *o* and *e* cannot be combined. Matawai also resembles Saamaka in employing the same imperfective (*ta*) and completive (*kaa*) forms with apparently the same distributions. However, unlike Saamaka we did not find evidence of a distinct past habitual marker (SM *na*) or the

habitual use of (SM *lo*). Despite a period of close contact between speakers of Matawai and Kwinti during the 19th century, our analysis shows that. Kwinti's T-A system more closely resembles that of the EMCs. It employs the same tense (*be, o*) and aspect markers (*e, kaba*) (2) as the EMCs with the same distribution.

(2)   Luku a konu e kon kaba

         Look Det king IMP come PERF

         'Look, the king is already arriving."

    Our analysis lends strong support to previous suggestions that Kwinti is closely related to the EMC and Matawai to Saamaka (Green 1974; Price 1975; Smith 2002). This in turn supports previous accounts of the historical relationships among the Surinamese creoles. Our account of Kwinti and Matawai is therefore of critical importance to establishing both the historical and linguistic relationships among the Surinamese creoles.

Eduardo Tobar Delgado

(Universidad de A Coruña)

El uso de Facebook en la documentación de
textos en chabacano zamboangueño

La documentación lingüística, que Woodbury (2011:159) define como "the creation, annotation, preservation and dissemination of transparent records of language", es una de las prioridades de los lingüistas que se dedican al estudio de lenguas en peligro o en situación vulnerable, como es el caso de muchas lenguas criollas. A lo largo de los últimos años, sin embargo, ha ido en aumento la atención prestada hacia el papel que pueden o deben jugar los propios hablantes en los proyectos de documentación. Así, han surgido propuestas que abogan por formar a hablantes o activistas lingüísticos para que, en último término, puedan prescindir de cualquier ayuda por parte de la comunidad científica (Florey 2008, Czaykowska-Higgins 2009, Quatra, 2011).

En Grant (2011) encontramos un resumen de las iniciativas de documentación del chabacano zamboangueño realizadas hasta la fecha. Este autor señala que en los últimos tiempos son los propios hablantes nativos quienes están realizando gran parte de este trabajo. Asimismo, es importante señalar la importancia del *Chabacano Language Corpus Project,* desarrollado en 2005 con la colaboración del *Ateneo de Zamboanga University*.

En esta comunicación, presentamos un análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo de una iniciativa no profesional de documentación del chabacano zamboangueño en un grupo de Facebook mediante el uso de la funcionalidad de archivo. Este corpus contiene en la actualidad un repositorio de 246 documentos que, tal como las entradas de las redes sociales, se muestran de modo que es posible realizar comentarios y 'me gusta'. Igualmente, es posible editar los textos, por lo que se facilita la corrección conjunta o la construcción colaborativa de glosarios sobre diversos campos semánticos. Este archivo digital incluye algunas recopilaciones de literatura popular, documentos sobre lingüística, historia, literatura, religión, antropología o manifestaciones culturales. La

mayor parte de los textos están escritos en zamboangueño, aunque también encontramos algunos en inglés y español.

Recientemente Lesho & Sippola (2014) alertaban sobre la necesidad de incluir las perspectivas de los hablantes de chabacano en futuras investigaciones, evitando la imposición de los sistemas metalingüísticos del investigador. En este sentido, el estudio detallado de los documentos y de la interacción presentes en este repositorio puede ofrecernos nuevas perspectivas sobre los intereses y prioridades de los hablantes, al tiempo que puede hacernos reflexionar sobre cómo mejorar la colaboración entre lingüistas profesionales y no profesionales en tareas de documentación.

Eeva Sippola + Danae Perez

(University of Bremen + University of Zurich)

The documentation and analysis of

endangered contact varieties – methodological considerations

Pidgin and creole languages are generally known for having a rather shallow and poorly documented history. In addition, they are more often than not socially stigmatized and therefore marginalized by their own speakers (Garrett 2006). These conditions present a challenge for the documentation of many a contact variety, not only in terms of the socio-historical contextualization, but also with regard to the elicitation and recording of representative speech samples (Bowern 2010, Grinewald 2007). Interestingly enough, however, the methods of data collection are rarely described and evaluated in detail in the literature.

In this paper, we will address methodological issues that emerge in the documentation of underdescribed contact varieties and their comparative analysis by examining two case studies on Iberian contact varieties, Afro-Yungueño and Manila Bay Chabacano, on the basis of first-hand fieldwork experience. We will discuss how different fieldwork methods yield different sets of data, and how these different data types ultimately result in different classifications of the varieties in a phylogenetic network analysis made on Splitstree (Huson & Bryant 2006).

Our comparison shows that individual data sets of the same variety may bring about results that differ considerably. For example, in a 77-feature phylogenetic network, two separate datasets of Afro-Yungueño appear in relatively distant positions: one closer to related creole varieties and the other one closer to L1 varieties of Spanish (data from Perez fc., Sessarego 2011, 2013). Similar observations can be made on the clustering of Chabacano varieties (data from Sippola 2013a, 2013b). These results underscore the relevance of the method employed in data collection and the need to explain data types in detail in order to facilitate comparative studies using linguistic information from lesser-described varieties.

Therefore, we will discuss different fieldwork approaches (such as consultant selection, elicitation of naturalistic speech, ethnographic documentation, etc.) and data types (such as written versus spoken, formal versus informal, different registers, etc.) that can be at the root of the classification differences. Our final goal is to contribute to the assessment of methods in the documentation of endangered contact varieties.

Ellen-Petra Kester

(Utrecht University)

Language attitudes and language use among
Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands

In the past decade several seminal studies have been published about the use of Papiamentu and the identity and language attitudes of its speakers. Garrett (2008) concludes from a survey carried out in 2002 that Curaçao is a pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural community. Its inhabitants feel equally comfortable with their identity as Antilleans and as citizens of the Netherlands, and also share a high valorization of Papiamentu. These positive attitudes toward Papiamentu are reflected by an increasing use of the language in formal domains, which -according to Garrett- is a clear indication of a transition from a diglossic to a pluri-lingual society.

Kester (2011) reports similar results from a survey carried out in 2010 among Curaçaoan high school students, showing that the use of Papiamentu has further increased, especially in formal domains and among students of lower education levels.

In this paper we will address the question to what extent language attitudes and language use are affected by emigration. Every year, approximately one thousand students from the former Netherlands Antilles emigrate to the Netherlands for their studies. As shown in Kester & Fun (2012), students from Aruba en Curaçao largely conserve their positive attitudes toward their dual identity as well as toward their native language and extensively use Papiamentu/o to communicate with family and friends. This is not surprising in view of the fact that language shift is reported to occur among speakers of Papiamentu in the Netherlands who belong to the second generation (Vedder & Kook, 2001). However, a comparison between the two groups indicates that Aruban students have more positive attitudes toward their Dutch and Aruban identity, as well as toward the use of Papiamento. The results of an additional survey, carried out in both Aruba and Curaçao in 2014, will indicate whether these contrasts can be explained by different attitudes in the Caribbean that are preserved after emigration.

Emmanuel Schang

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Anaphoric Chains in Guadeloupean Creole

Identifiying discourse referents in a text is an important task for Natural Language Processing and linguistics in general. Consider the following text:

> Té ni anivèsès a *ti nyès a Gaël*. *Timoun-la* té ni plis de trant kado. Mé *timoun-lasa* ja ni tou sa i fo, *i* pa ni bizwen ayen dot. *It was the anniversary of Gael's niece. The child has received more than 30 gifts. But this child has already everything she needs, she doesn't need anything else.*

To understand this short text, we need to know that the NPs [ti nyès a Gaël] [timoun-la], [timoun-lasa] and the pronoun [i] (in italic) all refer to the same entity (coreference). The way the speaker guides the hearer, via an appropriate use of articles and pronouns, can be studied efficiently on large spontaneous speech corpora (see (Poesio & Vieira, 1998) for English and (Recasens & Martí, 2010) for Spanish and Catalan, amongst others).

This work presents a corpus of Guadeloupean Creole annotated with anaphoric and coreference relations. The experiment has been conducted on ten spontaneous interviews (Glaude, 2013), for a duration of approximately 90 minutes. The annotators have used the GLOZZ plateform (Widlöcher & Mathet, 2012) to annotate the NPs and pronouns (mentions). 2730 mentions and 1225 relations have been annotated. In a first step, the annotators had to identify and delimitate the mentions and classify them according to grammatical (function, type of article), semantic (genericity, number) and informational (previously mentioned vs. new discourse entity) criteria. In a second step, the annotators were asked to link the anaphoric relations between the mentions and to classify these links into four categories:

- direct (coreference with the same lexical head)
- indirect(coreference with a distinct lexical head)

- pronominal anaphora
- associative (bridging)

I will provide statistics on the use of the articles (1074 bare NPs, 403 definite NPs, 395 indefinite NPs, 39 demonstrative NPs) and pronouns (819) to assess the relevance of the criteria mentioned in (Bernabé, 1983) and (Gadelii, 2007) for coreference resolution.

Giorgio Francesco Arcodia

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The Sinitic element in Macanese

Macanese, or *Maquista*, the near-extinct Portuguese creole of Macao, is an understudied contact language with strong Malayo-Portuguese features, closely related to Malaccan Kristang (Baxter 1996). It is also characterised by Sinitic influence, mostly in syntax (Batalha 1953), which however has sometimes been downplayed in the literature (see Ansaldo & Matthews 2004). In this paper, I shall argue that a distinctive element of Macanese *vis-à-vis* other Asian Portuguese Creoles is the strongest role of Sinitic in its 'typological matrix' (Ansaldo 2004, 2009).

Sinitic influence on Macanese has already been invoked to account for patterns of reduplication (Ansaldo & Matthews 2004), demonstratives (Pinharanda Nunes 2008) and the TAM system (Pinharanda Nunes 2010); however, little research concerning the origin of patterns of multi-verb constructions specifically focussed on Macanese has been conducted (see Baxter 1996, 2009). The main object of my study are constructions expressing indirect causation, and I shall focus on the *chomá* [call] - NP - VP pattern:

(1)   *Vôs chomá iou tomá amuichái   vêm   casa?*
        2PL call   1SG take maidservant come home
        'And you (call >) want me to bring a maidservant home?'
        (Ferreira 1967, *Má-lingu co má-lingu*)

This use of a verb meaning 'to call' as a marker of indirect causation is found as such in many Sinitic languages, including Cantonese and Hokkien, two important adstrates of Macanese:

(2)   *kéuih bīk   ngóh giu néih syún   kéuih jouh bàan-jéung*
        3SG   force 1SG   call 2SG choose 3SG   do   class-monitor
        'S/he forced me to ask(/make) you to choose her/him as class monitor'

(Hong Kong Cantonese; Cheung 2007: 89)

The verb *chamar* 'to call' is also used in Modern Portuguese with a similar meaning, and a construction based on *chamar* is attested at least since the 17th century. There are also parallel constructions in other Asian Portuguese (and Spanish) Creoles, using e.g. *mandá* 'to send', but these constructions typically involve adjacent verbs and case-marking of the (human) patient (Baxter 2009). We argue that, whereas in other Asian Portuguese Creoles the syntax of indirect causatives appears to be modelled mainly on Malay or on Indian substrate languages, for Macanese the syntactic model is clearly Sinitic.

The main data for this research come from three sources: (a) the *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*, a XIXth century Portuguese magazine on the Far East, containing texts in (a form of) Macanese; (b) the prose works by José dos Santos Ferreira (Adé); and (c) excerpts of contemporary Macanese collected by Pinharanda Nunes (2010).

Guilhem Florigny

(University of Mauritius)

Presumptive impact of learning Mauritian Creole on students' performance in French: representations on the introduction of Mauritian Creole in Mauritian primary education and analysis of children's productions in French

Mauritian Creole (MC), first language of the majority of Mauritians, has been introduced as an optional subject in Mauritian primary schools in January 2012. Consequently, debates held along these last three decades (Rughoonundun-Chellapermal 2004, 2006, Virahsawmy 2001) on its role and of that of oriental languages on the access to elite secondary schools were brought to an end. The integration of MC in the educational system has been achieved through the setting up of the *Akademi Kreol Morisien,* in 2010, by the Ministry of Education. The main missions of this academy were to create: a standardized orthography and grammar for MC, a language curriculum and the teachers' training program.

To date, we find Mauritians showing a strong opposition against the MC language status in schools. This include parents and teachers, holding the main argument that learning MC would have a negative impact on the children's production in French, which, together with English are core subjects at primary level. However, studies performed on bilingual education (Somé 2004, Tréfault 2006, Chung Kim Chung 2013) have shown that using the mother tongue of learners produces better results in all subjects.

In the paper that we propose to present, we tackled the above situation, with focus on two factors. Firstly, we analyzed the discourses held for and against the introduction of MC in primary schools. This has been done through the study of the Mauritian population opinions on an online national newspaper (as also shown by Nadal 2015) and also based on fieldworks performed by students of the University of Mauritius from 2011 to 2014. We next had a fundamental approach to the matter by opposing the representations surrounding the introduction of MC in the educational

system to the primary schools fieldwork studies that have recently been published (among which Chaumière 2014, Sujiwon 2014, Teerovengadum 2013).

We hence conclude that all referred studies showed the same trends, namely that the learning of written MC has no significant negative impact on the oral and written productions of primary school pupils. This study opens the way to consider other explanations concerning the performance of Mauritian children in French, among which the presence of a local variety of French and the personal abilities of the children.

Ian E. Robertson

(University of West Indies, St. Augustine Campus)

Berbice Dutch-Moriturus

At the time of its discovery in 1975, there were fewer than forty known speakers of Berbice Dutch. The language was the one with the widest currency during the period from the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century in the easternmost county of what is now Guyana in South America. From the time of its discovery in October 1975, the language was clearly moribund. Speakers were few, and generally above the age of fifty. There seemed little chance of the language remaining alive into the twenty first century.

In 2005, accompanied by a group of university students and a colleague from the Mona campus of the UWI, I conducted two interviews with the hundred and two year-old Albertha Bell who was then the last known speaker of the language.

In 2007, however a second speaker was discovered and she is still alive though in very poor health. This discovery opened a window on the processes promoting death of language in this kind of context. This paper examines the series of processes and factors which impacted the fate of this particular Creole language.

The march to language death is not along a straight line but is clearly affected by differential pressures of historical, socio-psychological, demographic, political, motivational and educational factors. This presentation examines the varying factors present over time and evaluates their roles in contributing to the demise of this language. The paper examines the extent to which the life experiences of the last known speaker reflects the range of processes that impacted the fate of this language.

Ian R. Smith

(York University)

Dutch influence in 19thC Sri Lanka Portuguese:
the case of inversion

After ousting the Portuguese from Sri Lanka in 1658, the Dutch married into the established creole community and adopted Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP) as their home language. While Dutch influence has been eclipsed in modern Creole by strong South Asian influence, it may be visible in early 19th C data. This paper examines inversion in the work of two grammarians: Berrenger (1811) and Callaway (1818, 1820). Berrenger was likely a local SLP speaker, Callaway a British missionary.

Inversion in interrogatives (and affirmatives) was common in 16th C Portuguese but probably not used in early SLP, given its absence from most other (and all Portuguese-based) creoles (Michaelis et al 2013). Inversion is employed only in interrogatives by Callaway and Berrenger.

Neither Sinhala nor Tamil (nor modern SLP) uses inversion to encode interrogatives. In Dutch and English, both polar and WH-interrogatives feature inversion. In Dutch the subject is placed after the main verb in the absence of an auxiliary, while in Modern English a dummy auxiliary *DO* supports inversion unless the main verb is *BE* or *HAVE*.

