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MINORITY AND DIASPORIC LANGUAGES OF EUROPE

Edited by

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A note regarding the contents of this volume

The following authors also presented papers as part of the Special Session of the conference, though their work does not appear in this volume: Joshua Fishman, Marit Julien, and Brian D. McHugh. Marit Julien's paper was included in the BLS 29 General Session volume.

Foreword

We are pleased to present the proceedings of the BLS 29 Special Session, held at UC Berkeley in February 2003. We would like to thank the contributors to this volume and all those who attended and participated in the conference.

Corey Yoquelet

Volume editor

**SPECIAL SESSION:
MINORITY AND DIASPORIC LANGUAGES
OF EUROPE**

Issues of authenticity, purity, and autonomy in minority languages: What is “real” Picard, and who is an “authentic” speaker?¹

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0. Introduction

Differences between Chomskyan linguistics and sociolinguistics start with the very selection of their objects of study. For most generative linguists, the object of linguistics is to analyze linguistic competence, and this objective can only be attained if the data analyzed are carefully selected to reflect the knowledge of language that each speaker has of their language. In Chomsky’s (1965:3) own words,

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

One central objective of sociolinguistics has been to show how actual speech reflects, in most instances, not uninteresting performance phenomena like those described in Chomsky’s quote, but rather a linguistic competence that is, in some sense, much richer than that of Chomskyan linguistics, as it can generate both categorical and variable speech patterns. Indeed, rejecting the idea that speakers live in perfectly homogeneous speech communities and that variation in language use can only reflect dialect mixture or performance errors, variationist sociolinguists have focused their attention on the analysis of variable patterns occurring in naturalistic speech and have uncovered systematic rules that allow speakers to choose between different ways of saying the same thing based on the linguistic context and the social situation.

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In spite of its focus on naturalistic speech and its efforts to investigate diverse samples of speakers, sociolinguistics has not completely eliminated the notions of ideal speakers and homogeneity. For instance, sociolinguistic studies of speech communities generally select long-established and clearly delineated communities for which it is possible to decide who is a representative or authentic member and who is not. Thus, many sociolinguistic corpora exclude individuals who moved into a community past the age of 5 or marginalize linguistic “lames”.

In the context of many regional languages of Europe, issues of authenticity and speech community raise particularly difficult questions. Indeed, in many such communities, the regional language is in an advanced stage of obsolescence, with small numbers of speakers using their traditional language in more and more restricted social settings. Furthermore, many communities feature very distinct groups of speakers, such as older traditional speakers and young intellectuals, who sometimes have limited contact. Whenever dialectologists and sociolinguists approach such communities, they face difficult decisions concerning who they will interview. While militants are often the most accessible speakers, due to their membership in local associations and their active involvement in various activities promoting regional language and culture, many community members and researchers feel that traditional speakers who speak the regional language on a daily but private basis deserve special attention as they are, in some sense, the repositories of centuries of linguistic history and thus the most authentic speakers (e.g., Marcellesi 1999:119, Sauzet 2002:40, Wertheim 2002:513).

Yet, this sociolinguistic approach to the notion of authentic speaker is at odds with the idealized image that some community members have of what their language is or should be. Indeed, even in the absence of dictionaries and grammar books, community members generally have a strong sense of what is “good X” and who speaks it well. In my fieldwork in the Vimeu region of northern France, I have met subjects who accuse fellow Picards of speaking *dravie*, an impure, mixed form of Picard that throws a few vintage words into a French structure. Among speakers who are criticized we find many semi-speakers, whose very limited use of their traditional language results in real attrition of their linguistic abilities in that language (cf. Dorian 1980). On occasion, however, the speech of fluent traditional speakers is criticized by younger militants, as exemplified in the following quote drawn from one of my interviews with a Picard speaker: “It’s a problem for all those minority languages, those “small” languages: it’s necessarily ordinary people who speak it, and as a matter of fact, they often speak it badly.” (translation: JA).

The present paper deals with issues of authenticity and purity and their relation to language autonomy in one regional language of France: Picard. My goal is obviously not to decide who is an authentic speaker and what real Picard is, but rather to examine the oral and written linguistic practices of traditional speakers and authors and to compare them in order to determine what unifies them and how they differ. In Section 1, I briefly introduce Picard as a regional language of France and Belgium and its official status in these two countries.

Section 2 introduces the Picard-speaking speech community. Section 3 summarizes the methodology used in the present study. The results are reported in Sections 4 and 5: Section 4 presents the linguistic elements that are used uniformly by all subjects in my study, while Section 5 focuses on other linguistic elements that present significant differences across speakers. Section 6 concludes the study.

1. Picard, a little-known regional language of France and Belgium

It is still a relatively well guarded secret that France is a very rich linguistic mosaic. Indeed, while France has worked very hard for many centuries to eradicate all regional and minority languages, it has not quite succeeded in doing so. The current linguistic policy of France is diametrically opposed to that of Belgium, as the official status of Picard, a Gallo-Romance language closely related to French, in the two countries clearly shows. While the Picard-speaking area falls mostly within France, where it includes the departments of Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Somme, and parts of Aisne and Oise, and covers only a small portion of southwestern Belgium that includes the cities of Tournai and Mons, as can be seen in Figure 1, Picard receives more official recognition in Belgium than in

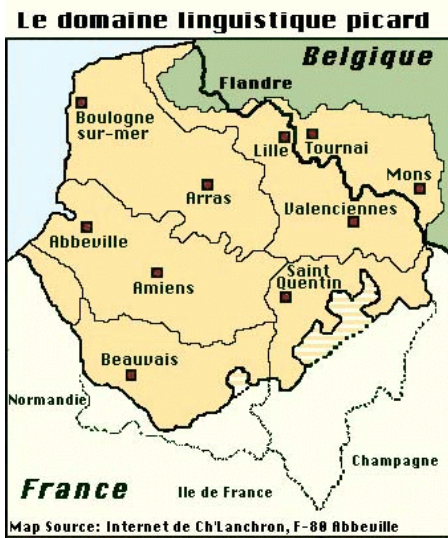


Figure 1 Picard-speaking region

France. Since 1990, Belgium recognizes, in addition to its three official languages, the existence of endogenous languages that form part of its cultural heritage and must be preserved and encouraged. Picard is officially recognized as one of those endogenous languages. France, in contrast, has reluctantly granted some recognition to a small number of regional languages by allowing that they be taught in schools but has consistently refused to extend this right to Picard (Éloy 1997). In addition, France refuses to ratify the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, under the pretext that it is incompatible with its constitution, which declares French the sole official language of the French Republic.

Because the French census includes no questions on native language or languages spoken and because it is, in any case, very difficult to interpret the results of small surveys that have been conducted, it is virtually impossible to evaluate how many people speak Picard today. Even in villages where Picard is still spoken, Picard speakers find few interlocutors with whom they can converse in their traditional language. In many regions, we find some elderly persons, mostly men, who still speak Picard fluently, but most often, their children only have passive knowledge of the language, and their grandchildren can understand some phrases or expressions. Opportunities to speak Picard in everyday life are

thus quite few. The situation in Picardie is a classic example of language suicide: while there was pressure from the central administration, especially through the education system, to eliminate Picard from the region, it is to a large extent the refusal of parents to transmit what they considered to be a vulgar and useless language to their children that has contributed to its gradual but constant dwindling throughout the twentieth century. If we add to this the effects of urbanization, geographical mobility, and increased education, we can easily understand why very few grandparents are now able to speak their traditional language to their grandchildren.

However, contrary to the expectations of generations of observers and scholars, Picard and many other minority languages of France have survived into the 21st century (Blanchet 1994:96). Even more surprisingly, though, it may very well be the case that we find today more speakers who proudly claim their Picard linguistic heritage than at any other period during the long history of this language. This interesting turn of event is due in large part to the recent wave of renewed interest in local cultures and languages that has arisen in response to increasing Europeanization and globalization and that is officially supported by the European Union through its Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. Indeed, over the past 25 years or so, many individuals have discovered or rediscovered rich local traditions that seemed to be on the verge of extinction and have striven to save them.

While all regional language in France are endangered, some have gained more recognition and thus stand a better chance of surviving for a few more generations. For instance, Breton, a Celtic language closely related to Welsh and Irish, has the advantage that it cannot be mistaken for bad French and that it is associated with a distinct population who immigrated from England to France during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. Occitan, for its part, is a Gallo-Romance language that is closely related to French but that has benefitted from a relatively strong literary tradition and has consequently managed to gain recognition as a distinct language. On the other hand, because Picard and its Oïl sisters (e.g., Norman, Poitevin, and Walloon) are very closely related to French and thus very similar to it (see (1), for example), these varieties have had much difficulty convincing their own speakers and other people that they, like French, are directly descended from the variety of Latin that was brought to France by Roman soldiers and merchants and that they should not be regarded as “bad French” (cf., e.g., Éloy 1997 and Dawson 2002). The absence of solidly established literary traditions, the early absorption of the territories with which they are associated into the French court, and their lack of army and navy have made it difficult for them to be officially recognized as distinct languages.

(1) *Blanqué nuit* by Jean-Luc Vigneux (lanchron.dyadel.net/BLANQUE.HTM)

<i>J'n'ai point deurmi, l'nuit chi</i>	I didn't sleep last night
<i>J'n'ai point freumè un ziu, tu sais,</i>	I couldn't close my eyes, y'know
<i>j'étoais tout seu, au fond d'min lit</i>	I was all alone in my bed
<i>J'én t'ai point attendu non pu, piqu'ég</i>	I didn't wait for you either, since I
<i>savoais qu'tu n'varois point.</i>	knew that you were not coming.

2. The Picard speech community

As a result of the long obsolescence process that has been affecting Picard and the recent revitalization movement that it has witnessed, the current community of speakers of Picard is composed of diverse groups that have varying degrees of contact with each other. In Vimeu, the region of the Somme *département* of France where I have conducted most of my field work, we can identify at least four clearly distinct groups.

1. Traditional speakers who grew up speaking Picard as (one of) their native language(s) and who have continuously spoken it throughout their lives. This group consists essentially, though not uniquely, of peasants and blue-collar workers who live in rural areas and have not received any college education.
2. Retirees: Individuals who grew up speaking Picard, made very limited use of it during their working life, often as a result of marrying a non-Picard-speaking spouse and living in an urban area, sometimes even outside of Picardie, and who resume speaking Picard after they retire from their job (cf. Blanchet 1994:99, who observes that such a return to local languages is common among retirees).
3. *Dravie* speakers: Individuals who grew up in Picard-speaking environments but who speak a version of Picard that is heavily mixed with French elements that is known among community members as *dravie*. These individuals often self-identify as *dravie* speakers.
4. Militants: Individuals who actively promote the use of Picard, either through their political struggle for its official recognition at the regional and/or national level or through their cultural productions in this language (literature, performances, etc.). Many of them have learned Picard as a second language because of their interest in regional culture, have become fluent speakers, and speak Picard in a variety of situations, but some militants are native speakers of Picard.

As is the case with any classification, some individual speakers do not quite fit any of the four groups described above as their own personal history presents some unique characteristic; however, these types represent the sociolinguistic profiles that I have most often encountered during my field work in Vimeu. To complete our discussion of this speech community, we may want to add a fifth type that includes individuals who grew up with different degrees of exposure to Picard and who seek out opportunities to hear Picard (e.g., by attending readings

and performances in Picard) but who do not actively speak Picard themselves. The existence of such a group is obviously very interesting, as it demonstrates the kind of attraction that the language exerts on a certain segment of the population and the popular recognition that it has achieved.

Given the great diversity among Picard speakers, we can wonder to what extent all these individuals share the same grammar and the same norms. While the answer to such an important question would undoubtedly require a book-length treatment, this article provides elements of answer through a comparison of the linguistic productions of traditional speakers and authors in both speech and writing.

3. Methodology

In my fieldwork in the Vimeu region, west of Abbeville and south of the Somme River, I have conducted sociolinguistic interviews with numerous Picard speakers, collected radio shows and other archived oral documents, and assembled a large corpus of magazines, novels, short stories and other documents in Picard written by authors from the region. My approach to the community has tapped into two main networks: authors and militants, on the one hand, and *picardisants du cru*, or traditional speakers, on the other. Authors and militants were closely associated with different groups involved in the promotion of Picard: e.g., the Ch'Lanchron team, which has been publishing a quarterly magazine entirely written in Picard since 1980, the Picardisants du Ponthieu et du Vimeu, a group of authors who have been meeting monthly since 1967 to share their latest creations with each other and with a small audience, Chés Péqueux d'Leune, a theatrical company that performs plays and sketches in Picard, and Tértous, an association that promotes Picard culture. Traditional speakers were recruited through informal networks, sometimes connected to the author and militant network.

When I initially approached the community, I expected that militants and authors would use a form of Picard that is more strongly influenced by French than that of traditional speakers, due to the fact that many militants had limited contact with Picard when they were growing up and that many possess university degrees and occupy jobs that require that they master standard French (e.g., many of them are teachers). Conversely, I expected that traditional speakers, who have made constant use of Picard throughout their lives and who are not involved in creating literary works and promoting Picard as a language, would use a form of Picard that is more exempt from French influence. However, as we will see, this initial expectation did not take into account the effects that the standardization process that is associated with promoting Picard as a language has on the speech and writing of authors.

With the objective of throwing some light onto the speech and writing patterns of Picard speakers and get a better sense of what the similarities and differences are, I undertook a comparison of four Picard speakers across speech and writing. Table 1 below presents the sociolinguistic profiles of the four speakers selected

for this study. My sample contains one traditional speaker who is not actively involved in promoting Picard, one native speaker with considerable writing experience in Picard, and two non-native speakers who are very fluent speakers and who are actively in various cultural enterprises that promote Picard.

Table 1: Speakers	
A	Native speaker; often speaks Picard, but does not write and rarely reads in Picard
B	Native speaker; spontaneously speaks Picard; regularly writes and reads in Picard
C	Learned Picard as a young adult; fluently speaks and regularly writes in Picard
D	Learned Picard as a young adult; fluently speaks and regularly writes in Picard

Given that this study compares not only the Picard of four different speakers but also oral and written practices, I decided to investigate the use of the five grammatical elements listed in (2). The first four variables involve one variant that is considered by speakers and grammarians to be typically Picard and one French-like variant. The fifth element involves three different forms that are used to express neuter subjects and that constitute a unique feature of Picard.

- (2) a. Auxiliary selection: *ête* ‘to be’ vs. *avoér* ‘to have’
- b. Verbal negation: *point, mie, pas* ‘not’
- c. Subject doubling: *Fonse (i) n’étoait point lo* ‘Alphonse (he) was not there’
- d. Resumptive pronouns in subject relatives: *qui* vs. *qu’i/a*, etc.
- e. Neuter subject pronoun: *a, Ø, ch* ‘it/that’

A detailed comparison of these four speakers across speech and writing reveals that for three of the five grammatical elements, there are no significant differences in the usage of traditional and militant speakers and in spoken and written usage. I will present these three variables first. For two variables, we can observe that the speech patterns of A, the traditional speaker, differ from those of the authors/militants and that there are marked differences between the spoken and written patterns of the three authors. These differences raise the possibility that, in their efforts for promoting the Picard language, authors have distanced themselves from actual usage and chosen unauthentic forms of speech that help make Picard more distinct from French. We will see, however, that this is not the case, as the forms that are promoted by authors and militants are present in the speech of traditional speakers, but in variation with other forms that are more French-like. Thus, the literary Picard that is being developed in Vimeu simply concentrates the use of speech forms found in spontaneous usage. These two variables will be discussed last.

4. Uniform Patterns of Usage

4.1 Subject Doubling

In Picard, lexical subjects are normally doubled by a subject pronoun that agrees in person, number, and gender with it, as illustrated in (3). According to grammatical descriptions of Picard, this subject doubling applies obligatorily with all subjects, with the possible exception of quantified subjects such as *parsonne* ‘nobody’, *toute* ‘everything’, and *tout l’monne* ‘everybody’ (cf. Vasseur 1996:61).

- (3) a. *ém mère al a ètè tué par chés Allemands à la djèrre* (B)
 ‘my mother she has been killed by the Germans at the war’
 = ‘my mother was killed by Germans during the war’
 b. *Parsonne i n’poroait mie vnir ll’értcheure.* (B)
 ‘nobody he NEG could not to-come him to-get-back’
 = ‘Nobody could come and get him’

The data reported in Table 2 below confirm that subject doubling is used categorically or near categorically by all speakers in my corpus, in both writing and speech. The lower percentages reported for speakers A and C do not reflect optional doubling for these two speakers, but rather a slightly archaic grammar that does not require doubling with quantified subjects, as described in Vasseur’s grammatical description, which was published in 1996 but written in the early 1960’s. Indeed, virtually all their non-doubled subjects are bare quantifiers, which are precisely the kind of subject that has resisted subject doubling longest. Examples of their non-doubled subjects are provided in (4) below.

- (4) a. *i dit qu’tout l’monne est leu* (A)
 ‘he says that everybody is there’
 b. *tout l’monne faisoiat des flaflas* (C, oral)
 ‘everybody was making a fuss’

	A	B	C	D
Oral	90.9%	100%	77.8%	100%
Written	---	100%	95.5%	100%

4.2 Resumptive Pronouns in Subject Relative Clauses

If subject pronouns in Picard are agreement markers rather than syntactic subjects, as argued in Auger (2003), we expect them to occur in every construction in which a verb must agree with its subject, including subject relative clauses. In Picard, subject relatives are introduced by complementizer *qu* ‘that’ followed by a

subject pronoun that agrees with the antecedent of the clause rather than by a relative pronoun like *qui* (or *tchi*, with palatalization) ‘who/that’, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. *comme eine brouette qu’a n’va pus* (A)
 ‘like a wheelbarrow that she NEG goes anymore’
 = ‘like a wheelbarrow that’s no longer working’
 b. *écti-lo qu’il a invintè o* (D)
 ‘that-there that he has invented that’
 = ‘the one who invented that’

	A	B	C	D
Oral	75.0% (3/4)	100% (2/2)	89.5% (17/19)	100% (41/41)
Written	---	100% (22/22)	100% (26/26)	100% (46/46)

The data summarized in Table 3 show that all four speakers use the Picard structure for subject relative clauses. Two of the three tokens of French-like *qui* found in the speech of speakers A and C can be attributed to temporary French interference, as shown by the fact that they are immediately self-corrected; cf. (6).

- (6) a. *eine brouette qui a les deux– qu’a... qu’a- calioche* (A)
 ‘a wheelbarrow that has the two– that she... that she juggles’
 b. *ch’est nous qui ll’avons– qu’o ll’avons créée, chop pièche* (C)
 ‘it’s us who it have– that we it have created, the play’
 = ‘it’s us who have– who have created it, the play’

4.3 Neuter Pronouns

In its Vimeu variety, Picard possesses three different forms that are used as neuter subject pronouns: *ch*, *a*, and a null form. While a full analysis of this very interesting system remains to be developed, their distribution is relatively well understood. As can be seen in (7), *ch* is used with nominal and clausal predicates, as well as with many prepositional predicates; it is also used in cleft constructions. The other two forms, *a* and \emptyset , are phonologically-conditioned allomorphs of the same pronoun: while *a* is used before consonants and /i/ and \emptyset occurs before mid and low vowels, both are used with adjectival and verbal predicates, as shown in (8) and (9).

- (7) a. *Ichi, ichi ch'est l'Vimeu, oui.* (B)
 'here, here it's the Vimeu (region), yes'
- b. *ch'est à l' pointelette du jour* (D)
 'it's at the dawn-of-the day'
- c. *Ch'est-ti qu'tu seros pus min nom?* (A)
 'it's INT that you would-know anymore my name'
 = 'Is it possible that you don't remember my name'
- d. *Et ch'est eine femme qu'al vient du Canada* (C)
 'and it's a woman that she comes from Canada'
 = 'And she's a woman who comes from Canada'
- (8) a. *In tout les cas a tient queud!* (D)
 'in all the cases it keeps warm'
 = 'Anyway, it keeps warm'
- b. *Ø A duré, euh, ein cope d'enées, comme o.* (C)
 'Ø has lasted, hmm, a couple of years, like that'
 = 'It lasted, hmm, a couple of years like that'
- (9) a. *a sra point d'trop complitché à trouvoèr.* (D)
 'it will-be not of too complicated to find'
 = 'It won't be too hard to find'
- b. *Ø Est point aisé* (D)
 'Ø is not easy'
 = 'It's not easy'

My approach to the use of subject neuter pronouns across speakers and medium differs from that adopted for subject doubling and resumptive pronouns. First, it is clear from the description above that the different forms are not variants of the same variable, since each has its own pattern of use. Second, we are not dealing with a Picard variant and a French variant, but rather with three forms that do not exist in French. Indeed, while *ch* is cognate with French *ce* and *a* is cognate with French *ça*, neither of the Picard forms exists in French. Therefore, neuter pronoun usage is measured and analyzed in terms of whether any single token of a neuter pronoun is used according to the distribution summarized above. For instance, in Table 4 below, a frequency of 88.9% for the null form for speaker A means that 8 out of 9 tokens of Ø occur in the expected syntactic and phonological context.

		A	B	C	D
Oral	∅	88.9% (8/9)	100% (15/15)	100% (7/7)	92.3% (12/13)
	<i>a</i>	100% (4/4)	100% (13/13)	100% (16/16)	95.9% (70/73)
	<i>ça</i>	95.6% (43/45)	98.7% (78/79)	82.0% (73/89)	91.4% (160/175)
Written	∅	---	100% (13/13)	100% (28/28)	93.3% (14/15)
	<i>a</i>		100% (40/40)	100% (44/44)	96.4% (27/28)
	<i>ça</i>		100% (99/99)	95.9% (71/74)	100% (73/73)

Once again, we see that all four speakers share the same grammar and patterns of usage. In their writing, all three authors match either perfectly or very closely the patterns described above. While it is obvious that the same patterns govern speech, we find more divergent cases in the spoken data than in writing. Interestingly, most such cases involve the use of *ch* in contexts where ∅ would be expected, as illustrated in (10). I attribute such cases to interference from French, where *ce* is always used before *être* ‘to be’, regardless of the type of predicate. While a few such cases persist in writing, there are very rare, probably due to increased monitoring. Thus, C and D, the two authors who have the highest frequency of *ch* with adjectival predicates in their speech totally eliminate such constructions from their texts (D) or greatly reduce their use (C), as shown in (11).

