

SPCL anonymous

ABSTRACTS

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#1

DETERMINERS IN REUNION CREOLE (COMPARED TO OTHER CREOLES, ENGLISH AND FRENCH LANGUAGES)

The aim of this paper is to describe the noun phrase determiners in the Indian Ocean Creoles :

- firstly the Reunion Creole and Mauritian Creole
- then we shall look at the description of Reunion Creole determiners in more depth after reviewing the literature on the topic. Indeed, the synopsis of the literature will allow us at the end of our paper to see the strong similarities of the creole languages that are studied here from a typological perspective.

In order to tackle the complex task of describing the determiners of these languages, our work is based on the comparative analyses of the Reunion Creole, Mauritian Creole as well as Louisiana Creole, on the one hand and of French and English languages on the other.

First of all it is worth examining general facts on the morpho-phonological and syntactical and semantic aspects of articles in the Reunion Creole, Mauritian Creole and Louisiana Creole. Subsequently we shall examine the following syntactic points in greater detail :

- the zero article
- the existence or the non-existence of a grammatical marking of number.
- the marking or non-marking of gender.

Then we shall study the notion of determination and determiners within the framework of a definition which embraces Romance languages, since our creoles are French-lexicon based languages.

In spite of the genetic link with French, we note that a discrepancy exists between the French language and Indian Ocean Creole languages as far as the semantics of articles is concerned. In order to illustrate their differences we shall scrutinize the semantic opposition between generic and specific nouns and then between count and mass nouns in partitive and non-partitive constructions in French so as to see the corresponding syntactic items in the Reunion Creole in the different cases.

Furthermore, specific uses or ways of determining nouns in the Indian Ocean Creoles are also examined through reference to a large number of examples and charts illustrating the different descriptions and analyses of the determiners.

After drawing our conclusions on the detailed description of Reunion Creole determiners as well as on a possible existing link in the different Creole languages regardless of their

European lexicons, we will ask whether in a general linguistic view the syntactical and semantic components of the determiners, their structures and the notions conveyed are useful in deciding whether Indian Ocean Creoles form a more or less coherent group or whether they should be viewed as individual, *i.e.* not closely interrelated creoles.

#2

The banal and abrupt origin of bracketed relative clauses in Pidgin Sango

Superficially similar in origin to bracketed relative clauses in Tok Pisin, those in pidginized Ngbandi, known as Sango, have an entirely different history, one that is more thoroughly documented longitudinally (1891–1996) and sociolinguistically.

In the pidginization of Ngbandi, which probably began in 1887 on the Ubangi river, both its demonstrative and relative marker were ignored, being replaced by **so** meaning ‘thus’, the first reported in publication for 1891 (Fivé 1906), the second reported in Calloc’h 1911.

Bracketed clauses (e.g., **zo so a+ke zo ti fango zo so** [person **so** PM+COP person of killing person **so**] ‘the person who is/was a murderer’) appeared in tape recordings and letters from the early 1960s, but they were used by only a few radio broadcasters and other educated speakers. Recordings of extemporaneous speech of different genres in the capital, Bangui, from 1988 to 1994 reveal a much greater use. Bracketing has also reached the provinces.

Analysis of the use of **so** (including its homophones) as a demonstrative, as a clausally postposed adverb meaning ‘thus’, as a clausally preposed marker meaning ‘since, because’, and as a relative marker is based on 966 occurrences in contemporary tape recordings of 82 persons aged 6–51, both urban (in Bangui) and provincial (the village of Nzoro). In addition, more than 292 examples from recordings in 1962, plus more from 1966 and 1996, were studied.

We argue that bracketing with relative clauses appeared along with the increase in the use of pre-posed and post-posed **so** (e.g., **so mo ga awe so ...** [since 2s come COMPL thus] ‘since you’ve come ...’) among persons of Ngbandi ethnicity (Yakomas and Sangos), many of whom held positions of power, authority, and privilege in the government for fifteen years, when their variety of Sango was imitated. It did not arise, as alleged for Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea) by G. Sankoff and colleagues, because of any need experienced by speakers to focus on specific referents in conversation, an explanation found less than plausible.

The history of **so** in Sango is presented simply as change (i) that results from the influence of well-placed models of usage and (ii) the consequence of language contact (beginning with the inter-language of bilinguals in Ngbandi and Pidgin Sango) and the rapid vernacularization of Sango in a city that increased in size from 60,000 in 1959 (at independence) to 431,000 in 1988, when the contemporaneity of one’s Sango was ‘flushed’ in common speech.

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#3

Complementizers as evidentials: Some data from Bislama

Evidentiality is marked in a number of ways cross-linguistically (Chafe & Nichols 1986), and it has been proposed that it is a core feature of human language (emerging when children have severely degraded input, Bickerton 1984).

Previous work on the new complementizer *olsem* in the English lexified creole Bislama has shown that it appears “often with verbs of perception” (Meyerhoff 2002). Meyerhoff further claims that this might be because the semantics of *olsem* (< English ‘all [the] same’) are inherently more compatible with the simulative context of perception. One possibility that has not been considered is whether the emergence in spoken Bislama of *olsem* as an alternative to the more usual complementizer *se* is creating a means of marking evidentiality completely unrelated to the verbal and adverbial strategies and resources used in English.

This paper presents results from a survey of 54 speakers of Bislama in Port Vila (the capital). All are between 11 and 40 years old; many claim Bislama as their first language. Speakers were presented with 15 paired sentences controlled for complementizer type (*se* or *olsem*), verb semantics (e.g. ‘dream’, ‘hear’, ‘see’, ‘think’), person and number of the subject (first person vs third—reports of someone else’s experiences are necessarily lower on an evidentiality scale than first person reports). Speakers were asked to rate the sentences on a four point scale from *Nambawan* ‘perfect’ to *Mi no laekem nating* ‘terrible’.

The results trend in the direction expected. *Harem* is dispreferred with *olsem* if it has the meaning of ‘hear’ but this is not the case when it has the meaning ‘feel’. Similarly, *se* is dispreferred following *luk* where it has the meaning ‘appear’ and *olsem* is dispreferred where it means ‘see’. Speakers strongly dislike *ting olsem* ‘think *olsem*’ when the subject is third person, but have no strong aversion when the subject is first person.

I will also discuss some of the challenges inherent in conducting experimental research regarding well-formedness on a non-standard language variety and also present the methods used to conduct the experiment with non- and semi-literate respondents.

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Chafe, Wallace and Johanna Nichols (eds.) 1986. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, New Jersey : Ablex.

Meyerhoff, Miriam 2002. All the same? The emergence of complementizers in Bislama.
In Thomas Güldemann and Manfred von Roncador (eds) *Reported Discourse*.
Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. 341-359.

#4

Towards an Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (*APiCS*)

Creole studies have seen various attempts at explaining the grammatical features of creole languages. Different scholars have variously emphasized the role of substrates, superstrates, and universal features. Many of these claims have been stimulating, but they were often based on a small amount of merely suggestive data. There have been a number of earlier broadly comparative studies, e.g Ferraz (1987) for Portuguese-based creoles, Goodman (1964) for French-based creoles, Hancock (1987) for Atlantic English-based creoles. Holm & Patrick (to appear) (*Comparative creole syntax* (Battlebridge)) have been the first to carry out a collaborative project: different scholars have described 18 creole languages with respect to 97 morphosyntactic features.

In this talk, we would like to report on an even more ambitious project, the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (*APiCS*), which continues this line of collaborative comparative creole work.

The goal of *APiCS* is to gather comparable synchronic data on the grammatical and lexical structures of a still larger number of contact languages, i.e. 60-80 pidgin and creole languages. The data will be presented in the form of maps and as an interactive electronic database. A companion volume will contain sociohistorical and grammatical sketches of each language. This publication will be a comprehensive and authoritative reference work on creole language structures bringing together the expertise of dozens of creolists from around the world. *APiCS* will thus serve as an invaluable tool for teaching and research, making systematic data on creole languages readily available for a wide range of research questions (diachronic theories of creolization, uniformity and diversity of creoles, general properties of language contact, typological characteristics of contact languages).

