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GENERAL SESSIONS

An investigation of two cleft constructions in Reunion Creole at the discourse-syntax interface

Alina McLellan

In this talk, I investigate cleft constructions with *sé* and *na* in Reunion Creole (RC). Given that RC remains in close contact with the lexifier, it is important to analyse these constructions, which are known to have correlates in spoken French, to ascertain how they compare to those in other French creoles. The data presented come from a corpus of original materials gathered by the author within their MA research, supplemented with oral materials from the RC section of the *Corpus de la parole* (Barat et al. 1976) and a corpus of over 12,000 SMS messages gathered from speakers on Reunion Island (Cougnon, 2012). I begin by arguing, contrary to previous analyses of RC, that focus constructions with *sé* in RC are equivalent to the well-studied *c'est*-cleft. According to Maurer & the APiCS Consortium (2013), to be classified as a cleft, if a focus construction does not contain a copula as its highlighter, it must have a relativiser introducing the background clause. If it contains a focus particle rather than a copula, it is considered to be a case of focus fronting. Corne (1995) suggested that a relativiser is optional in relative clauses and related constructions in RC. This optionality gives rise to the following two focus constructions with *sé*:

(1) *Sé la mashine k' i konvien pa*
HL DEF machine REL FIN work NEG
'It is the machine which doesn't work'

(2) *Sé lo sistèm lé mal roganizé*
HL DEF system COP.PRS badly organised
'It is the system that is badly organised'

Bollée (2013) analyses *sé* as a focus particle rather than a copula in RC. Under this analysis, only (1) is considered to be a cleft construction. However, given that I found examples of clefts with *sé* in the past tense as *sété* (3), I propose that *sé* be analysed as a copula, and that (1) and (2) are variants of one bi-clausal cleft construction. I have also found examples with present-tense *sé* and a past-tense verb following the clefted element, as in (4). Since tense has scope over the whole clause (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), this is further evidence to suggest these structures are bi-clausal, even when the relativiser is omitted.

(3) *Sété lu komsa ke dan larondisman qui faisait les demann*
HL 3sg so REL in.the.area REL do.IPFV DEF.PL request
'It was him who, in the area, made the requests'

(4) *Sé mwin lavé pa konpri*
HL me have.PAST.PRF NEG understand
'It is me who hadn't understood'

Secondly, I discuss presentational cleft structures involving a HAVE copula. While these structures are well-attested cross-linguistically (Lambrecht 1988), they have received less attention in the creole literature. According to Lambrecht (1988), they serve to introduce a new referent into the discourse and offer a proposition about that referent simultaneously. An example from RC is below.

(5) *na une question ki: ki intrig amwin*
 have one question REL REL intrigue to.me
 'there is a question which which intrigues me'

Corne (1995) suggested that the relativiser may be favoured in constructions with *sé* and disfavoured in those with *na*, though this has not been tested. I therefore aim to test this observation, uncovering patterns in the presence of the relativiser, and comparing the discourse environments that each structure is found in. Preliminary results find that *sé* clefts focalize a nominal or adverbial (no predicate clefts are found), and the constituent type of the clefted element may affect the presence of the relativiser. With the full results, I will compare the cleft constructions of RC to those in other French creoles.

Serial Verb Constructions at the Syntax/Lexicon interface: evidence from Martinican

Anne Zribi-Hertz and Loïc Jean-Louis

Constructions qualifying as *Serial Verb Constructions* by (1) are reportedly attested in French-based creoles, both in the Caribbean (Déchaine 1993, Veenstra 1996, 2000, Lefebvre 1998, DeGraff 2007, Michaelis et al. 2013, Aboh 2015, Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019) and the Indian-Ocean region (Syea 2013, 2017, Veenstra 2017). Valdman (1978) and Bernabé (1983) discuss some relevant (Caribbean) cases under the heading "complex verbs".

- (1)
 - a. An SVC is an arguably monoclausal "construction" (Haspelmath 2016)
 - b. where at least two items identifiable as "verbs" are combined,
 - c. one single event is denoted (Osam 2003, Bohnemeyer et al. 2007)
 - d. with only one TMA specification
 - e. one polarity specification
 - f. no overt coördination or subordination marker between the Vs
 - g. no prosodic break between the Vs

Our own empirical research bears on Martinique Creole (MQ). The three classes of constructions illustrated in (2a,b) and (3) may be shown to verify the properties in (1) and are productive in MQ:

- (2)
 - a. Van-an **pousé** kannòt-la **alé**.
 wind-DET push boat-DET go
 'The wind pushed the boat away.'
 - b. Lili **travèsé** kannal-la **najé** jis Dominik.
 Lili cross channel-DET swim up.to Dominica
 'Lili swam over to Dominica across the channel.'

- (3) a. Sé tianmay-la ka **monté désann** an piébwa ta-a dépi bonmaten-an.
 PL child- DET IPF climb.up climb.down LOC tree DEM-DET since morning-DET
 'The children have been climbing up and down that tree since this morning.'
- b. I pasé tout swaré-a ka **plen vè vidé vè**.
 3SG spend all evening-DET IPF fill glass empty glass
 '(S)he spent all evening filling up and emptying out glasses (viz. getting soaked).'

This talk will focus on the type illustrated in (3), which contrasts with both (2a) and (2b), and which, to our present knowledge, hasn't yet been acknowledged in the literature on SVCs. We will argue that unlike those in (2), examples such as (3) do not involve two combined VPs, but two combined Vs—two [V V-N] compounds in cases such as (3b)—linked together by covert coördination (of the "symmetrical", rather than "asymmetric" or "pseudo" type, cf.: Déchaine 1993, Culicover & Jackendoff 1997, Broekhuis 2018). We assume that the null coördinator linking the two Vs stands as a morpheme in its own right, rather than as an elliptical variant of *épi/ek* (the overt MQ coördinator). Unlike the overt coördinator, the null coördinator cannot link two VPs denoting independent events, only two Vs denoting together a single complex event made up of two temporally contiguous sub-events, the second one of which is understood as cancelling or reversing the first (e.g. 'climb up - climb down' (3a) or 'fill glasses - empty glasses' (3b)). A theoretical issue is whether the bi-verbal complexes illustrated in (3) should be analysed as lexical V-V compounds, or as a type of SVCs formed in the syntax. We base our preference for the second assumption on the lexically free (though semantically and syntactically constrained) nature of the construction under scrutiny.

Stage-level properties in "verbal" constructions: studies from Haitian and Guadeloupean Creole

Laura Tramutoli

In Haitian Creole, one pattern of reduplication at clause level (*reiteration*; Aboh, Smith, Zribi Hertz 2012) consists in doubling the predicate form and inserting attributes of quantity (*yon, sel*) or quality (*bon, byen, gwo, ti*) between the predicate (P1) and its duplicate (P2) (1.).

1. Haitian Creole (Glaude & Zribi-Hertz 2014: 268)
- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Elsi kouri bon ti</i> | <i>kouri</i> |
| P1 | P2 |
| Elsi run good small | run |
- 'Elsi {runs/has run} quite a bit'.

This reiteration construction is particularly productive with predicates expressing dynamic events, and the semantic effect conveyed is a modification of manner (e.g. intensification and/or attenuation) and/or of aspectuality of the action (for instance in 1. → to run *(for) quite a bit*). This paper aims to analyse the compatibility of stative predicates expressing properties with the reiteration construction presented in 1. In particular, it will be explored which semantic classes of adjectives (dimension, value, age, material, physical properties, etc... Stassen 1997) are allowed with such typically verbal constructions, and what is the semantic effect produced by reiteration on the adjectival predicates. Working on Haitian Creole data, it will be shown that adjectives that are semantically characterised to a higher degree by some (typically) verbal

features – mainly the lack of time-stability and the processual gradeability (which generally define *stage-level properties*; Kratzer 1995) –, are more eligible than atemporal properties adjectives (*individual-level properties*) in reiteration constructions to express intensification and attenuation. In conjunction to that, it will be shown that the same classes of adjectives that are eligible for reiteration in Haitian Creole require in Guadeloupean Creole the sole progressive aspect *ka* to form a degree achievement or partial completion predicate (Hay et al. 1999), without the intervention of the progressive light verb *vin* ‘to become’. These two phenomena are indeed strongly linked, since they both are to be viewed as grammatical strategies that deal with the semantic dimension of processual development implied in stage-level property predicates, a topic which is still mainly overlooked by the literature, but that is crucial in the theory of the relationship between the adjectives and verbs macro-categories. Data from Haitian Creole and Guadeloupean Creole are collected by interviewing a total of 20 native speakers (per language) in a survey-type context of elicitation: they will be asked to answer to customized syntactic and morphological questionnaires by producing judgements of acceptability and grammaticality.

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Serial Verb Constructions in Naija

Bernard Caron and Ajede Chika Kennedy

This paper addresses the problems of documenting emerging languages through corpus syntactic annotation when dealing with large corpora with a strong probability of dialectal and social variation. To illustrate these problems, we have selected Serial Verb Constructions in Naija and the problems involved in their annotation and syntactic analysis, as done in the NaijaSynCor survey (Courtin et al. 2018). Serial Verb Construction (SVC), defined as “*a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate–argument relation between the verbs*” (Haspelmath 2016: 292) are widespread in Creole languages, and in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea. SVCs are a common feature of Niger-Congo languages spoken in Nigeria, (e.g. Yoruba in (1)) and those languages have been decisive in the history of the emergence of the concept of SVC as a general descriptive category (Aikhenvald 2006: 58–9).

(1) Yoruba (Yoruboid, Benue-Congo)

mo sùn lẹ
PRON sleep go
(V1) (V2)
'I slept deep.'

Since Naija (spoken mainly as L2 by around 100 M speakers in Nigeria) is an English lexifier pidgin/creole with a strong Niger-Congo substrate, it is no surprise that SVCs are ubiquitous in the NSC corpus, as exemplified in (2 and 3):

(2) P_ENU_02_16

I con prepare finish
1SG.SUBJ AUX.CONS V1 V2
I then got completely ready.

(3) P_ENU_37_47

she just look me smile comot.
she just V1 me V2 V3
She just looked at me, smiled, and came out.

(Lovestrand 2018: 10) sums up the general consensus defining SVCs as having (1) More than one verb ; (2) No linking morpheme ; (3) a Single TAM ; (4) Shared arguments ; (5) One event ; (6) One negation ; (7) a Single intonation contour. Among those, some (e.g. property #3) are problematic for Naija. Whereas in Naija, TAM and negation markers precede and take scope over all the verbs of SVCs (cf. 4 & 5; NEG & TAMs in bold), the Serial Verb *take* (with a Manner/Instrumental function) can, contrary to all other Serial Verbs, be followed by the Imperfective Auxiliary *dey*. (see 6)

(4) P_ABJ_GWA_03_11

de no dey carry me travel go home
they NEG AUX.IPFV V1 me V2 V3 home
'They did not take me home.'

(5) P_IBA_04_Alaska.Pepe__158

na so di animal con take die
FOC so the animal AUX.CONS V1 V2
That is how the animal then died.

(6) P_IBA_01_Fola.lifestory__45

na so I take dey do die
FOC so I V1 AUX.IPFV V2 V3
That is how I did [and] died.

In this paper, the other defining properties are tested to confirm if *take* is a Serial Verb in (6). If it is the case, this phenomenon takes SVCs in Naija one step away from the prototypical SVC. The other 9 properties are then studied in the same way to establish the typological status of Naija concerning SVCs. Then, these new properties become a variable to be tested in the study of variation in Naija. In a bottom-up study of language, the concepts used for the annotation of a corpus are by large a pre-theoretical cover term, naturally problematic for typological and formal syntax. Such concepts are used in a dialectic process: (1) the prototypical typological concept and its defining properties are applied when annotating the corpus; (2) specificities of

the language will emerge which fall outside the scope of the defining properties but do not prevent the concept to be used in the annotation; (3) a new set of properties emerges giving a new definition of the concept for the annotated language; (4) the prototypical properties present in what is identified as an SVC by the annotators help evaluate the distance between the language and the prototype.

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Self-representations of Zamboangueño identity in social media

Eduardo Tobar Delgado

With over 300.000 speakers, Zamboangueño is by far the most vital of the three extant varieties of Chabacano, the Spanish-based creole of the Philippines. Zamboangueños use this language in most domains, not the least of which is social media, which offers new possibilities for (socio)linguistic research (Tobar 2016). Zamboangueño identity has been approached from different angles (Fortuno-Genuino 2011, Lipski 2012, Lesho & Sippola 2013, Lesho & Sippola 2014, Fernández in press), but we still lack studies which incorporate the perspective of non-professional native speakers (Lesho & Sippola 2014). This study focuses on Zamboangueño identity and, importantly, is based solely on the speakers' perceptions. Examining the speaker's views on the features that define the self and the other allows us to confirm or discard assumptions about the different factors that take part in the process of identity construction: linguistic attitudes, nostalgia, the role of the colonizer's language and culture or the fiercely multilingual environment, among others. In fact, we know that creole languages have been stigmatized (Mülheisen 2002) as they have often been considered incomplete or corrupt variants of the European lexifiers. This fact has had an impact on the communities of speakers themselves and on their representations of their own identity. In addition, in the case of Zamboanga, the sociolinguistic situation is extremely complex, since the creole is in contact with English and a good number of Filipino languages, but not with Spanish. By means of online participant observation, we have been able to compile and analyze a sample of the interaction of a Facebook group with over 32,000 members which aims at stimulating the use of Zamboangueño Chabacano. Specifically, we have examined a corpus of 646 different answers to a post asking the members of the group to indicate the features that define Chabacano

identity: *Chavacano tu si ...* 'You are chavacano if ...'. The author of this open, concise and direct question stimulates the metalinguistic awareness of the members of the group and brings up valuable information about which characteristics of their linguistic or cultural identity are considered most prominent. The lighthearted interaction in the threads guarantees spontaneity, at least, insofar as the contributions are not answers to professional linguists. The number of comments generated by this entry is unusually high for the group, which could be interpreted as an indication of the pressing need that participants feel to define and strengthen their Zamboangueño identity in a strikingly multilingual context. The data seems to confirm that, as indicated by Lesho and Sippola (2014), speakers of Zamboangueño Chabacano reflect more on phonology and lexicon but not so much on morphology or syntax. The references to all kinds of cultural features and influences also help us understand how Zamboangueños (re)construct their identity in the wider Philippine context.

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Txting as 'fingered speech'- yup or naa?: An analysis of Jamaican Twitter discourse

André Bernard

This paper critically evaluates the claims made by linguist John McWhorter in his presentation at an official TED Conference in February 2013 entitled: "Txting is killing language. JK!!!" in which he argues that texting is not actually writing, but 'fingered speech'. He examines the main characteristics of speech, writing and texting, and concludes that texting may best be described as an "emergent complexity" which is "not writing at all" (McWhorter 2013). The arguments put forward by McWhorter will be examined using data from tweets posted by members of the Jamaican Twitter community. The tweets were manually collected over a period of two years, organized and stored in a database. The paper provides a response to McWhorter's claims through an examination of the characteristics of the Twitter space and how it works, with a view to better understand the nature of communication in contexts which are outside of the canonical situation of utterance (Lyons 1977) or the prototypical setting of face-to-face communication. Although Thornbury and Slade (2006) claim that many of the features of interactions in electronically mediated platforms like Twitter are derived from spoken conversation, the paper argues that conversational interaction in the Twitter space amounts to more than McWhorter's characterization of it as 'fingered speech'. The interaction on Twitter is characterized by writing at the most informal end of the formal/informal continuum, and the analysis shows that tweeters use various contextualization cues as gap fillers to add contextual information that would be readily available in a face-to-face conversation, but absent in a written medium like Twitter. It also addresses what he describes as the 'loose structure' of texting, to show that although Twitter is a largely informal space, tweeters pay attention to and make meaningful use of conventions like capitalization and punctuation to indicate the way in which their message is to be interpreted. Finally, it evaluates the characterization of texting as 'fingered speech' in light of what takes place in this written, online platform and suggests that such a characterization is in need of re-evaluation.

The meeting of two unlikely Creoles: The stylisation of Jamaican Creole in Dancehall Guyanais

Rashana Lydner

The global diffusion of dancehall, much like its antecedent Reggae, is no longer a uniquely Jamaican expression. It has become a mode of expression for various international communities such as in Japan, the UK, Australia etc. Dancehall's popularity has facilitated the diffusion of Jamaican culture as well as Jamaican Creole (JC). Dawkins (2009; 2013) and Devonish (2006) have conducted studies on Jamaican sociolinguistic features and Jamaican dancehall. In this paper, I am interested in the contact between JC and Creole Guyanais (CG) in Guyane's dancehall space. My paper will look specifically at the stylisation of JC by two dancehall Guyanais artists; Bamby and Jahyanai. Previous research on stylisation includes Bell and Gibson (2011), Coupland (2001; 2004; 2007; 2011), Rampton (1995; 2003) etc. According to Bell and Gibson (2011) stylisation is defined as "voicing the other by using different language styles" (560). Focusing on the voice, Coupland (2011), draws on Frith (2002) to argue that the voice offers a "repertoire of meaning-making options... to performers. Voice subsumes dialect indexicality, but also the management of singer identity and singer-audience relations through the performance of lyrics, rhythmic and bodily modalities" (573). Taking both Bell and Gibson

(2011) and Coupland's (2011) theorisation on the voice, I will examine the ways in which dancehall Guyanais artists Bamby and Jahyanai are performing language (JC) and by extension various identities. Bamby and Jahyanai's songs typically involve *code-switching*¹ between CG and JC. My data for this analysis includes two of their songs; Real Wifey² and Bag a Gyal³. This paper will look at features that Bamby and Jahyanai draw on to stylise themselves as *authentic* dancehall artists. Specifically, I will look at;

1. the ways in which they employ JC syntactic features, for example the use JC "nah" or "no' in negation:

We nah fear no body
We *aren't afraid of anyone*

or the use of "a" as a progressive aspect marker

We a run it
We *control it*

2. their use of JC phonological features to stylise themselves as authentic, for example

[bæk jɒt] becomes [bak jat];
[stɒp ðæt] becomes [stap dat]

3. The ways in which their use of CG localises their performances for a specific *dancehall lokal*⁴ audience, for example the use of CG as the base language for switches

To bien savé bad gal pa o fond long talk
You already know bad girls aren't with the excessive talking.

This paper hopes to illustrate the value of combing research on popular culture and sociolinguistics. This interdisciplinary project will provide a unique case of language contact in Creolistics. Additionally, this paper hopes to illustrate the ways in which Guyanais artists have adopted, reappropriated and resignified dancehall to make it their own.

French Lexicon Creole in the Dominican Classroom: Practice and Pragmatism

Roland Francis

It has been well established that students who do not learn in their mother tongue have considerable difficulty operating in the classroom. Few extensive attempts have been made to establish bilingual and biliteracy programs that teach multiple subject areas in Creole languages, most notably, the *Jamaican Bilingual Primary Education Project* (Devonish and Carpenter 2007) *MIT-HAITI Initiative* (DeGraff and Stump 2018; Miller 2019) and, on a smaller scale, Simmons-McDonald's *Instructional Model* in St Lucia (2014). In Dominica, where a French Lexicon Creole (FLC) is spoken alongside English which is the one official language, no formal,

¹ My working term for alternating between languages in song.