Berrenger usually employs inversion in interrogatives, generally following the Dutch pattern:

(1) Te   papia vosse cum   eu?   'Do you speak to me?' (Berrenger 1811:97)
     PRS   speak 2   with 1sg

(2) Sabe   vosse aquel?   'Do you know that?' (Berrenger 1811:98)
     know 2   that

(3) Qui te   falla   gazette?   'What says the gazette?' (Berrenger 1811:146)
     what PRS say   gazette

In the past tense, however, the subject usually follows the past marker *ja.* Inversion with other TMA markers does not occur.

<p>(4) ja   eu   fala   aquel?   'Did I say that?' (Berrenger 1811:49)
PST   1sg   say   that</p>

Callaway employs English-style inversion. Unlike Berrenger, he never inverts with a main verb other than *teem* 'be; have'. Moreover, he inverts the present and future TMA makers *te* and *lo* as though they were auxiliaries.

<p>(5)   **Tem**   aquel   verdade?   '**Is** it true?' (Callaway 1820:33)
       be   that   true</p>

<p>(6)   **Te**   elle   nada   bemfeito?   '**Does** he swim well?' (Callaway 1818:150)
       PRS   3sg   swim   well</p>

<p>(7)   **Lo**   vos   come   inde   mais?   '**Will** you eat any more?' (Callaway 1818:91)
       FUT   2   eat   yet   more</p>

Discounting Callaway's English calques, we can conclude that Dutch-influenced inversion patterns developed in SLP as reflected in in Berrenger's data.

In both Berrenger and Callaway, however, examples of South Asian-style interrogatives without inversion appear, indicating that the language was already on the path of convergence to its sub/adstrates.

J. Clancy Clements

(Indiana University, Bloomington)

The emergence of form and structure in highly structured contact varieties

Clements (2014) tests a predictive model for determining the structure and form selection in highly restructured language-contact varieties. The model predicts that highly restructured contact varieties develop their basic syntactic structure, on the one hand, and various core subsystems, on the other, based on what Klein and Perdue (1997) call the BASIC VARIETY (in naturalistic L2 acquisition), as well as on the notions of frequency in discourse and perceptual salience (= detectability). With regard to basic utterance structure, Klein and Perdue identify general constraints on utterance production that are sensitive to semantic, discourse-pragmatic, and syntactic factors: the focus of an utterance appears at the end (discourse-pragmatic), the controller of an utterance appears at the beginning (semantic), and the three constituent orders shown in (1).

(1a)	noun phrase 1	+ verb +	noun phrase 2
(1b)	noun phrase 1	+ copula +	{noun phrase 2} {adjective phrase} {prepositional phrase}
(1c)		verb +	noun phrase 1

In the naturalistic L2 varieties they studied, Klein and Perdue found three developmental stages in utterance production. In the first two stages (nominal utterance and infinite utterance organization), there was no TMA marking. Only in the third developmental stage (finite utterance organization) did TMA marking emerge. It is claimed here that, under certain conditions, highly restructured contact varieties develop from the infinite utterance organization stage. If this is true, then the main subsystems such as copula constructions, pronominal systems, and TMA marking systems should emerge as structurally and formally independent from the corresponding target language subsystems. Moreover, the selection of the forms that come to form part of these

linguistic subsystems should be predictable based on frequency of occurrence of the lexifier forms and their detectability. In Clements (2014), this model was tested with a representative sample of nine Iberian contact varieties that included immigrant Spanish and Portuguese- and Spanish-based creoles. Overall, the combined percentage of correctly predicted structure and form for the aforementioned linguistic subsystems was 88%, a relatively high percentage of prediction.

This paper reports on the results of the application of the same model to a representative sample of French- and English-based creoles, employing the same methodology of calculation. The results were that, for the copula constructions, TMA marking systems, and pronominal systems, the overall correct predictions were about 70%. The discrepancy between the French-/English-based creoles vis-à-vis the Iberian creoles, to be discussed, had to do with the pool of candidates for each of the subsystems that were available in the selection process. This drawback notwithstanding, the model developed goes a long ways in accounting for form and structure in a representative sampling of highly structured language varieties from all three lexifier languages.

Joanna Nolan

(SOAS, University of London)

Lingua Franca: written evidence?

Lingua Franca has always been thought of as exclusively oral and our knowledge of it consequently indirect. However, this paper highlights recent evidence from archives suggesting that a form of Lingua Franca may also have been used in writing.

The Mediterranean was for centuries a centre of commerce, war, diplomacy and piracy. Ports were metropolitan and multilingual, particularly the Barbary regencies with their population of European merchants, diplomats, renegades, Arab elites and Christian slaves. The linguistic pluralism fostered the development of Lingua Franca, a trading pidgin, variously described as 'ni de otra nación alguna' (no one nation's language) (Cervantes 1605), corrupted Italian (Peysonnel 1787; Frank 1851), and different combinations of Romance languages and Arabic (Haedo 1612; La Condamine 1731).

For researchers, Lingua Franca has long been an elusive entity. Hugo Schuchardt, the 'father of Pidgin and Creole Studies' (Holm 2000) compared it to a mythical sea snake (Schuchardt 1909). More recently, the metaphor was updated to the Loch Ness Monster (Selbach 2008), and the late Joe Cremona entitled his research into Lingua Franca 'Sherlock'. Inconsistency (of grammar and lexicon) is its most consistent feature due, in part, to its geographic and diachronic spread. It existed as a pidgin for more than 250 years yet did not creolize, and its reach is documented from European ports on the Mediterranean with sightings across the sea into North Africa, Egypt and throughout the Levant.

This paper explores whether Lingua Franca was also a written pidgin. Letters from Livornese Jewish merchants to the English consul in Tunis, archived at the National Archive in London feature variants of Italian which in grammar and vocabulary resemble descriptions of Lingua Franca by contemporary 17th and 18th century sources. One of the clearest examples comes from a 1687 letter (PRO 335/6) written by a merchant, Sittenmajir, asking for a job in Tunis: "Mi par mille annj di

uscire fori di questo paese" and a few lines later emphasising "fora di Livorno". There are several hallmarks of Lingua Franca – a tonic object pronoun used as a subject (*mi* - I), the infinitive form of the verb (*uscire* – to leave), and variation – (*fori* and *fora* – out of), the latter form, f*ora*, particularly significant since it was much-used in Lingua Franca and derives from Portuguese rather than Italian or Spanish. Other letters provide evidence of similar and additional linguistic features that substantiate the claim in this paper.

Joaquín Meza Coria

(UNAM)

Nahuatlismos: Evidence of historical Nahuatl and Spanisch contact and conflict in the valley of Mexico

Since 2009, CELE of UNAM aims at integrating solidly Nahuatl Language-Culture in its scope of action. Nahuatl is one of the 89 live indigenous Mexican languages historically in contact, and in conflict, with Spanish in the Valley of Mexico since Aztec times. It has become the object of interest of both local Government and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). In joint efforts they aim at enhancing the maintenance of Nahuatl in the Valley of Mexico area, through education and dissemination of the language and its culture. CELE, the Foreign Language Teaching Center of UNAM has transferred its experience of 45 years with foreign languages and two Mexican languages (Purépecha and Maya) to support an going process whose products are: 1) four generations of Nahuatl teachers trained in the model of its 35 year old Teacher Training Course, 2) a system of tests for teachers´ certification of teaching skills and language proficiency, and 3) Nahuatl 1 and 2 programs which in the design process which share characteristics with programs of 17 foreign languages but pose a distinctive feature: the inclusion of *nahuatlismos* in their contents i.e. Nahuatl words which are integrated in everyday Spanish in the Valley of Mexico, whose origin can be traced back to Aztec times. It is sustained in the academy that the first Nahuatl words appeared in Spanish when the first conquerors arrived in the New World and tried to denominate plants, animals and typical objects and places e.g. cuate, chamaco, tecolote, milpa, mecate, jacal, papalote, jitomate, jícama, memela, huipil, tianguis, Xalapa, Xola, Querétaro, Tlalpan, Ecatepec, Cuautla, Ixtacalco, Tlahuac.

The pertinence of the inclusion is based on the recognition that the promotion of linguistic awareness of the phenomenon can mean invaluable support for the students´ learning of Nahuatl as well as enhance the increasing public awareness of Mexico as a

plurilinguistic-pluricultural country trying to reverse the threat of breaking up its linguistic map of over eighty Mexican indigenous languages and Spanish.

Johannes Mücke

(University of Graz)

Language contact phenomena on the Isle of Corfu

On the Greek Isle of Corfu a variety of Italian is still known by the older members of the small Jewish community there that was nearly extinguished in the course of the deportation of the Corfiote Jews to concentration camps in 1944 by the German army. This Corfiote idiom shows features of northern Venetian and southern Apulian dialects of Italian, but it is also influenced by Hebrew and Greek. In my presentation I will compare some recent data (Nachtmann 2002, my own recordings from 2014) with older sources (Belleli 1905; Cortelazzo 1946, 1947, 1948; Levi 1961) to illustrate some of the variety's contact features.

For example there is the plural marker *–ò* that appears only on female nouns stressed on last syllable, such as *facilità* 'ease', *città* 'city', and *antichità* 'antiquity'. In standard Italian the plural of these is not marked morphologically. In contrast, there are attestations of Corftiote Italian marking their plural forms as *tutte le facilitò* (Nachtmann 2002: 24), *antichitò* (Levi 1961: 30) and *cittò* (Belleli 1905: 5). This appears to be a transfer from the Hebrew feminine plural marker *–oth* (Belleli 1905: 4-5), which can be analyzed as a contact-induced borrowing of an inflectional affix (Thomason 2001:63-65).

Another feature is the structure of subordinated clauses: while in standard Italian infinitival constructions are used such as *non sa parlare greco* 's/he does not know how to speak Greek' or *che cosa posso fare?* 'what can I do?', the Corfu variety shows constructions like *no sa ke parla greco* (Levi 1961: 31) or *cosa posso che fatso?* (Cortelazzo 1948: 31). This phenomenon, described as *loss of the infintive*, is well attested within the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund and the southern Italian dialects (Schaller 1975, De Angelis 2013). The origin of the construction is ascribed to the Greek language (Tomic 2006). In fact, a structural correspondence between the Greek constructions and the Corfiote Italian samples can be observed, for example in *τί μπορώ*

να κάνω [ti broró na káno]*?* "what can I do?". This is clearly an example of structural borrowing (Harris & Campbell 1995: 120-149).

I will argue for a threefold classification of the language as a Judeo-Italian variety (Massariello Merzagora 1977; Arile 2012), a Mediterranean Venetian variety (V*eneto de là da Mar*) (Bidwell 1967; Folena 1973; Eufe 2006) and an Italian variety within the linguistic area of Southern Italy and the Balkan peninsula (Rohlfs 1997; Dietrich 2012).

John Holm

(Universidade de Coimbra)

Non-European Structures in Overseas Portuguese:
the NESOP Research Project

A new area of research in contact linguistics is partially restructured overseas varieties of European languages. These were first noted by Hesseling (1897:12) and called "semicreolized" languages by Reinecke (1937:61, 559). The sociohistorical and structural features common to five such varieties lexically based on different languages were systematically compared by Holm (2004), noting that they preserve more of their source languages' inflectional morphology than creoles, yet retain creole-like interlanguage and substrate features.

One of the most comprehensive research projects on such varieties is NESOP. Funded for five years (2015-2020) by Portugal's Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, this project is organized by the University of Coimbra´s CELGA-ILTEC research center, The co-ordinators sent an invitation to the members of ACBLPE, SPCL and ABECS to join the research project, and over 30 of them volunteered. They make up different teams working on the vernacular varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde´s Santiago and São Vicente islands, Casamance, India, Macau, Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Timor-Leste. Since we live all over the world, we communicate by email and email discussion groups in two main working languages (Portuguese and English).

The initial task is to organize published linguistic data by morphosyntactic area, following the outline for distinctive Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) grammatical features published in Holm (2004). This involves the coordinator for each team compiling a bibliography made up of team members' references for each variety, which will then go into a general bibliography for the entire project to be made available on line. Once the structures from publications have been identified by source, arranged by area of grammar and described, we will be able to start comparing the grammars of the different varieties. Initial data suggest that many BVP structures may

be found in a number of other varieties. For example, BVP speakers often use *que* instead of European Portuguese *é que* after question words in sentences such as "Quem *que* chegou?" 'Who arrived?", a structure with parallels in African languages and vernacular varieties of Portuguese spoken in Africa.

The second phase will be to add published data from other vernaculars not (yet) attested for BVP, building the general grammatical outline. Finally researchers will add unpublished grammatical data from fieldwork or their own native-speaker intuitions, again adding to the general outline. Much of what we do and how we do it is still up for discussion, but we have five years to plan, complete, and compare our grammatical and sociolinguistic descriptions and their supporting bibliographies.

Joseph Jean François Nunez + Nicolas Quint

(LLACAN/SEDYL-CNRS / Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar + LLACAN-CNRS)

Contact de langue chez les créolophones casamançais :
l'exemple des déterminants

En linguistique de contact, l'alternance de langues est traitée sous l'approche structurelle (Myers-Scotton 1993) ou l'approche sociale (Auer 1999). Cette communication portera sur les structures linguistiques et sur les significations sociales – en particulier sur la structure nominale, notamment sur les déterminants au sens large de Dubois et al. (2002 : 140) – dans les pratiques linguistiques des créolophones casamançais (Sénégal) au contact du français (indo-européen, langue romane) et du wolof (Niger-Congo, langue atlantique).

En contact de langue, Myers-Scotton mentionne que les éléments grammaticaux proviennent de la langue matrice (*Matrix Language*) et les éléments lexicaux de la langue insérée (*Embedded Language*). Dans notre corpus, en contexte mixte (mélange de langues dans un énoncé), les éléments grammaticaux proviennent du casamançais, du wolof et/ou du français et sont combinés avec un nom d'une langue différente (cf. exemples 1, 2, 3. wolof = italique ; français = gras ; casamançais = caractères normaux) :

(1) Nom français + déterminant wolof :

1)	*du*	*gis*	*nga*	*f-ii*	**lettre**	*y-i*
	NEG	PRF.voir	2SG.SBJ	CLF.SG-.D1	lettre	CLF.PL-ART.DEF.D1
	PRT	V	PRN	ADV	N	DET
	N'as-tu pas vu les lettres ici					

(2) Nom français + déterminant casamançais :

2)	bu	**glace**	ka	kabá	ndaŋ
	POSS.2SG	glace	NEG	PRF.finir	encore

DET	N	PRT	V	ADV
Ta glace n'est pas encore finie ?				

(3) Nom casamançais + déterminant français :

3)	liŋgu	**maternelle**
	langue	maternelle
	N	DET
	La/une langue maternelle	

Dans cette communication, nous décrirons tout d'abord le fonctionnement des déterminants casamançais ainsi que celui des deux principales langues au contact du casamançais, à savoir le français et le wolof. Nous montrerons ensuite comment, par les effets du contact de langues, le système des déterminants est aujourd'hui réellement actualisé par les locuteurs du casamançais, en insistant sur l'ordre des constituants observé en corpus spontané. Nous conclurons enfin sur la signification des données présentées en insistant sur le fait que certaines d'entre elles permettent de montrer les limites de certaines théories sur le contact de langues (notamment Myers-Scotton 1993).

Cette communication s'appuie sur un corpus trilingue (casamançais-wolof-français) recueilli à Ziguinchor (Sénégal), ville où le créole de Casamance est traditionnellement parlé au quotidien en contact d'autres langues (Juillard 1991).

Les résultats de ce travail (dont l'intérêt est de porter un regard neuf sur la linguistique de contact et spécialement sur l'étude synchronique des créoles en situation de contact) constituent une contribution à l'étude du contact de langue incluant une langue créole et d'autres langues typologiquement variées, phénomène peu décrit dans les études créoles en général et dans l'étude du casamançais en particulier (cf. Chataigner 1963 ; Kihm 1994 ; Rougé 1988 ; Biagui 2012 ; Biagui et Quint 2013).