The language set should contain not only the most widely studied Atlantic and Indian Ocean creoles, but also less well known creoles from Africa, Asia, Melanesia, and Australia. Each language will be the responsibility of a single author (or team of authors). On the maps, each language will be represented by a dot. The data base will consist of 150-200 structural features which will be drawn from all areas of language structure: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon.

APiCS will be published as a two-volume work: The first volume will contain the descriptions of the structural features and the maps, while the second volume will consist of concise prose descriptions of the sociohistorical context of each language, as well as synchronic grammatical sketches highlighting the major distinguishing features. In addition, the first volume will be accompanied by a CD-ROM containing the database in electronic form together with an interactive map-generating and search tool that will

allow various research questions to be addressed. The electronic version will also contain sound files: For each language users will be able to listen to a short spontaneous narrative text that is glossed and translated.

Even though the project is still in its initial phase, about 40 experts of particular pidgins and creoles have committed themselves to contributing to this ambitious collaborative work.

#5

Typical creole features and the World Atlas of Language Structures

Creolists have often implied or said explicitly that some grammatical features shared by many creole languages are “typical” or “characteristic” of creoles, and they have proposed various more or less general explanations for the presence of such features. Of course, to count as characteristic of creoles, a feature not only has to be present in most creoles, as well as absent in their lexical source languages, but must also not be pervasive in the world’s languages.

To take a concrete example, Bickerton (1981) claimed that multiple negation was characteristic of creoles that developed from pidgins, and he took this feature as part of his language bioprogram. Multiple negation is not found in (standard) English and Dutch, and is restricted in Portuguese, Spanish and French in various ways. However, it turns out that multiple negation is extremely common in the world’s languages, and that in fact the standard Dutch and English pattern is very rare (Haspelmath 2005). Thus, it is possible to view the creoles as simple “normalizations” of their lexifiers, rather than as structural types that in some way depart from the “norm”. Similarly, Bickerton (1995) noted that in creoles, relativizers and interrogative pronouns are not homophonous. But again, a world-wide perspective shows that this is the normal state of affairs — relativizers that have the shape of interrogative pronouns are extremely rare (and mostly confined to Europe).

Thus, for a full understanding of the structural properties of creoles, one needs to have a good understanding of the situation in languages world-wide. Such an understanding is often impossible due to lack of data, but the data situation has improved considerably with the advent of the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (*WALS*, Haspelmath et al. 2005). This large-scale collaborative work brings together 142 databases of structural linguistic features from all areas of language structure (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon), showing the world-wide distribution of the various feature values in samples of 400 languages (on average). Unfortunately, since one of the main goals of the editors was to show the traditional geographical distribution of features, colonial languages and creoles were largely excluded from *WALS*. But I’d like to show that creolists can exploit it for the purposes of evaluating “typical” creole features in a world-wide context. Not all the features that creolists have typically been interested in are represented in *WALS*, but many of them are, and in this talk I will examine and discuss the world-wide evidence from *WALS* in at least the following areas:

- syllable structure
- lexical tone
- definite and indefinite articles
- preverbal tense-aspect markers
- locational vs. equational copulas
- relative clause formation
- passives

While some of the *WALS* data have to be interpreted with some caution, I will show that in each of these cases the world-wide perspective provides valuable evidence for evaluation superstatist, substratist and universalist explanatory models.

#6

Determining Country of Origin through Language Analysis: Asylum Cases Involving Sierra Leone Krio and English

The civil war in the 1990's in Sierra Leone resulted in refugees purportedly from Sierra Leone seeking asylum primarily in European countries. Without official documentation of citizenship, European government officials have relied on analyses (by paid analysts) of recordings of language use (including Krio and English) by applicants to determine, with varying degrees of certainty (e.g. 'definitely', 'probably'), the speech communities of applicants. The scientific nature of this policy has met with skepticism in linguistic circles (Arends 2003; Language and National Original Group (*Guidelines for Use of Language Analysis*) 2004; Patrick 2005) because of a number of concerns including: the analysts' little or no linguistic background and their lack of evidence or use of selective evidence in their analyses; distinguishing among native/nonnative Krio speech, acrolectal Krio, Sierra Leone English, and other West African varieties of English including Pidgin English. Other thorny issues include determining degrees of proficiency in Krio and the critical amount of errors necessary to identify an applicant as having native, fluent but nonnative, little, or no competence in Krio; evaluating the effects of anxiety and pressure on the fluency of the applicant; and how relevant language analysis is in determining country of origin.

Legal representatives of applicant have sought second opinions or counter analyses by 'neutral' or independent analysts, generally linguists, for corroboration or rejection of the governments' analysts' conclusions. As an independent analyst, I use concrete examples from more than 20 tapes that I have analyzed to address some of the concerns raised. I present arguments, with supporting examples, in proposing the following:

- It is possible to identify an applicant as not likely belonging to the Sierra Leone speech community on the basis of the frequency, systematic occurrence, and rule-governed nature of errors produced. However, the declaration by some analysts that some applicants 'definitely' do not belong to the Sierra Leone speech community is extremely difficult to prove scientifically.
- The identification of an alternate speech community to which the applicants belong is not always backed by convincing arguments. Analysts tend to attribute the use of non-Krio features to the influence of a particular language (mostly Nigerian Pidgin) even though such features are generally present in a number of West African languages, including Nigerian Pidgin.
- Distinguishing native from nonnative Krio speech is possible. However, analysts sometimes selectively identify nonnative Krio features while failing to acknowledge native-like features evident in the recordings.
- Analysts sometimes inaccurately identify some features as 'pidgin-like' though they may be features of acrolectal Krio or imperfect English (indication of low

English competence). This problem is compounded by the fact that the formats of a number of interviews have had the applicant alternate between responding in Krio and English.

- Anxiety and pressure may affect speech rate but not linguistic accuracy.
- Language analysis could be used to some extent in determining country of origin.

This paper will provide valuable information in the continuing debate on the effectiveness of language analysis in determining individuals' countries of origin.

#7

Early Chinook Jargon and Mühlhäusler 's Social Typology of Pidgins

Until the 1990s the paradigms prevailing among creolists usually reflected the study of the Atlantic slave-plantation pidgin-creoles, and the issues which preoccupied most creolists arose from the cultural and political climate of those times. Chinuk Wawa (aka Chinook Jargon, CJ) has been notoriously hard to comprehend within that framework, and while it does not necessarily belong to the alternative “Pacific paradigm” raised by Byrne and Holme (1993), among others, it can perhaps be fruitfully understood in terms of the social typology Peter Mühlhäusler derived from his work on Tok Pisin and the wider Pacific contact realm.

In this paper I intend first to discuss his typology, one dating from his *Pidgin & Creole Linguistics* (1986) but refined somewhat in 1999, and then to parse some of the available data from the early and middle period of CJ history, this according to Mühlhäusler's terms: *propositional, directive, integrative, expressive, phatic, metalinguistic, poetic, and heuristic* functions.

Mühlhäusler related these functions to phases of expansion, stabilization and potential obsolescence of Tok Pisin. I shall trace a similar albeit more confined portrait of the early years of CJ, one derived from analysis of the word lists, travel accounts and other texts and narratives from the period. I hope to make it clear that CJ, by the 1830s, exercised the principal “lower” functions per Mühlhäusler, was not only integrative but expressive, arguably phatic, and perhaps even at moments poetic!

#8

TENSE IN NON-PAST-COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS IN GUYANESE CREOLE: IMPLICATIONS FOR GRAMMAR THEORY

This paper begins with a brief examination of copula behavior in Rural Guyanese Creole (RGC) and Urban Guyanese Creole (UGC) and proceeds to consider what these syntactic behaviors imply for the underlying grammar of nonsentential small clauses, particularly in non-past contexts. GC data show that the copula is absent in non-past utterances across syntactic contexts. This observation has important consequences: first, RGC and UGC are similar codes in that they share a key linguistic feature; and second, these varieties provide an example of the existence of grammars that are fully intact yet lack the syntactic Tense node. Such grammars allow for the non-expression of the semantically empty copula in the present tense. .