² (2015) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wWJXL9IJfA>

³ (2019) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wOslw67JU8>

⁴ Dancehall "lokal" is not simply an imitation of Jamaican dancehall. "Lokal" is the Antillean French Creole spelling of "local." Using the "lokal" instead of "local" acknowledges dancehall's French creole fusion and incorporation of French West Indian cultural norms.

extensive biliteracy program has been undertaken. However, it has been documented that in practice, teachers often use FLC in the classroom. Bryan and Burnette examined language variation among teachers in Dominica and the use of FLC in the classroom and found that the majority of the teachers surveyed (57%) recognised FLC as their own first language (2003, p. 149). The study also showed that Dominican teachers identify FLC as the second most commonly used language in the classroom (65%), while 100% of teachers stated that they used English in instruction (ibid. p. 151). However, no work has been done detailing precisely how FLC is used in the classroom and incorporated into teaching, nor did Bryan and Burnette delve deeply into teachers' perceptions of how the use of FLC affects the learning of English. This paper explores the classroom procedures and attitudes of teachers in a Creole-dominant community who use FLC in their classes. Interviews were conducted with four primary school teachers and some of their lessons observed. Based on the classroom observation, three types of FLC use were established: 1) *instruction* (full lessons, planned and delivered in FLC); 2) *clarification* (lessons delivered mainly in English with the use of FLC to facilitate and deepen comprehension) and; 3) *interaction* (use of FLC to direct the students outside of instruction, for example, to make students stand or sit). Then, transcripts of the teacher interviews were coded in QDA Miner according to the types of FLC use established. Preliminary analysis demonstrates that teachers are disinclined to deliver an entire lesson in FLC as students have varying degrees of competence in the language and only a few students each year are Creole-dominant. The teachers contend that most students speak a variety of English, which they identify as 'broken English', and scholars have coined Dominican Creole English (Christie 1987). Instead, FLC is used mainly to clarify and/or deepen understanding of a particular concept during instruction in English. Additionally, teachers often use FLC in interactions outside of teaching. Finally, the paper explores the teachers' attitudes towards their own practice and shows that while they are pragmatic about the use of FLC in the classroom when needed, they have strong reservations about full biliteracy programs as they may hinder the acquisition/learning of Standard English.

Copular Clauses in Guinea-Bissau Creole: Semantic Types and Syntactic Structures

Chiara Truppi

This paper aims to present the provisional results of an on-going study of the semantic and syntactic properties of copular clauses in the Portuguese-related creole of Guinea-Bissau (GBC). The study is based on first-hand data from GBC and elicitation tasks with GBC native speakers. It aims (i) to provide a taxonomy of copular clauses of GBC based on the semantic properties of their subject and complement, and (ii) to look at their syntax. Following Mikkelsen (2011) and references therein, at least three types of copular clauses may be distinguished on the basis of the semantic nature of their subject and complement, i.e. their referential properties. In particular, in predicational clauses (1a), the subject is typically a referential noun phrase, a pronoun or a quantifier, while the complement is non-referential. In equative clauses (1b), both the subject and complement are referential. Finally, in specificational clauses (1c), the complement is referential, while the subject typically is not.

- (1) a. She is happy.
 b. Cicero is Tully. / That is Joe Smith.
 c. The director of Anatomy of a murder is Otto Preminger.
 (adapted from Mikkelsen 2011)

Building on Mikkelsen (2011), the GBC sentences in (2a-d) represent a predicational clause (2a), an equative (2b), and two specificational clauses (2c,d), respectively.

- (2) a. *Fatu i pursor.*
 Fatu COP teacher
 'Fatu is a teacher.'
 b. *Saliha i Poundingo.*
 Saliha COP Poundingo
 'Saliha is Poundingo.'
 c. (I) *Fatu ki (i) pursor (di ki turma).*
 (3SG.CL) Fatu REL COP teacher (of DEM class)
 d. # *Pursor (di ki turma) i Fatu.*
 teacher (of DEM class) COP Fatu
 'Fatu is the teacher (of that class).'

The sentences in (2a), (2b), and (2d) display the same linear order (NP+COP+NP), while (2c) presents a different surface structure. The specificational sentences in (2c) and (2d) are structurally different, but yield the same interpretation, corresponding to the same semantic type. In particular, the specificational cleft in (2c) represents the most productive pattern among GBC native speakers, while the copular clause in (2d) is often considered odd (see Truppi 2019: 94 for a similar statement). Although in complement position, the semantic subject of (2d) is *Fatu*, while *pursor* represents the specific property attributed to the subject, i.e. that of being a teacher. (2d) looks like the inverted counterpart of (2a), but the two clauses yield different interpretations: *pursor* in (2a) is predicational and non-referential, while it is referential in (2d). An interim conclusion is that specificational clauses are preferentially expressed by cleft structures. Why this is so (e.g. whether it depends on substrate/adstrate influence) and how semantic facts cope with the syntax of copular clauses are further questions that this paper aims to answer.

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The variability of invariable verb forms in restructured vernaculars. The case of Cabindan Portuguese

Miguel Gutierrez Mate

It has been widely acknowledged that Creoles use morphologically invariant verb forms: person/number-reference is conveyed by subject pronouns, whereas tense/mood/aspect is determined by (usually preverbal) independent morphemes ('TMA markers'). Creole verbs usually descend from the infinitive forms (INF) of the lexifier, despite some exceptions of verbs coming from the third-person-singular (3P.SG) present (see, for example, Sippola 2013 on Ternate Chabacano). For their part, in fossilized L2 varieties the 3P.SG form is often overgeneralized (Clements 2003). The relevance of the subject has been known for a long time in Creole studies: as a matter of fact, Schuchardt (1888: 251-252) was the first author who, in studying the different types of *Negerportugiesisch*, considered the generalization of INF to be typical of Creoles, while the generalization of 3P.SG forms was typical of *Jargons*. However, as we will show in this paper, the use of INF is possible also in naturalistically learned second languages.

In this paper, we will analyze new data from varieties of Portuguese spoken by L1 Kikongo speakers in the Angolan exclave and province of Cabinda (see Gutiérrez Maté 2020). In these varieties, deviations from the canonical verb conjugation of Portuguese abound:

- (1) *eu não sabe esse língua não*
1P.SG NEG speaks(3P.SG) DEM language NEG
'I don't speak that language'

- (2) *aquele tempo ninguém saber os quilo*
DEM time nobody know(INF) ART.PL kilo
'At that time no one knew how many kilos [the food weighed]'

The examples of type (1), with overgeneralization of the 3P.SG, may appear in informants of different age groups and from all over the province. The examples of type (2), with generalization of the INF, seem to be restricted to older speakers in municipalities far from Cabinda City (which represents the contact between this province and Luanda and, therefore, the contact with other forms of Angolan and even international Portuguese). Our analysis will consider these and other internal and external variables (time exposure to Portuguese, *Aktionsart*, etc.) for the study of the linguistic variable "INF vs. 3P.SG vs. canonical verb forms" in Cabindan Portuguese.

Finally, the interpretation of the data will be placed in the debate on the continuum between creolization and other processes of linguistic approximation (Chaudenson 2002) – including the process that has often been classified as *partial restructuring* (s. Holm 2004 and Inverno 2009 for other Angolan varieties of Portuguese). Interestingly, neither of the two restructured variants (INF and 3P.SG) are related to transfer, since the 'substrate' (Kikongo) has an agglutinative verb morphology marking both TMA and person/number.

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Zero Copula in Portuguese-based Creoles

Carlos Silva, Joana Ferreira

INTRODUCTION. Some creole languages are known by displaying zero copula in copular clauses, although the major lexifiers have an obligatory copula and potentially all the substrate languages have it too (McWhorter 1995). This study aims to describe the behaviour of copulas in Portuguese-based creole languages, namely the Creoles of Casamance, Guinea-Bissau, Principense and Papiá Kristang, regarding the conditions under which a lexical copula alternates with a null copula. The main goal is to uncover the syntactic-semantic features that are relevant for the functional structure of nominal predication.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND. In a survey of more than 100 languages, Stassen (1997) states that zero copulas surface primarily in nominal predications (even if the language allows them with other non-verbal predicates), in the present tense (as in Russian) and in the 3rd person (as in Hungarian). This author explains this trend in the basis of the predicational typology (Higgins, 1979), saying that non-verbal sentences are primarily identificational. Languages like Russian and Hungarian also led some investigators to say that the copula is generated in (T)ense (Rapoport 1987). These assumptions depart from the one *be* hypothesis (Williams 1983). However, following the traditional view, *i.e.*, the two *be*'s approach, Brucart (2012) has proposed that the principles governing the alternations of lexical copulas in languages with more than one lexical element (like Portuguese and Spanish) would be the distinction between *stage-level* (terminal coincidence) and *individual-level* (central coincidence) predicates.

STUDY DESIGN. Based on Holm (2013), we divided the creoles into:

- . Type I: COP_NP/Loc ≠ Ø_AP
Casamance (Bernard & Quint 2010) and *Kriyol of Guinea-Bissau* (Kihm 1994);
- . Type II: Ø~COP_NP/AP
Principense (Maurer 2009; Agostinho 2012);
- . Type III: Ø_NP/AP ≠ Ø~COP_Loc
Papiá Kristang (Baxter 1988).

For each type, we selected at least one creole and a primary source in order to constitute a corpus and, thus, to analyse the conditions of alternation between null and lexical copula.

DISCUSSION. Based on the nominal predication structures analysed, we found that: (i) when a language displays null copulas only with adjectives, there is no contradiction with Stassen's generalization, since these adjectives seem to belong to the verbal category; (ii) there seems to be a "natural" motivation for the distinction between central coincidence predications and terminal coincidence predications, once we verified it to be an important condition for the lexical choice for the copula; (iii) the superficiality of null copulas in Creoles follows the universal tendency to manifest in the present indicative, which is not aspectually marked.

CONCLUSION. This study suggests that, either due to the conditions of alternation in the lexifier language or due to a potential universal underlying principle, Higgins' (1979) predicational typology does not predict the contexts in which zero copulas emerge in the Creoles. However, like Brucart (2012) stated for Spanish, the copula seems to be generated in the Asp(ect) head in the syntactic structure and not in T(ense). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, in the studied languages, zero copulas emerge in non-aspectually marked contexts, *i.e.*, in central coincidence predications.

Grammatical Highlights of New Daman Indo-Portuguese Texts

Clancy J. Clements

Thirteen texts consisting of fables and stories provided by a native speaker of Daman Indo-Portuguese (DamIP) form the basis of the present study (Fernandes, nd). All texts are from the basilectal variety of DamIP. Some of the stories are ones also found in Dalgado (1903) but display different features in some cases. The differences are not lexical, but rather grammatical. An example of the findings is illustrated by *Istó dum Tig* 'Story of a Tiger', in which Dalgado's text contains irregular past forms such as *fez* 'did', where in Fernandes' version the corresponding form appears as *já fizeu* [lit. already do-PST] 'did'. This important difference is revealing in two ways. First, in DamIP the form *já fizeu* is not found in any of the textual data collected in the late 20th century by Clements. Second a native speaker of DamIP, himself a speaker of acrotectal DamIP, introduces it in the tiger story. It is argued that forms *já fizeu* and forms like it represent what Fernandes perceives as an older variety of DamIP, which either no longer exists in DamIP, or never did exist. However, these features are present in the Indo-Portuguese creole spoken in Korlai.

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Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish: A Sociohistorical and Linguistic Account

Piero Visconte

This project combines sociohistorical and linguistic insights to cast light on Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish (APS). It has two main goals: (1) to provide a linguistic description of APS; (2) to assess

the origin of this variety and its implications for creole studies. The questions that this work addresses may be stated as follows: What are the main differences between APS and standard Spanish? Was slavery in Puerto Rico much different from slavery in other European colonies in the Caribbean? How can we use this information to address current debates on the origin of other black communities in Latin America and the languages they speak? My sociohistorical methodology pays close attention to the composition of the first slave groups introduced in the region, the percentages of locally-born and African-born slaves sold in the local markets, the legal practice of Spanish slavery in the Americas (Sessarego 2017) and the presence and degree in the region of certain Spanish social customs related to slavery (i.e., slave marriage, religious indoctrination, manumission, etc.) (Tannenbaum 1947; Andrés Gallego 2005). All these factors will be considered to explain the development of APS. In so doing, this project challenges the posture that would picture certain contemporary features of APS as the traces of a previous creole stage (Meggeney 1989, Granda 1968, Otheguy 1973). My APS linguistic data are in line with the available historical descriptions of Afro-Puerto Rican *habla bozal* (Alvarez Nazario 1974; Lipski 2007). The grammar of this variety, though intriguingly divergent from standard Spanish, does not appear to have gone through radical processes of grammatical restructuring. In fact, this vernacular is characterized by phonological and morphological reductions and some lexical borrowing of African origin, but on a “creole thermometer” (Lipski 2008: 183), it looks more like “a Spanish dialect than a Spanish creole” (McWhorter 2000: 10). For this reason, I suggest that APS may be conceived as the result of advanced, second language acquisition processes, which were conventionalized at the community level in rural villages far away from the pressure exerted by standardization and the linguistic norm. My account, therefore, also contradicts traditional views proposing a potential (de)creolization hypothesis for a number of other Afro-Hispanic vernaculars spoken across the Americas (Granda 1970; Otheguy 1973; Schwegler 1999), and, by doing so, it adds an important new piece to the controversial puzzle on the genesis and evolution of the Afro-Hispanic languages of the Americas (Lipski 2005).

The double life of Haitian Creole PASE

Patricia Cabredo

Haitian Creole has a standard marker PASE in superiority comparatives (1), (Stassen’s 2011 terminology).

(1)	Li	pi)	bèl	pase	Mari (HC)
	S/he	more	beautiful	exceed	M.
	Comparee	ComparativeMarker		StandardMarker	Standard
	S/he is more beautiful than M. (Fattier 2013)				

The comparative marker is optional and takes two forms: *pi* (*pli*) only precedes adjectives, *plis* follows verbs (DeGraff 2007). The Standard marker *pase* in HC derives from French (*de*)*passer* “surpass, exceed” (DeGraff 2007:113-116). Standard markers derived from exceed-type verbs in Creole languages are usually studied together with serial verb constructions as comparative serial verbs (see Veenstra & Muysken 2017 for an overview and references). HC *pase* fulfils some of the criteria for serial verbs: it does not take TAM markers or negation and it appears without a linker/subordinator. However, *pase* can be separated from the main predicate by an object and introduces an extra argument (2).

- (2) Jan **bwè** (dlo) **pase** Pòl.
 J. drinks water exceeding P

These criteria would also be fulfilled by a preposition - so is HC *pase* is a serial verb or a preposition? This study presents evidence that *pase* is homophonous between a serial verb and a preposition and that there are two *pase*-constructions in HC.

- serial verb *pase*-construction
- *pli/plis* + *pase* + nominal complement construction

pase without ComparativeMarker is a serial verb: adjacency to the verbal predicate cannot be interrupted by a preposition

- (3) Li pale avèk *(plis) pwofesè pase mwen.
 S/he spoke with more professor exceed 1sg

pli/plis + *pase* is a degree modifier + StandardMarker: with *plis*, *pase* can be internal to an NP without any verbal predicate and *plis pase* can modify numeral NPs:

- (4) a. [**Plis** gason **pase** fi] te patisipe.
 Plis boys exceed girls past took.part
 More boys than girls took part.
- b. [**Plis pase** yon tyè popilasyon] (te patisipe)
 plis exceed one third population
 More than a third of the population took part.

The *pli/plis* + *pase* complement construction is not a calque from French *plus ... que*: while the French construction allows clausal complements, for my informants *pase* categorically only takes phrasal complements. In addition, unlike French, the HC *pli/plis+pase* construction shares properties with German and Dutch degree words (Doetjes 2008) that do not distinguish adjectives from verbs but adjectives from nongradable verbs with gradable verbs like *renmen* 'love' falling in between, with the additional possibility in HC of having the verbal Standard Marker *plis* in preverbal position:

- (5) a. Jan renmen Mari pase-w
 b. Jan renmen Mari **plis** pase-w
 c. Jan **plis** renmen Mari pase-w)
 d. Jan **pi** renmen Mari pase-w
 J PLIS/PI love M. PLIS PASE 2sg
 J loves M more than you

The two constructions are further distinguished by their ability to modify an implicit temporal adjunct corresponding to ReferenceTime: without the comparativeMarker, my informants did not accept the sentence without the explicit adverb *jòdi-a* "today" (note that serialV *pase* can modify a null **prototypical object** (2).)

- (6) a. Jan mache plis (jòdi-a) pase yè
b. Jan mache *(jòdi-a) pase yè.
Jean walked more (today) than yesterday

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Expressing time marks in Casamance Creole

Joseph Jean François Nunez

Casamance Afro-Portuguese Creole is traditionally spoken in South of Senegal, in low Casamance, a particularly multilingual area (Juillard & Wald, 1994). My talk will focus on linguistic structures (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) and on the social meanings (Auer 1999) of language contact - in particular the temporal expression in linguistic practices of Casamance Creole speakers. These speakers are in contact with typologically different languages like French (Indo-European, Romance language) and Wolof (Niger-Congo, Atlantic language).

There are 8 main ways to express temporal expression in Casamance Creole (Nunez 2015). Starting from the principle that Casamance creole speakers are influenced by French in temporal expression, this paper will show how this influence manifests itself. My hypothesis is that several causes (Thomason 2007) are at the origin of this influence that a multi-factor analysis at a multi-level (Goury 2005; Léglise 2009) could explain. I will first describe time division system in Casamance Creole, then, I will show how this system is expressed in Casamance Creole speaker's language practices.

The preliminary results of this study on language practices of Casamance Creole speakers observed in my corpus reveal a specialization of temporal expression. Thus, when it is a question of expressing the time, French is systematically used (see. example 1, Casamance Creole in normal character and French in bold). When it comes to expressing a greeting early in the morning, French is used in competition with Casamance Creole (see. example 2a and b). Studies on Casamance Creole have not focused on this aspect (Chataigner 1963; Rougé 1988; Kihm 1994; Biagui & Quint 2013; Biagui 2018) and the effects of contact between Casamance Creole and local languages (Bainouk, Mancagne...) are still little known despite Nunez (2015);

2017). This study will provide a better understanding of the effects of language contact in Casamance Creole by contributing to its description.

1 e ta bay tarbaju trois heure-s
 3PL.SBJ AS.HAB to go work three.CARD hour-PL
They go to work at three o'clock

2.a bonjour Maria vs 2.b bondiya Maria
 Good morning Mary Good morning Mary
Good morning Mary Good morning Mary

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Une Grammaire LFG 1 du Créole Haïtien

J. Dieudonné

La question de l'informatisation des langues est un champ de réflexion très ouvert actuellement et en pleine élaboration. Beaucoup de langues ont su profiter activement de cette évolution rapide des technologies informatiques pour se doter des outils de traitement automatique nécessaires tandis que d'autres communautés linguistiques, dites minoritaires, tardent, pour des raisons diverses, à emboîter le pas (Scannell et al., 2007). Le créole haïtien (désormais CH) fait partie de ces catégories de langues qui sont peu dotées en la matière. D'où la raison d'être

de cette recherche à proposer une description formelle du CH dans le cadre d'une grammaire d'unification (LFG) et l'implémentation de ses règles sur la plateforme XLFG.

En effet, deux axes de recherche ont par conséquent été investis: nous avons, d'une part, tenté de produire une description formelle de la grammaire du CH dont les aspects sont traités dans le cadre de la Grammaire Lexicale Fonctionnelle (LFG), un modèle théorique qui propose une architecture de correspondance parallèle basée sur des contraintes, et, d'autre part, implémenté les règles grammaticales à l'aide du parseur XLFG.org, un analyseur syntaxique pour les grammaires LFG dont la principale caractéristique est de s'appuyer sur une représentation partagée pour différentes analyses structurelles (structures des constituants, des fonctions et des arguments) de la même phrase. Au moyen de l'outil XLFG nous aboutissons à la génération automatique des arbres et des matrices des structures de phrases types du CH. Cette grammaire électronique du créole haïtien fait donc appel à la fois à la linguistique et à l'informatique. Elle décrit et modélise quelques aspects de la syntaxe de l'agencement des mots⁵ et de leurs relations structurelles dans la phrase de base du CH. A ce jour, les structures les plus courantes sont couvertes. Elle traite entre autres de la polarité négative (1), des composants du système temps-aspect-mode (2) et de leurs combinaisons (3), des phrases *détransitivisées* (4), des constructions réfléchies (5) et réciproques (6), des constructions à double objet ((i) V+DP+DP ; (ii) V+DP+PP ; (iii) V+DP+V+DP.) ou des séries verbales (7).

1) a. Mari **pa** vini jodi a.
MARIE NEG VENIR AUJOURD'HUI DF
'Marie n'est pas venu aujourd'hui.'

b. *Mari vini **pa** jodi a.
MARIE VENIR NEG AUJOURD'HUI DF

2) a. Jan **ap** manje.
JEAN INAC MANGER
(i) 'Jean mange/est en train de manger.
(ii) 'Jean mangera.

b. Jan **te** manje.
JEAN ANT MANGER
(i) 'Jean mangeait.' (Imperfectif)
(ii) 'Jean avait mangé/a mangé.' (Perfectif)

c. Jan **a** wè Mari.
JEAN FUT VOIR MARIE
'Jean verra Marie.'

