



ABSTRACTS

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ALLEYNE, Mervyn C. (Keynote)

The University of the West Indies, Mona/Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras (Retired)

A Reformist Approach to the "Creole" Concept

The wider perspective of this essay is *The Naming of the "New World"* (sic), the appropriation by the new rulers and classifiers of the prerogative of "naming" and thereby of setting the semantic structures and the significant symbols in their interests and favour. Examples such as mulatto and the use of colour terms abound to refer to the different ethnic groups, highly positive in the case of "white" and extremely negative in all the other cases: black, red, yellow. The naming of the new languages is also a very instructive example. This essay interrogates the meanings and values of the names given to the languages which emerged in the New World (sic) which are all misleading and offensive and should be rejected in the same way that other terms such as "Coolie", nigger", "black", "mulatto", personal names and street names, etc. have been rejected in the cleaning-up sweep of post-colonial reform. This essay concentrates on "creole", as in "Trinidadians speak a creole"; it also deals with two other more offensive terms/concepts: "patois" and "pidgin".

"Creole" has prospered in post-colonial discourse, and in particular in post-modern thought. But the fact remains that the theory-building which established it as a linguistic classification was extremely flawed. Premises have been wrong and have misled long enough (e.g. the relentless search for a single hypothesis to account for genesis, the relationship between "creole" and "pidgin"). The essay claims that, for example, some "creole" languages show (the remnants of) an inflectional system and this thus complicates or vitiates one of the defining features of "creole" language; there are other cases where two "creole" languages are so different one from the other as to render mutually exclusive any membership in any classification under the rubric "creole"; such as Saramaccan and Bajan.

The essay then proposes two different opposing processes towards "creolisation", one which starts with massive restructuring followed by convergence (Saramaccan >> Jamaican) and the other which continues a path of divergence (the French-based vernaculars). The former is consistent with second language acquisition; the

latter with (dominant) internal change (both non- exceptional and not requiring radically special and exotic approaches).

The essay advocates the use of the term “language” to refer to the instrument of cognition and communication and the use of the adjective of nationality to refer to a specific case.

ÁLVAREZ LÓPEZ, Laura and Anna JON-AND

Stockholm University

A Cupópia: Características gramaticais e lexicais de uma afro-variedade do português no Brasil

O presente estudo piloto consiste na análise quantitativa e qualitativa de transcrições de entrevistas realizadas entre 1978 e 1980 em um bairro rural chamado Cafundó e situado a 150 km de São Paulo. A comunidade se constituía, na época, de aproximadamente 80 indivíduos, supostamente descendentes de duas escravas que herdaram as terras dos seus donos (Vogt & Fry 1996).

Conforme Vogt & Fry, que realizaram as gravações analisadas, “O que imediatamente sobressai quando se ouve o pessoal do Cafundó falando ‘africano’ é que as estruturas gramaticais que sistematizam o uso do vocabulário, dando-lhe uma certa consistência de emprego, são estruturas tomadas emprestadas do português” (Vogt & Fry 2005: 39). Vários linguistas classificaram a linguagem do Cafundó, também chamada *cupópia*, como “anti-crioulo” (do Couto 1992; Petter 1999) ou “língua especial” (Petter 1998), mas não há estudos anteriores com abordagens de tipo quantitativo.

A nossa análise do léxico explora a relação entre os dados histórico-demográficos sobre as origens da comunidade e as possíveis etimologias das palavras identificadas. A metodologia do estudo lexical se baseia no volume editado por Bartens & Baker (2012), que apresenta revisões de etimologias fornecidas em estudos anteriores sobre africanismos em variedades de contato e discute a correlação entre dados linguísticos e demográficos bem como a distribuição do léxico em campos semânticos e classes de palavras. A nossa análise das estruturas gramaticais que se destacam nessa variedade, sobretudo a concordância variável, tem como objetivo relacionar o nível de reestruturação gramatical com a presença de léxico de origem africana.

Dessa forma, pretendemos caracterizar a variedade em questão a partir da análise quantitativa dos dados empíricos e discutir convergências e divergências entre a *cupópia* e variedades afro-latinas que surgiram em outros contextos socioculturais (por exemplo, em Helvécia - Lucchesi et al. 2009).

ARAÚJO, Gabriel, Ana Livia AGOSTINHO and Manuele BANDEIRA

Universidade de São Paulo

Dicionário Lung’ie-Português / Português-Lung’ie

Na República de São Tomé e Príncipe, olung’ie (principense) é a língua crioula com o menor número de falantes nativos e, por isso, criticamente ameaçada de extinção. Ao mesmo tempo, o lung’ie sofre com a difusão da língua portuguesa e é também pressionada pela difusão do kabuverdianu do Príncipe. Günther (1970) e Maurer (2009) são gramáticas descritivas da língua, porém, uma das lacunas ainda por preencher no que diz respeito ao conhecimento dessa língua, consiste na publicação de um dicionário de referência para o lung’ie.

Nesta apresentação, propomo-nos a apresentar um dicionário bilíngue lung'ie-português, elaborado por uma equipe de investigadores da Universidade de São Paulo. O dicionário contém cerca de 7.500 verbetes, recolhidos em trabalho de campo com falantes nativos e de fontes escritas (especialmente Ribeiro 1888, Günther 1970, Rougé 2004, Maurer 2009). O dicionário emprega o Alfabeto Unificado para as Línguas Nativas de São Tomé e Príncipe (ALUSTP) (Pontífice *et al.* 2009) e sua língua-veículo é o português. Dessa forma, seu escopo ultrapassa as fronteiras da comunidade científica e permite o emprego desse instrumento linguístico pela comunidade de falantes do lung'ie e como instrumento didático na escolarização. No que diz respeito à microestrutura de cada verbete, apresentamos a forma gráfica, a transcrição fonética, a indicação da parte do discurso, o(s)equivalentes(s) em português, e informações enciclopédicas, tais como o nome científico de fauna e flora, exemplos em palavras funcionais e remissões para variantes. Nesta apresentação detalharemos os passos do trabalho lexicográfico que resultaram na elaboração deste instrumento, bem como divulgaremos uma ferramenta eletrônica pública e gratuita para acesso ao material. Assim, pretendemos contribuir para a normalização do lung'ie, difundindo um material com utilidade tanto para a comunidade como para o Academia.

Palavras-chave: Lexicografia, Dicionário, Lung'ie, Português, São Tomé e Príncipe.

BAKER, Brett and Rikke BUNDGAARD-NIELSEN

University of Melbourne and University of Western Sydney/La Trobe University

Language change and the continuum in Roper Kriol

We present a cross-sectional study of the voicing characteristics of English stops and fricatives produced by L1 and L2 speakers of Roper Kriol (RK). We question long held assumptions that Australian creole phonologies exist along a sliding scale of phonetic/phonemic performance, roughly equated with substrate languages at one end and the lexifier (English) at the other (e.g. Sandefur 1979, evoking DeCamp's 1971 'Creole continuum'). This model is designed to account for the reported high degree of variability in the realisation of phonemic contrasts. We reframe the question of variation in RK. Rather than a synchronic model of variable phonemic targets, we examine the performance of RK speakers in terms of L1/L2 acquisition patterns, and L1 (substrate) transfer into L2 RK in the input experienced by the 1st generation (Gen1) RK speakers. We present an acoustic study of the voicing characteristics of English /p b t d k g/ and /s z/ by two Gen1 RK speakers whose input was dominated by L2 RK speakers with various L1 backgrounds; two 2nd generation (Gen2) RK speakers who acquired RK from the Gen1 RK speakers and importantly from other Gen2 RK speakers; and L1 speakers of Wubuy (a RK substrate language). All targets were elicited using picture prompts of familiar objects.

If variability is not the result of a continuum-like phonology, but from L1/L2 interference, we do not expect to see English-like performance for any of the speakers. Indeed, non-English-like behaviour is predicted for the Gen1 and Gen2 RK and Wubuy speakers, due to L1 transfer into English. However, in the case of the Gen2 Kriol speakers, we expect VOT differentiation of voiced/voiceless stops commensurate with English (because this is also the case in RK), but also the perpetuation of RK stop duration differences. We also expect difficulty in /s z/ differentiation, as RK does not have voiced fricatives. In the case of the Gen1 RK and Wubuy speakers, we expect great individual differences, reflecting these speakers' highly idiosyncratic first language(s) acquisition experiences, differences in RK and substrate language access, and differences in substrate language phoneme inventories and phonetics. Our results are consistent with an L1/L2 interference framework, rather than the creole continuum model.

Our results suggest a reframing of the Australian contact literature, such that rather than being an inherent feature of RK, variation is an artefact of a diverse speaker population. Indeed, RK speakers can be identified as belonging to at least three broad groups: L2 RK speakers who are L1 speakers of a traditional language; L1 speakers of RK; and a third category, which we have labelled '1st generation' Kriol speakers, whose language experience involves both traditional language(s) and Kriol from both L1 and L2 speakers. In conclusion, we suggest that the Creole Continuum may not be the most appropriate model to capture the phonological behaviour of speakers of RK. Rather, it is at best an abstraction from the history of language acquisition and shift amongst individuals in the community.

BAKKER, Peter
Aarhus University

A solution to the origin of Berbice Creole

The deviant nature of Berbice creole of Guyana has intrigued creolists for decades. It is the only Caribbean creole language with lexical input from a single African language, the only creole with a significant Amerindian (Arawak) input, the only language with inflectional morphology and furthermore bound morphemes from an African language, the only creole with African roots predominant in everyday lexicon, the only creole with Ijo vocabulary, and the only creole spoken by almost exclusively Amerindian rather than an African population.

In this presentation we will present an alternative view of the genesis of Berbice creole, based on the following observations:

- All African words (except some borrowed from Guyanese English) are from Eastern Ijo of Eastern Nigeria, and they are relatively numerous, especially basic vocabulary.
- 63% of the 20 most frequent verb meanings are from Ijo.
- In the documented history of the Berbice slave period from around 1650, all identifiable slaves come from the Gold Coast, Congo and Angola, but none from Nigeria.
- There are no languages except pidgins that mix two languages in the everyday lexicon. This suggests that Berbice Creole derived from a pidgin that creolized.
- In mixed-lexicon pidgins such as Trio-Ndyuka pidgin, Yimas-Arafundi pidgin we may find productive use of inflectional morphology used with roots several lexical origins. This also suggest an origin of the creole in a mixed pidgin, from which the inflection also came
- the Dutch traded with the Guyana Amerindians from the late 1500s.
- Arawak vocabulary covers especially hunting
- There does not seem to be an oral tradition relating to slavery among the last speakers of Berbice creole
- In the first 25 years of the Berbice plantation, there is only evidence of Dutch people living together with local Amerindians, and no presence of slaves.
- There is evidence of Dutch speakers among the Indians in 1627, and Dutch-Amerindian bilinguals two decades earlier.
- In recent years more and more documents have surfaced on both Blacks and Dutch trading with or living with Amerindians in the Guyanas.
- Virtually all the documented speakers of “Dutch creole” in Guyana were reported to be Amerindians, or people of mixed descent, not Blacks.

- The sea-faring Arawaks had a tradition of trading with the Spanish on Trinidad and Venezuela.
- The Spaniards had imported slaves before 1627 from the Kalabari (Ijo) region to Cartagena, South America, probably Ijo speakers.

This leads to a scenario compatible with these observations: Free Black traders and Africans joined the Arawaks from Venezuela, developed a mixed pidgin in the early 1600s with the Dutch, to be used in interethnic contact between Ijos, Arawaks and Dutch planters, before slavery started after 1650. Hunting techniques were adopted from the local Amerindians. The Amerindians creolized the pidgin and continued speaking it for the centuries after, while the later slaves in the Berbice plantation never spoke Berbice creole.

BAKKER, Peter and Françoise ROSE
Aarhus University and Université de Lyon

The development of the Garifuna language, from an Arawak language and a Carib Pidgin

Today there are perhaps 100,000 Garifunas or Black Caribs in several Circum-Caribbean Central American states. Even though biologically overwhelmingly of African descent (Herrera-Paz et al 2010), those who preserved their ancestral language now speak an Amerindian language of the Arawakan family, with a few Carib words still in use.

Their recent history is fairly well documented. After ending up in communities with the indigenous population of some of the Caribbean islands in the 1600s, as escaped slaves from Africa or after shipwreck, they joined the local Amerindians and adopted their culture and language. The adopted language, at the time called Island Caribby Europeans, had developed before the 17th century, when it was documented by several, mostly French, observers. The language of the late 1600s became famous as an example of a language where men and women speak differently, and where the Arawak and Carib languages were intertwined (Taylor & Hoff 1980, Hoff 1994).

Some two centuries ago, the Black Caribs were forced to move from the Caribbean Islands to Central America, where many maintained their ancestral customs.

In our paper we will summarize the fascinating history of the development of an Arawakan language, intertwining with a Carib language in pre-Columbian times, but with different gender roles for the use of the community languages of the Arawakan and Carib families, to a language spoken only by Blacks.

The current spoken language contains only a very limited number of gender-distinct words, in some varieties only a handful. There are also other communities, mainly in North America and lowland South America, with so-called genderlects. The history of the language sheds light on the genesis of communities with distinct language varieties depending on the sex of the speaker or hearer.

BARRIERE, Isabelle, Blandine JOSEPH and Prince GUETIENS

Developing and Piloting the First Language Assessment Tool for Haitian Creole-learning Toddlers

Linguistic studies of Creole languages make many claims with respect to their learnability, i.e. whether and to what extent their structural characteristics facilitate their acquisition (e.g., Lefebvre, 2006 and references cited

therein). Paradoxically, except for Mauritian Creole (Adone, 1994), Creoles have not been the focus of comprehensive acquisition studies, and Haitian Creole is no exception. This is not only problematic for theoretical reasons. Haitian Creole (HC) is the most widely spoken Creole, with 12 million speakers and it is the language of a fast increasing proportion of the population in the US: it is the second Language Other Than English in Miami (Buchanan et al., 2010) and the fourth one in New York (American Community Survey, 2007, Table B16001). It is also among the top 10 languages other than English spoken by students aged 5 to 17 labelled as having 'Limited English Proficiency' (Migration Policy Institute, 2010).

The aim of this study was to address the gap experienced by educators and clinicians, who have to administer developmental screenings to pre-schoolers, and to develop an assessment tool adapted to HC-learning toddlers. A parental questionnaire adapted to both the language and the culture of HC-learning toddlers was developed, first piloted in Haiti and administered to 50 children (with no developmental issues) between the ages of 18 and 36 months enrolled in Head Start programs and other day cares and preschools in New York.

The assessment follows the structure of the Communicative Development Inventory (CDI) (Fenson et al, 2007) that has been adapted to 63 languages from different language families and tied to distinct cultures (<http://www.sci.sdsu.edu/cdi/>). It consists of three sections that tap toddlers' vocabulary, language use and sentence structure.

The HC questionnaire contains 602 words: parents indicate whether their child understands and/or produces each of them. In a few cases different words that refer to the same concept are presented to accommodate dialectal differences among speakers, i.e. *'tanpri/silvoupplè/souple'* simply means 'please', and yet different speakers from different regional or social background might choose to say *'tanpri'* instead of *'silvoupplè'* even when they understand the meaning of all three. A section on religious concepts not typically found in CDIs has been added. Words such as *'Jezi Kris'* meaning 'Jesus Christ' and *'ougan/ bòkò'* referring to 'voodoo priest' were also incorporated as they reflect the combination of Christian and Vodoo cultures of Haitians (Michel and Bellegarde-Smith, 2006) and the early linguistic experience of the HC-learning toddlers. The use of different lexical items, as in *'gòm'* (gum) and *'pouding'* (pudding) in the section on food and beverage borrowed from the English language were also added, to ensure we did not underestimate the lexical development of the children living in the US.

The section on language use is similar of that of the American English CDI (Fenson et al., 2007). It focuses on how children use words to talk about events that either happens in the present, past, and future. It includes 5 questions, e.g a). *'Èske pitit ou janm rakonte bagay kite rive ou pale de moun ki pa la?'* (Does your child ever talk about past events or people who are not present?) b) *'Èske pitit ou janm rakonte bagay ki pwale rive?'* (Does your child ever talk about something that's going to happen in the future?)

The grammatical section of the CDI incorporates the complex Tense, Aspect and Mood markers that characterize Haitian Creole (Damoiseau, 2005, DeGraff, 2007). For example the progressive marker *'ap'* that sometimes indicates future, as in *'I'ap malad'* (s/he will be sick), or it can be used to mark the progressive aspect as in *'M'ap pale'* (I am talking). The marker *'ap'* can also indicate immediate future, as in *'I'ap wè'w'* (s/he will see you). The marker *'te'* indicating past, as in *'li te fè' l'* (S/he did it) was also included.

In addition to the HC language assessment questionnaires, parents also completed a detailed questionnaire on the demographic and linguistic contexts in which their child was raised that considered the complex sociolinguistic linguistic landscape of the Haitian community in the US (Barrière and Monereau-Merry, 2013). Haiti has two official languages, French and Haitian Creole. Although French co-exists with Haitian Creole at a societal level, only 10% of the Haitian Population speaks it (DeGraff, 2009). In contrast, all Haitians speak and understand Creole. New York City is home to more than 180,000 residents of Haitian ancestry who belong to

different social classes and come from different regions of Haiti (Barrière and Monéreau-Merry, 2013). Toddlers of Haitian descent in the US may be raised learning only HC or they may also be exposed to French and/or English (and/or Spanish, if they come from areas close to the Dominican Republic), which is why it was important to collect detailed information on their linguistic backgrounds.

The analyses of the results focused on number and types of words and grammatical structures understood and produced by the toddlers in relation to their age, the age at which they were exposed to different languages, the proportion of use of different languages with their parents, siblings and other relatives and caregivers, and the language(s) in which literacy-related activities are conducted. The first results obtained on 50 toddlers enable us to a) gain insights into the complex linguistic contexts in which HC-learning toddlers are raised, b) identify their early language acquisition milestones and c) determine the contribution of contextual factors to the language development of HC-learning toddlers, which will inform clinicians and educators serving this population.

BARTENS, Angela

University of Helsinki

**Accounting for morphological and morphosyntactic variation
in creoles: Is it always possible or even feasible?**

The creoles under survey are the closely related English-lexifier creoles of San Andrés, Old Providence, and Nicaragua. The influence of the lexifier language on these creoles was relatively weak for most of the 20th century during which they came under increasing pressure from Spanish.

The creoles present some cases of morphological and morphosyntactic variation which lend themselves to speculation about possible language change in progress. But should these cases of variation be considered as diagnostic of decreolization, a hypothesis offered by Creolists to account for variation in creoles since the 1960s, change due to the pressure from the prestige language Spanish, language-internal and thence supposedly “natural” change, or should they even be considered cases of code-switching, possibly due to linguistic insecurity?

In this paper, I concentrate on verbal morphology and morphosyntax and the allomorphy and collocation of personal pronouns. Firstly, the basic, presumably invariant verb form may present doublets which Holm (1978:249) calls “equivalent allomorphs”, cf. Nicaraguan CE *tel* ~ *tuol* 'tell'. What is more noteworthy from a structural point of view is that basilectal creole TMA-marking patterns coexist with superstratal verb structures (for instance, copula constructions with *iz* and *woz*) even in the speech production of the same speakers.

Personal pronouns, especially third person pronouns, present allomorphy which in some cases can be attributed to a relative position on the creole continuum and in others to morphological factors. But how is one supposed to give a functional explanation of the “third person singular subject pronoun alternation rule” found in the speech of at least some San Andresan speakers? Or the occurrence of null subject pronouns, potentially indicative of future typological change (cf., however, Bartens & Sippola 2014)? Cf. San Andrés CE for 3SG subject pronoun alternation and null subjects, respectively:

Ihn no sii dem, an wen him gaan out, ihn sii dem op iina trii haat.

3SG NEG see 3PL and when 3SG go.ANT out 3SG see 3PL up in tree heart

'He did not see them and when he went out, he saw them up on the top branch of the tree.'

Ø *Kyaan komplien.*

Ø can.NEG complain

'I have nothing to complain about.'

Based on my data which mostly consists of spontaneous oral speech, I argue that in the kind of contact situations I am studying, variation is not always diagnostic of language change, at least not judging from existing recent diachronic data (cf. Washabaugh 1974 and Holm 1978), and that code-switching as well as the constant reaffirmation of one's identity pace LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985) might constitute (more) valuable leads – presuming, of course, that attempting to account for variation is a worthwhile endeavour in the first place at a time when there are proposals to legitimize the heterogeneity of creole discourses to the extent of questioning whether it is worthwhile to write in a creole language or not (cf. Freeland 2004:124).

BAXTER, Alan and Hugo CARDOSO

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Early notices regarding Creole Portuguese in former Portuguese Timor

The area of Bidau, in the East Timorese capital of Dili, was home to the only documented form of creole Portuguese in Timor. Although Bidau Creole Portuguese (BCP) is now extinct, by most accounts, a few scattered records allow a glimpse into what it must have been like, and reveal its clear relationship with other Southeast Asian Portuguese-based creoles; Baxter's (1990) study of BCP was based mostly on a set of recordings made in the context of the *Missão Antropológica de Timor* ["Anthropological Mission to Timor", 1953-1954].

In this article, Baxter (1990: 3) mentions that "[s]o far, the earliest located reference to BCP, and one which contains some impressionistic examples of conversations and the verse of a song, is Castro (1943: 56, 177)". However, since the publication of this study, a few earlier references to what can be interpreted as Portuguese-based creole in Timor have been located in unpublished archival sources. These sources are letters sent to two important philologists of the late 19th and early 20th century, Hugo Schuchardt and José Leite de Vasconcelos, who were greatly interested in ascertaining whether a creole was spoken in Timor and what the local Portuguese was like; their epistolary archives are kept at the University of Graz (Austria) and the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Lisbon, Portugal), respectively. Hugo Schuchardt's correspondence includes several letters from José dos Santos Vaquinhas, a Portuguese colonial administrator in Timor, one of which (dated 14 July 1886) contains a few creole sentences intended to answer Schuchardt's questions concerning an earlier set of examples (now lost). Leite de Vasconcelos' correspondence contains several letters from his cousin Alberto Osório de Castro, who resided in Timor at the very start of the 20th century. From the year 1910 onwards, Osório de Castro's letters often mention Timorese linguistic matters and, in one of them, he transcribes a few sentences which were to find their way into his earlier-mentioned 1943 book.

In this talk, we will introduce and contextualise these epistolary sources, and discuss the linguistic and sociolinguistic material contained therein, and its relevance for the reconstruction and ratification of aspects of Bidau Creole Portuguese.

BELGRAVE, Korah

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

The Company It Keeps: The Collocational Competence of D2 speakers at the Cave Hill Campus

When two or more words occur together habitually, these words are said to collocate. Collocation is not determined by logic or frequency, but is largely arbitrary. Knowledge of collocations is an important benchmark in judging whether learners have acquired competence in a language. Lui and Shaw (2001) suggest that language teaching should not only focus on how many words the learners know, but that we also need to examine how well they know the words that they know. As they point out, a key element in successful native-like performance is “mastery of lexical relations-collocations, lexical phrases, fixed phrases” (172).

Applicants to the UWI, Cave Hill Campus write a proficiency in English test (ELPT) as part of their entrance requirement. The results of this test are used to allocate students to the Foundation Language courses. Increasingly, students’ poor writing skills and inefficiency in use of the language have been cited as causes of poor performance in university courses. This paper targets those students who failed the entrance test in order to examine their receptive and productive competence with particular noun-verb collocates. Yani (2010) identifies noun-verb collocations as those in which students were most likely to make mistakes (162). It will also examine the extent to which there is a correlation between failing scores on the ELPT test and poor collocational competence.

It is intended to show that a lack of collocational knowledge is a good indicator of poor linguistic competence and to suggest that language teaching, especially in second dialect situations, needs to focus on teaching specific collocational knowledge. It should also contribute to a better understanding of how second dialect learners process language.

