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## **Special Guests**

**Author(s):** Alan Baxter (Univ. of Saint Joseph)

**Title:** *Schuchardt's unfinished study of Malacca Creole*

In 1883, Fr Nicolau Pinto, of the Portuguese Mission of Singapore and Malacca, writing to Hugo Schuchardt, referred to a study of Malacca CP that the latter was preparing to publish by the end of that same year. For this endeavor, Schuchardt had collected a sizeable volume of materials, much of which survives in the Schuchardt Archiv at the University of Graz. However, the publication on MCP did not eventuate, and Schuchardt's subsequent publications make scant references to that language. Recently, during research on the Schuchardt documents, an incomplete draft of the Malacca study was located. As part of ongoing work on the Schuchardt-Pinto exchange, we consider certain aspects of Schuchardt's draft, the likely contents of the eventual study, and questions posed to Fr Pinto that permit key insights into MCP and its late 19th century ecology.

**Author(s):** Clancy Clements (Indiana Univ.)

**Title:** *Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Perspectives*

Good (2012) argues that in the jargon phase of pidginization (jargonization), certain processes take place, the result of which is the beginning of grammar formation whereby paradigmatic structure is reduced, but syntagmatic structure is not affected in the same way. In this talk, I recast Good's jargonization phase within the framework proposed by Klein and Perdue (1992, 1997). Klein and Perdue carried out 2 ½-year adult naturalistic language acquisition study using 40 adult learners (blue-collar, legal immigrants) in different source language–target language pairings (Punjabi and Italian => English, Italian and Turkish => German, Turkish and Arabic => Dutch, Arabic and Spanish => French, and Spanish and Finnish => Swedish), collecting data from as near as possible to the beginning of the learning process. Among many other things, the researchers found that, overall, the learners showed a three-stage developmental trajectory: (1) a nominal utterance organization (NUO) stage in which learners used chiefly nominal elements to express themselves, (2) infinite utterance organization (IUO) in which learners used both nominal and infinite (non-finitely-used) verbal elements to express themselves, and (3) a finite utterance organization (FUO) in which learners introduced finitely-used verbal elements. The researchers noted that while not learners reached the FUO stage, all learners did reach the IUO stage and that up to this stage their development was remarkably similar (albeit not identical). They called this developmental stage the “basic learner variety”.

I suggest that Good's (2012) notion of jargonization can be subsumed within Klein and Perdue's developmental trajectory. Specifically, I argue that, in the pidginization process, jargonization represents the NUO stage of development. Recasting jargonization as the NUO stage allows one to make certain claims about how grammar creation happens in highly restructured language varieties such as creole languages. I illustrate this by using a set of creoles (the northern Indo-Portuguese [IP]) that are considered to have retained from Portuguese vestiges of its relatively complex verbal morphology. I focus on paradigmatic structures in three IP creoles, as well as on the complementizers and temporal conjunctions in Korlai IP. The paradigmatic structures of these creoles are significantly reduced relative to their lexifier, but they still retain verb class distinctions and allomorphy (see Table 1). Korlai's subordinate constructions have become more complex in some ways.

In VO languages, subordinators (Cs of Complementizer Phrases [CPs]) are overwhelmingly clause-initial, while in OV languages both clause-initial and clause-final

subordinators are not uncommon. In cases of new languages such as creoles, the situation can be complex. Korlai is currently an OV and Postpositional language that as recently as 80 years ago was a VO language. Korlai's lexifier is, of course, Portuguese, a VO and prepositional language, with N-Rel order, but its substrate/adstrate language, Marathi, is OV, postpositional, and has Rel-N and N-Rel order. Over the last 80 years, Korlai has developed a set of subordinated clause structures. Two are highlighted in this presentation: complex sentences with complementizer clauses and complex sentences with temporal clauses. In Korlai, complementizer clauses (e.g. the equivalent of '[she [said **that [they would come]]]]') appear most commonly as (1a-b), as (1c) in the oldest texts collected, and occasionally as (1d), which contains double marking. Temporal subordinate clauses differ, depending on temporal reference and the nature of the subordinator. If past reference (realis) is involved, *ki* is used, as in (2a). However, if future reference (irrealis) is involved, *kɔr ki* is found, as in (2b). There is no variation in these uses. However, with future reference is involved, the postposed affixal conjunction is also found, as in (2c).**

Over the last 80 years, KIP has evolved into a kind of typological hybrid language, displaying both OV- as well as VO-related typological features. This complexity is accounted for by appealing to the dynamics in the community in which education plays an increasingly important role, children are becoming more balanced bilinguals, and Marathi is developing a stronger presence in the village. In terms of complexity, addressed in Good (2012), the examples and forms discussed here are consistent with his statement that creoles are comparatively simple(r) paradigmatically but average syntagmatically.

Table 1. Verbal forms of 3 verb classes (4 in Korlai) in three Northern Indo-Portuguese Creoles

Form \ Language	Korlai	Daman	Diu
<b>Present</b> <b>-a</b>	---	---	fal 'say'
<b>Present/Infinitive</b> <b>-a</b>	hal-á 'say'	fəl-á 'say'	fal-á 'say'
<b>Present</b> <b>-e</b>	---	---	beb 'drink'
<b>Present/Infinitive</b> <b>-e</b>	beb-é 'drink'	beb-é 'drink'	beb-é 'drink'
<b>Present</b> <b>-i</b>	---	---	durm 'sleep'
<b>Present/Infinitive</b> <b>-i</b>	drum-í 'sleep'	durm-í 'sleep'	durm-í 'sleep'

<b>Present/Infinitive</b> -u	tap-ú 'heat'	---	---
<b>Present Participle</b> -a	hal-á-n 'saying'	fəl-á-n 'say'	fal-á-n 'saying'
-e	beb-é-n 'drinking'	beb-é-n 'drinking'	beb-é-n 'drinking'
-i	drum-í-n 'sleeping'	durm-í-n 'sleeping'	durm-í-n 'sleeping'
-u	tap-ú-n 'heating'		
<b>Past</b> -a	hal-ó 'said'	fəl-ó 'said'	fal-ó 'said'
-e	beb-é-w 'drank'	beb-é-w 'drank'	beb-é-w 'drank'
-i	drum-í-w 'slept'	durm-i-w 'slept'	durm-í-w 'slept'
-u	tap-ú 'heated'	---	---
<b>Past Participle</b> -a	hal-á-d 'said-pstprt'	fəl-á-d 'said-pstprt'	fal-á-d 'said-pstprt'
-e	beb-í-d 'drunk-pstprt'	beb-í-d 'drunk-pstprt'	beb-í-d 'drunk-pstprt'
-i	drum-í-d 'slept-pstprt'	durm-í-d 'slept-pstprt'	durm-í-d 'slept-pstprt'
-u	tap-ú-d 'heated-pstprt'	---	---

### Examples

- 1a. **El halo el-o læ ui.**  
 3SG say-PST 3-PL FUT come tomorrow  
 'S/he said they would come tomorrow.'
- 1b. **El halo el-o læ ui puris.**  
 3SG say-PST 3-PL FUT come COMP  
 'S/he said that they would come tomorrow.'
- 1c. **El halo ki el-o læ ui amya.**  
 3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come tomorrow  
 'S/he said they would come tomorrow.'
- 1d. **El halo ki el-o læ ui puris.**  
 3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come COMP  
 'S/he said they that would come tomorrow.'

- 2a. **Teru kadz ki jave nɔ ti kumen.**  
 Teru house when came 1PL PST eating  
 'When Teru came, we were eating.'
- 2b. **Teru kadz kɔr ki lə ui nɔ lə kume.**  
 Teru house when FUT come 1PL PST eating  
 'When Teru comes, we will eat.'
- 2c. **Teru kadz uin-ki nɔ lə kume.**  
 Teru house come-when 1PL PST eating  
 'When Teru comes, we will eat.'



**Author(s):** Dulce Pereira (CELGA-ILTEC)

**Title:** *Kel bon kriolu mal papiadu – translanguaging em Cabo Verde*

O ambiente linguístico em Cabo Verde caracteriza-se por um *caldo* de variantes (*pool of variants*, Siegel,2008)) agregadas em torno de dois polos que se distinguem por um feixe de traços prototípicos, definíveis em termos qualitativos e de frequência de ocorrência (Auwera & Gast,2011) e que os falantes e a comunidade reconhecem como duas *línguas*: cabo-verdiano e português.

A história linguística individual de aquisição (crioulo e português) e aprendizagem (o português é a única língua de escolaridade, objeto de metalinguagem e pressão normativa) e de frequência de uso, determina diferentes limiares de ativação e capacidades de inibição (v.*Activation Threshold Hypothesis*, Paradis,2007) dessas variantes.

Cada falante, em função da sua história e da decisão de tomar a palavra numa das suas línguas, segundo o modo como interpreta o contexto comunicativo socialmente marcado, constrói o seu discurso, *viajando* entre elas (*translanguaging* (MacSwan,2017)): selecionando, inibindo e misturando traços das suas gramáticas.

Foca-se aqui o *output* discursivo de um tipo de falantes bilingues, com um grau elevado de instrução e de oportunidades de uso do português e um baixo limiar de ativação desta língua, em situações em que tomam a palavra em crioulo, analisando manifestações desse *translanguaging* numa entrevista televisiva sobre o *Dia da Língua Materna*<sup>1</sup>, cuja transcrição integral (11'47'') se disponibiliza em handout. Destacam-se, em especial:

- a frequência relativa de ocorrência alternada de alguns traços prototípicos das duas gramáticas em competição, a nível fonológico, morfológico e sintático, como a não realização de Sujeitos (1) nos contextos relevantes (Costa & Pratas,2008,2013) ou a marcação de género no adjetivo (*rejiãu urbanu/a* 'região urbana'), dando especial atenção aos traços crioulos mais resistentes, como a especificação nominal (v.*bare nouns* (Truppi, 2015)).

(1) [e] **Sa ta papia** un kriolu ki na verdadi é un kriolu mal papiadu.

PROG falar um crioulo REL PREP verdade ser um crioulo mal falado

' [ele] Está a falar um crioulo que na verdade é um crioulo mal falado'

- alguns casos de *mistura* gramatical (2) *below the level of the form* (Meakins,2013) que geram ambiguidades favorecedoras de reanálises e mudança, como a ocorrência de

formas *nuas* de verbos não estativos que, sem o morfema aspetual *ta* a precedê-las, têm o valor de *habitual* das formas portuguesas de presente correspondentes.

- (2) É di kes palavras ki nu **fla** ma pode ser uzadu  
Ser PREP DEM- PL palavra-PL REL 1PL dizer COMPL poder ser usar-PP  
d'otu forma  
PREP outra forma  
' É daquelas palavras que dizemos (costumamos dizer vs. dissemos) que podem ser usadas de outra forma'.

Sendo o acesso às unidades lexicais (armazenadas na memória declarativa) especialmente sensível à frequência de uso, os discursos deste tipo de falantes, com baixo limiar de ativação do português e sem o controlo inibitório de uma *norma* cabo-verdiana veiculada pela escola (apenas a imagem-memória *di kel bon kriolu* que não sabem *reproduzir*), constituem uma janela privilegiada para a aferição de unidades não prototípicas do cabo-verdiano, como indicia o grande número de lexias e expressões importadas em bloco do português (*quer dizer, se calhar, em relação a, com certeza, há poucos anos, uma jovem mulher...*): aferição imprescindível a qualquer futuro processo de ensino generalizado do crioulo.

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<sup>1</sup> *Show da Manhã*, 21 de Fev. de 2019. Acessível em [http://www.rtc.cv/index.php?paginas=47&id\\_cod=75693](http://www.rtc.cv/index.php?paginas=47&id_cod=75693)

**Author(s):** Ian Smith (Univ. of York)

**Title:** *The origin and evolution of the Sri Lanka Portuguese diglossic high*

Early 19<sup>th</sup> C Sri Lanka Portuguese, exhibits considerable low-high variation, as seems to have been the case with other varieties of Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2014), but does not appear to have been diglossic (Smith 2016). The Wesleyan Missionaries who came to the island from 1815 made early use of the language in their preaching to the Creole community. Smith (2016) showed that rather than using an existing creole grammar (Berrenger 1811) the missionaries created their own norm in which elements of creole grammar and lexicon intermingle with Standard Portuguese features, calques from English and creations of the missionaries themselves. Early missionary creole resembled authentic creole in a number of respects (e.g. word order, relative clause formation) because of the similarities of English and formal creole grammar (as opposed to the languages of South Asia). However, the continued convergence of spoken Sri Lanka Portuguese with Sinhala & Tamil made it diverge with the language of the missionaries. A comparison of the creole Bible (1826, 1853 etc.) created by Missionary translators Robert Newstead, et al. reveals that though the missionaries cleansed their creole of some Standard Portuguese grammatical and lexical features (e.g. grammatical gender, agreement in adjectives and participles), they continued to calque from English, rather than introduce any of the South Asian features that were already evident in Sri Lanka Portuguese early in the century. By the late 1800's, although the Anglophone missionaries were no longer producing Creole documents, the norm they created was being used by native speakers of the language. By then, this norm was different enough from the evolved spoken Creole that the language was truly diglossic.

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Smith, Ian. 2016. The earliest grammars of Sri Lanka Portuguese. *PAPIA [Brazilian journal of studies in contact linguistics]* 26.2: 237-281.

Newstead, Robert (e.g. 1826, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1852). *O novo testamento de Nossa Senhor e Salvador Jesus Christo*. Colombo: Wesleyan Mission Press; London: J. S. Hughs etc.

<b>Author(s):</b>	Jean-Louis Rougé (Univ. d'Orléans)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Diferenças entre kriol falado em Bissau e Ziguinchor a través das escritas espontâneas</i>

Em trabalhos anteriores (Rougé 2015, Rougé & Kihm 2017) explicamos que as escritas espontâneas do kriol da Guiné-Bissau tal como são presentes nas redes sociais, e em particular facebook, apresentam dados que informam sobre a consciência gramatical dos autores. O objetivo dessa comunicação é a objetivação, a partir do mesmo tipo de produção escritas, das diferenças linguísticas entre as variedades do kriol falado em Bissau e Ziguinchor. Nessa comunicação a análise será limitada às questões fonéticas e fonológicas e á transparência das situações de contatos de língua.

Estudaremos primeiro o impacto de referências ortográficas diferentes - o português em Bissau, o francês em Ziguinchor - que as vezes dificultam a interpretação como no caso do uso quase sistemático do "e muet" do francês em Ziguinchor. Depois, analisaremos as transcrições como o reflexo de diferenças fonéticas ou fonológicas e da consciência fonológica (caso das grafias -ng em fim de palavra em Ziguinchor ausente nas escritas guineenses).

Numa segunda parte, analisaremos os empréstimos, as alternâncias códicas, a formação de código mixto como consequências de dois contextos linguísticos diferentes; kriol/português e línguas africanas em Bissau, kriol/francês/wolof e outras línguas africanas em Ziguinchor.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Jürgen Lang (Univ. Erlangen-Nürnberg)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Um texto de Hugo Schuchardt sobre o verbo do crioulo cabo-verdiano até agora sem publicar</i>

Existe um manuscrito de nove páginas deste pioneiro da crioulística sobre o verbo caboverdiano que o *Hugo Schuchardt Archiv* de Graz (Áustria) acaba de pôr à disposição do público (scan e transcrição). Apresentando este texto que deve datar do outono do ano 1884 tentaremos responder às seguintes perguntas: 1. Qual a sua originalidade no conjunto da produção schuchardtiana, 2. Como está organizado, 3. Que fontes utiliza?, 4. Contém descobertas que ficariam ainda muito tempo desconhecidas porque o texto não se publicou, 4. Por que é que Schuchardt não o publicou? Quanto à última pergunta apresentaremos os argumentos que nos levam a pensar que durante o trabalho o próprio Schuchardt se convenceu da impossibilidade de realizar o seu projeto inicial.

Para responder às perguntas mencionadas basear-nos-emos

- nas informações disponíveis no *Hugo Schuchardt Archiv*, e acessíveis através de Michaela Wolf, *Hugo Schuchardt Nachlaß, Schlüssel zum Nachlaß des Linguisten und Romanisten Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927)*, Graz: Leykam 1993 e <https://schuchardt.uni-graz.at/>.
- nas publicações sobre crioulos de Hugo Schuchardt registadas em Leo Spitzer (ed.), *Hugo Schuchardt – Brevier. Ein Vademecum der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*, reimpressão da segunda edição de Halle 1928, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt 1976.
- nos trabalhos sobre o crioulo caboverdiano aproveitados por Schuchardt, nomeadamente, Coelho, F. Adolfo (1880, 1967), "Os dialectos românicos ou neolatinos na África, Ásia e América". reimpressão em Morais-Barbosa (ed.), *Estudos linguísticos crioulos: reedição de artigos publicados no Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa: Academia Internacional da Cultura Portuguesa 1967, p. 1-108.
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Lang, Jürgen (2017), "António Joaquim Ribeiro – o primeiro informante de Schuchardt em Cabo Verde", *Revista de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* 7, 1-14.

- nos trabalhos mais abrangentes sobre os sistemas verbais das diferentes variedades do crioulo caboverdiano atualmente disponíveis.

**Author(s):** Mauro Fernández (Univ. of A Coruña)

**Title:** *Algunas notas históricas sobre los márdicas de Ternate (Filipinas) y sus lenguas*

El relato tradicional sobre la llegada de los márdicas a Filipinas en el año 1663 se basa en el que escribió el jesuita Murillo Velarde en 1749, casi un siglo después de ocurrido el suceso que se narra. Según este relato, doscientas familias cristianas de personas libres (márdicas) de la isla moluqueña de Terrenate, con el propósito de conservar su fe, acompañaron a las fuerzas españolas cuando se retiraron de las fortalezas que España tenía allí, para reforzar la defensa de Manila, amenazada por el temible corsario chino Koxinga. Posteriormente, estas familias fueron trasplantadas a la barra del río Maragondong, cerca del pueblo del mismo nombre, y en algún momento posterior dieron a este emplazamiento el nombre de su lugar de origen, Ternate. Los criollistas, por su parte, se han adherido en general a una hipótesis formulada por Whinnom en 1956, según la cual estas familias hablarían ya un criollo (basado originariamente en un pidgin malayo-portugués, relexificado luego por el español). Tras su llegada a Filipinas, las familias márdicas habrían sido instaladas en el arrabal manileño de Ermita, al sur de la ciudad amurallada, así como en algunos lugares de Cavite. Todos los demás criollos hispano-filipinos se derivarían de este protocriollo inicial, que se habría propagado a los tagalos de Ermita, y de allí a otros lugares. Aunque en varias ocasiones se han presentado reparos a estos relatos tradicionales, tanto al histórico como al lingüístico (especialmente en diversos trabajos de Mauro Fernández), se echa en falta una recopilación de las noticias contenidas en los documentos y testimonios coetáneos de los hechos. Por ello, presentaremos en esta ponencia una selección de las noticias sobre los márdicas —históricas y lingüísticas— que hemos hallado en diversas fuentes primarias, con la intención de esclarecer algunos puntos importantes, como los siguientes:

¿Quiénes eran realmente los márdicas de las Molucas?

¿Por qué estaban en la isla de Terrenate? ¿Qué hablaban los márdicas en Terrenate?

¿Cuándo y cómo llegaron a Filipinas?

¿Qué hicieron durante sus primeros años en Filipinas?

¿Cuándo se establecieron en la barra del río Maragondong?

¿Cuándo empezaron a hablar el criollo como lengua comunitaria habitual?

¿Tuvo ese criollo una formación independiente de los otros que se hablan en Filipinas?



**Author(s):** Philippe Maurer (Max Planck Institute)

**Title:** *Algunos rasgos del Fa d'Ambô*

En esta charla quiero presentar por un lado una pequeña comparación de los sistemas tonales de los cuatro criollos del Golfo de Guinea, y por otro lado un análisis del sistema de marcación de la categoría del plural en el sintagma nominal del Fa d'Ambô, que me parece más complejo en esta lengua que en muchas otras lenguas criollas.

# **Talks**

**Author(s):** Alberto Simbo (Univ. of Porto)  
Jeremias Pessela (Univ. of Porto)

**Title:** *Tendencies of prepositional regency of verbs in Angolan Portuguese (AP)*

The present work describes and compares the pattern of the syntax of the verbs of movement and the verbs of transference in AP, mainly the Portuguese spoken in Bié province, and Umbundo bantu language spoken in Bié, first language (L1) of one of the authors of the present paper. In AP, the generalized use of the preposition “em” with these types of verbs was already noted (Mingas 2000, Chavagne 2005, Brito 2010; Adriano 2014, Avelar 2017), as in (1) and (2), collected from Adriano 2010:

- (1) Verbs of movement
  - a) [...] foi o primeiro que chegou no Complexo Estudantil Dom Bosco // TPA1 Programa Especial: Eleições Gerais 2012, 31.08.2012. (Angolan Portuguese)  
" [...] he was the first who arrived at Dom Bosco Scholl // TPA1 Special Program: General elections 2012, 31.08.2012. "
- (2) Verbs of transference of possession (verbs of 2 and 3 places):
  - a) Daí eles entregarem numa moça. (Angolan Portuguese)  
"... So, they gave it to a young girl. "
  - b) Deu na mãe a outra metade. (Angolan Portuguese)  
"He gave another piece to his mother. "

In this paper our aim is to know if it has or it does not have transference of linguistic patterns of Umbundo to Portuguese spoken in the Bié, or if it is only one universal tendency of change. Brito (2010) considers that the preposition “em” means the final limit of a trajectory, confirming the idea of Gehrke (2007: 247), according to which “Locative PPs can obtain a directional reading only due to some component of directionality associated with these verbs, and again the reading involved is a goal one.”

Some of our data suggest that in Umbundo the preposition *ko* “to” is used with the thematic roles of Origin and Destiny when combined with movement verbs, and the preposition *ku* “to” is used with the thematic roles of beneficiary with [+ human] and [- human] semantic traits and when combined with transfer verbs, which is likely to influence the preference for the preposition “em” marking origin and destination, with verbs of movement, and of beneficiary, with verbs of transfer of possession, in Bié Portuguese, as in 3 and 4:

- (3) verbs of movement
  - a) [...] Foi o primeiro que chegou no Complexo Estudantil Dom Bosco // TPA1 Programa Especial: Eleições Gerais 2012, 31.08.2012. (Angolan Portuguese)  
Eyé – eye - tête o-ku-pitila ko o- sikola Dom Bosco. (Umbundo)  
He first to - arrive at school Dom Bosco.  
"[...] he was the first who arrived in the Dom Bosco Schol. "

(4) Verbs of transference of possession

a) Daí eles entregarem numa moça. (Angolan Portuguese)

Noke - ovo - va- echa ku- u-feko. (Umbundo)

... after, they give-past simp 2<sup>nd</sup> p.pl. to a girl.

"... After that, they gave it to a young girl"

b) Deu na mãe a outra metade. (Angolan Portuguese)

Eyé- Wa-e-cha ku – nhõ i-wkwavo. o-nepa . (Umbundo)

He give-past simple 3<sup>rd</sup> p. to mother piece another

"He gave another piece to his mother. "

Therefore, the proposal of some authors above seems to be confirmed (see, for example Avelar 2017, Mingas 2000, Hagemeyer 2016); according to them this realization is justified by the Portuguese contact with the bantu languages spoken in Angola.

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**Title:** *Cape Verdean Creole – Santo Antão: what we know so far on its morphosyntax*

The aim of this presentation is to analyse a selection of morphosyntactic structures of the Santo Antão variety of Cape Verdean Creole (henceforth: SA) from conversational and experimental data gathered during an intensive one-week fieldwork in the Ribeira de Paúl in Santo Antão.

After a review of the very few available studies (Costa & Duarte 1886, Veiga 1982, Baptista 2013, Lang 2014) and text collections (Parsons 1923, Romano 1973, Baptista 2014) that refer to structural properties of SA, this paper focuses on features which are considered exclusive to SA (Lang 2014), but have not yet been studied in depth such as the morpho-phonological particularities of the negator *n* (see ex. 1) regarding, for instance, pronominal selection as well as the distribution and semantics of the fully productive verbal suffix *-s* (see ex. 1 & 2). The form is reminiscent of Portuguese past subjunctive forms (compare *trokas* in 1 with Portuguese *trocasse*), but shows considerable differences in its modal properties.

1	<i>No</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>pu dia</i>	<i>troka-s</i>	<i>kex</i>	<i>kefê.</i>	
	1PL	NEG	could	exchange-TAM	DEM.PL	coffee	
'We were not allowed to exchange that coffee.'							

2	<i>Bo</i>	<i>tinha</i>	<i>grása</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>dexpedi-s</i>	<i>d' el.</i>	
	2SG	had	desire	of	say.farewell-TAM	of 3SG	
'One wanted to say farewell to him.'							

The paper also analyses and compares phenomena that are attested in the closely related São Vicente variety (SV; Swolkien 2015), but which are supposedly absent from Santiago such as suppletive verb forms (e.g. *tiv*, *tinha*, past forms of *ten* 'have') and periphrastic tenses.

Finally, features of SA which have not been attested so far e.g. the use of semi-grammaticalized discourse marker *kabá*, (from *kabá* ‘to stop/end’) and the occurrence of object ellipsis are flagged.

These newly available data and their analyses allow us to reassess some pertinent questions concerning creole genesis and the considerable dialectal variation observable on the archipelago (Lang 2014: 296f), in light of the sociohistorical background of Santo Antão presented in Swolkien & Cobbinah (in press). The fact that features such as suppletive and periphrastic forms, or verbal affix -s, are produced by speakers from the rural interior of Santo Antão who have little exposure to Portuguese, suggests that we will have to reconsider hypotheses that are based on the assumptions that these features are the hallmark of a ‘decreolized’ urban SV variety and that the Barlavento varieties as a whole are the result of massive de- or recreolization instead of regular language change.

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**Title:** *The negation system in Macau Creole Portuguese*

Variation in negative markers is observed across Portuguese-based creole languages (CPs). Macau Creole Portuguese (MCP) shares some negators with other Asian CPs, especially Papia Kristang, but others are attributable to independent creolization. Although, studies (Pinharanda Nunes 2008, 2012; Baxter, 2009) clarify aspects of the grammatical typology of Macau CP, the particularities of the negators is not directly addressed. This study concerns sentential negation, negative imperatives and tag questions and it compares MCP with other Asian CPs of Southeast and South Asia, including Sri Lanka (Smith 2016), Kristang (Baxter 1988), Malabar CP varieties (Krajinovic 2015), Korlai CP (Clements 1996), Batavia/ Tugu CP (Maurer 2011) and Bidau CP (Baxter 1990).