3) a. Jan **te ap** vini.
JEAN ANT INAC VENIR
(i) 'Jean viendrait.'
(ii) 'Jean allait venir/était en train de venir.'

a'. *Jan **ap te** vini
JAN INAC ANT VENIR

b. Jan **t(e) a** vini.
JEAN ANT FUT VENIR
(i) 'Jean souhaiterait venir.'

b'. *Jan **a t(e)** vini.
JEAN FUT ANT VENIR

⁵ Considérés ici comme des « [...] unités minimales de la syntaxe, qui s'occupe de leur combinaison dans les phrases. », Moeschler & Auchlin (2009 : 59)

(ii) 'Jean viendrait bien.'

c. ?Jan **t(e)** a(p) va vini.
JEAN ANT INAC FUT VENIR
'Jean pourrait venir.'

c'. *Jan **t(e) a v(a)** ap vini
JEAN ANT FUT INAC VENIR

4) a. Yo achte liv la.
3PL ACHETER LIVRE DF
'On a acheté le livre.'

b. Liv la achte deja (*yo).
LIVRE DF ACHETER DÉJÀ 3PL
'Le livre {est déjà/a déjà été} acheté.'

5) Jan_z dezabiye l_z.
JEAN DESHABILLER 3SG
'Jean s'est deshabillé.'

6) Jan ak Mari, yonn ap gade lot.
JEAN ET MARIE L'UN INAC REGARDER L'AUTRE
Lit. 'Jean et Marie, l'un regarde l'autre.'

7) Jan **pran** mont la **montre** Mari.
JEAN PRENDRE MONTRE DF MONTRER MARIE
'Jean a montré la montre à Marie.'

Mon exposé présentera donc les points principaux de cette grammaire LFG du créole haïtien. Il détaillera la méthode et les outils utilisés pour sa réalisation. Cette présentation sera accompagnée d'une démo du parsing de quelques phrases.

The complex sentence in Vincentian Creole: the purpose clause

Paola Prescod

In this talk, I examine the strategies speakers of Vincentian Creole use to express purpose. In this creole, the strategies used to signal purpose can take a number of forms, ranging from the use of manipulative verbs and desiderative verbs as in (1) and (2) to expressions involving complementisers *fo* and *so* as in (3) and (4).

1. *Di man mek i woman faal duhng*
ART man make DEF woman fall down
'The man made the woman fall.'

2. *Dem waa mi ge lak uhp*
3PL want me get lock up
'They want to have me locked up.'

3. *Mi hafo wash i pan fo mami beik.*
1SG have.to wash ART pan for mommy bake
'I have to wash the pan for mommy to bake.'

4. *Mi a wok so aayo kod iit mi aut.*
 1SG PROG work PURP 2SG/PL IRR eat mi out
 'I am working so that you can eat, drink and be merry at my expense.'

As we see in (1) and (2), the complements of manipulative and desiderative verbs may indicate the intention of the subject of the matrix verb (Treis, 2012: 13). In *fo* and *so* clauses in Vincentian Creole, what seems to be encoded is the desired outcome of the action performed by the agent of the matrix verb, the *mi* of utterances (3) and (4).

The talk will focus exclusively on structures displaying *fo* and *so* which are highly multifunctional in the creole as their cognates are in the lexifier language, English. The distribution of *fo* and *so* morphemes will be analysed in semantic and syntactic environments: [\pm finite], [\pm modal], clefting and WH-movement.

The preliminary results of this study show that the syntactic and semantic variations observed in Vincentian usage do not altogether match those of Modern-day English usage although both *for* and *so... that* can introduce purpose clauses in that language. This mismatch gives rise to idiosyncrasies in Vincentian Creole which can also be observed in other creoles.

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Interrogative constructions in creoles and sign languages

Susanne Maria Michaelis

In this talk, I will explore potential commonalities in creoles and sign languages with regard to interrogative constructions. Several linguists have claimed that similar sociohistorical settings and cognitive constraints in creolization and sign language evolution have given rise to similar linguistic structures (e.g. Fischer 1978, 2015; Woodward 1978; Adone 2012). However, to be able to demonstrate significant commonalities between creoles and sign languages, it is not

enough to only investigate features which are widespread in both types of languages: At the same time the features should be rare in non-creoles/non-sign languages world-wide.

Interrogative constructions are one of the best researched topics in sign languages (e.g. Morgan 2006; Šarac Kuhn & Wilbur 2006 and also typological work, such as Zeshan 2004, 2013 on 35 sign languages; see also Cechetto 2012; Quer et al. 2017). My information on creoles comes from the *Atlas of pidgin and creole language structures* (APiCS, Michaelis et al. 2013), which covers 59 creoles. I will examine (i) polar (yes/no) questions and (ii) content (wh-) questions.

In polar questions, creoles and sign languages predominantly show an apparent commonality in that a polar question differs from a declarative sentence only by intonation (various non-manual markers, such as eyebrow raise or head forward position (Zeshan 2004: 19) being viewed as suprasegmental entities correlating to intonation in spoken languages; Sandler 1999). Jamaican, for example, has *Im av kyaar?* (rising intonation), lit. 'He has car?' At the same time, the intonation-only pattern seems to be rarer cross-linguistically (Dryer 2013). This would speak in favor of a shared preference for creoles and sign languages to feature intonation-only in polar questions. However, a closer reading of Dryer's WALS chapter highlights the difficulty of qualitative comparison of data from different typological datasets: Given Dryer's classification, WALS apparently underrepresents languages that mark polar questions intonationally, since minor strategies (e.g. question particles) in a given language are given priority over a co-existing intonation strategy in the overall typology. Therefore, interrogative intonation could be much more widespread world-wide and hence the status of interrogative intonation as a significant shared creole/ sign language feature remains to be proven by better matching typological datasets.

The picture in content questions is much clearer. Creoles and sign languages have different structures. In APiCS, two feature values are distinguished: fronted wh-phrases ('**What** did you do?') and non-fronted wh-phrases (in situ lit. 'You did **what** today?' or some other non-initial position; Haspelmath 2013). Creoles show both patterns, with a strong preference for fronted wh-phrases. However, sign languages show more diverse patterns in the placement of the whphrase. Besides the possibility of fronting, many sign languages allow for a sentence-final position of the wh-phrase (CAKE EAT NOT **WHO** 'Who did not eat the cake?', Italian Sign Language (LIS), Cechetto 2012). Interestingly, this rightward placement is unattested in creoles and is generally extremely rare in spoken languages (cf. Dryer 2013), and therefore seems to be a specific strategy of sign languages.

In conclusion: interrogative constructions do not lend support to the claim that creoles and sign languages share unusual commonalities.

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The Nasalization of the Haitian Creole Determiner /la/ in Non-nasal Environments

David Tézil

This study is a contribution to sociolinguistic research on language variation in Haitian Creole (HC). Specifically, on the varieties of HC spoken by both monolingual and bilingual speakers. Using methods of variationist sociolinguistics, this study examines the factors as well as the different situational contexts that influence the use of nasalization of the determiner /la/ (henceforth *LA*) in non-nasal environments, a language change that has been claimed to be led by bilingual speakers (Valdman 1991; 2015), but which has not received much attention. This study also analyzes the relationship between the nasal forms of the determiner: [lã] and [ã] or *LÃ* in non-nasal environments and *Kreyòl swa* 'silky Creole' (see Fattier-Thomas 1984; Valdman 2015), a variety of HC widely spoken by bilingual Haitians.

I used a variationist sociolinguistic approach to investigate the issue more extensively and to provide substantive answers to three research questions: (1) Has this linguistic change extended to other social groups, for example, to monolingual speakers of Haitian Creole? (2) Are there linguistic factors conditioning the change, for example, the phonological features of vowels in word-final syllables? (3) Is there a correlation between Frenchified features (e.g. front rounded vowels, postvocalic [r]) and the nasalization of the determiner in non-nasal environments? The corpus includes three sets of data gathered from pair interviews (P),

individual interviews, (I) and data elicitation (E) conducted with 32 natives of Haitian Creole. The speakers' social profiles were coded for age, sex, geographical location, occupation, education and level of bilingualism.

The results show that the nasalization of the determiner *LA* in non-nasal contexts has been extended to speakers of different social status, particularly to monolingual speakers as well as those living in different geographical areas of the country (i.e. urban and rural). Regarding the effect of linguistic environments, the results reveal that high vowels favor *LÃ* across the board. However, *LÃ* does not occur with low vowels in open syllables as a result of vowel lengthening, which then blocks vowel nasalization (e.g. *papa a* [papa:]/**papa an* [papaã] 'the father'). Finally, the study indicates a link between Frenchified features and nasalization of the determiner for some speakers and not for others. Even though Frenchified features occurred less frequently among the monolingual speakers, those with average or higher level of education nasalized the determiner more than their peers when these features were present.

Tone and vowel length in Lung'le and Fa d'Ambô (Phonology)

Ana Livia Agostinho

The goal of this paper is to discuss the relation between tone and vowel length in Portuguese origin words in Lung'le (ISO code 639-3: pre) and Fa d'Ambô (ISO code 639-3: fab), two genetically related Portuguese-based creole languages spoken in the Gulf of Guinea, thereby providing an additional contribution to the study of word prosodic systems, prosodic contact, and phonological theory.

Lung'le and Fa d'Ambô, together with Forro or Santome (ISO code 639-3: cri) and Angolar (ISO code 639-3 in São Tomé: aoa), arose from the speciation of the Proto-Creole of the Gulf of Guinea (PGG) (Bandeira 2017; Ferraz 1979; Hagemeyer 2011). According to Agostinho & Hyman (in press), Lung'le has a restrictive privative H/Ø tone system, in which the H is culminative, but non-obligatory, and the tone-bearing unit is the (vocalic) mora. In the Portuguese origin words, the H tone is generally linked to the vocalic mora of the syllable that had stress in Portuguese through diachronic stress-to-tone alignment (via PGG). In this paper, I propose a similar analysis of Fa d'Ambô based on fieldwork data.

As previously reported by Traill and Ferraz (1981), long vowels in Lung'le can be either phonetically rising [LH] or falling [HL]. The same is true for Fa d'Ambô. Both contours derive from the loss of liquids from Portuguese (via PGG) with compensatory lengthening of the adjacent V. According to Agostinho & Hyman (in press), since CV́ and ĆV are contrastive and synchronically unpredictable, the location of the H tone must be marked underlyingly, as seen in (1).

	Protoform	Fa d'Ambô	Lung'le	Phonetic output	Gloss
(1)	(Bandeira 2017)				
a.	*plɛ.tu	pɛ́ɛ.tu	pɛ́ɛ.tu	[pě:tu]	'black'
b.	*pɛr.tu	péɛ.tu	péɛ.tu	[pê:tu]	'close'

If a liquid in the 2nd position of a complex onset is lost, as in (1a), the result is a rising contour. On the other hand, if a liquid coda is lost, as in (1b), the result is a falling contour. These results

are very consistent for both languages. These findings corroborate the hypothesis that Lung'le and Fa d'Ambô developed from PGG as proposed by Bandeira (2017) since the coda loss without lengthening found in Forro ['petu] 'close' (cf. Araujo and Hagemeijer 2013) could only have occurred after the separation.

While compensatory lengthening triggered by the loss of codas is expected, non-moraic elements such as onsets or complex onsets do not trigger the process since they do not bear weight (Hayes 1989; Topintzi 2010). However, Portuguese shows evidence of a vowel-like phonetic segment preceding a tap in onset position, which has the same quality as the nucleus (Nishida 2009). So, following Agostinho & Hyman (in press), I consider that this vowel-like segment was present in the PGG and later reanalyzed as moraic by the Lung'le and Fa d'Ambô speakers.

Tone in Atlantic creoles: Experimental evidence from Naijá

Maria Mazzoli

Tone has been recognised as a prominent feature in many Atlantic creoles, likely inherited from the Niger-Congo substrate languages (Rivera-Castillo & Faraclas 2006). However, depending on the accuracy of prosodic description, the ideologies and the odds surrounding the histories of single creole languages, the role of tone has been addressed differently in each language. For instance, Saramaccan tones have been traditionally studied since Voorhoeve (1961) and Rountree (1972). Instead, there has been some reluctance among researchers to address Naijá, an English-based extended pidgin spoken in Nigeria, as a tonal language, although community nativization is attested in multiple areas in southern Nigeria (e.g. in Ajégunlè – Lagos, Mazzoli 2017, 2021). Some Naijá scholars do not mention tone (Agheyisi 1971), while others (e.g. Elugbe & Omamor 1991; Elugbe 2004: 838–840) claim that the language is better described as a pitch-accent system. Faraclas (1985; 1996: 263) claims that two tones exist in Naijá (Low and High) and they are used to mark both lexical and morphological distinctions.

In this paper, I present experimental evidence concerning tonal assignment on the item /de/, in the elicited speech of three speakers of Naijá with different level of sociolinguistic nativization of the language. In Naijá, /de/ is a complex item used as locative/existential verb, predicate in associative constructions with *fo*, variably inserted copula in attributive sentences, imperfective preverbal marker and non-finite marker in complex verb clusters. Most of the speakers testify that pitch level is determinant to distinguish the existential/locative (EX.LOC) uses from the aspectual/non-finite uses (IPFV). However, until now, experimental prosodic data have never been elicited to confirm tone. This paper establishes that tonal distinctions on the item /de/ are categorically produced by both first language and second language speakers of Naijá, in response to written stimuli containing tonally underspecified items (written *dey*). It also establishes that both high-tone *dé* (EX.LOC) and low-tone *dè* (IPFV) are used before property verbs such as *happy*, *empty* or *jealous*. Co-occurrence of IPFV *dè* and EX.LOC *dé* is also produced by both first language and second language Naijá speakers.

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Prosodic phrasing in Naija (Nigerian Pidgin)

Biola Oyelere

This paper aims at examining the procedures adopted to prosodically segment the different levels prosodic structure identified in Naija, an extended pidgin spoken in Nigeria (West Africa) by the vast majority of its inhabitants. Prosodic phrasing remains a complex notion that has received great attention among scholars this last decade, particularly in Romance and Germanic languages (Jun 2005); in contrast, it has yet been little studied in African languages. This work is based on the Rhapsodie model, developed for the intonosyntactic modelling of French, and its functional interpretation in terms of communication devices and shaping of the informational flow of speech (Lacheret-Dujour, Kahane & Pietrandrea 2018), but the internal structure of one of the units is explained from the perspective of the Institute for Perception Research (IPO) (Hart, Collier & Cohen 1990).

This study presents at least two major interests. First is the identification and annotation of the prosodic units in Naija. In phrasing Naija (a language that remains underexplored at both the lexical and postlexical prosodic level) prosodically, this work adapts a methodology developed for French (a typologically different language), in terms of annotation, instrumentation, and semi-automatic processing to analyse the prosody of the language, which makes it possible to highlight the prosodic specificities of this language. In this work, ten (10) files of at least five minutes monologues recorded from ten speakers representing all the regions of Nigeria, presenting a balanced sampling between the Northern and Southern parts of the country were selected from NaijaSynCor⁶ golden corpus (80 files). The data had been orthographically and phonetically transcribed, then syllabified semi-automatically using the SPPAS tool⁷ (Bigi, Caron & Oyelere 2017). Since prosodic phrasing involves the identification of the prominence and its boundary within a unit, the prosodic chunking done in this paper is phonetically and perceptually driven, such that the nucleus (peak) of the intonational contour and its boundary were identified, manually annotated on PRAAT and phonetically verified on ANALOR (Oyelere, Simard & Lacheret-Dujour 2018).

The second interest of this paper is the semi-automatic and theoretical treatment of the two prosodic hierarchical units of intonation period (IP) and prosodic phrase (PP) which were found in Naija speeches. The annotation of the maximal unit called IP in this work was used to train ANALOR⁸ for semi-automatic IP annotation. And the internal structures of the second level (PP) was examined theoretically with IPO via the concepts of local and global attributes of intonational contour (Hart, Collier & Cohen 1990). Local attribute characterizes the f₀ peak of the contour and the syllable that bears it, whereas global attribute concerns the stretch of the contour over the domain of the concerned prosodic unit. The two attributes are

⁶ NaijaSynCor project (NSC) is a corpus-based survey of Naija, financed by the French research agency ANR.

⁷ SPPAS (SPeech Phonetization Alignment and Syllabification) is a tool that produces automatic annotations which include utterance, word, syllabic and phonemic segmentations from a recorded speech sound and its transcription.

⁸ ANALOR: This is a computer tool developed to process prosodic data semi-automatically (Avanzi, Lacheret & Victorri 2008).

morphosyntactically examined on the concepts of the root, the prefix and the suffix of each intonational contour of Naija PP.

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Morphosyntactic Variation in Creole-Lexifier Contact: An Implicational Scaling of Martinican Creole

Chiara Ardonio

In creolophone Martinique, the introduction of French compulsory schooling in the 1940s, together with increased social mobility, has paved the way for a shift to French as Martinicans' L1 (Beck 2017). Whilst there is little evidence of a linguistic continuum (Lefebvre 1974, Bernabé 1983), reports of cross-linguistic influences are abundant in the literature (Bellonie 2007; Pustka & Bellonie 2018). On the Creole side of the spectrum, scholars and language activists have captured this phenomenon through the concept of decreolisation. A common view is that decreolisation in Martinican Creole (MC) affects mostly the domains of lexicon and phonology, whilst morphology is least permeable to French influences (Bernabé 1983). However, morphology does not behave as a consistent block (cf. Valdman 1973): it is no coincidence that, while TMA is often brandished as a bastion of Creoleness in activist discourse, the NP is frequently flagged as an easy target for decreolisation.

Exactly to what extent MC morphology has converged to French is, however, unclear, given the dearth of quantitative research. In this paper, I aim to offer a more systematic overview of variation in MC – something that to my knowledge has not been attempted since Lefebvre (1974) – and link it to theoretical accounts of language change. The following morphosyntactic variables have been extracted and coded as Creole or French: TMA, possessive determiner/pronoun ('my house'), demonstrative, definite article, periphrastic genitive (NP of NP), relative object pronoun and complementiser 'that'. This selection combines a range of variables that are and are *not* thought to have undergone decreolisation.

These variables were extracted from the speech of 12 male and female Martinicans of different ages interviewed on a Creole-language radio station (4 hours in total) – where speakers are likely to be in a Creole ‘monolingual mode’ (Grosjean 1982) and, therefore, to display their *less mixed* Creole repertoire. By way of an implicational scale that orders variables from less to more French(ified), I will highlight where in the linguistic systems of these radio guests we observe and *do not* observe (i) signs of alleged convergence to French and (ii) inter-speaker variation. Preliminary data from 10 speakers

VARIABLE	PROPORTION OF CREOLE VARIANT
TMA, all forms combined	95% (2469)
Demonstrative	94% (173)
Possessive (my N)	91% (170)
Definite article	71% (1626)
Object Relative Pronoun	57% (136)
Periphrastic Genitive (NP <i>of</i> NP)	48% (566)
Complementiser ‘ <i>that</i> ’	21% (194)

Gradual creolization in Virgin Islands Creole Dutch

Peter Bakker

In the three Caribbean islands (St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. Jan) once colonized by the Danes, a Dutch-lexifier creole was spoken until 1987, when the last speaker died. The creole has been documented during a period of 250 years (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996), mostly thanks to the activities of Moravian missionaries from Germany and of Lutheran missionaries from Denmark, both of whom used Creole in their religious activities and in teaching literacy to local children. This long period of documentation provides an exceptionally rich window on the creolization process and developments after creolization.

The oldest documentation of the creoles is found in the form of letters, of which some 150 have been preserved, written by local enslaved Christianized people. The language of the letters is much closer to Dutch than later texts. A valuable collection of texts was gathered in the 1920s by Josselin de Jong, which are least like Dutch and closest to the most prototypically creole.