Joseph T. Farquharson

(Bielefeld University)

The ethnography of Jamaican Creole usage in Canada

Research on Creole languages has mainly focused on their genesis or their status as stigmatized codes. Not much work has been done on the current ecologies of Creoles, and even less on their use in diasporic. This is slowly changing with the emergence of the 'sociolinguistics of globalisation' (Blommaert 2003, 2010) in which the linguistic effects of migration are receiving attention.

The current study supplements the pioneering work on JamC in London (Sebba 1993) and in Toronto, Canada (Hinrichs 2011, 2014). However, those investigations focus mainly on the competence of second and third generation Jamaicans, linguistic performance, e.g. codeswitching (Sebba 1993), or how linguistic choices reveal identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Hinrichs 2011, 2014). None provides a complete mapping of the use of JamC in these communities.

The current paper fills that gap by mapping the conditions and domains of usage of JamC in Canada within the framework of the ethnography of communication (EOC) (Hymes 1962, 1964). The mapping could be accomplished without recourse to the EOC but would not be as rich and nuanced given that the EOC 'involve[s] more than an inventory of channels, setting, etc. The structures of relations among different events, and their components; the capabilities and states of the components; the activity of the system' (Hymes 1974: 16) are all considered. Additionally, EOC allows us to liberate description from the overly simplistic dichotomies of public/private and formal/informal, and engages with how the various components in communicative events interact.

The analysis is based on interviews and observations carried out in Toronto, Canada, as well as secondary material such as newspaper writing, literature, and music. It recognises that Jamaicans in the diaspora interface with various codes other than JamC, and discusses the role(s) of JamC in this ecology. It organises the mapping around the use of JamC through several channels (writing, speaking, singing), and

explores the role of each channel in JamC's (non-)use. Central to the study, is a close analysis of several speech situations: (i) an event celebrating Jamaica; (ii) church; (iii) Thanksgiving dinner; (iv) a farewell function. The paper discusses individual speech acts in these situations, what language(s) they are in, the message, participants, purpose, norms of interaction/interpretation, key, and genre, and how these determine JamC use. One of the key findings of the paper is the way in which Jamaicans in the diaspora recreate the diglossia of their homeland with different ends in mind.

Jürgen Lang

(Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

Os descendentes do verbo ibero-românico estar nos crioulos ibéricos do Atlântico

As formas *está, estava~estaba* do verbo ibero-românico *estar* deixaram numerosa descendência nos crioulos de base ibérica. Certos descendentes continuam a funcionar como cópula, outros se tornaram partículas verbais e outros funcionam hoje como auxiliares em perífrases verbais de nova criação. No crioulo cabo-verdiano da ilha de Santiago (S) temos assim *Oxi, e sta bunita* 'Hoje está bonita', *E sta na si kása* 'Está na sua casa' (cópula), *E ta studa na Lisboa* 'E estuda em Lisboa', *E s'ta studa* 'Está a estudar' (partículas) e *E sta ta studa* 'Está a estudar' (auxiliar mais partícula).

Derivados de *está* e *estava~estaba* que funcionam como cópulas existem em todos os crioulos ibéricos do Atlântico. É mais difícil saber quais destes crioulos dispõem de uma perífrase verbal do tipo S *sta ta fase, stába ta fase*, por ser raras as descrições que registam todas as perífrases verbais do crioulo que descrevem. Quanto aos descendentes que funcionam como partículas verbais, há uma curiosa linha divisória que atravessa o arquipélago cabo-verdiano. Temos crioulos que, além de uma marca da imperfectividade do tipo *ta* conhecem ainda outra do tipo *tába* para a expressão simultânea da imperfectividade e da anterioridade. É o caso das variedades caboverdianas das ilhas de São Vicente (SV) e de Santo Antão (SA), dos crioulos de São Tomé (ST) e Príncipe (Pr), e do papiamento (Pa). E temos crioulos ibéricos que confiam a expressão da anterioridade a uma marca *ba*, posposto ao verbo, mesmo quando a partícula *ta* da imperfectividade precede o verbo. É o caso das restantes variedades caboverdianas e dos crioulos ibéricos continentais da Casamansa e da Guiné-Bissau.

Exemplificamos este contraste com variedades do crioulo caboverdiano. Na variedade de São Vicente (SV), pergunta-se, por exemplo, *Ma uke k bosê táva gostá asin dfazê más ...?* 'But what else did you like to do …?' (Swolkien, *SPiCL II*, 2013: 29), ao passo que na variedade de Santiago (S), diz-se, por exemplo, *…ómi éra rei di pirgisós, sobrutudu purki e ta gostába di stima si korpu* (*Na bóka noti I* 2004: 38/2) '…

o homem era muito preguiçoso, sobretudo porque gostava de tratar o seu corpo com cuidado'. Tentaremos explicar o sucesso das formas ibero-românicos *está, estava~estaba* nos crioulos ibéricos, inventariar os seus derivados nos crioulos ibéricos do Atlântico e dar uma explicação histórica do contraste que acabamos de ilustrar.

Laura Álvarez López + Anna Jon-And

(Stockholm University)

Language Attitudes in Contact Settings: data from speakers of

Portuguese and Bantu languages in Cabinda, Angola

In reference to the linguistic situation of Portuguese in Angola, Hodges (2004:24) states that "nowhere else in Africa, apart from some island states, has a European language assumed such prominence as a lingua franca among the mass of the population". The sociohistorical and linguistic context in which Portuguese finds itself currently in Angola provides an ideal setting for the study of the ongoing complex processes of language contact and shift. And this is so because the country has been going through huge demographic changes after almost 30 years of civil war that ended in 2002. One of the consequences of the demographic changes is the growing number of L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese, which may result in processes of attrition and in some cases extinction of Bantu languages (cf. Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2013). Thus, the study of language proficiency, use and attitudes at this point in time is important to understand the current linguistic situation and to develop language and educational policies that address the current and medium-term educational needs of the population (Gardner & Lambert 1972, Christ 1997, Dörnyei 2003).

Data were collected on self-reported language proficiency, use and attitudes from 108 adults (17-38 years old) in the twelfth year of school in Cabinda, Angola, using as independent variables speakers' age and age of acquisition of Bantu languages and Portuguese. The questionnaires were designed in accordance with Lawson & Sachdev (2004) and the analysis follows Sachdev & Hanlon (2001/2002).

The findings suggest that despite the lack of official promotion for Bantu languages and the fact that these languages have generally not been taught in school in Cabinda, young people tend to have positive attitudes towards Bantu languages. However, the self-reported attitudes as well as proficiency and use are overall higher for Portuguese. In particular, results show that attitudes towards Bantu languages are more positive than self-reported proficiency and use. This discrepancy was not observed for

Portuguese, where results for attitudes, use and proficiency are equally high. Furthermore, a tendency is observed for speakers who have learnt Portuguese and a Bantu language before the age of four to report higher proficiency, use and more positive attitudes towards Bantu languages than speakers who have learned only one language before the age of four. Slight tendencies are also observed for the older speakers to have lower proficiency in Portuguese, higher use of a Bantu language as well as taking more pride in speaking a Bantu language.

Magnus Huber + Damaris Neuhof + Viveka Velupillai

(University of Giessen)

Introducing the Database of Early Pidgin and Creole Texts (DEPiCT):

Language attitudes and language planning in colonial German New Guinea

The Database of Early Pidgin and Creole Texts (DEPiCT), funded by the German Science Foundation, assembles early attestations and descriptions of contact languages. The texts will be annotated and made searchable online. This will open up new avenues for research: DEPiCT will be a standard reference database for historical linguistic studies on contact languages, both for individual languages as well as for comparative linguistic studies, and both from structural as well as from sociolinguistic perspectives. The considerable advantages of collecting texts in one place extend to the following areas:

- DEPiCT serves as an online backup and archive for posteriority, collecting and electronically saving data which at present is scattered among several researchers.
- DEPiCT offers a more complete overview and more comprehensive documentation of the development and history of individual contact languages.
- By allowing direct comparison between texts, DEPiCT makes it possible to evaluate the reliability of early sources.
- Annotation of linguistic data as 1. morphologically segmented text, 2. orthographic lexifier equivalence, 3. source language, 4. gloss, 5. word class and 6. free translation makes the database maximally searchable.
- Contextual and sociolinguistic annotation (such as location of the utterance, socio-biographical speaker information, the domains of language use and language attitudes) facilitates systematic research on the emergence and use of contact languages, as well as correlating linguistic data with sociolinguistic parameters.

The second part of our talk will illustrate one of the many areas of applicability of DEPiCT by analyzing a large number of German colonial sources for what they tell us about language planning and attitudes towards Pidgin English in New Guinea. German

sources have so far been neglected in the study of early Pidgin English, although German mercantile, missionary and colonial activity in the 19th and early 20th centuries falls into a crucial period in the development of this language. When Germany set up its protectorate in New Guinea in 1884, Pidgin English was already a firmly established lingua franca in the South Seas. Officials and outside observers found it embarassing that Pidgin English was the lingua franca in a German colony and there were repeated suggestions and attempts to replace it with Malay, Tolai or German. However, Pidgin English continued to be used by administrators, planters and traders and actually flourished under German rule, developing from a vertical to a horizontal lingua franca, i.e. it started to be used among indigenous people in New Guinea and expanded geographically.

Marcelo Amorim Sibaldo

(Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco / University of Cambridge)

Comparing Nominal Sentences in

Brazilian Portuguese and Guiné-Bissau Creole

In Brazilian Portuguese (therefore BP), we can find an exclamative nominal sentence composed by a juxtaposition of a predicate and its subject, in this particular order, without any verb or morphological specification of tense on the surface like the structures below:

(1)   a. Muito bonita   a sua   roupa!

  very beautiful the your outfit

   "Your outfit is very beautiful!"

  b. Uma droga aquele programa de televisão!

  a   drug   that   program of TV

   "That TV program is awful!"

I will call them Free Small Clauses (therefore FSC). FSCs do not show any tense morphology on the surface. However, FSCs can be paraphrased as if the copula were in the present tense (uttered in *out of the blue* contexts), as sentence below shows:

(2)   Lindo o dia!

   "OK The day is beautiful!"

   "*The day was beautiful!"

   "*The day will be beautiful!"

When a tense adverb is added we can get other tense than present:

(3)   Bonita   a   sua   roupa *ontem*!

  beautiful the your outfit yesterday

"Your outfit was beautiful yesterday!"

The goals of this paper are: (i) to compare the pattern just presented for FSCs of BP with the nominal sentences of Creole from Guiné-Bissau, since it seems to behave like the structures of BP, as we can see in (4), and (ii) to account for the missing tense on the surface on both languages:

(4)   a. N   Ø   kumprido   *Guiné-Bissau Creole*
          1sg COP V.ADJ
          "I am tall."
        b. N   Ø   kontenti *ba*
          1sg COP V.ADJ ANT
          "I was happy."
        c. N   *na*   kontenti
          1sg PROG V.ADJ
          "I will be happy."

In order to achieve the goals just presented I will adopt the *Factative Effect* proposed in Déchaine (1991) and its extensions in Fitzpatrick (2006). The general framework adopted for this analysis will be the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001 *et passim*).

For Déchaine (1991), similiar nominal sentences of other French-based Creoles, despite of lacking visible (morphological) tense, are not bare VPs. Otherwise, they have a finite tense head or a *dummy* tense. In other words, despite of having a structural finite T, this T has no specification for [±past]. Indeed, the T phonological "visibility" is not necessary to *factative effect* acts. This will be the general idea I will pursue to analyse BP and Guiné-Bissau Creole nominal structures.

Márcia Santos Duarte de Oliveira + Lurdes Teresa Lopes Jorge
+ Eduardo Ferreira dos Santos

(Universidade de São Paulo + Universidade de Brasília/Universidade de São Paulo
+ Universidade de São Paulo/FAPESP)

O 'sujeito' focalizado no português do Libolo
e no caboverdiano (Barlavento)

Neste trabalho, estudam-se sentenças declarativas do português falado no Libolo, Angola – PLB – e do caboverdiano da Ilha de São Nicolau, variedade Barlavento – CSN – como [1],[2],[3] e [4], respectivamente, em que o 'sujeito' reflete propriedades de natureza semântica/discursiva – no caso, foco:

PLB
(1) <u>é a linguagem</u> **que** tá mudando
(2) … <u>Luca</u> **que** sabe
(3) <u>são once</u> municípios **que** optam por quimbundo

CSN
(4)a. <u>Ôz é</u> **k**'ta kmê midj
    É o asno que come milho
  b. * <u>Ôz</u> **k'**ta kmê midj
    Asno que come milho

Parte-se da hipótese de que 'é' e 'que' apresentam propriedades distintas quanto a traços formais *(traços-phi)* e a traços semânticos e instanciariam relações em vP e em CP, havendo licenciamento do 'sujeito' – no curso da derivação sintática – em posição em que 'foco' é codificado. A proposta pode explicitar a variação atestada em PLB (1)-(3) e, ainda, o dado (4a) em CSN (ZANOLI, 2014); atente-se para a agramaticalidade de (4b) em CSN. Tal proposta alcançaria, ainda, a focalização do 'sujeito' no cabo-verdiano da Ilha de Santiago, variedade Sotavento – *badiu* – que permite, em contraposição ao dado (4b) em CSN, construção similar ao dado (2) do PLB – a sentença em *badiu*, renumerada, é de Quint (2003: 154):

Badiu

(5) <u>Djom</u> **ki** sata giã
    Jean que está a conduzir

A perspectiva teórica central do trabalho é a da derivação por fases (phases) – (CHOSMKY, 2000, 2004, 2008).

A proposta aventada neste trabalho ratifica, ainda, um enfoque monoclausal para estruturas envolvendo elementos 'é' e 'que', seguindo estudos iniciados nessa direção como Oliveira (2011), (2014), Figueiredo & Santos (2014) entre outros.

Marco Schaumloeffel

(University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus)

A Comparison of Relators in Papiamentu and Papiá Kristang

Papiá Kristang is a Portuguese-based creole mainly spoken in Malacca, Malaysia, whereas Papiamentu is a creole mainly spoken in the Caribbean islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (ABC Islands). The origin of Papiamentu still is controversial, since some scholars claim that it has genetic linguistic ties with Spanish, while others have sound evidence of its Portuguese origin, especially due to its links with West African Portuguese-based creoles (cf. Jacobs, Origins of a Creole, 2012, amongst others). The comparative study of the features of Papiamentu with Papiá Kristang still is a widely unexplored field. It is uncontroversial that Papiá Kristang is an Asian Portuguese-based creole with virtually no influences from Spanish or Spanish creoles. Therefore, if there are any similarities between Papiamentu and Papiá Kristang, those can certainly not be attributed to a Spanish common base in both creoles, but rather to another common base that they share, i.e., the Portuguese language. The main aim of this presentation is to compare and analyse relators in Papiamentu and Papiá Kristang. Relators are function words and as such pertain to the closed class words, which are much less likely to be replaced in borrowability or relexification situations if compared to content words, classified as open class words. The identification of the origin of relators can serve as indication towards linguistic genetic ties that might exist between creoles and the languages that were the base for their formation. The analysed relators will also be contrasted with the same features found in some other Portuguese and Spanish-based creoles in order to establish grammatical similarities and differences, and in doing so to investigate the origins of Papiamentu and the presence of Portuguese and Portuguese creole features in this creole language that today is recognized by the Dutch government in Bonaire and has official status as native language in Aruba and Curaçao.