RGC has three copula forms: an optional equative copula *a*, an optional locative copula *de*, and an obligatory past tense copula *bin*. (1)-(3) exemplify these forms respectively:

- (1) *Evlin (a) wan tiicha* ‘Evelyn is a teacher’
- (2) *Tairon (de) in di haus* ‘Tyrone is in the house’
- (3) *Evlin bin wan tiicha* ‘Evelyn was a teacher’

The selection of the optional copula in (1) and (2) depends on the sense of permanence the speaker is encoding. With the copula, the sentence assumes a slightly more temporary interpretation than without the copula. However, RGC does not allow a copula before predicative adjectives in the present tense as (4)-(7) reveal. Thus, it is clear that this variety is copula-less in this environment.

- (4) **Di bai a tal* ‘The boy is tall’
- (5) **Di bai de tal* ‘The boy is tall’
- (6) **Di bai a na leezi* ‘The boy isn’t lazy’
- (7) **Mi moda de na leezi* ‘My mother isn’t lazy’

The UGC data examined in the paper reveal a similar copula variability in the Adj, NP and V+ing environments with the copula being most frequently absent in the V+ing, and Adj positions; and the auxiliary copula being categorically absent in gun frames where *gun* serves as a future marker. These facts will be shown to support the proposal that some grammars include small clauses and that such entities do not have Tense nodes. In such grammars the Present assumes the role of default time and needs no grammatical signal. A small clause reading of the GC data provides a coherent explanation of the absence of the present tense copula in all environments. One could reasonably assume that GC speakers, in common with English, French and Slavic speakers, possess two grammars simultaneously. One grammar would have full sentence projections that insert present tense copulas in all environments, except the Adj

environment in RGC and the _____ *Gun* environment in UGC; while the other, the small clause grammar, lacks a Tense node and, thus, a tensed copula to insert. Time would then be interpreted as the present time, which, in this model, is the default time. Past and future time would be lexicalized by conventionalized markers such as *bin* and *go/gun* respectively.

#9

The double-whammy: linguistic minority writers, rhetorical strategies and salient grammatical features

There is a glaring lack of objective data to supporting claims of links between (a) orality, i.e., spoken language, and (b) literacy, or written language. Reading, however, presumably half of literacy, is not merely deciphering an alphabet or decoding written versions of what people speak via dictation. Typically, the literature on literacy merely *assumes* some kind of correspondence between listening and speaking, and between reading and composition, and, therefore, by analogy, between orality and literacy as the *natural* outcome of language learning. One gets the impression that researchers and teachers, in the absence of objective data, trust intuition or anecdotal evidence when evaluating approaches to teaching literacy. Dependent on these concepts are issues of the acquisition of Standard English literacy by non-native speakers and speakers of non-standard varieties, including creoles. These are the students who are penalized most frequently for surface grammatical errors and for failing to structure discourse according to the rules of academic English (hence, the double whammy).

To illustrate the scope of this “problem,” the State of California clearly leads the nation in *numbers* of English Learners (ELs). Over one-third of the nation’s EL population resides in California. According to the California Department of Education, out of a total enrollment of 6,312, 102 in public schools (2004/5), the number of ELs was 1,591,525. This does not include the 1,064,578 Fluent-English-Proficient (FEP) children who are, nonetheless, non-native speakers. Taken together, these numbers indicate that over 40% of all California public school children are non-native speakers of English. It is important to stress that the figures represents neither those who *grow up* bilingual, nor those who are native speakers of non-standard varieties.

To clarify key issues, this paper takes a preliminary look spoken language, characteristically informal, conversational, fluent, and slang-filled, as opposed to written language, typically formal, with a greatly expanded (specialized academic) vocabulary. Academic English is produced according to prescribed rules of grammar (e.g., accuracy in spelling, pronunciation, syntax, and morphology) that are only vaguely relevant to engaging in cultural activities characterized by informal usage (e.g., “hip-hop” culture, daily interactions, social relationships, etc.). Moreover, academic discourse, in general, presupposes a global knowledge that encompasses cultural literacy: knowing the names and institutions important to contemporary national and world politics, to the history of Western civilization (for starters), and all that this implies. And, it presupposes particular rhetorical strategies intimately associated with Anglo-Saxon (English) culture.

Simply put, considerable cultural knowledge is presumed, knowledge that is characteristically possessed by “mainstream” students (e.g., children of White, upper-middle class folks who are traditionally literate). Members of minority groups (e.g., African-American, Chicano-Latino, etc), particularly those termed “caste-like

minorities,” may not have this cultural tradition (Ogbu 1987). Consequently, this paper discusses links between cultural literacy and written language, and popular culture and oral language, and, proposes a topic for future research, suggesting an entire research program. Numerous student writing texts will be used as illustrations, particularly by non-native speakers of English, and/or speakers of non-standard dialects/creoles.

#10

A New Look at the Origin and Early Development of Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon)

This paper evaluates historical and linguistic sources bearing on the attributes and development of Chinuk Wawa (or Chinook Jargon), with special attention to the earliest period of interethnic contact on the Lower Columbia.

There has recently been new discussion of the old idea that Chinuk Wawa originated during the late-eighteenth century, when mainly English-speaking seafarers already partially familiar with Nootkan first visited the Lower Columbia and began attempting to acquire Chinookan. Here, we highlight the earliest known examples of putative Lower Columbia Chinuk Wawa, considering them in the light of the rather copious later record documenting both Chinookan and Chinuk Wawa on the Lower Columbia. We conclude that although an English-speakers' role in transmitting Nootkan-influenced lexemes into the Chinuk Wawa of Lower Columbia Indians may be considered well established, the much larger Chinookan component of these Indians' Chinuk Wawa reveals no indications of ever having been filtered through English. Rather, this component of Chinuk Wawa appears to have originated with grammatical simplifications of Chinookan that only Chinookan speakers (or at least, local Indians more-or-less familiar with Chinookan) could have made. These simplifications have been fossilized not only in the Chinuk Wawa of local Indians: they are evident also in the Chinuk Wawa documented for English-speaking settlers and sojourners on the Lower Columbia. This suggests that English-speakers' Chinuk Wawa and Lower Columbia Indian Chinuk Wawa share a common historical origin.

Insofar as we have established that the Chinuk Wawa of Lower Columbia Indians is to a significant extent a Chinookan creation, we have also established that it is an indigenous linguistic variety, albeit the question of its pre-contact autonomy from Chinookan itself is much more problematic.

#11

Questioning Research on Questions in Early African American English

A salient though under-studied characteristic of African American English (AAE) is the alternation between auxiliary inversion (1) and non-inversion (2).

- (1) What *does* she say? (SA 008/177)
- (2) Where your riches *is*? (SE 001/814)

Similarities between non-inverted forms and creole question formation strategies have led to suggestions that non-inversion is a retention from an earlier-creole-like ancestor of AAE (DeBose 1995). Van Herk's (2000) analysis of African American diaspora data revealed clear constraints on non-inversion, paralleling those found in Early Modern English *do*-support (Ellegard 1953, Kroch 1989), itself a form of main verb non-inversion. These included strong effects associated with question type, negation, and WH-word. This was taken as evidence of generalization of English patterns by the first generations of AAE speakers.

Recently, Rickford (2005) has pointed out problems with this interpretation. In particular, the status of questions without auxiliaries, as in (3), must be considered.

- (3) a. And where you-all come from? (SE 008/359)
- b. What we going to do? (SA 003/427)

Are such questions the result of auxiliary deletion, and thus outside the variable context, as Van Herk suggests? Or do they represent creole-like non-inversions, with the absence of main verb inflection and auxiliary *be* reflective of widespread AAE and creole tendencies (bare pasts, bare presents, copula absence)? In addition, both Van Herk and Rickford decry the absence of comparable studies of variable question formation in English-based creoles, where most work has attributed the presence of inverted forms to code switching to the standard.

This study contributes to this dialogue by re-analyzing the data used in Van Herk (2000) (N = 1038). The rate of auxiliary-free forms in questions is compared to overall rates of main verb non-marking and copula deletion. We perform parallel multivariate analyses of question formation with and without the "questionable" tokens. We also consider work on question non-inversion in other languages (e.g. Elsig & Poplack 2005) to determine which constraints (including those found in Van Herk 1999) might be candidates for universal status. We conclude with suggested principles for the study of variable question formation in all varieties, including creoles.