- (10) a. *Ch'est pas pasque ch'est viu qu'ch'est pas boin* (C, oral)
 ‘it’s not because it’s old that it’s not good’
 b. *Mais ch'est vrai qu'i y a gramint dé traditions* (D, oral)
 ‘but it’s true that it there has lots of traditions’
 = ‘But it’s true that there are lots of traditions’
- (11) a. *∅ Est à peine croéyabe, et pi portant ∅ est vrai* (C, written)
 ‘it’s hardly believable, and yet it’s true’
 b. *∅ Est seur qu'à s'édviser oz aglave éd soé* (D, written)
 ‘it’s sure that at self to-chat one gets thirsty’
 = ‘It’s sure that talking makes you thirsty’

5. Distinct Patterns of Usage

5.1 Auxiliary Selection

According to Vasseur (1996:97), *avoér* ‘to have’ is the only auxiliary used with all verbs conjugated in compound tenses in Picard. Picard thus differs from

standard French, which requires that *être* ‘to be’ be used with certain unaccusative verbs (e.g., *venir* ‘to come’ and *partir* ‘to leave’) and with all reflexive verbs.

- (12) a. *innhui j'ai vnu aveuc ein live* (D, oral)
 ‘today I have come with a book’
 b. *i s'a cassé s'gambe* (C, oral)
 ‘he self has broken his leg’
 = ‘He broke his leg’

The results reported in Table 5, which record the frequency of use of *avoér* with verbs that require *être* in French, reveal a great diversity of behaviors. First, it is striking that A, the traditional speaker with no writing experience, does not conform to Vasseur’s prescription for auxiliary usage, as he uses only 2 cases of *avoér* out of 13.² All three authors use the *avoér* auxiliary much more frequently than A. Second, speakers B and C have a much higher frequency of *avoér* in writing than in speech. Speaker D, for his part, appears to use *avoér* equally frequently in speech and in writing, but this might be due to the very small number of spoken tokens collected.

	A	B	C	D
Oral	15.4% (2/13)	50% (7/14)	66.7% (24/36)	100% (5/5)
Written	---	92.6% (112/121)	88.9% (32/36)	96.2% (51/53)

I propose that both speaker and medium differences have the same source: increased awareness of Picard and its autonomy from French, particularly among authors. Over the course of the 20th century, a very noticeable shift occurred in Picard literature. Early authors, such as Jules Mousseron and Édouard David, were often more concerned with reaching a wide audience than writing in “pure” Picard. Thus, while their texts contain many Picard words and their spelling reflects many Picard pronunciations, their syntactic structure remains close to that of literary French. Gradually, though, authors became aware that in order for Picard to gain recognition as a distinct language, it was essential to avoid French forms and favor elements that are distinctly Picard. The choice, whether conscious or subconscious, made by the authors in my sample to use *avoér* in all compound verbs is one such example: they use *avoér* where Standard French has *être*. This analysis of *avoér* use as a target norm for “good Picard” accounts for (i) the fact that *avoér* is used most often in texts and (ii) the fact that its use is much

² Another traditional speaker from my larger corpus uses *avoér* in 8.3% (1/12) of the cases of unaccusative and reflexive verbs.

higher for the three authors than it is for traditional speaker A. We thus see Picard setting a norm for itself that is the opposite of what we find in French, where use of *avoir* with unaccusative and reflexive verbs is unanimously rejected.

5.2 Verbal Negation

Forms of verbal negation are the last feature investigated in this paper. Picard possesses three elements that negate a verb, *mie*, *point*, and *pas*, as shown in (13).

- (13) a. *Feut dire qu'ég n'avoais mie pinsè à tout o.* (C, written)
'must say that I NEG had not thought at all that'
= 'I must say that I hadn't thought about all that'
- b. *Et pis l'autre, i n'sait point gramint pêcher* (C, oral)
'And the other, he NEG knows not a-lot to-fish'
= 'And the other one doesn't know much about fishing'
- c. *Mais bon, a l'sait pas par tchoeur* (C, oral)
'well so, she it knows not by heart'
= 'Well, she knows it by heart'

According to Vasseur (1996:88), French *pas* can be used to reinforce negation, but most of the time, *point* and *mie* suffice to express negation in Picard. While Vasseur does not discuss any meaning difference between the two Picard adverbs, comments from native speakers and preliminary research strongly suggest that the two Picard forms are not synonymous: *point* appears to function as a default verbal negation, while *mie* appears to be associated with presupposition and emphasis. For this reason, negation cannot be treated as a sociolinguistic variable. However, since the factors that govern the distribution of the different negative adverbs are not known at this point, I present relative frequencies of use for each negation for each speaker and in each medium.

The results presented in Table 6 below mirror, to a large extent, those reported for auxiliary selection in the preceding section. Thus, we see that speaker A is the only one for whom *pas* is the most common negation (75.4%). All three authors use *point* most often, with frequencies over 60%. In this case, however, the use of *point* in writing is inferior to that observed in speech, as a result of the appearance of a form of negation that is virtually absent from my spoken sample: *mie*. Finally, it is interesting to note that while all authors use some *pas* in speech, with frequencies varying between 3.4% and 37.7%, they completely avoid this form in writing.

Table 6: Verbal Negation				
	A	B	C	D
Oral	<i>mie</i> 0% <i>point</i> 24.6% <i>pas</i> 75.4% (N = 69)	<i>mie</i> 0% <i>point</i> 95.3% <i>pas</i> 4.7% (N = 43)	<i>mie</i> 0% <i>point</i> 62.2% <i>pas</i> 37.7% (N = 98)	<i>mie</i> 0.8% <i>point</i> 95.8% <i>pas</i> 3.4% (N = 118)
Written	---	<i>mie</i> 24.2% <i>point</i> 75.8% <i>pas</i> 0% (N = 132)	<i>mie</i> 15.0% <i>point</i> 85.0% <i>pas</i> 0% (N = 80)	<i>mie</i> 13.8% <i>point</i> 86.2% <i>pas</i> 0% (N = 138)

With auxiliary selection, we saw some important differences between the speech patterns of the traditional speaker and the spoken and written patterns of the three authors. But it is easy to see those differences as simply quantitative: the authors increase the rate of use of the variant that is more distinctly Picard rather than inventing something. In the case of negation, though, it is less clear that *mie* is an authentic element of modern Picard, given that speaker A and two of the authors never use this element in speech. Thus, we can wonder where *mie* is a modern invention by authors and militants to create a form of Picard that is truly distinct from French.

A quick survey of texts in Picard or in Picard *scripta* from different centuries reveals that *mie* is commonly attested since the 13th century, as shown in (14). Furthermore, a larger sample of oral Picard from my corpus provides three examples of *mie*; cf. (15). Very importantly, one of these examples comes from a portion of A's interview that was not part of the sample used for this study. Another example is used by another traditional speaker, while the last example is used by another author.

- (14) a. *Je ne di mie vilenie* (Boucher d'Abbeville, 13th century)
'I NEG say not vilain-thing'
b. *te femme ne dure mi pus* (end 18th century)
'your wife NEG lasts not anymore'
c. *tu n'os mi tout oublié?* (beginning 20th century)
'you NEG have not all forgotten'
- (15) a. *Oh il étoait't mie pus malheureux qu'eu* (A)
'oh they were not more unhappy than that'
= 'Oh, they were not so unhappy'
b. *o n'a mie entendu parleu d'tout eu* (E)
'one NEG has not heard to-talk of all that'
= 'we have never heard about all that'
c. *jé n'porrois mie pus juer d'musique* (F)
'I NEG could not anymore to-play of music'
= 'I could no longer play music'

While it remains to be determined why *mie* occurs more rarely in speech than in writing, it is now clear that this form is an authentic feature of Picard and that authors are simply exploiting resources available rather than creating forms that increase the distinctiveness of Picard. Consequently, the only substantive difference between their writing and the speech of speaker A concerns the use of *pas*, which is totally eliminated from their texts.

6. Conclusion

This brief analysis of five grammatical features of Picard across speakers and media helps us understand better how issues of authenticity, purity, and autonomy are playing out in the Picard speech community. First, it shows that even though all four speakers in my sample share, to a very large extent, the same grammar, the traditional speaker differs from the three authors in one respect: he uses more French-like forms. This suggests that the literary process in which authors are involved influences not only their writing but also their speech. Second, while the literary register of Picard that is developing is solidly grounded in spoken Picard, a clear bias in favor of a form of Picard that is clearly distinct from French emerges and somewhat distances this literary Picard from the Picard used by traditional speakers. If we adopt the point of view of the sociolinguistic history of the language, which regards the Picard of traditional speakers as the direct continuation of the language used by their parents, grandparents, and ancestors and thus as truly authentic, this means that purity and linguistic autonomy overrule authenticity in the development of a Picard literary standard.

The standardization process that is currently affecting Picard is not very different from any other process of linguistic standardization. Standardization necessitates choices, and such choices are never neutral. Furthermore, such choices are generally made by members of a social or political elite and only rarely result from spontaneous consensus reached through common usage. From the point of view of French linguistics, it may appear strange that the forms that Picard authors choose to promote are, in many cases, precisely those that French teachers work so hard to correct (e.g., subject doubling, resumptive pronouns, the use of *avoir* with reflexive and unaccusative verbs), but from the point of view of Picard's struggle for recognition as an autonomous language, those choices are entirely logical. Indeed, the choices examined in this paper are all governed by the idea that Picard should be pure, that is, exempt from French influence, and that it should not be mistaken for a dialect of French. It is because of this quest for a pure and autonomous language that, as Lefebvre (1988:278) points out, "The mother tongue, in the common sense of language used by the mother to talk to her children is rarely the language that associations are trying to rehabilitate but rather that of grandparents that some of them have never heard." (translation: JA).

There are obviously no simple answers to the questions asked in the title: what is "real" Picard and who is an "authentic" speaker? These answers necessarily vary depending on the point of view and the objectives of the analyst. However, in view of the structure of the speech community and the state of obsolescence in

which Picard finds itself, such answers are largely useless. As we just saw, any standardization process reflects the choices made by members of a social elite. In the case of some other minority languages, such choices sometimes create a standard that is disconnected from the speech of traditional speakers, thus making it difficult for traditional speakers from those communities to communicate with their grandchildren learning the language in school or reading regional publications and to recognize and/or adopt the new standard as their own. While standardization of Picard promotes forms that are considered “real” or “pure”, we have seen that such forms are drawn from the Picard stock common to all Picard speakers. Crucially, then, the forms promoted are recognized and accepted as Picard by members of the community. Thus, this standardization effort succeeds in uniting rather than dividing the community, a fact that may not be sufficient to save the language but that certainly would not hurt it.

Sociolinguists do not share the conviction of naïve speakers that variable patterns such as the alternation between the *avoér* and *éte* auxiliaries or between subject doubling or its absence reflects “impure” Picard. Because this study has simply used relative frequencies to compare the speech and writing patterns of four different Picard speakers, it provides very little information concerning what is responsible for the variation patterns observed for the five grammatical features investigated. In order to determine whether the alternation between, for instance, the two auxiliaries or the choice of negative adverb is an integral part of the grammar of Picard or the result of intense contact with French, it will be necessary to determine the exact distribution patterns for each of the different elements and to carry out large quantitative investigations of these variable patterns. Such studies might very well reveal these variables are subject to the same type of conditioning that governs similar variable patterns in many colloquial varieties of French or that they encode subtle differences in meaning that are lost in an idealized system with only one auxiliary or in which all subjects must be doubled. The answers to these questions are central to our understanding of linguistic obsolescence as a sociolinguistic process affecting the linguistic competence of individual speakers and the concomitant effect of linguistic revival that affects Picard and many other European regional languages.

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Spatial Reference in an Endangered Romance Language: The Case of Romansh¹

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0. Introduction

In this paper, three aspects of the spatial reference inventory of Romansh are investigated. Since Romansh is a minority language which is in intensive contact with Swiss German, the major issue addressed in this paper will be the amount of adstratum impact from Swiss German onto Romansh.

Firstly, a brief account of Romansh as an endangered Romance minority language will be provided. Secondly, the semantics and the usage distribution of the three most frequent spatial prepositions will be described. Thirdly, the use of posture verbs as well as the use of what I propose to label 'complex place predicates' will be analyzed.

1. Romansh as a minority language in western Europe

Romansh (Rätoromanisch, Bündnerromanisch) is a Galloromance language (Liver 2000: 215) spoken in the southeastern part of Switzerland. The language is closely related to other Romance minority languages in the eastern Alps, such as Friulian and the Ladin spoken in the Dolomite area.

The 40,000 speakers of Romansh today are all bilingual with Swiss German. The Romansh language is divided into 5 major dialects ('idioma'), which are not equal in size and vitality. The most vital dialects are Sursilvan (13,000 speakers) and Vallader (5,300 speakers), the smaller dialects are Sutsilvan, Surmiran, and Puter. Each one of these 5 dialects has its written form, and in the case of Sursilvan there used to be even a protestant and a catholic orthography (Arquint 2000: 256). Only in the 1980s, a common written standard has been introduced, Rumantsch Grischun (Schmid and Darms 1983, Schmid 1982), which is now being slowly accepted by the population. Table (1) gives an overview of the 4 national languages in Switzerland and the number of speakers in the 1990 and 2000 census.

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Table (1): The 4 national languages and their speakers in Switzerland (BFS 2003)

	1990	%	2000	%
German	4,374,694	63.6	4,640,359	63.7
French	1,321,695	19.2	1,485,056	20.4
Italian	524,116	7.6	470,961	6.5
Romansh	39,632	0.6	35,095	0.5

As table (1) shows, Romansh is an extremely small language in a small country. There are more native speakers of English or Serbo-Croatian living in Switzerland than speakers of Romansh. If we focus on the sole canton of Graubünden, the federal state which accommodates the Romansh-speaking valleys, additional figures show the dramatic loss of terrain of the language: whereas in 1880 40% of the canton's population stated that Romansh was their first language, this percentage goes down to 17% in 1990.²

Whereas more and more monolingual speakers of Swiss German immigrate into the traditionally Romansh territories, more than 50% of all Romansh speakers do not live in those territories anymore (Pedretti 2000: 294). The demographically extremely unfavorable situation has led to a situation where Romansh as the sole language cannot assure the economic and cultural survival of the community. Therefore it is not surprising that all native speakers of Romansh are also (almost) native speakers of Swiss German. Although there are some promising initiatives involving bilingual education and the teaching of Romansh to children of non-Romansh families, the survival of the language in the long-term is uncertain.

From a linguistic point of view, the Romansh language is a typologically interesting case, since its more than 1000 years old history of co-existence and contact with Swiss German has led to varieties which could be categorized as mixed Romance-Germanic languages. Example (1) shows but a small selection of features which can be related to the contact with Swiss German.

- (1) *e lu ein quella tscharva halt vegnida in tec verruckta ed ida ora sur*
 'then is this deer you-know come a little mad and went out upon
in pign grep e ha bess il Gionin leu surengiu
 a little rock and has thrown the Gionin there down' (Sursilvan)

As illustrated by the short passage from a frog story (Mayer 1969) narrative in Sursilvan, lexical borrowings (cf. the particle *halt*, the adjective *ver-ruckta*>German *verrückt* 'mad') and constructional calques (such as the German-

² Note that the 1990 census asked a different question, namely which language was 'best mastered' by the informant.

style particle verb *ir ora* 'go out')³ are constitutive features of the Romansh language.

2. Data and method of elicitation

The data discussed in this paper stem from 3 of the 5 Romansh idioms, namely Sursilvan, Vallader and Surmiran (cf. table (2)). The Romansh data are compared to parallel data sets from Italian, French, Standard High German (SHG) and Swiss German from the alpine area of the Muotathal (MU). These data are part of a larger project on spatial language in the varieties and languages just enumerated. The project involves both static and dynamic expressions, for the present paper, however, we will be focussing on the description of static spatial configurations.

Table (2): Data

Romansh (ROM)	Surmiran, Sursilvan, Vallader	19 informants
Italian (IT)		6 informants
French (FR)		13 informants
German	Standard High German (SHG)	5 informants
	Muotathal Swiss German (MU)	6 informants

The means of elicitation was the picture book 'static topological spatial relations' elaborated by researchers from the MPI in Nijmegen, as used e.g. by Bowerman (cf. Bowerman 1996) and others. The picture book is an instrument which allows to elicit the linguistic description of a great number of spatial configurations. It comprises 71 picture stimuli, each of which shows a figure object (marked by color or an arrow) and at least one ground element, in relation to which the figure object has to be situated linguistically.

The informants are asked to go through the picture book and describe what they see. In the analysis presented here, the first spontaneous response has been taken into account. Some of the pictures give raise to more or less extensive discussions on how one would describe the configuration in the informant's native language, and in some cases, there is not even a spatial description in the strict sense available (cf. Bowerman 1996: 399). For the present purposes, these interesting discussions are not taken into account.

3. The three most frequent spatial prepositions

In all varieties in the sample, more than two thirds of all pictures are described by using a prepositional phrase (PP) headed by one out of the three most frequent spatial prepositions given in table (3).

³ As Mair (1984) points out, there is a (sometimes forgotten) Romance heritage of verb particles. A diachronic study of Romansh VPs thus should reveal if the constructions discussed here and in section 5 are either calques of German VP syntax or ancient Romance patterns which had been structurally supported by the German adstratum.

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Table (3): The 3 most frequent spatial prepositions and their relative frequencies

Romansh	0.30	<i>vid</i>	0.23	<i>sin</i>	0.18	<i>en</i>	Σ 0.71
German	0.35	<i>an</i>	0.21	<i>auf</i>	0.19	<i>in</i>	Σ 0.75
French	0.18	<i>à</i>	0.39	<i>sur</i>	0.17	<i>dans</i>	Σ 0.74
Italian	0.23	<i>a</i>	0.33	<i>su</i>	0.22	<i>in</i>	Σ 0.78

Whereas in Italian and French, the most frequently used P is the one prototypically used in 'on-type' situations (the cup is on the table, *la tasse est sur la table*), German and Romansh statistically prefer the P in the first column (*an* and *vid*). This leads to the first hypothesis that the 'division of labor' between the spatial Ps in the languages of this sample is not exactly the same.

One means to describe the semantics of spatial Ps is to group together the picture stimuli which are covered by the same spatial P in a language. The circle assembling those stimuli can be conceived of as representing a spatial category. Figure (1) shows a selection of stimuli and the spatial categories found in the data.

Figure (1): The division of labor between *sin* and *vid* in Romansh compared to German, French, and Italian

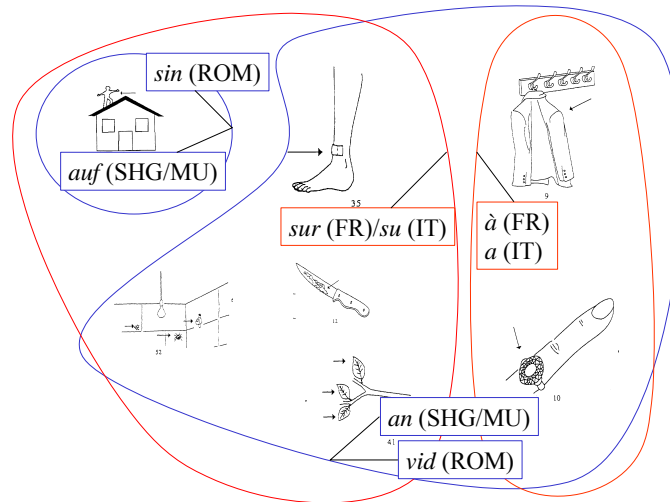


Figure (1) shows clearly that Romansh and German cut up in a very similar way the semantic space represented by the picture stimuli. Only the prototypical situation involving complete horizontal support (cf. examples (2) and (3) below) are described using the 'on'-type P (*sin/auf*). All other configurations fall under a different P (*vid/an*).

- (2) *la scadiola ei sin meisa* 'the cup is on [the] table'
- (3) *l'hom sta sül tet* 'the man stands on-the roof'

In the other Romance languages, the semantic space is cut up in a quite different way. The P *su/sur* covers more and less prototypical configurations involving a figure supported by a ground object. The choices of P depicted in figure 1 are not always categorical, e.g. the picture with insects on the wall is not categorically described using *su/sur* in French and Italian, the neutral local P *a/à* can also be used to a minor extent. Thus, the lines drawn in Figure (1) correspond to the most frequently chosen P in the languages in the scope of this paper.

The observed differences in carving up this semantic space of support and contact correspond to a difference already discussed by Vandeloise (1986: 202) and Becker (1994: 96): whereas German uses *auf* only in those prototypical situations of a mental construal of vertical support, the French P *sur* can be used in configurations which require some kind of 'adhesive activity' from the figure or the ground, as well as situations where the figure is attached to or has some vertical support from the ground (cf. table (4)).

Table (4): Graded support relations and their corresponding choice of spatial P

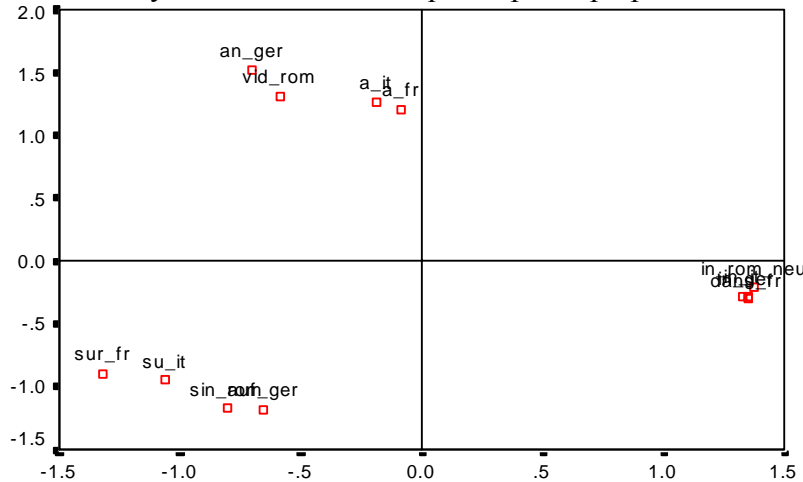
prototypical support (horizontal ground)	
la tasse est sur la table	die Tasse steht auf dem Tisch/la tazza sta sülla maisa
vertical support requiring 'activity' of the figure or the ground	
les insectes sont sur le mur	die Insekten sind an der Wand/ils insects sun vi da la paraid
vertical support (with attachment to and support from ground)	
le tableau est sur le mur	das Bild hängt an der Wand/il purret picha vi da la paraid
vertical support (attachment only)	
la lampe est au plafond	die Lampe hängt an der Decke/la glüm picha vi dal plafuond

Only in the last configuration, the one involving vertical support by attachment only (and no other direct physical contact between figure and ground), Italian and French speakers categorically choose the neutral topological P *a/à*. As we have seen, Romansh pairs together with German rather than with its Romance relatives. It seems thus that the spatial categories in the minds of the bilingual speakers of Romansh are denotationally identical, and that - depending on the language they speak - only the surface forms are different. In this respect, Romansh only 'looks' Romance on the form-side of the language, while its spatial categories are (identical to) German.