Margaret Glide + J. Clancy Clements

(Indiana University, Bloomington)

Variable overt plural marking in Papiamentu

Variable NP plural marking in Atlantic Creoles is a well-known and a fairly well studied phenomenon, as indicated by the number of studies on the topic, particularly Alleyne, 1980; Baptista, 2002; Baptista, 2003; Kester, 2007; Kihm, 1994; Kouwenberg, 2007; Maurer, 1998; Pires, 1995; and Quint, 2000. Essentially, these studies have identified that overt plural marking is sensitive to the factors of number redundancy, animacy and definiteness. This paper reports on a quantitative study that identifies factors that favor overt NP pluralization in three varieties of Papiamentu, spoken on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, respectively. Our findings both support and add to the previous findings.

The data for our study (n = 630) were gleaned from local news stories taken from newspapers on Aruba (2), Bonaire (1), and Curaçao (2). The dependent variable was, of course, the absence or presence of plural marking, and the independent variables examined were non-linguistic (newspaper, island), as well as linguistic (argument type [subject, object, adjunct], type of determiner [none, possessive, definite, indefinite, demonstrative], presence of a quantifier, animacy and definiteness of the NP, and information status of the NP [old, new]).

We found that two variables mentioned by previous PAP studies (definiteness and the absence of a quantifier) were near categorical in the model for overt plural marking (p = .000 for both). The new contribution to the understanding of plural marking in PAP, and perhaps the Atlantic creoles more generally, is our finding that information status was statistically significant in this model (p = .001), not identified in any other study we consulted.

Among the non-linguistic independent variables, both newspaper (p = .001) and island (p = .000) turned out to be significant, suggesting, we argue, that the genre from which the data were collected may be the source of the significance (newspaper), and that overt plural marking on each of the ABC islands may be evolving independently.

Mário Pinharanda Nunes

(University of Macau)

Variação na concordância de género e número no SN do maquista

Os registos escritos do maquista conhecidos até aos inícios de século XX, tais como Yin & Zhang 1999 [1751]) e Barreiros (1943/44) apresentam uma matriz morfossintáctica crioula de paradigmas invariáveis. Os trabalhos descritivos que foram surgindo ao longo do séc. XX (Batalha 1953; 1958), Santos Ferrreira 1967, Diez 1987 perpetuam esta perspectiva. A excepção é Arana-Ward (1977) que superficialmente assinala a variação entre formas não padrão e padrão em algumas categorias gramaticais do maquista evidentes em falantes nativos de maquista de Hong Kong naquela década. Pinharanda Nunes (2011; 2013) confirma a variação entre formas padrão e não padrão na primeira destas categorias, de forma exponencialmente superior no corpus oral comparativamente com ambos os corpora escritos.

Partindo deste conhecimento, o presente trabalho alarga o estudo da variação entre marcação padrão e não padrão no maquista às categorias de concordância de género (género gramatical) e concordância de número nos SN. Recorreu-se aos corpora escritos e oral existentes e empregues em Pinharanda Nunes (2011; 2013). Optámos por um tratamento e uma análise quantitativa dos dados levantados (através de GOLDVARB X), na linha de outros estudos da concordância de número no SN em variedades de português nao europeu, tais como Scherre (1988), Lopes (2001) e Andrade (2003) para a variedade brasileira, Baxter (2004) e Figueiredo (2008) para a de São Tomé e (Jon-And 2009) para Cabo Verde; assim como Baxter et al. (1997) e Lucchesi (2000) para a variação de concordância de género em variedades afro-brasileiras. O estudo é orientado pelas seguintes questões de pesquisa:

a) Existe variação entre marcação padrão e não padrão da concordância de género e número em todos os corpora do maquista?

b) Quais as variáveis linguísticas e não linguísticas que regem essa variação?

Pretende-se, assim, identificar as regras de variação nas duas categorias em estudo, de modo a alargar o conhecimento existente sobre a natureza da interferência do superstrato no maquista. Os dados preliminares no momento da elaboração do presente resumo apontam para a possível convergência da aplicação padrão da concordância de género e número no corpus oral com processos de ASL. Resta - nos ainda confirmar tal convergência neste corpus e procurar a sua confirmação ou não nos corpora escritos, quando estiverem tratados a totalidade das ocorrências dos três corpora em estudo.

Marivic Lesho

(Universität Bremen)

Rhotic variation in Cavite Chabacano

This paper is a phonetic analysis of rhotic variation in Cavite Chabacano. This variety retains the Spanish intervocalic tap–trill distinction. As in Spanish, rhotics in the Chabacano varieties are highly variable (Ing 1976, Sippola 2011, Lesho 2013). Trill variants in Cavite Chabacano include [r], [ɾ], [hr], and [hɾ], and tap variants include [ɾ], [r], [ɹ], as well as [l] in coda (Lesho 2013). However, phonetic studies are needed to provide more detail about how the rhotics pattern phonologically.

Based on wordlist data, this paper focuses on how the tap–trill distinction is phonetically maintained, and on rhotic variation in coda position. In a preliminary analysis of 578 tokens from 20 male speakers, rhotics were classified according to phonetic type (following Bradley & Willis 2012) and measured for duration and number of closures. The results were analyzed with linear mixed effects models. The final analysis will include more data from 20 female speakers.

Phonemic trills (n=141) were most commonly realized as [ɾ] (38%). However, phonemic taps and trills differed in duration and number of occlusions (pMCMC < 0.001); trills had a mean duration of 71 ms and averaged 1.59 closures (range: 0–6), whereas taps (n=149) had a mean duration of 40 ms and 0.99 closures (range: 0–2). After [ɾ], the most common trill variants were [r] (26%), [ɾ̞] (approximant tap; 11%), [ɾ̝] (9%), [(ɾ)] (perceptual tap; 7%), preaspirated variants (6%), and [ɹ] (5%). Preaspiration was found only in two speakers from one neighborhood. The tap variants included [ɾ] (57%), [ɾ̞] (14%), [r] (11%), [ɹ] (12%), [(ɾ)] (7%), and [ɾ̝] (3%).

For coda rhotics (n=288), the most common variant was [ɾ] (32%), followed by [r] (20%), [ɹ] (18%), [l] (14%), [ɾ̞] (10%), [(ɾ)] (5%), and [ɾ̝] (3%). The [l] variant was restricted to certain words. Coda rhotics were longer in word-final (155 ms) than in word-internal position (68 ms; pMCMC < 0.001), reflecting this variety's tendency of phrase-final lengthening.

These preliminary results support previous analyses of Cavite Chabacano as having two distinct rhotics. As in many Spanish dialects (e.g. Colantoni 2006, Willis 2007), the trill–tap contrast is maintained by lengthening through approximantization and preaspiration. The low frequency of [l] and [hr] is related to historical variation in Chabacano and Spanish (Lipski 1987). This paper contributes to the phonetic documentation of Chabacano and shows how similar this variety has remained to its lexifier with respect to its rhotic system.

Marlyse Baptista

(University of Michigan)

Searching for the language of Sephardic Jews in Santiaguense

This paper offers a diachronic analysis of agreement patterns, verb morphology as well as the form and semantics of specific Tense, Mood and Aspect markers in the Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole (Santiaguense). We draw possible linkages between the morpho-syntactic properties of Santiaguense to a likely source that has been until recently overlooked in the literature: the language of the Sephardic Jews who took refuge in Santiago in the late 1400s (Green, 2006, Jacobs, 2009). For lack of a better term, we call this language *Judeo-Portuguese* to refer to the variety of the Portuguese language that Spanish and Portuguese jewry used. This language variety resulted from contact between Spanish Jews and Portuguese Jews after the former fled to Portugal to escape the Spanish Inquisition and from there went into exile to places such as Cape Verde Islands. We explore the possibility that as a result of this contact, both Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-Portuguese took part to the genesis of Cape Verdean Creole. By focusing on the plausible linguistic imports of *Judeo-Portuguese* onto the Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole, this section of the paper lends strong support to the scenarios drawn in Green (2006), Martinus (1997), Quint (2000) and Jacobs (2009) which highlight the role Sephardic Jews played in the early days of creolisation in Cape Verde. Jacobs (2009) in particular emphasizes the role that Sephardic Jews played in the 17th century in transferring linguistic features from Upper Guinea Creoles such as Cape Verdean and Guinea-Bissau Creoles to Papiamentu in the Caribbean. His paper demonstrates that Papiamentu is most likely a relexified offshoot of an early Upper Guinea Creole variety and claims that the Portuguese ethnolect that the Sephardic Jews spoke in the 17th century has left traces in Papiamentu's core grammar and by extension, in the Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole. We explore in this paper the role of Sephardic Jews at an earlier period, 15th and 16th century in Cape Verde and try to show, in support of Jacobs, that traces of their language can be detected in earlier times when both Spanish and Portuguese Jewry were among the founding settlers of

Cape Verde. Such traces will be examined in the domains of agreement, TMA markers and verb forms.

Martina Pelz + Silvio Moreira de Sousa

(Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)

Un pòstkart na Papiamentu di Schuchardt pa Teza

An article about the language spoken in Curaçao published in the beginning of the second half of the 19th century (Teza 1864) is considered as one of the first steps in changing Creolistics into a scientific subject (Krämer 2014:xii). The article of the Italian philologist, which was based on the analyses of Bible translations into Papiamentu, may well have sparked the interest of Schuchardt for Creole languages and phenomena of contact between languages, as one might easily deduce from a letter to Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, another Italian philologist. While attesting his interest in the Lingua Franca, Schuchardt explained to Ascoli the reason of his curiosity:

> "La lingua franca m'interessa in riguardo più generale, perchè forse è un altro esempio di quella decomposizione che Emilio Teza nel Politecnico ci ha dimostrato nel dialetto di Curaçao."
> (Schuchardt to Ascoli, January 13th 1869)

The merits of Emilio Teza were recognized by his contemporaries (Vasconcelos 1903:380). In consequence, a postcard from Hugo Schuchardt to Emilio Teza (July 9th 1882) would be an ordinary piece of correspondence between two creolists, if not for one small detail: It was entirely written in Papiamentu. In addition, Schuchardt did not publish any article about Papiamentu, even though he had gathered bibliographical references (cf. Lenz to Schuchardt, June 25th 1921).

This paper aims to make a comparison between Schuchardt's knowledge of Papiamentu and the Papiamentu analyzed by Teza in his article (Teza 1864; Krämer 2014), followed by the contrast of Schuchardt's ortography and the two modern orthographic agreements for Papiamentu: *Ortografia di Papiamento* (2009) and *Buki di Oro* (2009). The third goal of this paper has to do with the quality of two Web Translation Tools for Papiamentu (Don Amaro and Glosbe).

Mauro Fernández

(Universidad de A Coruña)

Zamboanga lingüística, 1719-1750

Poco se ha investigado sobre la composición de la población de Zamboanga en los años inmediatamente posteriores a la reconstrucción por los españoles, en 1719, del fuerte que habían abandonado en 1663. Todo lo escrito hasta ahora consiste en conjeturas *ad hoc* para explicar ciertas características del chabacano de Zamboanga. Así, si nos centramos en los rasgos que tiene en común con los de la Bahía de Luzón, en el marco de una hipótesis monogenética sobre la formación de los criollos hispano-filipinos, nos viene bien imaginar que, en la refundación de Zamboanga, "many of the Tagalog troops spoke Ermitaño or Caviteño" (Whinnom 1956: 14).

Si por el contrario, se centra uno en peculiaridades del chabacano de Zamboanga tales como la presencia de numerosas palabras procedentes del hiligayno, y si se está convencido de que esas palabras constituyen un estrato antiguo del zamboangueño, entonces conviene imaginar que "Hiligaynon speakers played a mayor role in the early settlement of Zamboanga", (Frake 1971: 230). Avanzando un paso más, hay quienes han imaginado el sexo de estos hipotéticos hablantes de hiligayno, concretándolos en mujeres de Iloilo que se habrían casado con los soldados de la fortaleza.

Por último, si pensamos que el zamboangueño no se originó como un simple trasplante de los criollos de la Bahía de Manila, sino que tuvo un proceso formativo diferente, y si no encontramos razones suficientes para retrotraer los préstamos del hiligayno a los momentos iniciales de la reocupación del fuerte del Pilar (o se imaginan otras vías para la entrada de esas palabras), se pueden concebir de otra manera las fases iniciales del poblamiento, y encontrar motivos para postular una cristalización más tardía del criollo zamboangueño, ya avanzado el siglo XVIII (Lipski 2001) o incluso más tarde (Fernández 2006).

En general, los autores de estos diversos planteamientos no olvidan que se trata de conjeturas, y por ello adverbios como "probably", "presumably" suelen estar presentes; Frake incluso tiene la cautela de declarar que no ha podido encontrar ninguna

documentación histórica que pruebe la presencia temprana de hablantes de hiligaynon entre los pobladores iniciales de Zamboanga. Pero también es cierto que no es infrecuente que cada uno de nosotros se sienta atrapado en las propias conjeturas, o que otros las tomen como realidad histórica probada.

El problema se complica por la inexistencia de un corpus diacrónico de textos. Los textos más antiguos por ahora son los tres encontrados recientemente por Fernández, escritos en 1883, 1884 y 1901 (este último, un diálogo de unas 1.500 palabras, todavía no ha sido presentado en sociedad). Pero hay en cambio una buena cantidad de documentos históricos que duermen en los archivos a la espera de que alguien los despierte. Disponemos de informes elaborados por los primeros gobernadores de la plaza de Zamboanga, de cartas escritas por los padres jesuitas que allí residían, y de otra variedad de documentos que, una vez examinados, permiten poner a prueba las diversas conjeturas imaginadas. ¿Sale alguna de ellas victoriosa de esta prueba? De eso tratará esta ponencia.

Mauro Fernández + Eeva Sippola
(Universidad de A Coruña + Unversität Bremen)

Extendiendo el horizonte temporal de la
documentación textual sobre el chabacano

Muchas de las cuestiones suscitadas en torno al origen y evolución de los criollos requieren para su adecuada resolución el apoyo documental de un número suficiente de textos que cubran el mayor espacio geográfico y temporal posible. En algunos criollos el horizonte temporal está bastante cubierto, tal como ocurre, por ejemplo con los criollos antillanos de base francesa, de los que tenemos muestras a partir de fines del siglo XVII y una buena colección de textos posteriores, recopilados y analizados en Hazäel-Massieux (2008). Para otros criollos disponemos de muestras —e incluso vocabularios y descripciones gramaticales — producidos a lo largo del siglo XVIII o a principios del XIX, tal como ocurre con algunos de base léxica portuguesa en la India y en Sri Lanka (véase Cardoso 2014). Y sobre otros contamos al menos con indicios y referencias muy tempranas en cartas, diarios de viaje y descripciones varias que apuntan con más o menos claridad a la existencia de estas variedades resultantes de los contactos de lenguas provocados por los procesos de colonización.

Pero hay otros criollos en los que toda la documentación textual de que disponemos es más reciente, con lo que las cuestiones sobre el origen y la evolución se hacen más difíciles de resolver. En estos casos, la conjetura sustituye al dato, y la imaginación no siempre logra refrenarse con los datos de tipo histórico y socio-demográfico que podamos obtener. Los criollos hispano-filipinos están en este caso: la documentación textual más antigua que se conoce es la utilizada por Schuchardt (1883), y data de los años o meses inmediatamente anteriores a su monografía sobre el malayo-español, publicada en noviembre de 1883.

En este panorama, entendemos que cualquier aportación de textos anteriores a los recogidos por Schuchardt resultará valiosa. En esta ponencia presentaremos y analizaremos unos textos compuestos a mediados del siglo XIX, que amplían nuestro horizonte temporal veintitantos años. No son rigurosamente textos inéditos, pues fueron

publicados entre 1859 y 1860; pero han permanecido ocultos para los criollistas, y por eso queremos compartir su redescubrimiento en el marco académico. Son textos notables en varios sentidos: por su extensión, por sus características lingüísticas, y por los personajes que intervienen, que nos muestran al chabacano en funcionamiento en la interacción entre filipinos de muy diversa condición económica y social. Todo ello puede ser de utilidad en el debate sobre la formación de estos criollos de la colonia más oriental de España.