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#12

Intonation in Crucian English-Lexifier Creole

Among the English-lexifier Creoles of the Caribbean, those of the northernmost Lesser Antilles (including Crucian, the dialect of Afro-Caribbean English-Lexifier Creole spoken on St. Croix) are some of the least described and analyzed by linguists (Aceto and Williams 2003). Suprasegmental phenomena, especially at the level of intonation, have also received relatively little attention until quite recently by creolists who work on Caribbean languages. This study represents an attempt:

- 1) to document the intonation patterns that typify Crucian by submitting a sample of spontaneous Crucian speech to acoustic analysis (each utterance was digitalized at a sampling rate of 22050 Hz (16 bit) and the fundamental frequency contour was calculated using the tracking utility in the PRAAT 4.0 program) and
- 2) to determine how the intonation patterns found in Crucian compare to those found in other dialects of Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole (ACELC).

Our results show: 1) that Crucian shares a number of intonation patterns with the ACELC superstrates (dialects of English), with the ACELC substrates (Niger-Congo languages), and with the other dialects of ACELC; 2) that there are other intonation patterns found in Crucian which are found as well in the ACELC substrates and most of the other dialects of ACELC, but which are not typically found in the ACELC superstrates; and 3) that at least one intonation contour which occurs frequently in Crucian is nowhere to be found in the ACELC superstrates, in the ACELC substrates, nor has it been documented thus far for any of other ACELC dialect. Although some of the dialects of ACELC such as Cameroon Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin, Sierra Leonian Krio, Saramaccan, and Aukan, have always been considered to be tone languages, there is a growing consensus among those most deeply involved in the analysis of ACELC suprasegmentals that virtually all of the other dialects of ACELC are to some extent tonal as well (Lawton 1963; Carter 1989; Devonish 1989, 2002; Holder 1999; Sutcliffe 2003). In this work, we demonstrate how our Crucian data lend themselves quite readily to such a tonal analysis.

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#13

Afrikaans diminutives spread palatalization—and less marked models are selected via contact

Creole languages exhibit a tendency toward less marked forms than superstrate grammars. Haitian Creole has a more common vowel inventory than French (Tinelli, 1981). Cape Verde Creole likewise shows a reduced vowel system from Portuguese (Klein, 2005). The search to explain creole rationalization of grammars has invited two prominent solutions: a return to universal grammar parameter settings (Bickerton, 1981) and the influence of substrate grammars (Lefebvre, 1998). In what follows, I explore the palatalization effect of Afrikaans diminutives, a pattern that suggests yet another solution, that contact situations present a learner with multiple models, from which the easiest learned (i.e. unmarked) may be selected.

An analysis of Afrikaans offers the contribution of data from a language that shows creolization but cannot be explained in terms of substrate influence. Typically for a creole, Afrikaans exhibits loss of verbal inflection and gender, a simplified pronoun system, etc. (Ponelis, 1993). However, the languages of early Cape inhabitants (Khoi, Malagasy, Bengali etc.) do not share much affinity to form a substrate influence. Developments in Afrikaans, moreover, do not reflect these languages' structures (cf. Den Besten, 2002). Instead, adult approximate learners of the language served as models for native speakers, the former having reduced Afrikaans structure as a result of the learning task (Den Besten, 1989).

The palatalization effect of diminutives also leads to less marked forms, but in restricted environments (Donaldson, 1993). In the diminutive of *voet* [fut] 'foot', *voetjie* [fujci], an alveolar is palatalized and the previous vowel diphthongized. Bilabials, however, block the process, (e.g. *kopjie* [kopji]). Other contexts (e.g. *bakjie* [baci], *sypaadjie* [s_jpaci]) undergo palatalization but not diphthongization.

Optimality Theory offers a framework to stipulate the constraints operating in a language. (Prince and Smolensky, 1993). Diphthongization could be explained as a violation of the linear order of input segments (McCarthy and Prince, 1995), so as to avoid the sequence *consonant+glide*. Such a linearity change, however, would not explain the palatalization of /t/. I thus argue for *Share(High)* as the operant constraint. The *Share(Feature)* constraint was originally proposed for 'harmony preserving,' the tendency of features to force assimilation of neighboring sounds (Beckman, 1998).

Exceptions to the palatalization process nonetheless must be treated. Significantly, back consonants do not trigger diphthongization, e.g. /bak-ji/ _ [baci]. This suggests that the consonant assimilation process and diphthongization clash in the case of back consonants, arguably because sound changes occur in opposite directions. A descriptive faithfulness constraint *D+FCA prohibits diphthongs before forward consonant assimilation. A coda condition allows for feature changes only on stressed syllables, to explain why diphthongization does not occur on polysyllabic words, e.g. [s_jpaci].

The present analysis of palatalization before diminutives does not depend on substrate influence or default language settings, but instead posits constraint rankings that plausibly emerged in response to child learners' input from second language learners. Several language models would be available to native learners in contact settings. Selection of a model containing less marked forms may thus follow from their lower cost as a learning task, whence approximate models are accepted natively.

#14

OUTLINE OF SOME INTONATION PATTERNS IN HAITIAN CREOLE

Very little systematic research has been done on intonation systems in French-based creoles. Besides some insightful remarks in Hall (1953), a list of intonation patterns in Evans (1938) and a monograph by Ariza (1991), there is no survey of Haitian Creole intonation as a system of distinctive patterns.

This study surveys intonation in Haitian Creole in declarative sentences, questions and statements with narrow focus. The verbal data was recorded from ten native monolingual speakers, who have recently immigrated to Guadeloupe. These illegal immigrants remain bound to the Haitian network and have limited exposure to Guadeloupean Creole. Most of them come from the same area in Southern Haiti (Leogane), thus the data reflects the dialectal variety from this region. The Haitian data was collected in Guadeloupe as part of a larger study whose goal is to propose a contrastive analysis of Haitian Creole and Guadeloupean Creole intonation, in an attempt to search for common characteristics in the intonation systems of Caribbean French-based creoles.

The subjects are trained to identify characters, objects, situations and various verbs on pictures. They are first prompted to utter isolated words then build sentences and short stories based on a sequence of familiar pictures. Subjects work in pairs, producing short dialogues using the target words and structures. Although the experimental setting is well controlled, the dialogue format and the interaction with another native speaker render spontaneous data. The analysis uses the autosegmental-metrical approach to intonational phonology as it has developed following Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988). The analysis is based on the examination of words in isolation, then the same words used in larger phrases.

The preliminary prosodic analysis indicates that freestanding words receive prominence on the penultimate syllable. This goes against the main – but not experimentally supported – claim, that Haitian Creole has a word final stress. The other finding is that the strong syllable may vary according to the intonational context, which suggests that effects at higher prosodic levels overwrite lower prosodic effects at the word level. For instance, listed items receive a HL*-H marking, where the L* overwrites the H tone on the penultimate syllable of the word in isolation.

Downstepping is very prominent in the system and seems to convey neutrality. It is the usual pattern for Wh-questions. The Wh-word in the beginning of the utterance receives the highest tones, thus being marked above all other elements in the sentence. However, questions that bear focus tend to interrupt this downstepping trend, by assigning to the focused item a H tone which stands above the level of the preceding phrase. After the raising expressing focus the downstepping resumes and continues to the end of the sentence.

Like in other areas of creole formation, it is predictable that intonation systems have emerged through patterns of imperfect second languages learning and some interaction of language universals. While it is too early to posit a model how intonation developed, smaller scale descriptive studies are the cornerstone toward generalizations how these systems work and how they have emerged.

#15

Lorenzo Dow Turner and the Development of Creole Studies in the U. S.

1. *Problem or Research Question:*

While Lorenzo Dow Turner, the first linguist to collect data among native speakers of Gullah (Sea Island Creole) and to prepare a systematic analysis, is well-known in linguistic circles, his contribution has not generally been conceptualized as part of a larger movement in the Americanization of linguistics. Prior research has viewed him as the isolated researcher of a quaint creole (See: Harold B. Allen, "Regional Dialects, 1945-1974," *American Speech* 52, no. 3/4 (Autumn/Winter, 1977): 167-68). In fact, Turner was one of a small group in the Linguistic Society of America (founded in 1924) focusing on the study of American dialects, in his case leading to an explosion of research on pidgins and creoles by the 1960's.