Analysis of historical and contemporary documents permits identification of the functions and sources of seven negative markers in Macau CP. *Nunca*, *nom*, and *nádi* are undoubtedly related to Kristang and other Asian CPs. The Kristang perfective *nenáng* is not present in Macau CP and the imperative *nang* was relexified with *ne-bom*, possibly from Cantonese. The deontic *nuncassá* was introduced, also a possible relexification from Cantonese. Furthermore, we also identify grammaticalization of modal verbs (the deontic *numestê* and volitional *nonquêro*) as negative markers.

From a typological perspective, the similarities of use of some negative markers (especially the fusion between *nom* and specific verbs) confirms the close linguistic and historical relationship between Macau CP, Kristang, Batavia and Tugu CP, Bidau CP, Sri Lanka CP and the Malabar CP varieties. Additionally, this could support the existence of reciprocal diffusion between these different varieties, as suggested by Dalgado (1917) and advocated by Holm (2009).

Also, the interaction between cognitive development and language acquisition appears to be expressed semantically and syntactically in the negation system in MCP, as is seen through the semantic analysis of *nuncassá* and *numestê*, which suggests a strong interaction between negation and deontic modality, as postulated by De Haan (2003). Also, the absence of the aspectual negative marker *nenáng* in Macau CP indicate a possible relation between the acquisition of negation and aspect (Andersen and Shirai 1996).

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Author(s): Ana Karina Tavares Moreira (CNRS)

Title: *Instabilidade das consoantes finais do fogueuse*

Esta análise incide sobre o comportamento das consoantes admitidas em posição final na variedade fogueuse da língua cabo-verdiana. Este estudo permite observar em sincronia a produtividade dos processos atestados neste contexto e analisá-los enquanto recursos linguísticos desta variedade para regularizar os padrões silábicos e acentuais. O fogueuse admite seis consoantes em posição final.

/s/[pe'das] 'pedaço'

/n/[me'nẽŋ] 'amanhã'

/r/['mar] 'mar'

/l/[peʒi'gal] 'campo de sequeiro'

/j/ ['maj] 'mãe'

/w/['maw] 'mau'

Este número reduzido de consoantes finais é um dos traços linguísticos que reafirmam a pertença do fogueuse ao grupo das variedades de sotavento.

Tratam-se das mesmas consoantes finais atestadas no santiaguense (Quint 2000:29). No entanto, no Fogo este grupo de fonemas apresenta maior instabilidade.

Vários fenómenos, não partilhados com o santiaguense, afectam as consoantes finais do fogueuse, deixando claro o seu carácter de variedade independente, com uma evolução linguística autónoma.

Começaremos a nossa exposição com a apresentação do inventário dos fonemas admitidos em posição final, com base em ocorrências retirados do nosso corpus.

De seguida observaremos a sua dinâmica, tentando analisar a relação entre os subgrupos de fonemas (líquidas /l/, /r/; obstruentes /s/; nasais /n/ e semiconsoantes /j/, /w/) e os processos registados.

Analisaremos também a natureza dos diferentes processos, como sejam:

i) Apagamento

FG ['mudʒe] ST [mu'dʒer] PT [mu'ʎer] 'mulher'

ii) Inserção de vogal

FG [do'toru] ST [do'tor] PT [dow'tor] 'doutor'

iii) Substituição de fonemas

FG ['sor] ST ['sol] PT ['soʎ] 'sol'

Por último demonstraremos o impacto da ocorrência destes processos na estrutura linguística e na manutenção dos paradigmas acentuais e silábicos desta variedade.

Mantendo uma perspectiva comparativa com a variedade da ilha de Santiago, analisaremos ainda a relação entre o comportamento das consoantes finais e as estratégias de formação de plural nas duas variedades.

Palavras-chave: fogueense, consoantes, coda.

Lista de abreviaturas

FG Fogo

PT Português

ST Santiago

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**Title:** *A language game as phonological evidence in Lung'le*

The goal of this paper is to observe phonological evidence in a language game of Lung'le (ISO code 639-3: PRE). This ludling will shed light on the role of stress and on the syllable structure in the language. 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'dɛdɔ]      [udɛ'pɛdɔ]      'finger'  
 b. [ka'ba]      [kaba'pa]      'to finish'  
 c. ['primɔ]      [pri'pimɔ]      'cousin'

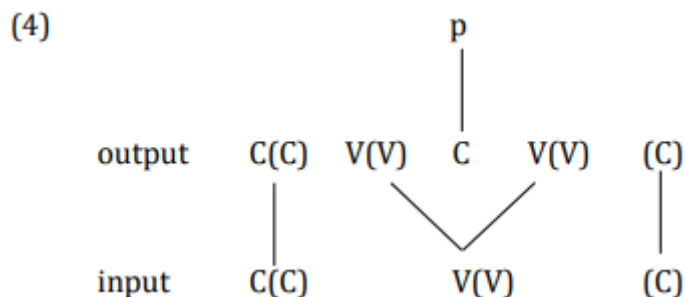
Whenever there is a coda in the input, it will appear as a coda in the inserted syllable and it will not be copied:

- (2) ['goʃ.to]      [go.'poʃ.to], \*[goʃ.'poʃ.to], \*[goʃ.'po.to]      'taste'

In words with stressed long vowels, the branched nucleus is entirely copied:

- (3) ['pa:tɛ]      [pa:̄'pa:tɛ]      'silver'

The following scheme shows the syllabic structure of the ludling (Agostinho 2015):



The Lung'le word-prosodic system has been analyzed as tonal (Günther 1973; Maurer 2009), pitch-accent (Ferraz & Traill 1979) and as a mixed system of tone and stress (Agostinho 2015). Observing the tonal patterns from Maurer (2009) and the stress of the ludling words, a rule that inserts the ludling syllable after the leftmost H or the rightmost syllable if no H is present works for (5a-f) but does not account for the examples in (5g,h), since we do not have the

outputs \*[o'poroko] and \*[u'pusuda]. A rule that inserts the ludling syllable after the stressed syllable accounts for all the data:

- |     |    |          |              |             |    |           |             |          |
|-----|----|----------|--------------|-------------|----|-----------|-------------|----------|
| (5) | a. | [à'bjá]  | [abja'pa]    | 'creek'     | e. | [ù'dédó]  | [ude'pɛdu]  | 'finger' |
|     | b. | [nwésè]  | [nwe'pɛɛ]    | 'coconut'   | f. | [mùtè'bù] | [mutèbu'pu] | 'trap'   |
|     | c. | [góf.tó] | [go.'pɔf.to] | 'taste'     | g. | [ó'ókó]   | [oroko'po]  | 'mouse'  |
|     | d. | [kà'bà]  | [kaba'pa]    | 'to finish' | h. | [úsú'dá]  | [usuda'pa]  | 'pepper' |

Language games are usually used as an argument for the position of glides in the syllable structure (Lee 1994; Davis & Hammond 1995; Araujo & Agostinho 2014). In this ludling, the onglide behaves like a consonant and will not be copied in the ludling syllable.

- (6) [a'bjá] [abja'pa], \*[abja'pja], \*[aba'pja] 'creek'

The offglides behave like codas, that is, they become part of the inserted syllable:

- (7) [u'baw] [uba'paw], \*[ubaw'paw], \*[ubaw'pa] 'clay'

The fact that glides have the same behavior as consonants is an argument for analyzing them as part of the onset and coda of the syllable and not as the nucleus.

<b>Author(s):</b>	Ana Margarida Silva (Instituto Politécnico of Macau)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Usos e percepções linguísticas de falantes de português língua materna em Macau</i>

A chegada dos portugueses aos territórios asiáticos no final do século XV e início do XVI teve como consequência, entre outras, a difusão da língua portuguesa. Deste modo, de acordo com Baxter (2009), esta língua está presente no território de Macau desde a sua fundação e permanece até hoje, enquanto língua oficial (artigo 9.º)<sup>1</sup>.

Segundo os últimos Censos (2011), ela é falada apenas por 2,4% da população, a portuguesa residente no território e a comunidade macaense (0,7 da população total - 552503)<sup>2</sup>. Esta comunidade encara a língua portuguesa como uma língua de herança tal como é definida por Montrul (2010: 3), isto é, uma língua que é usada em contexto familiar e cujo contacto com a mesma é feito desde muito cedo, uma vez que se sentem culturalmente próximos dela (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003: 221). Por outro lado, a língua é considerada ainda como um dos elementos identitários como atesta o inquérito efetuado sobre a definição de macaense, apresentada no colóquio “O Testemunho para o Futuro”, organizado pela Associação dos Macaenses, a 7 de dezembro de 2015.

Partindo destas informações, e tendo presente a caracterização linguística efetuada por Batalha (1974), posteriormente citada por outros autores, na qual a autora afirma que havia “várias camadas de português” (a falada pelos portugueses residentes e pelos macaenses de maior instrução; a dos jovens em permanente code-switching entre o português, o inglês e o chinês; a das pessoas de meia idade e dos mais velhos com reminiscências do maquista), decidimos aferir, partindo da implementação de um questionário escrito, em parte baseado no de Pinharanda Nunes (2013), se esta descrição linguística sustentada, essencialmente, na distribuição etária e na escolarização ainda é válida na atualidade. Por outro lado, o recurso a este tipo de questionário permitiu-nos também obter informações relativas a usos pessoais da mesma, atitudes e percepções individuais, assim como dos usos e percepções da língua em comunidade (Dollinger, 2015: 11), e ainda acerca da vitalidade da mesma no território.

De uma maneira geral, podemos já afirmar que o português está cada vez mais restrito a usos de âmbito pessoal e familiar, apesar de, na generalidade, o considerarem como elemento importante para a comunidade enquanto elemento identitário e, por isso, continuarem a inscrever os filhos em escolas de matriz portuguesa, por exemplo. Por outro lado, e ainda que considerem o português como uma língua de difícil aprendizagem, afirmam

que há uma forma própria de a falar em Macau e em que é que consiste essa forma própria.

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<sup>1</sup> In Lei Básica da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau da República Popular da China.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 63 e ss.

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**Title:** *Nunca and other negative markers in Kalunga Portuguese*

This paper investigates the use of negative markers and other negation phenomena in Kalunga Portuguese. Kalunga is an Afro-Portuguese variety spoken in a remnant quilombola community, located in a (still) relatively isolated area in the state of Goiás, in Brazil (Mattos 2016).

In the field of language contact, studies such as Schneider (2000), Schwegler (1996; 2018), and Sessarego (2017) have discussed the genesis of contact varieties, such as, Afro-Spanish varieties, on the basis of negation constructions in creole languages and vernacular varieties. The debate relates to whether parts of the grammar of post-colonial varieties – especially in more isolated areas – are the result of contact effects, language-internal developments, or language retentions, and whether there are specific type(s) of negation in creolization.

The aim of this paper is to provide new data from the Kalunga variety and describe the general patterns of negation constructions in declarative sentences in it. Negation types and negative concord are discussed for Kalunga. In addition, the paper describes, analyses, and presents a semantic model for the use of *nunca* as a sentential negative marker in contrast with its use as a negative temporal quantifier. Moreover, it investigates these phenomena diachronically, in order to discuss whether they are remnants from Old Portuguese or new developments in Kalunga. The Kalunga data comes from spoken corpora collected during ethnographic fieldwork. The historical documents investigated are from the electronic corpus CTB – Corpus Histórico do Português Tycho Brahe (Galves, Andrade and Faria 2017).

The results show that: i) the use of the three types of sentential negation in Kalunga follows the general patterns of Brazilian Portuguese varieties, especially of Afro-varieties; ii) the distribution of *ninguém* ‘nobody’, *nem* ‘nor’ and other negative markers in Kalunga differs from the systems described for other Brazilian Portuguese varieties; and iii) the use of *nunca* as a sentential negator attested in Kalunga seems to follow a common grammaticalization process in contact varieties. The diachronic data show that when some of these linguistic features appear in Old Portuguese, they appear in special texts (theatre plays).

This study contributes to the understanding of the Portuguese negation systems in more isolated communities, as well as how individual linguistic features develop in contact

varieties. In addition, it brings new insights to negation in Portuguese varieties and in contact linguistics in general.



<b>Author(s):</b>	Angela Bartens (Univ. of Turku) Kwaku O. A. Osei-Tutu (Purdue Univ.)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Atlantic Creole English as a pluriareal language</i>

The genesis of the English-lexifier creoles of the Atlantic region in West Africa and thence their common origin was first postulated by Hancock (e.g. 1986) and subsequently taken up by McWhorter (1996). Other studies have pointed out the common structures shared by Caribbean and West African Creole Englishes, e.g., Alleyne (1980), Holm (1988-1989), Holm & Patrick (2007), Michaelis et al. (2013), Mühleisen (2018).

It is more or less taken for granted that speakers of many, albeit not all Atlantic English-lexifier creoles (e.g. the Suriname creoles are notoriously different from the majority of the others) can understand each other. Indeed, this can be verified by easy comprehension tasks and participant observation of communicative situations of speakers of closely related languages such as San Andrés, Limón, and Jamaican Creole English. Fair intercomprehension also exists, however, between such language pairs as Jamaican and Nigerian or Ghanaian Pidgin English. In part this is due to the existence of a global Caribbean diaspora (cf. Mair, Mühleisen & Pirker 2015), but it also boils down to historical ties – besides the postulated common origin, back and forth migrations both on a small scale, e.g. the Western Caribbean from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (XXX 2013), and across the Atlantic, e.g. in the assumed genesis of Krio (cf. Huber 1999:59-65), also played a role.

Testing of mutual intelligibility has to be done in a systematic way in order to bolster such claims with real evidence. While this still is work in progress, we suggest we are dealing with a case of pluriareality - rather than pluricentricity – at best (cf. Elspaß et al. 2017). We propose that a postcolonial understanding of language variation should take into account such cases as the one presented here, allowing for the construction of a model of a language system with fluid borders which nevertheless allows for the idea of language making or the disinvention and subsequent reconstitution of “language” (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2005).

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Angela Bartens (Univ. of Turku) Rita Eloranta (Univ. of Leiden)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>The construction of Northern Afro-Peruvian identity through two conceptual categories</i>

This paper deals with corporeal metaphors of skin color and hair texture as manifest in oral narratives and interviews of speakers of varieties of Northern Peruvian Spanish identifying themselves as Afro-descendants. The fieldwork for this paper was conducted in December 2018-January 2019.

In this context it is relevant to stress that not all speakers of the community of practice (cf. Wenger 1998; Deckert & Vickers 2011: 59) would be necessarily identified as Afrodescendants by others but define themselves as such through acts of identity (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985). As a result, we are dealing with the creation of new communities of practice in the sense of “an agreement of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464).

The Spanish used by these communities is highly similar to surrounding varieties of vernacular Spanish. Specific Afro-Hispanic linguistic traits pace Lipski (2005) in the overall linguistic system are comparable to other varieties of Afro-Peruvian Spanish (e.g., Romero 1987; Sessarego 2014a; 2015) or, for example, Afro-Bolivian varieties (Lipski 2008; Sessarego 2014b; Pérez 2015). At the same time, these linguistic features vary – obviously – irrespective of auto-identification (cf. Remillard & Williams 2016: 133).

Designations, in part metaphoric, of skin color and hair texture, however, distinguish the Northern Afro-Peruvian varieties at least partially from other Afro-Hispanic varieties and thence consolidate the existence of an imagined community pace Anderson (1983). Whereas there is a clear continuity of designations both colonial and widespread in the Afro-American diaspora (cf, e.g. Holm 1994; Labelle 1978:49, 109; Schelsky 1994:274; Bartens 1996:48-52) in both semantic fields and a resulting overall postcolonial preoccupation with, e.g., hair issues (Agwuele 2015), in the corpus gathered we find, for example, negro pitingo ‘very black’ not attested anywhere else than in the Piura region, azulejo ‘very black’ or peligüey ‘olive skin’ in Úcupe and Zaña, in the Lambayeque region.

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**Author(s):** Angela Carpenter (Wellesley College)

**Title:** *Dialect change in immigrant speakers of Jamaican Creole*

Dialect change occurs when speakers of one dialect of a language emigrate to an area where another dialect of the same language is spoken. This type of migration has occurred quite notably across the English-speaking world where, for example, speakers of one version of English, such as Canadian English or Jamaican English move to Great Britain (Chambers 1992, Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007, Wells 1973). In this study I focus on the dialectal change of Jamaican Creole (JC) towards Standard American English (SAE) by Jamaicans who have immigrated to the U.S.

Dialect change allows one to test theories of phonological simplicity versus phonological complexity. When acquiring a new dialect, the learner has to change one set of rules to another. Theoretically, phonologically simple rules should be easier to change than more complex ones. Phonologically simple rules are “automatic processes that admit no exceptions” (Chambers 1992), such as /t/ flapping in SAE in words such as *writer*, *putting*, etc. Whereas phonologically complex rules have “opaque outputs... exceptions or variant forms, or they have in their output a new or additional phoneme” (Chambers 1992:682). An example of such a complex rule would be unmerging a vowel into two different phonemes. In JC, the English vowels /e, eɪ, eə, ɪə/ are merged into the single vowel /ie/, which leads to paired lexical sets being homophonous (Wells, 1982). For example, the words *beer* and *bear* are both pronounced as [bier] in JC. A JC speaker who is learning the American dialect would have to perceive and produce the distinction between these vowels, pronouncing *beer* as [bier] and *bear* as [ber]. Similarly in JC the American English vowels [æ] and [a] are merged into one vowel, [a], such that *black* and *block* are homophonous.

This study focuses on four of the phonological distinctions that differentiate Jamaican Creole and Standard American English: 1) vowel differences between SAE /e, eɪ, eə, ɪə/ and JC /ie/; 2) glide insertion between velar stops and a following low back vowel in JC; 3) h-dropping and/or hypercorrection in JC, such as saying [an] for *hand* but [hɛg] for *egg*; and 4) vowel merging of /æ/ and /a/ in JC. Glide insertion and h-dropping are phonologically simple rules, while vowel unmerging is phonologically complex. If the definitions of simplicity and complexity adequately capture the differences between phonological processes then the prediction is that those acquiring the American dialect will be more successful at changing glide insertion and h-dropping than they are at unmerging /ie/ and /a/.

Preliminary research (Author 2018) with Jamaican speakers has demonstrated that Jamaicans (n=14) who have lived in the northeast U.S. for more than 40 years have made some dialectal changes, but not always as predicted. Results among this population show that contrary to predictions, vowel unmerging (a 'complex' process) has more readily occurred than glide deletion (a 'simple' process). Implications for phonological theories of complexity will be discussed.

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<b>Title:</b>	<i>Variable expression of anaphoric direct object in Portuguese spoken in Cabinda, Angola</i>

This pilot study deals with variation between four forms of expressing anaphoric direct object in Portuguese spoken in Cabinda, Angola. The aim is to identify whether the pattern in an Angolan variety resembles that of Portugal or that of Brazil, or differs from both, and to discuss if the encountered pattern is related to language contact. We have analysed fifteen interviews with 20 to 29-year-old speakers from Cabinda in northern Angola. All participants speak Portuguese and one or several Bantu languages. The four identified forms of expressing anaphoric direct object in the Cabinda material are the accusative clitic following the verb, as in example (1), repetition of the noun phrase, as in example (2), lexical pronoun, as in example (3) and null object, as in example (4).

- (1) *Então quando eu digo essa palavra, aquela, eu normalmente tento traduzi-la com a nossa língua ibinda. (C314)*
- (2) Interviewer: *Português, não usa fiote?*  
Participant: *Não uso, até por que eu não sei falar fiote. (C202)*
- (3) *... eu nunca levei ele lá (C204)*
- (4) Interviewer: *Ah, eles não falam lingala?*  
Participant: *Falam ∅ um pouco... (C202)*

It is generally assumed that the clitic, the normatively prescribed form for anaphoric direct object in all varieties of Portuguese, is dominant in European Portuguese (Mateus et al. 2003), something that has been empirically confirmed, even though null object, noun phrase and demonstrative are also frequently occurring forms (Farren 2017, Raposo 1986). In spoken varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, several studies confirm null object as the dominant form, noun phrase and pronoun as less frequent, and clitic as inexistent or almost inexistent (Duarte 1989, Malvar 1992, Cyrino 1994, Averbug 1998, Figueiredo 2009). The dominance of null subject in Brazilian Portuguese, especially in afro-Brazilian varieties, has been attributed to restructuring triggered by language contact (Figueiredo 2009).

In 295 occurrences of anaphoric direct object from Cabinda Portuguese, null object is the most frequent form (51%), followed by noun phrase (32%), clitic (11%) and lexical pronoun (6%). The dominance of null subject may be an indication of contact-related restructuring, whereas the relatively high frequency of clitics may indicate a less radical restructuring than in Brazil. A result that stands out is that participants that have acquired Portuguese after the age of four use null subject to a slightly lesser extent than others, possibly related to their higher

use of Portuguese in school than at home.

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**Title:** *The 'quacking duck' revisited: serial verb constructions in Kreol Seselwa*

Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in Kreol Seselwa (KS) have a long and disputed history in creolistics. Bickerton (1989, 1990, 1996) was the first to argue that SVCs do indeed exist in KS contrary to, for instance, Seuren (1990) and Corne, Coleman and Curnow (1996). While nowadays most agree that SVCs are part of KS grammar (e.g. Michaelis & Rosalie 2013, Adone et al. 2018), no in-depth study had been undertaken until recently.

The main aim of this paper is to discuss the results from such an in-depth study which was conducted from 2014-2018. Data for this study derive from semi-spontaneous, elicitation and acceptability judgment tasks as well as from the analysis of various written texts. Based on this data corpus, this paper will show that SVCs in KS exist, that they can be located on a continuum, have different distributions and are subject to variation. Finally, their structural makeup and syntactic analysis will be discussed.

Following Haspelmath (2016) and Aikhenvald (2006), SVCs can be defined as structures that contain multiple independent verbs that appear in a single clause without a complement relationship and linking elements. From this definition, several interrelated generalizations follow: SVCs have the same configuration for TMA and negation, may share arguments, are conceptualized as one event, and exhibit one intonation contour. Aikhenvald (2006) suggests that SVCs can be classified according to prototypes and located on a continuum.

It can be shown that structures exhibiting multiple verbs in written as well as oral KS adhere to the definition and criteria outlined above. Hence, it can be ascertained that SVCs are part of KS grammar. However, due to prototypical as well as non-prototypical features, the continuum approach suggested by Aikhenvald (2006) arguably best accounts for the nature of SVCs in KS.

Even though KS exhibits SVCs, it can be seen that this is a predominantly oral phenomenon and not particularly productive. Furthermore, the use of SVCs seems to decrease the younger a speaker is. Finally, it is suggested that KS SVCs are best analyzed as adjunction structures and a new analysis of (external) argument sharing phenomena will be discussed.

Adone, Dany, Melanie Anna Brück, & Astrid Gabel (2018). "Kot nou vire tourne nou tand li: Serial Verb Constructions at the Interface between Grammar and Culture: Case-Study Kreol Seselwa (Seychelles Creole)". In: *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali / Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies* (4). 15–46.

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**Author(s):** Armin Schwegler (Univ. of California)

**Title:** *The re-Africanization of Palenquero*

During much of the 20th century, lexical Africanisms in everyday Palenquero creole (Colombia) were scant, totaling two dozen at best. Ritual language (Lumbalú) and the speech of a few elderly Palenqueros still contained a series of isolated Africanisms, but these had become archaic to a point of near extinction (Schwegler 2000, 2002, 2006).

In the 21st century, profound sociolinguistic changes in Palenque with roots in the 1980s and 1990 have brought about sentiments of *negritud* ('Black awareness') and a newfound appreciation for "all things African", lexicalia included. As a result, younger Palenqueros —with the help of some of their Lengua teachers— began to collect lists of Afro-Palenquero archaisms, thereby rescuing them from oblivion. Various mechanisms (described in this paper) then led to the spread of these lexicalia "africana" to the wider speech community, who now in turn embraces these reborn words as a genuine index of their maroon and Afro-Colombian identity. Contemporary data from Palenque (collected in situ by the author) suggest that this re-Africanization of Palenquero has spread to grammar, thereby transforming the creole of younger generations in a rather profound manner (on this point, see also Lipski, 2012, MS). One such area of grammar is predicate negation (Dieck 2000; Schwegler 2016, forthcoming a, b), where the supposedly Spanish-like preverbal pattern NEG+VERB (*i nu kelé bae* 'I NOT want to go = I don't want to go') is progressively shunned in favor of postverbal VERB + NEG (*i kelé bae nu*), deemed "genuinely Africa-flavored Lengua" (i.e. "true creole" by younger Palenqueros and their Lengua teachers).

A principal goal of this paper is to trace the 21st-century changes mentioned above, and to explain the linguistic and social mechanisms that have facilitated their rapid rise.

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**Title:** *From woz fi to was to? A creole model feature in Caribbean Englishes*

The starting point of this research is a previously unattested, rare but salient feature of Panamanian English, modal *was to* + INF, indicating obligation or intention:

(1) [...] *it was pretty hard, so I had **was to find** a way to help myself [...]*

(2) *I remember my eldest sister encouraged me **was to go** over to the Canal area [...]*

Despite the fact that this feature is attested in Englishes of Jamaica, Barbados, Belize, Grenada, possibly St. Lucia and now Panama, it has never been convincingly reported upon in detail. The *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Cassidy and LePage, 1967:463), for example, defines this use of *was* “as [an] auxiliary following the main verb and followed by an infinitive: indicating past time in the main verb”, making no mention of modality. The *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (Allsopp, 1996:278), while clearly citing its modal function, only acknowledges the string *had was to*, when *had* is not the only main verb after which *was to* can occur, as (2) illustrates. The aim of this paper is to propose a comprehensive description of this pan-Caribbean feature, including its geographical distribution, constraints and historical development.

I suggest that English *was to* most likely derives from the modal use of *fi* (or *fu*), which may be preverbally marked for the past (with a form of *was*, for example), in many Caribbean English Creoles:

Panamanian Creole English (Aceto 1996:191):

(3) *jan **woz fi** kom hier*

‘John was supposed to come here’

Providence Island Creole (Washabaugh 1978:255):

(4) *im tai a rak **men fi** go lik dong di biebi*

‘He tied a rock so as to strike down this child’

Saramaccan (Byrne 1987:114):

(5) *Dí wómi **bi-fu**-woóko a dí bakáa wósu.*

‘The man should have worked at the white man’s house’

In Panamanian English, however, *was* is never used as a past marker and *to* can hardly be described as a modal verb. Speakers may perceive the modality to be carried by *was*, not *to* (whose use otherwise mirrors that of mainstream English). As fieldwork is ongoing at the time of writing, grammaticality judgments by native speakers are still pending but will be presented. In any case, in English (as opposed to Creoles), *was* appears to function strictly as a modality marker.