Since the choices of P are not categorical for certain picture stimuli, the binary decisions underlying a representation such as the one in figure (1) are not completely true to the patterns in the data. We would like to have a more accurate account of the distribution of the spatial Ps, and particularly, we need a method to calculate the similarity of distribution of the 3 Ps in each language of our sample. An appropriate method of doing this is multidimensional scaling (MDS, cf. Kruskal and Wish 1991), a statistical method which allows to represent similarity and dissimilarity of variables in terms of points in an n-dimensional space. In figure (2), an MDS analysis is run over the data. Each P is treated as a variable, having values for 71 cases - the 71 drawings of the picture book. If a P is used

categorically in all responses to a particular picture, it gets a value of 1, if it is never used, the value will be 0. German (SHG) and Swiss German (MU) are treated as one language here, since there is only difference in phonological shape but not in the semantics and use of the 3 spatial Ps.

Figure (2): MDS analysis of the 3 most frequent spatial prepositions



The two dimensions and scales in figure (2) are meaningless per se, they are a mere means to depict degrees of similarity. All *in*-Ps cluster together on the right-hand side, which is the graphic consequence of an extremely similar usage distribution. All four languages thus share the same semantic construal of a topological in-space. As the figure shows, this is not the case for the other Ps: Whereas French and Italian *a/à* show a high usage similarity, Romansh *vid* and particularly German *an* - matching the analysis proposed in figure (1) – are located at some distance from the two Romance Ps, clustering more or less together. Similarly, Italian *su* and French *sur* are located close together on the one hand,⁴ and German *auf* and Romansh *sin* again cluster closer together.

The MDS analysis thus confirms the conclusion suggested by figure (1), i.e. there is a idiosyncratic Romansh P which covers a very similar partition of semantic space as German *an*, a partition which is distinct from the one covered by the neutral Romance P *a/à*. The P *vid* takes variable orthographic and phonological shapes in the three Romansh dialects in the sample, as shown in (4).

- (4) a *il purtret picha **vi da** la paraid* (Vallader)
 b *il maletg penda **vida** la preit* (Sursilvan)
 c *igl maletg è **ve dalla** pare* (Surmiran) } 'the picture hangs on the wall'

⁴ The statistic differences between French *à/sur* and Italian *a/su* in the data are generated by the higher frequency of resultative participles for certain pictures in the Italian data. As soon as such a participle is used, the P *su* is not used anymore, cf. It. *il quadro è appeso alla parete.* vs. Fr. *le tableau est sur le mur.*

Some spellings still reflect the compound character of the P (as in (4) a and (4) c, others prefer a fused form such as *vid*, *vida*, or *vidad*. The P can be traced back to three Latin lexemes: *vi* < lat. *viam*; *de* and either *ad* or *ab* (Bernardi 1994: 997 and 236). The compound form has semantically and formally undergone considerable change and erosion, and in modern Romansh it is used not only parallel to German as a local P, but also in non-local senses such as *pensar vi dad inchün* (German: *an jemanden denken*, 'to think of somebody').

4. Posture verbs and resultative constructions

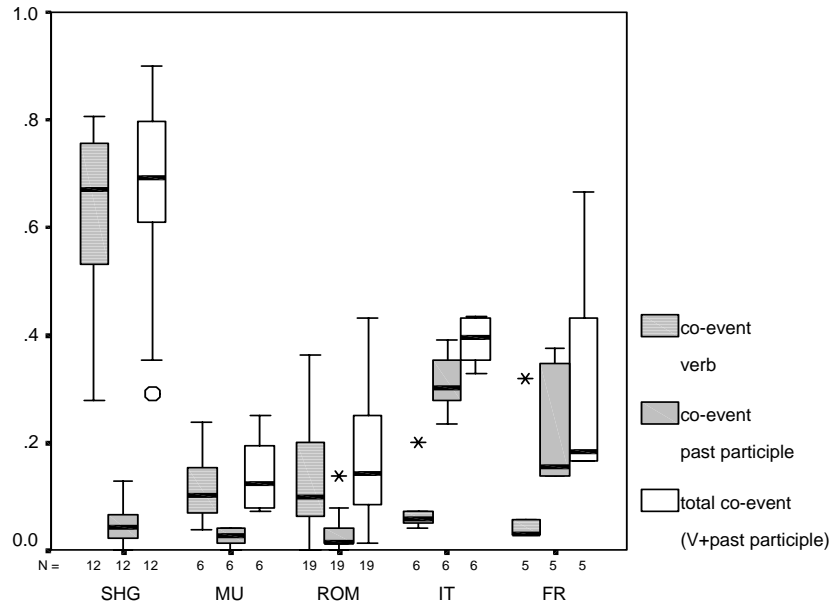
In this section, the use of posture verbs corresponding to *sit*, *stand*, *lie* will be analyzed. We can conceive of such posture verbs as additional information which is packed into the basic locative construction in the VP. I propose to analyze posture verbs similar to manner verbs in motion event clauses. Thus, following Talmy's analysis (2000: 222), these verbs add *co-event* information to the locative expression. This co-event information involves concepts related to orientation, dimensions of the figure, adhesion, and I propose to include into this category even intentions and mental states of animate figures (such as in 'the boy hides behind the armchair'). Talmy claims that expressions referring to static spatial configurations behave typologically similar to motion events (Talmy 2000: 221). Assuming this, we would expect Romance and Germanic languages to differ in the amount of co-event integration, just as it is the case for motion verb data (e.g. Slobin 1996). It will then be interesting to see if Romansh shows patterns resembling a 'well-behaved' Romance language or if it again resembles German.

Before the distribution of co-event verbs can be analyzed, an additional construction has to be taken into account. Co-event like information not only can be found in the finite verb slot (ex. (5)-(8)), but also in a past participle (ex. (9)-(12), all examples are responses to the same picture stimulus) which can be analyzed as an instance of a resultative construction - the actual configuration being the result of V-ing (hanging, putting, etc.) the figure in its actual state.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>il resti penda vida la suga</i> (Sursilvan) | } 'the laundry hangs
at the clothesline' |
| (6) | <i>d wösch hanged am wöschseili</i> (MU) | |
| (7) | <i>il tubo giace a terra</i> (It.) | 'the hose lies on ground' |
| (8) | <i>la cordelette gât sur le tronc</i> (Fr.) | 'the rope lies on the stump' |
| (9) | <i>la giacca es pichada vi dal crötsch</i> (Vallader) | } 'the jacket is hung
at a peg' |
| (10) | <i>la giacca é appesa al gancio</i> (It.) | |
| (11) | <i>le veston est suspendu à un crochet</i> (Fr.) | |
| (12) | <i>de chittel isch ufghänkt amene haggä</i> (MU) | |

Although both patterns can be found in all varieties in the scope of this paper, the typical Romance pattern is clearly the second type ((9)-(12)). As Figure (3) shows clearly, if Romance integrates co-event information at all, it is mainly done so by using past participles.

Figure (3): % of co-event constructions relative to the total of responses



The first striking difference in figure (3) is the high amount of co-event expression in SHG - the median at about 70% indicates that the typical speaker of SHG uses co-event verbs in 70% of all responses. In a way, this corresponds to the aforementioned prediction on the basis of the typological work on motion verbs, i.e. satellite-framed languages (such as German) are predicted to show more co-event verbs than verb-framed languages. However, MU Swiss German is by no means a 'less' satellite-framed language, but nevertheless, the co-event integration values are way lower than the SHG values. Although resultative participles do exist in SHG and MU, they play a minor role compared to the finite co-event verbs. French and Italian show a smaller amount of co-event integration, and the use of the verb slot for the purpose of co-event expression can almost be neglected. Romansh, in the middle of the chart, does not look like a Romance language, it rather resembles MU Swiss German in its preference for (an admittedly relatively low level of) co-event expression in the finite verb slot.

Once again, the Romansh dialects seem to be closer to their Swiss German adstratum varieties than to the genetically related other Romance languages. In the next section, some constructional aspects of the VP will be analyzed.

5. Simple vs. complex verb phrases

The locative PP which is in the sister position to the finite verb functions as the argument of the locative clause. The spatial relational semantics, in Talmy's (2000: 221) terms the association function, i.e. a part of the core schema, is generally located in the head P. In some cases, however, an additional particle within the VP can contain additional core schema semantics - either identical to the relation lexicalized in the P or a complementary aspect of the spatial relation that

holds between the figure and the ground. Constructions as in (13) are not always accounted for in the same way in the literature on German VP syntax. The adverbial particle is either analyzed as a separable verb particle or it is analyzed as being part of the PP (cf. (13) b). In the latter case, there are again different accounts of the role the adverb plays within the PP, but for our present purposes those syntactic subtleties are not of crucial importance.

- (13) a *de hund liid im hüüsli inne* (MU)
 'the dog is inside the house-DIM inside'
 b ...*dass de hund* [im hüüsli] [inne liid] vs. [im hüüsli inne] [liid]
 c ...*dass de hund im hüüsli liid*
- (14) *dr schluuch isch um d baumwürz ume*
 'the hose is around the stump around'
- (15) *ds stirnband gad ume chopf um*
 'the headband goes around-the head around'

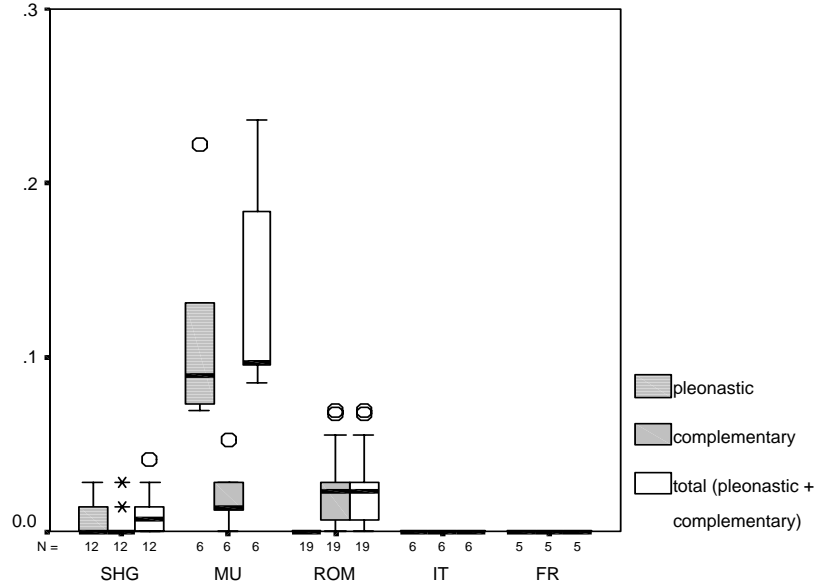
Both SHG and MU data contain instances of these constructions, though not to the same extent, as will be shown below. As I have discussed elsewhere (Berthele [in press]), there seems to be no fundamental difference of meaning between the 'enriched' construction in (13)a and the simple construction as in (13)c. The same speaker may vary in his/her use of the complex VPs, and there are no systematic occurrences of complex VPs for any of the picture stimuli in any Swiss German dialect I have been looking at. However, as speakers of the MU dialect say, they feel that 'sometimes' the simple construction is just not 'complete'. But the only metalinguistic comments I could elicit so far are very sketchy.

However, not all complex VPs must necessarily be of the pleonastic type just shown above, as example (16) from MU shows. In this case, the adverb adds a different aspect to the spatial relational semantics described by the clause. I propose thus to call this subtype the *complementary construction*.

- (16) *d tanne isch am rain obe* (MU)
 'the fir is on the slope atop/above'

Both subtypes, the complementary and the pleonastic constructions, are instances of a distributed spatial semantics (Sinha and Kuteva 1995: 167), they represent constructions with relatively overt expression of the core schematic content. Once again, we would like to know if and to which extent the varieties in the sample make use of such complex VPs. Figure (4) presents the corresponding data analysis.

Figure (4): Complex place predicates



As can be seen in figure (4), complex place predicates occur neither in Italian nor in French. While they can be sporadically found in the SHG data, they are a lot more frequent in MU. Predominantly, MU has pleonastic constructions. Romansh, on the other hand, has complementary constructions, although not very frequently. (17) - (19) are instances of these complementary VPs in Romansh:

- (17) *il bal ei sut la sutga en* (Sursilvan) 'the ball is under the chair inside'
 (18) *la zerp è sur la schitga aint* (Surmiran) 'the snake is over the stump inside'
 (19) *l'udèr penda sur la tshücha giò* (Vallader) 'the hose hangs over the stump down'

In the case of the complex place predicates, the (Swiss) German model has only partially been transferred into Romansh. What we do find is the structural possibility of adding a particle to the spatial VP, a possibility which is not present in the other Romance data. However, the adverb slot is never filled with a semantically pleonastic morpheme, we only find semantically complementary adverbs which contribute additional spatial relational content to the (distributed) spatial semantics of the whole construction.

6. Conclusions

All three aspects examined in this paper suggest considerable influence of the Swiss German adstratum onto the Romansh dialects. Given the fact that all speakers of Romansh are bilinguals with German, it is not very surprising to find the convergence of highly frequent spatial relational categories as the one laid out in section 2. However, whereas the speakers of Romansh are very much aware of the great number of direct lexical borrowings into their dialects, my informants were highly surprised when I presented my findings on the use of the P *vid* and its

almost perfect matching of the German *an*. It seems that the Latinate phonological form of the P has prevented them from realizing the 'German' category covered by the P. On the other hand, the structural impact from German does not always lead to a full linguistic match with the German adstratum, as the preference for the complementary complex VPs clearly shows: this subtype is by no means a typical German pattern, on the contrary, it occurs only very infrequently in the MU data (cf. footnote 3 for an alternative account of the Romansh verb particles).

However, the extreme pressure exerted by the German language onto the threatened Romansh idioms, together with the total bilingualism of all speakers of this minority language, has led to a typologically very interesting case of a mixed language, a language which still sounds and looks quite Romance, but whose structural and semantic behavior seems to be highly influenced by the Swiss German adstratum. At some later stage of this project, it will be tempting to take a closer look at the expression of motion events in the Romansh dialects.

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***H*-type Segments in Standard and Dialectal Hungarian**

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0. Introduction

The main objective of this paper¹ is to provide an analysis of the distribution of Hungarian /h/ and its behaviour in voice assimilation in the framework of a modified version of Element Theory (Harris 1990, 1994, Harris & Lindsey 1995) in Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky, 1993). The advantages of our approach are that the distribution of /h/ can be properly predicted without having to assume further positional markedness constraints (cf. Siptár & Szentgyörgyi, 2002 and in press), that the asymmetrical behaviour of /h/ in voice assimilation follows without a markedness constraint against voiced velar fricatives (cf. Siptár & Szentgyörgyi, 2002 and forthcoming). As a consequence of our analysis, we will show that the rather different behaviour of /h/ in voice assimilation in the Nyitra (Slovakia) dialect of Hungarian cannot be caused by an influence of Slovak, contrary to Zsigri's (1996) suggestion.

1. The Data²

'Regular' voice assimilation

In Hungarian obstruent clusters, there is regressive and iterative voice assimilation (VA) across all morphological boundaries. Hungarian is different from Russian and other Slavic languages in that it has no final devoicing.

- (1) a. *Stem + suffix:*
kú[t] – kú[db]an 'well' – 'in the well'
ra[b] – ra[pt]ól 'prisoner' – 'from the prisoner'

¹ We are grateful for the OTKA grant Nr D42210 which helped us with preparing the presentation and the paper. Also, we are indebted to the audience at BLS 19 for their valuable questions and comments, and especially to the organizing committee whose flexibility meant a lot to us. All remaining errors are, of course, our own.

² Data are taken from the standard dialect, unless indicated otherwise.

- (5) **SHARE** Obstruents in clusters must share laryngeal specifications.
- (6) **ID Ps VOICE** A consonant in pre-sonorant position must be faithful to the input specification for voice.
- (7) **ID WF VOICE** A consonant in pre-sonorant position must be faithful to the input specification for voice.
- (8) **ID VOICE** A consonant must be faithful to the input specification for voice.

The proposed ranking of the constraints for Hungarian is **SHARE, ID.PS.VOI, >> ID.WF.VOI >> ID.VOI**, which makes the correct predictions for the regular voicing assimilation cases, as shown below:

(9)	ra/k+d/	SHARE	ID.PS.VOICE	ID.WF.VOICE	ID.VOICE
a.	ra[kd]	*!			
b.	ra[gd]				*
c.	ra[kt]			*!	*
d.	ra[gt]	*!		*	**
(10)	ker/tb/e	SHARE	ID.PS.VOICE	ID.WF.VOICE	ID.VOICE
a.	ker[tb]e	*!			
b.	ker[db]e				*
c.	ker[tp]e		*!		**
d.	ker[dp]e	*(!)	*(!)		*
(11)	ra/bt/ól	SHARE	ID.PS.VOICE	ID.WF.VOICE	ID.VOICE
a.	ra[bt]ól	*!			
b.	ra[pt]ól				*
c.	ra[bd]ól		*!		*
d.	ra[pd]ól	*(!)	*(!)		**

The problem with Petrova et al.’s analysis is that their hierarchy incorrectly predicts that /h/, being an obstruent, will be voiced before a voiced obstruent.

Let us now turn to the representation of segments in Element Theory and see what kinds of representation are assumed for obstruents, sonorants and *H*-type segments.

2.2. Representations

Since OT is not a theory of representations, it is compatible with basically any kind of representational model. In this paper we will use Element Theory as laid out in Harris (1990, 1994), Harris & Lindsey (1995), used mainly in Government Phonology (Kaye et al. 1990). The basic units of Element Theory are elements: unary features, which are interpretable on their own. That is in this sense they are

quite different from the standard (binary or unary) features used in derivational frameworks or in feature geometry.

The three relevant elements that we are going to make use of are:

- (12) **L** = ‘non-spontaneous voice/low tone/nasality’
H = ‘voicelessness/high tone/aspiration’
h = ‘noise’, present in obstruents

The two laryngeal elements, **H** and **L**, are linked to the **Lar**(yngeal) node in Standard Element Theory. Szigetvári (1997, 1998), on the other hand, suggests that the element **L** is linked to the element **h**, instead of a **Lar** node. Since it is only obstruents that have element **h**, this explains why only obstruents take part in voicing assimilation. Furthermore, he suggests that **H** is linked directly to the root node and not to the **Lar** node. Another difference between his representation and Standard Element Theory is that he proposes that [h] consists of an **H** element only (*contra* Standard Element Theory). With the help of these three elements, he distinguishes four types of consonants:

- (13) a. *voiceless obstruent* b. *voiced obstruent* c. *sonorant* d. [h]
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C | C | C | C |
| | | | |
| h | h | | H |
| | | | |
| | L | | |

2.3. Changes in obstruency

We will assume that the [h] ~ [x] alternations are underlyingly represented as a non-obstruent, i.e. as segments lacking the **h** element. Besides assuming the elements of Element Theory, we will follow Siptár and Szentgyörgyi (2002) in positing a violable constraint that prohibits the appearance of a glottal [h] in coda positions. The result of such a constraint interacting with others will be strengthening into a velar [x] in such positions but not in others. We have to note, however, that this constraint (as the phenomenon) itself is typologically odd since it implies ‘strengthening’ in normally ‘weak’ positions (coda/pre-consonant position).

- (14) ***CODA.h** Voiceless glottal fricatives are prohibited in codas.

3. The Model

3.1. Representations

Our analysis is based on Blaho (2002), who proposes an alternative representation together with a modified version of Petrova et al.’s (2000) constraints. Contrary to Szigetvári (1997, 1998), Blaho (2002) suggests a representation in which the voiced-voiceless contrast in Hungarian obstruents is modelled by

VOICELESSNESS, not **VOICE**⁴. The **VOICELESSNESS** element can be linked to **NOISE** (in obstruents) and directly to the skeletal slot (in [h] in Hungarian) (see Blaho 2002 for a similar claim for **VOICE**).

- (15) a. *voiceless obstruent* b. *voiced obstruent* c. *sonorant* d. [h]
- | | | | |
|---------------|-------|---|---------------|
| C | C | C | C |
| | | | |
| noise | noise | | voicelessness |
| | | | |
| voicelessness | | | |

3.2. Constraints

The revised constraints of Petrova et al. (2000) and the rest of the faithfulness and markedness constraints responsible for the treatment of voice assimilation are the following:

- (16) **SHARE (NOISE)** Neighbouring obstruents share their noise element.
- (17) **ID.PS (NOISE)** Obstruents in presonorant position are faithful to their input in terms of the **NOISE** element.
- (18) **ID.PP (NOISE)** Obstruents in prepause position are faithful to their input in terms of the **NOISE** element.
- (19) **ID (NOISE)** Output segments are faithful to their input in terms of the noise element.
- (20) **MAX** Dependency relations between elements and anchors that are present in the input must also be present in the output.
- (21) **DEP** Dependency relations between elements and anchors in the output must have an input correspondent.
- (22) ***CODA.h** Voiceless glottal fricatives are prohibited in codas.

One very important distinction has to be emphasized between the “original” interpretation of **MAX** and **DEP** and ours: in our analysis, these faithfulness constraints are relativised to the element **X** (e.g. **NOISE** or **VOICELESSNESS**). In such cases, violations of the constraint are calculated by examining the anchor and all dependents of **X**. As shown above, both elements (e.g. **NOISE**) and skeletal slots can be anchors. An **IDENTITY** constraint relativised to an element is thus satisfied if and only if **X** and all its dependents have the same anchor and the same dependents in the input and the output. Violations are counted per skeletal slot.

⁴ For the sake of simplicity and easier understanding, here we are not going to make use of the traditional symbols of the elements, but will simply refer to them as **NOISE**, **VOICELESSNESS**, etc.

3.3. How the model works

3.3.1. Regular cases of voicing assimilation

Let us now test our model on the actual cases of regular voice assimilation first, i.e. on forms not containing an *H*-type segment. The assumed ranking for Hungarian is shown below:

(23) **SHARE(NOISE), ID.PS(NOISE), ID.PP(NOISE) >> ID(NOISE) >> MAX >> DEP**

(24)

UR:	SHARE (NOISE)	ID.PS/PP (NOISE)	ID (NOISE)	MAX	DEP
<pre> C C noise noise voicelessness </pre>					
<p>a.</p> <pre> C C noise noise voicelessness </pre>	*(!)	*(!)		*	*
<p>b.</p> <pre> C C noise noise voicelessness </pre>	*!				
<p>c.</p> <pre> C C \ / noise </pre>		*!		*	
<p>☞ d.</p> <pre> C C \ / noise voicelessness </pre>			*		*
<p>e.</p> <pre> C C noise </pre>		*!	*	**	
<p>f.</p> <pre> C C noise voicelessness </pre>			*	*!	