Michelle Li

(University of Hong Kong)

Macau Pidgin Portuguese: a new source and its implications

A source for Macau Pidgin Portuguese (MPP), a trade pidgin in use in Canton and Macau around the 19th century (Tryon et al 1986), has recently been transcribed and analyzed. This paper aims to i) present the challenges in transcribing the new source *Compendium of Assorted Phrases in Macau Pidgin*; ii) discuss the origin of the *Compendium*; and iii) examine the grammatical implication of MPP on Chinese Pidgin English.

The *Compendium* is a phrasebook containing vocabulary as well as sentences. While the Chinese characters for the Chinese meaning and their pidgin equivalents are mainly pronounced in the Canton dialect, traces of Min influence is also present as seen in the use of /m/ in transcribing Portuguese /b/. One of the challenges in using characters to transcribe Portuguese is the representation of sounds which are absent in Cantonese/Min. For example, /ɲ/ can be represented by /n/ and sometimes followed by a /j/ onset.

Williams (1837) is probably the first record that points to the existence of a pidgin Portuguese phrasebook at that time. Based on his description, the *Compendium* closely resembles the book mentioned by Williams in terms of title, size and contents. The *Compendium* also shares similarity with a Chinese-Portuguese glossary in *Aomen Jilue*, published in 1751. Most of the 395 entries in *Aomen Jilue* are also found in the *Compendium*. The arrangement of entries in the *Compendium* shows that in each section the author(s) begin(s) with a list of entries copied from the glossary in *Aomen Jilue*, followed by a list of newly added items. This clearly shows that the glossary in *Aomen Jilue* serves as a model for the compilation of the *Compendium.*

The analysis of this new source also sheds light on some puzzling grammatical features in Chinese Pidgin English. The three grammatical features discussed include: a) the use of *my* instead of *me* as in most English lexified pidgins and creoles for subject, object and possessive functions, b) the use of *hap* 'have' as locative copula, which can

neither be attributed to English nor Cantonese usage, and c) the use of *for* as a prepositional complementizer. As explanations for such usage cannot be sought from Cantonese and English which are the acknowledged source languages of CPE, it is argued that MPP is a source of these features.

Nélia Alexandre

(Universidade de Lisboa)

Acquisition of articles in Capeverdean Portuguese L2:
a failed functional features hypothesis

The research on the acquisition of L2 often addresses the issue of parameter setting by the L2 learners and the access to the Universal Grammar (UG). This talk takes on a theory of L2 acquisition that assumes that L2 learners fail to set the value for some functional features in the L2 when they differ from their L1 (Smith & Tsimpli 1995, ap. Hawkins & Chao 1997), i.e. L2 learners cannot access to the underspecified functional features of the L1 and therefore they cannot construct a near-native grammar of the L2 (failed functional feature hypothesis, Hawkins & Chao 1997).

Capitalizing on the work of Ionin, Ko & Wexler (2004) on the application of the Article Choice Parameter (ACP) and on the experimental gap-filling task of articles from Baldé (2011), this talk has the following goals: to evaluate (i) how the semantic values of [definiteness] and [specificity] are set by Capeverdean Portuguese (CVP) speakers, a language which is L2 in Cape Verde (being European Portuguese - EP - the target language), and Capeverdean Creole (L1) speakers; and (ii) the weight of contact beween these languages.

Therefore, we applied the gap-filling test to 81 individuals CVP and Capeverdean speakers, distributed by the following levels of education: '6th grade', '8th grade', 'university attendance' and 'graduation', with ages between 11 and 50 years old.

Considering that Capeverdean Creole (L1) exhibits an indefinite article (*un(s)* 'a'), while the definite article (*kel/kes* 'the') is still in process of stabilizing from the demonstrative (*kel/kes ... (li/la)* 'this/that'), and that in this language a covert article before the Noun (Ø N) can sign definiteness and specificity (Alexandre & Soares 2005 and Baptista 2007), the hypotheses at issue are: (i) where functional feature specifications in Capeverdean and EP are different, CVP (L2) speakers fail to set the value for the functional formal feature and their syntactic representations are closer to the L1; (ii) when they are similar, CVP speakers approximate closely in their syntactic
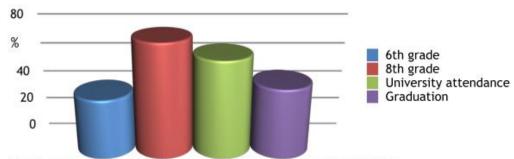
representations to those of native speakers of EP; (iii) the 'level of education' is an important variable in this acquisition process.

We then predict that (i) the CVP speakers use *um/uma* 'a' in [+definite, -specific] contexts (1) and *o/a* 'the' in [-definite, +specific] contexts (2); (ii) omit significantly the article in [+definite, +specific] contexts (3); and (iii) the speakers with higher level of education show less difficulties in setting the values of the ACP than the less educated (given that only Portuguese is taught in the schools).
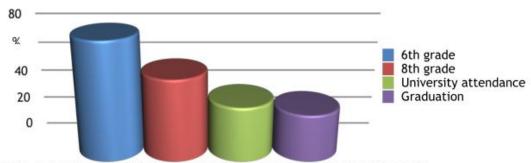
Data:

(1) ... Fiscal: Lamento, mas terá que pagar **uma** [target: **a**] multa prevista!

'Tax agent: I'm sorry, but you'll have to pay for a [the] provided fine!'

... Fiscal: Lamento, mas terá que pagar UMA [target: a] multa prevista!

(2) ... Hoje, vou entrevistar *o* [target: **um**] médico do Hospital Dr. Agostinho Neto.

'Today, I'll interview **the** [a] doctor from Agostinho Neto hospital.'

... Hoje, vou entrevistar O [target: um] médico do Hospital Dr. Agostinho Neto.

(3) ... Sibila: Compraste alguma coisa?

Raquel: Muita coisa: revistas, canetas, cadernos e um livro muito interessante. Estou mesmo a adorar **Ø** [target: **o**] livro.

'Sibila: Did you buy anything?

Raquel: Lots of things: magazines, pens, copybooks and a very interesting book. I'm really enjoying Ø [the] book.'

Nicholas Faraclas + Mekuri Ndimele + Sonia Crescioni
+ Gabriel Mejia + Daniel Rivera Betancourt + Madelyn Oyola Rosario
(Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras + University of Port Harcourt
+ Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras)

The Cultivation of Ambiguity in the Afro-Atlantic Creoles

While we applaud Paul Grice's (1975) attempt to broaden the narrow focus of semanticians and other linguists beyond the truth-conditioned implicature of conventional Aristotelian logic, we share Keenan's (1976) critique of Grice's non-conventional conversational implicature, based on evidence from Malagasy. In this presentation, we will use evidence from Nigerian Pidgin (also called 'Naija' and 'Nigerian English-lexifier Pidgin/Creole') and other West African and Afro-Caribbean languages to argue that Keenan's critique of Grice does not go far enough when she claims that in certain African societies, Grice's cooperative principle is violated because of a speaker-centered proprietary and face-based reluctance to share information.

On the basis of an analysis of some of the most common phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic structures found in Afro-Atlantic Creoles such as Nigerian Pidgin (and in many West African substrate languages as well) we demonstrate that speakers of these varieties not only fail to avoid ambiguity (contra Grice) but instead actively cultivate ambiguity. We further argue that they do this not so much to avoid loss of face or to hoard information (contra Keenan) as in order to establish a greater degree of speaker-hearer cooperation and collaboration than that envisioned by either Grice or Keenan. In the process, we link this phenomenon to double- and multiple-voicing and consciousness (DuBois 1903) and dialogic resistance to standardized unitary language (Bakhtin 1981).

In the area of phonology, we look at syllable timing. In morphology we consider the degree of obligatory specification of nominals, predicates, and adverbials. At the level of syntax we focus on the existence of a sentence-final position dedicated to creative interaction between speaker and hearer, where minimally precise (in the conventional mathematical sense) but maximally expressive lexical items such as

ideophones and particles such as *o*, *ba*, *sha*, and *kwanu* are commonly encountered. We conclude that in the Afro-Atlantic, linguistic structure often reflects the fact that language is commonly used in such a way that it remains unfinished, indeterminate, and ambiguous, thus inviting dynamic interaction on the part of the audience.

Nicolas Quint + Joseph Jean François Nunez

(LLACAN - CNRS + LLACAN/SeDyL-CNRS / Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar)

A linguistic account of the translations of 'Le Petit Prince de Saint-Exupéry' in two Portuguese Upper Guinea Creoles, Santiaguense Capeverdean and Casamancese

In 2013 and 2015, our linguistic team successively published two translations in Capeverdean Creole (CVC) and in Casamance Creole (CAS) of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* 'The Little Prince', the most famous book ever written in French, now available in almost 300 different languages of the World. The process of translation of this book into those two Afro-Portuguese Creoles was a challenge and an adventure at many respects (organizational, editorial...) but above all, it was a very rich linguistic experiment, which allowed us to better understand or investigate various facets of both Casamance and Capeverdean Creoles.

First, the contrast between the original language (French) and the target languages (the two Creoles at stake) raised various problems, the two most recurrent types of which being linked with: **(i)** the lexicon, i.e. finding a Creole equivalent for French (Fr.) technical words such as Fr. *astronome* 'astronomer' or *géographe* 'geographer' or for realities which happen to be unknown or rarely referrred to in traditional Capeverdean or Casamance societies, such as Fr. *pommier* 'apple tree', *renard* 'fox', *blé* 'wheat' etc; **(ii)** the syntax, eg. rendering formulae typical of written French, such as *dit-il/elle* 's/he said', which generally follow the chunks of reported speech they command, a syntactic order strictly impossible in both CVC and CAS.

Second, the necessity to find exact equivalents of the French original lead us to discover Creole features and peculiarities that we had been unaware of hitherto, such as the existence of a contrast between inclusive (INCL) and exclusive (EXCL) for some of the forms of the first person plural pronoun in CAS (eg. **nosus**, 'we.EXCL' vs. **nos** 'we.INCL'), not mentioned in descriptive works such as Biagui (2012) or Biagui & Quint (2013).

Third, those translations also provided us with the opportunity to better understand the contrast between CVC and CAS, specifically in what regards their lexical relationship to Portuguese, CVC usually sharing more similiarities with its lexifier than CAS: compare CVC **prispi** 'prince' (< Portuguese (Port.) *príncipe* 'id.') with CAS **rey siñu** 'prince' (< Port. *rei* 'king' + *-zinho* 'diminutive').

Fourth, in particular in the case of CAS, the translation of Saint-Exupéry's book gave us the chance to gather a first series of data concerning the internal variation of the language, as the two native CAS speakers who participated to the project happened to disagree about some items and collocations in CAS (eg. **karne̱ru** 'sheep' in urban CAS vs. **karne̱du** in rural varieties).

In our communication, we will illustrate in turn each of the four above-mentioned points, basing ourselves on various examples drawn from the Capeverdean and Casamance Creole translations of "Le Petit Prince" we have produced and published since 2013.

Norma da Silva Lopes
(PPGEL / UNEB)

Variação da concordância: o efeito do contato em Salvador

No século XIX, no Brasil, com o nacionalismo desencadeado pela independência, aliado aos ideais do Romantismo, surge uma preocupação entre escritores e linguistas em considerar as particularidades da língua usada no Brasil, de forma a instituir uma 'língua brasileira'. Os defensores desse ideal sentiram a necessidade de reconhecimento de uma língua nacional e buscaram nela características que a distinguissem de Portugal.

Um dos traços do português brasileiro tomado com muita frequência, por muitos dos estudiosos para a referência à realidade linguística brasileira, em oposição à lusitana, é a variação da concordância no sintagma nominal, fenômeno raro no português europeu. Apesar da polêmica em torno da língua brasileira, nesta comunicação, procuramos caracterizar o português utilizado no Brasil, sem abordar a discussão sobre a língua brasileira. Fazemos um panorama da variação da concordância em diferentes regiões, lançando mão de resultados, além dos nossos, das seguintes pesquisas realizadas sobre a concordância no sintagma nominal: Scherre (19881), Fernandes (1996), Carvalho (1997) e Lopes (2001; 2011). A partir das comparações, e considerando o contato mais intenso entre línguas no português de Salvador, considera-se a oposição entre falantes afrodescendentes e não-afrodescendentes (com auxílio de metodologia utilizada pelo grupo de Genética Médica da Universidade Federal da Bahia) e analisa-se, dessa forma, o efeito do contato na variação do fenômeno nessa variedade do português.

Norval Smith

(Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication / University of Amsterdam)

Evidence for creole-type "Portuguese" in 17th century Surinam

In various publications on the historical phonology of Saramaccan it has been suggested that there is evidence for the presence of different forms of speech utilizing Portuguese lexical items.

The first was a variety of the Portuguese language itself, which can be assumed to have been spoken by the majority of the Sephardic Jewish community. This community occupied the larger part of the upriver Suriname River plantation area. The direct linguistic remnants of this variety are limited to personal and place names, the latter being names of plantations. Indirect reflexes of this Portuguese are to be found to some extent in Saramaccan, a mixed Portuguese-English maroon creole, spoken to a large extent by the descendants of slaves who escaped from Jewish-owned plantations.

The second was a probable Portuguese-lexifier creole, which has left few direct traces, apart from a couple of proverbs recorded in the coastal area in the 19th century. Indirectly, it has presumably also left traces in Saramaccan.

The third is the mixed Portuguese-English creole Saramaccan, which I see as the direct descendant of the reported plantation language Dju-Tongo 'Jewish language', from which we have a handful of lexical items, as well as what could be called "sociolinguistic" descriptions.

In this talk I will examine some sets of dual reflexes of Portuguese consonants in Saramaccan. These share a common characteristic: one reflex which is closer to (the first-entioned) Portuguese, and one reflex which is more remote from Portuguese, and typically shared by Portuguese creoles. My thesis is that this second type of reflex may well provide further evidence for the early importation into Surinam of a Portuguese creole.

These dual reflexes include such pairs as: v-b, dj-s/z, tj-s, g-k, g-ng. There is some sign of synchronic and diachronic variation in Saramaccan sources which I will indicate.

Paloma Moore Neves + Alan Norman Baxter

(Universidade Federal da Bahia)

Representations of definiteness in the object Determiner Phrase
of the Afro-Brazilian dialect of Helvécia, Bahia

This paper concerns the Determiner Phrase (DP) of definite reference NPs in object position in the Afro-Brazilian Portuguese of Helvécia, Bahia. In previous analyses of the article in definite reference NPs in this dialect (Baxter & Lopes 2009; Almeida 2011), variation in representation of the DP was treated as a binary variable, the variants being the definite article *versus* Ø article. However, taking into account the findings of Ribeiro (2010) that, in this dialect, in addition to the definite article and Ø article, the non-deictic demonstrative plays a key role as 'article' in the DP, the present study treats the variation as ternary. The data are drawn from the Helvécia sub-corpus of the Afro-Brazilian Portuguese *corpus* of the *Vertentes* project at the Federal University of Bahia, a *corpus* structured by age-group and gender. The methodological framework for the data handling is that of the Labovian paradigm, and the discussion of the results relies on elements of generative syntax (Longobardi 1998; Schmitt & Munn 1999; Castro & Pratas 2006), descriptive typology (Dryer 2011; Haspelmath 2013) and the semantics of reference (Lyons 1999). A variation analysis is conducted to determine the influence on DP representation exerted by several independent linguistic variables, which include(1) (I) familiarity of reference; (2) countability; (3) animacity; (4) number marking in the NP; and (5) presence of additional reference inducing material; as well as (6) the non-linguistic variable of age-group. The analysis extends the scope of previous analyses, suggesting a developmental sequence which initially involved competition between Ø article and the non-deictic demonstrative, with subsequent growth in use of the definite article. Multiple linguistic factors condition the variation, pragmatic, semantic and structural, revealing typological similarities with Cape Verde Creole and São Tomé Creole, yet also with substrate languages of the ancestors of the Helvécia community, from the Benue-Congo and Bantu families. A particularly notable item is the role of non-deictic demonstratives in representing definite reference, and the

strong connection between singular NPs and Ø article, both as in Cape Verde Creole (Baptista 2007).