CARDOSO, Hugo

Universidade de Lisboa

A 19th-century account of Sri Lanka Portuguese phonetics

In the late 19th century, Hugo Schuchardt established a wide epistolary network of informants to provide him with information on the languages which were of interest to him. These included Ceylon Portuguese (currently known as Sri Lanka Portuguese [SLP]), then more widespread on the island than it is now. One of the letters received in response to his enquiries, now kept in the Schuchardt Archive of the University of Graz (Austria), was sent in June of 1890 by William Goonetilleke, a learned Ceylonese who edited the Kandy-based scholarly journal *The Orientalist*. The letter accounts for the efforts made to secure reliable data on SLP and, as an attachment, gives the transcription of four stanzas of a traditional SLP song (“Bella Balansor”) in two formats: orthographic and phonetic. A key explains the notation used for the phonetic transcription with reference to example words in German, English and French. Though brief, this document offers a rare and unusually detailed glimpse at 19th-century SLP phonetics, in particular with respect to its vocalic system and a few consonantal groups. In this talk, we will describe the evidence provided by this transcription, which is clear about certain phonetic characteristics that had eluded the authors of earlier accounts of SLP – such as Berrenger (1811); these include: - a two-way vocalic length distinction (long, short); - a four height distinction in the front-central vowel series; - the absence of vocalic nasalization; - a three-way distinction in nasal consonants ([n], [ɲ], [ŋ]); - the presence of post-alveolar

affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ]; - the absence of the palatal lateral approximant [ɮ]. By establishing concrete relationships between phonetic realisations and orthographic practice, this document permits a fuller and more meaningful interpretation of the considerable 19th-century corpus of written SLP texts. It is an essential source for the diachronic reconstruction of SLP phonetics and phonology; to this effect, we will also explore the extent to which the phonetic evidence provided by Goonatilleke's transcription matches more recent and reliable descriptions of SLP (Smith 1977; 2013).

CAVALCANTI CUNHA, Maria Jandyra and Jo-Anne S. FERREIRA

Universidade de Brasília and The University of the West Indies, St Augustine/SIL International

Resgate e Revitalização do Português como Língua de Herança em Trinidad e Tobago

A língua e a cultura da comunidade portuguesa de Trinidad e Tobago podem ser descritas praticamente como em extinção. Apesar da resistência inicial dos imigrantes lusitanos que chegaram ao país no século XIX, seus descendentes acabaram por sucumbir à pressão da sociedade envolvente por uma conformidade sociocultural e linguística. O resultado foi a assimilação da comunidade em todos os níveis—social, cultural, étnico e linguístico—causada por fatores tanto externos como internos. Entretanto, contrariando à majoritária absorção, alguns indivíduos de origem madeirense mostraram ter sido sucedidos em preservar laços com o arquipélago da Madeira, e também manter a sua língua. O que todos eles têm em comum é, no mínimo, um ancestral imigrante da década de 1930 ou anos posteriores.

Nos dias de hoje, há indivíduos e famílias que estão determinados a reclamar por sua herança portuguesa, seja solicitando o passaporte nacional, viajando para conhecer terras lusitanas ou mesmo tendo aulas na língua de Camões. Os novos, e em menor número, imigrantes portugueses vindos do continente europeu, sem ligações com a Madeira, não necessariamente se integraram à comunidade lusitana no país e geralmente não participam do movimento de resgate de sua língua e cultura, abrindo espaço para um novo grupo de luso-falantes.

Diferentemente dos imigrantes portugueses dos séculos XIX e XX, a comunidade brasileira do século XXI é ao mesmo tempo difusa e transitória, e por isso quase invisível. Os brasileiros que vivem em Trinidad têm, em sua maioria, motivações profissionais ou laços matrimoniais que os ligam a trinitários. Há pouco intercâmbio entre os brasileiros e a já estabelecida comunidade lusa, hoje anglofalante. Os filhos de brasileiros residentes no país também começam a enfrentar o deslocamento linguístico, particularmente quando apenas um dos pais é do Brasil.

Mesmo havendo um interesse crescente em relação ao Brasil e, por extensão, à língua portuguesa, apenas um número pequeno de luso-trinitários se interessou por aprender o português brasileiro, sendo que a maioria deles alega precisar ou preferir aprender o português europeu. Nesse sentido, a partir da década de 1980, o resgate da língua na comunidade luso-trinitária começou em nível individual com o auxílio e a presença de professores brasileiros. Cursos de extensão são também oferecidos à comunidade externa, com alguns alunos oriundos de famílias luso-descendentes. A Universidade das Índias Ocidentais tem mantido pelo menos quatro professores de português, e tem desenvolvido convênios com dez instituições lusófonas. Em 2013, também se inaugurou um curso regido pela primeira professora nativa de Portugal e destinado a uma classe de luso-descendentes—esta, uma experiência ainda em análise. Reconhece-se hoje a importância de se ter ativo o ensino do português, seja ele de qualquer variedade, a fim de se reavivar essa rica herança linguístico-cultural.

Nesta comunicação, partindo de estudo histórico do contexto da perda da cultura lusófona entre descendentes de portugueses em Trinidad e Tobago e de pesquisa etnográfica entre luso-falantes—portugueses e brasileiros, e seus descendentes—empreendida pelas autoras utilizam-se narrativas orais de indivíduos para discutir questões relativas ao resgate de sua língua de herança: o português.

Palavras-chave: língua de herança, variedade linguística, comunidades imigrantes.

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Variable gender agreement in Huni-Kuin Portuguese

Except for the vernacular dialect spoken in the region of Cuiabá (State of Mato Grosso), linguistic varieties of Brazilian Portuguese usually do not present variable gender agreement. Structures like “casado com MEU irmã” (‘married to my sister’, where MEU is used instead of the feminine possessive pronoun MINHA, s. Lima 2010) occur in Cuiabá but are not possible in other Brazilian regions.

On the other hand, specific Brazilian varieties which are closely linked to contact linguistic situations often show variable gender agreement. Lucchesi (2009) described how this linguistic process takes place in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, the characteristic dialect of African slaves’ direct descendants that remain living in isolated communities. Variable gender agreement is also a feature of linguistic varieties that are second language of different Native Brazilian peoples. Costa (1993) verified such variable agreement in the Portuguese variety spoken by the Fulniô (that live in Águas Belas, Pernambuco, and whose language belongs to the Macro-Jê stock). Macedo and Lucchesi (1997) also observed it in the contact variety shared by six peoples in the Upper Xingu River. The Parkatejê (whose territory is located in the State of Pará and speak a Jê language) developed a variety which completely lacks feminine determiners forms (s. Ferreira 2005).

This presentation describes the behaviour of variable gender agreement in Huni-Kuin Portuguese. The Huni-Kuin (which means “the authentic men” in their native tongue) are also called Kashinawa and speak a Panoan Language. They live in the Brazilian-Peruvian border in the Upper Juruá River and also in the Purus River Region. They are more than 5000 individuals and 80% of their population on the Brazilian side (in the State of Acre) are bilingual.

In their specific Brazilian Portuguese variety, masculine determiners with feminine nouns are possible (e.g., *meu família*, instead of *minha família* (*my family*)), which is the same kind of structure found in the vernacular dialect of Cuiabá and in the Parkatejê Portuguese. However, in Huni-Kuin Portuguese feminine determiners can also be combined with masculine nouns (e.g., *desse conhecimento*, instead of *desse conhecimento* (*of this knowledge*)). This second possibility deserves particular attention, since it is much more common that native peoples’ varieties avoid using feminine determiners (the marked forms in Portuguese).

Analyzing data gathered in a field trip, phonological, syntactic and semantic factors influencing the selection of masculine or feminine determiners are identified. Among the syntactic factors, we have found that feminine determiners with masculine nouns are usually expressed before the NP head. The semantic factors include the fact that inanimate referents are much more likely to be related to a determiner not revealing gender agreement.

Historical sources and pronominal system in the northern Indo-Portuguese Creoles

A comparison among the pronominal systems of the three still-spoken northern Indo-Portuguese creoles (IP) of Diu, Daman, and Korlai reveals that there are two different systems, as shown in Table 1. The questions addressed in this paper are: which of the two systems is older, which is the more innovative one and why did the innovation take place?

TABLE 1. Subject and Object Pronouns in Diu, Daman, and Korlai Indo-Portuguese

DIU	DAMAN				KORLAI			
	subj	obj	<i>A subj</i>	obj	<i>B subj</i>	obj	subj	obj
1	yo	ami	yo	ami	yo	pa(r)mi	yo	par(m)i
2s	---	---	---	---	ɔs	pəɾɔs	wɔ	pɔɾɔ
2s	use	ause	use	awse	use	puse	use	puse
3s	el/ɛl	aɛl/aɛl	il/ɛl	ayil/ayɛl	il/ɛl	pril/prɛl	el	pel
1p	nɔs	anɔs	nɔs	anɔs	pənɔs	pənɔs	nɔ	pɔnɔ
2p	usez	ausez	usez	awsez	usez	pusez	use	pudzo
3p	e(l)z	aɛ(l)z	i(l)z	ayi(l)z	ilot	pilot	elo	pelo

In comparing the above systems, two things are apparent: (1) Daman IP has two systems (A and B in Table 1), one shared with Diu IP, the other with Korlai IP; and (2) the system shared by Diu and Daman IP does not have two 2s forms, but the system shared by Daman and Korlai does.

In Clements (1996), Clements and Koontz-Garboden (2002) and Cardoso (2009), we find that the particle *pə* is used to mark full object NPs in all creoles in question but the marker *a* is only found as an object marker with pronouns in Diu and Daman. Schuchardt (1883) and Dalgado (1903) provides a historical perspective on the development of case markers: *pə* is found as a pronoun case marker in both Daman and Diu and *a* is not attested. Thus, it seems that the object case marker *a* is the innovation.

The question about how the innovation happened is linked to the disappearance of the 2s pronoun in Diu and Daman A. In these creoles, the innovative (and more acrolectal) pronoun system is preferred among the speakers of the white-collar population. In the blue-collar communities (Daman B and Korlai), the conservative (and more basilectal) pronoun system is preferred, and in the case of Korlai the only one. It is argued that the use of *a* to mark objects in Diu and Daman A is also an acrolectal feature of these creoles.

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The notion of adstrate: Focus on Nigerian Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English contexts

The notion of adstrate: Focus on Nigerian Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English contexts. The particularities of adstrate contributions to language contact scenarios are difficult to distinguish and, consequently, they have

received little attention in creolistics. Unfortunately, adstrate has become a fuzzy notion and has served as a generic category for sources of input that cannot neatly be classified as either substrate or superstrate. Until now, adstrate input has been framed in terms of postformative contributions that bear influence on an already stable system in a pidgin or creole (Mufwene 1996: 175; Bakker & Parkvall 2005: 518; Ansaldo 2011b: 368). In recent years, however, some creolists have begun to apply the notion of adstrate to contexts in which creoles exist as endogenous varieties in their linguistic ecologies (Cardoso 2012; Yakpo 2012). Those works have drawn on concepts from the field of language contact studies.

Contemporary studies on language contact use the notion of adstrate influence to describe the co-existence of linguistic systems in a geographical area whose contact lead language pairs or groups to become alike over time. Adstrate influence leads to polysemy copying (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 100–103) and metatypy (Ross 1996, 2007)—also discussed in terms of congruence patterns (Ansaldo 2011a)—and may result in the formation of a linguistic area, or *Sprachbund*. The present work discusses the notion of adstrate in a similar sense for West African pidgin-creole contexts. It argues that the intense contact that West African pidgin-creoles have had with their substrate-turned-adstrate languages in Nigeria and Ghana have reinforced patterns of locative predication.

This presentation argues in favour of adstrate as the best characterization of Benue-Kwa and Ijoid influence on pidgin-creoles today. It shows that certain linguistic domains, for example comparative marking and location marking, reflect patterns of influence from African languages that are spoken alongside the pidgin-creoles. Table 1 provides three features of location marking in Student Pidgin (a new variety of Ghanaian Pidgin English) that have converged with patterns in Akan Twi, one of many languages that make up the “typological matrix” (Ansaldo 2004) in which Student Pidgin has developed.

Table 1. Location marking in Student Pidgin and Twi Location marking

	Student Pidgin	Twi (Kwa language)	English glosses
a) postnominal position of locatives	<i>cloud de mountain top</i>	<i>mununkum wɔ bepɔ no so</i>	cloud is_located_at the mountain's top
b) existence of an ‘im body’ locative	<i>crack de cup im body</i>	<i>ekam wɔ kura no ho</i>	crack is_located_at the cup's side
c) decreased use of an all purpose relational ‘for’	<i>rain de for window im body</i>	<i>ntonsuo no wɔ wɔ ntokuruwa no ho</i>	the rain is_located_at LOC the window's side

CROES, Régine

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Reaching beyond the Scol Multilingual project: Overhauling the whole education system toward a meaningful multilingual learner-centred education

Ten years ago a group of linguists, educational specialists and policy makers got the task to write a new language policy for primary education, but we were summoned to do this behind closed doors. There was a lot of tension and debate about the language of instruction and this topic was highly politicized back then. After proposing a multilingual education model with Papiamentu as the language of instruction throughout primary education we got the support of the Minister of Education to introduce this model until the fourth grade. Unfortunately at that time we couldn't get the support to continue this model until 6th grade, but we took the challenge and set up the Scol

Multilingual Project to develop all conditions necessary to introduce this model in all primary schools in the near future.

As we are advancing we can now demonstrate the benefits of multilingual literacy and the winds in public opinion and politics have obviously changed in our favour.

Now, ten years later, in 2014, we are ready to move on to the next level. In this paper I want to share my personal vision on how I think we can take on the challenge to open the public debate again and continue the multilingual model throughout primary and secondary education, keeping a major role for Papiamentu throughout our education system and building upon the other languages in a realistic, challenging and meaningful way.

DE BIES, Renata and Jeannette ALLSOPP

Anton de Kom University of Suriname and The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Analysis of Surinamese-Dutch – Caribbean-English Bilingual Dictionary:

Issues Encountered in Compilation

The *Carisur Culinair Dictionaire (CCD)*, a bilingual culinary dictionary, has been compiled to further promote and strengthen the idea of the linguistic and cultural unity of the Caribbean, fully treated previously by both Richard and Jeannette Allsopp, the latter crossing linguistic boundaries in her *Caribbean Multilingual Dictionary of Flora, Fauna and Foods (CMD)*. Dutch was, however, not included in that publication. The *CCD*, launched in Paramaribo in November 2013 caters to Dutch-speaking users. The version for English-speaking users is forthcoming.

The lay Caribbean person might think that Suriname is not part of the Caribbean, since Dutch is not one of the major official languages of the region; however, it is the official language of Suriname. In its comparison of the culinary domain of Suriname with that of the English-speaking Caribbean, the *CCD* sets out to prove the close cultural relationship between this Dutch-speaking territory and the English-speaking (is)lands of the region.

Suriname and the Caribbean English-speaking nations share typical Caribbean identities because of both their historical and geographical similarities, as the history of these countries is dominated by colonialism, slavery and immigration. By the same token, there are also differences because of that history and their geographical separation.

This paper reports a study of the translation equivalents in the *CCD* is meant to give some insight into the similarities and differences in the (culinary) lexicon in one part of the Caribbean. The work has included full translation equivalents (one to one) partial equivalents and new equivalents as a result of anisomorphisms. The strategies used to provide equivalents and an analysis of such strategies will be treated in this paper.

It is quite clear that the other languages spoken in the Caribbean should be added to this study to provide a fuller and clearer linguistic and cultural picture of the region, hence this study should be regarded as a work in progress.

DE LISSER, Tamirand, Stephanie DURRLEMAN,

Luigi RIZZI and Ur SHLONSKY

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Beta lietdanneva: The story of early subject-drop in Jamaican Creole

Jamaican Creole (JC) is a non-null subject language, but learners of JC clearly go through a stage where they omit subjects, as exemplified in (1) below:

- 1) __ *bai i* (Col, 23mths)
Ø buy it
“(Mommy) bought it”

Basing our analysis on the corpus of natural productions collected in “The Acquisition of Jamaican Creole Syntax Project”, we observe that early subject drop is robustly attested in the acquisition of JC for several months: only after 35 months does the production drop under 10%. The truncation hypothesis (Rizzi 1993/94) predicts that early subject drop in the acquisition of a non-null subject language should only be possible when the subject is in the specifier of the root. This is confirmed by our data: While 30% null subjects are attested in declaratives in the relevant period, subject omission is virtually absent (0.3%) in overt-wh constituent questions and clauses with an overt focussed constituent. This structural restriction of null subjects has been observed in the development of other non-null subject languages: English (Valian, 1991), French (Crisma 1992, Levow 1995), Dutch (Haegeman 1995, 1996), German (Clahsen, et al, 1995).

Another important clause-initial omission is wh drop. Null wh-questions are also observed in other child language corpora: Dutch, Spanish, English, French, German, Swedish (Yamakoshi 2002) and Norwegian (Westergaard 2009). In our corpus we observe an interesting interplay between wh drop and subject drop, in that a strikingly high proportion of null subjects can also be found in constituent questions in which the wh-element is missing, as in example (2):

- 2) __ __ *get i fram?* (Kem, 31 mths)
Ø Ø get it from
“(Where did you) get it?”

Such wh-questions are clearly meant as questions by children and have the same meaning as adult wh-questions with overt wh-pronouns. Hamann (2000) argues that whether the wh-element is omitted or not, these utterances force an interrogative interpretation, and thus entail the presence of a question marker in Spec CP, whether null or overt. Similarly, for yes-no questions in our corpus, we found as much as 30% subject-drop. These structures are clearly used as questions by children and thus arguably also contain a null operator in CP (see Grimshaw 1993; Roberts 1993). We intend to analyze this interplay in detail in the paper.

The data also revealed a significant number (28%) of null subjects in what appears to be left dislocated topic constructions, in contrast with what was found for wh and focus constructions:

- 3) *Kidi* __ *fiid im* (Ala, 25 mths)
Kiddy Ø feed him
“Kiddy, (I) fed him”

In sum, the data from JC confirm the hypothesis that early subject drop is an exceptionless developmental universal, and the virtual absence of early subject drop in wh-questions and focalized utterances strongly supports the truncation approach. The new findings about null subjects in null wh-questions and the asymmetry between focus and topic constructions call for a refined and more detailed comparative analysis of the left peripheral constructions in JC along lines which will be explored in the paper.

DEVONISH, Hubert (Keynote)
The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Looking forward while looking back: The history and future of
Creole Language Planning in the Caribbean (1980 to 2048)**

Abstract not available.

DIEBOWSKI, Jessica
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**Spanish gender agreement: Are adult Caribbean heritage speakers and
second language learners really incomplete acquirers?**

Over the last few decades, the acquisition of grammatical gender systems in many languages,—for instance, German, French, Italian and Spanish—, has become a major topic of scholarly interest and investigation. There has been a great deal of research done, focusing largely on the area of early age L1 gender acquisition (Karmiloff-Smith, 1979; Pérez-Pereira, 1991; and Müller, 1994), L2 gender acquisition (Finnemann, 1992; Hawkins, 1998; Fernández-García, 1999; Bruhn de Garavito & White, 2000; Alarcón, 2004; and Montrul, 2006), and gender acquisition in bilinguals (Lipski, 1993; Anderson, 1999; Montrul, 2006a, 2006b; Zaretsky & Bar-Shalom, 2008; Eichler, Jansen & Müller 2012; Eichler, Hager & Müller 2013). Although gender acquisition has been empirically examined in many of the above-mentioned fields, there still remains a gap. It is only recently that researchers have directed their attention towards gender acquisition in heritage speakers and their linguistic abilities in comparison to those of monolinguals on the one hand, and to second language (L2) learners on the other (Montrul et al. 2008; Polinsky, 2008; Montrul, 2002, 2004, 2006; Martínez-Gibson 2011). In recent years, research has found that heritage speakers and L2 learners display a high number of errors despite of language exposure or studying Spanish. The deficiencies showed by heritage speakers and L2 learners to achieve monolingual-like competence in the domain of gender agreement, led some authors to propose that the acquisition of a heritage language equals L2 acquisition. L2 learners rarely achieve complete native-like competence in all domains of their second language (Hyltenstam & Abrahamson, 2003). A recurrent claim of research (e.g. Montrul 2002, Montrul et al. 2008) on the inability to reach monolingual gender behavior in the case of L2 learners has been linked to maturation constraints, whereas language loss/attrition is caused by insufficient input which is needed to maintain or develop the full system of the first language (L1). The present study examines the knowledge of Spanish gender assignment and agreement in an elicitation test by Caribbean heritage speakers and L2 learners. The responses were recorded and analyzed for differences in the number and error patterns of gender assignment and agreement errors between the different groups. Results of the test showed that L2 learners produced more gender errors than Caribbean heritage speakers, suggesting that the proficiency level and the underlying vocabulary and grammar knowledge affect gender accuracy. A closer examination of the written productions revealed that L2 learners and heritage speakers have gender in their underlying grammar and do not display incomplete acquisition. Gender agreement variability in the L2 learners stems from performance issues rather than competences. Further results

reveal that the noun morphology has an effect on the accuracy of gender agreement. The linguistic findings provide scholars and instructors with an understanding of the nature of second language acquisition versus heritage acquisition. Furthermore, the results can serve as guidelines to develop efficient pedagogical strategies for L2 learners and heritage speakers to address their specific needs.

DIJKHOFF, Marta (Keynote)

Language planning and political restructuring in Curaçao: What's new?

Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (ABC islands) were colonies of the Netherlands until 1954 and part of the Netherlands Antilles (along with Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten, the SSS islands). In 1954, autonomy was officially granted to the Netherlands Antilles. Shortly afterwards, the country started disintegrating. The ABC islands are at present three separate entities within the Kingdom. Aruba obtained an autonomous status in 1986. In 2010, the Netherlands Antilles itself ceased to exist. Curaçao obtained an independent status within the kingdom, whereas Bonaire became an overseas municipality.

Schools in Curaçao (and also those in Aruba and Bonaire) follow the Dutch educational system, despite the political restructuring of the last decades. According to Devonish 1986, “The education system has been a major means of protecting and perpetuating the role of Dutch as the official language, although the majority of the inhabitants of the ABC islands speak Papiamentu as their mother tongue c.f. Table 1 (courtesy of the Central Bureau of Statistics of Curaçao and Aruba).

Table 1. Languages spoken in the ABC islands.

Languages spoken in %	Curaçao	Bonaire	Aruba
	2011	2001	2000
Papiamentu	78.6	75	69.4
Dutch	9.4	9	6.1
Spanish	6.0	12	13.2
English	3.5	3.0	8.1
Other/unknown	2.5	1	3.2

In this paper I want to discuss the challenges that we face as a linguistic community in this phase of our history, with special reference to the social and educational context in Curaçao. These challenges are comparable to the issues Aruba has been grappling with concerning the role of Papiamentu in education, since it left the Antillean political constellation in 1986 cf. Croes 2010, and Pereira 2010. Bonaire, where Dutch has been re-established as the official language of public administration and education in 2010, is facing related, yet greater difficulties, cf. Bak-Piard 2009. For a review of the changes on the ABC islands before this date, cf. Dijkhoff and Pereira 2010 (“Language and education in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao”, in *Creoles in Education*, Bettina Migge et al., John Benjamins, pp. 237-272). My present contribution can be considered an update of the situation described therein. Some issues in language planning which we were contending with are still inconclusive today, whereas others have shifted based on a different political reality.

DONNELLY, Janet
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Pronominals in Bahamian Creole English

English-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean characteristically have pronominal systems that utilize, for the most part, etyma from the English superstrate while incorporating substrate features such as the marking of the second person plural through retention while not leaving case or gender distinctions unmarked (where English would differentiate these features grammatically). Furthermore, as a result of sociolinguistic factors, variability exists in the forms possible within and across subcategories, resulting in the co-occurrence of basilectal and mesolectal forms as well as the replacement of basilectal forms by mesolectal (Alleyne 1980).

Bahamian Creole English (BCE) has a pronominal system similar to a number of English-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean such as Jamaican or Guyanese as well as North American Gullah, its close relative. Like these other creoles, the pronominal system of BCE is a blend of English and African influences (if not universalist). As with these other creoles, the African influence manifests itself in the absence of case or gender distinctions and is especially salient in BCE's marking of the second person plural through an African survival, *yinna*.

Though numerous examples of BCE pronominals are presented in readily accessible academic works from previous centuries (Parsons 1917, etc.; Edwards 1891 & 1895) and from recent decades (Shilling 1978; Holm & Shilling 1982; Holm 1988, 1989 & 2000; Hackert 2004; Hackert & Holm 2009), there is no systematic description of them. In this paper I intend to inventory and chart the personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns commonly in use in BCE, describe their distribution and provide typical examples drawn from various sources. In my discussion I will draw comparisons with pronominal systems of other English-lexifier creoles (both the similarities and the differences) and will also identify pronominal forms that are archaic or innovative. The description and analysis of these BCE pronouns will contribute to an expanded descriptive grammar of Bahamian Creole English and a broader representation of Atlantic English-lexifier creoles and will provide an additional resource for cross-linguistic comparison.