Tableau (24) shows the configuration of an underlyingly voiced stop, i.e. an obstruent containing only the element **NOISE**, followed by an underlyingly voiceless one, i.e. one that also contains the element **VOICELESSNESS** linked to the element **NOISE** (e.g. *gő*[st] ‘steam’ acc., *láp*[pt]ól ‘from the moor’). Candidates (a)-(b) violate **SHARE (NOISE)** since the two skeletal slots are not linked to the same **NOISE** element. Candidates (a), (c) and (e) are all excluded by **ID.PS**

(**NOISE**) because the dependent of **NOISE**, i.e. **VOICELESSNESS**, is not present in the output forms. The remaining two candidates, (d) and (f), both violate **ID (NOISE)**: in (d), the first underlying segment lacking **VOICELESSNESS** surfaces as linked to this element of the second consonant (i.e. there is a change in the dependent(s) of **NOISE**) while in (f), the underlying **NOISE** of the first *C* slot is not present in the output. The decision is thus passed on to **MAX**, which favors (d) for one of the underlying association lines is missing in (f) but not in (d).

A similar thing can be seen in the following tableau showing the reverse situation: an underlyingly voiceless obstruent is followed by a voiced one, as in *fió[gb]an* ‘in the drawer’, *ra[gd]* ‘put’ 3.SG.DEF.IMP., and the optimal form contains a voiced cluster.

(25)

	UR:	SHARE (NOISE)	ID.PS/PP (NOISE)	ID (NOISE)	MAX	DEP
	C C noise noise voicelessness					
a.	C C noise noise voicelessness	*!				
b.	C C noise noise \ / voicelessness	*(!)	*(!)	*		*
☞ c.	C C \ / noise			*	*	
d.	C C \ / noise voicelessness		*!	*		*
e.	C C noise		*!	**	**	*

3.3.2. *H*-type segments in voicing assimilation

Let us now turn to the cases of *H*-type segments participating in clusters where they trigger but do not undergo assimilation. Recall that we are going to make use of Siptár and Szentgyörgyi’s (2002) constraint, ***CODA.h**, which disallows glottal fricatives in codas. This constraint has to be ranked with respect to the others the following way:

H-type Segments in Standard and Dialectal Hungarian

(26) **SHARE(**NOISE), ***CODA.h** >> **ID.PS** (NOISE), **ID.PP** (NOISE) >> **ID**(NOISE)
>> **MAX** >> **DEP**

Tableau (27) shows an example with an H-type segment in coda position. As a consequence of the representation we have assumed and the constraints we have proposed so far, the representation of [x] will be different from other obstruents as indicated in the tableau:

(27)

	UR:	*CODA.h	ID.PS/PP (NOISE)	ID (NOISE)	MAX	DEP
	C voicelessness					
a.	C voicelessness	*!				
b.	C noise		*	*	*!	*
c.	C / \ voicelessness noise		*	*		*
d.	C noise voicelessness		*	*	*!	**

The winning candidate in (27c) contains both a **NOISE** and a **VOICELESSNESS** element, so it is interpreted as a voiceless obstruent. Note, however, that its elemental makeup differs from that of other obstruents in that the voicelessness element is not connected to the noise node but to the skeletal slot directly, just like in the case of /h/.

This segment's peculiar behavior in voicing assimilation follows from this representation as shown in the following tableau in (28), in which the *H*-type segment is followed by an underlyingly voiced obstruent, e.g. *do*[xb]ól 'from the dampness'. The first segment in the optimal candidate has the same representation as that in (27), i.e. it surfaces as a [x], while the second segment does not change, that is stays a voiced obstruent. Since the other candidates all violate one of the highest ranked markedness constraints, **SHARE (NOISE)** or ***CODA.h**, or violate more faithfulness constraints than candidate (c), ((28b) does not only violate **ID (NOISE)** but also **MAX**) it is correctly selected as optimal. Note that the cluster in the winning candidate satisfies **SHARE (NOISE)**, nevertheless, the two obstruents differ in voicing as the first one is also linked to **VOICELESSNESS** while the second is not.

(28)

UR:	C C	SHARE (NOISE)	*CODA.h	ID.PS/PP (NOISE)	ID (NOISE)	MAX
	 voicelessness noise					
a.	 voicelessness noise		*!			
b.	C C \ / noise				*	*!
☞ c.	C C voicelessness noise				*	
d.	C C noise noise voicelessness	*!			*	*

So far we have been concentrating on the part of the behavior of H-type segments which is identical in the Standard and Nyitra dialects of Hungarian. Our final objective is to see why the two dialects behave differently. We suggest that this is the result of the high/low ranked status of the following additional constraint in the two types of dialect.

- (29) **MULT.LINK(NOISE)** A **VOICELESSNESS** element anchored to a skeletal slot is also linked to a preceding **NOISE** element.

The fact that /h/ triggers assimilation, i.e. the devoicing of a preceding obstruent, is indicative of this constraint being undominated in this dialect. Candidates with a **NOISE** element not linked to the **VOICELESSNESS** element of the following segment will violate this constraint and will be ruled out just like those candidates in which, as a repair strategy, the voicelessness element of the second segment is missing. Such candidates vacuously satisfy **MULTI.LINK (NOISE)** but consequently violate **ID (NOISE)**. This will allow the candidate with the multiply linked **NOISE** element to win.

In the Nyitra dialect, on the other hand, *H*-type segments do not trigger assimilation in the preceding underlyingly voiced obstruents: voiced obstruents may freely occur before /h/. This is the result of the **MULT.LINK (NOISE)** constraint being ranked below **DEP**: it is better to violate the former, i.e. not to have an assimilated cluster with multiply linked **VOICELESSNESS**, than the latter, i.e. to have association lines in the output that are not present in the input. As a result, the completely faithful candidate wins. This is demonstrated by the two tableaux of forms like *a[th]at* ‘can give’ below.

- (30) Standard Hungarian ranking: **MULT.LINK(NOISE)** >> **MAX** >> **DEP**

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(31)	UR: C C noise voicelessness	MULT.LINK (NOISE)	*CODA.h	ID (NOISE)	MAX	DEP
a.	C C noise voicelessness	*!				
b.	C C \ / noise			*!	*	*
c.	C C noise \ voicelessness					*

(32) Nyitra Hungarian ranking: **MAX >> DEP >> MULT.LINK(NOISE)**

(33)	UR: C C noise voicelessness	*CODA.h	ID (NOISE)	MAX	DEP	MULT.LINK (NOISE)
a.	C C noise voicelessness					*
b.	C C \ / noise		*!	*	*	
c.	C C noise \ voicelessness				*!	

One of the suggestions for the treatment of this phenomenon comes from Zsigri (1996), who claims that the fact that /h/ does not act as trigger is due to the influence of Slovak, where the glottal fricative is voiced /ɦ/. In (34), we show examples proving that, on the one hand, the distribution of H-type segments is different in Slovak as they may contrast in certain positions (34a-b). On the other hand, they make a preceding underlyingly voiceless obstruent voice (34c-d).

- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------|--------|
| (34) a. | [ɦ]ladná | ‘hungry’ | [x]ladná | ‘cold’ |
| b. | [ɦ]rom | ‘thunder’ | [x]robák | ‘bug’ |
| c. | prive[j]ie – prive[j] ho | | ‘lead 3. SG. IND.’ – ‘lead 2. SG. IMP. it’ | |
| d. | pä[c] – pä[j] hodin | | ‘five’ – ‘five clocks’ | |

If the behavior of the glottal in the Nyitra dialect was the result of the influence of Slovak glottal fricative we would expect underlyingly voiceless obstruents to become voiced before it which is clearly not the case. That is, the Nyitra glottal cannot have the same representation as the Slovak one, which is underlyingly voiced. Even if we posited that kind of representation for the Nyitra dialect H-type segments, we would also need an extra constraint that should ensure that glottal segments will never surface as voiced. Even worse would be the problem of abstractness: positing an underlyingly voiced glottal in the Nyitra dialect would be an instance of complete neutralization as it would always surface as voiceless. Moreover, Lexicon Optimization would obviously prefer such an underlying form that is “closer” to the input: of an underlying /h/ or /ɦ/, the former would be preferred as it does not cause any violations of the faithfulness constraints while a /ɦ/ surfacing as either [h] or [x] would violate **DEP**.

4. Summary and further issues

In this paper we have presented an analysis of the distribution of Hungarian /h/ and its behaviour in voice assimilation along the lines of a modified version of Element Theory in an Optimality Theoretic framework. Our proposed representations and constraint hierarchy can properly predict the distribution of /h/ and its behavior in voice assimilation without having to assume positional markedness constraints like those in Siptár & Szentgyörgyi (2002). As a consequence of the presented analysis, the different behaviour of /h/ in voice assimilation in the Nyitra dialect of Hungarian received a straightforward explanation: it is the consequence of the different ranking of **MULT.LINK (NOISE)** and it is not caused by the influence of Slovak, contrary to Zsigri’s (1996) suggestion.

There are two open questions for further research: the so-called *H*-dropping stems, which have their /h/ deleted in coda position, e.g. *cseh* ~ *csehből* ~ *csehül* [tʃɛ] ~ [tʃɛbø:l] ~ [tʃɛhyl] ‘Czech’ ~ ‘from (the) Czech’ ~ ‘in Czech’ must be clearly treated as lexical exceptions. The question is: how are these forms evaluated by the constraint hierarchy.

The second question is a typological one: what is the representation of /h/ in other languages? As H-type segments are relatively unstable and are often exempt from voice assimilation, most probably there are quite a number of other languages in which it has a very similar representation.

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Some Consequences of Case Loss in Texas German

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0. Introduction

Research on case reduction and loss in German-American dialects has traditionally focused on analyzing the extent to which the functional load of a formerly three or four case system has been taken over by an evolving two or three case system, respectively (see, for example, Gilbert 1965, Huffines 1989, Louden 1994, Salmons 1994, Van Ness 1996, among others). This paper contributes to this line of research by reporting new data on how the case system of the rapidly eroding Texas German dialect has evolved over the past forty years. Here the focus will be on the loss of the possessive genitive and how its functions have been taken over by a variety of different cases and grammatical constructions. An earlier description of the case system of Texas German as spoken in New Braunfels reports that there are a “small number of genitives employed by each informant,” (Eikel 1967: 89) typically of the older generation. Consider the following example.

- (1) Dies ist ein Schwarzwalnusspult meines Grossvaters. (cf. Eikel 1967: 89)
this is a blackwalnutdesk:NOM my:GEN grandfather:GEN
‘This is my grandfather’s desk out of wood from a black walnut tree.’

In (1), possession between *mein Grossvater* ‘my grandfather’ and *ein Schwarzwalnusspult* ‘a black walnut desk’ is indicated by the genitive marker *-s* which is suffixed to the constituents constituting the noun phrase *mein Grossvater*. A more frequently found alternative to the possessive genitive as in (1) is the use of dative forms in possessive constructions as the following example from Eikel (1967) illustrates.

- (2) Er war bei dem Doktor sein Haus. (cf. Eikel 1967: 91)
he:NOM was at the doctor:DAT his house:ACC
‘He was at the doctor’s house.’

In contrast to Eikel's data, recent fieldwork conducted by members of the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP) (see Boas 2003) found no instances of possessive genitives. Furthermore, the absence of dative case marking on noun phrases in possessive constructions (e.g., *von* 'of' in (3)) and elsewhere also indicates that the dative case has dropped out of use.¹

- (3) *Zwei von meine Onkels* *waren in der Krieg.*
two of my uncles:ACC were in the war:NOM
'Two of my uncles were in the war.' (Speaker 1)

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section one compares and contrasts the distribution of cases in Texas German as reported by previous descriptions, with special focus on how possession is marked. Section two gives a more in-depth description of different possessive constructions in the speech of seven Texas German informants from the New Braunfels area in 2002. The data illustrate the complete loss of the genitive and a massive reduction in the distribution of the dative case in possessive constructions. While this development is a continuation of a trend already noted some four decades ago (see, e.g., Wilson 1960 and Gilbert 1965), the main part of the paper reports on a preliminary analysis of a variety of previously under-described possessive constructions. Of particular interest here is the question of how the syntax of Texas German possessive constructions has changed over the past forty years under the influence of a drastically reduced case system. Section three briefly discusses the question of whether the recent developments in the case system of Texas German can be primarily attributed to external factors (language contact with English) or internal factors (developments parallel to those found in Central European German dialects). Finally, section four summarizes the main points of the paper and gives directions for further research.

1. Case Marking in Texas German

Texas German (henceforth TxG) is a unique dialect spoken by the descendants of German immigrants who settled primarily "in the areas west to southwest of Houston and in a band stretching south from Mason County (west of Austin) down to east and west of San Antonio" beginning in the 1830s (Salmons 1983: 187). Established as the dominant language for upward of 100,000 speakers at its peak in the early 1900s, TxG is now in its sixth and final generation of fluent speakers, with approximately 6-8000 fluent speakers remaining across central Texas.

The case system brought to Texas by the German settlers is difficult to determine post hoc because of the great number of different donor dialects that formed the basis for what has been described as TxG in the literature (North Saxon, Pa-

¹ Dative case marking is still found occasionally, e.g., following certain dative-governing prepositions such as *bei* ('by') or *mit* ('mit').

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latinate, Eastphalian, East Low German, south or Central Bavarian, Hessian, and West Franconian, among others (see Gilbert 1972: 9-13). This great dialectal variation makes it complicated to determine the exact historical background against which to compare the development of the TxG case system, because the individual dialects brought to Texas differed in their case systems. For example, while some donor dialects such as Palatinate exhibited three distinct cases (nominative, accusative, and dative), Standard German, which was widely taught in the schools until the end of World War I (Salmons 1983), exhibits a four case system (nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive).

The richness of donor dialects contributing to Texas German makes it almost impossible to rely exclusively on historic descriptions of single donor dialects as a baseline in studying the developments of the TxG case system as a whole. This problem means that earlier accounts of the TxG case system as spoken in different locations must serve as our primary basis against which to measure more recent developments. One such account is given by Wilson (1960) who reports on the use of cases by TxG speakers in Lee and Fayette counties as follows: “[t]he most noticeable inflectional feature is the absence of the dative and genitive cases, for which the accusative serves.” (1960: 94) Similarly, Gilbert (1965) notes for Kendall and Gillespie counties the absence of the genitive by stating that “it exists almost nowhere in the dialects or in the colloquial forms of the language closest to the dialects.” (Gilbert 1965: 296) Regarding the distribution of dative case, Gilbert points out that “speakers were no longer distinguishing the categories of the dative and accusative although the various markers have been retained.” (1965: 294) Jordan’s (1977) description of TxG as spoken in Gillespie county points out similar developments by reporting on “the loss or the decreased use of the dative and genitive cases.” (Jordan 1977: 59)

In contrast to Wilson (1960), Gilbert (1965), and Jordan (1977), Eikel’s (1967) description of New Braunfels German (NBG) includes a sizeable number of genitives including possessive genitives such as those in (4) and (5).

(4) Es ist Johns (Hut). (cf. Eikel 1967: 89)

it is John:GEN (hat):NOM

‘It is John’s (hat).’

(5) Mutters Schuhe sind im Schrank. (cf. Eikel 1967: 89)

mother:GEN shoes:NOM are in-the:DAT closet

‘Mother’s shoes are in the closet.’

Using a set of work sheets to elicit responses from his informants, Eikel stated that whereas Standard German “would require 20 examples of the genitive in the work sheets – not including the adverbial genitive,” speakers of New Braunfels German use considerably fewer genitives. Of a total of twenty-four speakers from three generations, members of the older generation used an average of 3.66 genitives in elicited responses in contrast to twenty instances expected in Standard

German. In comparison, members of the middle-aged generation used an average of 5.66 genitives in their responses, and members of the younger generation used only an average of 2.66 genitives (cf. Eikel 1967: 90).

The distribution of genitives among Eikel's informants reveals two important patterns. The first is an irregular distribution of genitives among informants from three different generations. That is, there is an increase in use of genitives among the middle-aged generation in comparison with the older generation. Then, there is a considerable drop in the use of genitives among the younger generation in comparison with the middle-aged generation.² The second pattern emerging from Eikel's work points to differences between New Braunfels German and the varieties of TxG described by Wilson (1960), Gilbert (1965), and Jordan (1977). Whereas the former exhibits a considerable number of genitives, the latter varieties show a dramatic loss or complete absence of genitive case marking.

There are at least two possible explanations for the discrepancies between the different accounts. First, the discrepancies may be due to a corpus problem. That is, Eikel's (1967) work sheets elicited data that differed from those elicited by Wilson, Gilbert, and Jordan. This may explain why Eikel's study reports the presence of genitives whereas the other authors' studies do not. A second reason for the discrepancies could be due to the great number of different donor dialects brought to Texas by the German settlers beginning in the 1830s. With distinct mixes of German dialects spoken in geographically different areas, one would expect diverse patterns of linguistic convergences in the case systems. Given that the collection of data on the current state of Texas German is only in its preliminary stages, we are at this point not in any position to come to definite conclusions about the causes underlying the discrepancies between the descriptions by Wilson (1960), Gilbert (1965), Eikel (1967), and Jordan (1977).

In contrast to the differences in attestations of genitive case markings, all four studies point out a clear trend towards the loss of dative case and its replacement by the accusative, ultimately leading to what Gilbert (1965: 288) calls "a two case system: nominative and non-nominative." With respect to possessive constructions, this means that instead of employing the dative case to mark possession as in (2) above, the dative is replaced by the accusative case as the following example from Eikel (1967) illustrates.

- (6) Er war erst bei den Doktor sein Haus. (cf. Eikel 1967: 94)
he:NOM was first at the doctor:ACC his house:NOM/ACC
 'First, he was at the doctor's house.'

Comparing example (6) with the sentence in (2) above we see that the word order in possessive constructions remains the same. However, whereas the preposition *bei* 'by' governs the dative case in (2), this is not the case in (6) where it governs

² In this connection, see also Salmons' (1994) description (based on Gilbert's (1972) data) on how the dative-accusative distinction differs by age and region across central Texas.

fels German by Eikel (1967) still exists, or whether it has been reduced to accusative as the remaining non-nominative case to mark possession (see also Guion 1996: 457).

The analysis of the seven interviews reveals a wealth of interesting information. For example, none of the seven informants employed the genitive or dative cases in possessive constructions as previously noted by Eikel (1967) in his study of New Braunfels German (see examples (1) and (2) above). Instead, all of the seven informants employed the accusative in possessive constructions as in the following sentences.

(9) Ich hole den sein Ball.
I:NOM get the:ACC his ball:NOM
 'I get his ball.' (Speaker 2)

(10) Und denn hab ich den sein Stelle gekriegt.
and then have I:NOM the:ACC his job:NOM/ACC got
 'And then I got his job.' (Speaker 29)

Besides illustrating the use of accusative case in possessive constructions the examples are interesting because they demonstrate an additional development in the case system of TxG as spoken in New Braunfels. That is, it appears as if the accusative case marking is becoming unstable vis-à-vis the nominative. For example, in (9), following the accusative marking on the definite article *den* 'the', one would also expect an accusative case ending on the possessive pronoun to yield *seinen* 'his'. Instead, we find *sein* 'his' with no overt case marking, so that it must be categorized as nominative.⁴

The preponderance of accusative case marking in possessive constructions shows that over the past forty years the case system of New Braunfels German has been reduced from a four case system to a two case system, a development similar to that pointed out by Wilson (1960), Gilbert (1965), and Jordan (1977) for the varieties of TxG spoken outside of the New Braunfels area. As such, the 2002 data represent the end of a development towards a two case system that was already noted by Eikel (1967) among his middle-aged and younger informants in New Braunfels.

2.1. Code-mixing Constructions

Besides the continuation of the trend towards a two case system noted by Eikel (1967), the 2002 recordings also include a number of previously under-described possessive constructions. One such type repeatedly occurring in the data includes

⁴ Similarly, in (10), we would expect the possessive *sein* 'his' to occur with a suffixed *-e*, indicating that *Stelle* 'job' is marked for feminine gender. At this early stage in the analysis of current TxG data it is not clear whether the missing suffix is to be attributed to a breakdown in the case system, or to the fact that a number of informants use variable gender assignments for nouns.

Noun Phrases where possession is marked in terms of what looks at first glance like a genitive-type German *-s* case ending as in the following example.

- (11) An meiner Mutters Side kamen die Leute aus Magdeburg.
at my mother-s side came the people:NOM from Magdeburg
'On my mother's side of the family people came from Magdeburg.' (Sp. 2)

However, the problem with *-s* suffixed to *Mutter* 'mother' in (11) is that it does not adhere to any German case-marking pattern that would apply in such a position. At first, one may think of an explanation for the presence of the *-s* in terms of the Standard German construction *auf der Seite meiner Mutter* 'on my mother's side'. However, even in varieties that have preserved a full-fledged four case system, the *-s* used to mark the genitive does not occur in such a position. Since there does not seem to be an obvious case marking paradigm readily available to explain the *-s* marking on *Mutter* in (11), I tentatively propose that its presence is due to code-mixing with English. That is, it appears as if the English possessive construction *on my mother's side* has been borrowed into TxG and re-lexified with German words. The fact that the informant employs the English word *side* instead of its German counterpart *Seite* 'side' fits nicely with such an explanation.⁵ As the data presented here report only on a preliminary analysis of possessive constructions employed by seven TxG speakers in the New Braunfels area, further interviews need to be carried out and analyzed in order to determine the full distribution of re-lexified English possessive constructions.

2.2. Prepositional Possessive Constructions headed by *von* 'of'

Another previously under-described grammatical construction expressing possession in TxG contains a prepositional phrase headed by *von* 'of'. The distribution of this construction forty years ago is somewhat unclear since it is only mentioned once in Eikel's (1949) description of the case system of New Braunfels German: "The genitive is commonly replaced by a prepositional phrase, usually *von* plus the accusative." (1949: 280) In contrast to this early description, the prepositional possessive construction headed by *von* is curiously absent from Eikel's (1967) account of New Braunfels German. An analysis of the 2002 data shows that the prepositional possessive construction headed by *von*, as in the following example, is widely used among the informants in the New Braunfels area.⁶

- (12) Und die warn eins von die ersten Settlers.
and they:NOM were one of the first settlers:NOM/ACC
'And they were some of the first settlers.' (Speaker 30)

⁵ Other examples include *Der Daddy war Freunde mit ...* 'Daddy was friends with ...' (Speaker 30), *Mit meines Nachbarn Jungs mit den hab' ich Deutsch gesprochen* 'With my neighbor's boy I spoke German' (Speaker 2).

⁶ Only one of the seven informants occasionally employed dative case marking in the prepositional phrase headed by *von* as in *die erste Hälfte vom Tach* 'the first half of the day' (Speaker 25).