In our presentation, we will focus on an intermediate period, for which we have different versions of the same translated texts, i.e. a parallel corpus (see Van Rossem 2017). In the period between 1770 and 1835, ABC-books, catechisms and psalm books in between five and eight consecutive versions. Our material also includes a formerly unknown and recently discovered primer from 1782. Many of these contain creole translations of the same texts, allowing us to identify developments through time.

We will focus on the development of plural marking, Tense-Mood-Aspect, relativization, possession, locative prepositions and similar constructions known to be different from the lexifiers in most creoles (cf. Hvenekilde & Lanza 1999), and study their development in this 75-year period.

In a number of cases, one can observe a development from a Dutch construction via several innovative alternative constructions to a more fixed construction, cf. the concept “option selection” (Matras 1999), suggesting a reduction in variation through time.

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Questioning the “subjunctive” in Papiamentu

Patricio Varela Almiron

The categories of Tense, Aspect, and Modality (TAM) are mainly expressed by preverbal markers in Papiamentu. This paper argues that *lo* is the only TAM marker expressing Modality in Papiamentu. Maurer (1993) has postulated the existence of a zero marker (\emptyset) expressing the subjunctive while treating *lo* as a future marker. On the other hand, Andersen (1990) treats *lo* as an irrealis marker while accepting the subjunctive zero. These studies do not account for a contrast between the meaning of *lo* and the putative zero marker.

Based on Papiamentu examples from a corpus and the judgment from a native speaker from Curaçao, I posit that there is no zero marker expressing the subjunctive. The lack of an overt marker seems to express a general or habitual situation rather than any type of Irrealis. Meanwhile, *lo* expresses only the possibility of realization in most cases. Therefore, *lo* can be seen as the only marker of some kind of Irrealis. While the term “subjunctive” has been used by Maurer (1993) and other descriptions, this does not seem to be appropriate for Papiamentu. Other TAM markers *ta*, *a*, and *tabata* only express Tense and Aspect since they can appear together with the irrealis marker *lo*. It would be therefore inappropriate to refer to these markers as expressing the “indicative”. The Realis meaning is only implied by the lack of the marker *lo*. This also shows that *lo* appears in a different “slot” as the other TAM markers. Irrealis can sometimes be expressed by modal auxiliaries *ke* “want”, *por* “can/may”, and *mester* “must/should”, or by the TAM marker *a* in some restricted contexts. *Lo* is sometimes used together with these expressions.

This analysis sheds light on the TAM system of Papiamentu being closer to the ones in isolating languages, in which lack of markers typically indicates unmarkedness. At the same time, this points to new developments in the use of modal auxiliaries and the TAM marker *a* expressing some kind of Irrealis.

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both languages transferred into the matrix language. Other grammatical elements that are marked on the Miriwoong inflected verb, such as transitivity, also do not surface on Miriwoong coverbs in Kriol discourse. This study therefore demonstrates the underlying retention of integral grammatical properties across these two languages when code-switching or borrowing verbs.

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Register-sensitivity in creole grammars

Tonjes Veenstra

Variation in Creole languages has been observed at the very beginning of linguistic work on these languages. Schuchardt (1883: 800) already observed for Indo-Portuguese a 'Scala von Kreuzungen und Übergängen' [Scala of intersections and junctions] between the colonial language and local languages. Most research on variation in creole languages has involved societies in which the creole language is in ongoing contact with its lexifier language. In this research a number of theoretical approaches were developed to come to grips with the observed variation: (i) continuum model of DeCamp (1971); (ii) 'coexistent systems' model of Tsuzaki (1971); (iii) diglossia model of Ferguson (1959). The nature of variation of course is important for the issue of how it is rooted in theoretical assumptions concerning the architecture of grammar: continuous variation speaks for a single grammar with variable output (cf. the polylectal grammar approach of Bickerton (1975), or the multiple output grammars of Adger, 2006), whereas discrete variation is evidence for distinct grammars (Kroch (2001); Yang (2010). Kouwenberg and Singler (2011: 299) observe that in addition to continuum-related variation, there is language internal variation within each creole as well. They note that 'the creole-internal distinction most salient to the speech communities seems to be based on the extent to which the community's creole has imported features from its lexifier language and/or from another standard language, thus resulting in register differentiation.' Register as an instance of individual speaker variation in Creole languages, however, has drawn only very limited attention so far (Rickford 2014).

In the first, more programmatic, part of this paper we argue that by looking at register variation creoles can offer a particularly rich field to answer questions of how existing alternations are recruited for register purposes, and how this variation is grammatically implemented. In the second part we present two case studies that show the effects of register-sensitivity in creole syntax. Both studies focus on the syntactic position of adverbs with respect to verbs and their objects. According to the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (Koenenman & Zeijlstra

2014), the generalization is that V-to-I movement is conditioned by rich subject agreement on the finite verb. Especially, the “V-Adv-Obj”-signature is indicative of V-to-I movement. We show that in Kreol Morisien there is a split between spoken and written registers. In the spoken register this signature is absent (Hassamal 2017), the written register has it:

(1) *Lasosiete met touzour dimounn mizer dan bann landrwa retire.*

society met.SF always people poor in PL place isolated

‘But society always put poor people in isolated places.’ (Le Mauricien, Oct 19 2013)

The second case study concerns Haitian Creole. Kihm (2008) shows that older adverbs (e.g. *deja* ‘already’, *toujou* ‘always’, *janm* ‘never’) do not induce the “V-Adv-Obj”-signature, whereas *man*-adverbs, as relatively recent imports from French, do. We argue this is ultimately due to a difference in register. The upshot is that these register-sensitive differences do not correlate with differences in the pronominal systems as instantiations of Rich Agreement, and therefore, the observed patterns constitute a problem for the Rich Agreement Hypothesis.

Adverbs in the Creole of San Basilio de Palenque

Rutsely Simarra Obeso, Sandra Pascuas Cortés, Yolanda Rivera Castillo

The Spanish-lexifier Creole spoken in San Basilio de Palenque represents one of components of social resistance for palenqueros descending from Africa in the Caribbean region of Colombia. As such, many features distinguish this language from the lexifier, including a subset of adverbs. This study is part of a larger project addressing the morphological, syntactic, and semantic features of adverbs in Palenquero. It explores adverbial forms modifying nuclear components, as well as those with scope over the whole sentence (Serret Lanchares' 2012 Left Periphery adverbs). To describe the theoretical underpinnings of the role of adverbs in the sentence, we discuss the analysis by Kovacci (1999), Torner Castell (2005), Serret Lanchares (2012 based on Rizzi's 2001 work), and Sánchez Lancis (1990) of these phenomena. This Creole has been studied by numerous researchers, including De Granda (1978); Patiño Roselli (1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002); Schwegler (1990, 1996, 2002, 2013), Del Castillo (1982); Moñino (1999, 2002), Diek (1998), Lipski (2014), Pérez Tejedor, (2004),

Pascuas Cortés (2012, 2019), Simarra Obeso (2016), among others. However, there is a limited number of studies on adverbs, restricted to work on locative adverbs (Patiño, 1983-2002; Pérez Tejedor, 2004), adverbs inherited from the superstrate (Patiño, 1983), adverbs resulting from composition (Moñino, 1998), and on their sentential position (Schwegler, 2013). Our study addresses our findings regarding the description of the syntactic unit composed of *kamino* and a pronoun that accompanies this form, which is co-referential with the sentence subject: *kamino mí ~ kamino sí ~ kamino ele*. Changes in this pronoun correlate to changes in the subject referent. Regarding its position in the sentence, this form immediately follows the verb it modifies and ensues a manner interpretation at the clause level. Semantically, the *kamino*+pronoun unit has two interpretations. In the first one, it reinforces the notion of physical displacement with clauses involving verbs of motion:

(1) *Ele a bae kamino ele pa loyo a porría chepa mí*

3SG ASP PERF V-Ir Desplazamiento para Rio ASP PERF VLavar Ropa 1POS

'She went to the river to wash my clothes'

In the second denotation, a key component of our study, the meaning rendered by this lexeme pertains to the manner of performing the action ('quietly', 'still', 'gently') with verbs denoting events or processes:

- (2) *I tan akotá kamino mí*
1SG FUT V-acotar tranquilamente
'I will sleep quietly.'

This study should contribute to the study of lexical properties of manner adverbs, and to provide insights into the role of co-referentiality in phrases including this category.

L2 mechanisms in a contact-variety: developmental routes and simplification in speakers of Cameroon Pidgin English

Thomas Hammond

This abstract outlines an empirical corpus-based pilot study which identifies mechanisms typical of English second language acquisition (SLA) in speakers of Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), an English-based pidgin spoken by almost 50% of Cameroon's 22,000,000 population (Eberhard et al. 2021). It forms an analysis based on selected transcripts from the relatively unexplored 240,000-word pilot-corpus of spoken CPE (Ozon et al., 2017) which represents the first attempt to provide a systematic database of a not yet codified variety emerging from a highly complex contact situation.

Starting from the assumption that processes of SLA underlie or at least significantly impact pidgin genesis and their structural mechanisms (Mesthrie, 2017; McWhorter, 2020; Parkvall, 2020) I go on to show that CPE structures of negation and question formation reect typical stages of L2 developmental sequences. NEG + V is adopted for negation and adverbial (wh) fronting for question formation, each of which lack Y/N inversion, copula inversion and agreement respectively. Taken together, these structures show conformity with Level 3 of Pienemann's (1998) Processability Hierarchy, a universal second language developmental hierarchy in syntax and morphology based on a structure's relative complexity of form with respect to function or meaning. The consistencies between CPE structures and L2 processability stages are reective of an arrested (slowed to stop) acquisition of the superstrate (English), a result most likely attested not only to purely linguistic factors but to social ones as well.

The CPE structures adopted to form questions and negation are more simplified than those of English, where simplification is interpreted as a reduction of forms and over regularisation of features. It is also clear from the transcripts that strategies of phonological and morphological simplification are prominent more generally. Orthographical representations of CPE monophthongs, diphthongs and consonants with their corresponding English variants in the metadata of the corpus allows for the identification of epenthesis, monophthongisation, and deletion of word-initial and word-final consonant clusters as simplification strategies adopted by the CPE speakers.

The study also highlights the lack of verbal inection in CPE, which results in over-regularisation of morphological features. An example is the verb *goe* (*go*), which as well as its lexical meaning (1), is used as a pre-verbal particle to express irrealis mood after the complementiser *wei* (which/that) in relative clauses (2) and to indicate future time (3).

(1) Den wai yu noe goe? (So why don't you go?)

(2) ...de wan wei goe sumok ol haus dem... (...the one which would smoke all the houses...)

(3) ...afta tendei dem goe kip dem goe meik... (...after ten days they will keep, they will make...)

Such contexts require different forms and/or morphological marking in the superstrate, yet one single invariant form along with the focus of the discourse context allows for appropriate interpretation in CPE, a characteristic similar to that of an L2 learner's 'Basic Variety' stage (Klein and Perdue, 1997).

Through the comparison of what is absent and what is present in the selected transcripts of the corpus, the study presents empirical data which shows clear parallels between processes of SLA and the grammar of CPE. Although CPE was likely borne through communicative social processes rather than psychological ones (as the superstrate was not seen as a 'target' for acquisition), it is possible to see how certain structural features are consistent with those of interlanguages where English was once the target. The analysis opens up room for a deeper exploration of CPE using the pilot corpus and encourages comparative investigations of a similar type more generally.

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Malaysian English and language mixing in Chinese speakers

Ralf Vollmann, Tek Wooi Soon

Background. The former colonial language English is still held in high regard by the Chinese population of Malaysia (to which these observations will be restricted). Some time after independence, the English language was abolished as language of education for more than a decade, thereby breaking the tradition of English competence. From then on, Spoken English in Malaysia has been heavily influenced by the substrate languages, being mostly a secondary language for multilingual speakers (with the exception of ethnic Chinese with English as their first language) with high prestige as a language without ethnic bias. Many studies of (Singaporean or) Malaysian English (ME) seem to rely on rather educated speakers who know

Standard English. It may be interesting to look into the competence of bad English speakers (e.g., using merely an orate variety of EN). The situation of ME has been termed, among other terms, a 'creoloid', as it is not acquired like a creole, but shares some other characteristics.

Material & method. Data of Malaysian English (and other languages) have been recorded through the method of participant observation (recording of spontaneous conversations), open interviews, and a questionnaire with sample sentences. The aim of the investigation was the documentation of spontaneous speech data otherwise kept within the social circle of Malaysian ethnic Chinese speakers. The consultants spoke Hakka, Cantonese, Taishan as their L1, with various competence in Chinese, Hokkien, Bahasa Pasar, Malaysian.

Analysis. In spoken language, not only are there many loanwords from a number of vernaculars (Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien) and another standard language (Malaysian), one can also find the Chinese topic-comment patterns which surface in situations where one would expect clefting or passives, for example. Sinitic being itself in many ways similar to creoles, with grammaticalised words as the main grammatical traits, is literally translated into English in most case, e.g., 'already' replacing all functions of CH 了 le, or 'one' for CH 的 de in 是...的 shi...de constructions. This can be shown for all grammatical categories. Nonetheless, it is more appropriate to compare this English creoloid with South Chinese vernaculars and Malaysian Mandarin rather than Standard Chinese. All languages share the same pragmatic sentence particles. The multilingual situation also leads to the situation that the same word can be borrowed from various languages in dependence of the speech situation (such as choosing a Hokkien loanword when speaking to a Hokkien speaker in any other language).

Conclusions. The convergence of spoken languages is best described by comparing spoken non standard varieties to ME. In the multilingual situation of Malaysia, English and other languages converge to a high degree structurally and share a lexical pool, which creates the impression of language mixing ('bahasa rojak'). So far as all languages are rather 'isolating', the copying of syntactic structures is by and large easy to perform. The spoken variety of English can also be approached to the norm of Standard English, in dependence of the speaker's competence and the particular speech situation. Nonetheless, the use of English and Mandarin are still heavily influenced by South Chinese patterns at all levels of linguistics.

An exploratory study of sociolinguistic parameters for analysing linguistic variation in Naija

Christine Ofulue, Francis Egbokhare

With over 75 million speakers, Naija is spoken alongside several Nigerian languages and its lexifier, English. The extremely complex nature of the sociolinguistic context within which Naija continues to thrive viz-a vis variationist analysis of variation in Pidgins and Creoles (P/Cs) as a continuum of varieties (DeCamp 1971), raises the need for standard parameters for quantitative and qualitative assessments of a multidimensional nature. The problem that this study seeks to address is the identification and characterization of parameters for analysing variation in Naija in particular and P/Cs in general. Drawing from data of the NaijaSynCor research project, a corpus-based macrosyntactic analysis of 500,000 annotated words, the study identifies and evaluates key sociolinguistic variables and associated linguistic markers that contribute to variation. At the beginning of the project, certain sociolinguistic variables were identified and validated. Based on preliminary findings, the three most salient variables that were identified were: Speakers' first and/or second language (L1/L2), location of residence,

and educational attainment (competency in English). In this study, we seek to undertake an objective evaluation of these variables and the linguistic markers that correlate with them across the various linguistic levels. We ask the following questions: Are there linguistic markers that indicate variability in Naija? How are they identified? How do we explain co-variability between lexical items such as *chop/eat*, syntactic variation such as use/the lack of verb sequences in place of prepositions; and morphological variation such as plural marker *s/dem*, for example? The identification of these markers should contribute to the development of a set of parameters for analysing linguistic variation and a better understanding of P/Cs like Naija, and language variation and change.

Tense, Mood and Aspect in Bishnupriya: A Contact Language

Nazrin Laskar

This paper discusses the Tense (T), Aspect (A) and Mood (M) system in Bishnupriya, a contact language spoken at Hailakandi district in southern part of Assam in India. Bishnupriya emerged as a result of contact between varieties of Eastern Indo-Aryan (inflectional) and Tibeto-Burman (isolating) languages in Manipur, a state in north-eastern part of India. However, the Bishnupriyas, along with many other tribes had fled from Manipur during the Burmese invasion (1819-1826) and settled in parts of southern Assam. In Hailakandi (Assam) where the present study was conducted, the Bishnupriyas co-exist with the Bengalis. Bengali, apart from being one of the primary language that contributed to the formation of Bishnupriya, is the dominant language of the region. Hence the Bishnupriyas living in Hailakandi are naturally bilinguals having facility in both Bishnupriya and Bengali.

The Tense, Aspect and Mood categories in Bishnupriya are expressed by verbs affixed with various inflectional suffixes. Bishnupriya has one Tense represented by Past Tense category, one Aspect category realized by Imperfective Aspect and one Mood category denoted by Irrealis category. The Past Tense in Bishnupriya is denoted by *l* or *s* or *sl* affixed to verb stem. In the Imperfective Aspectual category, the Habitual is expressed by inflectional affixes *l* or *s* or *r* or \emptyset and the Past Habitual by *l* or *s* or *r* or *t*. The Present Progressive situations in Bishnupriya are conveyed by *r* or *s* or *te-s*, whereas the Past Progressives are designated by *r*. The Mood category represented by Irrealis is indicated by *t* or *ŋ* or *m* or *b*. Multiple forms perform the same function and on the other hand, a single affix performs multiple functions in Bishnupriya. Bishnupriya shares some of these affixes with Bengali but their grammar and semantics are different. As Bishnupriya shows very complex TMA marking, in this paper we make an attempt to delineate the various linguistic as well as social factors that play a role in the construction of the TMA system of Bishnupriya.

What's specific about bann?

Ulrike Albers

It has been proposed that plural morphemes in creole languages often encode specificity.⁹ We will show that, as in some other creole languages, the plural morpheme *bann* in Reunion Creole (RC) is indeed excluded in certain existential contexts:

- (1) (*Bann) galé na pwin, anlér-laba.
PL stone have NEG up.there
'Stones, there aren't any up there.'¹⁰

However, *bann* can actually be non-specific¹¹ and take narrow scope¹²:

- (2) Tout marmay la lir **bann gayar zistwar** so-matin.
every child PRF read PL nice story this.morning

Michel, parègzanp, la lir zistwar Tikok, zistwar lyèv, èk
Mickael for.instance PRF read story PR story hare with

zistwar gramér Kal.

story grandmother PR

'Every child read (some) nice tales this morning. Michael, for instance, read the story about Tikok, the tale of the hare, and the tale of Granmér Kal.'

⁹ Kester & Schmitt (2007); Baptista (2007); Bobyleva (2012), amongst others. Déprez (2019) argues that plural morphemes in Haitian and Mauritian are associated with definiteness and come to derivationally occupy the position of definite articles.

¹⁰ Our data include examples from a small oral corpus as well as felicity judgements from native speakers.

¹¹ We use the term in the sense of scopal specificity (cf. von Heusinger 2002).

¹² The second sentence in (2) shows that the first one has to be read in a certain way, where *zistwar* is under the scope of *tout marmay* (the children actually read different stories): $(\forall x) (\text{MARMAY}x \rightarrow (\exists y) (\text{GAYAR.ZISTWAR}y \ \& \ \text{LIR}xy))$

We argue that what looks like the specific interpretation of *bann* is actually a behaviour related to number typology. RC behaves like non-plural agreement languages, and presents two typologically related features.¹³ On the one hand, it displays strict (or « exclusive ») plural, *i.e.* it does not admit singular referents in the denotation of a plural marked NP, unlike English, for instance in « Do you have children? ». On the other hand, NPs containing numerals or quantifiers are (generally) not marked for plural. RC allows for three different forms in syntactic context: singular, plural, and number neutral expressions. It will be shown that in contexts requiring number neutrality, such as assertion and negation of existence, dependent plurals, pseudo-incorporated NPs, NPs containing *konbyin* 'how much/many' or *irrealis* contexts, the number neutral form must be used in RC. This explains the ungrammaticality of *bann* in (1). However, *bann* is admitted in a subset of these contexts if the N is modified and a contrast set generated.

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TMA system of Yilan Creole spoken by Atayal in Taiwan (area: morphosyntax)

Sin Yee Melody Li

Yilan Creole (YC), discovered by linguists in 2006 (Chien & Sanada, 2010), is the only known Japanese-based creole, and one of a few with Austronesian influences. It resulted from the Japanese colonization of Taiwan, when two indigenous groups – Atayal and Seediq – were forced to live together and developed YC as their lingua franca. The population of current native speakers is estimated to be under 3000 (Qiu, 2015), mostly elderly speakers over 80 years old. People often hold a negative attitude towards YC because of its uncertain status within the community and the lack of recognition from the government. Therefore, younger generations are either shifting to the dominant Chinese (Mandarin) in the society, or to Atayal instead.