Paul T. Roberge

(University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill / Stellenbosch University)

Factivity and contrafactivity in the Cape Dutch Vernacular

This paper explores the gradual development and stabilization of two homophonous function words in the history of Afrikaans.

In the Cape Dutch Pidgin (the basic medium of interethnic communication in the Cape Colony ca. 1658–1795) modality could be expressed by means of *kam(m)e*, which (*pace* Den Besten 2001) is to be interpreted as 'truly, really' and is relatable to Cape Khoikhoi *kamma-sa* 'truth, it is true; cf. Nama *ama-b* 'truth', *ama-se* 'truly', Korana *kx,ama* 'true', *kx,ama-b* 'truth', Griqua *k,ama-se* 'really'. Assertive *kam(m)e* was a recessive feature in the Cape Dutch Vernacular, the developing medium of community solidarity to which the Pidgin gave rise; its usage became confined to the periphery of what we know today as Afrikaans.

This interpretation of Cape Dutch Pidgin *kam(m)e* as a speech act or assertion marker would seem contraindicated by the conventional meaning of the Afrikaans modal adverbial *kamma* 'ostensibly, in appearance, as if', which is diametrically opposed to 'truly'. It turns out that Afrikaans *kamma* is etymologically problematic, even though it uncontroversially corresponds to a morphological form in Khoikhoi. In its contrafactive and nonfactive senses *kamma* represents an entirely separate and secondary development that harks back to the elaboration of the Cape Dutch Vernacular by means of Khoikhoi *khama* 'as, like' in the role of an appositional adverb, as in phrases on the order of Korana *khama thã* lit. 'like feel', Nama *khama tsâ* 'idem', i.e., 'appear as, seem (as if), apparently, seemingly'.

During the nineteenth century, irrealis *kamma* was in competitive alternation in the Cape Dutch Vernacular with *faikonta* (*fakonta, fankonta*) 'ostensibly' < Creole Portuguese *fa(i) conta* < Portuguese *fazer* 'make, cause, cause to become, render' + *conta* 'account, reckoning', whence 'for form's sake'. Also in competition with *kamma* was *tjakkie-tjakkie* 'ostensibly', probably from Malay *icak-icak*, 'swindle, fake; act as

if' (alternatively, reduplication of Malay *kâchak* 'arrogant, self-conceited, ostentatious, boastful') + diminutive *-ie*.

These developments provide evidence for Hazaël-Massieux's claim (2009) that in creole formation the developing vernacular does not take on grammatical modules but rather lexical forms that may have a grammatical function in the source languages but are only initially adopted as *lexical* elements by speakers who do not share a common language. These morphemes will be progressively integrated into a new grammatical system that will owe little or nothing to the original languages.

Paula Prescod

(Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

"Intercomprehension" across related languages:
The case of English-based creoles

In this talk, I examine the degree of mutual intelligibility across four creoles, two of which (Jamaican and Gullah) are still in contact with modern Englishes, whereas the other two (San Andres Creole (SAC) and Sranan) are not. My overarching aim is to show that despite significant structural differences between creoles and modern Englishes and ultimately between creoles, (non-)native users of English rely on strategies they employ to understand English texts when reading the creole texts for meaning.

The study is based on an extract from St Matthew. Against the backdrop of research on *intercomprehension* (mutual intelligibility) across related languages (Doyé 2005, Grin 2008), I briefly address the issue of orthographic choices made by translators and the tendencies either to represent the variety phonemically thus establishing *abstand* vis-à-vis the superstrate (Romaine 2007: 695) or to represent the variety etymologically. I then examine the semantic-syntactic and lexical features of the creoles as per the extract under investigation. For example, the very title of the chapter, in example (1), helps fuel the discussion on the grammatical mechanisms used for nominal reference in the varieties: a bare noun in English, definite markers in Jamaican (*di*), Sranan (*den*) and Gullah (*de*) and an indefinite marker in SAC (*som*).

(1)

English	*Wise Men from the East*	
Jamaican	*Di Waiz Man dem*	
Sranan	***Den koniman di kon luku Yesus***	
Gullah	*De Man Dem Fom de East Come fa Woshup Jedus*	
SAC	*Som waiz man fahn di iis kom vizit bieby Jesus*	(Matthew 2)

I investigate lexical items that readers should grasp to ensure the overall understanding of the texts. In example (2) the reader seems to be guaranteed a significant measure of transparency across the varieties, save Sranan.

(2)

English	Jamaican	Sranan	Gullah	SAC
Wise Men	Waiz Man	koniman	di Man Dem	waiz man

To test this state of affairs, I report on the results of an online survey carried out among English users. A dozen respondents were recruited, based on their rapport with English and creoles, to respond to stimuli testing understanding of lexical items and syntactic strings. The findings reveal that despite not having been trained to read these creoles, English users succeed in grasping meaning across the varieties. Nonetheless, the Gullah variety, which presents more affinities with English from an orthographic standpoint, poses far less comprehension problem than Sranan, thus the need to reflect in terms of a continuum of *intercomprehension*.

Peter Bakker + Kasper Fyhn Jacobsen

(Aarhus University)

Simplified Congo in the Americas around 1800: foreigner talk, pidgin or failed second language acquisition?

Louis-Narcisse Baudry Des Lozières (1751-1841) was a military man and slave trader. After having fled from the slave revolt in Sainte Domingue (Haiti), together with 20,000 others, he settled in Louisiana, where he became a plantation owner.

Baudry Des Lozières had been an ardent opponent of abolitionism all his life. One of his books, published in 1802, was later judged to be "un des livres les plus ignobles qui aient jamais été imprimés," and "véritable Bible de la haine négrophobe".

Nevertheless, Baudry Des Lozières is also one of the few slave owners who left us with a publication about one of the African languages spoken by his slaves. His philosophy was that slaves work harder if owners show some respect and empathy for them, for example by learning their language. In his book about Louisiana (1803) he included a guide to the Congo language, intended for the benefit of plantation owners and useful as well for doctors and surgeons.

His vocabulary contains almost 1000 words and more than a hundred sentences. The sentences make clear that, despite ten years of effort to learn the language, the Congo language as described by him turns a severely simplified form of the language, without verbal morphology, noun classes, etc.

In our presentation we provide a grammatical sketch of the sentences. Thereafter we will discuss whether this material constitutes a case of failed second language learning by the author, purposeful simplification by the native speaker (foreigner talk) or a pidgin used by both parties.

Peter Bakker + Kristoffer Friis Bøegh + Aymeric Daval-Markussen

(Aarhus University)

How European are European-lexifier creoles?

Opinions about the structural continuation or influence of European languages on e.g. the Caribbean creoles differ among creolists. The continuity of European lexicons is uncontroversial, however.

One extreme view can be exemplified by researchers who consider these creoles to be continuations of European languages, with relatively little or no influence from substrate languages. Other creolists consider the structures of creoles as direct continuations of African languages. Most creolists today would probably place themselves somewhere in the middle, for instance those who claim that (Atlantic) creoles can be equally of African and European descent through a process of recombination of features, as argued for through the feature pool hypothesis (see e.g. Aboh and Ansaldo 2007).

We have decided to test this idea. In the first phase, we selected a number of stable phonological, morphological and syntactic features, based on the study by Wichmann & Holman (2009), who assessed the temporal stability of typological features in the *World Atlas of Language Structures*. Excluding dependent features, we ended up with 30 most stable typological features. A convenience sample of 60 African languages was chosen, including mostly languages spoken in Western parts of Africa, so as to maximally reflect the linguistic and areal diversity characteristic of enslaved Africans involved in creolization. Phylogenetic tests applied to these languages appeared to replicate established genealogical classifications quite well, showing a certain robustness of the method.

Then we added 40 creoloid languages, selected from all continents and from a wide variety of lexifiers, both Indo-European and non-Indo-European (Arabic, Assamese, Chinook, Dutch, English, French, Malay, Motu, Ngbandi, Spanish, Portuguese, Sign Language and Tupinamba).

The results are somewhat surprising. We find that:

(1) Niger-Congo languages and creoles form completely separate clusters. This provides additional evidence in favour of the typological distinctiveness of creoles;

(2) Atlantic creoles with an African input do not appear closer to the African languages than Pacific creoles without African input, suggesting a very limited influence of African languages through the stable features;

(3) Adding European languages and Arabic, these end up in the same cluster as creole languages, and not separately or with the noncreole African languages, contrary to our expectations.

In our presentation, we will discuss these results. We will focus on whether the third result can be explained by being the result of creolization processes in the development of European languages or through a continuation of European languages.

Peter Slomanson

(University of Tampere)

Temporal Complementisers and Restructuring
the Morphosyntax of Time

Speakers of Sri Lanka Malay (SLM) reanalysed what had been free-standing functional elements in the Malay varieties (1) that preceded the modern contact language in Sri Lanka (2), in such a way that the new grammar is significantly divergent from the older grammar in its morphology and syntax.

(1) *Paman Musba coba tulis   cerita panjang itu.*
    Uncle Musba try write story long   that
    'Uncle Musba is trying to write that long story.'

(2) *Musba-maama itu   panjang cerita=yang   me-tulis=na   a-liyat.*
     Musba uncle that long   story=ACC INF-write=DAT PRS-try
     'Uncle Musba is trying to write that long story.'

Previous research has focused on the fact that SLM tense contrasts are explicitly marked, and that although PP and NP are ordered internally in the way they are in other Lankan OV languages, and VP is variably ordered (OV and VO), the position of tense and other functional markers remains unexpectedly pre-verbal, although bound to the verb. When another functional feature is present, we see amalgamated forms, such as the implicitly tense-marked negation markers, *tara* and *tuma*. Evidence that these are [+tense] and finite is the fact that only the phonologically dissimilar form, *jang*, can be used to negate a verb (3) that would be infinitival or participial when unnegated.

(3) *Musba-maama itu   panjang cerita=yang   ja(ng)-tulis=na,   ruma-ka ati-duuduk.*
    Musba uncle that long   story=ACC NEG.INF-write=DAT house-in FUT-stay
    'Uncle Musba will stay at home to not write (without writing) that long story.'

The pre-verbal preference extends to a subordinator, *kapan* ("when"), which instead of becoming post-verbal/clause-final, appears as a prefix on the verb. This prefix is in complementary distribution with tense markers, but can be analyzed as [+tense]. Interrogative elements referring to time, including the homophonous *kapan* ("when...?"), are not bound to the left edge of the lexical verb (4), in contrast with the subordinating *kapan* (5), which occupies a slot reserved for (a) tense markers and (b) other [+tense] functional markers, with (a) and (b) in complementary distribution. Modal prefixes belong to (b), and cannot be bound to infinitival or participial verbs. I will discuss the significance of the absence of agreement morphology to the otherwise anomalous distribution of tense and complementisers, highlighting contrasts with coterritorial languages in Sri Lanka.

(4) *Musba-maama iskuul   atu   kapan si-kutumun?*
    Musba uncle school IND when PST-see
     'When did Uncle Musba see a school?'

(5) *Musba-maama iskuul   atu   kapan-(*si-)kutumun...*
    Musba uncle school IND when-PST-see
    'When Uncle Musba saw a school...'

Peter Stein

(University of Bremen)

Oldendorp's Grammar, the original manuscript version:
an unknown masterpiece of early creolistics

When we talk about Oldendorp's Grammar among creolists, we normally talk about the pages 424-436 of Bossart's edition of Oldendorp's *Missionsgeschichte*, which was printed in Barby in1777 and was translated by Highfield and Barac in 1987 (p. 251-260). For this printed version Bossart had shortened Oldendorp's original text by more than 80% and he had adapted it to what readers of that time were expecting.

Oldendorp's original text was published only in 2000 in our edition of the entire manuscript of the *Missionsgeschichte* (vol. I, p. 681-724), but no English translation has been published yet. I would be very glad if my paper helped to make this happen.

My paper will present and discuss Oldendorp's text and show its originality, value, and relevance for modern creolistics. To do this I will show the difference from the Bossart text from 1777 and I will compare it with Magens' *Grammatica over det Creolske sprog* from 1770. Both men, Oldendorp and Magens, lived on the Virgin Islands at the same time and described the Creole language of the Islands, but none of them ever mentioned the other.

The following quotations may give an impression of the value of Oldendorp's description of that creole language - the first creole grammar ever written:

– There is often a special double-use of the verb to put emphasis on something. There is always *da* before the verb: *joe no le kom? – Da kom mi le kom ja ja*.

– *Da* is often used with things that are present [...] that you want to put emphasis on, [...] especially in questions and answers: *da die* (that's it), *da ons ha die faut, da wie le kom? da mi Meester le kom.*

– The passive voice is not common. [...] Sometimes you can use *kom* ('become'): *die goed kom bederf* ('it/the thing is spoilt'). One says *die goed ka (past) bederf* ('it/the thing has been spoilt')

– Superfluous words can be found in the following sayings:

Mi Meester em a see [repetition of the subject].

Bring kom mi die goed hieso, mi bring die kom, kom mi sal draag joe loop na Sanct Jan

These are ordinary sayings, where *kom* is indeed superfluous, because it follows *bring*.

So, Oldendorp had described topicalisation and verb serialisation 200 years before modern creolistics even discovered it as important structures of the creole languages. We should really start to study his *Grammar*!

Philipp Krämer + Silvio Moreira de Sousa

(Freie Universität Berlin + Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)

Across the oceans and through the Alps - The intellectual
networks of 19th century Creolistics

Research on the History of Creolistics remains fragmental up to the present (cf. Ludwig 2003; Holm 2000; Couto 1996). So far, the texts of one single author were examined, or -on the other hand - the analysis limited itself to one sole sphere: either national, colonial or even linguistic (cf. Kihm 1984; d'Andrade & Kihm 1997; Bachmann 2005; Stein 2005; Sousa 2012; Krämer 2013). It is truly our expectation to overcome such frame of 'national philologies' and provide new vistas of 19th century Creolistics.

By presenting the intellectual field of that period under the shape of a triangle, we involve the Germanophone philology - based in the figure of Schuchardt as the founding 'father of pidgin and creoles studies' (DeCamp 1971; Holm 1988, 2000; Couto 1996) - , the French (or Francophone) Creolistics and the Portuguese (or Lusophone) Creolistics. Authors such as Charles Baissac and Lucien Adam or even Adolfo Coelho and Leite de Vasconcelos produced a considerable volume of works on Creole languages in the last decades of the 19th century.

Our approach aims to visualize the connections between these three philological 'poles' according to postal correspondence, critical reviews and quotes that form an intellectual tissue. That will allow us to point out the main axis and the marginal works across national borders. On a second stage, we will regroup these works in agreement with their discursive and argumentative emphasis: Is it possible to establish networks dominated by a universalist or racialist line of thought? Which relations have the authors with contemporary Linguistics, for example with dialectology or with historical philology? How did they position themselves towards other in vogue disciplines like Anthropology or Biology?

Our objective is to propose finer and suppler systematizations for the description of 19th century Creolistics. Thus, we will demonstrate that the research on Creole

languages in the 19th century was very well interconnected; so well connected to the point of sketching a European practice (if not global) and simultaneously question the notion of 'French' or 'Portuguese' Creolistics.