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Class Observations and Stakeholder Interviews in St. Eustatius

This paper is part of a panel presentation on Applied Linguistics and the language of instruction in Dutch Caribbean schools. It reports on the results of a year-long study concerning the language of instruction in the schools of St. Eustatius which was conducted by our research team from 2012 to 2013.

With the goal of attaining a qualitative understanding of the lived experiences of the people of St. Eustatius in relation to the language of instruction used in the schools on the island, our research team conducted 19 observations of regularly scheduled classes at all levels of primary and secondary education and 49 focus group interview meetings, including 9 meetings with groups of teachers, 12 meetings with individuals and groups involved with educational management, 22 meetings with groups involved in activities associated with the educational system (youth and family services, etc.), 5 meetings with groups of students, and 1 general meeting with parents.

The classroom observations revealed that students and teachers at all levels perform better when English is taught as a first language and used as the general language of instruction and when Dutch is taught as a foreign

language and not used as the general language of instruction. We observed that while students enjoy learning Dutch when it is taught in an informal and playful way as a foreign language in the early years of primary school, their enthusiasm for learning Dutch diminishes as the transition is made to Dutch as the main language of instruction at the end of primary school, and evaporates when Dutch becomes the main language of instruction in secondary school. In early primary classrooms, we witnessed uniformly high levels of class participation among all students in classes where English is used as the main language of instruction and Dutch is taught as a foreign language. But in later primary and secondary classes where Dutch is taught as a first or second language and used as the language of instruction, we almost invariably observed a ‘core/periphery effect’ whereby a few students, most of whom have some significant exposure to Dutch outside of school, constitute an engaged ‘core’ that actively participates and interacts with the teacher, while the majority of the students retreat into the disengaged non-participating ‘periphery’ of the class.

What we observed in the classrooms was confirmed during our focus group interview meetings. While all stakeholders agreed that the schools on St. Eustatius should be producing students with high levels of competence in both English and Dutch, none thought that the schools were actually achieving this for either language. All agreed that for the great majority of the people on St. Eustatius, Stavian English is a first language and Dutch is a foreign language. A number of stakeholders commented on growing levels of hostility among students (and some parents) toward Dutch language and all things Dutch. Even some of the few students who speak Dutch at home now refuse to speak Dutch at school.

The relationship between attitudes of students from different ethno-linguistic communities towards English and its teaching, and their study of English

This study examines the relationship between the attitudes of students from different ethno-linguistic communities towards the study of the English language and its method of teaching, and their achievements in the study of the English language.

The Arabic minority in the State of Israel consists of a number of ethnic sub-groups (Christians, Muslims and Druze) who use the English language differently and also grant different degrees of importance to English culture. According to the research literature in the field of language study, Christians give high importance to the English language since it is the language of the Christian Western world. The Druze who live close to Jewish cities and are particularly attracted to the Jewish and Western world, also grant considerable importance to the English language. However, the Muslims have reservations about the study of the English language because of their reaction and struggle against the Israeli Government and the Western world which English symbolizes for them.

Based on this theoretical framework, the basic hypothesis of this study was first, that demographic variables such as gender, age, parents' occupation and education, parents' socio-economic level and level of religiosity, are positively correlated with pupils' attitudes and their achievements in the study of the English language.

Secondly, there is a relationship between ethnic identity and students' attitudes and achievements in the study of the English language. Thus, Christians grant high importance to the study of English language since it is the language of the Western world. However, the Druze prefers the use of the Hebrew language while the Muslims have reservations about the English language because of their concerns about the Palestinian problem and Western ties with the State of Israel.

The research for this study was carried out through the use of a questionnaire designed especially for the purpose of this study. The population sample included 301 Arabic students in the Junior-High schools of Maghar, Rama and Sajur villages in Israel. The population in the Maghar and Rama villages is comprised of three ethno-religious groups: Druze, Christians and Muslims. The population of the third village, Sajur, consists of Druze only. The statistical analysis included correlations, multiple regression models and variance tests.

The findings of the study indicate that, as expected, there were significant differences between students of the three different ethno-linguistic communities (Christians, Druze and Muslims) in the attitudes expressed towards the study of the English language, as well as in their achievements in the study of the English language. Christians showed more positive attitudes than the Druze and Muslims, and the attitude of the Druze students towards the study of the English language was more positive than the attitudes of Muslim students. Furthermore, Christian students have the highest level of achievement and were higher than the achievements of the Druze and Muslims.

Generally, the research model was corroborated. This study has important theoretical implications. It seems that ethno-linguistic identity has a central role in influencing a pupil's attitudes and achievement in the study of the English language. In light of the lack of studies dealing with the subject of pupil's attitudes towards the study of the English language in Arab schools in the State of Israel, these findings will make an important contribution to policy makers in the field of education in Israel, especially for the Ministry of Education.

Gullah Geechee and Caribbean Creoles: An Historian's Model

Generations of Creole linguists have debated the development process or genesis of Creole languages. Since the 1950's historians and anthropologists have analyzed Creole societies and their cultures as New World creations of the enslaved societies. Derek Bickerton pioneered a the "Language Bioprogram Hypothesis," which that Creoles resulted from children born locally in the New World learning to speak pidgins as their first languages and expanding the pidgins into Creole languages. Jacques Arends pioneered the "gradualist approach," a second school of thought pioneered by used historical evidence to counter Bickerton's argument. They argued that the "nativization" of Creole languages occurred gradually and took more than one generation (Arends 1993, 1995; Cardoso 2009; Roberts 1998, 1999; Singler 1992, 1993, 1995, 2006). Other linguists like Robert Chaudenson and Salikoko Mufwene have argued that Creole generations developed over a few centuries and in stages, which corresponded to the development of the plantation economy (Chaudenson 2001; Mufwene 1996, 1999, 2001).

Melville Herskovits' pioneering research on Africanisms, African survivals and retentions in New World plantation societies identified the "Gulla Islands" as the one place in the US South where African culture "survived". Anthropologists, such as Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, and historians, such as Walter Hawthorne, have invoked the terms "Creole" and "Creolization" to denote enslaved peoples' creation of new languages and cultures in the New World (Herskovits 1945, 1958; Mintz and Price 1976/1992; Hall 1992; Berlin 1996, 1998; Sweet 2003; Heywood and Thornton 2007; Hawthorne 2010; Brown 2012). In this context, historians and anthropologists have constructed Creole cultures and languages as the antithesis of Africanisms. Examining Creoles as a product and not a methodology, we historians have failed to come up with a methodology for analyzing the development of Creole languages.

Historians, anthropologists, and linguists agree that the South Carolina and Georgia, with their large slaveholdings, resident absentee planters, and Creole cultures and languages, are more akin to Creole societies, cultures, and languages in the Caribbean than in the rest of the US South. This paper will apply gradualist approaches to creolization developed by linguists studying Creole languages in the Caribbean to the historical development of Gullah Geechee society, culture, and language. It will argue that historians should borrow tools from Creole linguistics to analyze the development of Creole cultures and languages and will develop a model that historians can use to analyze the development of Creole societies throughout the New World.

FIGUERIEDO, Carlos and Ana GOMES

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Incorporação no português do Libolo

Observámos os "sintagmas nominais reduzidos" na variedade angolana de português do Município do Libolo, Província Kwanza-Sul, Angola (PLB), buscando explicar a neutralização do contraste presença/ausência de determinante como marcação de definitude/especificidade ([1]; [2]):

[1] PLB:

se tem um pouco do adumbo, primeira faz *mubanga* [VACHIH5]

(PE: *as mibangas*)

[2] PLB:

ela foi tirar *panela* quente e *na panela* tinha água [ALJERM1]

(PE: *a panela*)

Em [1], o SN em itálico é um complemento verbal de sentido genérico, requerendo definitude semântica codificada (artigo) em PE/PB, pois tem interpretação definida. Contudo, no PLB é realizado sem artigo.

Em [2] não há paralelismo sintático na expressão da definitude das duas realizações. Portanto, não há biunivocidade entre marcação definitude/especificidade e a realização do argumento com determinante.

Remetemos aos estudos clássicos de incorporação sintática e (pseudo)incorporação semântica, que consideravam a primeira a inserção de um argumento numa forma verbal, formando um composto com afixos contornando a forma nominal (Haspelmath, 2011).

Considerou-se que o quimbundo, L1 da maioria dos falantes do PLB, é língua de núcleo-modificador ou núcleo-determinante, com formas aglutinantes, realizando a concordância de número no SN com afixos pré-nominais.

Tratamos o PLB como incorporação (quase) sintática: em [1], o falante analisa parte da palavra “*mubanga*” (um empréstimo do quimbundo) como pré-afixo aglutinado marcador de definitude/especificidade; em [2], o artigo em “*a panela tinha*” é analisado como marcador de definitude com escopo sobre as duas realizações SN.

Detetou-se que a ausência de determinante de definitude/especificidade é mais comum nos SNs realizados mais internamente na sintaxe da sentença, do que em posições mais altas, uma particularidade típica da semântica da incorporação em SNs indefinidos (Carlson, 2006), que pode motivar a ausência de artigo nos SNs que são expressões definidas/específicas, em posições mais internas à sentença. Todavia, no PLB também não se realiza o determinante.

Sobre verbos que permitem incorporação (p.ex. os de leitura de atividade), o que ocorre no PLB também não se encaixa no tratamento clássico da incorporação (Spender, 1984, *apud* Farkas&de Swart, 2003).

Assim, atentamos à pseudo-incorporação, em que SNs completos são complementos verbais (Dayal, 1999). A estrutura sintática do PLB privilegia o discurso e a organização informacional, sendo frequentes construções de foco (Figueiredo&Santos, 2013). A hipótese é que, no PLB, a relação posições mais altas da sentença/produção de especificidade seja mais generalizada que o foco tradicional. Os SNs mais altos terão referencialidade conferida pela sintaxe, sendo interpretados discursivamente como retomadas (tema); os SNs mais internos, como parte da predicação (rema).

Quanto aos SNs mais internos, sendo o quimbundo uma língua aglutinadora, o morfema que confere definitude é interpretado pelos falantes do PLB/L2 como parte da palavra (Marques, 1985). Será outro tipo de incorporação, com realização da especificidade através de proeminência discursiva, por sua vez marcada pela posição sintática. Sendo o número e definitude partículas aglutinadas à palavra, um sistema de determinantes como o do PE não tem função, explicando a variação, pois a ausência ou presença de artigo não produz (in)definitude, sendo este dispensado como marcador de referencialidade.

FIGUEIREDO, Carlos, Márcia OLIVEIRA and Lurdes JORGE

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Representação do pronominal 2ª pessoa singular: Variação no português do Libolo

Neste trabalho, inserido nos estudos do “Projeto Libolo”, observa-se o traço [Pessoa] em dados orais, quanto à representação sujeito pronominal 2ª singular no português do Libolo, Angola (PLB):

[1] PLB:

tu num **sabes** quem está [NAZCAM5]

[2] PLB:

você é traidor, **lhe** matam (Figueiredo & Oliveira, no prelo: [16])

(PE: **você é...** matam-**no**)

[3] PLB:

você deixou aí o número (Figueiredo & Oliveira, no prelo: [13])

O sujeito pronominal 2ª pessoa evidencia duas propriedades gerais sobre distribuição de formas pronominais e da relação de predicação (sujeito/verbo):

(i) atesta-se “tu” ([1]) e “você” ([2]-[3]);

(ii) “você” intancia-se com elemento flexional remetente a “tu”, tratamento informal ([2]); e, ainda, com flexão remetente a tratamento formal ([3]). O fenómeno [2] regista-se também no português de Angola (Miguel, 2008:43), mas por analisar.

Acerca da variação, propomos um questionamento, a que responderemos, e que, grosso modo, será uma possível implementação teórica das propriedades mais gerais do PLB, as quais acompanharam o nosso ponto de partida:

(i) a variação incide sobre “pronominais”, ou sobre “flexão verbal” (tratada, em estatuto já sintático, como “concordância”, dependendo de enfoques ou perspectivas teóricas)?

Outras variedades reestruturadas do português atestam o fenómeno, que terá implicações, ainda não consideradas, acerca da representação – em termos de sujeito nulo, por exemplo, dos termos da predicação. No português do Brasil (PB), numa das hipóteses (Galves, 2001), aspectos da variação são associados a perdas relativas a [Pessoa].

No PLB importa ressaltar: a variação dar-se-ia internamente a um quadro de elementos que instanciam “pronominais”, na língua, e, ainda, implementam contrastes semânticos (modalização da interlocução); e remeteria, ainda, a operações sintáticas, no curso da derivação. O estudo irá contribuir com achados para entendimento de particularidades do português afro-indígena de comunidades do Brasil, e do PB.

Oliveira, Figueiredo & Jorge (2013), a partir de Figueiredo & Oliveira (no prelo), investigam, à luz das operações Merge e Agree (Chomsky, 2001;2008), no que refere à instanciação de Caso abstrato e de concordância, as propriedades morfossintáticas dos clíticos não-reflexivos 3ª pessoa, instanciados, no PLB, na forma única “**lhe(s)**” ([2]-[4]):

[4] PLB:

já **lhe** disse, lá pás dez horas (Figueiredo & Oliveira, no prelo: [74])

O conjunto de traços do PLB instanciados por itens tradicionalmente referidos como “clíticos dativos” traz, como se deduz de [4], implicações extensivas à relação de complementação verbal, mostrando que este trabalho tem objetivo duplo quanto à investigação da variação em [1], [2], [3].

A investigação morfossintática do pronominal de 2ª singular será cotejada com o quimbundo, cujo pronome sujeito 2ª singular possui apenas a forma “*ei*” (formal/informal). Relativamente ao verbo, não tem flexão, sendo o afixo de desinência de tempo igual para as 2ª/3ª pessoas singular. Sem perder de vista o substrato, este trabalho enfoca as hipóteses centrais acerca da variação morfossintática/semântica do traço [Pessoa] do PLB, que serão abordadas nas perspectivas do minimalismo de derivação por fases (Chomsky, 2001;2008), em especial, no referente a “pronominais”, vistos como itens não-primitivos, que, todavia, resultam da composição de traços-phi “selecionados” pelas línguas naturais, partindo de elementos disponíveis na GU.

Portuguese Influence on the French Guianese Creole (FGC) Copula

The phonological shape of the FGC copula (*sa*) distinguishes it from other Atlantic French-lexified Creole copulas (Antillean, Louisiana, and Haitian Creole *se* or *sé*) (Michaelis 2013, Damoiseau 2007). Its form is believed to originate from French demonstrative sources like *ça*, *ce*, and *cela* ‘this/that’ (Goodman 1964) and their counterparts in FCG (forms related to *sa* ‘that’). The syntactic distribution of copular *sa* most likely resulted from the reanalysis of demonstrative *sa* in topic-comment constructions where it was used as a resumptive pronoun (Li and Thompson 1977, McWhorter 1997).

Figure 1: Reanalysis of pronouns as copulas

Topic *i* – [Pron. subject] *i* – Predicate

Subject – Copula – Predicate

Given the multi-lingual contact situation from which the language emerged, copulas, focus particles, and even demonstratives from both West African substrate languages (Arends 1989, Migge 2002) and the French superstrate (Goodman 1964, Saint-Jacques-Fauquenoy 1986) may have reinforced this reanalysis. For this reason it is important to consider the relevant structures from all languages present during the development of FGC to account for the current form and distribution of the copula, especially those languages involved in the founding stages (Mufwene 1996). There is historical evidence that speakers of varieties of Portuguese and/or Portuguese-lexified Creoles were involved in the establishment of the initial plantations in and around Cayenne. Specifically, Portuguese-speaking Sephardic refugees from nearby colonies established the first plantations in French Guiana and a small group of escaped Brazilian slaves settled in Cayenne in the mid-17th century (Jennings 2009). Additionally, there is evidence that some of the slaves arriving in Cayenne came from the Cape Verde Islands in the late 17th century (De Moraes 1998). However, the influence of Portuguese on FGC has been little explored up to now.

Synchronically, Portuguese influence can be seen in the copular domain of FGC where the verb *fika*, from Portuguese *ficar* ‘to stay’, serves as a locative copula and as a general copula in extracted positions (Goodman 1964, Damoiseau 2007). Coupled with the historical evidence, it is plausible that Portuguese played a larger role in the development of the FGC copula *sa* than previously thought. This is further validated by the fact that *sa* is a common copular and aspectual form in other Portuguese Creoles and their historical varieties (Holm 1984, Michaelis 2013, Baptista 2011, etc.). Consequently, this paper investigates the possibility that Portuguese copulas (*ser*, *estar*) and demonstratives (*esse(s)* and *essa(s)* ‘that/those’ or *esta(s)* ‘this/these’, etc.) contributed to the development of the FGC copula *sa*.

FORRESTER, Clive

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The role of the linguist in the interrogation of Caribbean “hate speech”

Within the last two decades there has been an increasing move towards the social disapproval and, in many cases, the criminalization of the phenomenon known as “hate speech” despite the fact that many jurisdictions are still unable to resolve in specific detail exactly what constitutes hateful speech and how the law should apply in those cases. On the one hand is the near unanimous axiom that free speech is the lifeblood of any functioning democracy while on the other hand is the understanding that free speech should not have free reign to malign vulnerable, less powerful minority groups. While several jurisdictions in the global north have established legislative measures that describe the content and punishment of hate speech, no Caribbean territory has a legal framework for the punishment of such speech even though allegations of hate speech have seeped into the Caribbean space via cultural symbiosis.

This paper considers the role of the linguist as one among many in the ongoing interdisciplinary dialogue seeking to critically analyze the subject of hate speech. This consideration is foregrounded against the persistent negative attitudes towards Caribbean indigenous languages and the culturally engrained myths that some of these languages are inherently vulgar, aggressive, and can incite hatred.

The research highlights two pivotal contributions from the linguist in interrogating the context and content of hate speech: 1. The linguist has intimate knowledge of Caribbean language situations as well as how the existing socio---cultural power differentials between high status and low status language varieties skews perceptions of these varieties 2. The linguist brings an arsenal of discourse analytical tools and methodologies to the table to complement the legal/judicial machinery already in place to handle hate speech. Finally, the paper concludes with the results of a Caribbean wide survey on hate speech and a discussion of the implications this survey has for further research in this arena.

FRANCIS, Tasheney

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Cinematic Play along the Jamaican Creole Continuum: The Innovative Political Discourse Strategy

“New broom sweep clean, but old broom know di corner best”. This is a Jamaican adage expressing that someone or something that is new to a particular task will do a good job as a demonstration of his, her or its competence, however an older or more experienced individual or thing is already oriented and even better acquainted with the task at hand. The discourse of the 2007 General Election Campaign in Jamaica used old broom techniques with new broom vigour. This paper examines *language choice* as a deliberate political discourse strategy/ technique, which has been effectively employed by political campaigners as far back as the 1970’s (Jacob, 1972). However, political strategists in the 2007 General Election Campaign have not only used carefully selected ‘language’, but have used *technology* to contextualize the language in order to yield the desired sociolinguistic impact; thereby merging both the old and the new techniques. The most popular advertisement of the campaign, as indicated by the myriad views on the relevant websites, “Don’t draw my tongue”, is a prime example. Cinematic techniques used in this audiovisual and electronic advertisement not only formed the impression of a ‘deeper’ Jamaican Creole than was actually used but also conjured up stereotypical views associated with such. Various semiotic

processes, specially facilitated by the use of technology, coloured the message and consequently the audience's perceptions, attitudes and ultimate responses. This approach has revolutionized political campaigning in Jamaica. This strategy is not just language play. Instead it is a play on language choice and linguistic ideologies in a sociolinguistic context which is characterized by what is often referred to as a Creole Continuum, and a play on the associating linguistic attitudes and perceptions. This paper shows from a linguistic and sociolinguistic perspective the notion and implications of being 'more in line with Creole' (Jacobs, 1972) and how advertisers and copywriters use this to their advantage in political campaigning then (1972) and now (2007) with the use of technology.

FRANÇOIS NUNEZ, Joseph Jean

Laboratoire LLACAN

L'expression du génitif chez les créolophones casamançais: Un cas de contact de langues

Le créole afro-portugais de Casamance (casamançais) est traditionnellement parlé au Sud du Sénégal, en Basse-Casamance, région particulièrement multilingue (Juillard et Wald, 1994).

Dans le domaine du contact de langues, il existe deux approches principales : une approche structurelle s'intéressant à la structure linguistique des productions bi- ou plurilingues, i.e. à leur description (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) et une approche sociale s'intéressant aux rôles et aux significations sociales de l'alternance de langues, i.e. à la question des motivations et de la valeur pragmatique de ces phénomènes d'alternance (Auer 1999).

Ma communication porte sur les conséquences linguistiques du contact de langues – en particulier sur l'expression du génitif dans les pratiques linguistiques des créolophones casamançais au contact du français (indo-européen, langue romane) et du wolof (Niger-Congo, langue atlantique).

Alors qu'en casamançais la marque morphologique *di /di/* (< portugais classique *de /di/*) sert à exprimer le génitif au singulier comme au pluriel, plusieurs formes (prenant en compte le codage du nombre) sont attestées en français (*de, du, des, d'*) et en wolof (*wu, -u, -i*) (Diouf, 2001). Dans cette communication, j'illustrerai les formes du génitif en contexte mixte observées dans mon corpus : combinaison d'une marque génitive d'une langue avec un (voire deux) autre(s) nom(s) d'une autre langue ou de deux autres langues tout en insistant sur l'ordre des mots possibles.

Dans les exemples suivants, le casamançais est en caractères normaux, le wolof en italique et le français en gras.

1)	da-m	ke	boîte	di	beurre
	donner-1SG.OBJ	DEM.D2	boîte	de.PREP.GEN	beurre
	V-PRN	DET	N	ADP	N

Donne-moi cette boîte de beurre là-bas

V = verbe ; PRN = pronom ; DET = déterminant ; N = nom ; ADP = adposition ; 1SG = première personne singulier ; OBJ = objet ; D2 = démonstratif distal ; PREP = préposition ; GEN = génitif ; PROPR = nom propre

Certaines formes dues au contact de langues apparaissent également sans le morphème génitival casamançais (ou d'une autre langue) là où on s'attendrait à le voir :

2)	après	festa	<i>Tabaski</i>
	après.PREP	fête	Tabaski.PROPR
	ADP	N	N

Après la fête de Tabasky

Mon travail s'inspire de la méthode d'analyse développée dans le cadre du programme ANR CLAPOTY (Léglise et Alby, 2013).

Partant du fait que les créolophones casamançais sont influencés par le français et le wolof dans leurs pratiques langagières, cette méthode d'analyse en situation d'hétérogénéité linguistique m'a permis d'observer des cas de génitifs pouvant relever des systèmes français ou casamançais. En puisant dans mon corpus, je montrerai dans mon exposé comment le wolof et le français influencent le casamançais contemporain dans le prototype de la construction génitive, phénomène qui n'a jamais fait l'objet d'études approfondies (cf. Chataigner 1963; Kihm 1994 ; Rougé 1988 ; Biagui 2012 ; Biagui et Quint 2013) en casamançais jusqu'à présent. Pour ce faire, je présenterai d'abord les structures génitatives de ces langues avant de montrer comment elles sont modifiées par le phénomène de contact de langues.

FULLER MEDINA, Nicté

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“Like all of a sudden están hablando español”:

Notes from the field on an understudied variety of Spanish

The purpose of the current paper is twofold, first, it discusses the initial stage of corpus compilation of Spanish, English and Creole data from Spanish speaking communities in Belize and, second, the picture of contact Spanish that emerges from this data is presented. Approximately 50 hours of data were audio-recorded through standard sociolinguistic interviews and recordings (with informed consent) of spontaneous conversations amongst bi/trilingual Spanish speakers in the northern and western regions of Belize, purported to represent two distinct dialect regions.

In contrast to Spanish-English contact widely studied in the U.S. (e.g., Toribio 2011), Spanish in Belize presents a unique context given that it is also in contact with Creole. And, in spite of speakers' negative evaluations, Spanish in Belize carries some level of prestige. Notwithstanding these characteristics, it remains largely undescribed and undocumented (Hagerty 1979; Fuller Medina 2005). We found that the unique context of bi/trilingual communities forced a re-examination of the concepts such as the 'vernacular', specifically as applied in bi/tri-lingual communities, as well as accepted notions of 'in-group members' along with the corresponding idea that only 'in-group members' can access the vernacular. The importance of ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistic research is also highlighted in the discussion of factors contributing to successfully entering communities.