Also noteworthy is the fact that this modal construction is found in varieties that have no immediate link to Creoles in which a form of *was* is a past marker: though past marker *was/woz* is not attested in the Jamaican continuum, modal *was to* exists. Considering that past marker *was/woz* is itself relatively rare, the widespread presence of modal *was to* requires an explanation if the *fi/fu* hypothesis is to hold.

<b>Author(s):</b>	Chi Dat Lam (Univ. of Chicago)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Determiner-noun fusion in Haitian Creole: a statistical learning approach</i>

Determiner-noun fusion (DNF) (also called agglutination) in French (FR)-based Creoles has been mostly analyzed as resulting from Bantu substrate influence. On the contrary, I show that statistical properties of the superstrate also influenced the DNF pattern in Haitian Creole (HC).

**Background.** DNF is when a determiner-noun combination in the superstrate becomes a determiner-less noun of similar or identical meaning in the Creole. For example, *hc lapli \rain"* originated from *fr la pluie \the rain"*. Baker (1984) attributed the phenomenon to the Bantu substrate, noting the different DNF distributions in French-based Creoles. Later work by Grant (1995) and Strandquist (2005) supported this conclusion. However, investigating Mauritian Creole, Bonami and Henri (2015) showed that multiple factors, including gross (GF) and collocational frequencies (CF) of the etymon, predict whether a word is fused or not. In this work, I test the hypothesis that GF and CF, along with backwards transitional probability (BTP), contribute to the DNF pattern in HC. BTP is defined as the probability of the determiner-noun string given the noun, as in (1). It was shown that both adults and children are sensitive to BTP in word segmentation tasks (Pelucchi, Hay, & Saran, 2009; Perruchet & Desauty, 2008). Thus, it is possible that DNF results from misanalysis of word boundaries due to high BTP of determiner-noun string. Hence, I predict that fused nouns tend to have higher BTP.

$$(1) \text{BTP}(la \text{ pluie}) = P(la \text{ pluie} | \text{ pluie}) = P(la \text{ pluie}) / P(\text{ pluie})$$

**Methods.** Nouns with fused forms were isolated using Targ\_ete and Urciolo (1993). Following Bonami and Henri (2015), each noun was coded for gender, age, initial segment, syllable number, GF and CF of the etymon. I also noted whether the fused noun has an unfused variant (*lespri/espri \spirit"*, *fr (l')esprit*) or unfused homonym (*lachanm \House of Representatives"* vs. *chanm \room"*, *fr (la) chambre*). BTP is the ratio between CF and BF. The relevant parameters were also coded for 129 unfused nouns for control.

**Results.** 351 fused forms are obtained, most of which are fused with the determiner *l'* (N=111) or *la* (N=132).

Unpaired t-tests show that fused nouns have higher GF, CF and BTP than unfused nouns (all  $p < 0.0005$ ). When the three parameters are fitted into a generalized linear mixed model, only CF ( $p < 0.0005$ ) and BTP ( $p < 0.05$ ) are significant. I also trained a model using CF and BTP on half of the data and tested its ability to predict the other half. The model reached 79% accuracy.

Besides, there are micropatterns such as the difference between fused forms with and without unfused variants.

Fused forms without unfused variants tend to be: 1) of a multiword fusion (lafendimonn \end of the world", fr la \_n du monde), 2) of an idiom (f\_e lakoub\_et \bow", fr faire la courbette) and 3) homonym with more specific meaning (lachanm vs. chanm). All of these instances involve constructions with high CF, which lends support to the role of statistical learning in DNF.

Conclusion. The analysis shows that CF and BTP are predictive of DNF in HC, underscoring the relevance of statistical learning to DNF emergence. Thus, DNF is caused not only by the Bantu substrate but also by the statistical patterns in the superstrate. As such, this paper promotes the perspective that the emergence of Creoles, like that of other languages, results from the complex interaction of many factors, including influence of both substrate and superstrate, as well as general learning mechanisms.



**Author(s):** Chiara Truppi (Univ. of Lisbon)

**Title:** *Instances of be in and around Guinea-Bissau*

Copulas in Guinea-Bissau Creole, or simply Kriyol, have been dealt with in a few works (see e.g. Ichinose 1993; Kihm 1994, 2007; Wilson 1995). A more recent study (Truppi, to appear) provides a description of copulas in Kriyol and of their semantic-syntactic function. Kriyol displays a varied paradigm of copulas, both verbal (*sedu*, *sta*, and *(y)era*) and non-verbal (*i* and the null copula  $\emptyset$ ). Each copula has a certain semantic-syntactic function, giving rise to interesting cases of suppletivism, but also to a certain degree of intralinguistic variation.

Briefly, *i* occurs in perfective predicational clauses, both in the present and past tense; the null copula occurs in the same syntactic environments as *i* (1a). *Sedu*, jointly with aspect markers, expresses imperfectivity or future tense (1b). *Sta* occurs in locative clauses (1c). Yet, *sedu* may show up in bare predicational contexts, i.e. without any aspect marker (2a), while *(y)era* (2b), inherently specified for past, is in competition with the structure in (1a) for the expression of past.

- (1) a. *Abo*            *i / ∅*    *pursor* (*ba*).  
      2SG.TOP    COP    teacher PST  
      ‘You are/were a teacher.’
- b. *I*            *na*    *sedu*    *difisil*.  
      3SG.CL    CONT COP    difficult  
      ‘It is difficult (now).’
- c. *E*            *sta*    *na*    *Bissau*.  
      3PL.CL    COP    in    Bissau  
      ‘They are in Bissau.’
- (2) a. *N*            *sedu*    *monitor*.  
      1SG.CL    COP    coach  
      ‘I am a coach.’
- b. *Bu*            *yera*            *pursor*.  
      2SG.CL    COP.PST    teacher  
      ‘You were a teacher.’

The situation sketched above is very similar to those found in Casamancese and, to a certain extent, in Santiago Capeverdean (see Truppi, to appear). Both are Upper Guinea Creole (UGC) varieties. This reinforces the idea of a common origin of these creoles, of a common ancestor, i.e. proto-UGC (see e.g. Jacobs 2010).

The present paper aims to compare Kriyol copulas to those of a number of other varieties: it will provide a survey of copulas both in the other UGC varieties (Capeverdean – both Sotavento and Barlavento -, Casamancese, and Papiamentu) and in a number of West

African languages. More specifically, copulas in Mandinka (Mande) and in Atlantic languages such as e.g. Wolof, Manjaku, and Balanta will be taken into account.

The aim of the paper is, therefore, twofold. First, the comparison of copulas among UGCs will help understand the grammatical proximity of these varieties. The survey will contribute to the debate on their genetic affiliation (e.g. the degree of proximity of Papiamentu to the other UGC varieties is still matter of controversy). Second, this study aims to assess the actual contribution to the emergence of Kriyol copular systems of Atlantic languages such as e.g. Manjaku and Balanta, which have been often mentioned in the literature as substrate languages of Kriyol along with Wolof (Atlantic) and Mandinka (Mande) - (see e.g. Kihm 2011). While the role of Wolof and Mandinka with regard to the emergence of copulas in UGCs has been already dealt with (Truppi, to appear; see Baptista (2004) for a treatment of copulas in Capeverdean and the possible influence of Wolof), the actual contribution of Atlantic languages other than Wolof has never been seriously addressed (for a survey of functional items in Kriyol derived from Atlantic/Mande languages, see Kihm 2011).

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**Title:** *Typology and contact languages*

This paper reports on the last of a series of studies using the Random Forests (RF) algorithm with a cluster analysis (CA) to respond to the research question: do Creole languages cluster together because of their shared typological features? In earlier studies, (Clements et al 2017, 2018), different sets of previously identified stable features (Bakker et al 2011 and Daval-Markussen 2015) were used to analyze a collection of 237 languages (37 creoles, 39 substrates, 10 lexifiers, 151 others) Specifically, three analyses (with 34, 30, and 26 features) were conducted. In the first two analyses, the four most relevant features were eliminated (34 ==> 30, 30 ==> 26). In each analysis, Creoles clustered significantly as a typological group, although less distinctly so with fewer features. There were two major weaknesses of these studies: number of features in which WALS and APICs have correspondences and the number of features for which each variable was codable. In this last study, we use 50 features and code 340 languages to run the same type of analysis (Random Forests with cluster analysis), which is highly analytical tools for detecting patterns and clusters, independently of which kinds of phenomena the patterns and clusters occur in. The key result we report on is that the Creole languages included in the study do not cluster primarily according to typological similarities with the lexifier languages, nor with substrate languages, but rather Creoles cluster largely as a group. To account for these findings, we appeal to the processes operative in naturalistic L2 acquisition, proposing that many of the key features responsible for the clustering of the Creoles are products of naturalistic L2 acquisition.

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**Title:** *Por que o português não se criouizou no Brasil e a questão da gênese das línguas crioulas*

Nesta comunicação será feita uma análise dos condicionamentos socioeconômicos que impediram a crioulização do português no Brasil colonial. Com base nas inferências do caso brasileiro, serão abordadas as condições que possibilitaram a crioulização no Caribe, já que há um forte paralelo entre as sociedades de plantação dessa região e a sociedade açucareira do nordeste brasileiro. Com base na comparação entre o caso brasileiro e a crioulização no Caribe, será feito um questionamento do modelo de Chaudenson (2001[1992]) e Mufwene (1996) que assenta o processo de crioulização no binômio sociedade de habitação e sociedade de plantação e assume que os crioulos resultam de sucessivas aproximações da língua de superstrato por parte dos falantes do substrato, de modo que as línguas crioulas são meras variedades de suas línguas lexificadoras. A posição defendida nesta comunicação será a de que uma ruptura na transmissão linguística da língua do grupo dominante para os falantes do substrato é uma condição sine qua non para que a crioulização aconteça. Essa ruptura resulta de um violento processo de segregação do grupo dominado que restringe severamente seu acesso aos modelos da língua dominante. Assim, os falantes do substrato usam um vocabulário restrito da língua dominante, um jargão ou pré-pidgin (Siegel 2008), como um meio de comunicação interétnica (Baker 2000), reestruturando gramaticalmente esse código emergencial como uma variedade linguística qualitativamente distinta da língua lexificadora. Assume-se, portanto, que a pidginização é uma condição necessária à crioulização (Mcwhorter 1998 e Parkvall 2000) e que as línguas crioulas são línguas qualitativamente distintas das suas línguas lexificadoras, e não meras variedades dessas.

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<b>Title:</b>	<i>The intonation of declaratives and Yes-No questions in the Portuguese of Soyo and Kisolongo</i>

In Standard European Portuguese (SEP), spoken in Lisboa, declarative utterances are produced with a falling intonation, and yes-no questions present a fall-rise contour (Frota 2014, Frota et al. 2015). Unlike SEP, whose intonation is well-known, intonation in Bantu languages has only recently started to be studied from a phonological perspective (the most studied language being Chichewa). Declaratives in Chichewa are reported to be produced with a falling intonation whereas yes-no questions are mainly produced with a rise-fall contour (Downing & Mtenje, 2017). Soyo Portuguese (SP) is a variety of Portuguese spoken in the northwestern region of Angola, a linguistic contact region, in which SP is in contact with Bantu languages, mainly with Kisolongo. As far as we know, the intonation of SP or Kisolongo has not been explored yet.

The main goal of this research is to provide an exploratory description of the intonation contours of declaratives and yes-no questions in SP and Kisolongo.

Additionally, we aim to determine whether declaratives and yes-no questions in SP present similar intonation contours to the ones observed in SEP or in the local language, due to the linguistic contact context.

The semi-spontaneous Discourse Completion Task (DCT) already used to study other Portuguese varieties (Frota, coord., 2012-2015) was adapted for Angolan Portuguese and Kisolongo. Four speakers from Soyo, between 20-45 years-old, were recorded *in loco* while speaking Portuguese and Kisolongo. A total of 112 sentences were analysed (7 declaratives and 7 yes-no questions x 4 speakers x 2 languages) in *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 2012), following the Autosegmental-Metrical approach to intonation (Pierrehumbert 1980, Ladd 2008, *inter alia*) and using the P-ToBI annotation criteria (Frota et al., 2015b).

Results show that declaratives and yes-no questions were produced with the same intonational patterns in SP and Kisolongo: a falling nuclear contour (H+L\* L% or L\* L%) in declaratives (Fig. 1), and a rise-fall nuclear contour (L+H\* L%) in yes-no questions (Fig. 2). However, if declaratives are intonationally similar to SEP and Chichewa, the same is not observed for yes-no questions. In SEP, yes-no questions present a fallingrising nuclear configuration (H+L\* LH%), whereas in Chichewa yes-no questions also display a rise-fall, similarly to SP and Kisolongo. Although these results allow us to suggest that SEP seems not to

influence the intonation of SP and Kisolongo, at least for yes-no questions, we cannot draw any conclusion about the linguistic relationship between SP and Kisolongo. In fact, we do not know if the rising-falling intonation of yes-no questions in SP is a result of the influence of Kisolongo, or if it is the other way around, due to the linguistic contact context. A deeper inspection of intonational patterns, including those of other sentence types, is needed to help shed light on this topic.

Keywords: intonation, languages in contact, Angolan Portuguese, bantu languages, declaratives, yes-no questions.

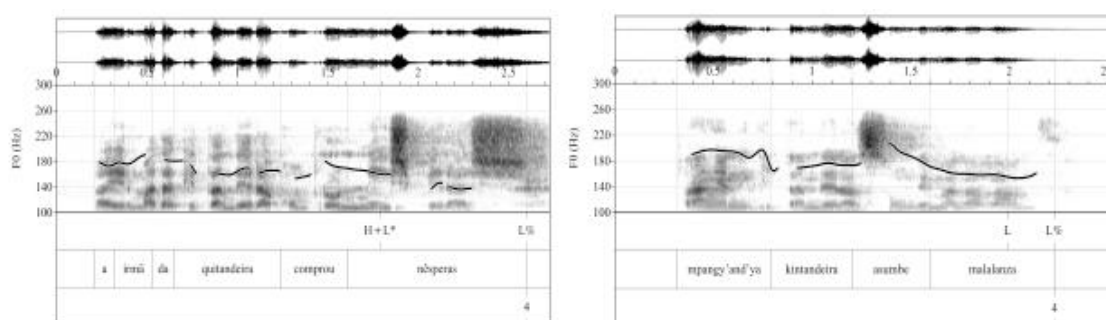


Figure 1. Falling intonation of declarative sentences in Soyo Portuguese (left panel – ‘A irmã da quitandeira comprou nêspêras.’, *The street vendor’s sister bought medlars.*) and Kisolongo (right panel – ‘Mpany’and’ya quitandeira asumbe malalanza.’, *The street vendor’s sister bought oranges*).

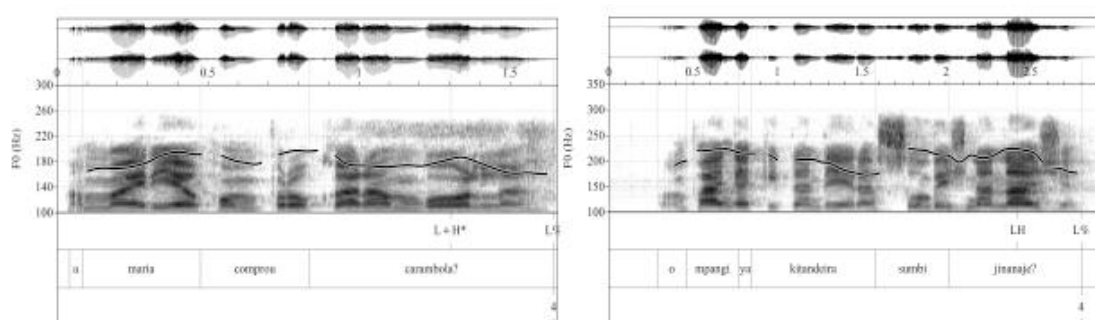


Figure 2. Rising-falling intonation of yes-no questions in Soyo Portuguese (left panel – ‘A Maria comprou carambola?’, *Did Maria buy star fruit?*) and Kisolongo (right panel – ‘O mpanyi ya quitandeira sumbi jinanaje?’, *Did the street vendor’s sister buy pineapple?*)

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**Title:** *Dialect on Air: A Bahamian soap opera as a source of historical creole data?*

In studies of recent language change, spoken non-standard varieties are still underrepresented, which is mainly due to the lack of (adequate) data. If at all, for most varieties, audio material is only available from the mid 20th century onwards; most frequently in the shape of radio broadcasts. This paper seeks to contribute to bridging this gap by introducing and critically evaluating a Bahamian radio soap opera from the early 1970s in order to determine its potential for documenting more recent developments of urban Bahamian Creole.

The corpus consists of about 68,000 words from *The Fergusons of Farm Road*, the first radio show which was broadcast in Bahamian Creole at a time when anything but the standard was still stigmatised and officially forbidden by the guidelines of the national broadcaster, ZNS, for the announcing staff (cf. Minnis 2009). Initially endowed with an educational impetus, *The Fergusons* displayed the everyday life of Bahamians and soon became a great local success; in all, almost 200 episodes were produced between 1970 and 1975, of which only 29 survived. The selection of linguistic variables is based on previous accounts of Bahamian Creole and includes the well-researched grammatical features of copula variation (cf. Reaser 2004), past inflection (cf. Hackert 2004), and negation (cf. Hackert & Laube 2018).

Mindful of the pitfalls of performed language, which was long considered unauthentic and thus not suitable for the analysis of vernacular varieties (cf. Coupland 2001), I will contrast the historical recordings with more recent data, i.e. sociolinguistic interviews from the late 1990s (cf. Hackert 2004) as well as contemporary conversations from the Bahamian subcomponent of the International Corpus of English (cf. Greenbaum 1996). For statistical analyses, I will employ Conditional Inference Trees and Conditional Random Forests (cf. Hothorn et al. 2006), which belong to the family of logistic regressions and have been shown to be particularly powerful for such small and imbalanced datasets (cf. Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). The analyses will show that the linguistic, social and stylistic constraints all work in the expected direction and that the historical data generally exhibit higher rates of creole features. At the same time, simply assuming decreolisation would be short-sighted, given the fact that the historical data must be described as at least partly stylised.

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**Title:** *Hacia una tipología de la reduplicación en chabacano zamboanguéño*

Este trabajo de investigación pretende avanzar en la construcción de una tipología de la reduplicación en chabacano zamboanguéño, un rasgo común a las lenguas criollas (Bakker y Parkvall 2005) y austronésicas (Blust 2013), mediante el análisis de un corpus propio de 2.742 ocurrencias de 675 reduplicaciones diferentes. Se trata, por tanto, de un trabajo basado en (muchos) datos que aborda el origen, la iconicidad, la forma, los tipos y las funciones de la reduplicación en esta lengua criolla. Aunque siguen escaseando los trabajos descriptivos, la reduplicación en zamboanguéño ha sido objeto de interés para autores como Batausa (1969), Ing (1997), Grant (2003), Steinkrüger (2003) o Bartens (2004).

La reduplicación total de la base es la norma (Bartens 2004), al igual que en la mayor parte de las lenguas criollas (Bakker y Parkvall 2005). Siguiendo la clasificación de Mattes (2007), se establece una distinción entre reduplicación productiva y léxica. La primera, que ha sido objeto de mucha más atención hasta ahora, supone la repetición de una base que tiende a indicar algún tipo de incremento como repetición, intensidad o distribución, aunque da lugar también a interpretaciones habitualmente consideradas menos icónicas como similitud o informalidad. Un ejemplo sería *yanta-yanta* (< Esp llanta) ‘descalzo’, donde la reduplicación supone un cambio de categoría gramatical y genera un nuevo significado por extensión metafórica. La reduplicación léxica como *ngo-ngo* ‘defecto consistente en hablar de modo nasal’ suele corresponder a casos de transferencia de lenguas de substrato y no supone la repetición de una base, puesto que esta no ocurre en forma no duplicada. Un subconjunto de este tipo de reduplicación cuenta, además, con características ideofónicas (cf. Dingemanse 2015).

Los datos muestran que las reduplicaciones en chabacano zamboanguéño se podrían concebir como situadas a lo largo de un continuo que va desde la morfología flexiva hasta aquellas con características más ideofónicas o incluso onomatopéicas, con la iconicidad como principal nexo de unión (Rozhanskiy 2015). Este estudio revela también algunas asociaciones entre las funciones de la reduplicación productiva y los campos semánticos de la reduplicación léxica con el objetivo de avanzar en la construcción de un entramado conceptual que vincule el mayor número posible de reduplicaciones.

**Author(s):** Eliot Raynor (Indiana Univ.)

**Title:** *A Gbe substrate model for Chocó Spanish negation: Linguistic and historical evidence*

Debate has resurfaced in recent years concerning the emergence of Chocó Spanish (CS), a dialect spoken in the Pacific lowlands of northwestern Colombia, synchronic characterizations of which defy conceptions of creole genesis based on limited access to a lexifier language (McWhorter 2016, 2018; Sessarego 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018). Limited access accounts tend to cite ratios of European- to African-descendant populations, yet census data from the formative period in the development of an Afro-Hispanic vernacular in Chocó reveal that white-black ratios ranged from 1:25 and 1:50 (Sharp 1976:199), a disproportion well beyond the 1:5 threshold often cited for creolization to occur (cf. Bickerton 1981:4). Thus, significant questions remain as to why no evidence exists of a creole or more radically restructured variety ever having formed in Chocó.

A linguistic feature central to debates on the origins of CS is discontinuous negation, i.e. NEG2. Sessarego (2017a) presents a superstrate account for NEG2 in CS, which had been attributed in the past to substrate transfer (e.g. Holm 1988:173-4). Sessarego's claim is that CS double negation is an archaism that arose via Jespersen's Cycle (1917) and was inherited from 15th-19th c. Peninsular Spanish (2017a:237-9). Schwegler (2018) points out problems in this analysis, crucially that the post-verbal negators in Sessarego's examples occur immediately after the verbs and cannot account for typical cases of NEG2 in CS where the negator is utterance-final, as in (1).

- (1) **No** me gusta eso allá **no**  
NEG me please that there NEG  
'I didn't like that over there' (Schwegler 1991:95)

Without discounting the possibility of multiple source models, given convincing analyses of clause-final negation as an African areal feature (cf. Idiatov 2019; Singler 1988), the present study supports a substratist account for CS negation, highlighting linguistic and historical evidence pointing to Ewe (Gbe) as a likely model. Examples of Ewe negation are illustrated in (2) and (3):

- (2) Nye **me** a du **o**  
I NEG FUT eat NEG  
'I will not eat' (Ellis 1890:234)

(3) Kofi me va afi sia o

Kofi NEG come place this NEG

'Kofi did not come here'

(Ameka 1991:64)

An Ewe substrate coincides with the historical record, including data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database<sup>1</sup> which shows that 32.1% of 16,763 enslaved Africans that disembarked in Cartagena between 1650 and 1800 can be traced to ports in the Bight of Benin, where Ewe and other Gbe varieties were spoken. Moreover, a 1759<sup>2</sup> census of Chocó lists the names of 2,741 slaves working in 58 mines, and in doing so reveals a diverse range of African ethnonyms, nearly half of which (228 out of 526) correspond to (possibly) Gbe-speaking ethnolinguistic groups.

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1 Accessible online: <http://slavevoyages.org>.

2 Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Sección Colonia, Negros y Esclavos, Cauca, Legajo 4. Accessed via: <http://www.archivogeneral.gov.co>.

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**Author(s):** Eliot Raynor (Indiana Univ.)

**Title:** *On target(s): what's missing in debates about 'missing Spanish creoles'*

A recent note in *JPCL* called for more dialogue to 'cast light on ... on of the most intriguing questions in our field: Why are there so few Spanish creoles in the Americas?' (Sessarego 2018:197). Here I address this question by taking a critical look at the three most significant attempts to answer this question to date—the Decreolization Hypothesis (Granda 1968*a, b*, 1970, 1976, 1978), Afrogenesis Hypothesis (McWhorter 1995, 1999, 2000, 2006, 2016, 2018), and Legal Hypothesis (Sessarego 2015:117-57; 2017*a, b*). Specifically, I point out that none of these hypotheses provide a coherent explanation of how Spanish—and not some drastically restructured approximation thereof—was transmitted in a context like Chocó, Colombia, where European descendant whites and *mestizos* never comprised more than a small fraction of the population, ranging from less than 3 percent throughout the 18th century (Sharp 1976:199) to just 5 percent in the most recent census (DANE 2010:26). McWhorter acknowledged that Afrogenesis alone cannot explain this outcome, conceding that 'there is a question as to *how* the slaves did this [learned Spanish]' (2006:123). Accounts relying on processes of decreolization or the existence of legal rights like manumission through self-purchase in Chocó offer no insight into where or from whom African-descendants would have heard sufficient target-like Spanish input such that the most detailed study of Chocó speech to date demonstrates only partial restructuring (Ruíz-García 2000).

In this presentation I outline two logical, non-mutually exclusive solutions to this puzzle:

(i) that enslaved Africans arrived in Chocó already speaking Spanish, and (ii) that other non-European-descendant peoples, i.e. Amerindian communities indigenous to the region, were bilingual in Spanish by the time that African slaves were trafficked there in the late 17th century.

Sessarego (2017*a*:40, *b*:225-26) suggests the former, based on data demonstrating that 60 percent of slaves sold between 1690 and 1789 in Popayán to the south of Chocó were *criollos*. In reality, this amounts to a mere 1,074 individuals over an entire century, roughly 10 per year, hardly enough to account for a significant proportion of the African-descendant founder population in Chocó, which by 1781<sup>1</sup> consisted of 6,557 *esclavos de varios colores* 'slaves of various colors' and 3,612 *libres de varios colores* 'freedmen of various colors', as well as 6,202 *indios* 'Indians'. Thus, the vast majority of *criollo* slaves were most likely born into slavery in Chocó, a supposition which coincides with frequent references to *muleques de chusma* 'children of slaves (not yet fit for work)' in a 1759 census accounting for 3,918 slaves in 58



*cuadrillas* ‘mining gangs’ across Chocó. With this in mind, I present a sociohistorical analysis that centers on contact between Spanish settlers and indigenous Emberá- and Wounaan-speaking communities in Chocó throughout the 16th and 17th centuries (Williams 2005), which led to the emergence of an indigenized Spanish variety that would serve as the only viable medium of interethnic communication between European-, Amerindian-, and African-descendant populations by the end of 18th century.