2. *Main Point or Argument:*

The purpose of this presentation is to demonstrate that although Turner was the sole Gullah researcher for more than a generation, he was well connected with his peers in the American Linguistic Movement and part of a small group of scholars internationally who were analyzing creoles in an attempt to advance creole linguistics.

3. *Data*

Several types of data will be presented: (1) Excerpts of letters between Hans Kurath, Miles Hanley, Guy Lowman and Turner about their research activities; (2) evidence of meetings between Turner, Suzanne Comhaire Sylvain, Ida Ward, Gonzalo Beltrán and others of similar research interests (Turner invited Sylvain to speak on Haitian Creole at Fisk University in 1943. Melville Herskovits sent Beltrán to confer with Turner in 1945. Turner also forged connections with a number of Latin American scholars with interests in African retention and creolized languages during his year in Brazil in 1940-41); and (3) Turner's attendance at the meetings of linguists specializing in dialects (Among them were the 1931 Summer Linguistic Institute that launched Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE) and composed and tested the LANE 800-item questionnaire—along with Hans Kurath, Miles Hanley, Bernard Bloch, Guy S. Lowman. Turner made his first presentation on Gullah at the Meeting of the American Dialect Society in December, 1932. *Dialect Notes* (1932, 1934) mentioned his developing research. As he sought to immerse himself in linguistics, Turner attended the Linguistic Institute again in Summer, 1933 and a six-week linguistic workshop held at Brown University hosted by Hans Kurath in Summer, 1934. The majority of his research grants were from The American Council of

Learned Societies, which also underwrote Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada (LAUSC) project).

4. *Results of Experiments (NA)*

5. *Relevance to Past Work and Future Developments:*

The linguist who has written a number of articles interpreting Turner's life and research is Margaret Wade-Lewis. In 2002 Michael Montgomery and Katherine Wylie prepared a critical introduction to the latest edition of *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Various documents mention Turner's research or analyze portions of his data.

6. *Contribution to Linguistic Research Made by Analysis*

Much research lies ahead in order to document and interpret the history of the discipline of American linguistics and creole studies in particular. The proposed presentation will be an important thread in the developing mosaic. See Julie Tete Andresen, *Linguistics in America, 1769-1924—A Critical History*. London: Routledge, 1990 for one interpretation of earlier history and John Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, for a recent focus on pidgins and creoles.

#16

Verb Allomorphy in French-related Creoles

In French-related creoles a distinction between long and short forms of verbs is made. Although it sometimes seems to be phonologically governed, this distinction also correlates with syntactic properties. Interestingly, the syntactic correlation differs in (almost) each French creole. In Louisiana Creole (LC) it correlates with the finiteness of the verb, In Mauritian Creole (MC) it depends on the theta-theoretic status of the phrase following the verb, argument vs. adjunct. Whereas the factor determining the alternation comes from the superstrate in the case of LC, superstrate influence cannot account for the other pattern. Therefore, it can only be due to either substrate influence or universal processes in creolization. In this paper we focus on the pattern as found in MC. We argue that (i) it is due to universal processes of SLA; (ii) the alternation started out as a phonological phenomenon (as it still is in Haitian Creole, HC); (iii) it was subsequently grammaticalized in MC.

The alternation in MC is reminiscent of the conjoint/disjoint (CJ/DJ) distinction in Bantu languages. Bantu languages have been argued to be part of the substrate group for MC. The CJ/DJ distinction refers to verb allomorphy conditioned by the verb's relation to other elements in the clause. Givón (1975) has argued that this distinction is directly related to Focus. The CJ/DJ distinction only superficially resembles the MC pattern, but the grammatical underpinning of the allomorphy is different. In MC Focus is not the deciding factor, ruling out Bantu substrate influence.

Instead, universals of SLA played an important role in the emergence of the alternation. The scenario runs as follows. The enslaved population picked up a phonological alternation from the (superstrate) input without the appropriate functions, and (re)interpreted it differently. Eventually the opposition was linked to different syntactic/semantic oppositions. In *Basic Varieties of French* (Noyau et al 1995) we find a similar situation: acquisition of form precedes acquisition of function. The comparison informs us about the moment that target shift took place in the contact situation.

The ultimate origin of the alternation lies in its phonological nature. As Gussenhoven (1983) observed, there is a relationship between accent assignment and the argument/adjunct distinction. The pattern exhibited by HC provides strong evidence for such a direct relationship. Prosodic factors play an important role in the alternation (DeGraff 2001). Whereas the long/short opposition is stated in terms of preference and subject to variation among the dialects of HC, it is categorical in MC. Therefore, prosodic factors do not seem to play an important role in MC.

We propose MC has gone one step further than HC and has grammaticalized the alternation. We argue that the form of the verb is determined at each Phase (Chomsky 2001). If the verb ends up in the final position of a Phase, it will be spelled out in the long form. Since adjuncts are merged after completion of the Phase, they do not induce the short form.

#17

Phonological Subcomponents and Mixed Systems

Tone has a demarcative function in tone languages besides its lexical distinctive function (Beckman, 1996). Phonological domains are cued by changes in tone level, and rising and falling postlexical tones. It is the interaction of lexical tones with other phonological subcomponents that provides the basis for this demarcative function in tone languages like Papiamentu and Saramaccan.

For example, rising and falling tones occur in contextually long (accented) syllables in phrase final position in Papiamentu (Rivera and Pickering, 2004). However, rising tones also have a demarcative function in mid utterance position, while falling tones have the same function in utterance final position. Differences in contour tones distinguish phrases with lexical heads from utterances. Therefore, rising and falling contours are not automatic phenomena produced by syllable lengthening in accented positions. Additionally, there are other subcomponents that condition the realization of lexical tones at the end of phrases, such as floating tones that sentence intonation assigns. A H tone assigned by intonation can make a lexical H tone higher, and turn a L tone into a contour. Intonation does not override lexically specified tones, although it can affect a tone's register in the sentence or turn a lexical level tone into a contour (Inkelas and Leben, 1990). On the other hand, Saramaccan has M tones in utterance final position only. These result from phrasal stress, which triggers raising of L tones in sentence final position (Rountree, 1972). There are similar interactions between stress and lexical tone in Papiamentu, an effect of subcomponent interaction in mixed tone-stress systems.

The interaction between phonological subcomponents provides lexical tones with a demarcative role in Papiamentu and Saramaccan. This paper discusses the nature of these connections in Papiamentu based on previous research as well as on data gathered through experimental work. It also describes these phenomena in Saramaccan based on previous studies. Finally, this paper proposes that the demarcative function of tones in tonal languages depend on subcomponent interaction. It also argues that mixed systems, like those of Papiamentu and Saramaccan, reinterpret subcomponent interface in a typologically novel way.

#18

***Wh*-interrogatives in Chinese Pidgin English: to move or not to move**

Pidgins and creole languages typically show *wh*-movement, or fronting of *wh*-phrases in interrogatives (Veenstra and den Besten 1994). Similarly, English-language sources for CPE typically show fronting of *wh*-phrases as in (1):

(1) *How muchee* you gib? [how much are you offering] (Dier 1860)

Recently transcribed data from a phrase book, *The Chinese-English Instructor*, published in Chinese in Guangzhou around 1862 (Li et al 2005) present a different and more varied picture. The data show *wh*-questions with *wh*-in-situ as in (2), optional *wh*-movement (3) and partial *wh*-movement (4) in which the *wh*-phrase is moved only as far as the beginning of the embedded clause:

(2) You give *what price* [what price do you give]

(3) a. *How muchee* more you wantchee? [what more do you want]
b. You wantchee *how muchee*? [how much do you want]

(4) You thinkee *what time* ship can come [when do you expect the ship's arrival]

All three options are found in Cantonese-dominant bilingual children exposed to Cantonese and English from birth, drawing on the Hong Kong Bilingual Child Language Corpus (Yip and Matthews 2000) and diary records kept by the parents. The longitudinal data show that these bilingual children go through an initial *wh*-in-situ stage (5), followed by a stage at which optional and partial *wh*-movement (6) are manifested in their English.