What emerges from the data is that ‘Belizean Spanish’ consists of two distinct varieties. Thus, confirming Hagerty’s (1979) finding that Northern Spanish is a distinct variety from Western Spanish. With regard to rhotics, for example, we find the retroflex remains a feature in the North whereas in Western Belize the trill continues to predominate. At the level of morphosyntax, verbal voseo (1) is used in Western Belize but is absent in the Northern variety. A feature which has previously been reported as entirely absent in the Spanish spoken in Belize (Quillis 1990).

1. *a veces te lo quitan, tenés que pagar algo* (29/15:18)

Sometimes CI-refl. PRO take away-3PL have to-2SG pay-INF something.

Sometimes they take it away from you and you have to pay something.

Furthermore, the data challenges several hypotheses. It has been suggested that retroflex in the North has surfaced as a result of contact with English (Hagerty 1979) but the Western variety, also in contact with English, has not developed this feature. The idea that Belizean Spanish is solely characterized by language mixing is also dispelled since it is specific cohorts that tend to be language mixers. The perception held in the speech communities that Spanish in Belize is *bruk-up* Spanish is also addressed by showing the systematicity of language mixing and similarities shared between Belizean varieties and other varieties of Spanish. The pattern of language mixing, where present, shows a predominance of borrowings (as defined by Poplack 1993) as in (2), illustrating lexical borrowing from Creole (squinje-up).

2. *porque nosotros veníamos* like squinge-up

Because we were like squished (in the car)

This study contributes previously unreported data and documentation of Spanish in Belize and evaluates key concepts in sociolinguistics research in the context of a Spanish-English-Creole milieu.

GARRET, Hélène and Eugene IGRAS

University of Alberta/King's University College (Retired) and Independent Scholar

Papiamentu/o Portal

The field of linguistic is diverse, dynamic and collaborative in nature. While there are numerous online resources available to learn and study Papiamentu/o, access to these resources is frequently fragmented or limited to experts. Furthermore, these resources often offer static information content and relatively modest capabilities to facilitate interactions among dynamic groups of users, such as scholars, students, or the general public. The primary objective of this project is to develop an online platform dedicated to the Papiamentu/o language to address these challenges and provide capabilities to:

- Develop and publish e-learning material and provide access to the content,
- Integrate with other e-learning resources dedicated to the field of linguistics,
- Provide collaboration capabilities (e.g., chat rooms, e-conferencing) to form dynamic ‘interest groups’ and engage users in interactions and collaboration, and

- Facilitate information and knowledge discovery and sharing through the use of contextaware discovery services and knowledge maps, and their application in practical use of Papiamentu/o.

The approach is to deploy a web portal based on a Web Content Management System to provide authoring, collaboration, and administration capabilities combined with Knowledge Management tools. While web portals have been successfully used to bring information from diverse sources in numerous applications in the corporate world, governments and research organizations, the scope of this project goes above and beyond information integration and includes tools to handle dynamic user groups, knowledge objects, and interactions between them through the delivery of dynamic and contextual content and services.

While the prototype of the Papiamentu/o Portal developed to date offers only a subset of the desired capabilities, the results look promising. The user management, content publishing and access services are easy to use and expandable. They are also generalizable so potentially they can be adapted to other applications.

GONZALEZ RIVERA, Melvin and Sandro SESSAREGO
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Micro-Parametric and Language Variation in the PP Domain

In this talk we examine preposition stranding under sluicing in Spanish (1a-2a). Spanish does not allow a preposition to be stranded under regular wh- movement (3). Following Merchant's (2001) generalization, Spanish will not allow preposition stranding under sluicing either: *a language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing only if it also allows preposition stranding in non-elliptical contexts.*

However, Merchant's generalization has been recently challenged by Hartman (2005), Almeida and Yoshida (2007), and Sato (2011) for Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese. Vicente (2006) has argued that preposition stranding under sluicing in Standard Spanish is allowed only if the wh-word is discourse linked (Enç 1991; Frazier and Clifton Jr. 2002; Pesetsky 1987). This explains the difference between the examples (1a) and (2a): while the wh-word in (1a) is discourse-linked (D-linked), in (2a) the wh-word is not. Therefore, Spanish speakers tend to reject preposition stranding under sluicing in non D-linked contexts. Vicente (2006) suggests the following generalization: *in Spanish, a preposition can only be dropped in a sluicing context if the wh-word is D-linked.* Rodrigues, Nevins and Vicente (2009), on the other hand, proposes that (4a) consists of a cleft structure whose inflectional phrase (IP) has been deleted (4b). This "pseudo-sluicing" construction is the one that allows P-stranding under sluicing in Spanish. The input for P-stranding under sluicing in Spanish is a cleft containing a specificational copular sentence, in which the copular verb is followed by a determiner phrase (DP) containing a relative clause (RC). They provide a series of syntactic tests to motivate their proposal: e.g., multiple sluicing and Pstranding, else modification, complementizers under sluicing, among others. The present study is thus a work-in-progress report from a project investigating preposition stranding in Spanish. The aim of this paper is to analyze preposition stranding under sluicing in Spanish and to examine if preposition stranding under sluicing is favoured only in D-linked contexts, as proposed by Vicente (2006), or a cleft containing a specificational copular sentence.

- (1) a. Pepe ha vivido en un país europeo, pero no recuerdo cual. 'Pepe has lived in an European country, but I do not remember which.'
 b. Pepe ha vivido en un país europeo, pero no recuerdo en cual.

- (2) a. Pepe habló con alguien, pero no sé quien. ‘Pepe talked to someone, but I do not know who’.
 b. Pepe habló con alguien pero no sé con quién.
- (3) a. ¿Qué estás hablando sobre? ‘What are you talking about?’
 b. ¿Sobre qué estás hablando?)
- (4) a. Pepe habló con alguna chica, pero no sé cual. ‘Pepe talked to a girl, but I do not know which’
 b. Pepe habló con alguna chica pero no sé [CP cuál [IP es [DP la chica [RC con la que habló Pepe]]]]

GONZÁLEZ RIVERA, Melvin and Javier GUTIÉRREZ REXACH

The grammar of elatives

Standard Spanish has several elatives or expressions of very high or extreme degree. Some of them are morphological in nature (-ísimo), others are adverbial (extremadamente ‘extremely’, increíblemente ‘incredibly’, etc.) (RAE 2009). Elatives normally denote the highest point on a scale of degrees or a point that exceeds a conventional scale (cf. Bosque 2002). Elatives contrast with degree intensifiers, such as muy ‘very’ in muy alto ‘very tall’ or bien ‘very’ in bien guapo ‘very handsome’ in that degree intensifiers do not denote the highest point on a scale or one that exceed it. In this paper we study the behavior of the degree adverb bien in Spanish and we argue that bien behaves as an elative or quantifier of extreme degree (Bartra & Villalba 2004, González 2005, Morzycki 2010). Syntactically, we argue that bien encodes the feature [+extr deg] and triggers the operation Agree, understood as identity of value (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007). Bien is attracted by modal heads and also by sentential force (exclamative) heads. Semantically, bien, as an operator of extreme degree, is modal in nature and relates to only those belief-worlds to which the speaker has a high degree of commitment. The operator is intensionalizing in that it requires relativization to a modal perspectival norm (normally dictated by the speaker). The modal content of bien is characterized, following Kratzer (1981), as consisting of a modal (evidential) base and a similarity (preference) relation on worlds.

GOODEN, Shelome and Kathy-Ann DRAYTON

University of Pittsburgh and The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

Intonation and Prosody in Old Trinidadian and Old Jamaican

There have been disparate accounts of the prosodic systems of Jamaican and Trinidadian as being tonal or hybrid systems (Clements & Gooden, 2009). These differences are very likely due in part to differences in the length/depth of English influences on the varieties. Jamaica became British in 1655 and in Trinidad, the British replaced the French in the course of the 19th century and the newly developed English/English Creole supplanted French Creole. Thus English in Trinidad has a much shorter history than in Jamaica, the earliest reports of English (Creole) being in 1838. Recent research has shown that both languages are stress languages with vibrant intonational systems (Drayton 2013; Gooden 2014). Moreover, neither variety shows evidence of lexical tone that would indicate African substrate influence, unlike creoles like Papiamentu and Saramaccan. For example, in broad focus declaratives, both varieties mark stressed syllables, intonationally with a low pitch, giving a rise--fall pitch pattern. In Jamaican, this rise-fall is realized as a H+L* and in Trinidadian as a L*. In terms of prosodic structure

however, only Trinidadian has an Accentual Phrase. Further, the intonational system of Trinidadian also shows influence from its contact with Indian Bhojpuri as well as possible influence from an earlier French Creole (Youssef & James 2008; Gooden, Drayton & Beckman 2009). To date, it has been difficult to assess whether these intonation patterns represent well-established patterns or newer developments. We seek to provide some answers by reporting the results from a current project in which we examine audio recordings spanning a period of just over 50 years. Our findings shed light on the historical presence of intonational patterns and prosodic structures observed in contemporary recordings. As Irvine (2004) notes, *phonology* is the aspect of the language that is not reproduced in the written texts...introduced...in the school system and it is the aspect of the language that distinguishes the educated *Caribbean speaker* from his/her counterpart in *other parts of the 'English-speaking' world* (italics added). Furthermore, it is the phonology that indexes the social background of speakers. The analysis focuses on prosodic phonology, including stress and intonation. We also discuss the issue of the development of differences in the prosodic structure in Trinidadian that are not observed in Jamaican. This paper will add to the growing body of work on the phonological systems of Creoles. The findings also contribute valuable time-depth information for the intonational patterns of both varieties.

JACKSON, Samantha and Valerie YOUSSEF
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Screening for Language Development among Trinidadian English Creole-speaking Children

Screening of pre-school children for speech and language development is normative in metropolitan countries where it is recognized that early intervention is crucial to maximize elimination of potential deficits. Where a potential speech or language difficulty surfaces in screening, children are then referred for full assessment, diagnosis and treatment. This kind of intervention is needed throughout the Caribbean and some progress is being made.

This paper reports on the results of a language screening exercise carried out in the island of Trinidad between January and March 2014 as a precursor to fuller language assessment in both Creole and Standard Trinidadian varieties. The investigation was carried out among one-hundred and twenty (120) four- and five-year-old children in seven Early Childhood Care and Education Centres throughout Trinidad. These Centres are managed or assisted by the Trinidad and Tobago Government to give children without the socio-economic means to attend private pre-schools, the chance to develop educationally and obtain the phonological awareness necessary to pre-literacy before entering mainstream primary schooling.

For Creole-speaking children the American screening measure, The Kindergarten Language Screening Test, Second Edition (KLST-2), proved challenging since the Standard English questions included several vocabulary items and grammatical structures with which, as Creole speakers, they were unfamiliar. In addition, some of the questions required a level of phonological, grammatical and cognitive preparedness which might be expected from a middle-class, educationally-oriented US family environment but which would not likely be the focus of a Trinidadian lower-class domain.

The paper documents the nature and extent of these problematic items, and the responses they invoked, and suggests measures for adaptation of the materials which could then be tried and tested in this Caribbean linguistic milieu as a precursor to establishing norm-referenced screening tests suitable for Caribbean Creole speakers.

JOHNEN, Thomas
Stockholm University

Los africanismos lexicales en el papiamento: comparaciones ibero-románicas y creolísticas

En la literatura sobre el papiamento es común afirmar que en su léxico la influencia de lenguas africanas es mínima. Sin embargo todavía no hay estudios exhaustivos sobre este tema. Generalmente se cita a Lenz (1928) y Maduro (1953) quienes hicieron un levantamiento de datos restringido a aproximadamente 2500 lexemas. Además, la fuente a la cual Lenz (1928) tuvo acceso, Hoyer (1918), tiende a demostrar en la selección de los campos y unidades lexicales que el papiamento tiene un vocabulario del mismo nivel que las lenguas europeas, consideradas entonces “de cultura”, limitándose, por ejemplo en el campo lexical de música, a instrumentos de la música culta europea y excluyendo de esta manera los instrumentos afro-curaçaoenses. No obstante, el resultado de estos análisis indica un porcentaje de 3% de lexemas de origen no-europeo. Además, los estudios de Maurer (1991), van der Buurt (2001), Parkvall (2000) y Grant (2012) evidencian que hay cierta influencia africana también en el léxico del papiamento, sobre todo de lenguas bantú y kwa (particularmente del fon), pero también de lenguas delta-beniicas, atlánticas y mande. En nuestra ponencia presentaremos los resultados de un estudio inicialmente desarrollado dentro del ámbito del proyecto *Afro-Latin Linguistics* en el cual logramos identificar un número más elevado de africanismos lexicales en el papiamento de lo que se ha evidenciado en estudios hechos anteriormente. Llegamos a estos resultados al comparar estudios sobre africanismos lexicales en el portugués de Brasil (p. ej. Castro 2001) y variedades americanas del castellano (p. ej. Laguardas Trías 1969, Álvarez 1987, Megenny 1999, Ortiz Oderigo 2007) así como de otras lenguas criollas atlánticas (p. ej. Rougé 2004, Parkvall en prensa, Bollée 2012; Farquharson 2012) con el vocabulario documentado en los diccionarios, actualmente más completos, del papiamento (Putte de Windt / Putte 2005 y Joubert [6ª edición] 2013). Este procedimiento permite al mismo tiempo evidenciar las divergencias y convergencias con relación a africanismos en las lenguas del Caribe, así como también varias convergencias interesantes con el portugués brasileño relacionadas con los préstamos de las lenguas bantú.

JON-AND, Anna, Mikael PARKVALL and Alexander FUNCKE
Stockholm University

Word length and word frequency in pidgins and creoles

It has long been known that an inverse relationship holds between the length of a given word and its frequency in a language. This hypothesis, originally presented by Zipf (1953, 1949), has been empirically confirmed in studies concerning a variety of languages and texts (cf. Herdan 1966, Köhler 1986, Hammerl 1990, Grzybek 2006). This relationship may be explained by, on the one hand, shortening through usage and, on the other hand, speakers' preference for shorter words if there are synonyms. Furthermore, the higher informational value of low-frequency items requires them to be longer in order to preserve a consistent degree of redundancy. High-frequency items tend to be more predictable. In the process of grammaticalization, lexical words become grammatical morphemes, a process that involves semantic bleaching, as well as shortening of the original word. This results in the most common words in languages tending to be short, functional words. The relationship between word length (y) and word frequency (x) has also been suggested to be negatively exponential, $y = ax^{-b}$. This implies that mean word length would decrease exponentially as the word frequency increases.

Our hypothesis is that the relationship between word length and word frequency in pidgins follows a specific pattern. An emerging pidgin uses lexical items from its lexifier(s), but rather few grammatical ones.

This means that the shortest words from the lexifier, which tend to be functional, will not be used in the pidgin. We may also assume that neither the longest and most unusual words in the lexifier will be included in the pidgin's lexicon. Considering that the shortest and most common words as well as the longest and most unusual words in the lexifier are stripped off in the pidginization process, we expect that the relationship between word length and frequency to be less exponential, a smaller b , in pidgins than in their lexifiers.

Our analysis is based on standardized compiled historical material from seven pidgins with different lexifiers (Bazaar Malay, Chinook Jargon, Fanakalo, Français Tirailleur, Gulf Pidgin Arabic, Lingua Franca, and early Australian/Melanesian Pidgin English) as well as transcribed spoken discourse from non-pidgin languages.

For each text we fit the curve $y = ax^{(-b)}$ to the data, determining a and b . In preliminary results of the analysis we find that this relationship does tend to be less exponential, b is smaller, in pidgins, which also gives support to our hypothesis. The analysis will be extended to include creoles as well as second language (L2) varieties. We expect that the exponent, b , could be employed as an index-value, and that a larger b would suggest that a text is an ordinary text rather than creole, and creole rather than pidgin. The exponent could possibly also suggest quantified differences or similarities in the processes of creolization and L2 acquisition (SLA). In a wider context, our presentation contributes to the discussion on the role of pidginization and SLA in creole genesis.

JOSEPH, Marguerite-Joan

The Grenada Creole Society

A study of the negative in Grenadian Creole French

Patois spoken in Grenada or Grenadian Creole French, is defined by the SIL *Ethnologue* at least as early as 2013, as a variety of Lesser Antillean Creole French. It was so defined even while it was already significantly endangered, and was becoming increasingly difficult to find in the tri-island state of Grenada.

We believe this to be the first paper that examines and documents the use of the negative which is characteristic of this variety of the language. This negative morpheme is unique when compared with the language varieties used in the other islands of the Lesser Antilles, and in the Greater Antilles.

Sources representing widespread areas of the mainland Grenada are documented as confirming the knowledge of use or, use of the unique morpheme thus proving its universality. The sources include the research of The Grenada Creole Society, students of Patois in the classes offered by The Society, and, Video documented evidence of birth speakers in the St. John's Parish, of Grenada.

Linguistic works on this variety of Creole French are few, and, none is found addressing the subject of this study. However, a review of two works is done to extract prior tangential reference to the use of this form of the negative. These works were of sociolinguistic (1989) and anthropological (1998) material respectively. A third work (2008) makes a clear link using the oral tradition, between West African nations or social groupings (Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa) and the first speakers of the Grenadian variety of the Grenada Creole French.

Historical francophone as well as African issues are advanced and discussed, together with inter-labial p to b substitution as the probable origins, and thus a likely etymology for the morpheme.

Keywords: Patois, Creole French, Grenada Creole French, Grenadian Creole, Grenadian language

KESTER, Ellen-Petra

Utrecht University

Language attitudes and language use in St. Eustatius

This paper is part of a proposed panel presentation on Applied Linguistics and the language of instruction in Dutch Caribbean schools. It reports on the results of a year-long study concerning the language of instruction in the schools of St. Eustatius which was conducted by our research group from 2012 to 2013.

In order to collect quantitative information regarding language use and attitudes toward language and education in St. Eustatius, we designed a survey which was administered to all of the stakeholders in the educational system on the island. The survey consisted of four parts: 1) a set of general questions designed to investigate attitudes toward language and education; 2) a more specific set of questions concerning opinions about the importance of the Dutch language in different domains; 3) another set of specific questions about the use of various languages in specific settings; and 4) a final series of questions on the demographic characteristics of each respondent. 432 questionnaires were collected from a representative sample of primary and secondary school students, parents, teachers, other education professionals, and the general public.

Statistical analysis of the responses indicate that while St. Eustatius is a multilingual community, Stavian English (a continuum of varieties ranging from Caribbean Standard English to Stavian English lexifier Creole) is the most widely used language across all domains. The majority of the population is only exposed to Dutch in very formal domains, mainly in the classroom. Dutch is nonetheless considered by most to be a very important language. Most respondents feel strongly that the education system should ensure that students have high levels of competence in both English and Dutch. Attitudes toward bilingualism are positive as are attitudes toward both English and Dutch. That being said, students (as well as their parents) in secondary education, where the use of Dutch as the language of instruction is most systematically and rigorously enforced, express less positive attitudes toward Dutch and education in Dutch than do other groups. . This suggests that the obligatory use of Dutch at school is having a negative impact on attitudes toward Dutch.

In general, the results of the survey indicate that what has been a very polarizing debate over language of instruction on the island over the past decades actually conceals remarkable levels of agreement by all stakeholder groups about what is happening linguistically on the ground at present and about how the education system should be equipping the students linguistically for the future. The statistics on language use clearly indicate that for the great majority of the population, Stavian English is a first language and Dutch is a foreign language. The statistics on attitudes reveal that everyone wants students to achieve academic competence in both English and Dutch at school. In other words, nearly everyone agrees on where they are now (A) and where they want to go (B), with the only serious differences of opinion centring on how to get from A to B.

KOUWENBERG, Silvia

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Subject pronouns in Papiamentu: Accounting for a hierarchy of acceptability

Papiamentu subject pronouns can be set out on a prosodic hierarchy along these lines:

(1) strong (independent) pronoun > weak (dependent) pronoun > null pronoun

This paper attempts to outline the state-of-the-art of the study of this complex area of Papiamentu grammar. The complexity arises from the need to consider syntactic behaviour, prosodic behaviour, and pragmatics to arrive at an understanding of the characteristics of these pronoun sets.

Aside from the fact that the non-referential subjects of weather predicates and existential predicates are null, it has generally been assumed that referential subjects cannot easily be covert. This paper will show that referential null subjects are in fact ubiquitous in a body of texts representing a formal register and may be considered preferred over overt subjects, given certain acceptability conditions. The paper will build on Kouwenberg & Scott (2010), who note that referential null subjects are restricted to contexts involving discourse-linking to a third person plural topic.

For the distinction between weak and strong pronouns, the paper will build on Kouwenberg (2007), where arguments are presented for this distinction, based on both prosodic and syntactic facts: weak singular pronouns are prosodically deficient and are licensed by incorporation into a prosodic domain; furthermore, weak and strong subject pronouns occupy different positions in the clausal architecture. Speakers indicate a clear preference for the weak pronouns where singular forms are concerned; the plural forms have prosodic word status and show more ambiguous behaviour.

The preferences noted above can be seen as an instantiation of Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999:198) economy principle:

(2) *Economy of Representations*

Minimise Structure

The application of this principle yields the chain of preference null pronoun > pronoun without structure > pronoun with structure. As will be argued here, this corresponds to the following options in Papiamentu:

- (3)
- a. null pronouns where subjects are non-referential or can be discourse-linked
 - b. pronouns without structure (= weak pronouns) where prosodic licensing is possible
 - c. pronouns with structure (= strong pronouns) elsewhere

LAMB, Alicia, Jennifer DE SILVA and Ernest STAFFORD

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Signed and Spoken Minority Language Transmission in Trinidad and Tobago

Language transmission may occur in various domains, both the domestic domain, specifically in the home, and in the public sphere via institutions such as schools and through interaction with the wider community by way of religious organizations, clubs and associations. Most often, for majority language communities, language is transmitted naturally and effortlessly within both domains as most members of society are users of the language or languages. However, the situation is different for minority languages. Research on language transmission shows that for minority languages, transmission most often either occurs in the domestic domain or the public domain but unless they are being intentionally preserved by explicit language policies, rarely simultaneously occur within both domains (Extra and Yagmur 2006). This presentation will add to the literature on minority language transmission by providing an instance of this phenomenon in two minority language communities in Trinidad and Tobago, a thriving signed minority language community and an endangered spoken minority language Trinidadian Bhojpuri (TBh), where transmission occurs in either one domain or the other but not in both.

TBh an obsolescing language spoken by small pockets of mostly the Indo-Trinidadian community; with the number of speakers estimated to be less than one hundred, emerged among indentured immigrants who came to Trinidad from several parts of India, including Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, during a period which lasted from 1845-1917. They brought with them different languages and language varieties including Awadhi, Magahi, Maithili and several varieties of Bhojpuri, not all of which were mutually intelligible (Mohan 1990; 23). Within the Deaf community, the signed language situation is more complex as two main signed languages are used and transmitted among members of the community. One of these is a native sign language, Trinidad Tobago Sign Language (TTSL), which emerged after unrelated deaf children in Trinidad and Tobago were brought together for the first time approximately 70 years ago at a school for the deaf in the capital city of Port-of-Spain and thus were given a chance to create a shared communication system. The other, American Sign Language was introduced into the community in the early 1970's (Braithwaite, Drayton and Lamb 2011). These minority languages offer two contrasting situations: where in Trinidad Bhojpuri the home and family are essential factors in intergenerational transmission, in the other context of sign language in Trinidad and Tobago, language transmission takes place via the two pillars of the Deaf community through schools for the Deaf and associations and organizations for the Deaf. However, despite the differences in domains of transmission, the purposes of language transmission are the same in that for both these language communities, education, society and religion are major driving forces behind their transmission. The data will suggest that any attempt at preserving one language and maintaining the other should focus on ensuring that these areas of transmission be strengthened because without these domains they are more likely to vanish in the face the majority languages.