In (12), *von* governs the phrase *die ersten Settlers* ‘the first settlers’ which is marked for case in the plural form. However, in sentences such as (12), we are confronted with case syncretism which makes it difficult to clearly distinguish accusative from nominative case. That is, the problem with the case marking in (12) is that it is not exactly clear whether the *-n* suffix on *erste* ‘first’ represents nominative plural or accusative plural case marking. Clearly distinguishing between different cases in the same sentence gets even more complicated when we consider examples such as the following.

- (13) So dann musst ich mit drei von meine kleine Schwestern ...
so then had I:NOM with three of my little-Ø sisters
‘So then I had to with three of my little sisters ...’ (Speaker 29)

Following Eikel’s (1949) description, we would expect the noun phrase following *von* in (13) to be marked with accusative case. However, instead of finding accusative case marking on *kleine* ‘small’ resulting in *von meine kleinen Schwestern* ‘of my little sisters’, there exists no case marking that would allow us to classify this phrase as being marked with any specific case. The absence of such case marking is not an isolated phenomenon, but is found regularly in the speech of five of the seven New Braunfels informants. It demonstrates that the previously described distribution of accusative case assignment following *von* has become unstable. Examples such as in (14) give further support for this observation.

- (14) Die zwei Brieder warn Neffe von mein Ururgrossvadder.
the two brothers:NOM were nephews of my greatgreatgrandfather:NOM
‘The two brothers were nephews of my great great grandfather.’ (Speaker 25)

According to Eikel (1949: 280), we would expect to find the noun phrase following *von* in (14) to be marked with accusative case, resulting in *von meinen Ururgrossvadder* ‘of my great great grandfather’. However, the absence of the *-en* accusative marker indicates that the noun phrase *mein Ururgrossvadder* ‘my great great grandfather’ is marked with the zero morpheme for nominative case. The differences between Eikel’s (1949) description of the possessive construction with *von* governing the accusative case and the different types of case assignments we find in this construction in the 2002 data clearly show that the earlier dichotomy of nominative vs. non-nominative case (i.e., accusative case) has been significantly weakened over the past five decades.

2.3. Periphrastic Constructions

The last type of possessive construction to be discussed here is what Eikel (1967: 89) characterizes as a periphrastic construction (cf. (7) above). This previously attested type occurs frequently in the 2002 data. An example is given in (15).

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- (15) Meine Mutter ihre Schwestern kamen da rieber ...
my mother:NOM her sisters:NOM/ACC came over there ...
'My mother's sisters came from over there ...' (Speaker 28)

It is not entirely clear under what circumstances speakers prefer periphrastic possessive constructions of the type in (15) over other types of possessive constructions such as prepositional possessives headed by *von* as in (12) or possessive accusatives as in (10) above. While the distribution of the periphrastic possessive construction vis-à-vis the other types of possessive constructions requires further study, the 2002 data reveal an even more interesting construction that has not previously been described as such for TxG. Consider the following example.

- (16) Der erste was hier rieberkam von meine Mutter
the first:NOM what here over-came from my mother:ACC
ihre Mutter ihre Side war Stefan Klein ...
her mother:ACC her side:ACC was Stefan Klein:NOM
'The first one to come over here on the side of my mother's mother was Stefan Klein...' (Speaker 30)

In (16) we find a possessive construction that appears to be a combination of a prepositional possessive headed by *von* governing the accusative (see Section 2.2) and a periphrastic construction of the type in (15). This mixture is not only unique in that it incorporates two previously existing strategies for marking possession. It is also special in that the PP headed by *von* is followed by more than three NPs instead of only two.

At this point in the investigation we do not have enough data to determine the exact factors contributing to the formation of such mixed possessive constructions. However, one trend clearly emerging from our preliminary analysis shows that the number of chained NPs in periphrastic possessive constructions is not limited to two as previously described by Eikel (1967: 89). Another interesting development regarding periphrastic possessives that include more than two chained Noun Phrases is that accusative case marking in the prepositional phrase is not consistent as the following example demonstrates.

- (17) Mein Vater hat den ihr Bruder sein Mädchen
my father:NOM has the:ACC her brother:NOM his girl:NOM/ACC
sein Freundin gekannt ...
his-Ø girlfriend:NOM/ACC known
'My father knew the girlfriend of her brother's girl ...' (Speaker 29)

Following Eikel's (1967) description of case marking in periphrastic possessive constructions, we would expect to find all three NPs in (17) to be marked with accusative case. Instead, the first NP *ihr Bruder* 'her brother' is marked with nominative. Due to case syncretism, the case marking on the second NP *sein*

Mädchen ‘his girl’ is not clearly identifiable and could either be nominative or accusative. Finally, the third NP *sein Freundin* ‘his girlfriend’ is not marked for any case at all (the expected accusative ending would yield *seine Freundin*). Inconsistencies in case marking as found in examples (13), (14), and (17) suggest that the current two case system consisting of nominative and non-nominative is exhibiting further signs of case reduction. In other words, it appears as if TxG may well be on its way of losing its only remaining non-nominative case, leading ultimately to a one case system.

3. Case Loss: External or Internal Factors?

Over the past four decades several studies have appeared which attempt to determine the factors leading to case reduction and loss in German-American dialects (see, e.g., Gilbert 1965, Huffines 1989, Keel 1994, Loudon 1994, Salmons 1994, Van Ness 1996, among others). These studies have to a large degree focused on finding out whether case loss can be primarily attributed to external factors (language contact with English) or internal factors (developments parallel to those found in other German dialects). For example, whereas Eikel (1949) proposes that case reduction in New Braunfels German is ultimately due to the influence of English syntactical patterns, Gilbert’s (1965: 290) data suggest that it “is unlikely that English played anything more than a very minor role in causing the change.”

As this paper presents only a preliminary analysis of the current distribution of cases in TxG as spoken in New Braunfels, it is clearly too early to come to a definite answer regarding the influence of external and internal factors on case reduction and loss. To this end, much larger data pools as well as further studies are needed to determine the influence of external and internal factors on the developments in TxG morphology and syntax reported on in this paper. An in-depth analysis of the influence of these factors is very likely to involve a multiple causation scenario similar to that proposed by Van Ness (1996) for Pennsylvania German:

Internal tendencies have been the cause. However, the changing sociolinguistic environment predicated on increased contact with English was ultimately the catalyst that propelled the reduction in case markings forward in time and space. (Van Ness 1996: 14)

4. Conclusions and Outlook

To summarize, the variety of Texas German spoken in New Braunfels has undergone a number of remarkable changes over the past four decades. Focusing on the development of possessive constructions, the preliminary analysis of the 2002 data suggests that the New Braunfels German case system has undergone a reduction from four cases to two cases. As such, the current data represent the finishing point of a development towards a two case system that was already noted by Eikel (1967) among his middle-aged and younger informants in New Braunfels. This means that New Braunfels German has finally arrived at a two case system similar to those recorded previously for other varieties of TxG by Wilson (1960), Gilbert (1965), and Jordan (1977).

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Besides case loss, the 2002 New Braunfels data reveal a range of previously under-described grammatical constructions used to encode possession, which at earlier stages in the development of the dialect were encoded by the now lost genitive and dative cases. The first type of construction - what I have labeled here code-mixing constructions - involves an English possessive construction that has been re-lexified with German words. Prepositional possessive constructions headed by *von* 'of' represent the second type of emerging possessive construction. This construction is interesting because there are a number of examples in which there exists no more distinction between nominative and non-nominative case assignments. A similar breakdown of case distinctions is found in longer periphrastic possessive constructions, the third type of previously under-described construction. Our preliminary analysis of the 2002 data suggests that TxG may well be on its way to lose its only remaining non-nominative case, leading ultimately to a one case system. Based on this trend, I tentatively propose that the loss of the remaining non-nominative case goes hand in hand with the emergence of novel grammatical constructions.

Obviously, we are only at the beginning of a much-needed research program documenting and analyzing the current state of TxG. With respect to case reduction and loss, future research is required to investigate the full distribution of cases outside of possessive constructions in New Braunfels German as well as in other TxG speech communities. Comparative studies of other German-American dialects as well as the study of the developments in the case systems of Central European German dialects will help to determine the influence of external and internal factors on developments in TxG. This line of research is likely to shed light on the question of whether there is a coherent Texas German dialect, or, whether there still exist a number of regionally distinct varieties. These results will also be helpful in studying TxG within an overall model of language death. The goals of the present paper have been more modest: to report on recent developments in the TxG case system in the context of possessive constructions, and to illustrate the distribution of a number of previously under-described grammatical constructions now used instead of genitives or datives to encode possession.

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Portuguese-based creoles in Africa and Asia

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0. Introduction

Portugal's linguistic legacy in the world was essentially established by 1550, about 135 years after Portugal began its maritime expansion. Varieties of Portuguese or derived from Portuguese are not only spoken in a number of nations (Portugal, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique), but also in numerous communities from West Africa to India, to Malaysia, and Macau. This paper focuses on certain tense-aspect marking features in the Portuguese-based creoles, offering insights from language acquisition universals to account for its presence, and on case marking, to be accounted for by appealing to the Croft's (1991, 1998) Causal Chain Hypothesis and the comparative method.

1. Tense-aspect marking in Portuguese-based pidgin/creoles and in L2 acquisition

In acquiring a second language, learners first learn the verbal morphology they are exposed to most frequently. For Spanish and Portuguese, this means that people trying to learn one of these languages first acquire the imperfective forms of stative (atelic) verbs because, in reference to states, these forms occur more frequently in general speech (their input) than the corresponding perfective forms. By contrast, when referring to punctual (telic) events, L2 learners of Spanish or Portuguese predominately acquire the perfective forms first because these are in general more frequently used in reference to punctual events than are their corresponding imperfective forms. Andersen (1993) articulates this atelic-imperfective and telic-perfective bias in the use of verb forms in the form of the Distribution Bias Hypothesis (DBH) and offers compelling evidence in favor of it. The DBH can be extended to include other forms, as well. Gili Gaya (1960) finds that the present tense occurs twice as often as the preterite in Spanish, and Bybee and Pardo (1981) establish that, in terms of frequency of use, the Spanish third-person-singular present form is the default form of the present-tense paradigm.

These biases, the aspectual, present-over-preterit, and 3sg-present-over-other

present forms, are strongly reflected in naturalistically acquired Spanish by immigrants. Clements (2003) reports on the speech of a Chinese immigrant, Jenny, resident of Madrid, who acquired Spanish naturalistically. In her speech, the 3sg-present is the most frequently used form (313/602 tokens or 52%) and follows from the DBH.

- (1) Tense and aspect in Jenny’s speech
- | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>FORM</i> | <i>OCCURRENCE</i> |
| 3s-PRES | 52% (313/602) |
| PAST PART | 76% (23/30) achievements (telic, punctual) |
| GERUND | 100% activities (atelic, non-punctual) |

Moreover, the past participle forms correspond overwhelmingly to punctual events (achievements) and gerunds are found only in dynamic, atelic predicates (activities). The overall distribution of Jenny’s forms is given in (2).

- (2) **Distribution of perfective and imperfective forms in token and type counts.** STA = state, ACT = activity, ACC = accomplishment, ACH = achievement

Verb Form	Token (%)*				Type (%)**			
	S	ACT	ACC	ACH	S	ACT	ACC	ACH
Imperfective	218 (59%)	83 (22%)	23 (6%)	48 (13%)	29 (41%)	23 (32%)	7 (10%)	12 (17%)
Perfective	2 (4%)	3 (6%)	9 (18%)	35 (72%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	12 (60%)

** $p < .001$, Chi-square = 20.05 for type count (critical value = 16.27; $df = 3$).

* $p < .001$, Chi-square = 113.86 for token count (critical value = 16.27; $df = 3$).

The highly significant distribution of these form-function mappings also supports the DBH: In both type and token counts, states [atelic, non-dynamic] and activities [atelic, dynamic] occur most frequently in imperfective forms and least frequently in perfective forms, whereas accomplishments [telic, dynamic] and achievements [telic, punctual, dynamic] occur most often in perfective forms and least often in imperfective ones.

The distribution of forms in (2) also supports the Primacy of Aspect Hypothesis (Andersen and Shirai 1996), stated in (3).

- (3) Primary of Aspect Hypothesis (POA)
- a. Learners will initially restrict past or perfective marking to telic verbs (achievements and accomplishments) and later gradually extend the

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- marking to atelic predicates (activity and then stative predicates), with states being the last category to be marked consistently;
- b. In languages with an imperfective marker, imperfective past appears much later than perfective past and then is initially restricted to atelic predicates (stative and activity verbs), then extended to telic predicates (accomplishments and then achievements);
 - c. Progressive marking is initially restricted to dynamic atelic predicates (activity verbs), then extended to telic predicates (accomplishments and then achievements);
 - d. Progressive marking is not incorrectly overextended to states. (Andersen and Shirai 1996:559)

Jenny's variety of Spanish corresponds to the statements in (3a,b,c) with the exception that there has been no significant extension of the initial marking to the other verbal classes. As we shall see below, DBH and the POA make interesting predictions for the Portuguese spoken by the Africans in Portugal in the 15th century, as well as for the nature of tense-aspect systems of the Portuguese-based creoles, which, as it turns out, display many of the same characteristics.

Another relevant feature of Jenny's immigrant variety of Spanish is the apparent nascent reanalysis of the adverbial *ya* 'already' as a past marker. Relevant examples from her speech, taken from Clements (2003), are given in (4)-(7).

- (4) Yo luego a la cuatro, cuatro año **ya** volvé Sanghay.
I after at the four four year PVF return-INF Shanghai
'I returned to Shanghai after four years.'
- (5) Mil novesiento ochenta cuatro, de junio o julio **ya** coge pasaporte.
1984 LINK June or July PVF get-3SG-PRES passport
'I got my passport in June or July of 1984.'
- (6) Primero estudio, ahora **ya** casado con una señor.
first study now PVF married-PPART with a-FEM man
'She studied first; now she's married to a man.'
- (7) **Ya** selado y selado lgo yo pensando, mehó negocio.
PFV close-PPART and closed-PPART then 1SG thinking better business
'It closed, and after it closed, I thought, better [to launch] another business.'

Again, we will see in the following sections that this feature is present in the variety of Portuguese reported to have been spoken by Africans in Portugal in the 15th-16th centuries, as well as in some of the Portuguese-based creoles.

3. Features of African-Portuguese in the Portuguese-based creoles

3.1. The African-Portuguese varieties in 15th-16th century Portugal

In the first half of the 15th century, Africans were often captured by the Portuguese and used as interpreters in their trade voyages. In 1444, Henry the Navigator had four Africans captured in the area of present-day Senegal so that he could begin their “instruction as specialist interpreters in African languages” (Tinhorão 1988:99; author’s translation). From as early as 1450, Africans were being brought to Portugal as slaves. By the first part of the 16th century, black Africans made up more than 10% of the rural population in Portugal south of the river Douro (Tinhorão 1988:92). At that time, Lisbon was also one of the largest European cities if not the largest, with around 100,000 inhabitants, of which Africans made up around 15% or 15,000 of that total (Tinhorão 1988:102-103). The Africans were given the dirtiest and lowest jobs in urban centers such as Lisbon and Ivora, but some were used as cabin boys on trade voyages to Africa, some worked as domestic slaves, artisans, blacksmiths, and in other professions. A German medical doctor commented in 1494 that King João II had at that time many boys from Africa who were taught Portuguese customs and instructed in the Catholic religion. Through their work as interpreters, some slaves managed to buy their emancipation, as early as in the 15th century (Tinhorão 1988:99-100).

In the rural areas, the Plague of 1347-54 decimated the labor force, which in the second half of the 15th century had still not recovered. And as it became known that the maritime expansion was taking place from the port of Lisbon, many Portuguese peasants flocked to join the Portuguese ships as deck hands, eager to take advantage of the opportunities offered by their country’s colonization of Africa (Tinhorão 1988:83,91). The desperate shortage in the rural labor force brought about by these circumstances was remedied by the introduction of slave labor.

In the period between 1441 and 1505, Tinhorão (1988:80), citing figures from Godinho (1981-3), estimates there were between 136,000 and 151,000 Africans in Portugal and goes on to describe in detail how the Africans became integrated into the work force, the culture, and the general fabric of Portuguese society. Of course, the vast majority of these slaves acquired Portuguese naturalistically. Thus, the speech of the first generation Africans would be the 15th century equivalent to immigrant varieties of Spanish or Portuguese spoken today in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries. In the literature of the 16th century, e.g. in the plays of Gil Vicente and other famous playwrights, we find approximations of African speech in the mouths of some of the characters in the plays. It is not unreasonable to assume that these approximations, variably called *guinéu* ‘Guineanese’, *lingua de guiné* ‘language of Guinea’, *lingua de negro/preto* ‘negro/black language’, would reflect typically occurring traits in the speech of the Africans during that period. In (8)-(13), taken from Naro (1978), we have various examples of what could arguably be considered cases of naturalistically acquired L2 Portuguese. That is, given the demographic make up

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of Lisbon and southern Portugal in the late 15th and early 16th century, it is very likely that these portrayals of *fala de guiné* reflect L2 varieties of Africans of the period and form part of the basis for pidgin Portuguese used in colonizing Africa and Asia.

- (8) logo a mi bae trazee.
right.away to me go-3sg bring
'I'll go bring it right away.' (Naro 1978:329)
- (9) Quando já paga a rinheiro, deytá a mi fero na pé.
when alreadypay the money put to me iron on foot
'When he paid the money, he put irons on my feet.'
(Naro 1978:329)
- (10) bosso barba já cajaro.
your beard already white
'Your beard {has turned/is already} white.' (Naro 1978:330)
- (11) Ya mim diseo isso ja
alreadyme say this already
'I already said that.' (Naro 1978:329)
- (12) Porque tu nam burguntando?
why you NEG asking
'Why aren't you asking?' (Naro 1978:330)
- (13) ...e levare elle na bico.
and carry he PREP beak
'... and carry it off on the sly.' (Naro 1978:332)

Key tense-aspect-related traits common of *fala de guiné* Jenny's L2 Spanish variety are given in (14).

- (14) a. the use of adverbials such as *logo* 'right away' (8) and *já* 'already' (9)-(11) for tense/time markers with no corresponding verbal inflection;
b. use of gerund form, such as *burguntando* (< Ptg. *perguntando*) for dynamic, [+durative] predicates (in this case an accomplishment);
c. use of 3sg-present or infinitive forms as the default forms (*bae* (< Ptg. *vai* 's/he goes') for *vou* 'I go', *paga* 'pays' for *pagou* 's/he paid', *deytá* 'put-INF' for *deytou* 's/he put', *diseo* (< Ptg. *dizer* 'say-INF') for *disse* 'I,s/he said'.

More general traits, also shared by both varieties, are mentioned in (15).

- (15) a. lack of copula (10), (12);
- b. use of an all-purpose preposition. In Jenny's speech it is *de*, in the African-Portuguese variety, it is *na*.

I submit that the similarities between Jenny's Spanish and the variety of Portuguese spoken by the Africans in Portugal in the 15th and 16th century are not coincidental. Rather, they are, in large part, the consequence of naturalistic L2 acquisition. As such Portuguese varieties emerged in interactions between the Portuguese sailors and African natives along the African coast, these would also have similar features. It is also probable that the Portuguese sailors, in their interaction with Africans in Portugal, had developed restructured varieties of Portuguese which they used on their voyages. It is out of these contacts that pidgin Portuguese likely developed, which was the basis for the Portuguese-based creoles. If this is true, then the Portuguese creoles should display features found both in immigrant Spanish and L2 African Portuguese. This will now be examined.

3.2. Some key features of the Portuguese-based creoles

All Portuguese-based creoles have reflexes of Portuguese *vai* 's/he goes' and the all-purpose preposition *na*, attested in the examples (8)-(13) above. The presence of these two features constitutes an argument for the existence of a Portuguese pidgin variety, used from the west coast of Africa to as far east as Macau and Hong Kong, given that such features could not be entirely due only to Portuguese foreigner talk or to L2 African Portuguese. Rather, they would have come about due to mutual linguistic accommodation between Africans and the Portuguese sailors. Moreover, with the exception of Daman Creole Portuguese (due to likely acrolectal influence), all the Asian creoles in question have had or have reflexes of the Portuguese *logo* 'right away' and *já* 'already' as tense-aspect markers. Again, the presence of these items in the Asian creoles would have been due to mutual linguistic accommodation (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

- (16) Linguistic factors
 - a. typological similarity of the content and structural features of the languages involved in the contact situation;
 - b. relative markedness of the competing features in the feature pool.
- (17) Extra-linguistic factors
 - a. numbers of languages in the contact situation and the number of speakers of each language (heterogeneity);
 - b. dominance relations among the different language group speakers;
 - c. access to the target language features by the target language learners.

With specific regard to the morphological features in the creole tense-aspect

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systems, what we find depends on a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, listed in (16) and (17). Regarding the linguistic features, the more typologically similar the languages were in the contact situations involving Portuguese in Africa and Asia, the more likely it was for typologically similar features to become part of the subsequent creole language. The more marked the available features were, the less likely it was for them to become part of the respective creoles *unless* these features were shared by the languages in contact. By contrast, the more unmarked the features were in these contact situations, the more likely they were to become part of the respective creoles, especially if they were shared by the languages in contact (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988 and Thomason 2001). As for the extra-linguistic features, the more heterogeneous the contact situation was, the lower the likelihood of shared features among languages and the greater likelihood for unmarked features to become part of the respective creoles.

- (18) **Suffixes in the Portuguese-based creoles** (KV=Kabuverdianu (Quint 2000), KR=Kriyol (Kihm 1994), PR=Principense (Günther 1973), AN=Angolar (Maurer 1995 and Lorenzino 1998), ST=Saotomense (Ferraz 1979), FA=Fa d’Ambu (Post 1995), KO=Korlai (Clements 1996), DN=Daman (Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002), BP=Batticaloa (Smith 1977), PK=Papia Kristang (Baxter 1988), PS=Philippine Creole Spanish (Forman 1972))

	Deverbal -du/-ru	Pluperf/ Past (stative verbs) -ba	Passive -du/-ru	Anterior Passive -da (< -duba	Perfect -du/-ru	Simple Past -o	Gerund -n(do)	Plural -s
KV	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
KR	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
PR	+	-	+	-	+ (Aux + V-du)	-	-	-
AN	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ST	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FA	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KO	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
DN	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
BP	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	+
PK	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
PS	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)

For my purposes here, heterogeneity is defined in terms of the number of languages in the contact situation; the more languages involved, the more heterogeneous and vice-versa (cf. Clements 1992).

The nature of the dominance relation in each contact situation dictated the likelihood of there being a target language or not. In all the cases in question here,

we can safely say that at least the Portuguese lexicon was a target of those communicating with the Portuguese in Africa and Asia. That is, in all these creoles, we have a high percentage of Portuguese lexicon, with the exception of Philippine Creole Spanish, in which the Portuguese was subsequently relexified by Spanish (Whinnom 1956). Lastly, assuming a target language, the factor of accessibility it is important. That is, it is important to know whether those who targeted the language had greater or lesser access to it. For purposes here, I have quantified this in terms of the Portuguese presence for each of the contact situations.