(5) You eat *what*? [sees father having breakfast] (Sophie 2;08;03)

(6) You think *where* is Sophie? [hiding under table] (Sophie 5;03;02)

The bilingual data suggest that developmentally, partial movement is an intermediate step between *wh*-in-situ and full application of *wh*-movement, consistent with the view of partial *wh*-movement as a 'transitional behavior' (McDaniel, Chiu & Maxfield 1995). The *wh*-in-situ stage in bilingual development provides evidence for cross-linguistic influence from Cantonese, a language without *wh*-movement to English, while the partial *wh*-movement stage suggests availability of an option provided by Universal Grammar though not instantiated in English

Wh-in-situ therefore reflects the influence of Cantonese as substrate language in CPE, and as dominant language in bilingual development. At the same time, optional and partial movement are intermediate options not represented in either English or Chinese, and presenting theoretical challenges: optional movement is ruled out by some current Minimalist models, while partial movement without any scope marker as in (4) and (6) has not to our knowledge been documented in either contact languages or acquisition contexts.

#19

North and South: Attitudes towards Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin in urban Nigeria

Questionnaire- and interview-based surveys of attitudes toward Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin¹ (ANP) were undertaken on stratified random samples of 1,200 respondents in six urban centres in southern Nigeria (Ibadan, Lagos, Benin, Warri, Port-Harcourt and Calabar), and 700 respondents in seven urban centres in northern Nigeria (Sokoto, Zaria, Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Bauchi and Maiduguri), in relation to perceptions of its language status, possible use as a subject and medium of instruction, and possible adoption as an official language in the future, given its ever-increasing vitality and preponderance. These surveys (N=1,900) could be considered the largest language attitudes surveys ever conducted in the literature.

The findings are compared, in relation to the differing geopolitical, geolinguistic, ecolinguistic and sociolinguistic contexts in urban, northern and urban, southern Nigeria, especially in relation to: motivations for pidginization; the principles of the need for, and use of, *linguae francae*; and the Sociocommunicational Need Hypothesis (Mann, 2002). The findings are also analyzed, with regard to eight variables: gender; age group; ethnic group; linguality; occupation; age of contact; source of contact; and, ANP competence. The implications of these findings for sociopsychologically-marked varieties of language, and language attitudes theory are also discussed.

Footnote 1:

Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP), or ‘Nigerian Pidgin English’, is an endogenous, Atlantic pidgin, which evolved from contacts between the diverse tribal peoples on the coastlines of part of the-then ‘slave coast’ (present-day Nigeria), and, principally, Portuguese sailors (15th century) and British traders, missionaries and colonial officials (especially from the 18th century).

#20

Popular Brazilian Portuguese as a semi-creole: evidence from complex plurals

The typological classification of Popular Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth PBP) as a semi-creole (Holm 1998, 2004) has yielded a significant amount of work into morphological similarities of comparable linguistic systems. Previous studies in PBP have indicated that patterns of plural suffixation in nominal phrases parallel patterns found in non-standard Caribbean Spanish (Guy 1981, 1989; Ferreira 2001) and Portuguese-based creoles, such as Cape Verdean Creole (Lucchesi 1993, Baptista 2002) and Sãotomense (Holm 2004). In these varieties, determiners are overtly marked for plural, while the head of the noun phrase is often stripped of overt plural markers. Plural nouns in BP often lack plural suffixes, while determiners are often marked (cf. *os meninos* ‘the boys’ [uz mininu]).

Work on the discourse factors that influence plural variability in BP (Scherre and Naro 1991, 1992) have presented alternate scenarios for the phenomenon. In more recent work, Naro and Scherre 2000 and Scherre 2001 found that even in noun phrases where a the determiner was marked, followed by a numeral adjective (cf. *os dois irmãos* ‘the two brothers’), there was also a tendency of plural marking at the end of the noun. The present study reduplicates the set of variables in Scherre and colleagues, focusing on variable marking of invariant plural noun phrases in the speech of forty-five BP speakers of Recife and Olinda, in Northeast Brazil. The study takes into account recent work on varieties of Spanish in contact with Portuguese (Carvalho 2003, 2004) and includes more sophisticated factor analyses, where leftmost and rightmost position as well as phonic saliency subfactors are included. The study traces pluralization of nouns that end in /l, r, z/ and nasal diphthongs, as in *os espanhóis* [uz espanhól], *as flores* [as flô] *as vezes* [az veziz] and *os pães* [uz pão], where plural stripping, or the dropping of the entire plural morpheme is often found. Statistical runs reveal that, contrary to Scherre’s predictions, the presence of a numeral adjective favors the deletion of /s/ at the noun, regardless of its relative position in the noun phrase. This is contrary to the prediction that in a phrase such as *os dois bujão* ‘the two gas tanks’ the marking of the determiner would favor the subsequent marking of the noun. In addition, strings of marking are usually in twos, many times associated with the same word, which more often relates to school, work, or business. Among educated speakers, strings of marking are usually the norm, while one or two consecutive tokens are unmarked, usually associated with a high frequency word. Overall, the present study attempts to advance the discussion of a semi-creolization hypothesis for Brazilian Portuguese.

#21

French of the Mountains: A First Report

This study presents a contact variety termed ‘French of the Mountains’ [FOTM] after Morice (1897), in whose work it was first mentioned. FOTM existed in ethnic Babine-Witsuwit’*en* Dene (Athapaskan) territory of British Columbia [BC], Canada around the turn of the century. The few known attestations of FOTM are here described and analyzed.

At least three hypotheses about this variety’s nature must be considered: (A) FOTM as a word-for-word translation of then-widespread Chinúk Wawa/Chinook Jargon (perhaps by Francophone missionaries for French readers’ interest). (B) FOTM as a Métis French [MF] variety which became an interethnic lingua franca. (C) FOTM as a newly identified MF-lexified pidgin. Explanation (A) will be shown to be insufficient, in light of recently discovered Chinúk Wawa writings by Indigenous people. For example, (1) exactly parallels Chinúk Wawa syntax, but (2) cannot have been based on such a model.

- | | | |
|-----|-------|---|
| (1) | FOTM: | le Bon Dieu sa parole |
| | CJ: | Sahali Taii iaka wawa |
| | | God his word |
| | | ‘God’s word’ |
| | | |
| (2) | FOTM: | donnez-nous un coup de main |
| | CJ: | ? patlach nsaika iht kakshit kopa lima |
| | | give us a hit of hand |
| | | (FOTM☺ ‘give us a (helping) hand’ |
| | | (CJ☺ ? ‘give us one particular whack by hand’ |

Explanations (B,C), I conclude, both partially account for the truth. For example, many peculiarities of FOTM pronunciation and grammar, such as (3) where *ça* is used for 3rd person animate, ‘particularly...plural’ (Bakker 1997) match MF.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (3) | <...son garçon quand <u>ça</u> I devient la même chose...> |
| | his son when <u>he</u> he become the same thing |
| | ‘...when his son became the same...’ |

But other structures have no counterparts in MF, for example the cooccurrence of the resumptive pronoun <I> with <ça> in (3) (Papen, p.c., February 2006).

Following Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Bakker and Grant (1996), I suggest that FOTM is most plausibly viewed as a pidgin, at least an incipient one if not yet quite autonomous from MF and crystallized in structure (Weinreich 1953). There are

two reasons for this claim: First, the definite points of divergence between MF structure and that of FOTM. Second, FOTM represents MF used as a contact medium among non-Métis (Indigenes, European priests) and apparently spoken alongside MF proper.

The question of FOTM's status qua contact variety directly engages debates in pidgin-creole studies over the origin, nature and proper taxonomy of these languages. (Cf. Mufwene 1997, Winford 2003.) Regardless of one's analysis, this first report on FOTM makes available to creolists information on a previously unidentified language, and deepens our understanding of linguistic contact in North America.

#22

Movement phenomena in Saramaccan: A minimalist perspective

In the 1980s, the seminal work of Byrne (1985, 1987) provided the creolist community with a great deal of insight regarding the structure of Saramaccan (henceforth SA). Although Byrne has provided an explanation for many issues in the syntax of SA, a variety of unresolved problems remain. In this paper, I examine a variety of movement phenomena in SA syntax. I utilize the innovations of minimalist perspectives on syntactic theory to drive an analysis of these various phenomena.