LEONI DE LÉON, Jorge Antonio
University of Costa Rica

Expresiones idiomáticas en el análisis de sentimientos: una propuesta híbrida

El análisis de opinión constituye una herramienta valiosa para gobiernos, organizaciones y empresas, tanto para valorar el juicio que el público se forma sobre el impacto de ciertas decisiones, como para estimar la acogida de nuevas políticas o productos. La popularidad de las redes sociales ha estimulado la expresión de opiniones en los ámbitos más diversos, teniendo como consecuencia una explosión en la cantidad de publicaciones producidas por individuos, en las que manifiestan su opinión sobre todo tipo de temas. El análisis manual de estos datos es, ahora, simplemente imposible, de ahí que la elaboración de un análisis automático sensible a la expresión de opiniones se hace sentir cada vez más urgentemente. Los proyectos de análisis de sentimientos (o de opinión) son numerosos para el inglés, no así para el español. Nuestro propósito es, por lo tanto, desarrollar un sistema adaptado a las particularidades de esta lengua.

Los riesgos inherentes a la automatización del análisis de opinión son muchos. Dado que la mayor parte de los algoritmos disponibles han sido optimizados para el inglés, los resultados de su aplicación al español no son satisfactorios. Esto se explica, en buena parte, por las diferencias gramaticales entre ambas lenguas, lo que nos hace apuntar a la necesidad de una aproximación híbrida que combine el análisis estadístico con el lingüístico a fin de mejorar el rendimiento de los sistemas de análisis de sentimientos en las lenguas romances, muy particularmente el español.

En una primera etapa, apuntamos al reconocimiento de expresiones idiomáticas como unidades portadoras de una polaridad gramatical (valores positivos y negativos) que brindan pistas para establecer, en una primera

aproximación, un balance de polaridad. Esto implica: 1) Identificación de un tema o referente; 2) una metodología para identificar y procesar las unidades idiomáticas; 3) un cálculo contextual de la polaridad de las expresiones; 4) un análisis gramatical para reconocer eventuales modificaciones de la polaridad de la unidad idiomática. Como parte de la metodología, una comprobación manual fue considerada necesaria. Nuestra hipótesis establece que los resultados deben ser mejores que un análisis ‘ingenuo’ basado en términos o vocablos simples.

LESHO, Marivic
Ohio State University

Substrate influence and phonetic restructuring in the Cavite Chabacano vowel system

This study examines substrate influence in the vowel system of Cavite Chabacano, an endangered Spanish-lexified, Tagalog-substrate creole spoken in Cavite City, Philippines. Studies on creole phonology have often not taken into account the importance of phonetic detail in investigating how creole phonological restructuring occurs (Russell Webb 2008). However, taking cues from phonetic studies on SLA phonology (e.g., Flege 1995, Guion 2003), I argue that substrate/adstrate influence can be evident not only phonologically, but also phonetically. The present study takes a sociophonetic approach to analyze how dialectal variation in the Cavite Chabacano vowel system is related to superstrate and substrate influence.

Cavite Chabacano has the 5-vowel system of /i e a o u/ from Spanish, phonologically restructured from the original Tagalog system of /i a u/. As in Spanish, stressed /e/ and /o/ are usually realized as [e] and [o]. However, unstressed /e/ and /o/ are raised to [i] and [u] (German 1932, Ramos 1963). This unstressed mid vowel raising occurs particularly in phrase-final position, especially in the San Roque district of the city, and is similar to patterns found in some regional Spanish dialects (German 1932). This unstressed mid vowel raising, also found in Ternate Chabacano, may be influenced by the Old Tagalog 3-vowel system as well as nonstandard Spanish (Sippola 2011).

To further investigate this dialectal variation and possible substrate/superstrate influence, a word list task was conducted with 21 Chabacano speakers from the San Roque district of Cavite City and 17 from the Caridad district. For vowels in each prosodic condition (stressed or unstressed; phrase-final or non-final), duration, quality (F1 and F2), and dispersion were measured (n = 14,543). Vowel category overlap (Wassink 2006) between /e/ and /i/ and between /o/ and /u/ in each prosodic condition was also calculated. Tagalog substrate influence was expected in terms of phrase-final prominence (Gonzalez 1973, Anderson 2006), e.g., greater dispersion and duration in the final syllable, regardless of stress condition.

Unstressed vowels were significantly reduced compared to stressed vowels both spectrally and temporally. Vowels were spectrally and temporally more prominent in phrase-final than in non-final position, whether or not they were stressed. These characteristics suggest strong Tagalog influence. The two dialects both had acoustic overlap between unstressed high and mid vowels, but in San Roque there was more phrase-final mid vowel raising, particularly for /e/. Overall, Caridad has a more dispersed vowel system compared to San Roque, indicating greater phonetic restructuring as the mid vowel contrasts of Spanish were acquired. However, substrate influence in the realization of the vowels and their prosodic conditioning is evident in both districts. These phonetic findings align with what is known about the historical settlement patterns of Cavite, Tagalog and Spanish historical phonology, and the modern folk perceptions of this variation in the Cavite Chabacano vowel system (Lesho 2013).

These results demonstrate that substrate influence can be found not only at the broad phonological level, but also at the fine-grained phonetic level. Sociophonetic analysis, combined with historical phonology, is a useful tool for investigating creole phonological restructuring.

LEVISEN, Carsten
Aarhus University

New Melanesian emotions: A case study in cognitive creolistics

This study provides a semantic overview of the emotion vocabulary in contemporary urban Bislama, the creole variety of Neomelanesian spoken in Vanuatu (Meyerhoff 2013; Vandeputte-Tavo 2013; Willans 2011). The study is designed as a case study and based on semantic consultations with young speakers of the language in Port Vila, Vanuatu's capital. It tests the hypothesis on emotional universals initially put forward in a seminal study by Wierzbicka (1999), and further developed within in Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) research community (Amberber 2001; Author 2012:ch7; Enfield & Wierzbicka 2002; Goddard 2006, in press, forthcoming; Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014; Gladkova 2010; Harkins & Wierzbicka 2001; Junker 2006; Wierzbicka 2009a, 2009b, 2013; Ye 2013), and by semantics-driven studies of Pacific creoles (Stanwood 1997, 1999; Priestley 2008; Nicholls 2013; Author & Priestley, in press). This grounding allows us to study emotion terminology in urban Bislama in an empirical and systematic way, and to make new inroads into a cognitive-semantic approach to creolistics (Author & Priestley, in press). The case study targets six major themes of emotional meanings in Bislama: i) The expressions of the basic concept FEEL, GOOD, and BAD, ii) concepts of “smiling” and “crying”, iii) emotive interjections, iv) emotion terms, including near-universal terms, such as “fear”-like, “anger”-like and “shame”-like terms, v) emotions described via bodily symptoms, bodily sensations, and through body-image idioms, vi) alternative grammatical constructions for describing and interpreting emotions. The analysis suggests that the proposed emotional universals hold true for Bislama, but that two of the six major themes – i) basic concepts and vi) alternative grammatical constructions, are not without problems, and require further testing and analysis. Methodologically, the study combines semantic consultations with Bislama speakers on the meanings of emotion terms, with meaning-in-context analysis of postings on *Yumi Toktok Stret*, a Facebook group with 12.825 members, the largest Bislama-driven online forum. The analysis includes a detailed study of words such as *kros* (from English ‘cross’), *les* (from English ‘lazy’), *sem* (from English ‘shame’), *fraed* (from English ‘fright’ or ‘afraid’), *glad* (from English ‘glad’), *jamjam* (from English ‘jump-jump’), in comparison with their “Anglo English” semi-equivalents: *angry*, *annoyed*, *embarrassed*, *afraid*, *happy*, and *excited*. The study opens up broader discussions about the interface between creolistics, cognition, and semantics. It raises a series of new questions: How do creole words capture “emotion”? What happens to the “emotion domain” in the process of creolization? In what ways can creole languages help us advance the linguistic search for “emotional universals”? In the current state of research, meticulous empirical and analytical studies on emotion vocabulary in individual pidgins and creoles are much needed if we are to make headway in answering these big questions. It is also important for such empirical studies, to have a strong theory base, and testable hypotheses. The paper provides a model study on how to do study on the emotional semantics of a creole language, equipped with tools from cross-linguistic studies of emotions.

LOZANO-COSME, Jenny

University of Wisconsin

**Applied Linguistics in St. Eustatius and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean:
How can linguists contribute constructively to debates concerning the languages
of instruction in Caribbean schools?**

Debates regarding language of instruction at the primary and secondary levels have been raging for decades in the Caribbean in general, and in the Dutch Caribbean in particular. Most of the students on the Statian English-lexifier Creole-speaking Dutch island of St. Eustatius (and in most of the rest of the Dutch Caribbean) find themselves in a situation at school where Dutch is used as the language of instruction, even though the overwhelming majority of them almost never encounter written or spoken Dutch outside of the classroom. The use of Dutch as a language of instruction has effectively limited the numbers of Dutch Caribbean students who manage to succeed at school to the small minority whose parents are willing and able to speak Dutch at home, whose families are willing and able to pay for special tutoring in Dutch after school; and/or who have very exceptional levels of capacity and motivation for learning. The rest of the students are left behind.

In order to help find solutions to this problem, our research group was approached toward the end of 2012 by the educational authorities in both St. Eustatius and the European Netherlands to study the question. We accepted the challenge, well aware of the fact that, despite our best intentions, when we linguists and specialists in language education have gotten involved in such controversies in the past, our input has more often than not proved to be very polarizing and, in the final analysis, counterproductive. In order to avoid making a bad situation worse, we adopted a community based approach that would actively involve all of the stakeholders in the education system on the island in the process of identifying, analyzing, and finding solutions to the problem at hand. We also decided to complement this approach with a multi-pronged set of research strategies including: 1) a language attitude and use survey of a representative sample of all of the stakeholders; 2) a narrative proficiency test to gauge students' levels of productive competence in Dutch and English; 3) in depth interviews with members of all stakeholder groups; 4) numerous classroom observations at all levels in all of the schools on the island; and 5) a review of the scientific literature about societies who face similar challenges regarding language of instruction as those found on St. Eustatius.

In this panel presentation, we will present the results of this year-long study, which were finalized, accepted, and presented to the stakeholders in January of 2014. In general, it appears that the community based multi-strategy approach adopted in this study has made it possible to recast the debate around language in education in more scientifically grounded and less polemical terms, thereby facilitating a process of community mobilization to better meet the educational needs of Statian students.

MAHER, Julianna

Vice President for Academic and Student Affairs, Wheeling Jesuit University (Retired)

Language change in St. Barth French: Areal influence or language internal development

The French variety, called St. Barth Patois (SBP), spoken on the western end of the island of St. Barth in the northeastern Caribbean, has a novel progressive aspect construction that is fundamental to the verb system. Some

other French vernaculars have novel aspect constructions as well, but none resemble the one in SBP, nor are they as grammatically integrated into the entire verb system.

How did this change in the French verb system come about? Can it be seen as a language internal development or as the result of language contact in the French Caribbean? The SBP aspectual construction follows the form: NP [être + TNS] [ki] VP. It is used only with non-stative verbs and with the particle [ki] which is obligatory. This construction expresses both progressive and durative aspect. For example

[on e ki vyẽ pou li]
we be +present[ki] come +present for him
We are coming for him.

Several explanations for SBP's grammatical forms can be considered. Chaudenson (2000) calls SBP a koiné, a leveled variety resulting from the mixing of French dialects in the St. Barth colony. However, there is little evidence of diverse dialect features in St. Barth. From another perspective, SBP resembles restructured varieties like those analyzed by Holm (2004). However, those varieties emerged in the environment of significant second language learning; SBP, on the other hand, has no history of non-native speakers. The form/meaning similarity between SBP progressive [ki] and Antillean Creole aspectual [ka] raises the possibility of Creole influence on SBP. St. Barth French may also be the result of 'parallelism in drift' in Aikhenvald's term (2008). This paper examines these various explanations for SBP's unusual verbal structures and concludes that, while no single explanation will suffice, areal influence plays a strong role.

As Corne (1999) pointed out, SBP, along with its sister variety St. Thomas French Dialect (Highfield 1979), are the only French colonial varieties that remain in the Caribbean. As such, the grammatical structure of these varieties provides important clues about the nature of the European vernaculars encountered by speakers of African languages in the development of the Atlantic Creoles.

MARTÍNEZ, Cristina
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The Case of Afro-Bolivian Spanish: A Study of the Pidgin-Creole Cycle

Afro-Hispanic language has been attested from the 15th century to the early 20th century in Spain, Africa, and Latin America. The speech of bozales, or slaves born in Africa who could only speak an "imperfect" variation of Spanish, has frequently been used as evidence for monogenetic theories of Hispanic Creole formation, based on structural parallels and possibly Afro-Portuguese roots.

However, recent studies, following Lipsky (1987), suggest that while cases such as Papiamentu, Colombian Palenquero, and 19th century Cuban/Puerto Rican bozal language point to common origins or mutually shared influences, most other Afro-Hispanic language varieties indicate an imperfect learning and incipient pidginization which arose spontaneously each time that Spanish and African languages came into contact.

The present study seeks to investigate a very isolated case of bozal Spanish in Yungas, Bolivia. This variety of bozal Spanish have experienced a very different sociolinguistic development from other Afro-Spanish dialects, partly due to their contact with Amerindian languages such as varieties of Quechua and Aymara.

The key questions I investigate in this project are: (i) what is the role of Amerindian languages in the development of this variety of Afro-Bolivian Spanish; (ii) can this variety explain the pidgin-creole cycle; and (iii) which historical and sociolinguistic factors have influenced the pidgin and creole status of this variety?

McPHEE, Helean
The College of the Bahamas

**The Minor and Certificate in Linguistics at The College of The Bahamas:
An Examination of Bahamian Creole Content**

As in many other creole-speaking territories of the Caribbean, the struggle for recognition of the creole in The Bahamas is a long and difficult process. Views about Bahamian Creole range from those who propose its non-existence to those whose academic research has successfully argued its existence. While the linguistic research carried out on Bahamian Creole is limited in comparison to that of other creoles of the region, from an academic perspective, there is no denying its existence.

In June 2011, after 37 years of existence, The College of The Bahamas approved its first linguistics programmes – a Minor and a Certificate in Linguistics. Both programmes share seven identical goals, four of which focus on Bahamian Creole and are as follows.

The Minor and Certificate in Linguistics:

- [build] awareness of the differences between Bahamian Dialect/Bahamian Creole and Standard English, especially among future educators, and prepares them to resolve critical sociolinguistic issues in the Bahamian speech communities arising out of the socio-historical context(s) of the Caribbean region;
- [build] awareness of and respect for Bahamian Dialect/ Bahamian Creole, both among future educators and among the student population generally;
- [build] knowledge about Bahamian language and culture and Bahamianist scholarship by having students work with faculty on original research projects;
- [introduce] students to the history and the historical developments of both Standard English and Bahamian Dialect/ Bahamian Creole as social, historical constructions, and their typological characteristics or genealogical affinities; (Minor Programme of Study in Linguistics, 2011; Certificate Programme in Linguistics, 2011)

This paper presents an overview of the Minor and Certificate in Linguistics paying particular attention to those courses that have Bahamian Creole as their primary focus. Further, an examination of programme goals and course content confirms a strong correlation between them; that is, the content of lower- and upper- level courses reflects an emphasis on Bahamian Creole in keeping with the goals of the programmes. The paper concludes that the introduction of the Minor and Certificate in Linguistics is a seemingly small, but significant step in gaining recognition for Bahamian Creole.

MOODIE-KUBLALSINGH, Sylvia
The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

**Parang singer, Daisy Voisin, A Reflection in the Mirror:
How Daisy Voisin's Script Is a Witness to Phonetic Features of Trinidad Spanish**

Daisy Voisin (1924-1991) was a Trinidadian singer of parang songs who became very popular during the 1980's and 1990's. Daisy Voisin was very much admired by almost everyone in Trinidad and Tobago. She possessed a beautiful voice and had an attractive stage presence. She has been revered as a model singer well-loved and

imitated by many younger performers. Daisy did not speak Spanish but sang in almost perfect Trinidadian Spanish.

En siando mi cavaio (Ensilando mi caballo)

me pone la mano alanca (Me pone la mano al anca)

Disiendo al la vida mia (Diciendo a la vida mía)

que no pieldan la esperanza (Que no pierdan la esperanza)

Daisy was unschooled in Spanish and did not read the language. However, she ventured to write down some of the songs she had learned by rote from her step father who spoke the language fluently.

In my paper I will present examples of Daisy's spelling of some words that she learned by ear (use of <v> for , <l> for <r>, <rr> at the beginning of words), her use of a diacritic (=) to indicate nasalisation or some other idiosyncratic feature of the language.

<i>Muchisimos anos</i>	(Muchísimos años)
<i>Ante de nace~r</i>	(Antes de nacer)
<i>Se avia an nunciado</i>	(Se había anunciado)
<i>Que iva fiece~</i>	(Que iba a fallecer)

I will show that in DV's songs there are retentions of archaisms (*vide, vido, trujo, asina*) which tend to be omitted or misinterpreted by other parang singers. Daisy also unwittingly influenced the pronunciation of certain words in our parang songs (bés- tia changed to bes-tí-a, pa-rió changed to pa-rí-o). She probably received those words in written form since they were certainly not pronounced that way by the older native speakers of Trinidad Spanish. I will also provide examples of nonsense words/verses that were sung confidently by DV. Since she was so influential these verses have become entrenched in the parang repertoire and it might be very difficult or even impossible to eradicate them.

Yo soy una mujer que canta
Cuando me da la gana
Tengo palabras completas
*Y pesa diu la romana**

Daisy Voisin bequeathed not only her voice and songs for posterity to enjoy and from which future generations can learn. She also left us an important and unique document of Trinidad Spanish in written form.

MIJTS, Eric
University of Aruba

Narrative proficiency in Dutch and English among students in St. Eustatius

This paper is part of a proposed panel presentation on Applied Linguistics and the language of instruction in Dutch Caribbean schools. It reports on the results of a year-long study concerning the language of instruction in the schools of St. Eustatius which was conducted by our research group from 2012 to 2013.

In order to obtain a general idea of the productive competence of students in St. Eustatius in both English and Dutch during and after the transition is made from English as the main language of instruction in the first four years of primary school to Dutch as the main language of instruction in secondary school, a Narrative Proficiency test was designed by our research team. The test was then administered to 177 students aged 10 to 15 in the final two years of primary and the first years of secondary education. In the test, students were asked to write a story based on a series of 6 images that represented a chronological storyline. One randomly selected half of each participating class was asked to write the story in English first, then in Dutch, while the other half of the class was asked to write the story in Dutch first, then in English. The images and storyline were designed so that a story could be told based on them using only high frequency words and minimally complex sentence structures.

While administering the tests, students at all levels demonstrated a collective negative attitude toward Dutch, and students who were expected to write their first story in Dutch postponed the task or started to act out instead of attending to it. Generally, students performed better writing in English than in Dutch, although some students managed to produce high quality stories in both languages. Stories written by students in the last two years of primary school seldom met the standards set for the core objectives of primary education, even though these students performed much better when they wrote in English than when they wrote in Dutch. After primary school, the development of written language proficiency in English appeared to come to a standstill. The written language proficiency for Dutch improved during and after the transition to Dutch as the language of instruction at the end of primary school, but in general proficiency in English remained better than in Dutch, even at the secondary level. After several years of secondary education, written proficiency in both Dutch and English was in most instances still well below all of the core targets set for primary education in Holland.

These results demonstrate that the present system is not equipping the majority of the students with adequate levels of competence in either Dutch or English. As students progress through the final years of primary education and the first few years of secondary education, they fall further and further behind the expected levels for both languages and they develop negative attitudes toward using Dutch in school.

MOREJON, Jorge

Caribbean Language Expression: Ritual, Creolization and Performance

African languages in the Caribbean, specifically in Cuba, owe their survival to the integration of different factors. Ritual, creolization and performance are three factors that have contributed to the formation of Caribbean expression. For centuries, religiosity and artistry have mixed to give life to a form of embodied language manifested through chants, dances and drama. They have become part of the immaterial archive and the repertoire of Caribbean performance practices that have revitalized people's appreciation for their roots. African rituals have found an echo in Cuba where the archetypes embodied in Afro-Cuban dances, chants and dramas have become part of a pantheon. The language used to express the rituals contained in this pantheon is a creolized version of the original mother languages. The mixture of Yoruba, Arara, Abakua and Bantu with Spanish has given birth to a form of Afro-Cuban Creole that, because of its wider exposure, finds in the performing arts its maximum exponent. One example of this is the play *Maria Antonia*, recently staged in Trinidad and Tobago, where the use of creolized chants, dialogues and dances synthesize to communicate the connection of the present with the

ancestors. This form of ritualized drama has much to contribute to the learning and maintenance of Caribbean Creole languages. Because of their vibrant presence in rituals and performance practices and because of scientific proof of the role of the arts in facilitating language acquisition, this play, I argue, is an important model to consider when conceptualizing a methodology for the contextualization, performance and revival of Creole languages in the Caribbean.

NERO, Shondel
New York University

Raising awareness of de facto language education policy in Jamaican schools

In response to the low levels of literacy and poor examination performance in several Jamaican schools, especially among Creole-dominant speakers (Bryan, 2004; Christie, 2003; Craig, 1983), coupled with the significant disparity in academic achievement among students in different types of schools, the Jamaican Ministry of Education (MOE) drafted a national Language Education Policy (LEP) in 2001. Taking as its premise that Jamaica is a bilingual country with English as the official language and Jamaican Creole as the mass vernacular, the draft LEP is based on an approach of transitional bilingualism. Although never formally ratified, the LEP remains a draft document on the MOE's website as a guide for the practice of language and literacy teaching in Jamaican schools.

This paper, based on a nine-month long critical ethnographic study in three different types of Jamaican schools during the 2011-2012 academic year, poses the question: What are Jamaican teachers' language attitudes and language teaching practices *in the absence of* a formally ratified LEP? Based on weekly classroom observations, analysis of demographic questionnaires, and interviews of six English Language Arts teachers (two in each school), the study raises awareness of the differences in language and literacy practices among different types of schools; and the extent to which current practices in language and literacy education may or may not align with the principles of the draft policy. Consistent with Menken and García's (2010) claim that teachers *are* policymakers, findings reveal that the teachers' language attitudes and practices created *de facto* language education policy in schools, which reflected larger historical, sociolinguistic, and political forces in the local context. Key among the findings are: classroom teaching practices heavily influenced by national examinations; conflicting teacher attitudes towards Jamaican Creole; and teachers simultaneous resistance to, appropriation of, dominant linguistic ideologies in a Creole-speaking environment in response to actual vernacular language use in classrooms, adding a more complicated agentive dimension to Shohamy's (2006) framework linking ideologies to LEP through institutional structures.

Recommendations for stakeholders are offered in terms of raising awareness of the academic consequences of de facto LEP; revising the draft LEP to make it more responsive to current language education needs; and enhancing teacher training on a national level to include linguistically informed best practices with the goal of improving language and literacy practices among all students, especially Creole-dominant speakers.

Classification of Grenadian English Creole (GEC): Plosives through VOT Investigation

Grenadian English Creole (GEC), which functions as the main communicative vernacular on the island of Grenada, suffers from a linguistic inclusivity syndrome where much of what is established about its features is derived from existing literature and common knowledge about neighbouring, related creoles and non-creoles. Although substantial work has been done on some aspects of its syntax (Holbrook 2005, 2006), GEC has been the subject of minimal description on other linguistic levels, particularly the phonetic/phonological levels.

In the area of phonetics, one assumption about GEC, based on evidence from most varieties of English, is the presence of aspiration in voiceless stop consonants in words such as *pill*, *till*, *kill*; and the relative absence of it following word-initial /s/: *spill*, *still*, *skill*. Accounts of aspiration and other phonetic aspects in Caribbean creoles have been to this point largely impressionistic.

This paper addresses generalised claims about the structure of GEC plosives through detailed acoustic examinations. It categorises GEC fortis and lenis stops through an investigation of Voice Onset Times (VOTs). This empirical investigation uses a sample of recordings elicited from 12 native speakers in Grenada, April 2013. Chase and Chase (2011) and Paterson (2012) provide detailed rudimentary phonetic / phonological extrapolations on GEC neither, however, presents any acoustic details.