Since its discovery, only limited materials have become available. Most of the publications focus on the nominal system of YC, such as case-marking (Chien, 2016), and a MA

¹³ See Bale & al. (2011) for the typological link between these features ; see Alexiadou (2019) concerning the notion of (non-)plural agreement languages.

thesis looks at its predicate positions (Qiu, 2015). Investigations into the tense-mood-aspect (TMA) system of YC are however still lacking, and this thesis aims to fill in this gap. During Dec 2019 to Jan 2020, I conducted a short field trip to Taiwan and used Dahl's TMA questionnaire (Dahl, 1985) for elicitation. There are at least three forces which potentially influence the development of TMA in YC: the superstrate language (Japanese), the substrate language (Atayal), and universal constraints. From my preliminary observation, TMA system of YC shows traces from both Japanese and Atayal.

- (1) watasi ngahi' muhi'-**teru** (Q.83)
1.SG sweet potato plant-**PROG**
“(please don't disturb me,) I'm planting sweet potatoes.”
- (2) are **raral** ga ngahi' muhi'-**teru** (Q.26)
3.SG **before** TOP sweet potato plant-**PROG**
“He was planting sweet potatoes (last year).”

Example (1) and (2) are elicited answers based on Dahl's questionnaire. Progressive aspect is expressed through the post-verbal morpheme *-teru/-toru*, which has the counterpart *-te iru* in standard Japanese (Tsuji-mura, 1999). Past tense is indicated by the time adverb *raral*, which is inherited from Atayal, meaning “long time ago”. Meanwhile, there are instances of using post-verbal morpheme *-ta/-da* to indicate past tense in the literature.

- (3) wasi song songcyo ni mi-**ta** (Chien, 2016)
1.SG just village.headman DAT see-**PAST**
“I just saw the village headman.”

There seems to be a combination of methods to express TMA in YC. The use of independent adverbs for past tense is probably a trace of pidgin, since it is common for pidgins to express TMA via independent morphemes but inflections (Baker, 2002). However, the use of postverbal morphemes may signal the development of creole, especially the use of *-teru/-toru* to mark progressive aspect, because it is uncommon for pidgins to express aspect (Parkvall & Bakker, 2013). Since Yilan Creole is still young, or maybe even new-born member in creole studies, it would be interesting to compare its TMA system with others to understand more about the development of pidgins and creoles (470 words).

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Kilen: A mixed Tungusic language

Andreas Hölzl

The moribund Kilen language belongs to the Tungusic language family scattered over northern China and Siberia. The language is spoken along the Middle Amur river in Northeast China. Probably due to its location in the center of the language family, Kilen exhibits properties from several different Tungusic languages. As a result of this mixed character, the exact affiliation of the language has been proven difficult to establish (e.g., Kazama 1996). Previous approaches, based on synchronic data drawn from modern sources, have grouped it with the languages Oroch, Nanai, or Manchu that represent three entirely different subbranches of Tungusic. This study aims at clarifying the position of Kilen among the Tungusic languages.

First, it collects all available materials from the language, ranging from the second half of the 19th century (e.g., Maack & Ruprecht 1856, Radde 1862, Cao 1985 [1885], Grube 1900), over publications during the 20th century (e.g., Kotwicz & Walravens 1981 [1909], Lattimore 1933, Ling 1934, Jettmar 1937, NDSSLD 1958, An 1984, 1986, Zhang et al. 1989), up to recent contributions (Zhang 2013, Chaoke 2014, Dong 2016, Sun 2017, Jin & Cheng 2019, Li 2019). The paper briefly sketches the synchronic and diachronic variations that can be drawn from these sources. For instance, the oldest available texts already exhibit the same mixture seen today (Kotwicz & Walravens 1981 [1909]).

Second, based on the traditional comparative method, this study shows how different layers of borrowings can be identified in these materials. For instance, Proto-Tungusic **p* regularly changed to *f* in Kilen and southern Nanai dialects but occasionally shows an irregular *x* instead, e.g. Najkhin Nanai *pəmun*, Ussuri Nanai *fəmun*, Kilen *xəmun* 'lip'. The initial *x* is a regular outcome of **p* in the language Oroch, e.g. *xəmu(n)*, which indicates borrowing.

Third, the grammatical system can provide evidence for the historical development of the language. For instance, Kilen has an inclusive first-person plural pronoun *bəti* that is absent from Nanai. That this must be a borrowing from Oroch *biti* can be seen from the verbal morphology. Unlike Oroch, but as in Nanai, Kilen verbs do not make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive agreement forms. This suggests a relatively recent integration of the pronoun into the grammatical system.

Fourth, borrowings in different areas of the lexicon can indicate the type and intensity of the contact. The basic lexicon (e.g., body parts) shows a mixture of Oroch and Nanai elements. Borrowings from Manchu, although very numerous, are restricted to peripheral nouns, such as Kilen *taxə* 'tiger' (from Manchu *tasha*), but also include the entire numeral system.

In sum, Kilen is a mixed Tungusic language but is perhaps best considered originally Nanaic. Influence from Oroch in the grammar and the basic lexicon indicates longstanding bilingualism while the more superficial later impact of Manchu is a typical superstrate phenomenon due to its role as a *lingua franca* during Qing dynasty (1636–1912). The paper concludes with theoretical remarks on language contact among genetically related languages and the nature of mixed languages (e.g., Meakins 2013).

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On the History of the Term Pidgin

Rachel Selbach

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 half a century longer for the modern dichotomy of Pidgin and Creole to be formulated. Reinecke (1968 (1937)) proposes ten categories of 'marginal languages'; none of them are labelled 'pidgin'. He hesitantly though explicitly distances himself from that term, instead favouring 'trade jargon' (Reinecke 1968:82, footnote 3). The first uncommented usage of 'pidgin' as a generic term in print appears at around the mid-20th century (Hockett (1950)). Far reaching and discipline determining was Hall's (1966) textbook *Pidgins and Creoles*, in which he clearly sets up the basic pidgin-creole dichotomy that has stayed relevant until today.

From Hall (1966) onwards, the idea of a fixed, unitary concept of a younger 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. Reinecke 1977:vii; Hall 1981:442; Holm 2000:36). There is a tendency to assume that *pidgin* is as old as *creole*, but term, and perhaps concept, are in fact younger by centuries. On a tangent, I also explore the history of the adjacent terms *lingua franca*, and *jargon*.

Shall we really think of 'pidgin' as a pristine entity with fuzzy borders that we have to try to continue to define, or should we consider the possibility that when coining the term, we also led ourselves into a partial bind? 'Pidgin' has well acquired its own rights to existence in our field, but perhaps it should not be considered an unshakeably aristotelian concept, reaching deep into both past and future.

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PANEL – FRENCH-BASED CREOLE LANGUAGES: GRAMMAR AND COMMUNICATION

Convenors: Philipp Krämer and Evelyn Wiesinger

The contributions to this panel focus on areas of research which so far remain understudied in French creolistics: the interplay between language structures and language use in communication, as personal interaction embedded in social realities. The panel will cover the grammar-pragmatics interplay in the domains of deixis and directive speech acts as well as the structural effects of Creole-Lexifier contact in a communicative setting where both language are socially relevant. Furthermore, the panel will look into account the specific context of linguistic structures in electronic communication and their implications for data-driven research. With this panel, we hope to contribute to a more thorough understanding of the grammatical structures of French-based Creole languages while at the same time considering them as interacting with the conditions of communication in a given situation. In a broader sense, this panel is also meant to increase the visibility of French-based Creole languages in mainland France.

Functional adaptedness in creole languages

Susanne Maria Michaelis

In this talk, I will investigate three coding asymmetries in creoles languages:

1. motion-to vs. motion-from: *to* vs. *from*
2. dependent vs. independent possessive person-forms: *my* vs. *mine*
3. zero-marked stative verbs vs. zero-marked dynamic verbs: *Jan ø sick* 'John is sick' vs. *Jan ø daans* 'John danced'

These coding asymmetries are universally detectable in the languages of the world (Haspelmath 2019a, b). They reflect functional adaptedness in that speakers strive to be most efficient in expressing a given grammatical meaning while spending as least energy as necessary. As more frequent meanings (motion-to, dependent possessive person-forms etc.) are more predictable, speakers can afford to code them with less segments. Vice-versa: less predictable meanings (motion-from, independent possessive person-forms etc.) have to be marked with more segments so that the chances are high for the hearer/interlocutor to retrieve the intended meaning.

Such functional-adaptive explanations have a diachronic component (Bybee 1988): Since the current system is often rigidly conventional, the adaptive forces must have been active in earlier diachronic change.

The universal coding asymmetries are the outcome of hundreds, sometimes thousands of years of language change processes. These processes reflect countless speech acts between interlocutors adding up incrementally and resulting in the crystallization of functionally adapted grammatical structures over time. As grammatical change progresses at an extremely slow pace compared to other cultural evolutionary processes, the step-by-step changes which bring about functionally adapted grammatical structures are often opaque or difficult to trace, even in languages with a well-documented written history. To circumnavigate this difficulty, I will focus on creole languages, which are born out of extremely accelerated change processes in the context of the European colonial expansion, roughly during the 16th to 20th centuries. These high-contact languages have evolved their complex grammatical structures within only a few hundred years. In this way they are a good test case for functional-adaptive change processes because creoles demonstrate in a kind of fast motion what happens to grammatical structures under functional pressures.

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ale, (a)pral(e), a – Les fonctions grammaticalisées des verbes de mouvement en créole haïtien

Katrin Pfadenhauer

L'importance des verbes de mouvement dans le contexte de la grammaticalisation ne se limite pas aux langues romanes, mais est aussi présente dans de nombreuses langues dans le monde (voir entre autres Bybee/Dahl 1989, Heine/Kuteva 2002). Les langues créoles n'échappent pas à la règle. D'une part, elles disposent de toute une série de marqueurs préverbaux qui étymologiquement sont issus de périphrases courantes du français (colonial) parlé et qui contiennent comme partie centrale un verbe de mouvement. Ainsi en créole haïtien, les

marqueurs *a* (*av, ava, va, v*) et *(a)pral(e)* proviennent étymologiquement des formes *va* (3^{ème} personne singulier présent du verbe *aller*) et *être après aller* (voir Fattier 2013, 199) et expriment respectivement le futur et l'aspect prospectif (voir DeGraff 2007, Damoiseau 1989). D'autre part, les verbes de mouvement comme *ale* et *vini* du créole haïtien peuvent prendre la fonction d'un adverbe directionnel (voir les exemples chez Valdman (2015, 242): haï. *li mennen piti yo ale* 'he took the children away' vs. haï. *li rale chèn la vini* 'he pulled the chair toward here'). Notre contribution commencera par une comparaison typologique des fonctions grammaticalisées du verbe ALLER en français, en créole haïtien et dans quelques langues africaines sélectionnées (notamment du groupe de langues bantoues). Après, nous réexaminerons les fonctions de *(a)pral(e)* (et du marqueur du progressif *ap* qui d'un point de vue formel en fait partie et qui exprime aussi le futur dans certains contextes), de *a* (*av, ava, va, v*) et d'*ale* à partir de corpus disponibles (entre autres le *Corpus of Northern Haitian Creole* de Valdman, Hebblethwaite 2012, Hazaël-Massieux, M.-Ch. 2008, Hazaël-Massieux, G. 1996). L'objectif de cette analyse est de détecter les parallèles et les divergences dans le développement du verbe ALLER et de rediscuter les fonctions identifiées jusqu'à présent.

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Une mise en équivalence contrastive des systèmes TAM français et haïtien pour une nomenclature créole de « temps grammaticaux »

Frantz Gourdet

Nous questionnerons l'articulation aspectuelle, temporelle et modale des deux langues dans une optique contrastive en quête de leviers d'automatisme, de systématisme et de « signifiante traductologique » du français vers l'haïtien (Guillemin-Flescher 1981). Nous tenterons ainsi une mise en équivalence TAM constituant selon Furkó (2014) une méthode fiable de délimitation

du « spectre fonctionnel » de la langue cible. Ce sera l'opportunité de créer une nomenclature verbale autonome permettant de dépasser les pratiques non coordonnées actuelles évoquant par exemple un « passé composé » sans aucune assise sur la réalité parataxique du CH. Mais une nomenclature générale raisonnée nécessitera un complément d'analyse pour les cas d'énallage et d'emploi de circonstant ou de quantificateur conférant aux *arguments verbaux* une valeur référentielle générique. De même, elle appellera l'approfondissement des hypothèses de DeGraff (1995), Lefebvre (1996), Glaude (2012), Valdman (2015)... concernant la factativité observée en CH au sens des Welmers (1968). L'étude nous conduira ainsi à accorder la primauté/préférence explicative au rôle sémantique ou diathèse du sujet plutôt qu'à l'alternative verbale statique/dynamique. Enfin, alors que le français n'a sur ce point aucune obligation, les créolistes s'accordent à faire une lecture modale de l'auxiliaire aspectuel *ap* qui indiquerait un « futur certain » par opposition au « futur incertain » marqué par *a*, les deux étant à disposition des locuteurs pour dénoter le degré de conviction/planification avec lequel le procès est envisagé. Nous examinerons l'origine diachronique de l'oxymore « futur certain » pour en argumenter la clarification sous l'appellation de « futur renforcé » avec une graphie désambiguïsée le distinguant du présent, à savoir *a p* vs. *ap*. Cette thèse – sans se confondre avec la leur – rejoint ainsi par d'autres voies Spear (1990) et Lefebvre (1996) qui considèrent *ap* progressif et *ap* futur – ici, pour nous, l'amalgame de *a* et *p* – comme deux grammèmes différents. L'étude s'achèvera sur la proposition de nomenclature des *temps grammaticaux* du CH découlant des considérations précédentes.

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Carrefour (im)possible ? On the interface of creolistics and digitalization

Hans-Jörg Döhla, Anja Hennemann

In the last five decades, research on French and other Romance-based creoles has developed and increased steadily – as evidenced not only by ‘classics’ on creole research such as Bollée (1977/1998), Valdman (1978) or Chaudenson (1997), just to name a few, but also by more recent studies, including dissertations, such as Klingler (2003), Steinicke/Schlaak (2011), Krämer (2014), Lämmle (2014) or Wiesinger (2017). Moreover, the ongoing digitalization (in humanities) has also been enjoying more popularity and attention in the last decade. This is reflected by the fact that the term “Digital Humanities” has been coined successfully and is used widely. But where can creole studies and the ever-advancing digitalization process be combined on fruitful grounds? In fact, new digital tools for linguistics open up new methodological approaches to address empirical research questions, a pathway which has already been used successfully in the area of creole phylogenetic studies (Bakker et al. 2013 and 2017) and studies on language complexity (Parkvall 2008).

While sociolinguistic or historical backgrounds of creole languages (e.g. *Créole guyanais* or *Haïtien*) are the subject of many studies, systematic grammatical analyses are comparatively less frequent, as e.g. in the case of evidential constructions in *Haïtien* or *Tayo* (or other Romance-based creoles). A possible reason is certainly the fact that ‘work at home’ is additionally complicated by the scarcity of creole online corpora which still represent a desideratum of digitalization today.

Creoles are independent languages which are used by their speakers as any other languages in the world. Nevertheless, the communicational range of creole languages is often, but not always (as in the case of *Haïtien*), limited to non-official domains, which means that their speakers (must) know at least one other *lingua franca* in order to meet the communicational needs of modern complex societies. In many cases, the former lexifier language still plays an important role. This – together with the fact that there are also L2 creole speakers – results in multiple types of language contact scenarios and, thus, phenomena. If creole languages, which are oral in nature, are then put down in writing, many questions arise concerning their graphic representation, which in turn has an impact on the (lack of) creation of digital corpora. Even though one can ‘look up’ individual linguistic phenomena in the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*, the paths of creole language research and digitalization have not crossed sufficiently yet. How to search for a particular form in a corpus if the spelling is unclear and varying?

In our contribution, we approach the above mentioned issues by examining the methodological possibilities provided by the digital presence of French creoles in the internet, focusing on selected linguistic features like evidential constructions and discourse markers. In this context, the available digital language data sources of the respective French creoles will be considered (e.g. *Haïtien: Rezo Entènèt Kreyolis Ayisien* or *Louisianais: Kreyol Lwiziyen*).

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A comparison of Strict Negative Concord in two French Based Creoles

Viviane Déprez

In Strict Negative Concord constructions (Strict NC), Negative Concord Items (NCI) are obligatorily doubled by a sentential negation marker in all syntactic positions and generally form sequences with a single negation interpretation (Giannakidou 2008). Two out of the three dominant accounts of Strict NC in the literature take the doubling negative marker to be semantically un-interpreted, essentially equivalent to an identity function (Zeijlstra 2004 (Strict NC = Agree), De Swart (2010) (Strict NC = Resumptive Quantification). The third takes NCIs to be universal expressions scoping over negation (Giannakidou 2000, Shimoyama 2011). The combined empirical predictions of these analyses is that Strict NC languages should either feature NCI with universal force or manifest instances of un-interpreted negation sometimes referred to as *expletive negation* (EN). Based on a detailed comparative empirical study of the Strict Negative Concord constructions in two French Based creoles, Haitian Creole (HC) (DeGraff 1993) and Mauritian Creole (MC) (1), using data from a comparative corpus of the Little Prince by St Exupéry as well as collected native speakers intuitions, we show that these

predictions are not verified, and argue that Strict NC constructions are better analyzed as a special type of NPI dependency. (Laka 1990 among others). We show that NCI in HC and MaurC do not have universal force and that although HC but not MaurC features interesting cases of *expletive negation* (EN), these are (i) restricted to sentential complements with *san* (without), (ii) obligatory when possible and (iii) subject to a finiteness constraint which do not apply either to the doubling negation of Strict NC, or to the NCI themselves. Hence the predictions of a Zeijlstra Agree type model or a De Swart Resumptive quantification model are not borne out arguing that the doubling negation marker of Strict NC involves a semantically interpreted negation.

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La morphemes in Martinican

Minella Duzerol

Martinican is a French-based creole spoken in the French West Indies island of Martinique by about 400.000 speakers who also speak French. Martinican has several *la* phonological forms that occur in different syntactic contexts, with different functions and phonological behaviours. The literature aligns with respect to the following homonyms : the definite article *-la* as in (1) and the adverbial *la* (2) (Bernabé 1983; Bernabé and Pinalie 1999; Damoiseau 2012; Colot and Ludwig 2013).

- (1) *boug-la*
 man-DET.DEF
 'the man'
 (Bernabé and Pinalie 1999, 11)

- (2) *man konnet tou sa kit é la*
 1SG know all PR.DEM REL PST here
 'I know everyone who was here' (lit. 'I know all of this that was here')

(Bernabé and Pinalie 1999, 11)

In addition, Colot and Ludwig (2013) distinguish a relative marker *la* (3) - that other authors consider a repetition of the definite article (Bernabé 1983; Bernabé and Pinalie 1999). Ludwig and Pfänder (2003) call it a "restrictive relative marker", while Colot and Ludwig (2013) gloss it as a deictic. Nonetheless, the literature does not explicitly provide morphosyntactic arguments for these distinctions.