In the first part of this paper, I examine A'-movement in SA, specifically focusing on Wh-movement and Focus movement. Several peculiarities are immediately evident when considering A'-movement in SA. Many of these facts can be explained within a Minimalist syntactic framework. For instance, focus particles are generally optional, as in (1), but with subjects of matrix clauses, they are obligatory, as in (2). The PF constraint in (3), which requires pronounced material to intervene between a moved constituent and its trace for Focus interpretation to be available, can account for this fact. Additional evidence for this PF constraint is found in the focalization of embedded subjects to a position outside of their clause; in these instances, the focus particle is optional, as in (4). Island effects are also evident in SA when DPs are focalized across Wh-elements, as in (7). This is easily explained in Minimalist terms if we consider the Phase Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky (2000).

In the second part of this paper, I examine verb movement in SA. Specifically, I examine constructions where the verb is focalized to the initial position in the sentence, but the verb is pronounced both in the initial position in the sentence and in its canonical position in the IP-field. I propose, following Nunes (2004) that the verb moves via head movement to a focus head Foc^0 . In this position, the verb incorporates with a null functional head, and at Spell-Out, where linearization and copy-deletion occur, the lower copy of the verb does not delete because of the previous incorporation; the higher copy and the lower copy of the verb are not non-distinct, so copy-deletion does not obtain.

Although I do not introduce any new theoretical mechanisms in this paper, I show how previously unexplained problems in the syntax of Saramaccan can be resolved within current theoretical frameworks such as the minimalist program.

#23

History Speaking for Itself? Anguilla, Creole Origins, and the Founder Principle

As Arends (2002: 56) argues, “historical correctness” is not a characteristic frequently found in much of the work on Creole genesis. But even though anchoring accounts of origins to history can offer a more compelling picture of genesis, historical correctness has other characteristics as well, including a necessary reflexive dimension. The discussion at hand explores the role of reflexivity in scholarship by documenting social stratification within the context of an English-lexifier Creole’s emergence in Anguilla, the most northerly of the Caribbean’s Leeward Islands. It focuses on two topics: linguists’ interpretations of the Founder Principle (e.g., Mayr 1982, Zelinsky 1992, Chaudenson 2001, Mufwene 2001) and interaction between persons of European and African ancestry in Anguilla during the island’s first hundred years of colonization by the British (i.e., 1650-1750).

According to Chaudenson’s (2001: 100-101) discussion of the Founder Principle, persons of African and European ancestry in the early period of colonization (i.e., the *société d’habitation*) lived at a time in which a “social gap...between masters and slaves..did not yet exist.” Generalizing about their daily lives, he writes that frequent interaction and “Robinsonian conditions” led them to speak in a very similar, if not identical, way. This inference is based on the proposal that during the homestead phase the enslaved and their owners had “...nearly identical daily lives..” (98). Offering a valuable caveat concerning the blanket application of this principle to diverse situations of language genesis, Mufwene (in Chaudenson 2001) writes that “Every theory generalizes from a limited body of facts.” He states that “What matters most [...] is how much can be extrapolated from Chaudenson’s study of the linguistic and other consequences of French settlement colonization to similar forms of colonization by other nations” (ix).

This paper relies on primary sources (unpublished colonial documents, patents, wills, migration records, census information, oral histories,) to actualize part of the project that Mufwene envisions. It makes two proposals: first, that data from Anguilla refute a number of Chaudenson’s wider claims; and second, that historical accuracy calls for creolists to be open to the idea that the struggles and daily lives of the enslaved (i.e., “history from below”) contribute to understandings of language contact and linguistic variation in a way that their owners’ points of view do not. Furthermore, I hold that formulating “historically correct” accounts of genesis demands that researchers acknowledge and confront some of the enduring tensions and problems that are always evoked in representing speakers, languages, and speech communities. The sociolinguist, for example, is challenged to “...reconcile the essentially neutral, or arbitrary, nature of linguistic difference and linguistic change with the existence of social stratification of

languages and levels of speech unmistakable in any complex speech community” (Sankoff 1980: 5). In the case of Anguilla, no detailed accounts of the island’s early history have been published, nor have prior investigations of early language contact been realized. Nevertheless, as will be discussed, Anguilla, like other “marginal colonies,” (Higman 1995) has an important role to play in reconfiguring linguists’ understandings of British colonialization.

#24

Creole in the diaspora: A variationist study of the speech of young Caribbeans in Toronto

This paper presents findings from an ongoing study in which I investigate the use of Jamaican Creole in a community of practice in Toronto. It provides an ethnographically grounded account of variation between Canadian English and Creole linguistic variants, and, for some variables, the intermediate variety of Jamaican English. The corpus consists of twenty hours of speech data recorded within a group of Jamaican Canadians in Toronto, which will be analyzed for Creole-English variation at the levels of phonology and morphosyntax.

Using the case of the FACE and GOAT vowels, this paper addresses the question whether the linguistic practices of diaspora Caribbeans can be modelled as a creole continuum, or should be seen as two distinct sets of linguistic resources. Both vowels have more than two potential variants for speakers of Creole and North American English, which in principle can be used to model mini-continua (from the falling Creole diphthongs /uo, ie/ across the Caribbean English monophthongs /o:, e:/ to the North American standard English rising diphthongs /ou, ei/). This paper addresses the question whether discourse practices actually show speakers using the whole range of variants in a systematic distribution, as preliminary observations suggest they do.

#25

Spanglish in Georgia: a phonological analysis of code-switching

In this paper, I investigate the phonological aspects of Spanglish. By comparing two speakers, I was able to analyze which speaker tended to use the phonology of English and which defaulted to the phonology of Spanish. Because of the differences in the age of the speakers, it was easy to first look to the Critical Age Hypothesis as a possible explanation; however, I found this to be an inadequate explanation. Instead, the differences are best explained by Bybee's (2003) usage based model and the frequency effects of input. Phonology is an area that has largely been ignored in the study of Spanglish and is an important component to understanding this emerging code.

An increase in the interest of the effect of language contact between Spanish and English has become more salient in this country over the last century with the growing number of Hispanics in the United States. What once was isolated to border towns and large cities has moved into other smaller regions, such as the state of Georgia. As a result of the contact situation, a new code has formed. Stavans (2003: 5) defines Spanglish as "the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations." The importance, therefore, in understanding and validating this linguistic phenomenon is becoming more critical.

For those who constantly communicate in both languages it is natural to mix the two when among other members of the same linguistic community. Ardila (2005:65) highlights the need for further understanding when he states, "Spanglish, in any one of its diverse variations, is spoken by millions of people. There is no question that it represents the most important contemporary linguistic phenomenon the United States has faced that has unfortunately been significantly understudied." Spanglish needs to be studied in terms of the different linguistic processes at work, of which code-switching is the most important.

Thomason (2001:132) defines code-switching as "the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation." For many researchers (Gumperz 1982; Toribio 2002; Myers-Scotton 1993) the focus has been on the social factors behind code-switching. Other researchers (Boumans 1998; Nishimura 1997; Halmari 1997) have focused more on the syntax of code-switches and have given descriptions of the rules that govern code-switches. Much of the research on code-switching has ignored the area of phonology.

By using a pre-recorded conversation between two bilingual speakers in Georgia and an impressionistic analysis, I have analyzed the influence of Spanish phonology on English words and phrases during an informal Spanglish conversation. Do speakers switch phonemic inventory when they switch codes? The older speaker defaulted to the phonemic inventory of Spanish while the younger speaker switched between the two. Rather than relying on the Critical Age Hypothesis, I propose that the differences in types

of loan transfer can best be explained by Bybee's (2003) usage based model of phonology and that any variation in production is a result of frequency effects.

#26

Bare Nouns in Cape Verdean Creole, European and Brazilian Portuguese: A Comparative Analysis

Lucchesi (1993), Baptista (2001) and Déprez (to appear) have all offered distinct analyses regarding the set of conditions underlying the occurrence of bare nouns in Cape Verdean Creole (henceforth, CVC). These scholars have also clearly demonstrated that bare nouns in this language show a high degree of interpretive variability. They may be interpreted as generic, definite/specific plural, indefinite/specific plural, indefinite/non-specific plural, indefinite specific singular, indefinite non-specific singular or definite/specific singular. Such investigations have presented compelling evidence for the full complexity of the determiner system of CVC.