(19) **Number of suffixes relative to the homogeneity of the contact situation and the strength and duration of Portuguese presence** (see Clements and Mahboob 2000, and references therein)

	Contact situation	Presence of Portuguese	Number of suffixes and functions of suffixes (in brackets)
DN	2 lgs.	Relatively constant, up to 1961	3 (-du [3], -o, -n(do))
KO	2 lgs.	Relatively constant up to 1740	3 (-du [3], -o, -n(do))
BP	2 lgs.	Relatively constant up to 1658	2 (-du [2], -s)
PS	2=> 3 lgs.	Constant up to around 1580, constant Spanish presence starting in 1606 for many years	2 (-du [1], -s)
PK	3 lgs.	Smaller, irregular Portuguese presence relative to number of indigenous population	2 (-du [1], -s)
KV	5+ lgs. (Mandinka and Fula the most widely spoken languages)	Relatively constant up to the present	2 (-du [3], -ba [2])
KR	5+ lgs. (Mandinka and Fula the most widely spoken languages)	Relatively constant but weaker than in Cabo Verde	2 (-du [2], -ba [1])
ST	5+ lgs.	Relatively less constant	1 (-du [1])
PT	5+ lgs.	Relatively less constant	1 (-du [2])
FA	5+ lgs.	Relatively less constant, with influence from Spanish from 1885	1 (-du [1])
AN	5+ lgs.	Least constant, ended in 1520	1 suffix (-du [1])

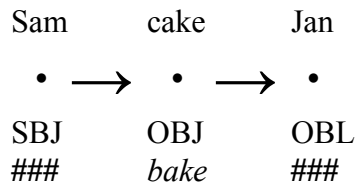
With this in mind, I list in (18) the affixes present in the different creoles and their respective uses. In (19), I give approximations of the relative heterogeneity

(column 1) and presence of Portuguese (column 2) for the different creole languages. What becomes clear is that, the more homogeneous and the more constant the Portuguese presence was in a given contact situation, the greater number of affixes and affix functions are found in the respective creoles. The two-language contact situations such as in Korlai and Daman, where the Portuguese was constant at least up to 1740 (Korlai) but as recently as 1961 (Daman), have the highest rate of morphology retention. Those situations with less Portuguese presence and/or a greater heterogeneity had fewer affix retentions. Finally, Angolar, with the least Portuguese presence and a relatively high degree of heterogeneity, has the least affixes of all the creoles. The generalization is that, assuming that all languages in the respective contact situations have suffixes (which is true), morphology is increasingly likely to become a part of the grammar of an emerging creole the more homogeneous and the greater the presence of the target language is.

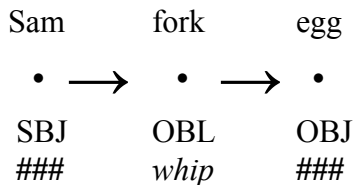
4. Oblique case marking¹

In examining how oblique relations are coded across languages, Croft (1991) formulated the Causal Order Hypothesis (COH). At the core of the COH is the distinction between antecedent and subsequent semantic roles (from Croft 1991:185). As an illustration, Croft gives the following two examples.

(20) a. Sam baked a cake for Jan.



b. Sam whipped the egg with a fork.



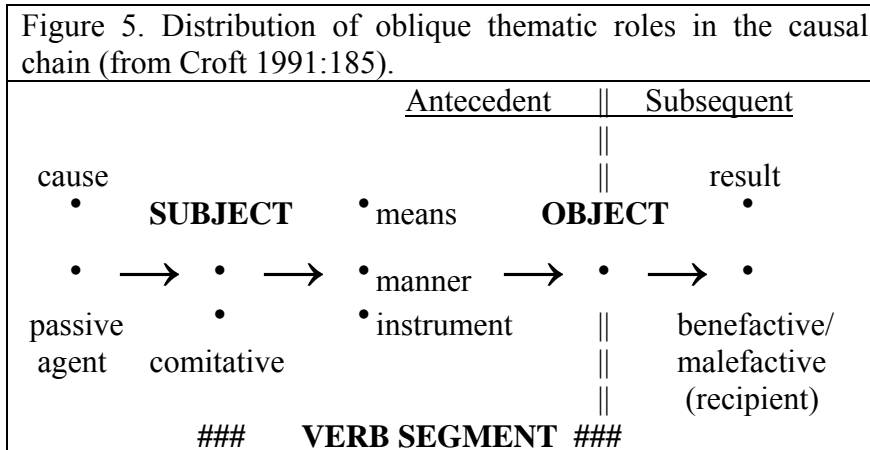
In (20a), the baking event involves the cake. The benefactive ‘for Jan’ is, however, subsequent to the baking of the cake. By contrast, the whipping event in (20b) logically entails the use of the instrument, the fork, in order that the event can be carried out. Whereas in (20a) the benefactive can be said to follow the

¹ The analysis in this section is taken from Koontz-Garboden and Clements (2002).

baking event, the picking up of the fork to use it in the whipping event in (20b) precedes the whipping event itself. Thus, a benefactive is subsequent to the event, whereas an instrumental is antecedent to the event. In (21), I reproduce Croft's view of the distribution of thematic roles in the causal chain.

A prediction emerges from the distinction of oblique relations into antecedent and subsequent roles: in the coding of oblique relations, if there are syncretisms in the coding of these roles, they will be found within the group of antecedent roles or within the group of subsequent roles, but not across the groups. That is, one would not expect to find in the world's languages the same word, clitic, or affix coding an instrumental (antecedent role) and a benefactive (subsequent role). However, it would be predicted that there would be syncretisms within each of the two groups. Thus, one would expect to find examples of the same word, clitic, or affix coding instrumental and comitative relations, or result and benefactive relations.

(21) **Distribution of thematic roles in the causal chain** (from Croft 1991:185)



In a survey of 40 languages, Croft (1991) finds that, as expected, there are only two syncretisms across antecedent and subsequent roles. By contrast, there are 39 syncretisms within the antecedent role group, 30 within the subsequent role group, and five that show no directionality because the languages in question only have one adposition (Croft 1991:188). In the Portuguese-based creoles, then, we would expect to find that the antecedent-subsequent distinction is respected with regard to oblique case marking, especially since the creoles tend to contain many unmarked features.

For examining the creoles in question, I follow Koontz-Garboden and Clements (2002) in focusing on the roles in (22).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(22) SUBSEQUENT ROLES
benefactive, dative/recipient</p> | <p>ANTECEDENT ROLES
cause, instrumental, comitative</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|

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An overall summary of the data is given in (23). There are several points to comment on with regard to these data. First, there is a small set of lexical items used to encode many different roles in most of the creoles, in particular items like *de*, *ku*, *pa*, and *na*. Second, the lexical item *ku/kon* has broad use in many of the Asian creoles, and less use in the African creoles. In almost all of the creoles, *ku/kon* marks the instrumental and comitative roles. In some of the Asian creoles, however, it also marks roles such as the dative/recipient and benefactive, in violation of Croft's COH.

(23) Summary of the data on grammatical and semantic relation marking

	Acc	Dat	Ben	Gen	Loc	Goal	Source	Cause	Instr	Comit
KV	∅	∅	pa	di, -l, jux*	na	∅, pa	di	Pur kauza de (acrol.)	ku	ku
KR	∅	∅	pa	di	∅, na	∅ (?), pa, na	di, dedi	---	ku	ku
ST	∅	∅	da	di	ni	pe	---	punda, nda, da	ku (?)	ku
AN	∅	∅	ra	jux, ri	ni, pe	pe	fo	punda, nda, da	ku ~ ki	ku ~ ki
PR	∅	∅	da	jux, de	na	∅, na	di	poké (+ sentence)	ki (ko)	ki, (ko)
DN	pə	pə	pə	də	nə	∅, nə, pə	də	dəə, pur kawz də (acrol.?)	ko	junt
KO	ku, pV	ku, pV	ku, pV	-su	∅, nəə, dəə, ku	∅, nəə, dəə, be, ku	-su, pasun	rhəpəd, -su	ku, -su, ∅	kosid
BP	-pə	-pə, -ntu	-pə	-su	-ntu -juntu	∅, per, -ntu	---	-wi:də	-wɔ:ndə	-ju:ntu
PK	ku	ku	padi, pa, pe	di, sa	na	ku, na	di	káuzu di	ku	ku
PS	kon	kon	kon, para	de	na	na, para na, para	na, kon, de	na, porkawsa de(l)	kon	kon

**jux* = juxtaposition

These data are isolated in (24) and (25).

(24) Subsequent and antecedent and roles in African-Portuguese creoles

	subsequent		antecedent		
	Dat/Rec	Ben	Cause	Instr	Comit
KV	∅	pa	pur kauza de (acrol.)	ku	ku
KR	∅	pa	---	ku	ku
ST	∅	da	punda, nda, da	ku (?)	ku
AN	∅	ra	punda, nda, da	ku ~ ki	ku ~ ki
PR	∅	da	poké (+ Sent.)	ki (ko)	ki, (ko)

(25) Subsequent and antecedent roles in Asian-Portuguese creoles

	subsequent		antecedent		
	Dat/Recip.	Ben	Cause	Instr	Comit
DN	pə	pə	də, pur kawz də (acrol.?)	ko	junt
KO	ku, pV	ku, pV	rhəpəd, -su	ku, -su, ∅	kosid
BP	-pə, -ntu	-pə	-wi:də	-wɔ:ndə	-ju:ntu ²
PK	ku	padi, pa, pe	káuzu di	ku	ku
PS	kon	kon, para	na, porkawsa de(l)	kon	kon

Noteworthy is that several of the Asian-Portuguese creoles violate the COH, having syncretisms that do not respect the subsequent-antecedent distinction. The question is: Why do only the Asian creoles violate the COH, especially given that the COH appears to be a likely universal tendency? As Koontz-Garboden and Clements (2002) note, the violation cannot be traced back to European Portuguese or to the substrate languages of the creoles in Korlai, Daman, Malacca, or the Philippines. It seems, however, that these syncretisms are found in Malayalam, the language of the area where the Portuguese first landed and where the first Indo-Portuguese creole formed, the now-moribund Cochin Creole Portuguese.

In Malayalam, there are a several within-group syncretisms, namely *-kkə* ‘Dative/Recipient, Benefactive’ and *-konDə* ‘Cause, Instrument’. The cross-group syncretism is *-ooTə* ‘Dative/Recipient, Comitative’, shown in (26). Malayalam marks the comitative role three different ways. The affix *-ooTə* is found in literary, whereas the other two are common in spoken Malayalam. There is also a semantic difference between *-kkə* and *-ooTə* as markers of the Dative/Recipient role. The former marker carries no implication that what the recipient receives will be delivered on to another, whereas that is exactly the

² Batticaloa Creole Portuguese exhibits a syncretism involving the comitative antecedent role *ju:ntu* and the dative/goal subsequent role *-ntu* (< *juntu*). This may be due to Sri Lankan Tamil, but it needs to be studied further.

implication with the latter marker. An example is given in (27).

(26) Subsequent and antecedent roles in Malayalam

	subsequent		antecedent		
	Dat/ Recip.	Ben	Cause	Instr	Comitative
Malayalam	-kkə, -ooTə	-kkə, -kkə vendi	-konDə	-konDə	-ooTə (LM), -yuTe kuuTe (SM), -yu mayi (SM)

- (27) a. Ram kuTTikkə pusthəkəm koduthu.
 Ram child-DAT book gave
 ‘Ram gave the book to the child.’
- b. Ram kuTTiooTə pusthəkəm koduthu
 Ram child-DAT book gave
 ‘Ram gave the book to the child (with the understanding that the child will deliver it to someone).’

What we have, then, is strong prediction made by a possible typological universal, the COH, which is violated by a whole set of creole languages. These Asian Portuguese creole languages, as it turns out, seem to be more intimately related than was thought before. Although more research is needed to verify it, it appears that the Portuguese pidgin/creole from Cochin, at least with respect to case marking, served as a model for the creoles in Korlai and Batticaloa, and possibly for the creoles in Malacca, and the Phillipines, although recent research has found that the local Malayan and Philippine language have had a greater influence. Regarding Daman Creole, I would hypothesize that the Cochin pidgin/creole variety was also the model for it but that in this case the Portuguese presence over the centuries altered Daman’s case marking system.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that apparent universal tendencies in L2 acquisition, the Distribution Bias Hypothesis (Andersen 1993) and the Primacy of Aspect Hypothesis (Andersen and Shirai 1996), account not only for the key features of the tense-aspect system in immigrant Spanish, but also for the corresponding features in African Portuguese of the 15th-16th centuries. I have further argued that similar L2 varieties of African Portuguese were one integral part of the emergence of pidgin Portuguese along the African west coast during that time. The key features in the L2 varieties are also found in the Portuguese-based creoles, which suggests a developmental connection between L2 Portuguese, pidgin Portuguese, and certain tense-aspect features of the Portuguese-based creoles.

We also saw that the Causal Order Hypothesis (Croft 1991, 1998) makes important predictions for the structure of the case-marking systems in the Portuguese-based creoles. The striking violations of the COH in the case-marking systems of the Asian Portuguese creoles were traced back to Malayalam, the language spoken in the area where the Portuguese first landed on the Indian subcontinent. This evidence suggests that Malayalam served as a model for case marking in Cochin Creole Portuguese, a variety that then became the model for case marking in several other Asian Portuguese creoles. As noted by Koontz-Garboden and Clements (2002), the violation of the COH in the Asian Portuguese creoles led to a search for a local, as opposed to a universal, explanation. The key type of violation to the COH was found in no Indic language other than Malayalam, which happened to be, as mentioned, where the Portuguese established their first settlement. We hope that future research into this will uncover more details about the role of Malayalam and Cochin Creole Portuguese in the development of the other Asian Portuguese creoles.

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Papiamentu: a Creole with a dual lexifier

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Research on the origins of Papiamentu have mainly centered on whether this Creole language has either Spanish or Portuguese as its initial lexifier base. Among creolists who have written on Papiamentu two main schools have developed: the Lusitanist school, favoring a variety of Portuguese as the main initial lexifier, and the Hispanist school, favoring a variety of Spanish as the main initial lexifier. This paper will propose that a mixed-language of both Spanish and Portuguese, spoken by the Sephardic Jews in Curaçao, was the initial lexifier for Papiamentu, thus making Papiamentu a Creole language with a dual-lexical base heritage from its very beginnings as opposed to the standard explanations that A) Papiamentu was a Portuguese-based Creole that later relexified toward Spanish, according to most linguists of the Lusitanist school or B) Papiamentu was always a Spanish-based Creole with a smattering of Portuguese etyma thrown in by chance, the scenario most often favored by the Hispanist school. In addition I shall emphasize the role of an African origin Portuguese-based pidgin in helping to begin the creolization process during Papiamentu's genesis, which by most authors is presumed to start in the late 1650s through the early 1700s on the island of Curaçao (Grant 1996: 34; Munteanu 1996: 43).

Although very little of today's Papiamentu lexicon is considered to be of indisputable Portuguese origin, that little amount of Portuguese etyma remaining is found in the core lexicon (Grant 1996: 94-98; McWhorter 2000: 15). Many of the words in this list could be words of archaic Spanish, words of vernacular dialects of Latin-American or Peninsular Spanish, or words from other Iberian Romances, such as Leonese, Asturian or Galician, and also could be found in language mixtures between these minority languages and the superstrate Castilian Spanish. Since the Jews of Curaçao most likely maintained verbal fluency and literacy in both Portuguese and Spanish, the likelihood of such mixture is very strong (Granda 1976: 3-6; Roth 1959: 302-3). It must also be remembered that the Sephardic Jews of Portuguese origin were mostly of Spanish provenience originally (Granda 1974: 6), and that within Spain the Sephardic Jews lived in different provinces, each with its own accompanying Iberromance language or Spanish dialect. When the Jews were expelled from Spain, and later from Portugal, they would have been speakers of their own respective home languages and dialects in addition to speaking, reading and writing the standard forms of Portuguese and Spanish (Alvar 1999a; 370-71). Furthermore, the Spanish of the

1500s and 1600s was much more like Portuguese in its phonology, with some sound changes, such as /f-/ to /h-/ and /š/ to /x/ not yet stabilized in all dialects (Munteanu 1996: 97-99, 161-62). Thus *fóya* “leaf” need not be only classified as a Portuguese-based word and *pushá* “to push” could just as likely come from Portuguese *puxar* “to push” as it could from old dialectal Spanish *puxar* (Munteanu 1996: 97), as opposed to Modern Spanish *empujar* /empuxar/ “to push.”

Similarly *bai* “to go” could derive from Portuguese *vai* “go 3s” or “go 2s imperative” just as much as it could come from old dialectal Spanish “*vai*” or from the Spanish 2s formal imperative *vaya* [βaya] with the final vowel dropped (Munteanu 1996: 98). Papiamentu *lembe* “to lick” could come from Spanish *lamber*, which is still in modern use in many vernacular dialects of Spanish¹ (standard Spanish use today prefers *lamer*, Portuguese has *lamber*). Even though Portuguese has *cachorro* “dog”, the assumed origin of Papiamentu *kachó*, its Spanish cognate does exist, *chachorro* “puppy, cub”, usually said of wolf pups, lion and tiger cubs etc. It is very likely that the Curaçaoan Sephardic Jews with their dual linguistic repertory could have used this word to refer indiscriminately to any canine-like animal when speaking to the slaves in Spanish. *pretá* “black” could derive from Spanish *prieto-a* “dark, black; *pertá* “to grip” may be derived from Portuguese *apertar* “to squeeze” or from metathesis of Spanish *apretar* “to squeeze”, a phenomenon very common in dialectal Spanish, *batí* “to beat” could derive from Spanish *bater* “to beat”, *papyá* “to speak” from Spanish *papear*, especially when taking into account the tendency of non-standard Spanish speakers to change [e] to [i] in many dialects (Munteanu 1996: 98).

Once arriving in Curaçao the African slaves would have heard both Spanish and Portuguese being spoken side by side, often mixed up in code-switching. This is even more bound to be true considering the tendency for speakers to shift to whatever foreign language words they have at their command when speaking to someone whose language they don’t speak. The Jews and Dutch of Curaçao may have often alternated from Spanish to Portuguese in attempts to see which of the two might be recognized (Grant 1996: 114). If any of the Africans knew some pidgin Portuguese then Europeans who noticed this pidgin usage would have tried to communicate using any words of Spanish or Portuguese that might get a response from the Africans. Thus Africans on a daily basis might have heard both languages spoken, in vernacular forms uninhibited by Spanish or Portuguese prescriptivist authority, owing to Curaçao not being a colony of either Spain or Portugal, in addition to hearing whatever simplified foreigner talk version of the two languages some may have employed in speaking to them. With Spanish and Portuguese being so closely related and bordering on, at times, mutual intelligibility, it is possible that many Africans were unaware that these were two separate languages, especially when bearing in mind how much closer these two languages were in the 1600s than they are today (Goodman 1987: 375).

¹I have heard persons of Mexican and Central American descent use *lamber* here in California, although one speaker told me her use of this word among relatives in Mexico was chastised as sounding too vulgar.

On the Iberian Peninsula there are many examples of language mixture when two Romances are spoken side by side, with Galicia being a prime example. Rural Galicians routinely mix Castilian Spanish words into their Galician, such as *cuchillo* “knife” instead of standard Galician *coitelo* “kife”, or they create hypercorrections: *conexo* for “rabbit” instead of standard Galician *coello* “rabbit”, overextending the general pattern of Galician words employing [ʃ] where Castilian Spanish tends to have [x] in corresponding cognate forms (Roseman 1995: 12). In Asturias vernacular speakers of Asturian switch from “Castilianized Asturian” to “Asturianized Castilian” in a similar manner (Alvarez 1999: 120). In Leonese, mixture with Portuguese features appear in western Spain near the area bordering Portugal, including some forms with original short [e] of Latin expressed as [e] or diphthongized as [je], alternating the habits of Spanish and Portuguese. In addition, Latin intervocalic [ll] might be realized as [l], as in Portuguese, or as the palatalized [ʎ], as in Castilian; Latin [nn] could be expressed as [n] or as [ɲ], or intervocalic [ll] and [nn] are at times dropped altogether (Borrego Nieto 1999: 139-40). Many of these dialects, with their mixtures of different distinguishing features of Iberromance languages, create forms which resemble the jigsaw puzzle that has baffled those linguists trying to assign etymological origins for Papiamentu words using only standard Spanish and Portuguese as their keys, as Grant frustratingly observed when trying to decide on Portuguese or Spanish etymologies for Papiamentu words:

There are Romance items in Papiamentu which must be Portuguese; similarly there are items which have to derive from Spanish, and there are yet others which resemble one or both forms, and which are clearly of Iberromance origin. There are many forms which could derive equally from Portuguese or Spanish (Grant 1996: 69).

Since Curaçao’s bilingual Sephardic population were mostly immigrants, or descendents of immigrants, from differing provinces of Spain and Portugal, each with its own home dialects of the either Spanish or Portuguese, along with whatever additional local Iberromances they may have spoken back on the peninsula, they would have exhibited the same language mixing features seen with today’s Galician and Asturian speakers (Alvar 1999a: 371). Surveys of Sephardic Spanish in the Balkans showed features found in Papiamentu such as *palomba* “dove” (cf. Portuguese *pomba*, Spanish *paloma*), *lombo* “back” (Pap. *lomba*, Pg. *lombo*, Sp. *lomo*), use of 2sg pronoun *vos*, and preservation of Latin initial [f-] (Sala 1999: 363). Moroccan Sephardic Spanish used *preto* “black” instead of *negro*, and has many of the same features shared with Papiamentu and Balkan Sephardic Spanish (Alvarez 1999a: 377). These are all features leading many creolists to assign a Portuguese source alone for these features in Papiamentu, despite the fact that nearly all Hispanist linguists familiar with Sephardic Spanish would have no trouble assigning a possible Sephardic Spanish origin to these Papiamentu words².

²The Sephardim of Holland relied on Rabbis from the Balkans and Turkey to teach Jewish tradition. Instruction was in Spanish. Thus the Judeo-Spanish of other areas could reflect features of the Spanish spoken in Holland and Curaçao (see Granda 1974 and Roth 1959).