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<sup>1</sup> All references to specific figures and/or descriptions here and below are drawn directly from archival materials which were accessed via the website for the Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia: <http://www.archivogeneral.gov.co>.

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**Author(s):** Felicity Meakins (Univ. of Queensland)

**Title:** *Birth of a contact language did not favour simplification*

This study is the first investigation of contact-induced change within a single speaker population which uses multiple variants. It also represents an innovative modification of classic population genetics methods to investigating temporal change in linguistic data. Here we report on the rapid birth of a new language in Australia, Gurindji Kriol, from the admixture of Gurindji (Pama-Nyungan language family) and Kriol (English-based creole) which has a 96 hour annotated corpus from 15% of the Gurindji population (Meakins, 2011).

We present data from this corpus: 78 speakers coded for their use of Gurindji, Kriol and Innovative variants across 120 variables (with 292 variants). We track changes in variant use over three generations of Gurindji people by adapting the Wright-Fisher population model (Fisher, 1956; Wright, 1931). While this model has been shown to simulate plausible patterns of language change (Baxter et al., 2006; Baxter et al., 2009; Bentley, Ormerod, & Batty, 2011; Blythe, 2012; Kirby, Griffiths, & Smith, 2014; Reali & Griffiths, 2010), this is one of the first applications of Wright-Fisher models to linguistic data (Newberry et al., 2017).

Specifically, this is the first application of Wright-Fisher models to a large sample of language variants within a single speaker community in order to model broad-scale language change over time.

The formation of contact languages such as Gurindji Kriol has been the subject of intense debate (e.g. DeGraff, 2005; McWhorter, 2001). Contact-induced language change is commonly considered to be shaped by simplification, however this hypothesis is often supported by investigating a small number of language features, particularly inflectional morphology, that are known to show a reduction in complexity (Dorian, 1989; Gardani, Arkadiev, & Amiridze, 2015; McWhorter, 1998), so the generality of this pattern is unknown. To avoid ascertainment bias, the 120 variables used in this analysis are chosen for the fact that they vary rather than for their specific patterns of change (such as simplification) in order not to bias the outcome. We show that the adoption of variants into Gurindji Kriol was not random, but biased towards Kriol variants and Innovations. However, this bias is not explained by simplification, because there is no preferential adoption of less complex variants into the contact language. In fact, complex Kriol variants are more likely to be adopted over simpler Gurindji variants (Meakins et al., forthcoming).

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**Author(s):** Felipe dall’Ava (Univ. of Macau)

**Title:** *Makista and Kristang – a contrastive study of particle unga*

Makista (Macanese Creole Portuguese) and Kristang (Malaccan Creole Portuguese) are two very close related creole languages. According to (Baxter, 2010) and (Pinharanda Nunes, 2008, 2010, 2012); Kristang strongly influenced in the emergence of Makista. So, it’s no wonder that there are particles, such as unga, that are shared by both. On those languages, such particle has a general sense of “uniqueness” or “one”. Even though in both languages unga might work as an indefinite article; in Kristang, for instance, unga might also functions like a noun or an adjective (da Costa, 2019); on the other hand, in Makista, unga can also be implemented as a suffix for some indexicals (Pinharanda Nunes, 2008). Therefore, in this paper, we are going to present a basic history of the development of those two languages (including their present status); the possible origins of such particle; the basics of the cognate um or uma in their superstrate language, Portuguese; and, of course, the differences and similarities between those two creole languages, focusing, particularly, on the semantic features of particle unga.

Keywords: Makista, Kristang, Portuguese, Creolistics, Semantics.

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**Author(s):** Fernanda M. Ziober (Univ. of Amsterdam)

**Title:** *O português falado na Guiné-Bissau no início do século XXI*

A Guiné-Bissau é um país de aprox. 30 línguas mande e atlânticas (Ethnologue, 2016) também são faladas na região línguas europeias: o português, língua oficial e presente no oeste africano desde o fim do séc. XV, o francês, língua oficial dos países que fazem fronteira com a Guiné-Bissau, e o inglês. Entretanto, a língua franca do país e falada por 90% da população (III-RGPH, 2009) é o crioulo guineense de base lexical portuguesa. O crioulo guineense é uma língua relativamente nova com origem no fim do século XIV decorrente do contato entre os povos locais e os portugueses. Neste artigo fazemos um panorama da situação do português falado na Guiné-Bissau no início do século XXI e os impactos do português para a realidade sociolinguística no país, mais especificamente na capital Bissau.

DeCamp (1961) propôs que a situação sociolinguística de contato de línguas crioulas fosse representada em forma de continuum. Essa visão culminou tanto para um continuum dialetal quanto para um continuum multilíngue (Hellinger, 1998). No caso da Guiné-Bissau, essa representação teve foco no contexto sociolinguístico multilíngue expressando o prestígio das línguas em questão, indo da base do continuum, as línguas mande e atlânticas, passando pelo centro, variedades de crioulo, e chegando ao cume, o português lusitano (Couto, 1989; Couto e Embaló, 2010). Na perspectiva das variedades de português no mundo, Petter (2015) e Oliveira, Baio e Injai (2013) representam esse continuum a partir dos crioulos e variedades rurais de português até às variedades de português culto.

Os dados utilizados para análise foram observações de campo, trechos de conversa espontâneas em português, entrevistas sociolinguísticas e discursos políticos (coletados entre 2017 e 2019). Selecionamos a cidade de Bissau por concentrar a maioria absoluta dos falantes de português. Inspirados em trabalhos já citados e como os de ed. Hickey (2010) e Figueiredo (2010), analisamos o português falado na Guiné-Bissau segundo (a) tipo de aquisição e (b) situações sociais de uso do português. Assim, realizamos uma discussão relacionando os conceitos de: bilinguismo (eds. Bathia e Ritchie, 2012, eds. Kroll e De Groot, 2005), aquisição de língua segunda (eds. Doughty e Long, 2003; eds. Herschensohn e Young-Scholten, 2013) e língua estrangeira (eds. Knapp e Seidlhofer, 2009), aplicando estes ao caso da Guiné-Bissau.

Entre os resultados, encontramos características de fala dentro das variações dialetais do português em geral. Tais características podem ser consideradas tanto pela sua proximidade às variedades europeia ou brasileira, como às variedades de crioulo, e são

intensificadas pelas diferentes modalidades de uso de cada falantes e pela maneira como cada qual adquire a língua, compondo assim a realidade do português no mosaico sociolinguístico multilíngue da Guiné-Bissau.



<b>Author(s):</b>	Frans Hinskens (Meertens Institute) Cefas van Rossem (Meertens Institute)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Return to sender: the development of a polyvalent VIDC pronoun from the 18th until the 20th century</i>

In Hinskens & Van Rossem (1995) it was demonstrated how *sender* (originally a Westflemish 3PL subject pronoun) and phonetic variants (like *zinder*, *sinder*, *sen*, *se*) underwent polygrammaticalization in the early phases of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (VIDC, formerly Negerhollands). From indepth analyses of a series of consecutive VIDC renderings of the Gospel Harmony, translated between 1773 and 1795, it appeared that, apart from a subject and an oblique pronoun, *sender* and variants rapidly developed into a reflexive pronoun, possessive pronoun, relative pronoun and plural marker.

*Example*

En Godt a gie sender	Order na	Droom dat	sender no	a	sall
And God PST give them.O	orderin	dream that	they.S NEG	PST	FUT
draai sender weeraan	na	Herodes			
turn them.R again	to	Herodes			

‘And in their dreams, God told them not to return to Herodes (...)’ (Gospel Harmony 321, about 1780)

FUT: future,tense, NEG: negation, O: object/oblique, PST: past tense, R: reflexive, S: subject.

Yet, some 25 years later, the corpus Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts has grown. Not only does it contain more texts from the early stages of the language, between 1739 and 1773, but also from twentieth century sources.

In the newly studied eighteenth century material, for instance the earliest manuscript of a VIDC hymnbook (1749), we study the use of *sender* and related pronouns, like *sellie* (3pl), by the Danish and German missionary translators. Does this material also show the range of use, or a tendency for polygrammaticalization which was found in the 1780 texts in Hinskens & Van Rossem (1995)?

From 1995 on, also nineteenth and twentieth century material was made available for study. In the first place Sabino (2012) not only published an extensive VIDC wordlist, but also all of her recordings of the last native speaker of VIDC. De Josselins de Jong’s fieldwork notes

(1923) have meanwhile been studied more closely (for instance by Van Sluijs 2017) and new fieldwork notes by Nelson (1936) are made digitally available (Van Rossem 2017: 277-318).

In Hinskens & Van Rossem (1995: 86-87) it was suggested to extend future analyses to aspects such as:

- the distribution of variants of *die sender*, in which sender seemed to be added as a plural marker on the relative pronoun;
- more time depth. On the one hand more older material to get insight in the distribution in older stages;
- more and especially younger material to get understanding of phonetic/phonological variation;
- other lects than the missionary's.

In this talk we will present the first findings from our analyses of the phonological, morphological and syntactic evolution of this plural marker in the earliest sources, but especially in 19th and 20th documents from a range of sources, directed at a range of audiences. On the basis of the findings we will attempt to address the question whether the development of the VIDC speech community has led to focusing in the form and function of this element.

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**Author(s):** Hannah Davidson (Univ. of Oxford)

**Title:** *The development of future markers in Mauritian Creole*

Despite Creoles having relatively short histories, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century records of Mauritian Creole show that significant changes have taken place since this time. This paper investigates how Mauritian's future markers *pour* and *va* have developed since their first written attestations, tracking their diachronic evolution in parallel and providing a detailed historical account up to their current usage. This is based on corpora comprising 60 old texts (Baker & Fon Sing, 2007), 20<sup>th</sup> century collections of folktales (Le Juge de Segrais, 1976; Baker, 1972) and modern texts from websites (e.g. Lalit, 2018; Virahsawmy, 2018).

The most common assumption regarding these markers is that *pour* denotes a definite future, whilst *va* expresses an indefinite one (e.g. Baker, 1972:109; Adone, 1994:40). Whilst this distinction is adopted by many, there is little consensus as to what 'indefinite' means. A major contribution of this paper is therefore the quantification and clarification of this concept, by establishing characteristic features that constitute a canonical 'indefinite' future, following Corbett's (2003; 2007) canonical typology approach. This approach enables identification of criteria for prototypical (in)definite usage at different time periods and is adept at dealing with "gradient phenomena in a principled way" (Corbett, 2007:9).

Features considered in order to understand the distribution of *pour* and *va* across the centuries include information related to time (proximal, imminence, present relevance), the speaker (control, expectation, certainty), the agent (control, intention), the situation (probability, commissive, prediction) and to linguistic structure (subordinate clause, imperative, grammatical person). The paper establishes canonical features of *pour* or *va* at different time periods and interprets the results from a grammaticalisation perspective (Bybee et al., 1994; Syea & Baker, 1996). It is concluded that although 'indefinite' *va*-usage can be characterised over time by a loss of 'present relevance', increased occurrence with 'non-specific', 'non-proximal' temporal features and increased use in 'low probability' situations, the features which occur with *va* are not stable and are constantly evolving.

Finally, data collected via a questionnaire reveal the possible use of two further markers,  $\emptyset$  and *pe*, for future expression in specific contexts, and the extremely restricted use of *va*, which seems to have acquired a new obligation meaning for some speakers. It was hypothesised that *pour* and *va* would follow previously identified grammaticalisation paths, such as the one proposed in Bybee et al. (1994:279) for future development:

- o Futage 1: agent-oriented uses of obligation, desire, ability.

- o Futage 2: later agent-oriented uses of intention, root possibility and immediate future.
- o Futage 3: simple future as only use.
- o Futage 4: epistemic, speaker-oriented and subordinate uses.

Obligation is expected to occur in early stages (futage 1), so this late development (i.e. after reaching futage 4) of a new obligation meaning is unexpected.

Insights from participants illustrate widely differing assumptions about *va*'s status today and provide much scope for further research into its oral and written usage, especially as Mauritian Creole is beginning to be taught in schools and written down in a wider variety of contexts.

**Author(s):** Hugo Cardoso (Univ. of Lisbon)  
Patrícia Costa (Univ. of Lisbon)

**Title:** *Synchronic variation in Sri Lanka Portuguese personal pronouns*

Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP) has a fairly long history of documentation and, in recent times, has been the object of linguistic description, mostly by Ian Smith (1977, 1979, 2013), which has defined its essential grammatical characteristics. However, despite occasional remarks in these descriptive sources (see e.g. Smith 1979:213, 215-216), instances of variation within SLP have not been explored in much detail – potentially because, until recently, the available spoken data had been produced by relatively few speakers, mostly concentrated in the city of Batticaloa. However, an ongoing documentation project (Cardoso 2017; see also Cardoso, Radhakrishnan, Costa & Pereira, forthcoming) has now collected language samples from over 150 speakers in nearly 50 different locations (towns or town areas) scattered across 4 districts of Eastern Sri Lanka (Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Ampara, and Jaffna).

This wider and more varied corpus now reveals significant variation in several domains, be it between locations or within single regions. Some of the most salient instances of variation that emerge relate to the personal pronoun paradigm, which we explore in this study. In Smith’s description, the SLP paradigm has the following constitution:

	Nominative	Dative /Accusative	Genitive
1sg	<i>eev</i>	<u><i>parim/parmi</i></u>	<u><i>mīna</i></u>
2sg.nhon	<i>boos</i>	<i>boos-pa</i>	<i>Bosa</i>
3sg.m.nhon	<u><i>eli</i></u>	<u><i>eli-pa</i></u>	<u><i>eli-su</i></u>
3sg.f.nhon	<u><i>ela</i></u>	<u><i>ela-pa</i></u>	<u><i>ela-su</i></u>
3sg.hon	<u><i>osiir</i></u>	<u><i>osiir-pa</i></u>	<u><i>osiir-su</i></u>
1pl	<i>noos</i>	<i>noos-pa</i>	<i>Nossa</i>
2pl	<i>botus</i>	<i>botus-pa</i>	<i>botus-su</i>
3pl.m.nhon	<u><i>elis</i></u>	<u><i>elis-pa</i></u>	<u><i>elis-su</i></u>
3pl.m.nhon	<u><i>elas</i></u>	<u><i>elas-pa</i></u>	<u><i>elas-su</i></u>
3pl.hon	<u><i>etus</i></u>	<u><i>etus-pa</i></u>	<u><i>etus-su</i></u>

**Fig. 1.** SLP personal paradigm (adapted from Smith 2013:114)

However, our corpus provides alternative data concerning all of the forms underlined in Fig. 1. In some cases, variation concerns only the form of particular pronouns – such as e.g. in the case of *etus*, which we find to have a very frequent alternative form *etrus*. In other cases, however, it involves oppositions between monomorphemic (i.e. suppletive) and bimorphemic (i.e. analytic) forms for dative/accusative and genitive pronouns. One example concerns the

form of the 1sg genitive pronoun, which is often *minha* (or *mijna*, in Smith's orthography) but also, though less frequently, *eev-su* or *paami-su*. In this particular instance, we observe regional as well as generational variation, in that forms other than *minha* tend to cluster either in the production of speakers from the city of Jaffna or, elsewhere, in that of very young speakers. In this talk, such instances of variation within the SLP personal pronoun paradigm are explored, with a view to systematizing the sociolinguistic distribution of competing pronominal forms.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Jana Winkler (Univ. of Kiel)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>A closer look at the system of answers to polar questions in creole languages</i>

In my presentation, I will draw attention towards a part of grammar which has not yet been analysed in detail in the study of pidgin and creole languages:

Polar questions (or yes-no questions) are interrogative structures which generally require either a positive or a negative answer to their propositional content, i.e. confirmation or disconfirmation, respectively. The form of polar questions as well as the form of their answers varies cross-linguistically. Of specific interest to me is the fact that in order to confirm or disconfirm the propositional content of a negative polar question, languages differ with regard to the required polarity of the answer. Altogether, this opens up a broad field of possible variation on the following levels: types and marking strategies of the question (cf. e.g. Dryer 2013a, 2013b; König & Siemund 2007: 292-299), types and forms of the answers, and different answering systems (cf. e.g. Holmberg 2016).

Basic information about the form of polar questions is usually provided in written grammars on pidgin and creole languages and has also been covered by APiCS (cf. Haspelmath et al. 2013). However, these grammars seldom contain extensive treatments of the system of answers to polar questions and since the same can be said for APiCS, this is what I want to focus on.

(1) **Bislama** (Crowley 2004: 149)

*Bae yu kam long haos blong mifala? Yes (bae mi kam long haos blong yufala).*

'Will you come to our place? Yes (I will come to your place).'

Example (1) shows a positive polar question and an answer in Bislama. As can be seen, the form of the answer has the same form as the English lexifier *yes* (i.e. both languages employ particles). The underlying answering system, however, is fundamentally different. This can be observed in contexts where the answer is supposed to show agreement with the propositional content of a negative polar question, as it is the case in (2). In order to confirm the negative proposition, English would employ a form of the negative particle *no*, but in Bislama it is *yes* (i.e. the positive particle) again. In both cases, the answer confirms the proposition, i.e. that the speaker will not go to the party.

(2) **Bislama** (Crowley 2004: 149)

*Bae yu no kam long lafet? Yes (bae mi no kam long lafet).*

'Won't you come to the party? No (I won't come to the party).'

The answering system of Bislama is called a truth-based system, whereas English, like other European lexifier languages, employs a so-called polarity-based system (cf. Holmberg 2016). However, like some other European languages, such as German, Bislama has a specific particle *si* which is used to disconfirm the negative proposition (cf. Crowley 2004: 149).

With the intention to further any potential classification of these languages, I will present a systematic comparison of answers to polar questions across a balanced sample of pidgins and creoles and compare the results to the structures of their respective lexifiers as well as to their substrate languages (as far as possible).

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Jen Ting (National Taiwan Normal Univ.)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>On word internal code-switching and the FMC: evidence from Chinese-English code-switching</i>

It has long been a heated debate as to whether word-internal code-switching (CS henceforth) is possible. The classic Free Morpheme Constraint (FMC henceforth) in Poplack (1980) dictates that CS at the word-internal level is banned. This claim is questioned by many subsequent works based on different CS language pairs, such as Berk-Seligson (1986), Bokamba (1989), Myers-Scotton (1993), Halmari (1993), Redouane (2005), and Schindler et al. (2009). On the FMC approach, apparent word-internal CS can be accounted for under the nonce borrowing hypothesis advanced by Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan (1990), according to which lone other-language items can be borrowed from the donor language into the recipient language independently of frequency. The existence of nonce borrowings has nevertheless raised extensive discussion: While supported by Budzhak-Jones (1998), Eze (1998), Samar & Meechan (1998), among others, it is challenged by Stammers & Deuchar (2012) (cf. MacSwan 1999, 2000). In this paper, based on Chinese-English CS data, I argue that the FMC is still valid, but only for words generated in the lexicon, but not for those derived at other components such as the syntax proper or PF. I first show that a three-way distinction should be made among established borrowing, nonce borrowing, and code-switching. The existence of nonce borrowing is confirmed by CS sentences like (1), whose word order patterns like the recipient language rather than the donor language. Assuming that CS “requires access to the syntactic apparatus of both languages” (Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990, 72) (cf. the subcategorization requirements for CS in Betahila & Davies 1983) and that “nonce borrowings pattern exactly like their native counterparts in the (unmixed) recipient language” (Poplack & Meechan 1998, 137), I move on to argue for the true CS instances, exemplified by (2), where the lone other-language item retains the syntactic properties of the donor language and no counterpart can be found in the recipient language. Then, I argue that the other-language item in (2) forms a word with the aspect marker, thus posing a serious challenge for the FMC. By showing that code-switches in (2) are formed at PF but those in (3), in the lexicon, I argue that the FMC still holds for the latter cases. The findings of this study will be corroborated by experimental results.

- (1) Yizhi zhizhu yijing qiaoqiao-de zai wo-de beihou, dang wo zhuanshen-de  
 one.CL spider already quietly-DE at I-de back when 1 turn.around-DE  
 shihou, chadian he ta **kiss**.  
 time almost with it kiss. (Liu 2008)

- 'A spider stayed quietly behind me. When I turned around, I almost kissed it.'
- (2) Wo **email**-le yixie hospital-de **nursing sector**.  
 I email-ASP some hospital-DE nursing sector  
 'I emailed some hospitals' nursing sectors.' (Liu 2008)
- (3) a. \***read**-zhe (cf. du-zhe)  
 read-ZHE read-ZHE  
 'reader'
- b. \***modern**-hua (cf. xiandai-hua)  
 modern-HUA modern-HUA  
 'modernize'

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Joanna Nolan (Univ. of London)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Considered by many as the earliest European pidgin, is Lingua Franca a pidgin at all? If not, how can we describe and define it?</i>

Lingua Franca, the eponymous language, emerged and developed from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century along the Barbary Coast of North Africa. Lexified predominantly but not exclusively by Romance languages and dialects, its evolution from rudimentary dialect to a contact language used between European slaves and their Barbary masters, among political elites and in diplomatic circles, is well documented in contemporary sources.

Several linguists (Hall (1966), Whinnom (1977) and Selbach (2007, 2008)) consider Lingua Franca a pidgin. Notably, however, Schuchardt, the ‘father’ of pidgins, never used the term pidgin to describe the language. Yet, it fits many of the criteria established to categorise pidgins. It also fulfils the definition of a koine. Jargon, nautical jargon and foreigner talk might equally be used to describe Lingua Franca, particularly in its early stages before becoming more established in Barbary. L2 Italian could also describe many of the examples in Lingua Franca’s corpus, and corresponds to the majority, if not all, of the grammatical ‘rules’ identified by Bonaparte (1877) and Schuchardt (1909). Given that one of its key features was fluidity, I would argue that at different points in its existence, and perhaps in different places across its vast geographical expanse (ports across the Mediterranean, throughout the Levant and the Barbary Regencies), and particularly by different nationality witnesses it could have been classified as all these.

Perhaps the most relevant definition to describe Lingua Franca is a supposedly 21<sup>st</sup> century phenomenon, the *metrolingua franca* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), a term that describes languages that evolve out of the superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) of today’s metropolises, characterized by multiple lexifiers and with the flexibility to change register, style and lexicon as demanded by the situation. I would argue that such superdiversity is not only a 21<sup>st</sup> century phenomenon, but characterises exactly the linguistic situation of Barbary and was what promoted the evolution and establishment of Lingua Franca there.

Superdiversity is evidenced in individuals’ speech: their ‘very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differentially shared styles, registers and genres’ (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4-5). This would seem to be borne out by the corpus descriptions of the linguistic mix of Lingua Franca, the ‘semi-speaker’ notion apparent in the reported speech of the Lingua Franca corpus such as by the poet Byron, who declares himself

'tolerably fluent' (Byron 1922: 29), and - as identified by an English captive in Barbary, Okeley (1675: 13) among others - the challenges and necessity of learning Lingua Franca.

In terms of Lingua Franca itself, Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) adopt Walter's (1998:216) definition of a functional commercial language where every speaker believed they were using the other's language. Pennycook and Otsuji contrast this fluid emergent language with the more contemporary meaning of *lingua franca* as a deliberately acquired contact language (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015: 174). However, I do not think their neat distinction is correct. While many contemporary Romance speakers, especially those of Italian varieties, viewed Lingua Franca as a lexically and grammatically impoverished version of their own language, a fluid jargon, there are references by English and other Northern European authors to acquiring what they viewed as a more fixed language, perhaps even a pidgin. Lingua Franca was both a mixed, fluid jargon(s), influenced lexically by multiple languages and varieties, and/or a fixed contact language, depending on the linguistic repertoire and ability of its audience or speakers. Can we thus even state unequivocally that Lingua Franca was or was not a pidgin?

**Author(s):** Johan van der Auwera (Univ. of Antwerp)  
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**Title:** *On negative concord in Jamaican Creole*

Since Bickerton (1977) it has become commonplace that Creoles exhibit negative concord (NC). This is only partially true and when NC is not obligatory (not ‘strict’), there are various subtypes (Auwera 2017, Déprez & Henri eds 2018). This paper describes and partially explains variation in non-strict NC in Patwa (Jamaican Creole). The literature is scarce and so the analysis is based on a corpus of some 320.000 words and on native speaker intuitions of one of the authors. Glosses, source indicators and references are omitted.

1. In the spirit of the inventors of the term (Jespersen 1917 and Mathesius 1937) but in contrast to current work, NC is not restricted to doubling with negative indefinites as in (1), but includes doubling involving *niida* ‘neither’, *non at’aal* ‘not at all’, *no muo(r)*, on the one hand, and the privative preposition, on the other hand.

- (1) *Nobadi no* invait yu ‘Nobody invites you’
- (2) Mi *no* tingk yu nuo wa dem miin *niida* ‘I don’t think you know what they mean either’
- (3) [...] wan fount *widout no waata* ‘a fountain without water’

One parameter for NC, as in (2) to (3), is whether or not there is a non-negative alternative. With respect to *niida*, for instance, Patwa lacks a counterpart to *either*, and NC with *niida* is therefore very strict.

2. In sentences with a clausal negator and one negative indefinite the following claims/parameters are relevant: (i) the Negative First principle (Jespersen 1922), (ii) is the negative indefinite a negative pronoun or a negated noun? (iii) the phonetic similarity of positive and negative auxiliaries, (iv) the availability of polarity-neutral indefinites and (v) the status of the ‘never’ word, which in Patwa is a clausal negator like *no*. The first parameter is well known from the literature, the others much less or not at all, and neither is the interaction between them. We will explain (i) why NC ‘leaks’ with a preverbal position of the negative indefinite, and sentences such as (1) are attested without *no*, (ii) why NC allows a lot of NC-free construals if the indefinite is nominal – see (4) – but not when it is pronominal, (iii) why in a construal with *kyaahn* ‘cannot’, *kyan* ‘can’ is also allowed – see (5).

- (4) mi *no* si *nobadi*/\**sumadi*/\**enibadi* ‘I see nobody’  
↔ it *no* mek *no* sens / it *no* mek sens ‘I makes no sense’
- (5) *notn kyaahn*/*kyan* mek im tap lov wi ‘nothing can make him stop loving us’

3. It is very rare to see negative indefinites develop into negative polarity indefinites, but we find it in Patwa. *nobadi* etc. have developed ‘anybody’ uses, as in (6) and (7). Conversely, Patwa *enibadi* has a limited use: in particular, it cannot occur in the scope of negation. What allows this development, we claim, is the high degree of pronominal NC strictness.