The extent of aspiration may occur variably or not at all (Lisker & Abramson 1964). Based on Ladefoged's (1971) value scale for stops, the analyses presented in this paper revealed a four-pronged division among the GEC stop series: a voiceless unaspirated; a voiceless aspirated; a fully voiced; and a partially voiced. The governing principle when evaluating VOTs for voiceless stops is that the phonemes articulated farther back in the oral cavity display longer VOTs. This may be accounted for by the aerodynamic and articulatory motion noted by, Lisker and Abramson (1964) and Cho and Ladefoged (1999). In English, the VOT of [p] is approximately 30ms or slightly more. The velar counterpart, [k], however, measures VOTs from around 50-60ms with [t] being slightly less (Ladefoged 2005:137). Using this threshold, this researcher has been able to determine the aspirated/unaspirated series in GEC.

Speakers in GEC, for example, showed values for /p/ as low as 30ms and as high as 77ms, thus overlapping with /t/ values. Some values for /k/ patterned the unaspirated threshold whereas others displayed heavily aspirated segments with values rising as high as 94ms even after an initial /s/. Interestingly, some measurements of /t/ articulations in GEC overlapped with /k/ values and sometimes exceeded the stipulated value for the velar segment. The author therefore proposes a spectrum of VOT values for GEC /ptk/ stops ranging from unaspirated to heavily aspirated thus accounting for intra-speaker, inter-speaker and place-of-articulation variability. The partially voiced series in GEC exhibited fairly short VOTs for /bdg/ ranging from averages of 22ms to 30ms to 33ms respectively. In cases where there were no prevocalic lags, the fully voiced series indicated co-voicing with the release of the stops and also showed evidence of pre-voicing trends with averages ranging from -13ms to -142ms.

Portuguese and Kimbundu as contact languages in Angola: The case of Libolo, Kwanza Sul

This paper is a first attempt to characterize the language contact situation between Kimbundu (H20) and Portuguese in the Libolo municipality located in the Kwanza Sul Province, Angola. Based on fieldwork conducted in July, 2013, this work is part of an ongoing Project: “Libolo, Kwanza Sul, Angola: Linguistic, historic, anthropological and socio-educational aspects” (The Libolo Project) which is formed by an international team interested in studying that region of Angola. Our initial aim is to answer whether there is or not a language shift process in course from Kimbundu to Portuguese as was mentioned by early grammarians of Kimbundu (Baião, 1946). Our hypothesis of a language shift process between those languages is due to some aspects of the contact of Kimbundu and Portuguese data we have transcribed until now in a preliminary *corpus*. We have analyzed some grammatical contact phenomena in code switching data as we can see in the example bellow (Kimbundu is in bold and glosses are as follow: 3pl = third person plural; 1ps = first person singular; LOC=locative; POSS = possessive; PST = past):

(1) Codeswitching Kimbundu-Portuguese (Libolo Project Database)

*Samo daqui mesmo, **ku mbala iami ku Kibuma,***

be.3pl here indeed, LOC neighbourhood POSS LOC Kibuma,

tava lá na Kibuma.

be.1ps.PST there in Kibuma.

‘We are from here indeed, my neighbourhood is in Kibuma, I was there in Kibuma’. We also noticed that Portuguese is affecting the nominal class system of Kimbundu, probably due to the long contact between them. Apart from that, some extra-linguistic factors may be pointed out as reasons for a language shift such as the language policies that can still be felt nowadays in the educational system of Angola with the absence of the National languages in the curriculum and the teaching of the only Official language, Portuguese. Other historical facts (Delgado, 1944) support a configuration of language shift in that region, for example, the policy of prohibiting the Ambundu people to speak their mother tongue in the past and the decades of wars in Angola that created a scenario in which the Kimbundu language is no longer the first language acquired in many families in Libolo. All those facts contribute to the process of language shift and the inevitably endangerment of Kimbundu in the Libolo region as well as the configuration of Portuguese as a restructured variety (Holm, 2004). Our theoretical orientation relies on the models developed by Myers-Scotton (2002) specially the 4-M model plus the concept of convergence. Some results of our previous analysis show that the convergence between Portuguese and Kimbundu should be in an advanced stage as the code switching example in (1) shows, but that is not what we have observed in fieldwork considering the sociolinguistic context. Both language varieties are in a convergence and language shift situation.

Building a linguistic atlas for Sotavento Cape Verdean

In the past twenty years, much progress has been made in the documentation and description of the Portuguese-based Creole of Cape Verde: we have now at our disposal several recent grammars or studies (e.g., Cardoso Tavares 2012, Pratas 2007, Quint 2000, Veiga 2000) and dictionaries (e.g., Lang 2002, Quint 2000) of Santiago Cape Verdean, as well as some data on other Sotavento Cape Verdean varieties (e.g., Baptista 2002) and on São Vicente Cape Verdean (Swolkien forthcoming, Veiga 2000). However, we still lack fine-grained data about diatopic linguistic variation inside each of the nine inhabited islands of the Archipelago of Cape Verde.

Over the past 10 years, I have been in the process of preparing a first linguistic atlas taking into account as many local variants as has been possible for the CVC varieties spoken in the four Cape Verdean Leeward (or Sotavento) islands, in order to map the different forms taken by a selection of significant features of the language (e.g., 1. (morphosyntactic feature) the progressive marker, realised alternately **sa ta** [sə tɛ], **sta** [stɛ], **áta** [ʼatɛ] or [ʼajtɛ] according to the place ; 2. (phonological feature) the phonemic value of /ŋ/ in items such as **ŋánha**, ‘*corn stalk*’ ; 3. (lexical feature) the retention of the Africanism **ŋuli**, ‘*look daggers at*’ (from Mande, see Quint 1999, 2008), etc.).

In this presentation, I will first give some general notions about Cape Verdean dialectology and diatopic variation. Then I will present this atlas project, the way it arose, which were the choices made regarding the features to check, the places to visit and the speakers to inquiry and I will discuss these choices in the light of those made by other researchers who have recently published linguistic atlases for Creole languages (e.g., Chaudenson & Carayol 1995 [1996], Fattier 1998, Le Du & Brun-Trigaud 2011, 2013). After that, I will briefly evoke the more than 4 month’s fieldwork (spanning over several years) it took to visit and collect linguistic data in over 350 different localities of the four Sotavento islands. Finally, I will present and discuss some of the maps that were designed from these data. I will also try to give a first account of some of the isoglosses that appear on such maps, which will be the core of the linguistic atlas (in preparation) of the Sotavento Islands that I intend to publish in 2015.

ROBERTS, Sarah
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Patagonian Jargon Spanish: A new look into a little-known contact variety

The Strait of Magellan (*Estrecho de Magallanes*) was a region of historical interethnic contact that has until now received little interest in contact linguistics. The contact was largely in the form of trade between the Tehuelche and Alacaluf peoples, on the one hand, and Europeans and Americans (primarily Anglophones) involved in the sealing and whaling industries. The native Patagonians typically bartered guanaco meat, mantles, and other goods in exchange for sugar, flour, tea, alcohol, knives, and horse gear. There was also much more limited contact with the Yahgan people in Fuegia to the south. Extant sources indicate that contact between Anglophones and indigenous Patagonians was mainly facilitated by simplified varieties of Spanish, with lexical contributions from English, French, Portuguese, and other languages. There are also multiple attestations of *pickaninny*, a word-wide feature of most Anglophone pidgins and creoles, in reports of trade encounters in Fuegia.

Samples of "broken Spanish" from these encounters were recorded by at least a half dozen writers. These texts reflect typical features of pidgins (e.g., loss of inflectional morphology, use of the same pronouns for both objects and subjects, null copula, loss of person-number agreement in verbs, changes in the function of prepositions, etc.), but they also exhibit great individual variation. For instance the finite verb is sometimes derived from the past participle, sometimes the infinitive, and sometimes the 3S indicative form. Although SVO is the usual word order, VSO is attested as well. The order of nouns and adjectives were also highly variable as well in the limited corpus.

It is much too premature to characterize such simplified Spanish as evidence of a stable pidgin. The evidence instead attests the development of jargons in the region, described by Mühlhäusler 1997:128 (and others) as "individual solutions to the problem of cross-linguistic communication ... subject to individual strategies," constituting the pre-pidgin continua of Hymes (1971:68). The data suggests a range of varieties deployed in contact encounters. It is noteworthy however that trade encounters at Gregory Bay and other places often included the same participants (because of small population size and the role of *capitans* in negotiating trade), suggesting some degree of continuity of contact, despite the somewhat nomadic lifestyle of the Tehuelche.

Patagonian Jargon Spanish (sample)

(1) *Esta carna mucho bueno hombre por munge*

this meat very good man for eat

'This meat is very good for people to eat'

ROBINSON, Sandra and Janice JULES

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Exploring the role of teacher quality and context in defining language pedagogy in secondary English

What do language teachers know about the subject they teach? What are they required to know about the subject matter they teach? What kinds of knowledge are important for teaching language in the English classroom?

Much of the research on teachers' pedagogical knowledge points to the assumption that teachers should possess deep knowledge of the subjects they teach (Grossman et al, 2005; Wilson, Floden and Fenini-Mundy 2001; Shulman 1987). In *The Sources of a Science of Education*, Dewey (1929) explains that knowledge of methods...and subjects empowers teachers to make "*more intelligent, flexible and adaptive [pedagogical] decisions*". In the English classroom, language is central to the processes of teaching and learning. But explicit knowledge about language can also broaden the language opportunities teachers of English provide for pupils in their classrooms. It therefore seems to be the case, in the Caribbean, that knowledge of practice that enables student achievement in language is more or less part of English teachers' job descriptions. In fact, much of the change that has occurred in English teaching, and by extension language teaching, in recent years has been largely in response to changes in education both in the Caribbean and globally relating to assessment and student achievement in language. However, the precise nature of these classroom practices is probably in a constant state of development and change and often affected by other variables such as academic and professional qualifications.

This study presents the findings of an investigation designed to determine the effect of teacher quality and context on the language pedagogy of a selected sample of secondary fourth and fifth form teachers of English in Barbados and St Vincent and the Grenadines. The study uses context (geographical location) and teacher quality

(teaching experience, professional qualification, and academic qualification) to determine the extent to which the variables affected teachers' language teaching. A sample of 100 teachers of English from twenty-five (25) secondary schools in Barbados and St Vincent and the Grenadines is randomly selected to participate in the study. Data are collected by means of a survey and document inquiry and analysed using means and standard deviations and factor analyses. Predictions about teachers' instructional practices in language teaching are made from the results of the study. The results will demonstrate that teacher quality in this sample relates to classroom practice in language teaching. The study will also present the major themes and issues that emerged from the document analysis.

ROKSANDIC, Ivan
University of Winnipeg

Pre-contact place names in the western Caribbean: An analysis of their structural characteristics

At the time of contact and early colonization by the Spanish in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the Greater Antilles were populated by five distinct cultural groups/speech communities: the Taíno (Classic Taíno); the Ciboney (or Western Taíno); the Guanahatabey; the Macorís; and the Ciguayo. Taíno (or Island Arawak) was the dominant language, with several geographically distinct but mutually intelligible dialects, and was used as a *lingua franca* in the region. However, within a little more than a century after the initial contact, Taíno became an extinct language, poorly understood today as the recorded linguistic material consists of only six simple sentences, less than twenty phrases, several word lists containing about two hundred word forms (mostly nouns and personal names), and – in addition – close to one thousand toponyms. Whereas the origin and linguistic affiliation of Taíno are clear – it belongs to the Caribbean (or Extreme North) branch of the Arawak language family – the situation with the other four languages is less obvious: for Ciguayo, we have only one attested word form and one toponym; for Macorís, one recorded word and a few toponyms; while in case of the Guanahatabey, place names are the sole remnants of their language. The Ciboney, according to the early Spanish chroniclers, spoke a dialect of Taíno, but also displayed important cultural differences from the Classic Taíno; linguistic evidence here is also scarce: one definite word form and several toponyms.

Evidently, place names represent by far the most abundant source of available linguistic information about the lost languages of the ancient Caribbean, crucially important both for better understanding of those languages, and for shedding more light on pre-Columbian historical processes, as they can indicate the origin of early migratory movements in the region. In spite of that, those toponyms have been largely neglected and understudied in the past. Even Taíno place names have often been interpreted without paying reasonable attention to the morphological structure of North Arawak languages, the common practice consisting in assigning the value of content morphemes to almost all monosyllabic elements, in spite of the fact that Arawak languages are extremely agglutinative, predominantly suffixing, and that nominal compounding is not productive in any of them. The other problem with Caribbean toponyms stems from cross-language interference, scribal transmission and inconsistent spelling: very often, the same word was written in different ways in different documents. Furthermore, the spelling often misrepresents the actual pronunciation: for example, “*g*” in syllables such as *gua* and *güe* was often a dummy (was not pronounced), so *gua* was probably pronounced [wa]. The present study proposes a systematic overview of pre-Columbian toponyms from the Greater Antilles, an analysis of their morphological and phonological structure, and a tentative reconstruction of their original forms. It also attempts to define the distinction between Island Arawak toponyms, on one hand, and non-Arawak toponyms, on the other, based on their respective morphophonological structures.

RYBKA, Konrad
University of Amsterdam

State-of-the-art in the documentation and development of the Lokono language

Lokono is a highly endangered North Arawakan language spoken in the peri-coastal areas of the Guianas (Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana). Today, in each Lokono village there remains only a small number of elderly native speakers. What is more, hardly anyone uses the language as a means of daily communication, opting instead for the official languages or the creole *lingua francas* of the respective nation-states.

Contact-induced phenomena pervade the language structure. Nonetheless, across the three Guianas as well as in the Netherlands, where a small expatriate community lives, language awareness is increasing and measures are being taken to revive the vernacular. In this article, I describe the state-of-the-art in language documentation and language development activities in the Lokono communities.

As a background, I first sketch out the sociolinguistic situation of the Lokono. I give an overview of the previous descriptive work on the Lokono language and culture, which is the result of the co-operation between linguists, curators and the Lokono community. I then focus on the process of orthography standardization, started in 2010 by the Lokono organizations in Suriname and French Guiana, and relate the story of the Lokono initiatives to integrate the Lokono communities across the three Guianas. I then describe the Lokono language course initiative, taken up by a Lokono cultural organization in the Netherlands, and the development of digital learning materials based on that course. Subsequently, I give a description of the emerging online, multimedia Lokono language archive. Finally, I provide an extensive bibliography of literature on Lokono language and culture and consider the prospects for future research.

SANKAR, Kellon
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

A Study of Lexical Borrowing on Halls of Residence at UWI, St. Augustine

The Caribbean has a long history of language contact which has played a significant role in producing the various language situations present in the region today. This study focuses on a language contact situation which has resulted in the presence of lexical borrowing on the halls of residence at The University of the West Indies (UWI), St. Augustine. The UWI, St. Augustine campus possesses language situations on its halls that are distinct from more typical contact situations, which tend to involve two groups having prolonged contact. Here many groups are interacting, the time period in which this occurs is markedly shorter than most other significant cases, and those involved in the contact possess a shared language variety (standard English), which can be used to diffuse any misinterpretations when using their native language variety fails. This paper reports on the results of the first survey of lexical borrowing among the multinational population of these halls, and discusses what the number and types of words/expressions borrowed reveal about the power relations and identity projection (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985) of donors and borrowers.

The data on which the paper is based were obtained through interviewing representative sample sets from each hall, and involved both individual interviews and focus group sessions during which participants spoke about their recognition and use of words from other linguistic varieties in their environment. From the interviews, a list

of lexical items identified by residents was prepared. This list was compiled into a glossary and checked against standard references such as the DBE (Holm and Shilling 1982), DCEU (Allsopp 1996), DECTT (Winer 2009), and the DJE (Cassidy and Le Page 20027). Findings from each of the halls will also be compared as they all vary from one another in terms of the make-up of their student populations (size, gender, etc.) and the length of time that the halls have existed. It is hoped that this study will set a standard for investigating other multi-cultural/multilingual university campuses.

SCHAUMLOEFFEL, Marco

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

What do Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao have in common with Malacca?

The historical and linguistic links between Papiamentu and Papiá Kristang

The discussion on the origin of Papiamentu (PA) still is controversial, since it is classified by some scholars as a Spanish Creole and by others as a Portuguese Creole. However, recent historical and linguistic evidence trace back its origins to West African Portuguese creoles (Jacobs 2012, among others). This leaves little space to speculate if PA owes its origins to a variety or varieties of Spanish, but there still are many scholars who claim that PA is supposedly of Spanish origin.

The aim of this paper is to provide further evidence in favour of the Portuguese origin of PA by doing a unique investigation on the historical and linguistic links existing between PA and Papiá Kristang (PK). Historical links set the context, but linguistic data is naturally the most reliable evidence of possible genetic ties between creoles. At the first instance, it seems strange to compare a Portuguese creole developed in Southeast Asia with another creole spoken in former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean, since they apparently are worlds apart. Nevertheless, PK can ideally be used in this context, since it is a well-known and studied Portuguese creole that has virtually no Spanish influence. And if there is virtually no Spanish influence in PK, then the comparison between PA and PK may be an ideal tool to establish if PA really carries Portuguese features. Only a careful analysis can reveal if grammatical similarities are present in the structural fabric of both creoles.

The linguistic features that PA shares with PK will be analysed and compared in this paper through four relevant aspects of grammatical categories: Formation and use of TMA markers (Tense, Mood, Aspect), the multifunctionality of the lexical item 'ku', word reduplication and its grammatical functions, and analysis of two auxiliary verbs.

The evidence indicates that the origins of PA cannot be comprehensively analysed and understood if vital historical and linguistic links to the Portuguese language are ignored. These ties were formed via West Africa and the Portuguese creoles spoken there, and possibly also influenced by the immigration of Sephardic Jews and their servants from Dutch Brazil to Curaçao. Despite not being genetically linked to West African Portuguese creoles, but because it is a Portuguese creole undoubtedly unrelated to Spanish, PK acts as an ideal tool of comparison in this case. As result, this paper definitively refutes any hypothesis that excludes the fundamental role of Portuguese and Portuguese creoles in the formation of PA.

Explaining *nan* as a d-linked plural, an associative plural and a pronoun

We implement a modified version of Vassilieva (2005)'s analysis of associative plurals and pronouns to account for the following four uses of the morpheme *-nan* in Papiamentu:

I *nan* is the third person plural pronoun (1);

(1) Nan ta gusta e regalonan.

They PRES like the present-PL

'They like the presents.'

II *-nan* appears in the so-called associative plural nps, where (at first sight) the plural seems to apply to a heterogeneous set as in (2);

(2) Marianan

Maria-PL

'Maria and her group'

III *nan* must appear in plural definite nps as a plural marker on the noun (3a), but cannot appear in indefinite noun phrases (3b);

(3) a. e (dos) bukinan/*e buki b. dos buki/*bukinan

DEF (two) book-PL/ *DEF book two book/*book-PL

'the (two) books' 'two books'

IV *nan* can appear as the sole morphological marker in discourse-linked plural nps in argument position (4a), but cannot be a pluralizer in truly predicative noun phrases. (4b).

(4) a. Muhénan a bisti shimís.

Woman-PL PAST wear dress

'Women (in this place) were wearing dresses.'

b. Fido i Tarzan ta kachó/ *kachónan

Fido and Tarzan COP dog

'Fido and Tarzan are dogs.'

Background Vassilieva (2005) observes that pronouns and associative plurals are morphologically and semantically related cross-linguistically. Both refer to a group (without actually naming it) by providing a 'point of reference' and should be represented as complex structures with two arguments: the *focal* referent (the salient representative member of the set) and the *group* referent (a regular plural np devoid of lexical content). The relation between the focal referent and the group referent is much like a part-whole relation (cf. den Besten 1996 's for Afrikaans).

Analysis We adopt a modified version of Vassilieva’s analysis for Papiamentu and propose that plural pronouns have the structure in (5a). The plural pronoun's focal referent is constituted of person features. The group referent is a plural nP where the n has nominal features but is not merged with any lexical root and therefore stands for an empty nominal element. For the associative pronoun (2) the only thing that changes is that instead of person features in spec DP we have a DP generated in spec NumP (5b). For the d-linked bare plurals (4a), (5c) shows that the nP has lexical content and restricts the reference to the plural set and provides the label for the d-linked set. The intuition is that the bare plural could be paraphrased as *them in the set of the women*.

- (5) a. [DP [3person] [D' Ddef, *u*Num:PL*[NumP [Num[**nan**] [CIP Cl n...]]] = they
 b. [DP [Maria] [D' Ddef, gen, *u*Num:PL*[NumP [Maria]uCase[Num[**nan**] [CIP Cl n...]]] = Maria & group
 c. [DP [pro] [D' Ddef, *u*Num:PL*[NumP [pro]uCase[Num[**nan**] [CIP Cl np[n ROOT]]]

Importantly, *nan* is always inserted in Num and does not differ semantically from a regular plural, except by having an *u*definite feature that must be checked by a definite-like element. This explains why it cannot appear in indefinite (3b) and predicative nps (4b).

SCOTT, Nicole
 Mico University College

Pre-verbal Markers in Trinidadian French-lexicon Creole

In this paper, I examine the preverbal markers in Trinidadian French-lexicon Creole (henceforth TFC) discourse with a view to describing their pragmatic and/or morpho-syntactic realizations and combinations. While there have been fairly comprehensive studies about other French-lexicon Creoles (see Carrington 1984; Lefebvre 1999), there still remains a dearth of contemporary information about TFC, especially in the area of verb phrase structure. This may partially be due to the language’s similarity to St. Lucian French-lexicon Creole, which has received considerable morpho-syntactic attention (see Carrington 1984). While TFC has several features in common with the Lesser Antillean French Creoles, there are areas of dissimilarity; there is therefore merit in describing TFC.

Preliminary findings from discourse samples reveal that TFC has four (4) broad categories of pre-verbal markers. These are markers of negation, tense, mode and aspect. This is seen in the examples below.

- 1a. Mwen **pa** *apwann* pou palé Patwa
 1st psn sg NEG learn Inf speak Patois
 ‘I did not learn to speak Patois
- 1b. Mwen **te** *apwann* pou palé Patwa
 1st psn sg TNS-PAST learn Inf speak Patois
 ‘I learnt to speak Patois
- 1c. Mwen **sa** *apwann* pou palé Patwa
 1st psn sg MOOD learn Inf speak Patois
 ‘I may learn to speak Patois

1d. Mwen **ka** *apwann* pou palé Patwa
1st psn sg ASP-Prog learn Inf speak Patois
'I am learning to speak Patois

These preverbal markers have several possible combinations, e.g., NEG + TNS-PAST + Verb, NEG + ASP-Prog + Verb. An example of the latter is below.

1e. Mwen **pa ka** *apwann* pou palé Patwa
1st psn sg NEG ASP-Prog learn Inf speak Patois
'I am learning to speak Patois

When the preverbal markers are examined, 'negation' tends to be the first in the sequence of markers. Further, 'aspect' appears to be the dominant pre-verbal feature in TFC verb phrases and the greater context of the discourse determines the kind of interpretation utterances receive.

This discussion is timely because linguists are increasingly interested in comparative linguistics; the findings can therefore provide another basis for comparing TFC with other Creoles. They can also serve as the basis for teaching aspects of the language to those might be interested in its preservation. The issues addressed in this paper importantly illustrate the usefulness of incorporating several levels of language into the description of linguistic features. It should also deepen the appreciation that the discourse context is primary in linguistic descriptions.

SEVERING, Ronald (Keynote)

University of Curaçao and Fundashon Planifikashon di Idioma

Logro di papiamentu den milenio nobo / Achievements of Papiamentu un the new millennium

Abstract not available.

SIEGEL, Jason

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Code-switching between closely related varieties: The case of French and its creoles in Cayenne

The theories and methodologies developed to analyze intrasentential code-switching were developed to account for switching between clearly distinct languages, such as English-Spanish switching (Pfaff 1977, Poplack 1980), Spanish-Nahuatl (MacSwan 1997, 2005) or English-Swahili (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1997). They seek to describe the constraints on intrasentential code-switching, essentially trying to account for how languages with very different structures can fit together in a single sentence. In this paper, I take a different approach, looking at languages that are much more closely related, namely French, Haitian Creole and Guianese Creole. Using the speech of Haitian immigrants in French Guiana as a test case, I look at a variety of possible code-switches that test the major claims of Poplack's and Myers-Scotton's models, to see whether they can account for switches that

occur between varieties that are not clearly distinct. These languages pose a special challenge because not only do they closely match each other in terms of phonology, but their morphology is frequently similar as well, which can make the identification of switch points highly difficult to ascertain. As a result, in this presentation, I look at cases where superficially, the syntax of the examples appears to cause analytical difficulty in the existing frameworks. I conclude that, with relatively few exceptions— including a possible nonce structural borrowing of a passive construction from French (in all caps) into Haitian Creole (1) as well as interdialectal forms such as (2) that obscure which language is providing the syntactic frame of the constituent— the existing theories do manage to account for the data quite well. However this is often only apparent once we delve into detailed syntactic analyses, both adapted from earlier work by syntacticians such as Déprez (2007) and Lumsden (1989) and original syntactic analyses on topics heretofore unanalyzed in the study of French-based creoles. From the strength of these code-switching theories in accounting for alternations between mutually intelligible or closely related varieties, I suggest an alternative, complementary approach to sociolinguistic variation— in particular variation in situations of dialect contact as a starting point— one that considers the possibility that speakers literally code-switch between different grammars in their minds. Such analyses would be well complemented by studies that examine whether this approach mirrors what occurs cognitively during code-switches between languages, between dialects, and between registers.