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However, it must be remembered that Papiamentu is a Creole language and not just a mixed Iberian Romance language. Its creators were not just the white Romance speakers on Curaçao, but the African slaves brought there as well. The Africans very likely did not in their majority know any form of Portuguese, pidgin or otherwise, and most would have been from disparate regions of Africa, speaking different languages. That some had to have known at least some pidgin Portuguese, and that this pidgin did indeed exist, is attested to by the existence of certain Africanisms found in Papiamentu. The pluralizer *nang* is believed by some to derive from 3rd person pronoun *iné* of the Gulf of Guinea Creole São Tomense, and by extension from Bini *iran* and Kimbundu *inen* (Goodman 1987: 374). One indicator that could support this speculation is the existence of *iné* in a secret folkloric language of Curaçao's working class, which is remembered in work songs and children's rhymes. This language is called Guene or Gueni and its speakers believe it to be a relic of how their African ancestors once spoke (Munteanu 1996: 133-34).

Any pidgin Portuguese speaking Africans that might have been present during Papiamentu's genesis period from 1650 to the early 1700s would have some advantage in trying to acquire either the Portuguese or the Spanish their captors would be using in attempts to communicate with them. Eventually the pidgin speakers' attempts to speak the Romance(s) around them would reach some of the white population's ears, who would in turn pick up some of the pidgin speakers' speech. More Africans would perhaps imitate the pidgin, probably containing some African words of various origins, which comprised a coastal trade jargon known to some Africans. This jargon's influence seems to have spread throughout the Caribbean region by way of the Atlantic slave trade, judging from shared lexical items found in many Caribbean Creole languages, including in Papiamentu: *zumbi* "ghost" > Kimbundu *nsumbi* "spirit", *funchi* "corn porridge" > Akan *fufu*, and the 3rd person pronoun *nang~ine* (Grant 1996: 108).

This pidgin, or rather what was more likely a jargon with a very small lexicon, was ripe for a full expansion with more Portuguese and Spanish words. Many white children in Curaçao would be unaware of prescriptivist notions of what is and is not considered to be "good" Spanish, or that it is "wrong" to use Portuguese and Spanish together. Many of these children would be raised near or by black slaves or servants speaking the incipient Creole that was expanding from the pidgin, and this would generate the catalyst for Papiamentu shedding all the more elaborated specifications we would normally assign to an Iberian Romance, such as number and gender accord in the NP, verbal paradigms for number, person, mood and tense, the *a* marker for +animate objects of verbs, etc, as the Africans would have found those aspects of any Romance rather baffling, if they even were inclined to observe such points of Iberian Romance grammar, which they most like were not, without any formal instruction in the language while living under less than ideal conditions for language learning. The elaborate paradigms and obscure rules of Spanish and Portuguese, such as how to correctly use *ser*, *estar* and *haber* for "to be", would most likely have been impossible to master,

and white children under the care of African servants, and those white children playing with second generation black African children, would have grown up hearing this growing pidgin, on its way to becoming nativized as an expanding Creole, as their linguistic input along with the L2 varieties of Spanish spoken by the Dutch, and some of the language mixture among the Sephardim, perhaps combined with some leveling of Spanish and Portuguese features due to language erosion during shift, or due to some leveling caused by imperfect bilingualism, of the sort seen in Galicia and in the Fronterizo of Uruguay's Portuguese speakers.

In cases of vestigial Spanish and in language death results similar to Creole language structures can be seen: loss or instability in nominal and adjectival inflection, loss of the subjunctive and incorrect conjugations often approaching a substitution of 3sg forms for all singular verb forms and 3pl forms for all plural verb forms, confusion and elimination of prepositions, and categorical use of redundant subject pronouns (Lipski 1993: 161-64). Munteanu (91, footnote 4) observed that even fluent Romance speakers will find it difficult to use PRO-drop when speaking another Romance that is not their own native language. In his example he states having observed his fellows Rumanians consistently retain the pronoun in non-emphatic statements when speaking Spanish "...in spite of that the use of the subject personal pronoun is emphatic in Rumanian as well."

Since some of the Portuguese Jews were most likely shifting to Spanish, once Holland had secured a license to sell slaves to the Spanish territories of the Caribbean, it is probable that they too were suffering some of the erosive effects of being vestigial or semi-speakers. These features of language erosion would then be passed on to their children who would never have known the fluent standards of either Romance language having never lived in a country whose official language is either Portuguese or Spanish. This would hasten a convergent evolution of vestigial Romance and incipient creolization, in a situation where both the non-Dutch white Curaçaoan born residents and the black residents would not have identified very closely with the Dutch speaking dominant group. Thus a newly locally identified speech community develops on its own, with its own expanding regionolect.

The powerful forces of commerce with Spanish America and the heavy presence of Spanish speaking clergy sent to serve the black population on Curaçao would have made the influence of Spanish paramount in Papiamentu's genesis from the very onset, and not just a relexification trend that took over after Papiamentu was a Portuguese-based Creole. Grant points out "...the Sephardim, knew the [Spanish] language for reasons both of trade and religion..." which simply made it inevitable that Spanish became a major contributor to Papiamentu's lexicon early in its birth (Grant 1996: 113).

The critics of the pro-Spanish position assert that the existence of African origin *nang* in Papiamentu and *ine* in Guene, along with Portuguese pronouns *bo* 2sg > Portuguese *vos, e (el, ele)* 3sg > Portuguese *ele, mi* 1sg > Portuguese *mi* and *nos* 1pl > Portuguese *nos* are evidence of a pronominal paradigm which must have been inherited from a previously existent African origin pidgin (Schwegler 1999).

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Schwegler argues that pronouns are rarely borrowed, and that pronominal paradigms are a sure indicator of genetic inheritance (Schwegler 1999: 238, 252-53), but Campbell (Campbell 1997: 277) points out that even English has borrowed pronouns *they, their, them* from Scandinavian, demonstrating "...that we need not look very far afield to find instances [of pronoun borrowing]." In a paper entirely devoted to the subject of pronoun borrowing Everett and Thomason document many cases in Southeast Asia, Austronesia, Northwest Coast American Indian, in Amazonia, and possibly in Japanese, Korean and Altaic, with the most remarkable case of pronoun borrowing being Mednyj Aleut, wherein an entire Russian pronominal inflection system was borrowed into a hybrid language of Aleut and Russian. Everett and Thomason emphasize pronoun borrowing can be an intentional choice of a speech community, citing the case of Thai youth who borrow English pronouns "...which enable them to sidestep the traditional pronominal coding of social differences in such features as age, status, and degree of intimacy" (Everett and Thomason 2001: 6). They underscore that since we know of cases where whole pronominal paradigms have in fact been borrowed it is not always necessary to claim in each case that pronouns are "...relics that point directly to a language's genetic affiliation" (7).

Undoubtedly the Papiamentu and Guene pronouns do come from Africa and must have played a role in some jargon or pidgin in Africa. However, these pronouns alone do not prove the existence of a Portuguese-based Spanish Creole language in use Among Africans and their descendents, which then provided a template upon which Papiamentu and Palenquero of Colombia were based. The pronouns are more likely just remnants from an African origin pidgin employed by slaves as a stepping stone along their way toward trying to acquire the Spanish and Portuguese superstrate languages. As such they are just one of the convergent influences that went into making Papiamentu and are not a holdover from a genetically inherited pronominal paradigm the way Spanish Pronouns *yo, tú, él, ella, nosotros, vosotros* can be traced to Latin's *ego, tu, ille, illa, nos, vos*.

Van Wijk (1959: 171-72) cites Menkman on the personal memoirs of Joaquín Nettlebeck, a crew member aboard a Dutch slave ship circa 1750, who recorded having seen African slaves and African sailors who could speak a Portuguese pidgin. According to Nettlebeck the white crew members would learn the pidgin from their black shipmates and then talk to the African captives on board, teaching the pidgin to those who were not yet familiar with it, and expanding its use among those Africans who did already have some command of it prior to being loaded onto the ship. He also stated that some slaves picked up the pidgin while in coastal holding camps. That these pronouns can be found in the secret Guene language of Curaçao and that singular/plural *ele* can be found in the speech of the elderly in Ecuador's Valle de Chota Afro-Hispanic community, and also in the Palenquero Creole language of Colombia, and, finally, in 19th. century Cuban Bozal Spanish as *elle*³ (Schwegler 1999: 244-51), proves some Africans

³A blend of Portuguese *ele* with Spanish *ella* "her," *ellos* "they (masc)," and *ellas* "they (fem)" (Schwegler 1999: 250, fig. 1).

did bring these pronouns with them and then they were diffused throughout various disparate, geographically separated from each other regions of Spanish America and in the Netherlands Antilles, all areas where Portugal never settled or colonized any territory, and yet there are/were Portuguese pronouns in use, whose only credible source would have to be African (Schwegler 1999: 252).

The existence of Palenquero's *ané*, Guene's *iné*, Papiamentu's *nang* and São Tomense's *iné* all traceable to a Kikongo/Kimbundu third person demonstrative (Ivens Ferraz 1979: 90; McWhorter 2000: 17-18; Goodman 1987: 374) points to more than just happenstance and must represent an African origin pidgin, with a Portuguese-base and a (mostly, but not exclusively) Kikongo substrate having been spoken in the Caribbean during the 1600s (when Papiamentu and Palenquero were formed) and even, perhaps, in the 1800s when Cuban Bozal Spanish, with its *elle* pronoun, was spoken.

This then clearly points to the Gulf of Guinea island Creole languages, São Tomense in particular. São Tomé was a slave depot for Portuguese slavers in the 1500s, much as Curaçao was for the Dutch. It is important to note that São Tomense may have been spoken by some of Colombia's African slaves according to a contemporary observation by a Spanish priest in the 1600s (Sandoval 1987 [1627]: 140, cited in Schwegler 1999). São Tomense is a much older Creole language whose origins date back to the early 1500s and therefore this language may had more pull under the power of solidarity between those Africans who, were either slaves who spent some time on São Tomé before being shipped to the Americas, or who picked up a smattering of São Tomense and added it to the body of any Portuguese-based trade jargon or pidgin they may have known or been familiar with. Those Africans that knew this contact language would have a decisive edge over others in acquiring Iberromance etyma and constructions on Curaçao and they might have served as target language models for the newly arrived slaves that had no foreknowledge of any European language.

However, any such language, whose existence is only suggested, but not proven, by the shared pronouns of various Afro-Hispanic speech communities, might have been no more than merely a hodgepodge of frozen etyma forming a jargon, like the folkloric Guene of Curaçao, or at most an incipient pidgin language. It does not seem plausible, based on the evidence of shared pronouns alone, that it could have later become a widespread, fully nativized Creole language as Schwegler tentatively suggests it may have (Schwegler 1999: 252-54). If an originally Portuguese based, Pan-Afro-Hispanic, circum-Caribbean Creole language had existed in such a vast area of the New World it is not very believable that it would have evaporated from nearly every corner of Spanish America, leaving only Papiamentu and Palenquero as the two surviving Creoles, and just some dim memories in the family lore of Cubans about how their forefathers spoke Bozal, along with a small group of elderly Chotoanos who retain some very rare use of invariant *ele* for singular and plural. As argued by McWhorter, it is much more credible "...to assume that a Spanish Creole developed, via relexification of a Portuguese pidgin, only among the ancestors of today's Palenquero and Papiamentu speakers" (McWhorter 2000: 30).

That some of these pronouns are only found among the old in their respective communities implies that they are sociolinguistically marked as belonging to an archaic dialect or perhaps to a more formal or more rustic, “old folks” register, and thus have been eschewed by younger generations. It may be these dying pronouns indicate a deeper degree of solidarity or intimacy between those who employ them in their speech, as evidenced by the Guene language of Curaçao belonging to workmen, fisherman and to children’s rhymes (Martinus 1989: 298-99; Munteanu 1996: 133-34) and also by how Curaçaoans familiar with Guene consider it to have once been a secret language among their African slave ancestors (Munteanu 1996: 133-34).

Palenqueros and Chotoanos are both known to be reticent to speak their home language/dialect in front of outsiders, as they know their speech is disparaged by the outlying national majority culture (Schwegler 1999: 241) and they may wish to keep their local speech just for their own people’s usage as a marker of in-group solidarity. If these archaic pronouns, such *iné* (or *ele* plural among Chotoanos) can serve as markers of solidarity, then they might also have become sociolinguistically marked in other ways akin to the formal/informal pronouns of standard Spanish. In addition they may have attained uses similar to the age and social status address markers of East Asian and Southeast Asian languages. The speakers of these languages show a much higher degree of willingness to borrow pronouns than speakers of most Indo-European languages tend to (see Everett and Thomason’s discussion of “closed” vs. “open” pronominal systems in Everett and Thomason 2001: 5-6). One cannot assume that all language families on Earth have displayed the same pronominal stability that is so typical of Indo-European. Everett and Thomason assert that many historical linguists have had a very limited view of how social interactions in language contact situations can have many unexpected and unorthodox effects, such as the very real possibility of pronoun borrowing (Everette and Thomason 2001: 6-7).

These older archaic pronouns, more Lusitanian (in the case of *ele*) and more African (*iné*) sounding than standard Spanish pronouns, could reflect deeper social ties among those first generation Africans who used them, and preferred them for their more African connotation. This does not mean that at one time all Curaçaoans spoke an Afro-Portuguese Creole a long time ago; it can simply indicate that they have ancestors who heard these pronouns often used as titles of respect or markers of solidarity, among those who were first or second generation Africans, and this preference for the nostalgic feel of these pronouns then perhaps leading them to be selected for high frequency use with African-born slaves and their descendents in the Spanish Caribbean zone (the Chotoanos’ ancestors originated in the Caribbean lowlands of Colombia (Schwegler 1999: 240-242)).

This scenario could take place without larger numbers of Afro-Hispanics and Curaçaoans ever speaking an Afro-Hispanic Creole relexified from a previous Portuguese Creole, speakers would borrow these pronouns simply because they wanted to (Everett and Thomason 2001: 7, 11), just as English speakers borrowed Norse pronouns despite there having been very few bilingual Norse/English speakers (Kaufman and Thomason 1989: 303). In fact, many of the Scandinavian

settlers and their offspring had rapidly shifted to English. The prestige alone of Scandinavian-origin English people's "Norsified English" dialect carried their Norse pronouns over to be borrowed into other English dialects (Kaufman and Thomason 1989: 302-06).

Since the earliest document of old Papiamentu, written by the hand of a native speaker, show it to be no more higher in percentage of Portuguese etyma than the Papiamentu of today it also has to be assumed that Papiamentu always carried a strong Spanish lexical base (Grant 1996: 68-9; Wood 1972: 23-9), but with a considerable amount of Portuguese-based words adhering to the core lexicon. The use of Portuguese by Curaçaoan Jews and the small number of Africans speaking a Portuguese pidgin would be the influences that created this small Portuguese-based lexicon in the core of Papiamentu. The presence of the pronouns is important for helping to suggest some proof for Africans having been exposed to pidgin Portuguese in the Americas, but they do not by themselves constitute living fossils of a forgotten Creole because "...assuming that matching sets of pronouns infallibly indicate genetic relationship is unwise: there are no shortcuts to the establishment of genetic relationship" (Everett and Thomason 2001: 11). It is simpler to assume that Papiamentu has always been a mixed etyma, dual lexifier Creole language, containing borrowed pronouns that are shared with Cuban Bozal, Chotoano and Palenquero.

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The superstrate role of English and the substrate role of Fongbe and Portuguese in property depictions in Saramaccan Creole

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1. Superstrate and substrate roles in creole genesis

Creole genesis is generally considered to involve two stages, a pidgin stage and a subsequent stage of expansion into a creole language, with input from both superstrate and substrate languages. The formation of the pidgin stage is characterized as a deliberate attempt by speakers of both the superstrate and substrate languages to create a means of communication. Termed a medium for inter-ethnic communication (*MIC*) in a restatement by Baker (2000:48), this early stage of creolization incorporates simplified and compromised input from superstrate and substrate languages, and is useful to both sets of speakers. But the needs of the speakers differ, as superstrate speakers use the MIC only to communicate with substrate speakers, while substrate speakers, lacking a common language, also use it to communicate with each other. Greater use by substrate speakers leads to an expansion of the MIC into a medium for community solidarity (*MCS*), with a greater substrate input. The early stage of creole development would have only directive and referential functions, where the later stage would also have interactional, expressive, metalinguistic and poetic functions (Foley 1988:164). It would be expected, then, that in a creole language that has not undergone decreolization and so conforms to the creole prototype (McWhorter 1998) features expressing the functions of the MIC would be drawn from both superstrate and substrate sources, while features expressing the functions of an expanded MCS would have a greater substrate input. For property depictions in Saramaccan Creole, it will be argued below, this is the case.

2. Development of Saramaccan

An unattested English-based pidgin or creole with Fongbe the major substrate (Migge 1998) developed in Suriname between 1651 and 1680. By the later date the original speakers of this English-lexified variety had been removed from the colony and Dutch became the official language, although, importantly, never the language of most Europeans in Suriname (Arends 1995:233). Beginning in 1665, under Dutch hegemony, Portuguese-speaking Jews from Brazil settled in

Suriname and purchased slaves who apparently spoke the English-based creole. Their language then began to incorporate Portuguese lexical items. The first massive escapes from these plantations began in 1690, and the subsequent establishment of maroon societies would most likely have ended the contact with Portuguese. There is controversy over the source of the Portuguese, whether from speakers from Brazil speaking an Atlantic Portuguese-based creole (Smith 1999), or a creole that developed in Cayenne or in Suriname (Arends 1999; Ladhams 1999), or simply from slaves from Portuguese plantations in both Brazil and Suriname (Price 1976:7). However, evidence of derivation of property items and other nominalizations in Saramaccan (*SM*) from verbs of Portuguese (*PR*) origin parallels substrate patterns of derivation from Fongbe (*FGb*) in *SM*, suggesting the *PR* input was from a semi-creole or some non-creole variety of *PR*.

2.1. Property depictions in Fongbe

There are two classes of property items in *FGb*. One class may be termed *nominal adjectives*, resembling English (*Eng*) adjectives, and the other class *stative verbal adjectives*, resembling *SM* adjectives. There is no apparent semantic or phonological basis for these classifications. *FGb* nominal adjectives are not reduplicated, and require the locative copula as predicates:

- (1) a. m̀tótó s dò kpéví **FGb (Kn. 1995:86)**
 car DET be small: the car is small
- b. távò lóbwé dè **FGb (Nd. 1992:70)**
 table round a: a round table

FGb stative verbal adjectives, on the other hand, are reduplicated as attributives, and as predicates function as intransitive stative verbs:

- (2) a. àwù t̀n myă **FGb (Nd. ibid.)**
 pants GEN red: his pants are red
- b. àwù myămyă lé **FGb (Nd. ibid.)**
 pants RE-red PL: red pants

FGb derived participial adjectives are reduplicated both as attributives and as predicates, the latter requiring the locative copula. As in *SM* (Kramer 2002:87), these *FGb* derived adjectives have a resultative meaning and have the semantic constraint that they depict an effect on the referent (Brousseau 1993:115):

- (3) a. lámputó s dò cící **FGb (Br. 1993:34)**
 lamp DET COP RE-turn off: the lamp is turned off

- b. távò òíngínlín ń FGb (Br. *ibid.*:119)
 table RE-scratch DET: the scratched table

Also as in SM, verbs in FGb that may have an anticausative interpretation may occur as such, and are not reduplicated:

- (4) lámpu ń cí FGb (Br. *ibid.*:47)
 lamp DET extinguish: the lamp went out

Basically intransitive stative verbs in FGb, as well as in SM, may also function as transitive verbs, and as such may occur as derived resultative adjectives:

- (5) a. wó ń b̀̀ FGb (Br. *ibid.*:119)
 dough DET soft: the dough is soft
 b. wó ń ð̀̀ b̀̀̀ FGb (Br. *ibid.*:119)
 dough DET is-at RE-soft: the dough is softened

The similarities between SM and FGb property constructions suggest transfer with modifications from Eng. In this regard, the derived adjectives in SM show the least degree of modification.

2.2. Property depictions in Saramaccan

Predicate adjectives are intransitive stative verbs, as are the FGb stative verbal adjectives. Attributive adjectives are nominalizations, as in FGb and in Eng, and have the Eng prenominal word order. Anticausatives may also function as adjectives, as in FGb. SM adjectives may also function as transitive effect-depicting verbs:

- (6) a. a wéti *intransitive stative verb*
 it white: it is white *predicate adjective*
 b. a wéti dí fési *transitive verb*
 he white the face: he whitened his face
- (7) a. dí fisi deé *anticausative verb*
 the fish dry: i. the fish is dry *predicate adjective*
 ii. the fish was dried *passive*
 iii. the fish dried *anticausative*
 b. de deé déé fisi *transitive verb*
 they dry the(pl) fish: they dried the fish

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As attributives, both intransitive stative and anticausative verbs may occur reduplicated without a resultative meaning if they depict cultural, pragmatic or discourse markedness:

- (8) a. *děé fisi* b. *děé-děé fisi*
 dry fish: dry fish dry-dry fish: dry fish
 (*caught, dried by fire;* (*poisoned, sun dried; incidental*
 possibly for sale) *item*)
- (9) a. *síki sèmbè* b. *síki-síki sèmbè*
 sick person: crazy person sick-sick person: sick person
 (*long-term condition*) (*short-term condition*)
- (10) a. *hógi tígi* b. *hógi-hógi míi*
 terrible tiger: terrible tiger terrible-terrible child:mischievous child
 (*normal attribute*) (*not acceptable attribute*)
- (11) a. *bè fólo* b. *bè-bè míi*
 red flower: red flower red-red child: light-skinned child
 (*normal attribute*) (*unusual attribute*)

As predicates, intransitive stative and anticausative verbs may also occur reduplicated with the locative copula to express markedness, as in (12b). Unlike (7a) and (12a), however, this construction does not express a passive or anticausative meaning, it is in effect a relexification of the unmarked FGb adjectival passive, as in (3a):

- (12) a. *dí dǒo jabí* b. *dí dǒo dé jabí-jabí*
 the door open: the door is open: the door COP open-open
 (*to welcome; usual*) (*left open or unlocked; unusual*)

SM derived participial adjectives occur only reduplicated, and derived participial predicates occur only with the locative copula. They have a resultative meaning, and do not express markedness. Anticausatives may have a resultative meaning, and of course may also have a non-resultative marked meaning:

- (13) a. *dí wósu dé wási-wási* *transitive verb*
 the house COP wash-wash: the house is washed (*resultative*)
 b. *dí wási-wási wósu* *transitive verb*
 the wash-wash house: the washed house (*resultative*)

- (14) a. dí gwàmbà dé mbóí-mbóí *transitive/anticausative verb*
the meat COP cook-cook: the meat is cooked (*res/marked stative*)
- b. dí mbóí-mbóí gwàmbà *transitive/anticausative verb*
the cook-cook meat: the cooked meat (*res/marked stative*)
- (15) a. dí páu dé kaí-kaí *unaccusative intransitive verb*
the tree COP fall-fall: the tree is fallen (*referent is affected*)
- b. dí kaí-kaí páu *unaccusative intransitive verb*
the fall-fall tree: the fallen tree (*referent is affected*)

SM adjectives resemble FGb stative verbal adjectives as predicates, except that the use of reduplication in SM is innovative. But SM derived participial adjectives, other than their prenominal attributive word order, could be seen as relexifications of their FGb counterparts.