- (6) ef *nobadi* tek it we fram dem, dem baal ‘if anybody takes it away from them, they cry’
- (7) it so aad fi figa out *notn* wen yai-waata a ron ‘it is so hard to figure out anything when you are crying’
- (8) \*mi *no* see *enibadi* ‘I don’t see anybody’

**Author(s):** Joseph Farquharson (Univ. of the West Indies)

**Title:** *Continuity in word formation: the case of Jamaican nominal suffix –i*

While many early descriptions ignore Creole morphology based on the belief that Creole languages have little or no morphology, there is a growing body of work (Braun 2009; Brousseau 2011; DeGraff 2001; Lefebvre 1998: 303-333; Farquharson 2007) that is revealing that Creoles have more morphological processes than previously thought.

Outside of reduplication, which has been covered quite comprehensively by Cassidy and Kouwenberg & LaCharité, very little work has been done on word-formation in Jamaican (cf. Farquharson 2007; 2012), and very little has been said about the presence of derivational processes that involve affixation. The current paper looks at one of several cases of affixational derivation, this one involving the nominalising suffix *–i* that creates hypocoristic words, e.g. *baas* > *baasi* 'boss'. It is based on a database of over 70 words created with the *–i* suffix. These words span several centuries and cut across registers.

On the surface, the word-formation process seems pretty straightforward; however, on closer inspection, there are interesting things happening on the phonological and lexico-semantic levels. Phonologically, there is a requirement for a monosyllabic base. Using Optimality Theory (McCarthy 2006; Xu 2011), the paper explores the patterns that arise when longer forms are clipped to provide suitable bases for the suffix. On the lexico-semantic side the suffix appears to create chiefly words that identify people based on occupation, and terms of address used among (young) men for the purpose of signalling affiliative bonds. Both the *–i* suffix and the word-formation process to which it is subject, are treated essentially as reflexes of similar phenomena in the lexifier. Through historical documentary work, an attempt is made to ascertain whether this process belongs to the earliest period of Jamaican or is a later adoption from English.



Author(s): Joseph Jean François Nunez (CNRS)

Title: *COMPARISON OF MINORITY AND EQUALITY IN CASAMANCE CREOLE*

Casamance Creole remains poorly described in spite of Bertrand-Bocandé (1849), Schuchardt (1888), Esvan (1922; 1951), Châtaignier (1963) Dalphinis (1981), Alkmim (1983), Doneux & Rougé (1988), Rougé (1985; 2010), Biagui (2012; 2018), Biagui & Quint (2013), Nunez (2015), Biagui, Nunez & Quint (forthcoming). Comparative constructions have been the subject of several studies that led to typological models (see Stassen (1985 and 2005), Cuzzolin & Lehmann (2004), Haspelmath and al. (2017)). Nevertheless, these models don't take into account Creole languages. In Casamance Creole, apart from Nunez (forthcoming), studies on comparison were not well detailed (see Doneux & Rougé (1988), Biagui (2012 and 2018) Biagui & Quint (2013)). These studies have focused much on comparison of majority, giving less importance to comparison of minority. The purpose of this paper is to provide a detailed description of different ways and means to express comparisons of minority and equality in Casamance Creole. While comparison of equality is generally expressed in Casamance Creole by *suma* (like) which comes from Portuguese *assim + coma* (thus + as), there are no specific morphological morpheme to express comparison of minority. Preliminary results of this study show that, to overcome this lack, Casamance Creole uses several strategies (e.g. 1a and b). 1.a *Jonj má Paulu bonitu John PRF.more Paul beautiful comparee degree marker standard paramètre John is more beautiful than Paul* 1.b *Paulu ka má Jonj bonitu Paul NEG PRF.more John beautiful comparee degree marker standard parameter Paul is less beautiful than John* (lit. Paul is not more beautiful like John) (PRF= perfective; NEG = negation) The comparison of minority (e.g. 1.b) is expressed from a comparison of majority sentence (e.g. 2.a). To carry out this process, the verbal negation marker *ka* is combined with the degree marker *má*. In this case, the comparee (*Jonj, John*) in 1a. becomes the standard of comparison in the comparison of minority sentence (e.g. 1.b) while the standard of comparison (*Paulu, Paul*) in 1a. becomes the comparee in the comparison of minority sentence (e.g. 1.b). This study provides, on the one hand, a detailed description of Casamance Creole minority and equality comparison strategies. This will help to understand strategies that speakers use to express comparison of minority and equality. On the other hand, this study constitutes a contribution to typological studies on comparisons specially minority and equality via an Afro-Portuguese Creole language.

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**Title:** *Hiperálçamento, Tópicos-Sujeito e Parâmetro Pro-Drop em variedades africanas e brasileiras do português*

Este trabalho aborda fatos sintáticos do português brasileiro e de variedades africanas do português, tendo como ponto de partida a seguinte questão: em que medida as marcas gramaticais emergentes em variedades africanas podem lançar luz sobre mudanças atestadas no português brasileiro, em particular aquelas relativas à posição de sujeito? O estudo se concentra na observação de dois padrões sentenciais que trazem um elemento “inusitado” em posição de sujeito, produzindo construções detectadas em variedades africanas (Angola e Moçambique) e brasileiras, mas agramaticais (ou, pelo menos, pouco usuais) no português europeu: (a) as construções de hiperálçamento – cf. 1 (Nunes & Martins 2010, entre outros) e (b) as construções de tópico-sujeito que apresentam um termo locativo ou possuidor (cf. 2) em concordância com o verbo (Pontes 1987; Galves 1998; Negrão 1999; Kato & Duarte 2003; Gonçalves 2010; Avelar & Galves 2011, 2014; entre outros).

(1) “Esses carros tão parecendo que o pneu (deles) não foi trocado.” (Avelar & Galves 2011)

(2) a. “Essas ruas passam muito carro.” (Avelar & Galves 2014)

b. “as minhas pernas racharam a pele.” (Pontes 1987)

Adotando a perspectiva da Teoria de Princípios e Parâmetros (Chomsky 1986), o trabalho argumenta que a existência desses dois padrões sentenciais em línguas Bantu e a sua ausência nas indo-europeias (Baker 2003, 2008) são um forte indicativo de que as dinâmicas de contato interlinguístico afetaram (no caso do Brasil) ou vem afetando (no caso da África) propriedades de natureza paramétrica relacionadas à posição de sujeito, especificamente no que tange a mudanças no estatuto pro-drop (Duarte 1995, Rodrigues 2002). O estudo também trata da questão sobre como o contato interlinguístico teria promovido as referidas inovações, considerando três possibilidades: (i) transferência de padrões estruturais próprios das línguas Bantu para novas variedades de português, (ii) inovação gramatical desencadeada pela dificuldade em adquirir certos traços da língua-alvo e (iii) nova deriva linguística, com direção diferente da românica (ou portuguesa), resultante das possibilidades em (i) e (ii).

A partir da análise de dados apresentados em diferentes estudos, o trabalho mostra que há elementos em favor das três frentes, o que pode significar que o estado atual do português brasileiro resulta de uma confluência de fatores relacionados tanto a contatos interlinguísticos quanto aos efeitos de uma nova deriva linguística em ação, responsável pela emergência de propriedades sem paralelo no português europeu e em outras línguas românicas.

**Author(s):** Kristoffer Boegh (Aarhus Univ.)

**Title:** *A descriptive profile of Saint Croix Creole English with a main focus on TMA features*

The description and analysis of as yet understudied Caribbean English-lexifier creoles is important in order to piece together a more complete picture of the evolution and diversification of the English language in the Atlantic region, and its creolization, and thus how they contribute to creolist theory. The Virgin Islands (geopolitically: the British and US Virgin Islands) form a comparatively neglected area of research from the perspective of Anglophone creole studies. In my talk, I will address this empirical gap by examining field recordings collected in Saint Croix, US Virgin Islands, whose English-derived creole is known locally as Crucian ('of Saint Croix'). The principal target of investigation is 'conservative' (in the sense of Winford 1993: 1) Crucian, which has as yet received very little attention in the creolist literature. In my presentation, I will survey morphosyntactic features in order to provide a profile of the variety's distinctive properties and parameters of variation, focusing especially on the domain of tense-mood-aspect. The findings reported are based on analysis of data from a large speaker sample (N=40), allowing for a view of cross-speaker variation as well as insights into some changes in progress.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Laura Álvarez (Stockholm Univ.)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>The 'creole' of São João da Chapada, Brazil: notes on the vocabulary of a lexically driven in-group code</i>

According to Machado Filho (1943), a Bantu-based creole language was spoken in Brazil: “[t]he Sanjoanense creole dialect has not disappeared completely. In isolated alluvial gold deposits, groups of Blacks speak and sing in the language of their ancestors. And, apparently, until recently, it was largely employed in the studied locality” (my translation, Machado Filho 1943: 114-116). The present study explores Machado Filho’s work, which focuses on mining communities and includes 65 songs and a glossary with 153 lexical entries registered in the 1920s in a rural region of Minas Gerais. Many of these words were extracted from the songs and classified as being specific to this supposed “creole language”. However, in light of the research that has been accomplished in pidgin and creoles studies from the 1980s onward, his glossary falls short of the linguistic evidence necessary for proving the existence of a creole. Yet, Machado’s statement can be related to the debates on the origins of innovative features in Brazilian Portuguese in comparison with European varieties, a discussion that has been marked by the polarization involving mainly two hypotheses. The first is the so-called “hypothesis of internal drift”, according to which changes attested in Brazil are solely derived from a natural evolution of European Portuguese (Naro & Scherre 2007). The second is the “contact hypothesis”, in which the role of African languages has received special attention, given that Africans and their descendants came to compose a significant part of the Brazilian population between the 17th and 19th centuries (Lucchesi et al. 2009).

This paper focuses on the registered vocabulary, possibly the remains of a mining language spoken by descendants of Africans. Limiting the analysis to the lexical items collected by Machado Filho in the district of São João da Chapada makes it possible to relate local demographic, historical, and linguistic data to shed light on the origins of the local African components. This limitation is also motivated by the interest in the social functions of this vocabulary, which can be related to the origins of its population, the sociocultural context, and the mining activities in the area. Based on earlier historical and lexical studies performed in the same region, as well as a number of dictionaries of relevant African languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu), the study offers an overview of the etymologies of 149 words and expressions, and discusses whether they fit the demographic data available on the origins of the slave population in this area (cf. Álvarez López, forthcoming; Simões 2014). The paper also gives a summary of the social functions and distribution of the lexical items in different semantic domains and word classes and compares the results with other mining languages

such as Fanakalo (Mesthrie 2006) and/or similar Afro-European and Afro-Brazilian Brazilian varieties (Álvarez López & Jon-And 2017; Bartens & Baker 2012; Byrd 2012; Petter 2013). The results indicate that this variety was not limited to mining activities, but was probably used in everyday life as a secret code, as part of the strategies of resistance among slaves. In sum, rather than a creole language, it appears to be the remains of an Umbundu lexically-based in-group code.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Laura Tramutoli (Univ. of Chieti-Pescara)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>The semantics behind the reanalysis of French articles in French-based creoles</i>

Several French-based Creoles display nouns that have originated from the reanalysis of the French noun phrase [article + noun] into a new monomorphemic lexeme, where the former article is agglutinated to the noun.

1) FRENCH	;	HAITIAN CREOLE
<i>la plage</i> 'the beach'		<i>laplaj</i> 'beach'
<i>l'injustice</i> 'the injustice'		<i>lenjistis</i> 'injustice'
		SEYCHELLE CREOLE
<i>de l'eau</i> '(some) water'		<i>dilo</i> 'water'
		GUADELOUPEAN CREOLE
<i>les enfants</i> 'the children'		<i>zanfan</i> 'child'

Although specific studies have covered the phonological and morphological aspects of these lexicalizations in Creoles, an extensive research on the semantics of the concerned nouns is missing.

In fact, most part of French nouns reanalysed in Creoles have a non-prototypical semantic profile, since their referents are mostly masses (*dilo*), abstract (*lenjistis*) or plural (*zanfan*) concepts and places (*laplaj*); all entities allowing a lower degree of specific reference in discourse than first-order entities (Lyons 1977).

Notably many languages have dedicated grammatical strategies to mark these nominals (Moltmann 2013). Jean Louis & Zribi-Hertz (2014) show that Martinican Creoles is provided with some cases of referential- non referential grammatical oppositions on nouns that are visible at a lexical and morphological level: the couple of variants *plaj/laplaj* occur when a specific/non-specific use of the noun 'beach' is made.

- 2) MARTINICAN CREOLE
- a. *Ni dé (\*la)plaj adan vil ta-a.*  
 ESIST. two beach in town this-DET.  
 'There are two beaches in town.'
- b. *Mari pa vini, i \*(la)plaj.*  
 Mari NEG. come 3SG beach  
 'Mari didn't come, she's at the beach'.

Using primary data on French-based Atlantic Creoles and secondary data on Pacific Creoles, I would like to:

1. enquire the number of grammatical resources of which these languages dispose to encode the above non-prototypical nominal semantics.
2. link these grammatical markings with the possible classification of the French article-incorporated nouns into semantically-motivated classes, looking furthermore into the substrate-languages' gender systems.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Magnus Fischer (Uinv. Bremen) Katrin Mutz (Univ. Bremen)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Language transmission in the Canadian diaspora? Haitian and Mauritian Creole in Montreal</i>

This communication wants to synthesize in a contrastive analysis the provisional results of two ongoing sociolinguistic studies examining the use and the transmission of both the Haitian and the Mauritian Creole languages in their diasporic situation in Montreal (Canada).

Situated at the crossroads of linguistics of migration (Stehl 2011), diasporic studies and creolistics, the sociolinguistic paper contributes to a field of study rather neglected in creole research until recently; only few works studying creole languages in a diasporic context exist: e.g. Hinrichs 2011, 2014 (Jamaican Creole in Toronto); Zéphir 2010 and Laforêt 2016 (Haitian Creole in the USA); Mutz 2017 (Haitian Creole in Montréal), Mutz/Patzelt 2018 (Haitian Creole in Guyana and Canada), Goodchild 2013 (Mauritian Creole in the UK).

The study, just like other comparable ones before, has been carried out in a plurilingual metropolis that apparently provides a good breeding ground for hybrid (linguistic) identities. The data presented has been compiled between 2014 and 2018 and consists of comparable sociolinguistic questionnaires and (follow up-)interviews revealing the attitudes of the Creole speakers towards their mother tongue and its actual use within the diasporic community.

Whereas transmission of the Haitian Creole from the first to the second generation – though not totally interrupted – tends to be limited (as previous studies have shown), certain discourse contexts or subjects still seem to favor the (co-) use of Creole, the Creole being an essential part of the Haitian identity. For the same reason, speakers of Mauritian Creole claim to (want to) pass on the language, but the actual number of speakers in the second generation indicates certain problems in the practical implementation of this intention. Since Creole is no longer their feel-good language, passive competences seem to be sufficient for them. The comparison of these two different French-based Creole languages thus shows that the language's status in the country of origin (H: official language since 1987, M: not an official language) and the actual size and homogeneity of the linguistic community (H: biggest immigrant group in Montreal with ~76,000/8.1%, M: rather small and heterogeneous group of maybe 6,000 persons, divided statistically into groups of different ancestry, cf. Statistics Canada 2016) is not as crucial for the vitality of the Creole language and its maintenance as one might think. Actually, the linguistic insecurity in both communities resulting from stigmatization of the Creole within the proper Creole-speaking society in the country of origin

seems to be a more essential factor. Within the framework of linguistic acculturation (cf. Gugenberger 2010), Creole speakers in Montreal correspond more to the linguistic assimilation type, probably because they interpret linguistic oscillation and insecurity as a condition to be avoided.

The contrastive paper contributes to a better understanding of the challenges Creole speakers have to face in diasporic contexts regarding their language uses and the transmission of the Creole.

**Author(s):** Maher Bahloul (American Univ. of Sharjah)

**Title:** *Pidgin NOT like other pidgins: the Emirati Pidgin Arabic revisited*

This is a sociolinguistic investigation of an emerging language in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). According to Smart (1990), this new language meets the requirement of a pidginized variety as described in the pidgin and creole literature. Within the UAE and the Gulf & Middle Eastern Regions in general, a new pidgin has been developing, which has attracted a number of well-established and young researchers such as Hussein (2012), Almoaily (2013), Avram (2014), Bizri (2014, 2018), Abed (2017) amongst several others. However, while some focus on the growth of this pidgin in Lebanon and Jordan, others examine it within such Gulf countries as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and Oman. Although there exist a few studies, Emirati Pidgin Arabic remains much less studied, and one of the main aims of this paper is to showcase the results of a sociolinguistic investigation relevant to this pidgin variety, a language that is widespread amongst native Emiratis and a wide spectrum of immigrants within a variety of sectors, especially the service industries (i.e. inner services inside homes, outer services outside homes). Labeled 'Emirati Pidgin Arabic', this language has not received enough attention by researchers within the growing field of pidginization and creolization. This paper is timely as the UAE has been on the international and global maps for the past two decades, thanks to its rapid demographic, economic, and development growth; however, its pidgin is to yet be studied and results are yet to be disseminated. Thus, initial results of a quantitative and a qualitative analysis will be shared with the audience and conflicting sociolinguistic attitudes will show the complexity of this pidgin variety.

**Author(s):** Márcia Oliveira (Univ. of São Paulo)  
Carlos Figueiredo (Univ. of Macau)  
Maria de Lurdes Zanolli (Univ. of São Paulo)  
Giovana Merighi de Andrade (Univ. of São Paulo)

**Title:** *A partícula ya: um traço discursivo do Alemão no Português falado no Libolo*

Estudos prosódico-pragmáticos sinalizando a presença do contato através de unidades lexicais que perdem semântica e são analisadas no conjunto da “enunciação” são raros. No caso do Libolo, Angola, colonos alemães, vindos da Namíbia, que deixou de ser colônia alemã em 1920, instalaram-se aí no início século XX (1921). Neste trabalho, seguimos o estudo inicial de Oliveira *et al* (2018) sobre “marcadores discursivos” no português do Libolo/Angola (PLB) que aponta a partícula **ya** como item difundido na região a partir da partícula alemã **ja**:

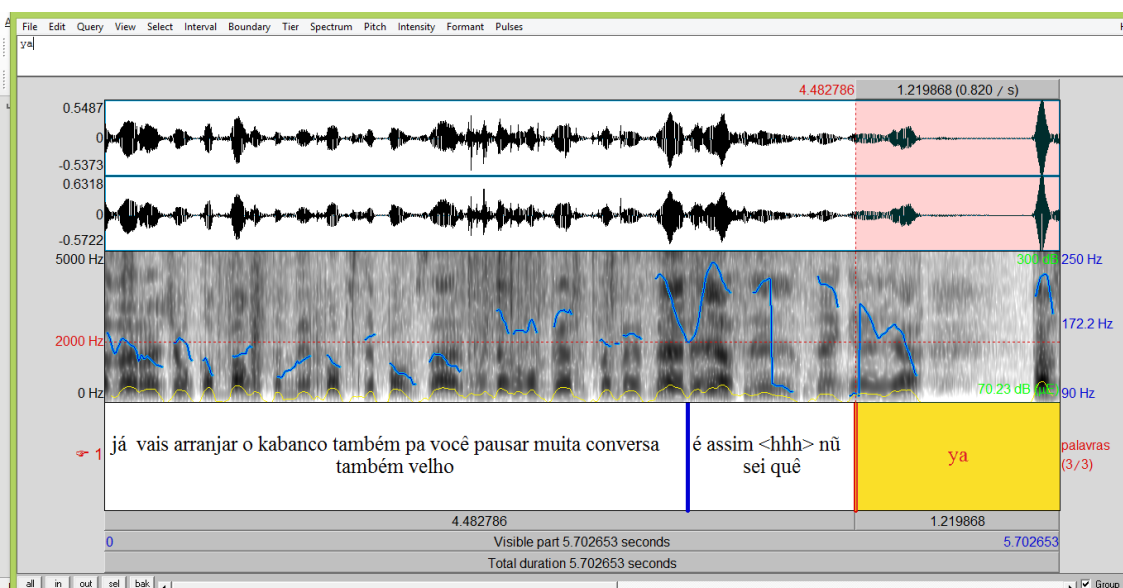
(1) RU: Fizeste as tarefas?

LA: **Ya**//COM

[Sim]

(2) FAL: já vais arranjar o kabanço também pa você pausar muita conversa também velho / é assim <hhh> nũ sei quê / **ya**//PHA

[Você vai então arranjar um banquinho para a gente manter descansadamente muita conversa velho / é assim <hhh> não sei quê / **ya**//]



**Fig. 1.** Imagem Praat da sentença (2)

No dado (1), atesta-se **ya** como um ato ilocucionário do tipo “comentário” (COM). Diferentemente, em (2) e Figura 1, **ya** é “marcador discursivo” (MD) do tipo fático” (PHA) para manter a comunicação aberta.

Este trabalho, que se insere no âmbito do “Projeto Libolo”, amplia a discussão de Oliveira *et al* (2018) e advoga que **ya** transitou, não da partícula **ja**, mas sim do advérbio alemão **ja** para o PTGL2 dos alemães do Libolo, depois para o PTGL2 dos seus serviços e, posteriormente, para o PLBL2/PLBL1.

No alemão, **ja** apenas ocorre em duas situações: polaridade afirmativa (3); partícula enfática (4):

(3) Contexto:

[Podemos encontrar-nos amanhã às 03:00h?]

**Ja**, ist gebongt.

[**Sim**, está combinado.]

(4) Das ist **ja** ekelig!

[Isso é mesmo nojento!]

Gerações bilíngues alemãs nascidas no Libolo usam **ja** no PLBL1, que grafamos como **ya**, podendo ocorrer em contextos que se distinguem do alemão (caso de (ii)):

(i) marcando polaridade afirmativa:

(5) FAL: Amanhã vamos almoçar no Vale Oeste?

KLN: **Ya**. Mas no sábado você jantas na minha casa [...] (MD)

(ii) como “marcador discursivo” (MD) do tipo fático”:

(6) KLN: Foram na fazenda e levaram tudo... **ya** [...] (MD)

Contudo, **ya** não configura ênfase no PLB como se atesta no alemão. No PLB, a ênfase dá-se com partículas como “mbora” (do português “embora” – exemplo (7)) ou “ainda”:

(7) \*Isso é **ya** nojento!

[Isso é **mbora** nojento!]

Este trabalho é parte de um estudo em andamento acerca de MDs no âmbito do “Projeto Libolo”, pois este tópico permite-nos evidenciar outros aspetos do contato linguístico.

**Author(s):** Marco Schaumloeffel (Univ. of the West Indies)

**Title:** *Syntactic Interferences of Portuguese in Brazilian Hunsrückisch*

Brazilian Hunsrückisch (HR) is the most widely spoken variety of German in Brazil. German immigration to Brazil started in 1824 and lasted for over a century. Today, it is estimated that there are between 1.2 million (Altenhofen 2017) and 3 million (Ethnologue 2018) native speakers of the Brazilian variety of Hunsrückisch. The almost 200-year-old contact situation with Brazilian Portuguese (PT) created a favourable environment for linguistic interferences (cf. Weinreich 1953; Juhász 1980) in both languages. As result, it is common to find grammatical, lexical and semantic interferences of PT in the varieties of HR (cf. Sambaquy-Wallner 1998; Altenhofen 1996; Damke 1997, among others). The focus of this paper is to verify the existence of syntactic interferences of PT in HR and to do an unprecedented analysis of these interferences in the HR variety spoken in the community of Boa Vista do Herval, also known as Speckhof in HR, located in the mountainous region of the Northeast of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Southern Brazil. Data collected from 36 speakers selected according to sociolinguistic criteria based on age, gender, level of schooling, religion and income were transcribed and analysed. The main syntactic interference found in the data examined in this paper is the calquing of the verb position from the PT syntactic structure, i.e., the change for some speakers in the position of the verb in HR from a typical HR behaviour, also in line with standard German, to a verb position typical for PT. Sentences presenting this change will be analysed, showing that there effectively are syntactic interferences of PT in the HR variety spoken in Speckhof.

**Author(s):** Marie-Eve Bouchard (Stockholm Univ.)

**Title:** *Singing in Creole or Portuguese? The symbolic meaning of languages in Santomean musical manifestations*

São Tomé and Príncipe is a former Portuguese colony and has Portuguese as its only official language since its independence in 1975. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a process of nativization of Portuguese related to the loss of proficiency in the three native creole languages of the islands (Forro, Angolar, and Lung'ie) and to a language shift from these creoles to Portuguese has been under way in the country. The native creoles are at different stages on the ethnolinguistic vitality scale: Forro is threatened, Angolar is vigorous, and Lung'ie is moribund (Simons & Fennig, 2018). In this Santomean context of language shift and (possible) loss, there are two opposite driving forces; on the one hand, language ideologies that belittle and denigrate the use of creole languages in favor of Portuguese, and on the other hand, the association of the creole languages to Santomean cultural and national identity. I suggest that the study of musical manifestations brings to the surface these contradictions, which may be less visible in other contexts. In this talk, I discuss the ways in which these opposite forces are embedded in singing practices and how they emerge in the discourse around musical expression.

Following Schneider, Sippola, and Levisen (2017:2), I consider language choices in music to mirror social and linguistic realities; these choices are “indexically related to the social discourses in which they emerge.” An ideological approach to Santomean musical expression gives access to beliefs that Santomeans hold about the languages of the islands and their speakers, and to the symbolic meaning of the languages singers choose to sing in. Studying language in and around music sheds light on local expressions of identity and authenticity, and on the discourses that shape them.

I aim to answer the following questions: (1) What language ideologies, explicit and implicit, are expressed in and around musical expression? (2) How are language ideologies interrelated with identity and authenticity, and how is this expressed through language choice in music? (3) What is the role of musicians in the valorization and maybe maintenance of the use of creoles in the Santomean society? By asking these questions, I aim to identify the ideologies behind the discourses on language choice, identity and authenticity, and understand the ways in which they work.

The analytical framework of this study focuses on three key terms and their intersections: language ideology, identity, and authenticity. Data comes from ethnographic

fieldwork and sociolinguistic interviews conducted with Santomeans in São Tomé and Príncipe (June 2015-March 2017), and in Portugal and the Netherlands (Winter 2018-2019).