(1) *Aprè*, after *msye man te PST vini* come *RANPLASE* replace *PA* by *EUN* a *JEUNT* junta, *MILITÈR*, military *jent* junta *militè*

Later he got replaced by a military junta, a military junta.

(2) *Yo 3P PRANN* take *LA* the *PLAS* place

They took his place.

SIPPOLA, Eeva
Aarhus University

Typology of Iberian Creoles: Computational perspectives

Iberian creoles, with a lexicon drawn from Spanish and Portuguese, represent the oldest, most diverse and geographically most dispersed creoles. This study provides an account of the classifications of this subgroup of creoles based on a phylogenetic network analysis of typological data. It aims to map

The shared linguistic traits of the Iberian creoles and compare the differences in the light of the historical and social processes that shaped their evolution. Earlier comparative studies of Iberian creoles (e.g., Cardoso & al. 2012, Clements 2009, Hagemeyer 2011, Ivens Ferraz 1976, 1987, Jacobs 2012) have identified clusters based on geography and structural features. However, these studies have concentrated on individual languages, features, and areal subclusters. To date, few comparative studies have taken a wide comparative focus on these languages (for exceptions, see Hancock 1975, 1987). In this study, both grammatical and lexical traits from a variety of Iberian creoles are analysed.

The data comes mainly from the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* database (Michaelis & al. 2013), and it has been complemented with data collected with typological questionnaires. The analysis is based on statistical modelling and computational tools of quantitative typology suitable for language

contact situations, such as the phylogenetic program Splitstree (Daval-Markussen & Bakker 2011, 2012, Huson & Bryant 2006). Initial results of the analysis confirm several areal clusters established in previous research, such as the Cape Verdean varieties, Gulf of Guinea creoles, Indo-Portuguese, Malayo-Portuguese, and the Chabacano varieties. Other Upper Guinea creoles as well as the Caribbean creoles Papiamentu and Palenquero appear more independently. A more fine-grained analysis on feature level shows shared features across different parts of grammar, such as form and position of indefinite articles, comparative adjective marking, TMA markers, alignment of case marking in personal pronouns, and instrumental expressions. On the other hand, order and position features, especially in the nominal domain, are decisive for the establishment of areal subgroupings.

The results of the structural analysis are contrasted with sociohistorical information about the formation and development of Iberian creoles in particular, and creole formation in general. The methodological challenges and strengths of the computational approach are also discussed. The findings of the study contribute to comparative research on Iberian creoles and to the use of computational methods and databases in the typological study of creole languages.

SKYBINA, Valentyna and Natali BYTKO

**Canadian Academy of Independent Scholars/Zaporozhye State Medical University and
Kiev Institute for Translators and Interpreters**

Caribbean Creole Lexicography as a Cultural Phenomenon

Interest to lexicographic description of creole languages emerged as early as the middle of the 18th century. Thus, the earliest dictionary mentioned in literature, a dictionary of Sranan, *Neger-Englisches Wörter-Buch*, was compiled by a Moravian missionary C.L. Schumann and published in 1783. In the 19th century, two more high quality dictionaries of Sranan were published – *Neger-Engelsch Woordenboek* compiled by Paramaribo Creole lawyer H.C Focke (1885), and *Negerenglisches Wörterbuch*, compiled by another Moravian missionary H.R. Wullschlägel (1856). In 1885, Lafcadio Hearn, while in New Orleans, compiled and published “*Gombo zhèbes*” *Little dictionary of Creole proverbs, selected from six Creole dialects*. These publications must have laid the foundations of Creole lexicography as such.

Caribbean is a linguistic Klondike. With mutual influence among different languages and cultures, the resulting linguistic entities are a challenge and, at the same time, a dream of a lexicographer. The uniqueness of Caribbean cultural history, of the way of life, and the languages could not but impact on the development of lexicography.

The aim of this study is to investigate lexicography of the Caribbean creoles as a cultural phenomenon and a repository of Caribbean cultural history. The corpus is comprised by 36 dictionaries, including 9 electronic ones.

The study consists of two parts. In the first part, dictionaries are studied in context with the cultural history of the Caribbean. The method applied here consists in the juxtaposition of the stories behind these dictionaries and the events in the country’s cultural history. In the second part, every dictionary is analysed; the method applied is that of dictionary criticism developed by R. R. K. Hartman. The dictionaries were also considered from the point of view of their typological characteristics.

The analysis of the corpus shows:

- the development of *contemporary* Caribbean creole lexicography begins at the end of the 20th century (Ledikasyon Pu Travayer. *Diksyoner kreol-angle: diksyoner prototip kreol-angle = prototype Mauritian Creole-English dictionary*, 1985),
- in ~70% of the dictionaries French-based creoles are registered,
- the dictionaries cover creole languages of Haiti, St. Lucia, Dominica, Trinidad & Tobago, Grenada, Jamaica, Mauritania, and Nicaragua.

Typologically, all dictionaries belong to the bilingual category. Seven dictionaries are specialised ones. Particularly noteworthy is the publication in the 21st century of learner's dictionaries (e.g., Fequiere Vilsaint, Marie Béatrice Laguerre. *Pictorial English Haitian Creole Dictionary*. Level 1. 2005), and a dictionary on historical principles (Winer, Lise (Ed.). *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad & Tobago: On Historical Principles*. 2009). This fact signifies the maturing of creole lexicography, its movement in the direction of the academic tradition. However, ~ 90% of the dictionaries need further methodological development which will allow their data to be represented as a system.

The results suggest that the dynamics of Caribbean creole lexicography correlates with the development of creole linguistics and reflects the change of views on the nature and status of creole languages. It directly relates to the processes of linguistic self-identification of the speakers of creole languages.

SLADE, Benjamin
University of Utah

Formal analysis of novel morphological processes in Rasta Talk

I examine the formal properties and historical development of two unusual morphological operations in Rasta Talk [RT], the language employed in Rastafari communities (Pollard 1982, 1985, 2000; Douglas 2012). The first of these processes I term **overstanding**, illustrated by forms such as *livicate* “dedicate”, *downpress* “oppress”; the second is **I-transformation**, underlying *ital*, *Iditation*, *inity*. I discuss the formal mechanisms involved in these two morphological processes, and examine both prototypical and unexpected examples of linguistic forms produced by these processes. I also consider possible connections of I-transformation with changes in the pronominal system of RT. Overstandings in some ways resemble folk etymology, but are distinct not only in being conscious repairs but also in that the trigger for overstandings is not denotational meaning, as in the case of folk etymology, but rather connotational meaning. Overstandings involve the alignment of the connotations of the word with the connotations of its (perceived) morphemic components. *Oppression* carries negative connotations, but appears to contain the morpheme *up-*, which carries positive connotations. This mismatch is repaired by changing the positively-charged *up-* to its polar opposite, *down-*, thus *downpression*. Similarly, *dedication* carries positive connotations, but appears to contain the negatively-charged morpheme *dead*, and is thus transformed to *livication* in RT. Non-prototypical examples of overstandings involve repairs which do not substitute an antonym of the offending morpheme, as in *fulljoy* for *enjoy* (expected: *startjoy*).

I-words involve a transformational process replacing initial syllables by the diphthong /ai/, thus *Issembly* for *assembly*. The underlying process involved seems historically connected to the restructuring of the RT pronominal system, which not only eliminates Jamaican Creole *me* in favour of *I* for all grammatical case forms, but also largely eschews the use of the second person form *you* (often replaced by *the I*). It is possible that this replacement of *you* was re-analysed as a replacement of the phonological sequence /ju/ by /ai/, thus *I-man* (/aiman/) from *human* (Jamaican Creole /juman/), and similarly forms like *inity*, *iniverse*, and that from this point

the process was eventually generalised to include the replacement of any initial syllable by /ai/. Typically the I-transformation targets the entire initial syllable, e.g., *Itinually* for *continually*. However, sometimes the codas of the initial syllable remain in whole, e.g., *inderstand*, or in part, e.g., *Ismit* (< *transmit*). Other non-prototypical examples involve targeting of only the initial segment, e.g., /jud/ (< *food*), or involve replacement of something other than just the initial syllable, e.g., *Iration* (< *creation*); *Irous* (< *desirous*); *inago* (< *mango*). I-transformations also serve as a sort of last resort repair for understandings in case there exists no clear replacement morpheme bearing the required connotation. Thus, positive *praises* appears to contain negative *prey* for which there exists no obvious replacement form; the positive connotation of I-words in general (see Pollard 2000) allows for an I-transformation to complete the overstanding, thus *Ise*s. Overstandings are significant from a formal viewpoint in that they represent a distinct type of morphological operation; I-words are interesting particularly in terms of their relationship to changes in the RT pronominal system.

STEELE, Godfrey A.

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

What the @*#! do they mean by @*#! in Caribbean language discourse?

Taboo language use, awareness and the development of written forms

According to Section 49 of the Summary Offences Act Chapter 11:02 in Trinidad and Tobago, “*Any person making use of any insulting, annoying or violent language with intent to, or which might tend to provoke any other person to commit a breach of the peace... or to the annoyance of any resident or person in [public]... is liable to a fine of TT\$200 or imprisonment for 30 days*”. Questions of what constitutes insulting, annoying or violent language, and how one determines intent, or tendency to provoke any other person to commit a breach of the peace by using such language are interesting as well as problematic. A review of over 600 reported breaches of the law pertaining to the use of insulting, annoying or violent language in one daily newspaper provided data to address these questions.

The paper explores the degree of awareness of insulting, annoying or violent language, the use of such language, how such language awareness is reflected in written forms, and how such forms have developed.

Keywords: Taboo/offensive language, grawlix, language and the law, Trinidad and Tobago

STRAW, Michelle

University of Gloucestershire

Language in a British post-creole contact setting: Non-standard *ain't* negation

The notion of ‘superdiversity’ has been gaining currency in Britain and Europe as sociolinguists acknowledge that long held concepts such as native speaker, speech community and fixed social categories, are problematic (Blommaert 2010, Jorgensen et al 2011). For example, early survey---style studies e.g., Trudgill (1974) relied on the notion of the speech community as a homogeneous group of speakers (Patrick 2002) excluding newcomers and sidestepping the challenges of complex settings. However, creolists have long understood the challenges of superdiversity from researching creole societies. This paper takes an interdisciplinary approach in order to bridge some of the gaps between disciplines. Initially, I taking a variationist perspective to describe the linguistic constraints for the variable *ain't*. The data are from sociolinguistic recordings of 24 speakers from two ethnic

groups (Anglos and Barbadians) and three age groups. The Age variable is operationalised in terms of life---stage and settlement patterns (Eckert 1997). Barbadians and other Caribbean people have been present in Suffolk since at least, the 1950s. In this study, Barbadians comprise three generations: 1st generation arrived as adults, 2nd generation arrived as children or are British born, 3rd generation are British born. Among the Anglophone countries, the use of *ain't* as a negator is remarkably similar (e.g., Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2009). It can occur with present tense verbs BE and HAVE only as in: We ain't seen his friend – HAVE AUX You ain't talking to me – BE AUX He ain't taller than my brother --- BE copula (Anderwald 2002) British varieties conform to the Anglophone pattern outlined above and have received far more attention from sociolinguists and historical linguists. (Anderwald 2002, Cheshire 1982, 1991, Hughes and Trudgill 1987, Sharma et al. 2008, Trudgill, 1999). The few descriptions of Bajan suggest that it may not conform to the Anglophone pattern for some speakers (e.g., Blake 2004, Burrowes 1983, Rickford 1992, Van Herk 2003). The paper addresses the following research questions: 1. What linguistic resources are available to speakers? 2. How can inter/intra speaker Variation be best understood, other than by fixed social categories? 3. What linguistic processes are involved in language change in this group of speakers? 4. Why do speakers adopt different linguistic strategies? A number of processes can be observed in the data: break in transmission, maintenance, simplification, overgeneralization. Barbadians are converging rapidly towards the Anglophone pattern. However, there are clear differences between speakers in both groups. Similar linguistic processes have been described for phonological variables (Author 2007 /t/ glottalisation, 2011 vowels).

I take Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) Acts of Identity model, placing the individual as the Locus of study and draw from linguistic ethnography (e.g., Blommaert and Rampton 2011) To provide more socially nuanced explanations beyond fixed social categories of traditional variationist research.

SULAI CAPPONI, Anna
 Università degli Studi di Perugia

**Análisis lingüístico de algunos vocablos del Papiamento para reconstruir e
 identificar las relaciones entre las islas ABC y Venezuela**

Desde los primeros tiempos de la conquista de América por parte de los europeos la zona en que se encuentran las islas antillanas y el Norte de Venezuela sufrieron un camino muy a menudo común. La cercanía logística permitió, en los siglos, compartir un mismo destino como ya había sucedido entre las tribus autóctonas. Con la conquista primero y la colonización después se siguen entrelazando las historias hechas de explotación del territorio, de las deshumanas vicisitudes compartidas por etnias indígenas y africanas a los dos lados del mismo mar, de judíos que persiguiendo el espejismo de libertad fueron siguiendo a los holandeses de Europa a Brasil a Curazao, de correrías de personajes al borde entre lo lícito y lo ilícito. La historia, a veces dramática, de estas dos naciones, o mejor dicho de las poblaciones que en estos territorios construyeron sus vidas, la vemos reflejada en los idiomas. Las palabras que se van construyendo a lo largo de los siglos, insertándose en los idiomas oficiales, esconden un hilo sutil que los une para siempre. En este trabajo se pretende demostrar como ciertas palabras en papiamento tienen su motivo de ser en la historia compartida con la península Paraguaná y las ciudades del litoral venezolano que se asoman al Caribe. Trabajamos sobre diccionario destacando aquellas palabras que han entrado en el vocabulario papiamento directamente de Venezuela sea como préstamos, sea como calcos, sea como como concepto cultural. Muchos términos se refieren a animales, comidas o utensilios diarios. Otras surgen del contacto cultural, entre estas destacamos como ejemplo la palabra en papiamento *santana* que encuentra su posible correspondencia con la

contracción de Santa Ana a quien se dedica el cementerio de Coro. Reflejo de tantas etnias, religiones, folclor, cultura, la lengua papiamentu abraza tantas historias que nacieron en continentes ajenos para aquí encontrarse y comunicar con una lengua que no quiso olvidar ninguna de las trazas de las que está formada.

THOMPSON, Dahlia and Ashley HAMILTON-TAYLOR

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Evaluation of *navi*, a Jamaican Creole Synthetic Voice

Synthetic voices are widely used to perform crucial daily functions, such as screen reading for the visually impaired, directory assistance, next-stop feature on transportation systems, information kiosks and direction-giving on navigational devices. In an age of modern technology where synthetic voices are being created and used in many languages, we propose a synthetic voice for the Jamaican Creole language. The primary objective of this research project is to create a working domain-specific synthetic voice for Jamaican Creole based on the Cassidy-Le Page (1967) writing system and to accurately document this first known attempt. As a part of the process to create a Jamaican Creole synthesized voice that would be acceptable for usage in its target domain, we conducted a survey to assess (i) end-user reactions, (ii) overall quality, (iii) intelligibility, (iv) functionality, (v) acceptability and (vi) how our synthetic speech samples compared in acoustic quality to sample human recordings.

This presentation presents the resulting data of a one month web-based evaluation exercise which was performed on *navi*, the Jamaican Creole synthetic voice which we created using Open Source Software. The Online survey consisted of four sections and invited participants to listen and rate selected audio samples using a 5-Point Likert scale. All test participants were anonymous, had different levels of familiarity with synthetic voices and represented both native and non-native Jamaican Creole speakers from different age groups, demographic and educational backgrounds. The information gathered exceeded our expectations with the majority of participants returning a ranking of good for overall speech quality and laid the groundwork for additional work carried out.

TOBAR, Eduardo

Universidad da Coruña, Spain.

Estudio de orígenes léxicos en un corpus contemporáneo de chabacano zamboanguéño

El chabacano zamboanguéño es una lengua criolla de base española con componentes de origen léxico filipino (cebuano, hiligainón y tagalo principalmente), inglés, y elementos de otras lenguas como el hokkien y el portugués (Steinkrüger 2013). Forman (1972:16) indica que el léxico de origen español se sitúa entre el 75% y el 80% y muestra su escepticismo respecto al porcentaje del 95% propuesto por Whinnom (1956). Forman cita también a Frake (1968) que lo situaría entre un 80% y un 90%. Quilis y Casado-Fresnillo (2008:478) encuentran un 86,4% de léxico de origen español en su corpus y un 76,7% en el diccionario de Camins (1989). Sippola (2011:296) indica que el corpus de Quilis y Casado-Fresnillo es de registro formal y por lo tanto no contiene los abundantes elementos léxicos de origen inglés propios de otros registros. Aunque estos trabajos han utilizado distintos corpus y metodologías, los datos podrían apuntar a una tendencia a la baja en la proporción de origen léxico español. Recordemos asimismo que el zamboanguéño contemporáneo incorpora abundantes préstamos de otras lenguas y recurre con frecuencia al cambio de código. Por todo esto pensamos que es oportuno realizar un estudio de origen léxico que aporte nuevos datos respecto a una posible evolución de los porcentajes de origen léxico de esta lengua.

Esta comunicación presenta los datos del origen léxico de un corpus de chabacano zamboanguño de unas 200.000 palabras recopiladas en recursos web de acceso abierto. Dos tercios del contenido del corpus son muestras recopiladas en redes sociales en 2012 y 2013 por lo que podemos afirmar que predomina el lenguaje coloquial, espontáneo y contemporáneo. La primera fase del trabajo consiste en el etiquetado de cada forma según su origen léxico. En la segunda fase emplearemos las herramientas propias de la lingüística de corpus para determinar los totales de formas y palabras por origen léxico y sus frecuencias relativas. El estudio de las variaciones en las frecuencias según origen léxico puede ayudarnos a determinar si existen desviaciones significativas y poder así cuantificar mejor la influencia de los distintos componentes de la lengua.

Según Grant (2013:30) los préstamos son más abundantes en el vocabulario de menor frecuencia. Por este motivo pensamos que el estudio podría apuntar a un porcentaje de léxico de origen español por debajo del 74% detectado hasta ahora en el vocabulario de mayor frecuencia. Los datos obtenidos serán representativos sobre todo del lenguaje coloquial contemporáneo. Entre los retos previstos se encuentran el tratamiento de la variedad de realizaciones ortográficas producto de la ausencia de normativización, la abundancia de errores tipográficos propios de las redes sociales y la dificultad en determinar algunos orígenes léxicos.

TODD DANDARÉ, Ramon (Keynote)

Fundacion Lanta Papiamento

Papiamento y Identidad

Na aña 1990 Luc Alofs y Leontine Merckies ta publica e buki *Ken ta Arubiano?: sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba*, cu un di dos edicion na 2001. Na aña 2014 Dr. Oswald Raymond Wever ta publica e buki *Nos ta Arubiano ~ Structura Genetico di e poblacion Arubiano: tres origen*, cu por interpreta como un contesta riba e pregunta di Alofs y Merckies. Den mi charla mi ta purba trece padilanti e relacion di e Arubiano cu su lenga Papiamento den curso di historia, y su identificacion cu ne.

Tempo cu *West Indische Compagnie* a haci doño di e tres islanan cu ta papia Papiamento, nan a prohibi e Europeonan pa establece na Aruba. Na aña 1754 e Hudio Mozes Maduro ta haya permit pa bin establece na Aruba for di Corsou. Turesten e Indjannan Caquetio tabata nabega di y pa Venezuela y e tres islanan. Unabes cu e Europeonan a cuminsa establece na Aruba, e mestisahe Arubiano, cu a haya su di tres ingrediente cu e catibonan Africano, a cuminsa.

Na Corsou den siglo 17 e lenga di catibo a bira e lenga comun. Ora cu Mozes Maduro a yega Aruba e tabata papia Papiamento y e Indjannan Caquetio, fuera di Spaño, tambe tabatin conocimiento di Papiamento, cu tambe na Aruba a bira e lenga general. Prueba di e mestisahe den Papiamento di Aruba ta e cantidad di palabra Indjan den flora y fauna, y den e toponimonan.

Otro prueba ta e cantica ‘Dori Maco’ y e carta di 26 *Indjan* di 1803, cual te aworaki ta e prome documento skirbi na Papiamento di Aruba. Ora cu enseñansa cuminsa na Aruba na 1816, e idea ta pa duna “mas tanto posibel” enseñansa na Hulandes, pero “... na Islanan Abou Papiamento no solamente ta e lenga di pueblo, sino tambe e lenga mas stima di tur cu a nace aki. ... Mester siña Hulandes como lenga stranhero, loke naturalmente ta di hopi influencia riba e resultado den enseñansa.” (Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, 1916: 525). Sinembargo, den siglo 20 e Hulandesnan ta exigi pa enseñansa ta na Hulandes. Tambe e gran mayoria di e propio pueblo ta mantene e vision aki te dia di awe.

E prome corant na Aruba, *El Semanario*, ta sali na 1890 na Hulandes, Papiamento y Spaño. Awendia tin na Aruba 4 corant publica na Papiamento, fuera di informacion publica den medionan electronico. Ademas, tin mas di binti emisora di radio y cuater di television cu ta transmiti na Papiamento. E prome poesia na Papiamento di Aruba, *Atardi*, di Fечи Beaujon, ta aparece na 1907. Despues di esey hopi obra literario original y traduci ta aparece na Papiamento. Mescos por bisa di cantica, obra di teatro y otro forman di arte y di expresion cultural.

Na aña 2003 Papiamento ta bira lenga oficial di Aruba, pero cu un status inferior na Hulandes. For di den añanan cincuenta di siglo pasa Parlamentario y Ministro ta discuti cu otro den Parlamento y den Gabinete na Papiamento y nan ta dirigi nan na pueblo na Papiamento, pero e documentonan oficial ta na Hulandes y hasta na Ingles. Nos pueblo ta biba den un situacion skizofrenico pa loke ta nos lenga: nos ta stima nos dushi Papiamento, pero frente otro lenga nos no ta bib'e y sintie ni como di e mesun nivel ni cu e mesun status cu nos ta *biba y sinti* e lenganan ey, a pesar di e conocimiento mediocre cu mayoria di nos tin di nan.

TOSCO, Mauro and Stefano MANFREDI
University of Turin and University of Naples “L’Orientale”

From Aspect to Mood: TAM Change in Juba Arabic

The presentation will discuss an ongoing change in the TAM-marking system of Juba Arabic (:JA), a pidgin-creole spoken in the South Sudan. The TAM-marking system of JA is based upon two core proclitic markers: *bi=* and *ge=* (which cannot combine among themselves). Tosco (1995) provided an outline of the JA TAM system along the following lines:

- Ø-marked verbal forms: imperative; after modal verbs; past punctual for nonstative verbs; usually imperfective for statives and in nominal (verbless) sentences;
- *bi*: irrealis (future, conditional, ...):

1. *aléla mátar bi= nézil*
tonight rain *bi* fall
'tonight it will rain'

- *ge*: nonpunctual:

2. *ána lísa g(e)= istákal*
1SG still *ge* work
'I am still working'

As to the expression of the habitual, it is well known that natural languages (and, among them, pidgins and creoles) often choose to “assign” habituality to either an irrealis or a progressive marker. Portuguese-lexified creoles such as São Tomense and Cape Verdean belong to the first group, while many French- and English-based creoles choose the other option. In JA the expression of habituality was instead split between *ge* and *bi* on the basis of its “actuality” vs. “generality” or “potentiality:”

3. ána ge= rúa fi suk kúlu yom
1SG ge go to market all day
'I go to the market every day'
vs.