(1) *sé pyéklokliko-a oti sé nèg-la té mare-’y la*

DEF.PL hibiscus-DET.DEF REL DEF.PL homme-DET.DEF PST attacher-3SG DEF

‘Les hibiscus où les hommes l’avaient attaché’ (3, Conf)

This corpus-based study provides a synchronic motivation for the distinction of three different *la* morphemes in Martinican, on the basis of phonology, syntax and function: the deictic *la*, the definite article *-la*, and the definite marker *la*. No assumption is made with regard to their etymology. First, this distinction is justified by distinct phonological patterns. The deictic has an invariable form. The definite article has four allomorphs [la], [lã], [a], [ã] in complementary distribution. The definite marker does not show systematic nasalization unlike the definite article. Second, the three *la* morphemes have distinct distributions. *La* deictic can occur in any type of phrase. *La* definite article attaches to the end of nominal phrases which heads are not only nouns. As for *la* definite marker, it can occur at the end of subordinate clauses, not only relative clauses. Consequently, there are contexts where the analysis of *la* is ambiguous. The third argument is functional. The deictic encodes spatial and temporal deixis. The definite article is systematically used to encode the definiteness of the referent of the noun phrase it occurs with, according to the definition of Becker (2018, 86). I show that a subgroup of nouns, traditionally labelled as adverbs (Bernabé and Pinalie 1999; Damoiseau 2012), is inherently deictic and thus is determined by the definite article only when their reference needs to be restricted. In contrast, the definite marker is not central in marking definiteness: it has proved to be optional in my data, and can cooccur with the definite article. It just strengthens the identifiability of the clause it occurs with. This abstract is part of the panel "French-based Creole languages: grammar and communication". This paper contributes to a more detailed view of *la* morphemes in Martinican. Adopting the perspective of grammar in use, this study challenges the classification of some morphemes usually called adverbs but that could be considered a subgroup of nouns. It also questions the typology of subordinate clause markers.

Adhortative structures in French-based Creole languages: a first approach

Philipp Krämer

Research about directive speech acts and their grammatical manifestations often concentrates on imperatives. Much less attention has been given to directives which aim at having a group of people perform an action with the speaker themselves participating, frequently called ‘1st person plural imperatives’ or *adhortatives*:

(1) Annou sòti aswè a.

‘Let’s go out tonight.’ (Haitian Creole, Valdman 2015: 238)

(2) Anu prã nu gadjak!

‘Let’s have our breakfast!’ (Seychelles Creole, Bollée 1977: 60)

- (3) Alon bat karé!
'Let's go for a walk!' (Réunion Creole, title of a TV show on *Réunion la 1ère*; see also Staudacher-Valliamée 2011: 115)

The link between pragmatics and grammar remains an under-researched field in Creole linguistics. This paper attempts to explore adhortative constructions in French-based Creole languages. The first objective will be to review existing literature for descriptions or even mentions of the phenomenon in this group of languages. Following this, I will discuss the possible status of *anou* (and its variants) in the adhortative construction *anou + V* which can be found in French-based Creoles both in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean: Is *anou* a subject or a preverbal particle, and if the latter is the case, which position does it have in the Creoles' TMA systems? To complete the paper, I will give a short comparative perspective of adhortatives in French-based Creoles in the light of theoretical considerations in pragmatics, drawing on Downes' scale of illocutionary opacity (Downes 1977: 79-80), and connect the findings to typological research about directive structures (Aikhenvald 2010, van der Auwera / Dobrushina / Goussev 2004).

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A Needle in a Haystack: Finding Guadeloupean Creole in a Twitter Corpus

Emmanuel Schang

Social media are used by crisis management specialists for real-time detection of earthquakes (Sakaki et al. (2010)) and tropical hurricanes (messages of help, damage assessment, etc.).¹⁴ Since the Antillean Islands are frequently exposed to hurricanes and earthquakes, scanning Twitter for disasters detection can be helpful for the exposed populations (Caragea et al. (2011)). Of course, in Creole-speaking areas such as Guadeloupe, scanning for tweets in French only is questionable: are all the relevant tweets written in French? Or are people writing tweets in Creole? I present here a case study based on a corpus of 236.813 tweets collected between 2017-09-04 and 2017-09-13 with the hashtag #irma,¹⁵ i.e. related to the hurricane Irma which strongly hit Saint-Martin Island on 2017-09-06. Preliminary explorations of the data show that the identification of (Guadeloupean) Creole tweets (language identification task LID) is difficult

¹⁴ See the BRGM SURICATE-NAT web platform: www.suricatenat.fr

¹⁵ The Bureau de Recherche Géologique et Minière (BRGM Orléans) kindly provided the author with the sample of tweets used in this study.

and resists to the usual LID techniques (see Rijhwani et al. (2017); Bergsma et al. (2012); Graham et al. (2014); Lui and Baldwin (2014) a.o.):

- tweets are short and the number of words (or characters) is rarely sufficient for LID,
- Creole and French use the same alphabet,
- most of the tweets containing Creole (Guadeloupean Creole mainly) are multilinguals (French/Creole, but also Spanish/French/Creole, English/ French/Creole),
- many Creole words have a (homographic) correspondent in French (tout, ni, ou, viré, . . .),
- there is no Creole interface for Twitter (people choosing a Creole interface are expected to write tweets in Creole),
- the location of the user is of reliable help: only a tiny fraction of the tweets having 'guadeloupe' or 'gwada' as user_location are written in Creole.

Besides LID tasks, I will discuss the opportunity of using Twitter for lexical studies in Guadeloupean Creole.

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Quelques particules d'amorce au discours rapporté direct dans des interactions entre jeunes Mauriciens plurilingues

Shimeen-Khan Chady

Malgré un gain de popularité depuis une trentaine d'années pour les marqueurs discursifs (désormais MD), les études sur les MD dans les créoles à base lexicale française sont quasi

inexistantes. Je présenterai ici quelques MD considérés comme des *particules d'amorce* (PA) (Moreno, 2016), servant à introduire le discours rapporté direct, dans des interactions entre jeunes Mauriciens plurilingues. Je me base sur un corpus recueilli en 2014 constitué d'environ 6h d'interactions spontanées de jeunes Mauriciens (16 à 19 ans).

Dans ces interactions plurilingues français / kreol morisien, on retrouve l'utilisation de PA *a priori* français : *comme ça (comme ha) / comme si* et *a priori* créoles : *koumsa / koumha / et koumadir*. Ces MD ont tous comme fonction de base la *comparaison similative* basée sur la ressemblance (Fuchs, 2014). L'utilisation de ce type de MD est fréquent chez en québécois avec *comme* (Dostie, 1995 ; Chevalier, 2001) ou en anglais avec *like* (Andersen, 2001 ; Collin, 2010). Je cherche à savoir si leur usage ne marquerait pas une contradiction du locuteur face aux propos qu'il rapporte. Alors que la spécificité du discours direct consiste en l'effacement du locuteur qui présente les propos rapportés comme authentiques (Vion, 2004) - effacement observable dans mon corpus notamment par des changements de *voix* ou de langue - les PA chargent les propos rapportés d'une valeur approximative. Cette approximation est renforcée par la valeur comparative de base de ces MD qui sont, par ailleurs, parfois accompagnés de particules d'extension indiquant l'incertitude du locuteur face à son énoncé (Chady, 2018). L'analyse fine des interactions permet de montrer les différences entre ces PA et d'émettre l'hypothèse que certains ne confèrent pas cette même impression d'approximation notamment grâce à la fonction déictique qu'ils possèdent.

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Creole and regional French in Mauritius: lexical et morphosyntactic influences

Guillaume Fon-Sing

In Mauritius, French and Creole languages have always co-existed since the birth of the latter. From this osmotic relationship, a regional French has developed with particularities that can come from

(i) "ordinary" spoken French attested throughout the French-speaking world, or (ii) the colonial history in the Indian Ocean area (archaisms and diastratisms) or (iii) the transfer of Creole linguistic features (borrowing and contemporary innovations). Thus, regional French in Mauritius is marked, depending on the linguistic experiences of the speakers, by a certain number of lexical and grammatical forms which one hardly meets in standard French. Based on a corpus of contemporary sketches written by the Mauritian journalist J-C. Antoine and published in the local newspaper *Week-End*, we will analyze semantically and functionally some morphosyntactic and lexical peculiarities of Mauritian Creole (MCr) and Mauritian French (MFr) according to their origin, formation and systemic functioning. The aims of this descriptive and analytical work are:

1) to index new lexical Mauritian diatopisms not yet referenced. For example:

- **débaisement** – masc. N. || Arguing, yelling, protest, uproar, mess. Etym: deverbal of *baiser* + derivational composition *Les hommes ont foutu un débaisement et ont protesté mais les femmes ont tenu bon*

- **rentrer** – intr. V || To become. *C'est à cause de ça même que je vais rentrer végétarienne. Je ne peux accepter que l'on fasse du mal aux animaux.*

- **Other lexemes** : *bizbiz, cuscuter, fichant, pickeurs pockets, rane, taqueur, etc.*

- **Idioms** : *chercher l'ail, parler/causer n'importe, être plein avec qqln/qqch, etc.*

2) to draw up an inventory of morphosyntactic mauricianisms. This could serve as a basis for establishing a nomenclature of an "endogenous norm" of French represented by our corpus and would allow to identify and study, with a comparative and contrastive analysis, particular elements of the Creole linguistic system whose genesis gives rise to multiple debates. For example:

- (1) lack of implementation of some clitics in MFr (< no clitics in MCr):

Ex : MFr - *Tu as demandé à ton jardinier de ramasser des courpas pour toi ?*

"Did you ask your gardener to pick up snails for you?"

- (...) *Je suis allée [en] ramasser moi-même.*

"I went to pick up by myself"

- (2) different strategies of highlighting such as the use of *sa* (Fr. 'ça') as topic marker:

Ex: MCr. *Pa mwa **sa**, li **sa**.*

"It's not me, it's him."

- Use of '*ça même*' meaning « that's why » (< MCr. '*samem*'): ', grammaticalization of the expression of cause):

Ex : MFr *Ça même il n'a pas remarqué toute ta préparation pour la Saint-Valentin*
'That's why he didn't notice all your preparation for Valentine's day'.

• Non differentiation of *comme* and *comment* (< MCr. 'kouma'):

Ex : MFr. *Tu as vu comme elle a monté la nef avec son papa*
'You saw how she walked up the path with her dad'

The rhythmic organization of Haitian Creole

Alexander M. Teixeira Kalkhoff

The most plausible way to characterize the prosodic or suprasegmental system of Haitian Creole is the hybrid prosodic hypothesis that condignly considers both influences from the French superstrate and influences from the West African substrates (Brousseau 2003; Gooden et al. 2009; Rivera Castillo/Faraclas 2006).

The specific rhythmic organization of Haitian Creole results from the interplay of several suprasegmental qualities. Like French, the Haitian Creole has a strong tendency for the CV syllable structure, i.e. a quite regular alternation of more sonorous vocalic and less sonorous consonantal sounds within the speech chain (Auer 2001). In contrast to the French phrasal accent, i.e. the accentuation of the last full syllable of the intonational phrase, each Haitian Creole word bears a word accent as West African words do (Hulst et al. 2010). The Haitian Creole word accent is phonetically realized as a stress accent, i.e. an increase of pitch and intensity, and is located on the right edge of the word. French and West African languages are prosodically also right-oriented languages.

In Haitian Creole corpus data, I found two interesting prosodic transfer phenomena from West African languages, i.e. the lengthening of the penultimate syllable and tonal movements upon focused words and determiners (Teixeira Kalkhoff 2018; Teixeira Kalkhoff accepted). Penultimate lengthening (Hyman 2009) and focus-marking pragmatic tones (Fiedler/Jannedy 2013) are described for West African languages, but also their transfer to some creole languages (Hualde/Schwegler 2008; Correa 2012 for penultimate lengthening; McWorther 1998; Devonish 2002 for tones).

The contribution offers a phonetic description of the mentioned prosodic characteristics of Haitian Creole on the base of corpus (*Corpus of Northern Haitian Creole*) and YouTube data and accounts for similarities and differences to French and West African languages.

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Aspects substratiques africains dans la phonologie du créole haïtien

Renauld Govain

Il existe peu d'études sur la structure phonologique du créole haïtien (CH) et on pourrait en dire autant des autres créoles à base lexicale française dont l'aspect phonologique constitue le parent pauvre des études créoles en général. Néanmoins, nous pouvons éluder, les travaux de Cadely (1988, 2002, 2003, 2018), Tinelli (1970, 1974), Parkvall (2000), Valdman et Iskrova (2003), Klein (2003, 2004), Brousseau (2004) qui décrivent certains aspects phonologiques du CH. Mais beaucoup reste à faire notamment au niveau des apports substratiques africains. Notre réflexion appuiera sur la palatalisation et la nasalisation en faisant ressortir les apports de langues gbés en particulier, ces apports n'ayant pas encore été élucidés en partant de l'hypothèse que la plupart des faits phonologiques observés en CH et absents du français (FR) peuvent être d'origine substratique africaine. Par ex., la nasalisation en CH peut être à la fois progressive et régressive alors qu'en FR elle ne peut être que régressive. Or, la nasalisation

progressive s'observe dans la plupart des parlers gbés. Parkvall (2000), Cadely (2002, 2003, 2018), Tinelli (1981) ont identifié en CH l'existence des prétendues voyelles nasales (Ṽ) [ĩ, ũ]. Pour Tinelli (1981) elles peuvent résulter d'influences substratiques africaines. Notre tâche est aussi de montrer qu'elles ne sont pas des Ṽ qui ont un statut phonologique en CH. Elles sont plutôt des voyelles nasalisées dans le voisinage d'un phonème nasal. Elles sont ainsi des voyelles phonétiques et non phonologiques. Par ailleurs, le FR a certes connu le phénomène de la palatalisation mais le processus y était déjà rare au moment de l'émergence du CH où il y a de fortes chances qu'elle soit une influence substratique. L'affricativisation, courante en CH et quasi-inexistante en FR, est observée dans 17 des 19 parlers gbés étudiés par Capo (1991a&b), où /k, g/ s'affricativisent dans les mêmes contextes qu'en CH. Creissels (1994 : 110) rappelle que « les palatales des langues négro-africaines sont généralement des affriquées prédorso-prépalatales ». On retrouve dans le vocabulaire du vodou haïtien un nombre important de mots comportant ces affriquées. L'originalité de notre démarche réside dans l'identification à ce niveau phonologique des apports substratiques de langues africaines dans le fonctionnement du CH.

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Pour une approche générative de l'assimilation nasale en haïtien

Jocelyn Otilien

L'assimilation [nasale], selon Meunier (2005), est un phénomène de propagation du trait nasal suivant les règles phonologiques présentes dans une langue donnée. Pradel Pompilus – cité dans (Govain 2017) – soutient que c'est un phénomène récurrent en haïtien. Elle en constitue l'un des traits caractéristiques. Notre recherche propose d'analyser l'assimilation nasale en haïtien dans une perspective générative. Nous analysons le comportement des occlusives voisées [b] [d], [g] et des occlusives non-voisées [t] et [k] quand celles-ci sont adjacentes à une voyelle nasale. Notre analyse part du principe que des mots comme [bõm] < bombe (FR), [bã] < bande (FR), [filã] < flagelle (FR), [sẽkãngud] < cinquante gourdes (FR) et [sẽngud] < cinq gourdes (FR) sont des formes de surface qui proviennent des formes sous-jacentes [bõb], [bãd], [filãg], [sẽkãtgud] et [sẽkgud]. Toutefois, ces formes de surface sont choisies parmi d'autres formes. Cette sélection résulte d'un mécanisme cognitif complexe mis en place par l'haïtien. Il s'agit dans cette recherche de définir les caractéristiques phonologiques du phénomène d'assimilation en mettant à l'évidence les règles qui génèrent les formes de surface. Il s'agit également de déterminer les contraintes qui les conditionnent tout en relevant les mécanismes qui permettent de sélectionner un candidat parmi toutes les formes générées. Les théories mobilisées dans cette recherche sont multiples, nous pouvons citer : le modèle SPE (Chomsky & Halle 1968) ; le modèle CVCV (Lowenstamm 1996 & Sheer 2004) et la théorie des éléments (Harris 1994). L'utilisation de ces théories à base de règles et de représentations nous permet d'éclaircir notre démarche tout au long de la recherche et de spécifier les problèmes. Toutefois, la théorie de l'optimalité (Prince & Smolensky 1993), une approche à base de contraintes, demeure l'approche principale ou privilégiée dans le cadre de notre analyse du fait qu'elle explique mieux, de notre point de vue, la variation phonologique dont l'assimilation nasale est une composante (Schane 1973).

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L'Aventure graphique du créole. Le traitement du « r » dans le corpus martiniquais d'Elsie Clews Parsons

Olivier-Serge Candau

L'écriture en créole existe-elle au début du siècle dernier ? Quel crédit accorder à ces écrits créoles qui ressortissent encore au code phonographique du français qu'ils aménagent (Véronique, 2010) ? C'est toute la difficulté que révèle l'entreprise du martiniquais Félix Modock, dont les connaissances élémentaires en français lui permettent pourtant de rédiger entre mars et avril 1924 un ensemble de contes, à la demande de la folkloriste américaine Elsie Clews Parsons (1933), en voyage alors dans les Antilles. La lecture des récits écrits par Félix Modock constitue un temps privilégié pour observer l'écriture créole dans un état encore primitif, où l'on perçoit un effort délibéré mais limité pour adapter les sons créoles à la graphie du français. Les notations de Modock sont encore appréciées négativement par la critique qui dénonce « une graphie tout empirique et capricieuse recourant à un étymologisme aujourd'hui contesté » (Corinus, 2009). Il est vrai que depuis la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle jusqu'au milieu du XX^e siècle, la graphie des créoles à base française relève de l'empirisme et de l'intuition (Bernabé, 2001). Les premiers scripteurs recourent au français inévitablement pour des raisons de facilité (le français est souvent la langue maternelle) et de parenté génétique (le créole entretient une filiation forte avec le français). Tout naturellement les premières traces écrites du créole adoptent une écriture étymologique (Bernabé, 2001), selon laquelle la graphie du mot en créole se rapporte à l'étymon français, en répliquant le principe de plurivocité, selon lequel un même son connaît plusieurs réalisations graphiques. L'entreprise graphique de Modock marque pourtant une étape cruciale dans la standardisation progressive de la graphie créole. Assez paradoxalement, ce sont les errances graphiques du corpus de Modock qui révèlent le mieux l'évolution de la langue et de sa transcription écrite. Dans le cadre réduit de cette étude, nous nous intéresserons aux cinq premiers contes du corps : « 2. Yo té ca séparé poisson a : lapin qui mangé tout poisson l'éléphant a », « 2. Chat té fé fai rôle mo », « 3. Bête-à-plume poin plume yo : tiwé roche, metté paille », « 4. Montu' a lapin : lapin di moin va », « 5. To'tue té semé toute petit en chimin ». En effet, alors même que certaines formes écrites relèvent clairement d'un manque d'homogénéité difficile à justifier (le phonème /k/ est tantôt noté « c » tantôt « k » dans un même contexte phonique) d'autres invitent à proposer une analyse plus approfondie. Un balayage rapide des mots comportant le graphème « w » là où on aurait attendu « r » met à mal les principes de la transcription orthographique. La confrontation des formes retenues permet de faire apparaître que les erreurs sont localisées en finale de mot (Apkossan, 2015). Il s'agira de discuter dans cette étude le contexte d'apparition du graphème « w ». Nous ferons ici l'hypothèse selon laquelle les irrégularités graphiques observables dans

le corpus de Modock relève d'une volonté de régulariser l'écriture d'une langue qui peine encore à trouver un modèle.

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La néo-créolisation, est-elle possible ? Comment se fait un « kréyòl konmifoman » (litt. "créole comme il faut") aux Antilles

Alla Klimenkowa

Cette contribution se penche sur l'exemple des discours métalinguistiques aux Antilles françaises sur le site internet *montraykreyol.org*. Depuis 2007, on a réuni ici les blogues de plusieurs intellectuels antillais sous le but annoncé explicitement tant par le nom créole du site qui veut dire "enseignement du créole" que par la formule de sa présentation : « Site de défense des langues et cultures créoles des Amériques et de l'Océan indien ». Nous considérons les blogues métalinguistiques comme des espaces où se déroule le processus d'*enregistrement* linguistique. Agha (2007) se réfère avec ce terme au processus d'attribution des particularités linguistiques aux aspects extralinguistiques, qu'il s'agisse d'image des locuteurs, du rapport communicatif entre eux ou de certaines pratiques sociales. La variété linguistique fortement associée aux activistes de la langue créole est connue sous le nom *créole recherché* ou *kréyòl des académiciens* (Managan 2011). Cette variété s'oriente vers le créole basilectal et est identifiable non seulement grâce à la pratique et au plaidoyer pour son usage de la part des activistes du créole, mais aussi grâce au positionnement idéologique qu'ils adoptent dans leur discours, aussi bien vis-à-vis du créole que vis-à-vis du français. Nous discutons les traits typiques de ces métadiscours tels que la résistance à l'exotisation de la langue minoritaire, la spectacularisation d'authenticité (Coupland 2003), la ressemblance des imageries discursives du français et du créole ainsi que des fonctions pragmatiques de l'emploi de la langue française.