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**Author(s):** Mário Pinharanda Nunes (Univ. of Macau)

**Title:** *Case marking of patient and recipient in Makista*

The current paper looks at the alignment marking of patient (P) and recipient (R) in noun phrases (NP), ie., direct object (accusative) and indirect object (dative), in typical mono- and ditransitive constructions, respectively. Earlier descriptions of Makista (Batalha 1974/1988; Barbosa 1968; Santos Ferreira 1996) deal with the morphosyntax composition of clauses, stressing on differences with the lexifier, such as gender and number marking (for the NP) in addition to TMA marking for the VP (ibid; Author et. al. 2004; Author 2012). Accordia (2018) touches on transitivity in Makista, but specifically operated by serial verb constructions.

In other APC (Asian Portuguese creoles), marking of P is highly restricted according to features as: [+/- animate] (Batavia and Korlai); [+/- specific], (Kristang). In these creoles, the accusative marker derives from the Portuguese 'com' (with), with variants as *kung* (Batavia), *ku* (Korlai and Kristang). But this is not transversal to all APC, as in Diu, where the marker is *pa /-pə*, from 'para' (to/for) or 'por' (by). The same two prepositions are to be found variably in APC. Likewise, the R argument markings in these APC present variation resulting from morphosyntactic restrictions.<sup>1</sup>

This study aims to answer the following questions:

- What is the role of the following variables in the marking of patient/recipient argument:
  - o [+/- animate patient];
  - o [+/- definite patient];
  - o verb class;
  - o transitive / ditransitive verb phrase;
  - o full NP / pronominal phrases?
  - o non-linguistic variables?

We cross-refer the data with APC and with the Cantonese adstrate. In the latter, transitivity is exclusively defined through word order (Matthews & Yip, 1996). The data was sorted by means of concordances in ANTCOnc (Anthony 2018) on 1010 relevant clauses.

Preliminary findings indicate that Makista applies patient and recipient markers for NP in transitive and ditransitive clauses similar to other APC, (ie. derived forms of 'para' / 'com'), but

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<sup>1</sup> <https://apics-online.info/parameters/57.chapter>

with less clear restrictions from [+/- animate] and [+/- definite] features of the patient and recipient. We foresee a possible diachronic shift in their use towards the lexifier between the written corpus and the oral acrolectal data, in the final analysis. The absence of marking does not correspond to calquing of the Cantonese word order.

**Author(s):** Mauro Fernández (Univ. of A Coruña)  
Eeva Sippola (Univ. of Helsinki)

**Title:** *Argumentos lingüísticos en torno a la cronología de la formación del chabacano*

En Fernández & Sippola (2017) se argumenta que la cristalización del chabacano como lengua comunitaria no se produjo antes de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII (*terminus post quem*), cuando estaba ya avanzado o concluido el proceso de cambio de las sibilantes del español, que dio lugar, entre otros resultados, a la transformación de la fricativa prepalatal [ʃ] en la fricativa velar [x]. El argumento se apoya en la inexistencia en chabacano de reflejos de la pronunciación prepalatal, a diferencia de lo que ocurre en los primeros préstamos del español al tagalo, p.ej. *sugal* < *xugar* [ʃuyár] ‘jugar’ o *sabon* < *xabon* [ʃaβón] ‘jabón’, etc. En estos, el antiguo sonido español [ʃ], inexistente en tagalo, se adaptó como [s], mientras que en los préstamos posteriores, el sonido [x] en español se adaptó como [h], como en *juga* [hugá] y *jabon* [habón] en chabacano. Este argumento es criticado por Parkvall & Jacobs (2018), quienes lo rechazan por tres razones: (i) la cronología de la velarización de [ʃ] estaba ya avanzada en la segunda mitad del siglo anterior (el XVI), según se fuentes secundarias que citan; (ii) el argumento es ahistórico, pues la prepalatal no dejó huellas en los préstamos del español a las lenguas amerindias, que entraron en contacto con el español antes que las filipinas; y (iii), la diferencia a este respecto entre el tagalo y el chabacano se debe a que los tagalos tomaron sus préstamos de los misioneros, más conservadores lingüísticamente, mientras que los criollizadores tomaron su léxico de los soldados, en quienes la pronunciación prepalatal habría desaparecido ya a fines del siglo XVI. En esta comunicación se defiende el argumento lingüístico de Fernández & Sippola (2017), discutiendo sucesivamente las tres razones en contra aportadas por Parkvall & Jacobs. Se muestra que las fuentes citadas no sostienen la crítica de Parkvall & Jacobs, que en las lenguas amerindias encontramos huellas de la prepalatal del español, y que la separación de las fuentes de los préstamos en misioneros frente a soldados y marineros parece poco probable, según la información histórica y lingüística que tenemos sobre las condiciones del surgimiento de las variedades de contacto filipinas. Adicionalmente, se añaden otros argumentos lingüísticos (ciertos pronombres personales, algunas piezas léxicas) que refuerzan la idea de que la cristalización del chabacano no se produjo antes de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII.

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Author(s): Mauro Fernández (Univ of A Coruña)  
Nancy Vázquez (Univ. of A Coruña)

Title: *Calas en la escena lingüística de la Bahía de Manila: 1620-1640*

En un artículo reciente, Parkvall & Jacobs (2018) han defendido la hipótesis de que todos los criollos filipinos procederían de uno inicial, forjado en los astilleros de Cavite en las primeras décadas del dominio colonial español. Según esa hipótesis, tal criollo se habría formado antes de 1640, *terminus ante quem* exigido por la presencia de unos pocos elementos léxicos que los autores consideran de origen portugués y que, según ellos, no podrían explicarse de otro modo. Ese criollo inicial se habría propagado después a otros lugares.

Los autores critican las hipótesis que proponen una formación posterior, en especial la expuesta en Fernández (2011, 2012, 2015) y Fernández & Sippola (2017), quienes sitúan el *terminus post quem* para la cristalización del criollo a mediados del siglo XVII, basándose en argumentos lingüísticos, y el *terminus ante quem* en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, basándose en un argumento *ex silentio*: solo a comienzos del siglo XIX aparecen los primeros testimonios de la existencia de una comunidad lingüística indígena cuya lengua habitual, intracomunitaria, era “un español muy corrompido cuyo frasisimo está enteramente sacado del idioma del país” (Martínez de Zúñiga ca. 1806).

Este último argumento *ex silentio* les parece a Parkvall & Jacobs especialmente irrisorio porque, según ellos, en ninguna de las áreas en las que se forjaron los criollos hay evidencia de nada. Y añaden: “If there had been plenty of 17th-century attestations of language use in the locations later known as Chavacano-speaking, and none of them mentioned anything that might be identified as Chavacano, the argument should be taken seriously”.

Eso es precisamente lo que le da valor al argumento *ex silentio* en el caso de Filipinas: existen muchas noticias acerca de qué se hablaba en las localidades relevantes (Manila, Cavite), y también sobre cómo funcionaba la comunicación interétnica. En este trabajo presentamos una pequeña muestra, formada por las noticias de contenido lingüístico relativas a Manila y Cavite, en algunas de las cartas que, obligatoriamente, enviaban cada año los jesuitas de Filipinas al superior general de Roma. Se han seleccionado algunas cartas del período 1620 – 1640, que es el tramo final del período formativo propuesto por Parkvall & Jacobs. Ninguna de estas noticias (ni las seleccionadas para este trabajo ni las demás) deja entrever la existencia de una comunidad que tuviese como lengua habitual algún tipo de español que pudiese ser interpretado como el chabacano. Por consiguiente, en las propias palabras de sus críticos, el argumento *ex silentio* “should be taken seriously”.

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**Author(s):** Miguel Gutiérrez Maté (Univ. of Augsburg)

**Title:** *Aspectualidad completiva en el criollo palenquero*

El hecho de que el criollo palenquero, así como la localidad donde se habla, San Basilio de Palenque (Colombia), haya recibido atención de la comunidad internacional en las últimas décadas y de que algunos elementos de la historia de Palenque (sobre todo, su vínculo histórico, lingüístico, antropológico y genético con la región bantuhablante del Mayombe: Schwegler 2016) y algunos aspectos estructurales del criollo (sobre todo, en los planos léxico-semántico y gramatical) hayan sido profusamente analizados no implica, lamentablemente, que estemos cerca de haber descrito satisfactoriamente esta lengua. Por ejemplo, respecto de los marcadores de tiempo/modo/aspecto (TMA), uno de los núcleos duros de estudio de todo criollo, comparto la opinión de Schwegler (2013, §6) cuando asegura que “the functional analysis of several of these markers continues to be poorly understood”. El presente trabajo contribuye a mejorar esta situación por medio de un análisis sincrónico de los usos del marcador de TMA *a* en palenquero, al que se añadirá, finalmente, una propuesta sobre su origen.

Se parte de la definición de Yves Moñino (vid. Maglia/Moñino 2015:83) de *a* como un marcador de aspecto completivo, el cual, en sus usos mejor representados, puede significar pasado, con verbos procesivos (*i a kumé aló* ‘comí arroz’), o presente, con verbos estativos (*i a ten ndo moná* ‘tengo dos hijos’). La ausencia de marcación (o *zero marking*) tiende a producir, si bien no con la misma sistematicidad, la lectura contraria: presente con verbos procesivos (aunque en este caso  $\emptyset$  alternaría con *asé*, TMA de valor ‘habitual’, y con *tá*, TMA de ‘progresivo’) y pasado con verbos estativos (aunque el uso de pasado perfectivo con estos verbos es relativamente raro en el discurso y el pasado durativo/imperfecto tiene su propia marca en palenquero por medio del sufijo *-ba*).

La diferente marcación de verbos procesivos y estativos no es, en absoluto, sorprendente, pero sí puede serlo, en perspectiva criollística, la distribución concreta de  $\emptyset$  vs. marcador explícito, ya que la gran mayoría de los criollos que marcan esta distinción aspectual tienden precisamente a la distribución contraria (el marcador TMA suele significar presente con verbos procesivos y pasado con estativos) (cf. Michaelis 2018). Dentro de las lenguas descritas para el APICS, la ‘anómala’ distribución hallada en palenquero solo se vuelve a encontrar en una *mixed language* (Ma’a Mbugu), la cual resulta de la superposición de léxico cushítico a un fondo gramatical bantú, y en otro criollo, el lingala, cuyas lenguas

contribuyentes son también del grupo bantú. Parece probable, pues, el condicionamiento gramatical bantú de la distribución aspectual observada en estas tres lenguas (un condicionamiento bantú que pierde importancia en la formación de los criollos atlánticos de base francesa, portuguesa o inglesa, cuyo sustrato fundamental es extra-bantú, generalmente africano occidental).

Dado que el sustrato del palenquero es concretamente kikongo (bantú H10-H16) (cf. Schwegler 2017), se atenderá en detalle a la marcación de aspecto completivo en esta lengua, que, con este valor, hace uso a menudo de un prefijo verbal *a-* (estudiado en detalle por Dom/DeSchryver/Bostoen 2018), fuente más probable del TMA *a* palenquero. Sin descartar la convergencia con el auxiliar de perfecto español *ha* (véase, no obstante, Gutiérrez Maté 2018:37 sobre el uso restringido de esta forma verbal en el español vernáculo caribeño del siglo XVII, época de formación del palenquero), el origen de *a* como una copia material del sustrato (con apenas mínima refuncionalización) recuerda al origen del pluralizador *ma* (a partir del prefijo de clase nominal 6 del kikongo: Moñino 2012) y al del pronombre clítico de primera persona *i* (a partir del prefijo verbal de primera persona *i-*: cf. Schwegler 2002)

Las alternancias entre *a* y  $\emptyset$  que parecen desviarse de la distribución expuesta arriba se explicarán, en gran parte, desde una categoría más amplia de “aspectualidad” para dar cuenta de la realización del rasgo /±completivo/. En este enfoque cognitivista (cf. Schmid 2014), los valores aspectuales (incluyendo el de compleción) dependen no solo de la *Aktionsart* (aspecto léxico) o de la conjugación verbal, sino también de otros elementos de la construcción sintáctica o incluso del discurso.

Como en trabajos anteriores, se utilizará el corpus de grabaciones de Schwegler realizadas en los años 80, así como mis propias entrevistas a ancianos palenqueros en 2017. Se evitarán muestras de entrevistas con hablantes jóvenes y de mediana edad, por ser éstos hablantes de *New Palenquero* (Lispki 2012), esto es, palenquero L2 (caracterizado por fenómenos de sobregeneralización de variantes, propios de toda L2, y por una marcada ideología lingüística que rechaza todo lo reconociblemente hispánico).

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**Title:** *Makee constructions in Chinese Pidgin English*

This paper examines the multifunctionality of *makee* in Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). As a verb, *makee* shows two uses: first it means ‘produce, earn’; second as a general activity verb in place of more specific meaning verbs. A second usage of *makee* appears in analytic causative constructions like (1). This function is attributed to the equivalent use of *make* in English *make* and *zing2/zou6* ‘make’ in Cantonese. (All examples are taken from Tong (1862))

(1) makee clean that wine glasse ‘clean this wine glass’

A more intriguing function of *makee* is found in cases where it is semantically bleached and is followed by a noun or a verb as in the examples (2) and (3) respectively.

(2) he hap makee shroff ten year ‘he has been a shroff for ten years’

(3) supposee you makee break you makee pay ‘if you break it you have to pay for it’

(4) two piecee man makee drinkee one glass wine makee talkee ‘and let us have a glass of wine and a little chatting’

In (2) the [*makee* N] construction is based on a usage of *zou6* meaning ‘to be, to serve as’ in Cantonese, which acts as a copula to link the subject and its complement. The occurrence of *makee* as shown in (3) is more frequently than (2). The [*makee* V] construction can carry modal meaning of obligation as indicated in the second part of (3). This is supported by the fact that modal function of *makee* has a directive overtone like (4). Cross-linguistically, it is common for modal auxiliaries expressing obligation to acquire future meaning (Heine & Kuteva 2002). This development seems to be also evident in *makee* which is often used in context where future time reference is implied. This development may also explain *makee* functioning like a clause linker with the second clause having a purposive meaning as in (5).

(5) take some money long you makee pay postage ‘take some money with you to pay postage’

The above examples show that *makee* has both lexical and grammatical functions. Lexically the main verb, causative and copulative function are attributed to corresponding ‘make’ verbs in English and/or Cantonese. For the grammatical functions, i.e. the [*makee* V] constructions, the occurrence of deontic and future meanings resemble a pattern available in many languages, but not in the ‘make’ verbs in English and Cantonese. Therefore, the acquisition of the grammatical functions of *makee* is argued to be a new innovation in CPE.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Natali Gomes de Almeida Santana (Univ. Federal of Bahia) Alan Baxter (Univ. of Saint Joseph)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Variation in dative structures in the Portuguese of two rural communities of São Tomé</i>

This study addresses variation in dative structures in two rural communities of São Tomé. The first, Monte Café, comprises Tongas, descendants of Umbundu speaking plantation workers (Rougé, 1992), and the second, Almozarife, is traditionally a creole speaking community (Figueiredo, 2010). Both communities display the pronominal construction with Dative Clitic (CCD) and two non-standard variants - Double Object Construction (COD) and Prepositional Dative Construction (CDP), as in these Almozarife examples:

1. Eu      vi      que      nō      ia me      dar      essa      vantagem  
1SG    see.PST COMP NEG    go.IPFV    give.INF DEM    advantage  
'I saw that he wasn't going to give me this advantage'
  
2. Tem      que      dá              seôr      purada  
3SG    COMP    give.INF    sir      beating  
'(he) has to give you a beating'
  
3. Dá           ajuda      pa      nós  
give.3SG    help      for      IPL  
'Help us"

Gonçalves (2010) found that in a corpus of urban São Tomé Portuguese, the relative distribution of dative variants was: CDP with preposition a (54%) > CDP with preposition para (23%) and COD (23%). CCD represented 67% of 3rd person datives. In CCDs, proclitic placement prevailed in matrix sentences containing negation and focal adverbs, and in subordinate sentences. Considering Gonçalves' findings, and the post-colonial spread of Tongas among the general population (Hagemeyer 2018), the place of dative variation in rural STP varieties in the configuration of urban STP warrants attention.

Our study adopts quantitative procedures (Labov, 2008; Lucchesi & Mello, 2009). Data from three generations from each community are analyzed by Goldvarb-X (Sankoff et al. 2005). We evaluate the conditioning of dative variation by (i) independent linguistic variables, including bitransitive structure, type of bitransitive verb, and attraction items (for CCD), and (ii) by independent extralinguistic variables, including gender, age-group and educational status. Preliminary results both differ from, and resemble, the findings of Gonçalves (2016). Thus, there is preference for non-standard structures, yet prevalence of COD over CDP, the latter

preferring preposition *para*. CCDs, a minority option, prefer proclitic placement. Extra-linguistic variables also condition the variation: men favour CCD, and generational and educational differences suggest changes, e.g. clitic acquisition. Our results reinforce the effect of linguistic contact in the constitution of the variation, and the relevance of rural STP micro-situations to the formation of urban STP.

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**Title:** *Reflexive constructions in Cape Verdean Portuguese: transfer or feature-reassembly?*

The study of the Cape Verdean Portuguese (CVP) is a relatively recent field of research but there are already a few attempts to describe the properties of this emerging variety of Portuguese (see Alexandre 2018; Alexandre & Gonçalves 2018, a.o.). However, there is still some lack of explanatory approaches to the nature of some structures of this young variety. Therefore, in this talk, we aim at analyzing reflexive constructions in CVP, which according to Alexandre & Gonçalves (2018: 250) exhibits “two distinct strategies (...): (i) a more common type that deletes (or does not select for) *se* [as in (1)], while the reflexive reading is preserved; and (ii) insertion of *se* [as in (2)]”.

Since, on the one hand, reflexive constructions in Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), the L1 of most speakers in Cape Verde, “can surface in two different forms: either [DP V] or [DP V<sub>POSS</sub> *kabesa*]” (Fiéis & Pratas 2007: 117), as in (3a and b), and “there is no *se*-type reflexivity morpheme available in the language” (ibid.), and the reflexive construction in European Portuguese (EP), on the other hand, displays a clitic pronoun *se* ‘SELF’ which is typically a direct or indirect object of the verb and is co-referent with the subject (4), our goal is twofold: (i) to present the distribution of reflexive constructions in CVP, and (ii) to discuss whether utterances like (1) are the output of (CVC L1) language transfer or (European Portuguese L2) feature reconfiguration.

Assuming the Lardiere’s (2008) ‘feature-assembly hypothesis’, we will argue that the nonoccurrence of the SE-type construction in CVP is the repercussion of the process in which grammatical features are combined and conditioned in a certain way in the L2 (EP) forcing the learners figuring out how to reconfigure features into different formal configurations.

**Data:**

(1) ... geralmente **baseamos**  $\emptyset$ <sub>[-nos]</sub> no português...

base.1pl    ourselves

‘Usually we base on Portuguese...’

(Lopes 2011: 40, Appendix 7, cited by Alexandre & Gonçalves 2018: 250)

(2) o pessoal, às vezes a gente não... não **se** **convive** muito bem.

SELF get along with

‘Sometimes we do not live well together.’

(Corpus VAPOR, cited by Alexandre & Gonçalves 2018: 250)

(3) a. Djon **perdi** Ø.

Djon lose

‘Djon got lost.’

b. Djon **mata** *si kabesa*.

Djon kill.PFV POSS.kabesa

‘John killed himself.’

(Fiéis & Pratas 2007: 119 and 117)

(4) A Joana<sub>i</sub> viu-**se**<sub>i</sub> (a si **própria**) ao espelho.

the Joana saw-SELF herself at.the mirror

‘Joana saw herself in the mirror.’

(Duarte 2013: 449)

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**Title:** *Onde<sub>[Rel]</sub> em PCV: contacto linguístico ou mudança interna?*

O Português de Cabo Verde (PCV) tem sido tomado como uma variedade nacional do Português falado naquele país que ainda não se autonomizou, mas em que se têm identificado algumas características que o afastam da variedade europeia (PE), que serve de referência (Peres & Mória 1995; Alexandre 2018; Alexandre & Gonçalves 2018; A. Lopes 2011; F. Lopes 2017; Veloso 2013, e.o.). Assim, nesta comunicação, é nosso objetivo (i) descrever os contextos de uso de construções relativas introduzidas por onde; (ii) comparar aquelas estruturas com as correspondentes em PE e Português brasileiro (PB); e (iii) argumentar a favor de uma tendência de mudança na formação de relativas introduzidas por ‘onde’ que decorre tanto de princípios de mudança interna à língua como do contacto linguístico em que esta variedade emergente se encontra.

Para atingirmos estes objetivos, basear-nos-emos em corpora de dados escritos e orais (e.g., A. Lopes 2011 e F. Lopes 2017, para o PCV; CETEMPúblico, para PE, e CETENFolha, para PB), como os exemplificados em (1)-(3), respetivamente.

(1) mas há momentos onde o português é mais a:: é mais... quase que eu diria que sai naturalmente... (PCV, A. Lopes 2011: Anexo 7, pp. 149)

(2) Mas numa sociedade onde o espectáculo conta cada vez mais, ideias como a de 14 polícias de Hong Kong parecem estar condenadas ao sucesso. (PE, CETEMPúblico, par=ext70746-soc-92b1)

(3) Já, uma sociedade heterônoma é uma sociedade onde todas as questões são fechadas. (PB, CETEMFolha, par=29274)

Apesar de haver evidências do contacto linguístico entre o Crioulo de Cabo Verde (CCV), língua materna da maioria da população de Cabo Verde, e o Português, língua oficial no país e aprendida em contexto formal a partir dos 6 anos de idade (4), concluiremos que as relativas introduzidas por onde em PCV seguem um padrão mais geral que corresponde ao PE e PB (cf. (1)) e que parece fazer deste morfema relativo um ‘relativizador universal locativo’.

(4) comunicar com as pessoas de forma aberta e à vontade, onde que[PE: onde / CCV: undi ki] todos possam compreender a sua mensagem... (PCV, adaptado de F. Lopes 2017: 118)

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Nicole Scott (The Mico Univ. College) Nadine Logan Ashley (The Mico Univ. College)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Exploring attitude-behaviour relations among vernacular creole speaking English and non-English majors</i>

This paper presents the findings of research into the relationship between attitude and behaviour in language. Attitude-behaviour relations have been the subject of much research in social psychology and sociolinguistics and several experiments have attempted to analyse the complex relationship (See Wicker 1969, Giles & Coupland 1991, Ladegaard 2000). This study uses the results of an attitude focus group discussion and an attitude questionnaire to discuss the relationship between vernacular Creole speakers' attitude to general education English courses at the university level and their performance in such courses by major. Breckler's (1984) Tripartite Model of Attitude – Cognition, Emotion and Behaviour - forms the theoretical framework.

Preliminary analysis of the linguistic behaviour of the informants support the hypothesis that on average, informants with positive attitudes perform better in general education English courses than those with less positive or even negative attitudes. Another hypothesis, that English Majors are likely to express more positive attitudes toward general education English courses than Non-English Majors was also confirmed. A third hypothesis, that there would be a positive correlation between major and good performance, was not supported; a chi-square analysis of performance by major showed that in the performance of the Non-English Majors, who generally possess less favourable attitudes toward general education English courses was better than English Majors, who generally possess favourable attitudes. The explanation for the latter result is found in the socio-economic value that Non-English Majors place on the courses. They have what Eastman (1983) calls Instrumental Attachment. Non-English majors used the courses as tools for accessing a better living by way of scholarships. This is contrasted with what Ciscel et al (2000, p. 49) refer to as Socio-personal/Sentimental attachment. The English Majors have sentimental attachment to English and by extension, general education English courses. The English Majors did not perform as well as the Non-English majors generally. This suggests that in the context of the university, instrumental attachment is more predictive of good performance than sentimental attachment.

The issues addressed in this paper illustrate the usefulness of attitudinal studies to language education policies and practices at the university level. It should also deepen the appreciation of the work of the linguist in society.

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**Author(s):** Nicholas Faraclas & other members of the Research Group on the Agency of Marginalize Peoples in the Emergence of the Atlantic Creoles (Univ. of Puerto Rico)

**Title:** *Sephardim, Maroons, the Dutch, and the Emergence of Papiamentu and the other Atlantic Creoles*

This presentation focuses on the socio-historical context of the emergence of Papiamentu and the other Atlantic Creoles, primarily by re-considering the role of African descended maroons, Sephardic descended renegades and the response of the Dutch to both renegades and maroons in forging the languages and cultures of the Afrio-Atlantic. The evidence that we present sheds light on some key issues concerning the emergence of Papiamentu, such as the debate about whether more weight should be given to Upper Guinea Island or Gulf of Guinea Island influence (Jacobs 2009 vs. Maurer 2009) and the debate concerning whether Papiamentu should be considered to be a Portuguese or a Spanish lexifier Creole (Martinus 2004 vs. Lipski 2005).

When Europeans tried to establish plantations on the West African mainland in the initial stages of their colonial enterprise, they failed because West Africans were reluctant to make land available for this purpose, and because the workers could easily commit *marronage* (A.R. Disney 2009: 60-61). For over three centuries, European settlement in West Africa was limited to renegades who integrated themselves into African communities, and many of these renegades were of Sephardic descent (Russel-Wood 1998:107-109). To help solve the problem of *marronage*, the Portuguese and Sephardim (among whom could be found wealthy Sephardic traders, Afro-Sephardic descendants of renegades, and Sephardic descended New Christians impressed into labor by the Inquisition) established sugar production on small islands in the Atlantic and off the coast of Africa, where it was easier to control enslaved workers.

Madeira thus became the world center for sugar production in the 1490s, but during the 1500s the center for world sugar production shifted to São Tomé, where maroons and the enslaved successfully disrupted most sugar production by the end of the century. The Portuguese and the Sephardim eventually moved the bulk of their sugar production to Brazil, where they were joined by the Dutch in the early 1600s. This encounter between the Sephardim and the Dutch had a major impact on how the colonial authorities would deal with renegades and *marronage* over the next few centuries. We argue that this response to renegades and maroons would form the basis of a major shift in European colonial policy and practice, which was initially led by the Dutch and then perfected by the English (Linebaugh and

Rediker 2000). We further contend that this shift was instrumental in the emergence of Papiamentu and the other Atlantic Creoles.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Paul Roberge (Univ. of North Carolina)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Baar, Oorlam, Bastaard: caste nomenclature in the Cape Dutch Vernacular and its reclamation</i>

In the diary of Jan van Riebeeck, the first commander of the Dutch outpost at the Cape of Good Hope (1652–1662), we encounter the term *Oranghlammen*, which is from Malay *orang lama datang* ‘a person who arrived a long time ago’ (*WNT*, 11.119), i.e., ‘a person who has long and wide experience’. The term originally applied to Dutch East India Company personnel returning from Asia to the Netherlands. In context the term is rather negative, referring to sailors “who are lawless fellows—without prejudice to the good ones and care neither for the devil nor his mother” (Van Riebeeck, *Daghregister*, 30 March 1654, 1.210). We also find in Van Riebeeck’s diary an opposing lexical item in the form of *Orenbare* < Malay *orang beharoe datang* ‘a person who has just arrived’ (*WNT*, 2.817), i.e., ‘an inexperienced person’. The term originally applied to Dutch East India Company personnel traveling to Asia for the first time. In Van Riebeeck’s diary, it occurs as an alias that the Dutch gave to one Beijmakoukoa-Danhou, one of a group of indigenous Khoekhoen who had caused trouble for the Dutch.