Rita Gonçalves + Tjerk Hagemeijer

(Universidade de Lisboa + Universidade de Lisboa / CLUL)

Dative objects in the Creole and Portuguese of São Tomé

Spoken Portuguese of São Tomé (PST) exhibits two strategies for dative objects: double object constructions (DOC) or ditransitive prepositional constructions (DPC), which employ either Case marker *a* 'to' or preposition *para* 'toward, for' (Gonçalves 2010, 2014). In the creole of São Tomé (CST), on the other hand, datives are primarily realized as DOC (Hagemeijer 2007) but they also occur in serial-like constructions with *da* 'for, to, on behalf of'.

Using data from both spoken corpora and acceptability judgment tasks, we will discuss whether dative objects in PST and CST follow Rappaport-Hovav & Levin's (2008) distinction between *give*-type verbs (*core dative verbs*), which occur in both DOC and DPC, and *throw/send*-type verbs (*non core dative verbs*), which are restricted to DPC. These authors argue that a meaning of caused possession is at the core of the former verb class, whereas the latter expresses both caused possession and caused motion. Moreover, while *core dative verbs* combine with a *to*-functional preposition, the DPC with *non core dative verbs* is introduced by a *to*-directional preposition.

A preliminary survey of the data suggests that this typology bears relevance to PST and CST. *Core dative verbs* occur strictly with DOC in CST (cf. (1.a)). Similarly, in PST, *core dative verbs* only occur in the DOC or in the DPC introduced by the dative Case marker *a* (cf. (2.a-b)). On the other hand, the DPC introduced by the preposition *para* in PST is found with both *give* and *throw/send*-type verbs with [+ANIM] dative objects (cf. (2.c)). In CST, *non core dative verbs* can occur with preposition *da* (cf. (1.b)), suggesting we are dealing with a *to*-directional preposition. We will also discuss the role of animacy of the dative object, the construction type (light and full verbs), and whether the observed patterns indicate structural convergence through contact.

(1)   a) *Ê   tlega **sun   alê**   tlê-tlêxi   kwa   se.*   (CST)
          3SG give   Mr.   king   RED-three   thing   DEM

'He gave the king these three things.

b) *N   ga   ba manda   kata   **da bô***.

   1SG   TAM go send   letter give   2SG

   'I will send you a letter.' / 'I will send a letter on your behalf.'

(2)   a) *Entrega **senhor**   uma   cerveja*.   (PST)

   'Give the man a   beer.'

b) *Dão   dinheiro às   pessoas*.

   'They give   money   to the   people.'

c) *Manda   dólares   **para o meu   irmão***.

   'Send   dollars   to   my   brother.'

Robert Borges

(Aarhus University)

The problem of Songhay classification as a (post)creole revisited

The classification of Songhay languages has been point a of contention among Africanists; there have been a number of proposals for their inclusion in various families, e.g. Gur (Westermann 1927), Mande (Delafosse [via Creissels 1981]). Greenberg's (1963) proposal including Songhay among the Nilo-Saharan (NS) languages has gained the most currency, with subsequent scholars (e.g. Bender 1997, 2000, Ehret 2001) strengthening the case. However, Nilo-Saharan specialist Dimmendaal (e.g. 2012:408) considers Songhay a separate language family.

It is apparent that contact induced language change played a significant role in the history of the Songhay languages. For some (e.g. Lacroix 1971), this calls the NS classification into question. Creissels (1981) points out a number of morphological similarities between Songhay and Mande languages, but for him, language contact is not problematic for the NS hypothesis (see also Nicolaï 1977). One of the most extreme hypotheses involving contact in early Songhai history, proposed by Nicolaï (1985) and refined in a controversial series of subsequent works (notably Nicolaï 1987, 1990, 2003), suggests that "catastrophic" linguistic events in linguistic prehistory led to a multi-genetic pidgin language that formed the basis of the Songhay language family.

In this paper, I will utilize typologically stable structural characteristics (Wichmann & Holman 2009) and phylogenetic methods to address two questions. The first question has to do with Songhay's relationship to other language phyla: Nilo-Saharan, Mande, and Berber. Recent work has demonstrated that results attained from structural data and phylogenetic methodology serve as a reliable complement to traditional methods of historical linguistics (Dunn et al. 2005, 2008). Given that Songhay languages are now relatively well described, the type of approach advocated e.g. by Dunn et al 2005 would provide an extremely useful perspective on Songhay's relationship to other African language families.

The second question has to do with Songhay's status as a (post-)creole language. Bakker et al. (2011) suggest that a pidgin-to-creole cycle, such as that described by Nicolaï (1985) for the Songhay languages, is precisely the cause of creole distinctiveness which they argued for. Since the 2011 paper, Bakker and the others working in the Cognitive Creolistics project at Aarhus University have expanded their sample of pidgins/creoles, and superstrate/substrate languages. Their results are consistent: creoles cluster together under phylogenetic analysis, suggesting typological distinctiveness. Should Nicolaï's (1985) hypothesis be correct, the Songhay languages will cluster with the other creoles under this analysis.

Rocky Meade

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To test and what to test – Variation in the oral production of Secondary School students and how this may affect the planned oral testing of in Jamaican Acrolect

"Thwaites shocked at woeful CSEC results" is the headline of a Jamaican Daily Gleaner of August 10 2012.   Not only has Jamaica's pass rate in English Language been below that of our Caribbean counterparts, but the June 2012 results reflected a deterioration over the previous year. Ronald Thwaites, the Jamaican Minister of Education, agrees with Reid (2011) who advocates for an oral component to the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) English Exam, which at the moment only has written components.

Several linguists, from Cassidy and LePage (1961) to Devonish and Harry (2004), point out that there is significant variation in production along the Jamaican continuum. Indeed Irvine (2005) indicates that, even with a group of Jamaicans known to be amongst the best 'English speakers' what she found them producing was Jamaican Creole acrolect, with very distinctive Creole phonological features.

The issues arising is that the Ministry of Education really don't know; the extent of the variation in pronunciation that exists in the country and the Secondary Schools in particular, and which of these varieties or otherwise we would be testing the children for. This paper reports on the progress of research aimed at contributing to resolving these issues by testing the pronunciation of the relevant students in a representative cross section of Secondary schools in Jamaica.

Over 800 students from 25 schools in all counties of Jamaica, urban and rural, were asked to read the recommended passage for oral testing of English (Honorof, McCullough and Somerville, 2000) modified to be suitable for the Jamaican continuum.

The data reveals notable variation in production between the students and between regions. The issue that remains unanswered so far is how will the Ministry of Education use the results of this research to determine what exactly is to be orally tested and how will the students, teachers and, even more importantly, assessors be trained.

Sally J. Delgado

(University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus)

The reconstructed phonology of seventeenth century sailors' speech

This paper tests the prediction that seventeenth century sailors' speech can be reconstructed from a linguistic cross-comparison of literary and historical data. It is motivated by the recognition that seventeenth century sailors' speech was potentially a formative variety in nascent creoles and English varieties of Atlantic littoral regions, yet few academic studies have attempted to define the characteristics of this speech. It is thus overlooked in pidgin and creole linguistics. The main obstacle to researching sailors' speech is the limited and fragmentary nature of speech samples. Therefore, the main objectives of this pilot study are: to establish whether literary data sets are a valid source of linguistic study; to generate a baseline of linguistic data upon which hypotheses can be tested; and to highlight the importance of sailors' speech as a contact variety in an early colonial context. The results of the study were obtained using a historical comparative methodology in which phonological patterns of seventeenth century sailors' English— derived from phonetic spellings in archival data—were compared to literary representations of sailors' speech in two contemporary works of fiction.

Principal findings support the premise that literary representations of seventeenth century sailors' speech are comparable to written records of actual usage. Significant vocalic features apparent in both historical data and literary representations are: omission and free variation of unstressed vowels; realization of front vowels in higher position than anticipated, particularly in pre-nasal contexts; use of the low-mid central vowel (known as the caret or wedge) in unstressed contexts; and the avoidance of long vowels. Significant consonantal features apparent in both historical and literary sources are: consonant omission and interchange; devoicing or conditioned variation of fricatives; and a particularly interesting fricative-plosive interchange that appears to be conditioned by social rather than linguistic factors. Despite these significant points of comparison between the historical data and literary representations, the results also

indicate that authors of literary texts are prone to either simplify phonetic variation in order to maximize comprehensibility or exaggerate distinct or 'exotic' features to gratify public expectation. However, the correlation between the sources validates the methodology, and thus motivates further research with more extensive data sets. A direct implication of this study is that it may be possible to reconstruct not only the phonological features, but also the morphological and syntactic features of sailors' English that likely impacted the developments of many varieties in an early colonial context.

Shihan de Silva

(SAS, University of London)

A Linguistic Survey of an Afro-Sri Lankan Community

The Portuguese encounter with other peoples led to the evolution of contact languages. In Asia, the Portuguese were the 'first in' and 'last out'. Intermarriages between Portuguese and Asians led to generations of children who spoke creolised Portuguese as their mother-tongue. This paper concerns the Portuguese Creole of Sri Lanka/ Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon which caught the attention of the 'father of creole languages', Hugo Schuchardt (University of Graz, Austria). Schuchardt's collection of manuscripts include an essay on the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon. Today, creole is spoken mainly in the Eastern Province, in the districts of Batticaloa and Trincomalee. This paper concerns a lesser known speech community, the Afro-Sri Lankans in the Puttalam district on the island's northwestern coast. The extent of language maintenance and shift in this community is explored within the process of indigenisation.

Silvana Silva de Farias Araújo

(Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana)

A concordância verbal de número em

variedades não europeias do português

A variação na concordância verbal de número é um fenômeno apontado como típico da fala popular brasileira. Nesse sentido, desde os trabalhos dos primeiros filólogos e dialetólogos do início do século passado, a ausência do morfema de plural nas formas verbais vem sendo assinalada como um fenômeno que diferencia o português brasileiro (PB) do português europeu (PE) e o assemelha ao português africano (PA) (Chaves de Melo, 1946). Estudos recentes, pautados em materiais sociolinguisticamente constituídos, a exemplo do realizado por Brandão e Vieira (2012), também têm demonstrado semelhanças entre os padrões de concordância verbal do português falado no Brasil e em países africanos (nesse caso, em São Tomé). Sem dúvida, é inegável a importância de trabalhos que comparam a variedade brasileira com as faladas em outros continentes que não apenas o europeu, pois, assim, amplia-se o debate sobre a influência do contato linguístico na formação das variedades do português, além da discussão sobre questões relativas à atuação de fatores linguísticos e socioculturais no uso de fenômenos linguísticos variáveis (Petter, 2007). Desse modo, com este trabalho, compara-se o português falado em Feira de Santana-Bahia-Brasil com o falado em Luanda-Angola e em diferentes regiões de Portugal, tomando-se como fenômeno linguístico a ser analisado a concordância verbal com a terceira pessoa do plural. De maneira especial, focalizar-se-ão os resultados referentes à atuação da variável saliência fônica. Os resultados obtidos, após a investigação realizada nos *corporas* demonstraram que é na variedade brasileira onde se constata a atuação proeminente da variável saliência fônica, não tendo sido a variável selecionada como estaticamente relevante nas duas outras variedades do português. Essas constatações foram interpretadas como representativas de histórias sociolinguísticas distintas. Por outro lado, não se pode negar que fatores prosódicos e fonológicos do PE e do PA podem ter influenciado nos resultados da atuação da saliência fônica nessas duas

variedades, algo que suscita a ponderação sobre a necessidade de se utilizar outras escalas de saliência fônica para variedades portuguesas e africanas da língua portuguesa (Brandão e Vieira, 2012, 2015). Os dados foram levantados em entrevistas do tipo DID (Diálogo entre informante e documentador) pertencentes ao acervo dos projetos "A língua portuguesa do semiárido baiano – Fase 3" e "Em busca das raízes do português brasileiro", ambos sediados na Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana (UEFS) (http://www.uefs.br/nelp), e do Projeto *Corpus Dialetal Para o Estudo da Sintaxe*, sediado no Centro de Linguística, da Universidade de Lisboa (http://www.clul.ul.pt/sectores/variacao/cordialsin/projecto_cordialsin_corpus.php).

Silvia Kouwenberg

(University of the West Indies, Mona Campus)

The strange absence of Amerindians in
creole formation: the Berbice Dutch case

This article explores the roles played by Amerindians in the contact situation in which Berbice Dutch (Guyana) (BD) was formed. An overview of the historical phases of the Dutch presence on the "Wild Coast" (exploration, development of a network of trading posts, settlement, development of a plantation-based economy), shows that Amerindians were a constant presence in the pre-formative and formative stages of BD. In fact, Amerindians initially constituted a majority of the plantation labour force. Despite this, the Amerindian contribution to this mixed Dutch-Ijo creole is solely lexical, and limited to mostly peripheral domains of the lexicon.

The paper considers the possibility that BD could have developed on the basis of a Dutch-Amerindian pidgin formed in the early plantation phase. This possibility is rejected after comparison between the (limited) number of Dutch loanwords in Arawak and their cognates in BD reveals mismatches which can only be explained by separate development.

A detailed discussion of BD Arawak-origin vocabulary shows that it has the following characteristics:

- Nouns designating local trees and shrubs, birds, insects, and other elements of the natural environment account for two thirds of the forms.

- The remainder include 15 nouns which denote basketry, arrows and other traditional objects, 7 spirits and spiritual concepts, 7 indigenous food or drink items, 4 kinship and address terms, 3 forms pertaining to the human body (shinbone, boil, eye matter).

- At least half of the eighty lexical words of uncertain origin are also likely to be of Arawak origin, including 27 forms designating local flora and fauna and 10

refering to indigenous items or cultural elements. Their uncertain attribution reflects the incomplete documentation of the Arawak language.

The predominance of nouns in Arawak-origin lexicon and their presence in peripheral and culturally specific semantic domains is in line with the normal expectations of borrowing, and it is possible that many of these forms constitute post-formative additions.

In short, despite their constant and numerically significant presence in the early Dutch plantation society of Berbice, Amerindians did not contribute significantly to BD genesis. This finding shows that numerical presence "at the right time" is not sufficient to determine the role of particular groups of speakers in linguistic creolization. The position of Amerindians in the plantation structure and the impact of the presence of Arawak speaking communities in the vicinity of the plantations are considered as possible explanations of this baffling finding.

Silvia Kouwenberg + John Victor Singler + Simon Mitchell

(UWI Mona + NYU + UWI Mona)

The quality of the output is determined by the quality of the input:

Methodological issues in new computational approaches to creole typology

The use of computational phylogenetic tools to estimate the typological relatedness of languages appears at first blush to be an exciting development in the debate on creole typology. However, the outcome of using these tools can only be as good as the data that are fed into them. We will demonstrate that the use of these tools by creolists (Bakker, Daval-Markussen, Parkvall & Plag 2011, and related works) fails to meet appropriate standards regarding the size and quality of the database. Whether the tools that Bakker *et al.* employ can be profitably used remains unresolved; the results that they present in 2011 are simply unreliable.

Bakker *et al.* employ computational tools for "large-scale empirical investigations of the status of creole languages as a typological class" (2011:5), claiming to demonstrate conclusively that creole languages pattern in ways that separate them from other languages. Hancock's (1987) data for 33 English-lexifier creoles, Holm & Patrick's (2007) *Comparative Creole Syntax* (CCS) and Parkvall's (2008) WALS-based scores for creole and non-creole languages provide input. We argue that any methodological flaws in those databases are passed on to a computational procedure that uses them. We also show that Bakker *et al.*'s use of CCS suffers from critical weaknesses as a consequence of incorrect feature values, both for creoles and non-creoles, and from misunderstanding what results are possible with a multiple linear regression analysis.