La perspective analytique adoptée s'inscrit dans l'approche perceptive de la linguistique (cf. Krefeld/Pustka 2014) qui considère que les réflexions métalinguistiques, c'est-à-dire

conscientes et rationalisées (Paveau 2005), et la perception des locuteurs jouent un rôle important dans le développement et la promotion d'une langue ou un usage.

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Les variétés de français dans les aires créolophones : une comparaison entre la situation à Maurice et aux Antilles.

Jean-David Bellonie, Elissa Pustka

Dans les aires créolophones, les études linguistiques mettent généralement l'accent sur le créole plus que sur le français. Cela est particulièrement le cas de Maurice et des Petites Antilles françaises. Nous avons souhaité adopter une démarche comparative pour l'analyse de la situation dans les 2 territoires. Nous montrerons notamment que le français n'a jamais cessé d'être parlé dans les (anciennes) familles de colons, et qu'il se diffuse à partir des années 1990 dans d'autres milieux socio-économiques. Une grande différence est néanmoins que le français représente aujourd'hui la L1 (à côté du créole) de presque tous les enfants antillais alors que cela n'est le cas que chez une minorité à Maurice (ou une partie des enfants fréquente des établissements de l'État français alors que la majorité suit le système scolaire mauricien bilingue français/anglais). En tant que modèle normatif, les variétés hexagonales jouent un rôle plus important dans les DROM/COM (Pustka/Bellonie 2017) alors que la variété de l'élite blanche a apparemment plus d'impact à Maurice (Baggioni/Robillard 1990, Ledegen/Lyche 2012). De plus, la croissance du nombre de « néo-locuteurs » à Maurice mène à l'émergence de nouvelles variétés (Carpooran 2007, 2013). Quant aux facteurs internes, on constate des ressemblances frappantes entre les variétés de français à Maurice et aux Antilles : au niveau morphosyntaxique, les locuteurs L2/L3 omettent p. ex. des articles et confondent des formes verbales, au niveau phonologique, également les locuteurs L1 affaiblissent les /r/ en coda p. ex. (Baggioni/Robillard 1990). De plus, la recherche se trouve confrontée à des défis très similaires : comment définir les traits des variétés de français régional et les distinguer des alternances codiques en créole (Shimeen-Khan 2018) ? Et comment différencier créolismes et survivances d'anciennes formes dialectales du français colonial ?

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Ecologie du contact entre français et créole – une perspective comparative entre les Antilles et l’océan Indien

Sibylle Kriegel, Ralph Ludwig

La coexistence d’un créole à base française et du français caractérise aussi bien l’écologie linguistique de certaines aires de la Caraïbe que de plusieurs îles de l’océan Indien. C’est par exemple le cas de la Guadeloupe et des Seychelles même si les deux aires se distinguent par rapport à plusieurs paramètres historiques et sociolinguistiques. D’abord, en raison de la chronologie différente de la colonisation – le 17^e siècle pour la Guadeloupe et la fin du 18^e pour les Seychelles - , la variété de français exportée en Guadeloupe reflète un stade plus ancien que celle exportée aux Seychelles. Par ailleurs, alors que les Seychelles ont connu une période de colonisation britannique entre 1814 et 1976, la Guadeloupe est toujours restée française et continue à être un département d’outre mer français. En suivant Gadet/Ludwig/Pfänder (2009), l’écologie de contact actuelle en Guadeloupe peut ainsi être décrite comme étant une situation de mono-contact réciproque (créole guadeloupéen-français) alors qu’aux Seychelles il s’agit d’une situation de poly-contact (créole seychellois-anglais-français), avec le créole seychellois et l’anglais comme langues dominantes dans leur influence sur le français (bien que l’inverse ne soit pas le cas). Nous travaillerons avec des données de plusieurs corpus de créole et de français, parlé et écrit aux Seychelles et à la Guadeloupe que nous élargirons par des comparaisons ponctuelles avec des données martiniquaises et mauriciennes. Notre contribution illustrera le phénomène du copiage codique (p.ex. Johanson 2002, Kriegel/Ludwig/Henri 2009) dans le domaine de la morphosyntaxe. Nous observons qu’il n’y a pas seulement des copies des créoles (guadeloupéen et seychellois) dans les français régionaux respectifs mais également des copies du français (et de l’anglais) dans les deux langues créoles. Sur le plan linguistique, les parallèles entre les français régionaux des deux zones sont nombreuses, en dépit des différences sociolinguistiques et historiques.

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Convergence et divergence dans l’expression de l’aspectualité nominale en français et en créole réunionnais

Désirée Kleineberg

La catégorie onomasiologique de l’aspectualité est comprise comme l’interprétation linguistique de procès, d’états et d’entités extra-linguistiques quant à leurs limites externes et leur structure interne, dans le domaine verbal mais aussi nominal (cf. Dessi Schmid 2014; Meisterfeld 1998; Langacker 2008; Croft/Cruse 2004; Rijkhoff 2002). À cet égard, la même pluralité d’objets ou de personnes peut être verbalisée de différentes manières en focalisant soit son caractère borné (p.ex. *tendue, équipe*), soit sa qualité massive (p.ex. *habillement, gens*). Les premiers sont traditionnellement définis comme des noms collectifs, les derniers comme des noms de masse à référence hétérogène (NMRHs). L’expression linguistique de l’aspectualité nominale varie beaucoup d’une langue à l’autre en fonction du système nominal spécifique. Le français, par exemple, est caractérisé par une délimitation syntaxique explicite et obligatoire entre noms massifs et noms comptables, p.ex. via l’article partitif marquant des noms de masse, le marquage obligatoire du pluriel des noms comptables et l’agrammaticalité générale des noms « nus » (cf. Stark 2008; Meisterfeld 1998). Il en résulte un système de classes aspectuelles dont les sous-catégories sont marquées explicitement et d’une manière peu flexible. Par contre, l’aspectualité nominale en créole réunionnais a tendance à n’être exprimée qu’implicitement : il n’y a pas d’élément qui marque explicitement les noms de masse, le pluriel est optionnel et les noms « nus » sont possibles dans une série de contextes (cf. Staudacher-Valliamée 2004; Bollée 2013; Chaudenson 2007). Par conséquent, les classes aspectuelles semblent être plus flexibles qu’en français et on peut supposer qu’il n’y a pas de classe séparée de NMRHs en créole réunionnais. Cette hypothèse est analysée à l’aide d’une étude d’acceptabilité. En fait, les deux langues convergent dans le fait de pouvoir exprimer les mêmes concepts, mais elles divergent dans leur codage spécifique de ces concepts : alors qu’en français les NMRHs analysés sont difficilement compatibles avec l’article indéfini et des constructions distributives comme *l’un après l’autre*, les noms équivalents créoles comme *linz* ‘vêtement(s)’ ou *demoun* ‘gens’ manifestent une meilleure compatibilité avec ces constructions-là, indiquant une flexibilité plus grande des classes aspectuelles en créole.

L'étude implique donc que l'aspectualité est une catégorie continue, entre langues, mais aussi dans l'évolution linguistique (cf. Mihatsch 2016).

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La place du créole dans la littérature francophone d'Haïti

Robert Arisma

A. Constat

Deux langues (créole et français) sont en circulation en Haïti. La première, langue issue de la cohabitation des langues africaines avec le français durant la période coloniale, est parlée par la quasi-totalité des Haïtiens nés et vivant en Haïti ; la seconde, langue coloniale, est parlée par une minorité de scolarisés (environ 42%)*. Dans la pratique quotidienne et orale : conversations, discussions, échanges informels, etc., c'est le primat du créole. De son côté, le français est utilisé (souvent en tandem avec le créole), dans les cérémonies officielles, dans certaines circonstances au relent de solennité comme les funérailles, le mariage et fortement répandu à l'écrit. Dans la foulée, on a constaté au niveau national que les romans haïtiens sont rédigés presque exclusivement en français.

Pourtant, en dépit du fait que ces récits soient francophones, on constate que les textes sont très souvent un mélange linguistique alternant les deux langues d'où un constat de contact impliquant un besoin d'intercompréhension. Comment s'effectue l'imbrication du créole dans les récits francophones d'Haïti ? En quoi ce mélange contribue-t-il à la compréhension du bilinguisme haïtien ?

Dans ce travail, il s'agira de chercher à expliquer les raisons à la base du choix linguistique au niveau national et en second lieu à retracer les situations de communication nécessitant le recours au créole dans un contexte d'expression francophone. Question de recherche : le français peut-il tout exprimer dans la communication haïtienne ?

B. Méthodologie

Parcours des récits littéraires de trois romans francophones haïtiens et relevé des séries de séquences discursives présentées en créole et trouver les raisons à la base du recours au créole dans de tels contextes. Approches sociolinguistique et pragmatique discursive.

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La créolisation entre la linguistique et la culture

Fritz Calixte

La société créole est le produit du métissage. Telle est la thèse du philosophe martiniquais Édouard Glissant. La définition de l'auteur de *Philosophie de la relation* de la créolisation recoupe celle des linguistes. En effet dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas, il s'agit d'un froissement, d'un choc entre plusieurs langues et cultures qui ont donné naissance aux langues et sociétés créoles. Ainsi, la créolisation est issue de l'interférence entre plusieurs modes de vie qui se sont transformées dans la fournaise coloniale moderne en une *société* aux confluences diverses. Toutefois, si la linguistique de son côté et l'histoire, la sociologie, l'anthropologie et la philosophie de l'autre décrivent le même mouvement de rencontres de langues et de peuples, elles consentent rarement à croiser leur regard. La linguistique ne serait-elle d'aucune utilité en aidant l'histoire, la sociologie, l'anthropologie ou la philosophie à formuler de nouvelles hypothèses de recherche sur la créolisation culturelle ? La créolisation, quant à elle et telle quelle est présentée par Édouard Glissant qui la voit comme le devenir culturel du monde ne nous dit-elle pas quelque chose de l'avenir des langues en général qui semblent vouer à se rapprocher ? Dans le cadre de cette intervention nous aborderons la question du métissage comme élément central à la fois pour la linguistique des créoles, mais aussi pour la créolisation. Nous montrerons comment ici comme ailleurs : rien ne se perd mais tout se transforme.

Logambal Souprayen-Cavery

Notre contribution propose de développer une réflexion sur le lien existant entre la sociolinguistique créole et l'École à partir d'une étude des pratiques d'enseignement-apprentissage du créole à l'École maternelle dans le cadre des quatre dispositifs mis en place par l'Académie de La Réunion pour la langue vivante régionale (le créole) à destination des enseignants du premier degré :

- Sensibilisation et valorisation de la langue et de la culture régionales,
- Enseignement du Français en Milieu Créolophone (EFMC),
- Enseignement de la langue vivante régional (LVR),
- Enseignement bilingue LVR/français.
-

Notre étude de *l'interlecte réunionnais* (Souprayen-Cavéry 2010) dans les pratiques langagières et les représentations des locuteurs réunionnais a admis que le créole contemporain est à caractère interlectal. Il s'agit d'une donnée importante à prendre en compte lorsque l'Académie de La Réunion annonce que la plus grande majorité des élèves réunionnais sont créolophones lorsqu'ils arrivent à l'école. Les résultats de la recherche-action menée par Paule Fioux (2005 : 440) ont montré que les jeunes enfants en 2005 étaient majoritairement créolophones unilingues. Ce constat est encore d'actualité mais nous pouvons nous interroger sur les caractéristiques du créole utilisé par les jeunes enfants qui arrivent en petite section de maternelle car il est fréquent d'entendre des énoncés interlectaux. Dans la mesure où le contexte sociolinguistique réunionnais exerce une influence déterminante et systématique sur l'usage des langues en présence et plus particulièrement sur leur enseignement-apprentissage, il est intéressant d'étudier la manière dont les enseignants gèrent les pratiques interlectales produites par les élèves pour l'enseignement du créole. A l'aide d'exemples concrets recueillis dans les écoles réunionnaises, nous formulerons également des propositions didactiques adaptées au contexte réunionnais pour l'enseignement-apprentissage du créole.

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Grammatical analysis of Créole Réunionnais based on oral recordings

Laura Hering

This abstract will provide an overview of results from the thesis "A grammatical analysis of Créole Réunionnais". Creole Réunionnais (CR) is a creole language spoken on the French

island of La Réunion. In comparison to other creole languages, CR has not yet been of great interest to researchers of linguistics. Previous research has almost exclusively relied on written material. For instance, Chaudenson (2003), Baker and Corne (1982) and Stein (1984) all used written materials for their analyses concerned with the language use of native speakers. Only Georger (2011) and Staudacher-Valliamée (2004) relied on their own oral recordings. Moreover, the focus of the above-mentioned analyses differed quite a lot. While Georger (2011) focused on the difference between peoples' formal and informal use of French, Staudacher-Valliamée considered CR's phonology and grammar in her analysis. The data used for the analysis of the previously mentioned thesis is a collection of nine transcripts, recorded on the island with native speakers in 2016. It consists of group recordings as well as individual recordings. The focus of the analysis was put on considering the data on a functional level in order to ensure an analysis independent of its lexifier French. The following topics were looked at: prepositions, pronouns, verbs, deixis, tense, aspect, modality, syntactical features as well as features such as certain creole expressions. All words within every single transcript were assigned a function according to Halliday's Functional Grammar (2014) and were subsequently interpreted and discussed.

Additionally, 16 interviews with native speakers of CR were conducted in 2018 to shed light on the sociolinguistic situation among other aspects. The results of the analysis gave insight into unique features of CR as well as signs of decreolization. They clearly showed that CR still makes use of simplification processes, unique terms and a different structure concerning sentences which is very unlikely to evolve in the French language. All of the results have suggested a close relationship to CR's lexifier language but also underlined its independence concerning grammatical features. The vocabulary is foremost French but its grammatical rules are not. Overall, the grammatical analysis of CR has given insight into how CR functions today and has also given an overview of its own grammatical rules. In comparison to the previous academic research conducted in 2004 by Staudacher-Valliamée, one can say that a lot has changed concerning CR's grammar. Some features like conjunctions and adjectives moved closer to French, while special sentence constructions or lacking subjects and parts of speech prevailed. By having chosen a functional approach, the results have contributed to a more precise and more inclusive analysis of the grammatical features of CR. It was possible to show that CR can be categorized as a creole language and that more research concerning this language is actually necessary since La Réunion is starting to offer creole classes at its university while teachers try to ban it from their classroom. It would be interesting to not only continue the linguistic research on the island but also to take on further sociolinguistic inquiries.

Glosses Simplification

T
[32]

	293 [01:15.3*]294 [01:15.5*]295 [01:15.8*]296 [01:16.0*]297 [01:16.3*]298 [01:16.6]299 [01:16.9*]300 [01:17.5]	301 [01:17.9*]					
X [v]	pti	Marvel	là.	Demand	Papi!	Pourtan	li
X [TL]	Epithet	Thing	Modifier	Event/ Dynamic Deontic	Subject	Adv	Subject
X [de]						Und er hat doch einen	
T [v]					Eh	wè!	
T [TL]							
T [de]					Eh ja!		

Sentence Construction

F
[21]

	196 [01:13.4*]197 [01:13.7*]198 [01:14.2*]199 [01:14.5*]200 [01:14.9*]201 [01:15.6*]202 [01:15.8*]203 [01:16.2*]204 [01:16.7*]									
A [v]	là	vrèman	lété	vrèman	supèr.	La	route	inpekab.	Le/	sète
A [TL]	Modifier	Modifier	Fin Imperfectiv e Aspect Past	Modifier	Epithet	Specific Deic	Theme	Epithet	Fin	Fin Imperfec tive Aspect Past
A [de]										

The creole contribution to our understanding of the history of the French lexicon

T. Klingler

The potential contribution that the study of creole languages can make to our understanding of historical and dialectal varieties of their lexifiers has long been recognized by linguists. Thus in his landmark study of Reunion Creole, Robert Chaudenson, noting that the dialectal glossaries of French are “too incomplete and too recent” to allow us to conclude that, simply because a particular lexical item is not found in them it must therefore not have been used in France, goes on to state his conviction that “the comparison of the [French] creole languages (*des parlers créoles*) will provide extremely valuable, if fragmentary and limited, indications of the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics of certain French dialects in the seventeenth century” (1974:645, my translation). Similarly, Hull’s (1968) positing of the existences of “Maritime French” and Valdman’s (2011, 2015) call for the reconstruction of “Colonial French” make crucial use of comparative data from the French creoles as well as from non-Metropolitan varieties of French. A project currently underway to create an historical and etymological dictionary of Louisiana French extends this line of research by using lexicographical works on the French creoles as sources for comparative data, along with works on the lexicons of North American and European varieties of French. An investigation of the Louisiana French verb *galérer* ‘to plane (wood),’ for example, turns up a single attestation in a variety of French outside of Louisiana, the Morvandeau dialect of the Burgundy and Franche-Comté region (*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 20, 20a). An examination of the French creoles, however, shows that the verb is attested in the distantly separated creoles of Louisiana (Valdman et al. 1998) the Indian Ocean (Carayol, Chaudenson et Barat 1984; Carpooran 2011; D’Offay et Lionnet 1982), indicating that its use

in Colonial French must have been much more widespread than is suggested by its single attestation in the FEW. Using this and other examples, I show how the current project's comparative approach, and in particular its incorporation of data from the French creoles, helps to fill gaps in our understanding both of Louisiana French and of Colonial French more generally.

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PANEL – CREOLES IN MULTILINGUAL SETTINGS: THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND VARIATION

Convenor: Isabelle Léglise

This panel aims to investigate the dynamics of multilingual settings in the Global South involving creole languages through two big strands in sociolinguistic and anthropological research put together: the role of language ideologies and the analysis of variation in language use. We will discuss various uses of the notion of language ideologies linked to the analysis of variation as meaningful resources in our fields. Linguistic resources that may have several indexical meanings will be one of the key concepts here as well as different language ideologies at play occurring at various (local, regional, national, transnational) levels at the same time. Panelists will address issues such as ethnolinguistic variation and emergence of language varieties linked to identity preservation and migratory trajectories for example, or shift in linguistic prestige through the commodification of a creole or pidgin variety, or multiplex patterns of prestige linked to cultural values such as resistance towards standardization or transnational popular culture. It is our hope that the discussion will give rise to theoretical and epistemological perspectives with regard to dominant models in creole studies and linear views on language contact and variation in multilingual settings.

Variation in English among Haitian Creole speakers in Toronto, Canada

Véronique Lacoste

Diasporic linguistic repertoires among immigrant communities, in addition to being highly mixed, may be marked by some level of unpredictability, thus raising the issue of the dynamics behind the emergence of new speech styles and varieties in these contexts. This talk looks at variation in the English phonology of Haitian Canadians who reside in the city of Toronto. Some of the speakers under study are Haitian Creole dominant although they show variable usage of this language; they also speak English and French variably. Other informants are English dominant and show variable use of Haitian Creole and French. The data involves twenty-four sociolinguistic interviews that exhibit significant phonetic variation especially for English intervocalic /t/, non postvocalic /ɹ/, interdental fricatives, and word-final consonant clusters. Part of the range of phonetic variants produced by Haitian Canadians accords with variants found in the speech of other English-speaking individuals including those of Caribbean descent also established in the Toronto area, while other variants may signal direct influence from Haitian Creole and/or French. This study reveals that Haitian Canadians find themselves in a situation of in-betweens in the multilingual Torontonians diaspora, displaying a sense of identity preservation with respect to the host society as well as towards their 'Haitianity'. The observed phonetic variation however does not suggest that a whole new variety of English among Haitians in Toronto is emerging. This may be due to rather loose community ties and a relatively recent settlement in Toronto, compared to the well-established Haitian community in Montreal for instance, but also as a result of speakers' own phono-stylistic choices.