The haplogized forms *baar* (plural *baren*, adjective *baars*) and *oorlam* (plural *oorlammen*, *oorlams*, adjective *oorlams*) were current in seventeenth century colonial Dutch and were carried over into Euro-Cape Dutch. In the latter variety *baar* meant ‘unskilled, novice’ (humans) and ‘untrained, unbroken’ (animals). *Oorlam* took on the meaning of ‘shrewd, clever, cunning’. It was also used as a disparaging term for a “coloured servant whose laziness prompts him to a variety of scheming either to dodge or to scamp on his work” (Pettman 1913:349).

Both *baar* and *oorlam* were taken into the Cape Dutch Pidgin and continued in the creolized Cape Dutch Vernacular, where they exhibited noun-adjective multifunctionality. In the eighteenth century and probably earlier, *baar* designated a slave who was new to the Cape colony. *Oorlam* designated Khoekhoen who, as a result of long contact, were familiar with the customs of the Dutch colonists and could speak a recognizable form of their language, which is demonstrably the Cape Dutch Vernacular. By the end of the eighteenth century, extraterritorial

Khoekhoen who had been in the service of Europeans appropriated the term *oorlam* for themselves and led a roving life of raiding and resistance along the colonial frontier. Some of them settled in the Richtersveld, others in what is today Namibia.

*Baastard* designated offspring of mixed parentage, particularly European and Khoekhoe, but also slave and Khoekhoe. Baastards, who held a somewhat higher status within the labor caste, reclaimed the term and constructed for themselves a more acrolectal form of the Cape Dutch Vernacular.

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**Author(s):** Peter Bakker (Aarhus Univ.)

**Title:** *Creoles with a non-European lexifier: a structural survey*

Most creole languages have European lexifiers, and those get most attention in creole studies. According to some, these creoles show structural similarities with each other (most vocally discussed in McWhorter 2005, 2018 as well as Bakker et al. 2011, 2017). Others have pointed out, however, that such similarities could be due to the fact that all these creoles have an Indo-European lexifier and a Niger-Congo substrate, especially Kwa, Bantu and Atlantic.

There are, however, also creole languages that emerged in other contact situations which involved neither of these language stocks. In our presentation, we will survey other creoles, with other substrate languages and/or other lexifiers, and we discuss how they fit into the picture of more familiar creole languages. In this paper, we consider creoles to be languages that have inherited the lexicon from one specific other language (the lexifier) but not the grammatical system. New grammatical structures have developed which appear to display more similarities with other creole languages than with the lexifiers or with substrates (Blasi et al. 2017).

The creole languages to be discussed are two Arabic creoles, Kinubi and Juba Arabic, spoken in Kenya, Uganda and Sudan, which emerged in East Africa and which have been studied to a reasonable extent, and a number of other creoles elsewhere in the world. Further we will discuss Taiwan Creole Japanese (Japanese lexifier, Austronesian/Atayal substrate), Chinuk Wawa (Chinook lexifier, Northwest Coast substrate), Juba Arabic (Arabic lexifier, Nilo-Saharan substrate), Kinubi Arabic (Arabic lexifier, Adamawa, Nilotic and Kordofanian substrates), Sango (Ubangian lexifier, diverse substrates), Plains Indian Sign Language (unknown lexifier, diverse substrates). We will especially focus on proposed shared or universal properties for creoles, most of which have been proposed on the basis of creoles connected with European colonialism. This study contributes to the study of general properties of creole languages.

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**Author(s):** Peter Bakker (Aarhus Univ.)

**Title:** *Plains Indian Sign language: structure of a signed pidgincreole*

Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL) was in use as an intertribal contact language, and between Native Americans/Canadians and Europeans across the Plains. It is the only known signed pidgincreole of the world, and therefore important for generalizations across modalities, for pidgins, creoles and for languages in general.

Once known and used by many thousands of people, the language is now close to extinct.

Its origins are contested. Signed communication among Native Americans has been mentioned and documented from Texas to the Northwest coast, but it is not sure whether these always relate to PISL, or to a locally developed sign language. Several studies have been devoted to the history and development of PISL (e.g. West, Taylor, Wurtzburg & Campbell, Samarin, Davis).

Almost a dozen different and independent dictionaries of PISL have been compiled and published since the early 1800s. In contrast to the wealth of documentation of the lexicon, and studies of its origin, the structure of the language has never been investigated. Very little material is available for analysis. Amazingly, only a handful of short texts are available in PISL. In our paper we will present a new grammatical sketch of PISL, based on the few narrative texts existing in the language. The structure of PISL appears to have many aspects in common with spoken pidgin and creole languages. PISL is unusual, perhaps unique, among the sign languages of the world, especially those used by the Deaf. We will point to a number of structural features in which PISL differs from other sign languages. Several of these traits can be assigned to the pidgin/intertribal origin of the language. Other deviant traits of PISL can be explained by taking the interethnic character of the language into account.

The paper thus contributes to descriptive linguistics, sign language linguistics and pidgin/creole typology.

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**Author(s):** Peter Slomanson (Tampere Univ.)

**Title:** *Conservatism and convergence in Sri Lankan Portuguese negation*

Morphosyntactic retentions in what Bakker (2000) has called converted languages have been underdescribed, partly due to greater researcher interest in areal convergence and complexification in this class of languages. Sri Lankan Portuguese (SLP) and Sri Lankan Malay (SLM) share a number of features that neither language shares with its Sri Lankan model languages (varieties of Tamil and Sinhala), along with a much larger number of features that can be treated as areal. The former include pre-verbal functional markers, among which we find bound pre-verbal markers of negation. We also find dissimilarities that can be analyzed as conservative retentions.

Negation exceptionally displays marked differences within the Sri Lankan linguistic area. SLP and SLM also display dissimilarities from each other in that domain (Slomanson 2018), in ways that can be linked to a difference in lexical resources. This will explain a contrasting relationship to negative polarity constructions, where SLP exhibits greater internal variation.

SLM marks negative polarity on all quantified nominal constituents in the interpretive scope of a negation marker (such as *tara*), but has no negative concord, with all negative clauses involving one such negation marker, and no other (n-word) in the interpretive scope of negation. SLP conversely makes frequent use of negative concord, as do Portuguese varieties generally, including other Asian contact varieties. This conservative option is the source of the variation in SLP.

In SLM, each of the English sentences 'I saw no one', 'I did not see anyone' and non-standard 'I did not see no one' is only translatable as in (1).

- (1) SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Go atu=orang=ya=le tara-kutumung.*  
1s IND=person=ACC=NPI FIN.NEG-see

In negated contexts such as this one, *=le* has the sole function of marking negative polarity on indefinite nominal constituents. This marking is obligatory, as is the negation of the predicate. The scope of negation is the entire clause, and any *le*-marked nominal constituent is necessarily interpreted as a negative polarity item. For this grammatical property, the Malay lexifier and the Sri Lankan model languages are in alignment, in spite of their typological distance in other respects. SLP is not similarly dependent on this type of construction. The phrase *un-dia-tan* in (2) is one example of a lexicalized negative polarity item in SLP, however even this sentence can also be expressed as in (3).

(2) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Mary un-dia-tan brimai aros nukə-kummə.*  
 Mary NPI red rice NEG-eat  
 'Mary did/does/will not ever eat red rice.'

(3) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Mary brimai aros nadə nukə-kummə.*  
 Mary red rice never NEG-eat  
 'Mary will never eat red rice.'

In (4), we see constituent negation of a contrasting subject by an n-word. This does not involve negative concord, because the proposition in which the constituent negation is embedded is positive.

(4) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*John=nuwə, Mary brimai aros dzə-kummə.*  
 John=CNG Mary red rice PST-eat  
 'Not John, but Mary ate red rice.'

In (5), we see apparent negative concord with constituent negation of the subject, in addition to the lexicalized negative polarity item *un-dia-tan* ('ever') seen in (2). Here =*kum* is itself interpretable as a negative polarity marker, following an areal pattern (=le in SLM, =um in Tamil, =vat in Sinhala).

(5) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Mary=kum un-dia-tan brimai aros nukə-kummə.*  
 Mary-CNG NPI red rice NEG-eat  
 'Not (even) Mary ever eats red rice.'

The fact that SLP retains an inventory of n-words and makes frequent use of negative concord renders SLP conservative in this respect, since Tamil and Sinhala lack negative concord.

Ultimately, both converted languages retain a conservative negation strategy from their lexical source languages, negative concord in SLP and NPI-marking in SLM. The negative polarity-marking strategy however, variably employed in SLP, involves what can be interpreted as areal convergence on the part of that language.

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ACC	accusative
CNG	constituent negation
FIN	finite
IND	indefinite
NEG	negative
NPI	negative polarity item
PST	past

<b>Author(s):</b>	Philipp Krämer (Freie Univ. Berlin) Magdalena von Sicard (Univ. of Cologne)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Explaining creoles to tourists: language descriptions in travel guidebooks</i>

Many Creole-speaking countries and territories attract significant numbers of international travellers. For most tourists, travelling to these places is one of the very rare occasions to come into close contact with Creole languages. Though they will most likely communicate with locals in another language (English, French etc.) and not acquire any extensive knowledge of the Creole, they can form an idea of what these languages look and sound like. Even in the digital era, classical guidebooks are still one of the most important sources of information about local life, languages included. As far as research about the representation of cultures in guidebooks is available, it mostly takes a very broad perspective, e.g. when considering the effects of portraying ‘the other’ in a postcolonial framework (Caronan 2015; Rodrian 2011). We therefore want to specifically explore the way languages are presented.

In our paper, we analyse the descriptions of French-based Creole languages in guidebooks about destinations in the Caribbean (Guadeloupe, Martinique, West Indies in general) and in the Indian Ocean (Mauritius, Réunion, Seychelles). Our corpus comprises guidebooks published in the past 20 years in English, French, and German, targeting tourists from different backgrounds. Based on a qualitative analysis of the text excerpts, we hypothesize that the guidebooks share a set of metalinguistic notions that can be observed in general discourses - mainly outside academia - about Creoles and that partly connect to broader metacultural discourses in tourism communication (Baider / Burger / Goutsos 2004):

- **Mixedness:** The contact background of Creole languages becomes the defining property. European influences are specified in more detail while substrate influences are generalized as ‘African’.
- **Lexicocentricity:** Languages primarily consist of words, hence, Creole languages are described as languages with a ‘mixed’ vocabulary; other structures are marginal.
- **Aestheticization:** The properties of Creole languages are paraphrased in terms of sensory perceptions such as musicality or colours.
- **Exoticization:** Creoles are part of an ‘authentic’ experience of difference for the visitor, they contribute to marking the ‘otherness’ of the local population in contrast to the fact that many also speak the tourists’ home languages.

In our analysis, special attention will be given to the question whether or not the text excerpts draw on any scientific basis of description: In what way are insights and terminology from linguistics taken into account and popularized? Frequently, guidebooks refer to elements of emergence theories such as the foreigner talk hypothesis or relexification. Where the guidebooks do not draw on scientific knowledge, we assume that they perpetuate popular language attitudes and ideologies, some of which can be traced back to colonial discourses about Creole languages (see e.g. research on language attitudes in Guadeloupe and Martinique, Reutner 2005; in Mauritius, Tirvassen / Ramasawmy 2017; in Seychelles, Fleischmann 2008; see Krämer 2017 for a comparative perspective).

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**Author(s):** Rachel Selbach

**Title:** *On the history of the term pidgin*

I investigate the history of the terminology surrounding our concept of 'pidgin', and, concomitantly, the accompanying development of the concept itself. While it is rather well accepted that the origin of the generic term 'pidgin' derives from the Chinese Pidgin English pronunciation of 'business', we do not often stress that the founding fathers of creolistics did not take recourse to such a term.

The term 'pidgin' extended its meaning from the particular CPE variety to other parts of the Pacific (eg. MeP), before it became extended to having a generic meaning. This extension seems to have taken place in the mid-20th century.

Schuchardt therefore discussed under a variety of headers - 'Vermittlungssprache', 'Handelssprache', 'Verkehrssprache' - those contact languages that were, in his analysis, languages arrested on a lower level of development (Schuchardt 1909:443) and clearly distinct from the creoles which had often developed further into mother tongues (Schuchardt 1909:442). The implication looking backwards is that he knew of the concept, but lacked the term (eg. Holm 2000).

Undeniably, as pointed out by Meijer&Muysken (1977:30), Schuchardt's work thus foreshadowed the idea of the pidgin-to-creole life cycle. However, there is no reason to believe that Schuchardt would have subscribed to a single unitary type of language; in fact, the multiplicity of terms he uses should be seen as a reflection of the multiplicity of possible linguistic realities, rather than as Schuchardt grasping for terms for a single group set in opposition to 'creole'.

Indeed, it took over half a century for the modern dichotomy of Pidgin and Creole to be formulated (and then revised and revised again, without ever being quite discarded). Reinecke (1968 (1937)) proposes ten categories of 'marginal languages'; none of them are labelled 'pidgin'. Reinecke hesitantly though explicitly distances himself from that term in favour of 'trade jargon' (Reinecke 1968:82, footnote 3). The first uncommented usage of 'pidgin' as a generic term in print comes around in the mid-20th century with Hockett (1950), but groundbreaking and discipline setting was Hall's (1966) textbook *Pidgins and Creoles*. From then on, the idea of a fixed, unitary concept of a contact language standing in some opposition to creoles has been steadily projected into the past. This is for example apparent in the many miscitations of Jespersen's (1922) chapter *Pidgin and congeners*; a piece often cited

as *Pidgins and congeners* (eg. Holm 2000:36). There is a tendency to assume that *pidgin* is as old as *creole*, but it is in fact younger by centuries.

While some modern creolists aware of this time gap have assumed the undeniable existence of the sociolinguistic concept of pidgin that was in search for a proper label (Holm 2000, Meijer & Muysken 1977), I would like to examine, along with the adoption of the term *pidgin*, the (retrospective) embracing of the concept and its related conceptions of Pidgin-to-Creole, decreolization, etc.

When did this concept that is so notoriously blurry by nature, originate? Shall we really think of *pidgin* as a pristine entity with fuzzy borders that we have to try to continue to define, or can we consider that when coining the term, we led ourselves into a partial bind? 'Pidgin' may well have acquired its own rights to existence in our field, but perhaps it should not be considered an unshakeably aristotelian concept.

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**Author(s):** Raïssa Gillier (Univ. of Lisbon)

**Title:** *Ortografia e identidade em cabo-verdiano*

No contexto linguístico em que a oficialização da língua cabo-verdiana é meramente formal, cada um escreve segundo a sua ‘norma ortográfica’. Apesar de o Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita da Língua Cabo-verdiana (ALUPEC) ser um passo importante para a estandardização da ortografia, este tem merecido várias críticas por não ser representativo da identidade linguística de uma parte dos falantes. O ALUPEC, que assenta na conciliação dos modelos de alfabeto etimológico e fonológico, rege-se pelo princípio fonológico da relação biunívoca entre fonema e grafema. Contudo, tendo tido como referência a variedade dialetal falada em Santiago, a sua aplicação a outros dialetos revela-se insatisfatória. Alguns aspetos fonético-fonológicos característicos da variedade de São Vicente, como a eliminação de vogais átonas (‘dizer’ / ‘dzé’) (Carling, 2002), a iotização da africada /dj/ (‘pádja’ / ‘páia’) ou o apagamento de determinadas vogais átonas finais e posterior velarização da vogal tónica (‘gatu’ / ‘got’) (Swolkien, 2015), mostram que a correspondência de diferentes traços fonológicos na mesma palavra raramente é intuitiva. Assim, quem escreve em cabo-verdiano opta pela (orto)grafia que lhe parece certa para representar os sons de uma palavra, muitas vezes com a interferência da norma ortográfica portuguesa adquirida via ensino. Partindo de um corpus constituído com dados recolhidos nas redes sociais (blogs, Facebook, etc.), será interessante analisar os principais padrões da variação (orto)gráfica, sabendo que (i) os critérios fonológicos determinados no ALUPEC não contemplam as diferenças entre os vários dialetos, assim como não há motivação linguística para alguns dos critérios etimológicos adotados; (ii) a ortografia desempenha um papel importante na afirmação de identidade coletiva, enquanto código que veicula as especificidades do meio linguístico e sociocultural partilhadas por uma comunidade (Edwards, 2009; Jaffe et al., 2012). Considerando (i) e (ii), pode afirmar-se que a articulação entre os domínios fonológico/etimológico e a sua representação ortográfica não está bem estabelecida no ALUPEC, e que a resistência à adoção generalizada do ALUPEC deverá também estar relacionada com a desconsideração de fatores não linguísticos, como as questões identitárias, que muitas vezes são preponderantes na implementação de um sistema ortográfico (Sebba, 2007).

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Robert Borges (Uppsala Univ.) Margot van den Berg (Utrecht Univ.)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Language contact and language choice in parliamentary speech in Suriname</i>

In this paper, we will present preliminary results from a pilot study of language use in the Surinamese Parliament “De Nationale Assemblée” (DNA). As Suriname's main legislative body, the DNA meets frequently (multiple times per week) to conduct its business in public meetings. Public DNA meetings are audio video recorded and published on the body’s Youtube channel since 2011. To date, the DNA has published over one thousand recordings of their public meetings. Meetings follow a rather rigid set of rules for conduct (DNA 1990), and although there is no mention of language in the Reglement van Orde, Dutch is the default language of communication. The Dutch is of a regional character, and despite the formality of the meetings, members regularly switch to Sranan, the country's lingua franca, during these meetings. Occasionally other Surinamese languages, such as Ndyuka for example, are used.

Parliamentary debates contain impactful information and special, formalized and often persuasive and emotional language. They are therefore considered an important resource for many disciplines in digital humanities and social sciences. Corpora have been constructed from parliamentary debates, for example, within the EU (Fiser and Lenardic 2018) and utilized in e.g. in discourse analysis and sociolinguistics (Hirst et al. 2014; Rheault et al. 2016; Bayley 2004). In order to study language use in the DNA, we rely on a newly constructed corpus of spoken language data that has been extracted from recordings of the DNA’s public meetings.

Corpus construction has been automatized using an innovative combination of ELAN (Sloetjes & Wittenburg 2008) and its built in recognizers, elan2split (Cavar 2016), Python, and Google’s speech recognition API. Our corpus currently consists of approximately 7 hours of recorded DNA meetings. The uncorrected transcripts yeild ca 36,000 words / 5,700 utterances from 29 participants.

We will provide a brief overview of the corpus building methodology and discuss preliminary results of our investigation into:

- feature variation, focusing on auxiliaries, verb-preposition combinations, and the Dutch pronominal er;
- pragmatic aspects of language use such as persuasion and negotiation;
- language choice among Surinamese parliamentarians.

Our findings show that (a) the influence of Sranan on the Dutch morphosyntactic and discourse structure is pervasive among Parliamentarians' speech, despite the formality of the

setting, and that (b) language choice is agentive – the use of Sranan, as non-default language, carries added meaning when used in the DNA context. Thus, our findings contribute to a better understanding of the impact of language contact on Surinamese parliamentary language, an understudied language style, and Surinamese society as a whole. They further showcase the utility of parliamentary resources in linguistic research.

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**Author(s):** Rufino Alfredo (Univ. of Porto)

**Title:** *Semântica nominal: contributo dos determinantes para a construção das frases no Português Europeu e no Português de Moçambique*

O presente trabalho tem como objetivo geral estudar em que medida a presença ou ausência de artigos definidos (no singular e no plural) no Português de Moçambique pode contribuir para a análise semântica da frase e da forma como os nomes são conceptualizados. Especificamente vamos (i) identificar os contextos sintáticos/semânticos em que os artigos definidos (no singular e no plural) são realizados no PM, (ii) descrever semanticamente os contextos em que estes artigos definidos (no singular e no plural) ocorrem nos corpora do PM e (iii) comparar os contextos de realização e/ou ausência dos artigos definidos (no singular e no plural) do PM com os do PE e alguns casos do PB, tendo em conta a literatura consultada. O interesse pelo presente estudo justifica-se, por um lado, pela investigação linguística em particular na área de semântica. Por outro lado, a variedade moçambicana do Português tem sido objeto de estudos linguísticos, embora a maioria se concentre em aspetos relacionados com a aquisição de Língua Segunda (L2), em particular do Português, dado que muitos falantes não têm o Português como língua materna. Por outro ainda, há falta de estudos sistematizados sobre a semântica dos artigos definidos (no singular e no plural) no Português de Moçambique (PM). A presente pesquisa foi realizada na base de um corpus escrito (inquérito), constituído por duas tarefas, nomeadamente (i) uma tarefa de produção provocada (composições e preenchimento de espaços vazios em frases) e (ii) de juízos de aceitabilidade de (80) estudantes de cursos propedêuticos universitários da UP – Tete, falantes do português (L1 e L2) dos regimes laboral e pós-laboral (40 em cada regime), e outros dados extraídos do corpus escrito, presente na Cátedra da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM). Como hipótese da nossa investigação, assumimos que no PM parece haver uma indecisão relativa ao uso dos artigos definidos, influenciada pelo contexto sociolinguístico em que os informantes se encontram inseridos. Visto que: (i) a Língua Portuguesa (Língua oficial e de ensino em Moçambique) - é uma língua com artigos e (ii) as Línguas bantu, L1 da maioria dos falantes do PM, são línguas que não têm artigos.

Palavras-chave: artigos definidos em português, corpus escrito, análise semântica.

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**Author(s):** Rui Pereira (Univ. of Lisbon)

**Title:** *Sri Lanka Portuguese: a sociolinguistic perspective*

Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP) was born from the linguistic contact between Portuguese people and Sri Lankan natives at the time of the Portuguese Discoveries. “Ceylon” was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1505 and by 1617 all the island, except the highlands, were under Portuguese influence. Marriages between local women and Portuguese men were common: their offspring identified themselves as Portuguese and spoke a Portuguese-based creole language. Even after the Dutch and English domination, and after Sri Lanka became an independent country, the Burgher community, which descends from the Portuguese and the Dutch, continued to speak the language. Today, the Burgher community is an ethnic minority in Sri Lanka, greatly affected by 2009’s tsunami and the civil war, and, consequently, SLP’s vitality is in decline (Nordhoff, 2013). The 19th and early 20th century were rich in written documentation of the language, which include grammar compendiums, song records and other written texts by authors such as Berrenger (1811), Schuchardt (apud Jayasuriya, 1999), Dalgado (1900) and Smith (2016). After 1960 there was a resurgent interest in studies about this language. Currently, the project “Documentation of Sri Lanka Portuguese” (see Cardoso 2017) has been researching and documenting this language, which has been mostly isolated from Portugal since the 17th century. This paper reports on a sociolinguistic study of the Burgher population, which I have conducted as part of this project. Up until now, the characterisation of the vitality has been impressionistic since the data available focused on the Burgher population number, assuming that most of them were speakers of SLP. To gather data for this study, I have conducted a survey of the Burgher population in three districts of the Sri Lankan east coast (Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Ampara) aiming at obtaining data about the general demography of the community and the fluency levels and contexts of use of various languages, including Tamil, Sinhala, English and SLP. 3094 people have been surveyed, representing a large proportion of the Burgher community in Eastern Sri Lanka. The results present a very different scenario of language maintenance and shift across the various regions: numbers show that most of the Burgher population no longer has native fluency in SLP and that the transmission to younger speakers, although being uneven in the three districts surveyed, has been comprised, endangering the language’s vitality.

**Keywords:** Sri Lanka Portuguese, creole, endangered languages, sociolinguistics

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**Author(s):** Sarah Roberts (Univ. of Stanford)

**Title:** *Role of the Portuguese in creole formation in Hawai'i*

Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) emerged as a distinct language in the decades following 1876 when the massive migration of contact labor began (Reinecke 1969). At the time two different pidgins were spoken in the Hawaiian kingdom: Pidgin Hawaiian, the Polynesian-lexifier medium that facilitated interethnic communication on the sugar plantations, and Hawai'i Pidgin English (HPE), which prevailed in the towns and in contexts with close interaction with Anglophones (Roberts 2005). HPE at the time was largely shaped by 'worldwide' features (Baker & Huber 2001, Avram 2004) found in pidgins throughout the Pacific, as well as features from Chinese Pidgin English (CPE); it had few local innovations. HCE regularized grammatical features (such as past tense marker *been* and infinitive *for*) used occasionally in HPE and developed a whole suite of new 'endemic' features found nowhere else in the Pacific. Siegel (2000, 2008) found that these innovations reflect Hawaiian, Chinese, and Portuguese substrate influence. In contrast the Japanese language played a much smaller role though it came to be the ancestral language for half of Hawai'i's population.

This presentation will offer a systematic appraisal of the role of the Portuguese in the genesis of HCE. The Portuguese were not the most numerous linguistic group in plantation-era Hawai'i but they did make up more than half of the non-Hawaiian locally-born population by 1900. They also led in school enrollment, second only to native Hawaiians. They were also the fastest in shifting from their ancestral language. As early as the 1890s, observers described G2 (second generation) Portuguese children as dominant speakers of English with some degree of first language attrition. Since Portuguese immigrated with large families, many G1 immigrants were socially peers of G2 with similar linguistic experiences. The Portuguese were also the fastest to reach G3, the generation that nativizes the creole in L1 acquisition (Siegel 2008). About 10% of Portuguese born around 1910 were G3 and the proportion rose to nearly 50% by 1915; in contrast less than 10% of Japanese locally born were G3 as late as 1930. Hence there are strong sociohistorical reasons for suspecting that Hawaiian and Portuguese were the two chief substrate languages involved in innovation of endemic features.

Several endemic features will be examined closely, including the sentential complementizer *for* (e.g. *My mother tell for I stop home* 'My mother says I must stay home'), the locative-attributive copula *stay* (*Where John stay today?* 'Where is John today?' *This plant stay make* 'This plant is dead'), and the progressive *stay VERB-ing* (*This time he stay coming* 'He is coming now'). My analysis will draw on the 210,000-word CORDIAL-SIN corpus of Insular

Portuguese (the dialect that was native to immigrants to Hawai'i). Siegel (2000) found Portuguese models for these creole features but further research shows that Hawaiian influence often came first, with Portuguese playing a later reinforcing and restructuring role. This is clearest in the case of the sentential complementizer *for* which was first attested too early for Portuguese transfer and with properties closest to the Hawaiian model.