Similar problems arise where phylogenetic tools are applied to the different data sets, yielding phylogenetic networks, including rooted networks, which are to demonstrate evolutionary distance from English (Hancock's data), and separation from non-creoles (CCS, WALS-derived data). The outcome, which is that just four features set creole languages apart from all other languages, is interpreted by Bakker *et al.* as demonstrating creole clustering, when in fact it is a demonstration of bias (DeGraff,

Bass, Berwick 2013) and shows a complete lack of robustness in the output. It means, as we will demonstrate, that removing or changing some of the features has an immediate effect on the output of the software – whereas the output of this type of computational model is considered robust precisely when removing or changing some of the features does not affect it. We conclude that the database is too small and the quality of the input too seriously flawed, yielding output which cannot be used as the basis for any conclusions about evolutionary distance or typological clustering of creole languages.

Simanique Moody

(Leiden University)

Unstressed *bin* in African American English

To date, there has been very little research on unstressed *bin* in African American English (AAE). Most studies have either taken the position that unstressed *bin* does not occur in contemporary AAE (cf. Labov 1998; Winford 1998) or that it is "declining in frequency" Rickford (1977: 207). Green (2002: 58) describes a restricted use of *bin* functioning as a "unstressed past marker" that "can occur with a time adverbial." Green notes that this unstressed *bin* is used as a "type of tense/aspect marker with *had*," yet she concludes that "[b]eyond this use, it is not clear that present-day AAE uses *bin* to mark simple past." Spears (2008: 523), on the other hand, writes that "unstressed *been* [i.e. *bin*] occurs in at least some varieties of AAV[ernacular]E in addition to Gullah and other creoles," adding that it can be used as a past or pluperfect (past perfect). Unstressed *bin* is one of several forms of *bin*/*been* found in contemporary AAE varieties in coastal Georgia, and it differs from both General English *been* and stressed BIN. Unlike stressed BIN, which situates an event or some part of an event in the remote or distant past (Labov 1972; Rickford 1973, 1975, 1977; Green 1998, 2002), unstressed *bin* in these AAE varieties corresponds to a General English simple past and can also be used to mark anteriority. The examples below highlight these different verbal markers in coastal Georgia AAE varieties: 1) General English present perfect *been*, 2) stressed BIN, 3) restricted unstressed *bin* that occurs with *had*, and forms of unstressed *bin* that occur without *had* in 4) and 5).

(1) I Ø ***been*** workin' all day
   'I've been working all day'

(2) Girl, that man ***BIN*** dead
   'Girl, that man has been dead for a long time'

(3) She ***bin*** *had* it a while
    'She has had it a while.'

(4) He ***bin*** older than you
    'He was older than you'

(5) You say he ***bin*** doin' fine before they operated on him, ain' it?
    'You say he was doing fine before they operated on him, right?'

This paper examines the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of unstressed *bin* in coastal Georgia AAE varieties to show the ways in which it is similar to and different from both the restricted unstressed *bin* in AAE and the creole *bin* in Gullah. While this research focuses primarily on unstressed *bin*, it has broader implications for the origins of stressed BIN in AAE.

Stefano Manfredi

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Adverbial Subordinators in Juba Arabic

Adverbial subordinators are free or bound morphemes that specify some circumstantial relation between the subordinate clause over which they operates and the modified matrix clause (Kortmann, 1996). In this paper I deal with the issue of the grammaticalization of adverbial subordinators in Juba Arabic, an under-described Arabic-based pidgincreole (i.e. expanded pidgin) serving as the major vehicular language of the Republic of South Sudan (Manfredi & Petrollino, 2013; Miller & Manfredi, forthcoming). In more detail, this paper aims at reveling the relationship between the semantic types of a number of adverbial clauses and their different expression formats as well as to find out whether this correlation can be linked to the general system of subordination and/or complementation of Juba Arabic (Cristofaro, 2003; Nordström, 2010).

The paper is organized in two parts. In the first parts, I provide a synchronic overview of the expression formats of purpose, result, concessive conditional and temporal subordinate clauses. In the second part, I discuss the sources for the grammaticalization of the corresponding adverbial subordinators (i.e. adverbs, verbs, interjections) by enlightening the possible semantic factors underlying their functional specialization. The analysis of adverbial clauses and subordinators is based on a spontaneous speech corpus transcribed and annotated in ELAN (Manfredi, 2012) as well as on elicited data gathered from Juba Arabic native speakers. Adopting a functional-typological perspective, the study finally tries to explain the main features of adverbial subordination in Juba Arabic by fitting it into the broader study of complex syntax in pidgin and creole languages.

Stephane Goyette

(Carleton University)

What happened to Ingveonic?

Beginning with Hugo Schuchardt, a tradition has arisen whereby creolization has been held to be of relevance to account for the history of English, whose massive loss of inflectional morphology is indeed reminiscent of a major difference between pidgins and creoles on the one hand and their respective lexifiers on the other. This tradition has most recently found its representative in McWhorter (2002), who has claimed that language contact involving Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse yielded morphological reduction over the course of the former becoming modern English.

The goal of the proposed presentation is to argue that while creolization is indeed relevant in accounting for the history of English, parallels between the typological profile of modern English (standard and non-standard varieties alike) and some varieties of modern Frisian indicates that whatever contact event caused English to undergo unusually creole-like changes must have taken place at a sufficiently early date to have also affected Frisian. It will be proposed that the latter language could best be seen as the product of a back-migration from the British Isles to the Continent, which in turn suggests that contact with British Celtic and, possibly, British Romance (i.e. the unattested extinct Romance language spoken in Roman Britain), can explain the common shared features of modern varieties of English and Frisian.

Following Goyette (2000) it is believed that Romance is itself a product of (semi)-creolization of Latin, and thus that creolization is relevant to the history of English and Frisian inasmuch as both Germanic languages were influenced by British Celtic (itself heavily Romance-influenced) and possibly British Romance itself.

Stephanie Hackert

(University of Munich)

The perfect in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles

The proposed paper examines the expression of perfect meanings in various English-lexifier pidgins and creoles (P&Cs) with a view to contributing to the debate about whether P&Cs actually constitute a distinct language type opposed to languages which did not emerge out of extreme language contact. It has long been clear (e.g., Winford 1996: 82) that the only solution to the debate is a systematic comparison between P&C structures and non-creole ones. Recently, three large-scale atlas projects, i.e., the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS; Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (APiCS; Michaelis et al. 2013), and the *World Atlas of Varieties of English* (WAVE; Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2012), have become available which will greatly facilitate such comparative work.

Unfortunately, apart from minor forms such as the medial-object perfect and the *after*-perfect, the perfect is covered neither in APiCS nor in WAVE. What little work there is on the expression of perfect meanings in P&Cs, however, shows that these languages do not necessarily possess a single perfect category but tend to express different perfect meanings (cf. Dahl 1985: 132) by means of different forms (cf., e.g., Winford 1993: 155; Hackert 2004: 103-7). In my paper, I will present data from thirty languages and/or varieties in order to examine the range of forms covering the semantic space of the perfect in English-lexifier P&Cs. These data have been collected with the help of a tense-aspect questionnaire (Dahl 1985: 198-206) designed specifically for typological work but so far largely unexploited in P&C studies. The languages covered include both Atlantic P&Cs and Pacific ones. In order to model the data, I will employ semantic maps (cf. Cysow et al. 2010) as well as multidimensional scaling (cf. Croft & Poole 2008).

Susanne Maria Michaelis

(Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History - Jena)

Inflectional complexity in creole languages:
Evidence from the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures

Inflectional morphology has been a key ingredient in assessing complexity in creole languages. It has been claimed that synchronically creoles strikingly show a lack of inflectional morphology, thus giving rise to morphologically extremely simplified languages. (McWhorter 2001, Good 2012, Duval-Markussen 2014, Siegel et al. 2014). In this paper, I will challenge this view by drawing on data of the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (Michaelis et al. 2013). I will consider the following morpheme types: tense-aspect markers, case markers, and definite articles:

(1) Ternate Chabacano (Spanish-based, Philippines; Sippola 2013)

Ta *yudá éle su   marído*

IPFV   help 3SG 3.SG.POSS husband

'She helps her husband.'

(2) Korlai (Portuguese-based, India; Clements 2013)

*Pedru **su** kadz   tidoy kadz Pedru **su***

Pedru GEN house   both house Pedru GEN

'Pedru's house'   'both of Pedru's houses'

(3) Haitian Creole (French-based, Caribbean; Fattier 2013)

*kay **la***   *avyon **an***   *ti fi **a***

house DET   plane DET   little girl DET

'the house'   'the plane'   'the little girl'

The main misconception which has given rise to the idea that creoles lack inflectional morphology is the fact that scholars have implicitly or explicitly based themselves exclusively on spelling conventions in deciding whether a morpheme is an affix or a free morpheme (see e.g. Siegel et al. 2014). But all morphemes written as separate words in the cited examples above can be interpreted as affixes. I will consider two criteria for affixhood: (i) uninterruptibility and (ii) morphonological idiosyncrasies. In example (1) from Ternate Chabacano, nothing can intervene between the imperfective marker *ta* and the verb stem. The same holds for the genitive case marker *su* and the possessor in example (2) from Korlai. In example (3) from Haitian Creole, the definite article shows morphonological variation depending on the phonological shape of its host: *la, an, a*. Instances of tense-aspect affixes are abundant in the creole languages in *APiCS*, and affixed case markers and definite articles also occur repeatedly. Thus, I argue that creoles have lost most of their lexifiers' inflectional marking, but have gained at the same time a considerable degree of complex morphology through unusual accelerated grammaticalization processes.

Tonjes Veenstra

(ZAS)

Copulas as Last Resort Roots

We discuss the copula system in Saramaccan. Received opinion (e.g. Michaelis et al. 2013) has it that these languages have two copulas, a specificational and a predicational one (in the sense of Den Dikken 2006). The specificational copula is nominal (*da*), while the predicational one is verbal (*dɛ̀*). Arguments for their different categorial status are: (i) the distribution of TMA-markers and negation; (ii) the distribution of subject pronouns; (iii) reversibility of the NPs. However, we argue that the specificational/predicational divide is mistaken, because the verbal copula *dɛ̀* can also occur in specificational contexts. Furthermore, the two copulas are not mutually exclusive in their combinatory possibilities as both may occur with NP-complements, but only verbal *dɛ̀* may occur with PP and AP-complements. The analysis we propose, therefore, takes a different perspective, in which *da* is a pronominal element in specificational copula-constructions, both having special semantic content (in terms of *identity* etc.) and a special syntax (in terms of selectional features (DP-restriction) and reversibility), whereas *dɛ̀* is a verbal element in specificational and predicational constructions without having special semantic content nor a special syntax, a pattern shared with the other Surinamese creoles.

In the remainder we focus on and solve the puzzle of Sebba (1986) about the variable behavior of the verbal copula in the Suriname creoles:

(1)   a.   A   liba   (*de)   bradi.   (Sebba 1986)
           DET   river   DE   wide
           'The river is wide.'
      b.   A   liba   *(de)   so   bradi.
           DET   river   DE   so   wide
           'The river is so wide.'
      c.   U   bradi   a   liba   *(de)?
           how   wide   DET   river   DE
           'How wide is the river?'

Following Veenstra & Lopez (2014), we argue that the Surinamese creoles have the following clause structure, in which little v is obligatorily incorporated into the I-Domain:

(2) $[_{IP}$ v+T/M/A $[_{vP}$ $<v>$ $[_{Root}$ R $[…]]]]$

Property items like *bradi* can freely occur in the Root position as long as they are categorically unspecified. Degree phrases, like *so* in (1b) and *u* in (1c), are generated in the extended projection of the little *a* projection and signal a non-verbal categorical specification, and accordingly the copula *de* has to surface in order to resolve the conflict between little *v* and *a*P. In the final analysis then, what has traditionally been analysed as a (verbal) copula is in fact a last resort Root to avoid a categorical conflict between two categorically specified lexical items.

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The simple emerging from the complex:

a case study in nominal number marking in Juba Arabic Creole

The idea that creole languages form a group of languages distinct from non-creoles has long divided the field of creolistics, covering questions of complexity (McWhorter 2001, Aboh 2009), and typology and social history (Bakker et al. 2011, Mufwene 2000). The present study takes as its vantage point the case of the system of nominal number marking in Juba Arabic Creole of South Sudan. This case is of particular interest since both its lexifier, Sudanese Arabic, and its main substrate, the Nilotic language Bari, are notorious for their complex systems of nominal number marking.

In our study, the typological properties of nominal number in Juba Arabic are compared with the equivalents in its lexifier Sudanese Arabic, a sample of Arabic dialects, Bari, a sample of Nilotic languages, and finally a sample of non-related creoles. Tools of computational phylogeny are used to examine the typological relations between the languages of the sample. Rather than using broad typological features from databasets such as WALS (Haspelmath et al. 2005) or APICS (Michaelis et al. 2013) such as the studies by Bakker et al. (2011), Bøegh et al. (forthcoming), and Dunn et al. (2008), the features represent all relevant grammatical distinctions made in all the grammars of the substrate, adstrate and lexifier languages under examination, in one small domain, nominal number. The method of sampling of features employed in this study is an innovation compared to previous studies using structural data for computational phylogenetic classification of languages.

The findings point in one clear direction. These features are shown to be sufficient to produce the attested language groups and subgroups. The phylogenetic trees and networks, produced on the basis of the data on nominal number in the languages of the sample, clearly form three distinct groups: one group containing the Nilotic languages, one containing the Arabic varieties, and one containing all the creoles, including Juba

Arabic. These findings clearly show that the system of nominal number in Juba Arabic is not merely a variant of the system found in the Arabic dialects, or a continuation of the substrate. Rather, it is similar to the systems found in creoles languages with which it has had no linguistic or historical connections. The findings therefore strengthen the case that creoles (including those with non-European lexifiers) form a distinct typological group.

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Partially Restructured Varieties of Portuguese: The Case of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese and Timorese Vernacular Portuguese

As argued in Holm (2004, 2009), partially restructured varieties resulted from the transmission of the European source languages to (former) overseas colonies where the resulting contact variety retained much of its lexical source's morphosyntax but at the same time acquired a significant number of substrate and interlanguage features. Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) and Timorese Vernacular Portuguese (TVP) are at the opposite extremes of a continuum of partially restructured varieties of Portuguese. While BVP is the prevailing variety of Portuguese spoken in Brazil as a L1, there has been a lot of debate whether TVP even exists (Albuquerque 2014, Afonso & Goglia 2015a). Unlike BVP, which is well established, with its grammatical norms, dictionaries and official orthography, having been minutely described over the last decades, TVP is a non-dominant language in Timor-Leste that is spoken by a limited number of people, including some who had used it as a symbol of resistance during the Indonesian occupation (Hajek 2000) and the non-standard variety has received little scholarly attention. However, there are arguments in favor of the maintenance and possible further development of a Portuguese variety in Timorese society as a link to international prestige and high culture (Thomaz 1985). In this paper we argue that TVP is an emerging L2 variety of Portuguese that shares certain morphosyntactic and phonological features with BVP. Among these are the loss of reflexive clitics (Afonso & Goglia 2015b), variable nominal (sentence [1] below) and verbal [2] number agreement, and the loss of final <r> on infinitives or TMA inflections on verbs (Albuquerque 2014), for example.

1. TVP: Todos   os   alunos   **nas**   **escola (...)** (Albuquerque 2014: 207)
       all (PL.) DET student (PL.) PREP.+ DET   school (SING.) …
       'All students in the school (…)'

2. TVP: … alguns   não   pod**e**   [aproveitar] … (Greksáková 2014, fieldword)

  … some (PL.) NEG. can (3.SING.) [benefit from] …

  '… some cannot [benefit from it]'

We will compare the very different sociolinguistic histories of these two language varieties and the influence of their substrate languages (African, in the case of BVP and Austronesian, in the case of TVP) in an attempt to identify their linguistic similarities and differences.

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