However, no study has so far been conducted drawing a systematic comparison of the determiner systems between CVC, European Portuguese (EP), as the lexifier of Cape Verdean Creole, and Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as a dominant variety of Portuguese subjected to comparable socio-historical circumstances in which CVC emerged.

The goal of this paper is to fill such gap and to show in which respects the determiner systems of CVC, EP and BP diverge and converge. More specifically, the results of this comparison will show that the use of bare nouns in CVC is much more widespread than in both EP and BP. In EP and BP, bare nouns (we mean no determiner and no plural marking) are used in the case of abstract, mass or mass-type nouns and bare plurals (no determiner but plural marking is present) are used in the case of generics and indefinite non-specific/non-referential plural nouns. However, BP departs from EP and behaves just like CVC in three respects: it uses bare nouns (no determiner, no plural marking) in the case of generics and in the case of indefinite non-specific/non-referential plural nouns. Finally, in BP, proper names are as a rule, never modified by the definite determiner, just like CVC. The table below highlights the domains in which bare nouns are possible in all three languages. Ungrammatical occurrences of bare nouns are marked by the symbol *Ø. Bare nouns with no determiners and no plural marking are signaled by the symbol Ø(-PL) whereas bare nouns with no determiners but carrying the plural morpheme *-s* are indicated by Ø(+PL).

	Non-specific/non-referential + generic			Referential Indefinite			Referential Definite			Proper names		
	CVC	EP	BP	CVC	EP	BP	CVC	EP	BP	CVC	EP	BP
Plural Countables	Ø(-PL)	Ø(+PL)	Ø(-PL)	Ø	*Ø	*Ø	Ø	*Ø	*Ø	Ø	*Ø	Ø
Singular	Ø	*Ø	*Ø	Ø	*Ø	*Ø	Ø	*Ø	*Ø			
Noncountables (abstract + mass or mass-type)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	NA		

In summary, this comparative study will reveal that while the use of bare nouns in CVC is much more widespread than in both EP and BP, the CVC determiner system is radically distinct from that of its EP lexifier but shares a number of common points with EP.

#27

Alienable/inalienable possession in Saramaccan as a transferred feature from Fongbe

Please see separately attached PDF version

Filename = Abstract 27

(file contains special phonetic characters which did not transfer well into a Word file like this one; therefore I am attaching it separately)

#28

A Diachronic Study of Case System Changes in Jamaican Creole

In her seminal description, Bailey(1966) claimed that Jamaican Creole did not have a case system; however her analysis was limited to morphological case and occurred before the era of abstract case theory. In a previous study (Snyder, 2002), I examined the concept of case in Jamaican Creole and then described it as structural case at the syntax level. In my previous study I used Bailey’s language samples for the analysis. In the present study I have analyzed contemporary samples of Jamaican Creole and compared them for differences in case use with my earlier study. Two questions are of particular interest—how has Jamaican Creole grammar changed during the interval and will a similar analysis also confirm structural case at the syntax level. Of additional interest is that the data collected for this study was exclusively from rural speech samples.

The methodology for both the previous study and the present study used Fillmore’s predicate calculus (Fillmore, 1968). Specifically, I describe each argument at the surface level by predicate calculus, and then assign a case to each argument.

At this writing the analysis is still incomplete; however, I have not found any change in the case system between the two samples. This implies a rather robust case system, and preservation of that system at least for these rural samples. This is further confirmation that Jamaican Creole has its own case system. Furthermore, the present study again found structural case at the syntax level using rural language samples.

#29

The presence of the standard variety and the development of language attitudes

In the Korlai Creole Portuguese (KCP) speech community ---of around 800 speakers--- the Portuguese linguistic and cultural influence have been largely absent since around 1740. Although we find vestiges of prestigious-language forms in KCP (these entered the language by way of the Portuguese-speaking priests), KCP is largely homogeneous and only few speakers actively try to cultivate a more prestigious ‘correct’ variety. Markers of the prestigious variety in KCP are few (the verb *dizi* ‘say’ instead of *hala*, the use of *fala* ‘say’ instead of *hala*, the future marker *a* instead of *l_*) and only few inhabitants insert these into their speech.

By contrast, in the Daman Creole Portuguese (DCP) speech community ---consisting of around 3000 speakers--- the presence of Portuguese language and culture has been there since around 1580. Consequently, the standard Portuguese variety has not only been maintained in church but also in cultural activities of various types. Its presence, I argue, has been the main reason for the creation of two distinct Daman Portuguese varieties, although the Daman community is geographically roughly in the same place. The lower variety (*fala tOrt* ‘speak twisted’ or *fala Os-p_rOs* ‘speak with the familiar pronouns’) is spoken in a neighborhood that has historically been economically less developed, while the higher variety (*fala pulit* ‘speak polished’) is spoken by many of the inhabitants in a neighborhood that is economically more developed.

This situation raises some fundamental questions about language attitudes, language use, and language change. First, due to the presence of a standard variety of Portuguese in Daman, attitudes developed in favor of one variety over another. However, the favored variety is not standard Portuguese but rather, certain markers that are taken to reflect standard Portuguese. That is, the current standard Portuguese pronoun *tu* ‘you.singular.familiar’ is not used, nor is the standard Portuguese *você* ‘you.singular.formal’. Rather, the familiar forms *Os* and *p_rOs* are avoided or expunged in acrolectal Daman Portuguese and the formal forms *use* and *puse* are promoted or maintained as the ‘correct’ forms. In other words, certain forms develop as the sociolinguistic prestigious forms and the avoidance of the non-prestigious forms has led to a fundamental change in the pronominal paradigm in Small Daman CP. As is typically the case with sociolinguistic phenomena, it is the mere presence of a prestigious language variety that serves as the catalyst for the development of attitudes regarding language use and the preference of certain forms over others. This is apparent in creole continua in many situations (cf. Jamaican CP, Guyana CP to name just a few). The mere presence of a standard language variety serves as a catalyst for the development of attitudes, which in turn leads to different choices in language use, and ultimately to language change in a variety or, in the most extreme cases, to the abandonment of a language variety all together.

#30

Weighing the evidence once more: On the (still) disputed origins of the Palenquero pronoun *ele* ‘he, she, they’

Having as its central topic the origin(s) of a single pronoun — i.e., Palenquero *ele* ‘he, she they’ —, this paper admittedly has a narrow focus. As will become clear in the course of the discussion, its findings are, however, of considerable importance not only to the complex origins of Palenquero in general, but also to how phonetic evidence (in *all* its necessary details) is weighed when attempting to reconstruct the diachronic trajectory of creole languages.

The paper begins with a brief overview of the various functions (3d singular, 3d plural, etc.) currently held by *ele*. The discussion then proceeds to an analysis of the major etymological hypotheses that have been proposed over the past two decades or so. Key in this respect will be Lipski’s recent observation that “neither a gender-invariant third person pronoun nor a subject pronoun ending in *-e* is attested in non-Africanized Spanish dialects” (2005: 294), which naturally raises prospects for extrahispanic origins.

In an earlier paper dating back a decade or so, I had argued for an *Afro-Portuguese* derivation (i.e., Pal. *ele* ‘he, she, it’ < Port. *ele* ‘he’ as well as *ele* ‘they’ < *eles* ‘they’), thereby making this prominent pronoun one of the cornerstones of a more far-reaching hypothesis, according to which Palenquero is said to have originated from an Afro-Portuguese pidgin. Bickerton (2002: 36-37) explicitly rejected this derivation of *ele*, and with it also the idea that Palenquero’s early history must have been conditioned by an Afro-Portuguese contact vernacular.

The last half of this paper will weigh the merits of the various etymological arguments. I will contend that Bickerton’s counterarguments to an Afro-Portuguese derivation are not airtight since key phonetic evidence (published well prior to Bickerton’s study) was not given proper consideration. At the same time I will concede, however, that recent revelations (Vidal Ortega 2002: 128ff) about the sustained presence of Portuguese slave traders in the midst of 16th-17th Cartagena opens an alternative explanation for how *ele* could have entered the Palenquero creole: namely via direct contact — in the Americas — with Portuguese Jews, many of whom were deeply engaged in the Atlantic slave trade while residing in a city (Cartagena) that is located a mere 40 miles from Palenque.

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