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**Title:** *RÓTICOS NO PORTUGUÊS DE MOÇAMBIQUE: NOVOS RESULTADOS*

Este trabalho dá continuidade a investigações sobre os róticos em variedades africanas do Português que têm levado em consideração a complexa situação multilíngue que caracteriza as áreas em que ocorrem.

No Português Europeu e no Português do Brasil, os fonemas róticos só se opõem quando intervocálicos (*coRo* x *coRRo*). Nas demais posições, eles se neutralizam, embora haja significativa variação de pronúncia: (a) nos contextos pré-vocálicos (i) inicial de vocábulo (*Real*), geralmente ocorrem variantes fricativas ou vibrantes; (ii) em onset complexo (*pRato*), o tepe é norma; (b) nos contextos pós-vocálicos – coda interna (*poRta*) e externa (*caloR*) –, podem ocorrer o tepe, fricativas, vibrantes, a aproximante retroflexa e o cancelamento, a depender da variedade nacional ou regional.

Em etapas anteriores da pesquisa, encontraram-se indícios que permitem formular a hipótese de que a oposição no contexto intervocálico possa não fazer parte do sistema fonológico do Português de Moçambique (PM) – objeto deste estudo – como consequência da situação de contato com línguas faladas nessas áreas, uma vez que algumas delas – como o Changana, que predomina em Maputo – só apresentam um rótico em seu sistema fonológico. No PM, o Português é L1 de apenas 10,7% da população e 42,9% declaram usá-la como L2, coexistindo com ele, aproximadamente, 26 línguas do grupo Banto (GONÇALVES, 2000).

As análises, norteadas pelos princípios da Teoria da Variação e Mudança (WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 1968), apoiam-se em amostras que contemplam os diferentes contextos pelos quais se distribuem os róticos e que foram organizadas com base em entrevistas com moçambicanos que falam o Português como L1 ou L2 e se distribuem por sexo, três faixas etárias e três níveis de escolaridade, considerando-se, ainda, a maior ou menor frequência de uso de outra(s) língua(s) pelos indivíduos.

Além de uma análise dos róticos em que se consideram falantes de Português L1 e L2 em separado, apresentam-se resultados, ainda inéditos, sobre o R em onset complexo e o R [+ant] em contexto intervocálico. Os resultados demonstram que, apesar de o tepe estar presente na fala de todos os indivíduos nos diferentes contextos investigados, nos contextos pré-vocálicos (como em *Real* e *coRRo*), ele predomina entre os utentes de Português L2 em detrimento da vibrante alveolar que, por sua vez, é mais frequente entre os que têm o

Português como L1. As análises demonstram, ainda, a relevância de variáveis sociais para a implementação das diferentes variantes.

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Stephanie Hackert (LMU, Munich) Catherine Laliberté (LMU, Munich)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>The Panama letters: a linguistic analysis of personal recollections of West Indian laborers in the construction of the Panama Canal</i>

The proposed paper introduces and critically evaluates a hitherto almost untapped data source for the study of earlier Caribbean English vernaculars: the “Panama letters,” i.e., a set of personal accounts written by West Indians about their experiences as part of the labor force that built the Panama Canal. These accounts were sent to the Isthmian Historical Society in 1963 as part of a contest for “the best true stories of life and work on the Isthmus of Panama during the construction years” (Isthmian Historical Society n.d.: 3), which had been advertised in newspapers all over the Anglophone Caribbean. In all, 115 entries (totalling ca. 85,000 words) reached the Society. Most letters were written by Barbadians and Jamaicans; the first prize went to a Bahamian.

It is widely acknowledged that personal letters “provide material for the study of language variation and change in the past” (Nevalainen 2007: 2); the occurrence of vernacular forms of language in such texts has been amply demonstrated (e.g., Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). Unfortunately, the social conditions that obtained in Caribbean plantation societies made writing by locals much less likely than in other colony types, and in fact, a few researchers (e.g., Migge & Mühleisen 2010: 224) have drawn attention to the overrepresentation of non-native authors compared to other world regions in collections of historical texts, such as they exist for Sranan, Jamaican, Trinidadian, Guyanese, Barbadian, and St. Kitts Creole. In view of this scarcity of data, the coming-to-light of a collection of historical letters written by a group of West Indian laborers coming close to the NORM stereotype must be described as a stroke of luck.

Following tried-and-tested assumptions underlying the historical reconstruction of African American Vernacular English (cf., e.g., Bailey et al. 1991; Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001), we may assume that the Panama letters reflect the state of Caribbean vernacular Englishes as they existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, and, in fact, the competition editor herself remarks in the preface that numerous “features of West Indian speech will be noted” (Isthmian Historical Society n.d.: 4). These features include not only the well-known inflectional variables of past marking, third-person singular, plural and possessive *-s*, zero copula, and *be*-leveling, but also phonological ones such as *h*-dropping. Focussing on *be*-leveling and copula variation, we will employ the methods of comparative-historical sociolinguistics (cf. Tagliamonte 2013) to argue for the reliability and validity of the Panama

letters as a data set and to probe into the roots of contemporary English vernaculars in the Caribbean.

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<b>Title:</b>	<i>Assessing morpho-syntactic variation in Naija (Nigerian Pidgin): a corpus driven study</i>

With its 75 million speakers, Naija (i.e. Nigerian Pidgin) is the most widely spoken language of Nigeria (Faraclas 1996, 2013). Having originally emerged in the Niger-Delta region, during the last decades Naija has gradually spread all across the country while developing a wide range of communicative functions. As a result of this geographical and functional expansion, Naija is affected by an increasing degree of individual variation. On the one hand, it is exposed to adstrate interference from a number of vernacular languages (e.g. Yoruba in the Southwest; Igbo in the Southeast; Hausa further North). On the other hand, Naija remains in close contact with English, the official language of Nigeria. Moreover, the ongoing process of nativization (i.e. first language acquisition) of Naija adds a further possible dimension of language change. Indeed, the complex sociolinguistic setting of Naija is similar to those of other pidgincreoles (e.g. Tok Pisin, Bislama) whose high degree of variation is contingent with the interplay between internal and external forces of language change. Previous variationist studies have already stressed the role played by adstrate languages in the organization of morphosyntactic variation in Naija (Tagliamonte et al. 1997), while others have disregarded creole-lexifier contact as a relevant factor of ongoing change (Deuber 2005, 2006). However, these studies have little demographic *representativeness* and cover only a few possible independent variables at play in Naija.

In view of the above, the present study aims at offering a corpus-driven multivariate analysis of morphosyntactic variation in Naija. Our analysis is based on NaijaSynCor (<http://naijasyncor.huma-num.fr/>), a deeply annotated 500K corpus representative of ~400 speakers differentiated by sex, age, education, geographic origin recorded in different communicative settings (narratives, spontaneous conversations, interviews, radio broadcasting). By using advanced statistical approaches (Dickson and Durantin 2019) to analyze the distribution of both morphological (e.g. forms of past and future markers) and syntactic (e.g. occurrence of existential and predicative copulas; see Mazzoli 2013 for the western urban Naija) competing variants within the corpus, we intend to explore the combination of relevant independent variables (i.e. bilingualism with vernacular languages, bilingualism with Nigerian English, nativization, urbanization) affecting the structures of the Nigerian pidgincreole. Above and beyond, the study seeks to answer the question whether a new “standard” variety of Naija emerges through the influence of prestigious registers used in formal communicative settings.

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**Author(s):** Susanne Michaelis (Leipzig Univ./Max Planck Institute)

**Title:** *Differential place marking in creole languages*

It seems to be a robust empirical observation that in locational constructions, different kinds of landmarks receive differently elaborated coding (e.g. Comrie 1986, Aristar 1997, Haspelmath 2019). In the examples (1)-(3) from French, the place name (*Place Vendôme*), the (typical landmark) inanimate common noun ('market'), and the human noun ('grandmother') are coded differently in that in (1) there is no allative marker, in (2) there is a shorter marker, and in (3) there is a longer marker:

Place name

(1) *Je vais ∅ Place Vendôme.*  
'I'm going to Place Vendôme.'

Inanimate common noun

(2) *Je vais **au** marché.*  
'I'm going to the market.'

Human noun

(3) *Je vais **chez** ma grand-mère.*  
'I'm going to my grandmother.'

Such coding patterns are not random, but can be subsumed under the following scale in that in a given language, human nouns tend to be coded with more (or at least the same amount of) linguistic material than inanimate common nouns, and place names tend to be coded with the least linguistic material (often zero):

Scale of differential place marking

(4) human nouns > inanimate common nouns > place names (Haspelmath 2019, Stolz et al. 2014)

That locational markers with human landmarks tend to be longest compared to inanimate nouns and place names can be seen as a functional response to the need to highlight rarer, less predictable constructions, because human nouns serve as landmarks least often, while place names are very often landmarks (with inanimate nouns being in between).

In this talk, I claim that data from high-contact languages, such as pidgins and creoles, support this universal generalization (see Michaelis & APiCS Consortium 2013), as illustrated by Seychelles Creole:

Place name

(5) *Apré ou 'n al ∅ Sent Ann.*  
then 2SG PRF go Saint Anne  
'Then you went to Sainte Anne.' (Michaelis & Rosalie 2013)

Inanimate common noun

(6) *Mon al **dan** bwa.*

1SG go in forest

'I go into the forest.' (ibid.)

Human noun

(7) (...) *mon al kot sa zonm la.*

(...) 1SG go at DEM man there

'(...) I went to this man.' (Bollée & Rosalie 1994: 152)

Other creole languages have similar patterns, always in line with the differential place marking scale. The following table shows the allative marking in some languages (even Tok Pisin, where all landmarks take the same marker *long*, is covered by the scale).

	Place name	Inanimate common noun	Human noun
Guadeloupean Creole	Ø	<i>anba</i>	<i>aka</i>
Hawai'i Creole	Ø	<i>tu</i>	<i>by</i>
Juba Arabic	Ø/ <i>fi</i>	Ø/ <i>fi/le</i>	<i>le</i>
Kriol	Ø	<i>la/langa</i>	<i>langa</i>
Tok Pisin	<i>long</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>long</i>

Interestingly, creoles tend to not continue the markers of their lexifiers, but instead they show freshly grammaticalized markers from lexical material of the lexifiers (Guad. *anba* < French *en bas* 'underneath', *aka(z)* < à (*la*) case 'at (home)'; Kriol *langa*, Tok Pisin *long* < English *along*). Despite of the considerable amount of restructuring and refunctionalization processes due to heavy language contact in the course of creolization, these relatively young languages support the universal trend of differential place marking.

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**Title:** *The word order typology of Indian Portuguese based Creoles*

Current substrate language theories hold that basic grammatical structures, such as word order, should come from the substrate languages (Velupillai 2015). According to the ApiCs the main word order structure for the Portuguese based Creoles (forthwith Pcs) of India is SVO for Diu-PC in Northwest India but mainly SOV in South India and Sri Lanka with Korlai-PC, which is SOV (2/3) and SVO (1/3), and Sri Lanka PC, which is completely SOV – the only Pcs that differ from all the other Cps in this trait. For the other PCs in Africa and Asia both substrate languages and lexifier Portuguese have SVO so it is no small wonder that they all take SVO. A strong substrate influence from Dravidian languages would explain the fact that Korlai and Sri Lanka CP are partly (Korlai) and entirely (Sri Lanka) SOV. Nevertheless, according to the WALS both the substrate language families to the Indian Pcs, the Indo-Aryan languages too, are SOV. Persian as possible high variety adstrate is SOV. In addition, the ancestor languages for the lexifier Portuguese (Latin) and the IndoAryan languages (Sanskrit) and older forms of the Dravidian languages are all considered to be SOV. Only the lexifier language Portuguese itself is SVO.

So why does especially Diu-PC turn out SVO, when all the influencing languages are SOV except the lexifier Portuguese? And why is Korlai PC partly SVO? Are these developments dependent on language contact or system inherent? Or is their source an entirely different one?

By taking a closer look at the Indian substrate languages and the PCs themselves I will try to find an explanation for the word order structures in the Indian PCs. Taking into account the importance of multicausal explanations in language contact, in which factors such as substrate influence, multilingual and specific sociocultural space and historical language development play into the typological description, this case might best be solved by questioning the typological classification of the Indo-Portuguese language of Diu, as Cardoso (2009) calls it, as a Creole rather than challenge the substrate theory in Creole word order. This work aims at delivering more details on the historical development of word order typology in Indian PCs and their source languages, taking into account indepth analyses of the languages in question, such as Ledgeway (2012), Cardoso (2009), Clements (2007, 1996), Clements/Koontz-Garboden (2002), Smith (1979 a&b), Dalgado (1900) and Schuchardt (1883).

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**Title:** *Investigating tone in spoken corpus of Cameroon Pidgin English*

Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) is an expanded pidgin/creole spoken by around 11 million people, often alongside the prestige languages French and English and a variety of indigenous languages (Lewis et al. 2016). Following the publication of the first grammar of CPE (Ayafor and Green 2017), this paper explores the use of tone in a sample of 15 CPE speakers from the larger corpus, balanced for sex, age, geographic locations, professions, educational and linguistic backgrounds.

The existing literature on tone in West African Pidgin Englishes (WAPE) is patchy in terms of description and inconsistent in terms of findings. While Maurer et al (2013) describe CPE as having a reduced system, and Mbassi-Manga (1973) and Simo Bobda (1992) consider this to be a simple high-low distinction, more recent research by Nkengasong (2016) describes three tones in CPE. Our study provides evidence supporting the latter description by Nkengasong (2016) that CPE is a tone language with three levels (low, mid and high).

Adopting Dwyer's (1966) assumption that CPE tone consists of pitch and stress, we employ acoustic analysis (Coupe 2014) to investigate tone in a selection of the most common monosyllabic, disyllabic and multisyllabic words in our corpus, spanning different parts of speech. In line with other WAPEs, the results show tone differences between lexical and grammatical words, and according to a range of contexts such as syntactic position and morphological function.

For example:

*go* as a verb = 'góe' (High tone)

*go* as a future tense marker = 'gòe' (Low tone)

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**Title:** *Possession and location in urban Angolan Portuguese*

Most descriptions of spoken Angolan Portuguese (AP) show or emphasize a tendency toward a generalized use of preposition *em* ‘in’ marking Goals, Locatives and Recipients (e.g. Chavagne 2005; Miguel 2003; Mingas 2000), which contrasts with the standard use of other prepositional elements, in particular dative and directional *a*, in the European variety. In this talk we aim to provide a preliminary description and analysis of the observed patterns in the L1/L2 variety of the capital Luanda, based on published and new spoken data, and discuss two sets of putatively underlying and possibly converging factors, namely the role of contact-induced change, in particular through Bantu language Kimbundu (KB), and the role of Universal Grammar in the restructuring of syntactic and semantic features in a setting of historical language shift and nativization of Portuguese.

Contact with Bantu languages has been argued to play a major role with respect to dative double object, locative, and directional constructions in a similar setting, namely (urban) Mozambican Portuguese (e.g. Gonçalves 1990, 2010; Gonçalves & Chimbutane 2007). We will therefore explore the hypothesis that the widespread use of *em* across several constructions in urban AP is driven by (i) a general abandonment of highly functional, and semantically opaque *a*, in a setting of SLA, which also characterizes other varieties of Portuguese and Atlantic Portuguese-related creoles, and by (ii) historical contact with KB, a language which is gradually being replaced by Portuguese, in particular in the urban setting of Luanda.

To test our hypothesis, we are particularly interested in the fine-grained properties of KB locative class marker *ku*, which will be shown to select the same range of semantic roles as AP *em*, but whose properties have only been superficially mentioned or described in the literature (e.g. Chatelain 1888-1889; Mingas 2000). First, we will discuss the morphological status (free or bound) of *ku* and compare its agreement and pronominalization patterns with AP constituents headed by *em*. Second, we will assess the syntactic and semantic properties of *em/ku* with respect to the distinction between core and non-core dative verbs (RappaportHovav & Levin 2008) and (sub)types of directed motion verbs (e.g. Goal vs. Source). Third, we will discuss whether a reflex of KB animacy-based differential object marking can be found in AP.

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**Title:** *The Gulf of Guinea creoles from a Macro-Sudan belt perspective*

The investigation of large scale areal patterns in Africa has conventionally been applied to indigenous languages of the continent. This also holds for what has been identified as the Macro-Sudan belt (Güldemann 2003, 2008, 2010) and the Sudanic belt (Clements and Rialland 2008). At the same time, it is a well-known fact that several newly emerged languages, notably Atlantic creoles of the Circum-Caribbean and the wider West African littoral, share a number of typological features with the Macro-Sudan languages, which has led some scholars to entertain the idea of large linguistic areas straddling the Atlantic ocean (cf. Muysken's (2008: 11-20) Cross-Atlantic area and Güldemann's (2009) Caribbean-West African area).

In this talk we will discuss the four Portuguese-related Gulf of Guinea creoles, which form a small language family that is argued to go back to a founder creole that arose on São Tomé at the end of the 15th century (Ferraz 1979; Hagemeijer 2011). The major scenario for the emergence of this proto-creole is incomplete language shift on the part of the first slaves coming from a geographically circumscribed area in the Niger River delta around the old Benin kingdom, in particular Edo(id) speakers, towards the target language Portuguese, whereby the socially restricted second-language acquisition caused exceptionally strong substrate interference.

We compare the modern typological profile of the Gulf of Guinea creoles with a dozen of phonological and syntactic features claimed to characterize the Macro-Sudan belt in order to determine whether, or better, to what extent they can be viewed as belonging to this macro-area. Our methodology relies on the reconstruction of features to the level of the proto-Gulf of Guinea creole by comparing the modern languages, since it has been previously established that reconstructed proto-features that spread to the four creoles are typically related to the Niger delta languages and the habitation stage on São Tomé (Hagemeijer 2011; Hagemeijer & Ogie 2011), whereas Bantu-related lexical and grammatical features (e.g. Ferraz 1979; Lorenzino 1998; Maurer 1992) appear to be the result of secondary contact that impacted the GGCs during the plantation stage (e.g. Güldemann & Hagemeijer *forthc.*). Since the social and contact history of these creoles can be reconstructed to a significant extent, this case helps to shed light on the diachronic mechanisms which may have led to the observed geographic and genealogical distribution of the structural properties of linguistic macro-areas in general and the Macro-Sudan belt in particular.

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**Author(s):** Tonjes Veenstra (Leibniz-ZAS)

**Title:** *On preserving biocultural diversity in post-colonial societies*

The Amazon region is a special area as it has harbours not only the greatest biological diversity but also constitutes one of the most diversified linguistic areas (Aikhenvald 2015). At the same time both are under serious threat, due to deforestation and monocultural farming. Forest clearing and disturbance in the Brazilian Amazon have a devastating effect on the biological diversity (Ochoa-Quintero et al 2015) as well as a major impact on climate change. The setup of big plantation-like businesses leads to social disruption and weakening the position of indigenous and post-colonial communities in the region. Small farming techniques on the other hand have a positive effect on both the biological and linguistic diversity, as it strengthens the linguistic and cultural viability of these communities preventing en mass language shift, in addition to protecting the biological diversity of the forest (Blackman et al 2017). In this paper we discuss a social project in Brazil that was directed towards enhancing the transmission of cultural heritage between different generations in eighty Quilombolas communities, which are maroon societies established during the colonial period by run-away slaves of African descent, in the following states of the Brazilian Amazon: Para, Amapá, Tocantins and Maranhao. The main idea behind the project was to strengthen the communities in their struggle for attaining formal legal title to their lands to slow tropical forest destruction as well as their cultural viability. This was done by having young adolescents interview the older generation on a variety of topics, including their oral history and traditional ways of cultivating their lands. The interviews were all recorded on video. Due to the fact that the interlocutors were all from the local communities, the recordings also document the local linguistic repertoires of the different Quilombolas communities without possible interference from (more) standard varieties of Brazilian Portuguese. As such, they give us a new and unique glimpse of the rich tapestry of Afro-Brazilian language varieties in the Amazon region, still a rather neglected area (cf. Mufwene 2014, Lucchesi et al 2016, Alvarez Lopez et al 2018).

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<b>Author(s):</b>	Wafi Alshammari (Univ. of Ha'il)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>The Creation of the Cardinal Numeral System and Accommodation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic</i>

Gulf Pidgin Arabic (GPA) is a recently evolved Arabic-based pidgin in Arab-Gulf countries among foreign workers (FWs) who mostly come from South Asia and between FWs and native Saudi Arabic speakers (Ss). The target offered by Ss is a reduced version of their spoken variety (foreigner talk). I examine gender agreement between the cardinal numeral and the noun it quantifies, number agreement, and word order GPA.

Various cognitive factors have been proposed to underlie community-wide solutions of linguistic forms restructured in a heterogeneous speech community, such factors include markedness, frequency, semantic transparency, salience, substratal influence, typological fit, pattern regularization, and others (Bybee, 1985; Clements, 2014; McWhorter, 2005; Mufwene, 1990, 1996). Under the “feature pool” model (Mufwene, 2001) and “mutual linguistic accommodation” (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), I propose that the restructured cardinal numeral system of GPA can be largely predicted based on cognitive and social factors.

In the lexifier of GPA (dialectal Arabic), nouns and adjectives are inflected for gender, and number (Holes, 1990; Ryding, 2005). Additionally, incongruent gender agreement between cardinal numerals and the nouns they quantify is one of the complex linguistic phenomena in Semitic languages (Bloch, 1971; Bolozky and Haydar, 1986; Elsaadany, 2007). However, this “agreement mismatches” have been neutralized in both Modern Hebrew and dialectal Arabic (Al-Wer, 2007; Gonen and Rubinstein, 2015; Holes, 2006). A notable feature of pidgins, however, is lack of grammatical complexity (Crowley, 2008; Siegel, 2008). Gender and number markers, if found, seem to be reduced or fossilized (Mufwene, 1997; Siegel, 2008; Voort, 1994).

Furthermore, research on child and adult language acquisition, interlanguage, as well as other contact and restructured varieties highlight the notion of pattern regularization (Daana, 2012; Jourdan, 2009; Newport, 1999; Winford, 2003).

Data for this study was elicited from native Ss on how to use cardinal numerals in dialectal Arabic. 10 Ss participated in the task where they were asked on how many ... in the pictures. Second, drawing on sociolinguistic interviews between 4 Ss (interviewers) and 10 FWs (interviewees), the analyses reveal that both groups show strong tendencies of accommodation and conventionalization in cardinal numeral + noun form selection; both groups appeal to using the masculine form of 1-2 cardinal numerals, the feminine form of 3-10

and 13-99 compound cardinal numerals. I relate this to frequency, detectability of transparent allomorphic ending, pattern regularization, accommodation, and foreigner talk, which, I argue, have helped pave the way for reconstructing a new cardinal numeral system in GPA.

Due to the high frequency and detectable ending of feminine forms (with a final [-VC]), FWs picked up the feminine forms of 3-10. Then, through pattern regularization, GPA speakers generalized them to numerals from 13 and above. The numerals 1 and 2 which agree in gender with the noun in dialectal Arabic, were regularized into masculine-only, regardless of the gender of the noun. For number agreement, FWs generalized the singular form of the noun, regardless of the numeral. The different word order in dialectal Arabic, i.e. Noun+1-2 and 3-above+Noun, were regularized to cardinal numeral+Noun.

<b>Author(s):</b>	Yolanda Rivera-Castillo (Univ. of Puerto Rico) Lucy Pickering (Texas A & M Univ.)
<b>Title:</b>	<i>Metrical structure and prosodic features: stress shift and polarization in Papiamentu</i>

In this paper, we discuss the relation between metrical structure, secondary stress, stress shift, and tone polarization in Papiamentu (Römer 1991). Based on previous descriptions, PA (Papiamentu) has stress and tone, postlexical polarization, secondary stress and primary stress.

However, none of the research conducted so far describes the role of metrical structure on its prominence system. Following Römer (1991) and Rivera-Castillo and Pickering (2004), PA's main stress applies to disyllabic trochaic feet, with stress shift after enclitization (2a) and secondary stress in trisyllabic words (2b) (Römer, 1980:121):

(1a) 'yuda + ábo --> yu'dábu (1b) 'kumin'sá, 'begun

On the other hand, tones rhythmically alternate (polarization) postlexically, from right-to-left in toneless clitics: copular "ta" polarizes (H -"´"; L -"´´"):

(2a) sú rumán muhé tá [buníta muchá]DP

Poss N-sister be-Cop Adj N

(2b) ésakí tà [pén]DP

Dem-this be-Cop N-pen

Polarization is bounded in PA, and applies only within disyllabic units.

We are conducting a phonetic study of stress and tone in Papiamentu using spontaneous and directed speech data to confirm these descriptions. Our preliminary results indicate that Papiamentu has the following patterns in the distribution of these prosodic features:

I. L [H-L]F II. L [L-H]F III. [H-H] F

IV. [s-w] F [s-w] F V. [s-w] F [w-s] F

The distribution of these patterns depends on the interaction between lexical features and postlexical restrictions imposed by metrical structure. In fact, these results confirm some of the generalizations stated by previous work; except for those related to the behaviour of words classified as clitics that do not behave like clitics with respect to prominence.

Disyllabic bounded structures are central to both the stress and tone systems. First, we propose that polarization results from bounded rhythmic postlexical tone assignment. Second, we propose that secondary stress is also postlexically assigned to disyllabic units. "which 'beats' are spaced apart by a recurrent number of non-beats, as well as being gramaticalized

and lexicalized [...]” (Goedemans and Hulst 2015: 236). Furthermore, we propose that phenomena described by previous research as “tone reversals” (Kouwenberg 1994) and tone displacement in nouns (Remijsen 2005) result from the role of metrical structure and demarcative tone in polarization (Rivera-Castillo 2002: 284). In other words, automatic properties are always subordinated to prespecified, demarcative, and/or distinctive properties. Our on-going phonetic and phonological study of lexical (stress), tone, and sentential properties in PA, paired with native speakers’ evaluation provide the tools to identify these phenomena.

This paper corroborates generalizations concerning the separation of stress and rhythmic structure, the “primary accent first theory” (PIAF) (Hulst 1996), with H tone as the main prominence indicator in PA. It also provides evidence that PA’s tone and stress systems are ruled by the same metrical restrictions.

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