The commodification of Hawai'i Creole and the enregisterment of Pidgin identities

Christoph Neuenschwander

Hawai'i Creole (HC) or *Pidgin* has long been a stigmatized variety, mostly perceived as 'broken English' (Siegel 2008). Due to a shift in prestige, the variety is not only becoming an increasingly recognized marker of local identity, but "a language that embodies *Local-style* pride" (Higgins 2015: 146). While this shift has been initiated in the wake of what has come to be known as the 'Hawaiian Renaissance' in the 1970s and 1980s, it is far from being complete, and the public use of HC is still limited to certain domains and employed in a highly strategic manner, e.g. in advertising local products and businesses, or to promote local political issues (cf. Higgins 2015, Hiramoto 2011).

This linguistic commodification (cf. Johnstone 2009, 2013) that accompanies the variety's shift in prestige has had interesting effects on the very definition of HC, i.e. on the question of what counts as 'Pidgin' in the perception of the local population (both native speakers and non-speakers of HC). Through the production of Pidgin commodities, such as cartoon dictionaries, t-shirts, bumper stickers, etc., various types of identity have come to be inscribed in the concept of 'Pidgin' via its commodification.

As Johnstone points out, one of the contextual factors necessary for a linguistic variety to enter a 'commodity situation' is the enregisterment (Agha 2007) of linguistic features to create an idealised dialect or language that is associated with a particular group of people. Through this process, linguistic features acquire nth-order indexical links (Silverstein 2003) that

connect the features to certain ideological representations of the speech community and their supposed personality traits.

In the case of the commodification of HC, 'attitude' itself (not towards the speakers, but of the speakers) has become enregistered: Pidgin speakers are often portrayed as either extremely laid-back and easy-going, or aggressive towards outsiders and very protective of their language. Both of these representations are 'recycled' stereotypes that, to a certain extent, have come to be accepted by the community (i.e. Pidgin speakers and non-speakers): they have been re-appropriated and become part of the current popular understanding of 'Pidgin'.

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Creole beyond national containers – Multiple axes of differentiation in language ideologies related to Belizean Kriol

Britta Schneider

In this presentation, I present language ideological data from an ethnographic study conducted in a village in Belize, Central America. The aim of the study was to access the social discourses relating to different linguistic resources (in other words, the *language ideologies*) of speakers in order to deepen our knowledge on the link of the *social* and the *linguistic* where languages and ethnic affiliation do not link in a straightforward manner. This is the case in Belize, where families are typically culturally mixed, have no clearly defined concept of ethnic belonging and are multilingual, involving linguistic resources from English, Kriol, Spanish, Yucatec, Mopan, Q'uechí or Garifuna, and potentially other languages like German, Arabic or Chinese. In the context of this panel, I focus on the discourses on the local concept of *Kriol*, elicited in qualitative interviews and documented in field notes from observation and participant observation as well as in language ideological posters designed by local pupils. The data shows that the discursive ties associated with *Kriol* are multiple. In the words of linguistic anthropologist Susan Gal's recent conceptualization (2016), we here have to do with the presence of different *axes of differentiation*, where not only national standard language cultures serve as point of orientation but also other framings of social value impact on *Kriol* being perceived as prestigious, among them ideals of creativity, individual adaptation and resistance to written materialities. These multiple prestige orientations not only imply different

but simultaneously existing evaluations of language form but may be taken as explanatory for the non-development of homogenous linguistic norms and for the continuing existence of different linguistic realizations of what is conceptualized as *Kriol*. In epistemological terms, this implies that we have to critically scrutinize Western linguistic conceptions of prestige that very often consider national standards as central (and sometimes even only) point of prestige orientation. Taking into account a potential multiplicity of discursive ties (in the case presented here linking local language form to national contexts but at the same time also to transnational space and to non-territorial values like resistance or oral traditions and creativity), we may start to question some of the traditional linguistic axioms such as the *native speaker* or stable systematicity and consider the linguistic complexity with which we are faced in settings of postcolonial but increasingly also globalized culture.

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PANEL – TREE BANKS FOR EMERGING LANGUAGES

Convenors: Bernard Caron and Stefano Manfredi

The workshop will address the following question: how to build a treebank for the study of emerging languages, especially when spoken by a large number of speakers in a large country? As it develops in terms of status and functions, an emerging language expands geographically and is exposed to vernacular languages belonging to different genetic and typological groups. Through this process, does it undergo a degree of contact-induced variation beyond the odd word borrowed from these vernacular languages or, on the contrary, does a standard variety emerge under the influence of modern media such as radio, television and video? In its functional expansion, the emerging language is subject to considerable contact and influence from its original lexicon, which is often the dominant formal and official language where it is spoken. Despite the influence of the lexicon and indigenous languages, does the emerging language retain its existence as a discrete language or does it undergo a "decreolization", which results in what has been described as a post-creole continuum (Rickford 1987)? The influence of the written form of the lexicon needs particular attention. The extension of the emerging language to more formal uses such as radio programmes (reports, political and news programmes), podcast blogs, news writing, exposes this emerging language to the influence of the lexifier written language. Radio reports are usually translated from press releases published in the dominant languages (e.g. English or French) by news agencies. Podcast blogs are read from written texts. This new dimension is bound to influence the structure of the emerging language. In summary, emerging languages are expected to exhibit instability, as well as diachronic, diatopic, diastratic and gender variations. All these elements pose serious challenges to any attempt to characterize the nature and variation of these languages. The workshop will showcase the ANR project NaijaSynCor, a corpus study of linguistic variation organized around a Naija syntactic tree. Naija is a new language that has developed in Nigeria as a pidgincreole (Bakker 2008) since the country's independence in 1960. Spoken in Nigeria and in its diaspora by about 100 million speakers (mainly L2), it can be shown to be different from Nigerian Pidgin (a creole spoken in the Niger Delta region and Ajegunle district in Lagos) and the Nigerian variety of English. The NSC is building a 500,000 word oral reference corpus collected from 11 different survey points in the country, with a 150,000 word deeply annotated

sub-section for syntax and prosody (the Naija prosodic and syntactic Treebank). The Naija corpus is compared to the Nigerian International Corpus of English (ICE Nigeria), both qualitatively and quantitatively. It studies the variations of Naija on the formal-informal functional scale through the study of its use in the media (radio reports, editorials, news, etc.) and in private and semi-formal situations. It studies the patterns observed in the prosody of emerging languages, and links the prosodic description of Naija to that of its grammatical and information structures through the use of NLP tools. The papers presented at the workshop will present the methodology of the NaijaSynCor project and the problems encountered during the project, demonstrate the NLP tools developed to process the large amounts of oral data, their transcription and metadata, and show some results obtained in the study of linguistic variation, prosody and syntax

NaijaSynCor: a syntactic treebank, a parser and a wiktionary for Naija

Bernard Caron, Silvain Kahane, Stefano Manfredi, Francis Egbokhare, Kim Gerdes; K. Guiller, Marine Courtin

In this talk, we show how a treebank can be used to extract the distributional classes of lexemes and the main constructions of a language, *viz* Naija. We focus on grammatical lexemes whose categorization poses particular problems due to the isolating nature of Naija. In particular, we study the elements that revolve around the verb and the noun.

The treebank we use, SUD_Naija-NSC, is a 150 000 word corpus manually annotated in dependency syntax: words are linked by syntactic links and each word receives a syntactic function from its governor and is annotated with POS and morphological features. A powerful query system, Grew-Match, allows us to quantify simple and complex patterns in the treebank and to extract relevant configurations.

Links to relevant web pages:

- Surface Syntactic Universal Dependencies annotation schema: <https://surfacesyntacticud.github.io/guidelines/u/>
- Naija treebank via Grew-Match: http://match.grew.fr/?corpus=SUD_Naija-NSC@latest#

“I see so myself o” A corpus-driven analysis of the pragmatic and modal functions of the marker o in Naija

Stefano Manfredi, Slavomír Čéplö

Based on an extensive analysis of the NaijaSynCor corpus, this paper aims at the providing an aggregate study of the constructional behavior of the marker *o* in spoken Naija. Described by Faracalas (1996) as an emphatic phrase-final marker, *o* seems to increase the realis value of different kinds of utterances (e.g. exclamations, vocatives, directives). In our corpus, *o* widely occurs in both NPs (most often in combination with the sentence-initial focus marker *na*, ex. 1) and VPs (ex. 2) with an epistemic value strengthening speaker’s certainty about the events described.

- 1) *(but you dey play cricket? “but do you play cricket?”)*
mstchew dat cricket < na wahala o
 [INTERJECTION] DET cricket FOC.COP problem *o*
 “Well, cricket is tough (to play).”
 [D_KAD_29_Boys talk_TRANS,tx@sp1]

- 2) *I no hate her o*
 1SG NEG hate 3SG.F *o*
 “I don’t hate her.”
 [D_BEN_19b_Children & Divorce_TRANS,tx@SP2]

Furthermore, due to the semantic and formal proximity between epistemic modals and evidential markers (Schenner 2010, Forker 2018), *o* also insists on the speaker’s commitment to the utterance as direct information source.

- 3) *my sister < na so >+ I hear am o*
 POSS.1SG sister FOC.COP so 1SG hear 3SG *o*
 “My sister is like this, I have heard her.”
 [D_ABJ_GWA_02_Market-Food-Church_TRANS,tx@SP2]

Against this background, the paper tests the hypothesis of an ongoing grammaticalization of *o* as an evidential marker furnishing a counterexample to McWhorter’s claim about the lack of both synthetic and analytic evidential markers in creole languages (McWhorter 2005). Above and beyond, the paper assesses the claim that epistemic and evidential markers are typical of informal registers (Gonzales et al. 2017).

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Initial position in Naija : What, Why, How ? Pragmatic and Prosodic Investigation

Anne Lacheret-Dujour, Candide Simard, E. Strickland

The aim of this communication is twofold : first, we describe the prosodic model and the annotation scheme used to process the Naijasyncor corpus¹ at the prosodic level (80 samples, 7.45 hours of speech, 93674 words) ; second, we present a pilot study based on this annotation to analyse the interface between intonation, syntax and information structure in Naija.

With regard to prosodic modelling, we propose a global approach that takes into account prosodic phrasing, and leads to the segmentation of the flow of speech into prosodic units. Each unit is represented by a global intonation contour characterised by several features:

direction of a melodic movement inside a contour (fall, rise, plateau), key and register from extreme-low to extreme-high, main saliency of the contour. This automatic processing is conducted with the software SLAM+ (Yu and al. 2019) and yields a first inventory of the intonational contours in Naija.

As for syntactic representation, the study is based on the macrosyntactic framework developed in the Rhapsodie project for French (Lacheret-Dujour and al. 2019). This level aims to describe the whole set of relations holding between all the segments that make up one and only one illocutionary unit (IU). Basically, each sample is segmented into a string of IUs, consisting of an obligatory nucleus and several optional components, among them, the pre-nucleus to which this paper is devoted (see ex.1 where '<' follows a pre-nucleus and precedes a nucleus). While, very often, an IU is build around a relatively long chain of pre-nuclei, we will focus in this first study on short segments (10 syllables max) in order to have phonetically comparable material.

(l) # **di wife** < e just bring her junior broder for village //

The wife just brought her younger brother from the village. (ABJ_GWA_10)

At the pragmatic level, we investigate how the prenucleus position can be related to the *left-periphery* (defined with respect to the clause), which is considered by scholars as the privileged position to host the topic of the utterance, the entity(ies) that the proposition is about (Reinhart 1981; Gundel 1988). We aim to check whether in Naija, the left-periphery is mainly used to introduce a given referent as the topic of the proposition (Lambrecht 1994), or it is devoted to convey some kind of instructions on how this information is to be processed and integrated into the hearer's mental representation? Based on contextual and syntactic cues, we propose a set of labels to conduct the pragmatic annotation of the pre-nucleus position. We distinguish between (1) aboutness (referential), and (2) framesetting topics which are further divided into: (1) new, continuing, resumed, summative, contrastive; (2) frame-setting proper and frame conditional (see also Simard 2010). Connectors and discourse markers are also annotated. We show how these different types are distributed in the corpus.

Finally, we discuss the relationships between the intonation patterns generated by the SLAM+ software and these different pragmatic types. We address two questions: (1) are there clear intonation patterns associated to frame-topics on the one hand and to referent-topics on the other? If yes, what are their phonetic properties? If no, why? Does it mean that in Naija, first position is deeply phonologically constrained and so remains prosodically invariant whatever its pragmatic function? (2) With regard to the different sub-type of referent-topics, can the hearer correlate melodic cues with the activation degree and the accessibility of a referent? If yes, what are the acoustic correlates of these perceptual cues?

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A corpus-based analysis of light-verb constructions in Naija (Nigerian Pidgin)

Slavomír Čéplö

This paper uses corpus data, primarily that from the NaijaSynCor project, but also those harvested from the Nairaland Forum¹⁶, to study the composition, semantics and syntax of light-verb constructions (LVCs) in Naija, an English-lexifier pidgin/creole spoken in Nigeria. Employing the typology and the annotation guidelines of the PARSEME project (Savary et al. 2018),¹⁷ we attempt to disambiguate LVCs from other multi-word expressions and provide a classification of LVCs based on their light verb component and semantic component, while also analyzing their valency and their participation in serial verbs constructions (Déchaine 2015). Additionally, we will compare the distribution and typology of Naija LVCs to those of Yoruba and other adstrates of Naija and attempt to use the available sociolinguistic data to examine what the use of LVCs can tell us about the influence of adstrate languages on Naija itself.

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PANEL – CREOLE LEXICOGRAPHY

Convenors: Bettina Migge and Nicolas Quint

This panel explores dictionaries and lexicography work in the context of pidgin and creole communities. It compares and critically examines existing dictionaries for creoles languages and discusses the parameters of dictionary construction such as the purposes of use, the sociopolitical contexts of language use, ways of accommodating different audiences, how to deal with language variation and change, how to deal with different types of vocabulary such

¹⁶ <https://www.nairaland.com/>

¹⁷ https://parseme.fr/lis-lab.fr/parseme-st-guidelines/1.1/?page=010_Definitions_and_scope/020_Verbal_multiword_expressions

as how best to deal with terms from some of the official language domains that tend to be heavily influenced by the official languages of the country. The papers will also address practical issues such as the human and financial resources required for building dictionaries and the advantages and disadvantages of different types of dictionary creation projects and different types of dictionary formats.

Creole languages and lexicography: A twenty-first century manifesto

Joseph Farquharson

In the 19th and 20th centuries, lexicographers played an integral role in not only documenting Creole languages, but also adding to their status by way of compiling dictionaries of these linguistic varieties when popular opinion considered them to be structureless and without merit. Dictionaries from this period were generally scholarly and prepared on historical principles (cf. Cassidy & Le Page 1967). While these dictionaries added greatly to the status of these varieties, they generally took an inordinate amount of time to compile and had a very narrow readership. These dictionaries have served the academy well but are either now outdated or due to their format and packaging, do not fully respond to the current needs of Creole-speaking communities.

This paper conducts a critique of the current state of lexicography with regard to languages designated as Creoles. On the basis of that critique it suggests new directions for the lexicography of Creole languages that are in step with current pedagogical, socio-cultural and economic dynamics of Creole-speaking populations. The paper will also address how academics can resolve the tension between the need to prepare scholarly work that will help them to advance in the academy while they produce materials that contribute to the advancement of communities in a more immediate way.

Opportunities and Challenges of a participatory dictionary project

Bettina Migge

Speakers of a language should be involved in the description of a language. In the case of smaller language communities or communities where there has been widespread educational disadvantage, it can be very hard to identify people with training in linguistics though. In these cases linguists have traditionally taken it onto themselves to create the dictionary with some help from language consultants. While this approach has been at the heart of a number of dictionaries, the power imbalances could make this approach rather cumbersome, might skew the content, and ultimately undermine its use. In this paper, I discuss the experiences from a participatory approach to dictionary construction that I have been involved in in French Guiana since 2013. The aim of the larger project, DicosGuy, is to create five dictionaries for five languages that have a role in the French Guianese primary school system. Originally, the main goal was to support the instrumentalization of these languages in the school systems. In order to create the dictionaries, a small number of speakers of the language who also teach in the language in the primary school system were matched with a linguist working on the language or someone who has expertise in the language to collaboratively work on the creation of the

dictionary. I discuss the opportunities but also the challenges that this kind of project offers for linguists and also for speakers of the language. The discussion is qualitative in that it relies on participant observation. The paper argues that such a project is ideally suited to engage speakers in linguistic work and to raise linguistic awareness on all levels since unlike linguists, non-linguist speakers are much more interested in the meaning-making rather than structural aspects of language. It is also very useful for exploring interculturality, the meanings of variation and its relation to the other languages in the context. For the linguist, it is useful for obtaining new insights into the language and specifically explore the language from the perspectives of the speakers. It provides a host of insights into socio-pragmatic issues. However, given the lack of training in linguistics and academic work more widely, a lot of the organizational work, including the management of speakers ideologies.

What should belong in a creole dictionary: a personal view

Anthony Grant

Haas (1962) stipulated a sizeable list of desiderata for the contents of a bilingual dictionary, many of which are relevant to any dictionary of a certain size. A comparison of works such as Cassidy and Le Page (1967) and Tourneux and Barbotin (1990) shows that the parameters of inclusion of material in a creole dictionary can be very wide indeed. Drawing on four decades of examining dictionaries of a wide variety of creoles, I outline a number of features which one would hope to find in such a work, and suggest some ways in which they can be brought about.

References

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Building Capeverdean dictionaries: a (still) pending challenge

Nicolas Quint

Today, ca. 1,000,000 people in the World speak Capeverdean (an Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole) as their first or main language. Capeverdean, a mother tongue to over 95% of the inhabitants of Cape Verde, is also actively used by many members of the Capeverdean diaspora: for instance, with over 100,000 native speakers, it is, after Portuguese, the second most spoken language in Portugal, where, in some places with high Capeverdean concentrations, it is even acquired as a vehicular by non-Capeverdeans (Quint 2005). However, despite this healthy profile, the study of Capeverdean lexicography is still in its infancy. Although several Capeverdean dictionaries and wordlists (Paula Brito 1887, Lopes da Silva 1957, Pires & Hutchinson 1983, Quint 1998, 1999, Mendes & al. 2002, Lang 2002, Veiga 2011, Gonçalves da Luz 2015...) have been published since the end of the 19th century, any user of the language can easily perceive that these works present two major weaknesses: they are incomplete and they generally fail to render the language as it is actually spoken by the community. Such

weaknesses may be ascribed to at least four causes: (i) the non-official status of Capeverdean, which implies that some semantic fields (linked with formal uses of the language, e.g. administrative matters, word processing systems...) are poorly attested or unavailable, (ii) the internal variation of the language (in particular diatopic and social variation), (iii) the absence of big homogeneous digital corpora usable to build lexical databases, (iv) the lack of manpower, that also impose limits on the scope and coverage of all attested Capeverdean dictionaries. In the present communication, I will first present the actual state of Capeverdean lexicography. I will then deal in turn with all four points (or causes) identified above, before concluding on the possible ways for research and researchers to meet the Capeverdean lexicographic challenge in the future.

Creole dictionaries: directionality and object vs. description languages

Jason Siegel

This study looks at the languages used in dictionaries that feature Creole languages. Examining more than two dozen dictionaries of Creoles with English or Romance lexifiers, I discuss the distribution of languages used as object or description languages. In lexicography, the object language is the one whose words are being documented, while the description language is the language by which the meaning of those words is conveyed, whether through translation or definition. With respect to bilingual lexicography, directionality is the quality of a language's lexemes being translated into another language. While the public may think of bidirectional bilingual dictionaries as the norm, since so many dictionaries for learners are bidirectional, it is common for dictionaries of Creole languages to be unidirectional, translating Creole words into a European language. I establish whether Creole dictionaries are indeed more likely to be unidirectional or bidirectional, and how their language situations play a role in the selection of description languages, e.g. whether co-existing with their lexifier or with another language of prestige makes them more likely to be bidirectional. Finally, I close with the problematic notion of establishing the boundaries of the object language from the perspective of the lexicographer. While the porous boundaries between languages are well known, Creoles that co-exist with their lexifiers pose particular methodological quandaries for dictionary editors. This final section examines how dictionaries claim to deal with the problem in their front matter, and whether they successfully follow their own guidelines.