4. ma kwes íta bi= kárabu móya
NEG good 2SG bi spoil water
'it is not good that you spoil water'

While 3. reports an action which takes place regularly (although very possibly not at the time of speaking), 4. describes a possible state of affairs which could, but not necessarily will, come into being. Additional TAM markers include in primis the anteriority marker *kan*, which can combine with either *bi=* or *ge=* for expressing a counterfactual conditional or a past progressive. The JA system therefore neatly expresses tense and aspect by means of the two core markers *bi=* and *ge=* and it could be defined as aspect-based; it was possibly derived from the aspectual system found in JA's lexifier, Sudanese Colloquial Arabic, where proclitic *bi=* overlaps with the auxiliary *gaa'id* (a possible source for JA *ge*) in marking the habitual and the progressive of action verbs (Ali and Miller 1986).

Recent (Summer 2013) fieldwork in Juba has shown that this system is largely superseded nowadays by a mood-based system where *ge=* is devoted to the marking of a realis (including the habitual), while *bi=* specializes for marking an irrealis mood, including factual conditionals:

5. kélíb de ge= kóre
dog DEM ge cry
'The dog barks' (i.e., 'Dogs bark')

6. kan íta dúgu kélíb de úo bi= kóre
if 2SG beat dog DEM 3SG bi cry
'If you beat the dog, it will bark'

The presentation will discuss the possible causes of such a dramatic change. It is remarkable that, while the Arabicization of JA is still very much in progress, the new TAM system represents a radical departure from Arabic.

**URSULIN MOPSUS, Diana, Jean Ourdy PIERRE, Lourdes GONZÁLEZ COTTO,
Brenda DOMÍNGUEZ ROSADO, Dámarys CRESPO VALEDÓN, John Paul MUÑOZ SOTO,
Pier Angeli LE COMPTE ZAMBRANA, Hannia Lao MELÉNDEZ, Oihida BELOUCIF,
Marisol JOSEPH HAYNES, Petra AVILLÁN LEÓN, Jenny LOZANO COSME,
Carlos RODRÍGUEZ IGLESIAS, Aida VERGNE, Cándida GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ and Nicholas FARACLAS**
Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

**Beyond Anansi: Agency and motivation in linguistic creolization
in the English, Spanish, Dutch, and French Caribbean**

Although specialists in language acquisition disagree on many points, there is almost uniform consensus among them that the most significant factor in language learning is motivation. It is therefore surprising that the literature on the emergence of creole languages, when it does actually focus on language acquisition processes, usually either avoids mention of motivational factors in favour of structural or cognitive factors (Siegel 2008) or uncritically accepts the widely held assumption that European languages served as the primary ‘target’ varieties, the mastery of which served as the prime motivation for those who were involved in the creation and elaboration of the Atlantic Creoles (Chaudenson 2001).

In studies on language acquisition, two main types of motivation are normally discussed: integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation refers to the extent to which learners desire to identify with the linguistic and cultural practices of the speakers of the ‘target language’ that they are acquiring. In this paper, we contend that in the case of the emergence of the Atlantic Creoles, rather than positing a single target language and a corresponding target identity, it makes much more sense to speak of a desire to attain multiple targets and assume multiple identities. The mythical Afro-Atlantic figure of Anansi, who is often depicted as having two mouths, serves as an emblematic avatar here. We argue, however, that while moving beyond the idea of a single voice is immensely helpful in understanding Afro-Atlantic creolization, Anansi’s two mouths are not sufficient to account for the multiple voicing involved in creole linguistic and cultural expression.

Instrumental motivation refers to the extent to which learners desire to derive practical benefits from acquiring a language, such as gaining access to a wider range of educational and employment opportunities. In this paper, we put forward the idea that a major motivational factor in the emergence and development of the Atlantic Creoles has always been a desire on the part of the great majority of creole speakers to creatively subvert and triumph over a system whose odds have always been stacked against them. Anansi, in his role as a trickster who uses his wits to beat the odds and get his way, in many ways embodies the successful fulfilment of this desire. We contend, however, that the individualistic, opportunistic, and misogynist nature of Anansi’s exploits prevent him from giving full expression to the critical role that creolization has played in collectively undermining, transforming, and creolizing colonial and neo-colonial societies.

In this paper, we present linguistic evidence from the English, Spanish, French and Dutch Caribbean and the rest of the Afro-Atlantic that demonstrates the role of the subversive *débrouillard*, *bregador*, and hustler-higgler in the creation and development of the Caribbean creole languages, cultures and identities of the colonial times of the past and of the current neo-colonial era.

VAN ROSSEM, Cefas
Radboud University Nijmegen

Alternative words in eighteenth century Negerhollands manuscripts: Service or red herring?

The Dutch-lexified Creole language Negerhollands, US Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, has a printing tradition which started in 1741. Missionaries translated liturgical texts from German and Danish into the language of the inhabitants of the former Danish Antilles and left many manuscripts. In the nineteen eighties it appeared that more than 3500 pages of Negerhollands manuscripts were collected in the Unitäts Archiv in Herrnhut, Germany. The question is, of course: to what extent do the manuscripts reflect the language spoken by the slave population?

Several of these manuscripts are nowadays digitally available in the Clarin-NEHOL-corpus (Radboud University Nijmegen/Max Planck Institute, the Netherlands). All these texts are edited in a diplomatic way: diacritic symbols indicate all changes, erasures and other interferences of the translators. Up till now this corpus

was hardly used to study the evolution of Negerhollands and little is known about the translator's view on a correct representation of the Creole language.

In my presentation I will show a new philological perspective on Creole texts to study the early stages of the language more closely. One of the above mentioned interferences has my main interest: the presentation of alternatives/synonyms above of each other.

In the preface of one of the Gospel Harmony manuscripts, the translator describes this odd way of helping the reader:

En waar mi ka sett twee Woorden boven malkander nabin Soo een Klamp: (draag|breng) goeie|goeie Vruchten. Soo ben vor neem of lees maar die een.

‘And where I have put two words above of each other within such a clamp: (carry|bring) good|good fruit. It is to take or read just one of them.’ (manuscript 3.2.2.: 3-4)

(Vertical bar: synonym on the left side was place above the one on the right side.)

This way of presenting alternatives in liturgical translations is unique and the question arises which purpose the translator had. Another way of presenting alternatives is the addition of a synonym, often between brackets or comma's preceded by the Dutch/Negerhollands word *of* or the German word *oder*, both meaning ‘or’. The last way is quite linear: the presented alternative may have entered the translators mind while translating the sentence. However, the presentation of alternatives in a vertical way seems to me an advised way to help the reader. The use of these alternatives, about 450 tokens in our corpus, may point to critical reflection on addressing the actual speech of the Christianized slaves. Do these recommendations of the translator point to a more Creole-like Negerhollands, in which European elements are discarded? Then it is a helpful instrument for the study of early use of this Creole. Especially since the liturgical variety has sometimes been claimed to be somewhat artificial and highly under influence of (European) Dutch and German.

In my research I analyze all appearances in all available sources. I investigate some highly frequent synonyms and notable examples. Since several variants of the Gospel Harmony are digitally available, I compare these to conclude which of the alternatives finally became part of the 20th century basilect.

VAN SLUIJS, Robbert

Radboud University Nijmegen

Finding the origin of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole perfect aspect

Today's inhabitants of the US Virgin Islands speak an English Creole, but the ancestors of particularly speakers of St. Thomas and St. John spoke a Dutch Creole language, which was spoken during the 18th - 20th century. A discussion of the evolution of the Dutch Creole perfect marker (*ka*) is able to provide a good overview of the various language contact settings and how these have affected the language at its various stages.

There is general disagreement on the exact functions of *ka* (*completive* Graves 1977; *anterior* Sabino 1986; *resultative* Stolz 1986; *perfective* Bruyn & Veenstra 1993; Sabino 2012), but I will show that *ka*, see (1), is undoubtedly a perfect marker.

- (1) Die boricka ka marro
DET donkey PRF run.away

‘The donkey has escaped’ (Pontoppidan 1881:138)

The morpheme *ka* is generally assumed to have its origin ultimately in Portuguese *acabar* ‘finish’, which has its reflex in Dutch Creole as *kabá*. This scenario is investigated more closely in this paper, which includes a study of the use of DC *kabá*, as illustrated in (2). A comparison with similar items in other Caribbean creoles leads to the conclusion that DC *kabá* is best characterized as a completive marker.

(2) En as Em a ka wasch sender die Voet-en kabba
and when 3SG PST PRF wash 3PL DET foot-PL finish
‘And when he was done washing their feet/when he had washed their feet,’ (Böhner ms.b:330)

The lexical material used in creoles is predominantly of European origin, but the origin of the creole items’ functions and constructions is typically less uniform. Creole studies have identified both superstrate and substrate influence, but the resulting functional pattern need not have its exact counterpart in any single language, but may be a combination of comparable features from various languages (see e.g. van den Berg & Aboh 2013 for the origin of Sranan Tongo completive *kaba*). In addition, the creole may contain innovations not relatable to any specific language, but as a result of language acquisition itself. My discussion of the evolution of the Dutch Creole perfect marker (*ka*) addresses the following questions:

- 1) How does *ka* function in the available sources (18th - 20th century)?
- 2) How does *kaba* function in the available sources?
- 3) How do these functions relate to comparable patterns in the relevant super- and substrate languages?

Special attention will be given to what distinguishes a completive marker, as used in creole studies, from a perfect marker. This issue has not been resolved entirely satisfactorily in previous discussions. Dutch Creole will turn out enlightening in the discussion as it contains a separate marker for each function within one single lect.

VEIGA, Manuel (Keynote)

University Cape Verde

Prusésu di Afirmason y Valorizason di Kriolu di Kabuverdi (KKV)

Afirmason y Valorizason di KKV, na Kabuverdi, foi y é un prusésu ki komesa ku algun toleránsia ambiental di séklu XV ti séklu XVIII.

Na séklu XIX, kultoris di purtugês ta odjaba kriolu komu atentadu pa língua purtugês y es komesa ta ataka-l di bareti fóra.

Na es mésmu séklu surji vozis ta difende KKV.

Di statutu di pidgin, di proto-kriolu, di kriolu y di dialétu, na situason di diglosia, KKV ta konkista statutu di língua matérnu.

Ku independénsia, ta komesa un nobu fazi di afirmason di KKV através di un prusésu di konstruson di un bilinguismu sosial efetivu.

Es fazi-li é devedor di: 1^o kulókiu linguístiku di 1979; di Fórum di Alfabetizason Bilingi na 1989; di trabadju di Grupu di Padronizason; di aprovason sprimental di ALUPEC na 1998 y di Grupu di avaliasion di ALUPEC y di

si institusionalizason komu alfabétu kabuverdianu na 2009; di partisipason ativu di sidadania na dibáti linguístiku, désdi sék. XIX

Di tudu es prusésu, razulta un alfabétu unifikadu, un skrita ki sa ta padroniza manenti-manenti. Razulta, inda, trabadjus di invistigason kada bês más txeu y más profundu, publikason di gramátikas, di disionárius, di romansis, di livrus di poezia, di ensaius na y sobri KKV.

Majistériu di KKV sa ta prosésa na Uni-CV y na alguns skóla pilotu. Kada bês más, KKV sa ta konkista spasu di formalidadi y di ofisialidadi na administrason públiku, na ensinu, na komunikason sosial, na Tribunal, na Parlamentu y na kriadividadi artístiku y kultural.

Konstituison di Repúblika dja ordena ma Stadu debe kria kondisjons pa ofisializaso di KKV, onbru-onbru ku purtugês.

Perspetiva di futuro - pa alén di forma profesorís, di masifika ensinu, di dizinvolve invistigason - ta prekoniza dizenvolve un majistériu ki ta da atenson pa diversidadi linguístiku y kultural di nos Téra.

Ofisializaon di KKV dja sta na orizonti. Tudu ta indika ma na prósimu revison di Konstituison, ki ta kontisi na 2015, KKV ta ser ofisializadu, plenamenti.

WIEL, Keisha

City University of New York

Identity Personified through Education: The Case for Raising Awareness of Papiamentu

Preliminary research carried out on attitudes towards Papiamentu suggests that there appears to be a dichotomy between Papiamentu's utilization in education and certain cultural aspects, such as music. Through data collected and analyzed from interviews, Papiamentu was often lauded as an identity marker but it wasn't given the same important status within education. As identity and language are inextricably intertwined, the use of a creole language within education becomes a complex issue. Studies, including Bühmann and Trudell's UNESCO report, show that while including a mother tongue can present challenges, there are positive outcomes in utilizing local languages in education (2008). Kephart also suggests this in his study on students' progress in reading in their own language, Carriacou Creole English (1992).

As mother tongues are also praised as integral identity markers, language plays a substantial role within society. Papiamentu is used regularly through social media and is even considered central within certain platforms such as the popular mobile app Vine. But as Papiamentu continues to enjoy success within certain social spheres, the stigma associated with its limited use in education is still prevalent among many today. This paper aims to explore the dichotomy within language planning in education and how it correlates to Papiamentu's presence within its social sphere. It also aims to look at the ways in which awareness for Papiamentu has impacted its presence within education.

WILLIAMS, Merlyne

Instituto Pedagógico Arubano

Habitual aspect "sa" vs "ta" in Papiamentu/u

Studies that have described the aspectual properties of Papiamentu/u (PA) have failed to identify "sa" as a habitual aspect marker. In fact, only "ta" is claimed by scholars to have both habitual as progressive aspectual properties in PA. "Sa" is described as an auxiliary verb of modality. Quite surprisingly, however, "sa" is commonly found in

many other Iberian-based Creoles (including all varieties of Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creole), where it is mostly identified as a locative copula.

In this paper, it will be argued, that “sa” has been and still remains a very functional and widespread habitual aspect marker, conceived by natives on both Aruba as Curaçao to be even more genuinely habitual than “ta”. Both synchronic as diachronic evidence will be presented to sustain this argument.

As synchronic argument it is brought forward that in Principense, “sa” is a progressive marker, similar to “ta” in PA and Cape Verdean Creole (CV). Diachronically, it would be a remarkable coincidence that there exists a discontinuity of the CV complex progressive markers in PA and CV of the type *ta bezig ta + V* (be-busy-PROG + V) ‘be busy V-ing’, which, in the case of PA, makes the argument in favour of “sa” as habitual marker even stronger in contemporary Papiamentu usage. Furthermore this paper will delve deeper into the implications of this new piece of evidence for the debate on the origin of Papiamentu /u and its connections with other Portuguese-based Creoles, based on the presence (or absence) of comparable habitual aspect markers and of the presence (or absence) of “sa”. Based on the etymological relevance of “sa”, a new hypothesis will be provided, which has implications for the undisputed role of “ta” as progressive, habitual marker of PA.

WILSON, Guyanne
University of Münster

**“Isn’t there like, a choral pronunciation?”: The negotiation of
dialect and style among school-aged choral singers in Trinidad**

Previous studies looking at the use of language in what Coupland (2007) calls “high performance” have identified a number of phonological features that are requisite in the performance of popular music, the so-called USA-5 (Trudgill 1983). More recent work, such as Beal’s (2009) study of the British band Arctic Monkeys, and Gibson and Bell’s (2012) work with New Zealand pop singers, consider how performers negotiate the expectations of genre with their local identities, and highlight linguistic compromises that singers make as they assert themselves both as authentic performers and as members of their local speech communities. Other than Leung’s (2009) study of ragga-soca in Trinidad, however, no studies exist on the negotiation of identity in performance in the Caribbean. Furthermore, no sociolinguistic work has been undertaken on language use in classical choral singing.

This study presents the results from interviews with choral conductors and school-aged classical choral singers in Trinidad, paying particular attention to participants’ professed preferred pronunciations for choral singing. From there, it looks at data collected during observations at school choir rehearsals, and especially at the actual pronunciations choristers use and corrections they receive from conductors during these sessions. This study privileges the rehearsal as the site where issues relating to dialect and style are actively negotiated, where other studies look at completed performances.

As with earlier work, this paper finds an ongoing tension between the singers’ desire to be authentic choral musicians on one hand and to maintain their local identity on the other. Specifically, it reports cleavages between preferred pronunciations and those actually used in rehearsals, and similarly between language ideologies claimed in interviews and those lived in rehearsals.

The case of the choral singers in Trinidad is different from the performers in previous studies in several ways. Firstly, previous studies address a tension between maximally two varieties of English, e.g., New Zealand versus General American in Gibson and Bell’s case. In this study, the competing varieties are more numerous, and

include (but are not limited to) Trinidadian Creole, Trinidadian Standard English, British English, and a set of phonetic features that are specific to choral singing but that are not found in any spoken variety of English, which I have called classical choral singing style. Another important difference for the choral singers is the presence of a mediating authority in the person of the conductor, who has the final say pertaining to which phonological features are used, seen particularly in the corrections given during rehearsals. This decision may be at odds with the singers' identity needs; genre was found to be of greater import than dialect.

This paper is part of a larger effort to apply sociolinguistic theories of style to the Caribbean context. Thus it enriches and problematizes our both understanding of style, particularly in high performance, as well as our understanding of language use in Trinidad, by looking at language in a hereto unstudied context.

WILSON, Guyanne, Michael WESTPHAL, Dagmar DEUBER and Johanna WULFERT
University of Münster

The use of question tags in different registers of English in Trinidad

While the form and function of canonical tag questions have been widely studied, invariant question tags such as *eh*, *no*, *see*, or *right* and their semantic/pragmatic effects have received less attention. Their use has been described for different varieties of English (e.g., Stubbe & Holmes 1995, on New Zealand English; Columbus 2010, comparing New Zealand, British, and Indian Englishes), but a description of their use in the Standard Englishes of the Caribbean is lacking. Furthermore, register variation has not been the emphasis of studies on invariant tags, even though Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) specifically establish a correlation between canonical tag use and register in British English, and Biber (2012) surveys a number of studies in which register is shown to be an important predictor of both lexical and grammatical feature distribution. Thus, it is highly likely that register will also exercise some influence over the use of invariant tags.

We investigate the distribution of question tags in different registers of spoken English in Trinidad using material from the Trinidad & Tobago component of the International Corpus of English (ICE T&T). We then go on to consider the meaning and function of each tag. Our analysis of the usage of these tags firstly adds to the description of spoken English in Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover, including register variation into a corpus based approach is advantageous because it moves us beyond variety-based generalisations of language use and towards a more nuanced analysis of question tag use. By comparing the usage of tags in different text categories of ICE T&T (phone calls, conversations, class lessons, and legal cross examinations), then, we show that the frequency and meaning of these tags depend on the register in which they occur.

WINFORD, Donald
Ohio State University

Language processing in creole formation versus second language acquisition

There is a growing consensus among creolists that creole formation represents a type of naturalistic second language acquisition (SLA) that shares much in common with other types of SLA, though there are differences as well (Siegel 2008, Lefebvre et al. 2006). On the one hand, there is strong evidence that the early stages of creole formation and SLA share processes of simplification and other kinds of restructuring, to the point that “the early

L2 learner and the early creole co-creator are cognitively and epistemologically indistinguishable” (Sprouse 2006). Researchers also agree that L1 transfer plays some role in both cases. On the other hand, the developmental paths taken by creoles diverge to varying degrees from those taken by developing L2 systems. Creolists explain such divergence in terms of (a) the fossilization of simplified structure in creoles (McWhorter 2001; Plag 2008a, b) and (b) the pervasiveness and persistence of L1 transfer in creoles by contrast with L2 development (Kouwenberg 2006). More recently, creolists have begun exploring creole formation in terms of language processing, and drawing parallels with processing in SLA (Plag 2008a, b; Winford 2008). In this paper, I explore some of the ways in which psycholinguistic models of language production (Bock & Levelt 1994; de Bot 2001) can shed light on the restructuring of creole grammars, and how that process differs from the restructuring of interlanguage (IL) systems in more usual cases of SLA. I focus particularly on the role of L1 transfer in both kinds of language acquisition, and I suggest that there is a fundamental split between (radical) creole formation and IL development with regard to how L1 transfer operates at the levels of morpho-syntactic and syntactic processing. Hence, I argue, Pienemann et al’s (2005:143) claim that L1 transfer is “developmentally moderated and will occur only when the structure to be transferred is processable within the developing L2 system” seems misplaced when applied to radical creole formation, since the restructuring of such systems involves radically different kinds of input as well as processes of restructuring. Using an approach based on models of bilingual language production, I argue that creole creators appeal directly to their knowledge of the language production procedures of their L1s and apply them to produce structures in the incipient creole. This process is fundamentally different from the kind of restructuring typical of regular second language acquisition, which involves closer and closer approximations to the target language, as described by Pienemann and others. I support this with evidence from the development of functional categories and syntactic phenomena such as serial verb constructions and complementation in creoles.

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**The teaching of a linguistic approach to children of the
primary school as part of language development**

The objective of this paper-proposal is to expose that children in the early stages of primary school (1st cycle: 8 years) can develop a linguistic approach of their mother tongue by explicit teaching and by doing so contribute to their language development.

In general our primary school-curriculum departs from the point of view that children of this age can only perform language operations through direct observation and with concrete objects. Therefore the content and the structuring of the subjectmatter is chosen in such a way that it follows the biological development of the child. As a consequence, in our educational system we wait until the child reaches the last cycle of primary school (11, 12 years) to perform linguistic operations.

The linguistic approach of language-education operates in the child’s zone of his nearby or approximate development, within his reach by directed teaching and guidance. The linguistic approach of language-education teaches the child that an object, in this case a word can be seen as an independent unity of form and meaning and by doing this, enables him/her to distinguish the various relations that exists between form and meaning of a word.

This is the basis for real grammatical language-education at an early stage in primary school. This is of the utmost importance for native tongue education.

In this paper we will underline some important investigations of Russian Psychologists of the 20th century, such as L.I. Ajdarova, S. Karpova and D.B. El'konin (1972,1980) who with their revolutionary experimental research showed that children at age 8, can acquire a good insight in the morphological structure of a word, together with its' informational-system.

Needless to state that teaching children at an early stage a linguistic approach of their mother tongue in primary school will mean a complete reshuffling and renovation of the language-curriculum, specifically it mean the abolition of the boring and monotonous(spelling) approach of grammatical language-education in primary school.

The linguistic approach implies a determined, active and modern mother tongue education and will contribute to great language-awareness and- development.

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The loss of the Tamil language in the French Caribbean

Upon their arrival in the French Caribbean islands during the post-Emancipation period, Indian immigrants worked on plantations. However, their adjustment to their new environment was difficult. Research indicated that they were frequently oppressed by both the French government and the local population. They had to make changes in their lifestyle in order to fit into the Creole society which rejected their culture. Thanks to Indo-Guadeloupean Henri Sidambarom who fought for the civil rights of his fellow countrymen, the Indians who remained in Guadeloupe and Martinique became French citizens in 1923. They were forced into abandoning their languages as well as their religions. Therefore, they embraced Christianity and interacted with locals by means of the French Creole language. At home, most Indians parents did not speak Tamil to their children by fear that they would have been to speak French. According to the literature, there was a high rate of illiteracy within the Indo-French Caribbean community until the mid-sixties. In modern times, Indians have been making every effort to revive their languages and culture. The present article provides an insight into an historical background of Indian indentureship and analyzes the various factors which played a part in the gradual disappearance of the Tamil language and culture. Although some great efforts have been made to revive Indian culture and language not many Tamil words have been found in neither French nor French Creole.

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The initial cross-linguistic influence: Spanish features in Limonese Creole?

After arriving in Costa Rica more than one hundred and forty years ago, Jamaican Creole underwent diverse changes which transformed it into a distinct language: Limonese Creole. Changes developed within the new language during the first seventy five years. However, the abrupt change of superstrate language from English to Spanish in 1949 contributed to a more radical transformation. This historical change in the dominant language has brought about a series of features in Limonese Creole different from both its ancestor, Jamaican Creole, and its lexifier, English. This paper describes the various innovations in the language, which can be attributed to contact with Spanish at different levels, such as the predictable lexical borrowing; it also takes into account the

evidence of phonological features transmitted from Spanish to Limonese Creole. The paper additionally examines structural changes at the morpho-syntactic level, which can be linked to both languages interaction. In consonance with the current interests of language contact research of comparing cross language contact situations systematically rather than individually (Siemund, 2008), the aim of this paper is to describe the Spanish contact phenomena which have provided Limonese Creole with innovative features at all levels of language. The data stem from fieldwork conducted in the city of Limon, on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica.



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