3. Superstrate and substrate features

In SM, unmarked attributive adjectives show the influence of Eng in their prenominal word order and lack of reduplication. Attributive adjectives help introduce new information (Thompson 1988), a referential function of early MIC creolization likely to reflect superstrate as well as substrate input, considering that new information would most likely be introduced by superstrate speakers. Predicate adjectives in the MIC stage, characterized as lacking a copula (McW. 1996), could be interpreted by Eng speakers as having a null copula, and by FGb speakers as being an intransitive stative verb, thus also having both superstrate and substrate input for the respective speakers. Presumably constructions with an exposed copula would not occur in an MIC stage. Predicate adjectives, like verbs, comment on known information (T. *ibid.*), and like SM verbal constructions in general would be likely to reflect further substrate FGb input during creole expansion, namely after the pidgin stage lacking a copula. Serial verbs, for example, would not be an acceptable compromise for superstrate speakers, but would be an acceptable stylistic variation in an expanded MCS; the earliest texts SM had non-serial alternatives for all the types of serial verb constructions, even for the GOAL/BEN ‘give’ serials, which may use the PR preposition *na* ‘to’, common to all the Atlantic English-based creoles (McW. 1999:127), where modern SM always uses *dá* ‘give’ (K. *forthcoming*).

The substrate interpretation of predicate adjectives as verbs would prevail in the MCS stage. Reduplication of adjectives to depict markedness is an expressive function and would also characterize an expanded MCS creole, reflecting FGb input. This input would not affect the non-reduplicated adjectives, which were created in the MIC stage. Instead, it would contribute to the expressive function of adjectives with the notion of ‘enlargement’ associated with reduplication cross-

linguistically, namely a meaning that is somewhat ‘larger’ in being beyond the unmarked property.

Portuguese-based creoles like São Tomé might present a counterexample; São Tomé also has a Kwa substrate (Ferraz 1979:12, 1987:337), but has a copular predicate adjective (ibid.: 1979:77) like PR and the Kwa invariant postnominal attributive word order (ibid.: 1987:344), and does not have reduplication. For São Tomé, however, Portuguese men married Kwa women and used the creole as the MCS (ibid.: 1979:16). Portuguese, then, had a substrate role in São Tomé.

3.1. Transfer of inflectional reduplication and the locative copula

Derivation of participial adjectives from effect-depicting verbs in SM also involves reduplication, but without denoting markedness. This reduplication is obligatory, as it is in FGb. Reduplication is the only verbal inflectional morphology in FGb and, with the exception of some PR-source items, in SM as well. Its transfer, then, represents the transfer of the entire verbal inflectional system of FGb. This reduplication is analyzed as an inflectional prefix in FGb (Br. 1993:101), as it arguably could also be in SM. As such, it would be a counterexample to the creole prototype (McW. 1998), which stipulates that inflection, including derivational inflection, does not occur in prototypical creoles. The apparent transfer of this inflection would remove SM somewhat from the prototype.

Deriving adjectives from effect-depicting verbs is a stylistic device that could be avoided in early MIC development by a common creole paraphrase, like ‘the fish, they cut it’ for ‘cut fish’, more isomorphic than a resultative item in keeping with the aktionsart of effect-depicting verbs. The resultative meaning of derived adjectives backgrounds a telic action, a characteristic of an elaborated code that would not be appropriate for a directive or referential function. The reduplicated derived adjectives most likely entered the language as a stylistic variation in an expanding MCS stage, the expansion creating a need, along the argument of Labov that ‘grammar is style’ (1990:45) in that grammatical categories develop through a need for stylistic variation.

The São Tomé creoles again present an apparent exception; the suffix *-du* for derived participial adjectives in Fa D’Ambu (McW. 1998:809). As with non-derived adjectives, however, it is accounted for by the substrate role of PR.

The development of derived adjectives, then, would occur after the pidgin stage, the stage argued to have no copula (McW. 1996:83). It could be argued that the SM locative copula *dé* transferred with the derived predicate participial adjective in the MCS stage, and then spread to fill zero-copula slots from the MIC stage. The SM and FGb derived participial constructions are identical structurally and semantically, except for the attributive word order, pointing to transfer. This transfer for predicates would involve the locative copula as well as reduplication.

Transfer of the SM locative copula *dé* from the FGb locative copula *dò* is phonetically realistic, considering the forms in the various Gbe languages that resemble SM *dé*. In the Gbe language Xwela the locative copula is *dé* (Migge 1998:301), also occurring with a predicative ideophone (ibid.:302). In the Gbe language Maxi as well as FGb it is *dé* in existential contexts and in sentence final position (ibid.:303). It is variably *dé* in the Gbe language Waci as well sentence-finally (ibid.:307). In all varieties of early Gbe the non-equative copula was possibly **dé* (Capo 1997, in M. 1998:307). In addition, in FGb when followed by the 3sg pronominal object it is *dè* < *dò* + *è* (COP + 3sg) (Kn. 1995:86), which also occurs when not followed by an overt locative complement, such as in existential use and finally. This last item *dè* ‘is at it’ allows the possibility of a reinterpretation of a locative *dè*, *a dí táfa* ‘is on it, on the table’ to ‘is on the table’. Transfer of the Gbe locative copula is functionally realistic as well, as it occurs in property depicting, existential, and progressive as well as in locative constructions (M. ibid.:308), as does *dé* in SM. Transfer is also syntactically realistic, as these functions closely match the syntax in FGb (K. 2002:89-100).

Transfer of *dò/dè* > *dé* in the MCS stage would be a simpler explanation than assuming the locative copula, lost in MIC, was then replaced ‘over time’ (McW. 1996:118) by reinterpreting the deictic *dé* ‘there’ (Arends 1989 and McW. 1996, summarized in M. 1998:260-1). Transfer would explain the parallel use of *dé* as a copula in other Caribbean Eng-based creoles, which are related by a common expanded pidgin (McW. 1999:147) that could more readily and quickly adopt a transferred item than a reinterpretation. A rapid development of the MCS stage in this expanded pidgin would naturally be an important factor in its diaspora.

The locative copula and the deictic ‘there’ do share a locative semantics as well as a phonetic similarity, however, allowing the possibility of ‘conflation’ (Kihm 1989); the coincidental matching of substrate and superstrate items. For the transfer of derived predicate participial adjectives and perhaps the continuative, these cross-linguistically common uses of the locative copula could transfer and then generalize to include other non-equative uses of the copula in SM, perhaps aided by transfer of the locative copula in other contexts and by the coincidental conflation with the deictic adverb. That such a spread in the use of a copula can occur after a period of zero-copula is argued in McW. (1999:137).

4. Portuguese inflectional derivation in Saramaccan

There are sets of verbs and derived nominalizations from PR that reflect the stress and vowel changes in PR. This is not seen in SM words of Eng origin, in that *boóko* is ‘break’, ‘broke’ or ‘broken’; *déde* is ‘die’ or ‘dead’. In the PR sets, the verb has a low-high tone pattern reflecting the final stress of the PR infinitive, and the nominalization high-low tone pattern reflects the corresponding PR penultimate stress, or it may have all low tones. At some point the derivational

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pattern must have been productive, as seen in forms, apparently from analogy, that vary from the PR, such as *dendá*(**endá*) < *entrar*, (16), and *kendé*(**kendá*) < *quentar*, (17). There are also derived forms that do not exist in PR, such as *puumá* < *puúma* < *pluma*, (25):

		SM		PR	
(16)	a.	dendá	enter	entrar	enter
	b.	déndu	inside	dentro	inside
(17)	a.	kendé	to heat	quentar	to heat
	b.	kéndi	hot	quente	hot
(18)	a.	kondá	to tell, count	contar	to count
	b.	kónnda	beads (on string)	conta	count
	c.	kóntu	story	conto	story
(19)	a.	koowá	to skim off	coar	to strain
	b.	koówa	chaff		
(20)	a.			contorcer	to twist
	b.	kóndò	lever, to use a lever		
	c.	kòndò	crooked		
(21)	a.	lalá	to grate	ralar	to grate
	b.	lálu	rasp	ralo	grater
	c.	làlà	row of, string of	ralo	rabble
(22)	a.	limbá	to clean	limpar	to clean
	b.	ḡimbò	clean	limpo	clean
(23)	a.	lolá	to roll (intr)	rolar	to roll
	b.	lóló	spar (round pole)	rolo	roller
	c.	lólú	roll (of), to roll(tr)	rolo	roll (of)
(24)	a.	maaká	to mark	marcar	to mark
	b.	maáka	mark	marca	mark
(25)	a.	puumá	to shed hair		
	b.	puúma	hair, feather	pluma	feather

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------|-------------------------|--------|----------|
| (26) | a. | tuká | to push, nudge | tocar | to touch |
| | b. | túka | dance type with nudging | | |
| (27) | a. | zuntá | bring close | juntar | to join |
| | b. | zúntu | close | junto | together |

While other SM items are multifunctional, as *a boóko dí báta* ‘he broke the bottle’; *dí boóko báta* ‘the broken bottle’, many of the items in the PR sets are not; *a *kéndi/kendé dí wáta* ‘he heated the water’; *dí kéndi/*kendé wáta* ‘the hot water’. Also, derived items that vary solely by tone, such as *maaká/maáka* (24), might present a further counterexample to the argument that derivational paradigms do not exist in the creole prototype (McW. 1998:799), as well as to the argument that tone would not occur for such use (ibid.:794).

Evidence of the once productive derivation of PR items indicates that the influence on SM was greater than simple relexification. The parallel with the FGB influence on adjectival derivation suggests that the PR influence was also substratal, in that the derivational morphology entered the creole in the MCS stage. From this it can be assumed, then, that the substrate PR language was not a creole, unless it was a creole like São Tomé. The substrate language had to have the derivational morphology that came into SM. This morphology had to enter the language through speakers who used the creole as an MCS. It would not enter into an MIC where all non-essential features would be stripped away.

4.1. Dutch pairs following the Portuguese pattern

Two Dutch (DU)-source sets appear to reflect the PR stress pattern, but no Eng sets have been found, indicating that the productivity of the pattern occurred after Eng influence had stopped. Realistically, with marronage and the subsequent demise of the Portuguese plantations this PR influence probably occurred after input from PR had stopped as well:

- | | | <u>SM</u> | | <u>DU</u> | |
|------|----|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| (28) | a. | mindí | bring together | | |
| | b. | míndi | middle | midden | middle |
| (29) | a. | vulá | to rain (old word) | vloeien | to flow |
| | b. | vùlà | zweetdoek ‘sweat cloth’ | vuilak | filthy person |

While the direction of the analogy is clear for (28), any analogy for (29) no doubt works in both directions; a conspiracy to produce the PR pattern.

4.2. Verbs that do not conform to the pattern

There are 20 PR verbs in SM (deGroot 1981) that are also in Sranan (SR) (Lichtveld 1980). Of these, 7 do not have the low-high tone pattern; these are the only such verbs in SM. The pattern of *bósi* < *bocejar* in (32) may be from secondary stress, it would be low-high if **bosí* < *bocejo*. The remaining 6 are common verbs, typical of a pidgin vocabulary:

	<u>SM</u>		<u>SR</u>		<u>PR</u>
(30)	ábi	to have	abi		haver
(31)	bái	to call	bari		balir
(32)	bósi	to kiss/kiss	bosi	to kiss/kiss	bocejar to yawn bocejo yawn
(33)	búja	to hesitate	broeja	confuse	bulhar
(34)	púu	to pull/push	poeroe		apurar
(35)	sábi	to know	sabi		saber
(36)	sáka	to lower	sáka		sacar

These 6 verbs reflect a typically Eng stress pattern, indicating they may have come into the Eng-based creole before SM split from SR. The other 14 items would then be introduced by Jewish speakers of PR or their slaves who later resettled in the Sranan area (Ladhams 1999:229).

4.3. gãã from grande

Common adjectives are also shared by both creoles, like SM *gãã* ‘big’, ‘old’; SR *gran* ‘grand’, ‘old’, < PR *grande*. But in SM, and in the related maroon language Ndjuka (M. 1998), it has a unique syntax:

(37)	a.	dí gãã páu	*dí bígí páu	b.	dí páu bígí	*dí páu gãã
		the big tree:	the big tree		the tree big:	the tree is big

In PR, attributive *grande* often occurs prenominal to express markedness. The unique syntax of SM *gãã* suggests the prenominal position occurred frequently enough to dilute its marked meaning. The adoption of the variable word order based on a sensitivity to subjective markedness parallels the adoption of adjectival reduplication for the same purpose. Like the remnants of a once productive PR-based derivational morphology, the syntax of *gãã* reveals a PR

influence that was greater than relexification, and the type of influence characteristic of the MCS stage.

4.4. Portuguese influence on tone sandhi

Tone sandhi in SM is argued to be a transferred feature from FGb (K. 2002:628). In SM it is the realization of unspecified tones as high tones between specified high tones in a tonal domain (Rountree 1972); changed tones are underlined in (38). Attributive adjectives sandhi with the following noun but not with other adjectives (R. *ibid.*:319), perhaps the result of the change in word order; an attributive without a preceding noun in FGb would, like nouns in FGb, be at the left edge of an NP, which would not be in a sandhi domain (Wiesemann 1991). But SM *óto* ‘other’ < PR *outro* does sandhi with a following adjective (R. *ibid.*):

- (38) a. gãã donú foló . . . [gãã dònú fóló . . .]
 big yellow flower: big yellow flowers
- b. óto donú foló . . . [ótó dónú fólo´. . .]
 other yellow flower: other yellow flowers

In PR, *outro* is prenominal. The application of SM tone sandhi rules to a PR word order NP, *[ótó fóló dònú], could fossilize the sandhi domain of *óto* before further creolization would change the adjectival word order. This would imply the active participation of speakers of a variety of PR in the creolization process, again involving more than simple relexification.

4.5. Transfer of the progressive

The transfer of the progressive construction relates to the transfer of the predicate derived participial adjective in their similarity in FGb, particularly in their use of the locative copula. The progressive in FGb as well as in SM could be seen as a marked construction relative to the unmarked past tense; only non-stative verbs occur in the progressive in FGb (Lefebvre 1995:163) and in SM, as bare non-stative verbs are interpreted in the past tense. The progressive construction functions to depict temporally unbounded events, at odds with the aktionsart of telic verbs and a candidate for the MCS. The FGb progressive has a reduplicated verb, except when preceded by an object NP. The early SM progressive marker was *de*, relexified with *tá* (McW. 1996:104), from PR *está* ‘is’ (deGroot 1981):

- (39) a. é dò wěmà sà wè b. été é dò sàsà wè (Fabb 1992:30)
 he COP book sell PRT what he COP RE-sell PRT
 he is selling books what is he selling?
- c. *a de sei buku > a tá séi búku *early* > *modern Saramaccan*
 he PROG sell book: he is selling books

The FGb OV word order conflicts with the MIC SVO word order, and did not transfer, but the unreduplicated OV verb did. It would appear that the progressive marker *de* also transferred, directly from FGb *dò/dè*. Its replacement by *tá* would indicate an MCS involvement by speakers of some variety of PR. Transfer of the FGb copula could also be part of an explanation for the habitual/progressive marker *do* in many Atlantic Eng-based creoles as substrate influenced rather than exclusively superstrate (Rickford 1986).

4.6. Djutongo

There is historical reference to a variety of PR known as *Djutongo* spoken by Saramaccans in the 18th century (Ladhams 1999:226). There are 19 lexical items (ibid.:235) and two proverbs (ibid.:210) attributed to Djutongo. The lexical items, like *fikka* ‘remain’ < *ficar*, are obviously the result of creolization, but that does not mean the source was creolized items. The proverbs, on the other hand, appear to be a variety of PR or Ladino (*LD*), with code switching to SR:

- (40) a. Moendoe bira: jou teki pari, poeloe pondoe
The world has turned upside down:
you use the paddle and row the pontoon
- b. Praga beroegoe no mata caballo
The braying of an ass will not kill a horse

The ‘Portuguese’ phrases have variations attributable to Surinamese second language acquisition, such as unstressed vowel raising (Aceto 1997:226), [o > u], and the [b > v] due to the Kwa bilabial fricative [β]. Otherwise, they could be seen as ‘L2’ correct PR. The lack of determiners, in both ‘PR’ and SR phrases, may be due to register, as seen in Ladino proverbs (Kohen & Kohen-Gordon 2000:571-598). Several items in fact point to Ladino, a Spanish (*SP*) variety used by Iberian Jews, rather than PR; the attributive *beroegoe* without *de* ‘of’ parallels LD *çorro lagrimas* ‘flow of tears’ (ibid.:93); the *-r-* of *beroegoe* does not reflect the PR *-rr-*, [χ], of *burrico*, but rather of the LD *borríko* (ibid.:67), where the SP orthography applies (ibid.:3); similarly, *no* is *no* in LD (ibid.:265), rather than PR *nãõ*; and *caballo* may reflect the *-ll-* (ibid.:3) of LD *caballero* ‘young man’, (ibid.:77), rather than PR *cabalo* ‘horse’. As LD was part of the linguistic code of the Portuguese Jews (L. ibid.), the proverbs in (40) could represent a PR-LD variety spoken by these slave owners and learned, perhaps imperfectly, by their slaves. The proverbs do not necessarily point to a fully creolized variety of Portuguese.

5. The origin of Portuguese features in Saramaccan

Development involving substrate features in the MCS stage suggests that the PR features in SM originated in a variety of PR rather than in a prototypical creole. While any importation of slaves from Brazil is controversial, there is a general agreement that PR-speaking Jews may have brought slaves to Suriname from nearby Cayenne (A. 1999; L. 1999; S. 1999). These slaves were probably not from Brazil, but rather were imported to Cayenne by the English or the Dutch. In this case they would not have a PR-based pidgin. If a pidgin is essential to further creole expansion (McW. 1998), most likely a PR-based creole could not develop from an Eng-based pidgin. The slaves on the Jewish plantations would then have shifted, imperfectly no doubt, to PR. A similar argument explains a shift to SP rather than the development of SP-based creoles (McW. 1999). In Suriname the Jewish planters bought additional slaves, speakers of early Eng-based SR. This early SR underwent further influence involving the original PR-speaking slaves.

The structural influence of PR on SM points away from simple relexification, a superstrate MIC contribution. This influence would also not be due to language shift with interference by the original slaves; language shift effects would not be expected to involve only specific retained lexical items, as a shifting population would attempt to acquire the entire target lexicon (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). The sizeable PR portion of the SM lexicon shows this did not occur. Creolization in the MCS stage, on the other hand, allows input and compromise on the part of all the participants who in fact attempt to create a medium for community solidarity. A likely scenario is that the speakers of a variety of PR shifted to the SR of the newcomers, but only as an MIC. After the PR speakers acquired a basic communication, there would be a period of restructuring with 'non-essential' input by both PR and SR speakers, characteristic of MCS development. At this time there would be a substrate role for that variety of PR, allowing structural features not found in an MIC stage. But since there would be no change in the early MIC stage, the genetic relationship (T. & K. *ibid.*) of the emerging Saramaccan creole with early Sranan would not be broken.

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Reduplication in Romance: An Example from Cuban Spanish¹

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0. Introduction

A prototypical case of reduplication is exemplified by a previously undocumented construction in Cuban Spanish. In this reduplicative construction, the stem form of the verb is reduplicated to indicate an event of the particular reduplicated action. An example of this construction is given below:

(0) En la casa de Juana mataron un puerco y
In the house of Jane they-killed a pig and
hay tremendo **comecome**.
there-is tremendous eat-eat
“At Jane’s house, they killed a pig, and there is a lot of eating going on.”

This type of reduplication in Spanish is not found on the Iberian Peninsula or within Latin American countries other than Cuba². Thus, the uniqueness of the construction merits an explanation of its origin. The paper will be organized as follows: Section 1 will serve as a brief socio-linguistic history of the island; Section 2 will highlight the syntactic and semantic nuances of the construction; in Section 3, four possible source languages from Africa will be investigated³; and Section 4 will relate Cuban reduplication to other types of Caribbean reduplication. I will conclude that the Bantu language Kikongo is hypothesized to

¹ I would like to thank Andrew Garrett for his insightful commentary on various stages of this project as well as Rafael Matos-Galí for his willingness to inform and endless patience during the data collection process.

² After searching colloquial dictionaries, and consulting with various Spanish scholars, I am personally not aware of any other Spanish dialect that employs productive or even semi-productive use of the type of reduplication described in this paper.

³ The investigated languages do not represent every possible language spoken by slaves brought to Cuba. I have restricted the number of languages for reason of economy. These four have been chosen because information about reduplication in these languages can be found in available grammars and dictionaries. They do, as well, represent the major substrate language families in Cuba.

be the best African source for the Cuban construction, but I will not exclude the relevance of linguistic innovation as a second potential source.

1. Cuba's Linguistic History

Cuba has experienced a similar history to other Spanish-owned colonies in the Caribbean. Initial Spanish colonization began in 1510. By 1520, an estimated 200,000 natives were reduced to 18,700. In 1544, the total population including Spanish, native slaves, and African slaves was estimated at 7,500. The largest proportion of early slaves in mining regions (before 1650) was brought from Angola, and the second largest proportion was brought from the greater Congo region, according to a survey of surnames (Díaz 2000: 43). The most represented mother tongue of early “bozales” (a Spanish term meaning *muzzle* and used to refer to slaves speaking African languages) was Kikongo (West Bantu) (Díaz 2000: 45). “Bozal Spanish” became the Cuban term for the Spanish spoken by West African slaves. This register is a restructured version of Spanish, exhibiting slight phonological reduction, but maintaining quite in tact Spanish morphology and syntax. Hence, Bozal Spanish is not classified by linguists as a creole, but rather as a second-language register used within the slave community, a slightly restructured version of Spanish. If Cuban reduplication has its origin in an African language, it would have transferred first from the African source to Bozal Spanish.

After initial slave importation of Bantu speakers from the Congo region, later importation came from more northern regions along the Slave Coast, and by the 1830's, when sugar production was driving the Cuban economy, requiring large amounts of fresh labor, speakers of Kwa and Yoruboid languages arrived in Cuba in great numbers, dominating the Bozal Spanish of the time (McWhorter 2000: 21). By 1841, African slaves made up over 40% of the population.

Early “cabildos” (African ethnic-based associations) were established within slave populations. African-based religions flourished within the *cabildos*, and the *cabildos* allowed slaves, both indentured and free, to maintain their African languages within ritualistic ceremonies. Slavery ended in the late 1800's, but the *cabildos* survived well into the late 20th century, and can even be found currently in small numbers across the country.

Today, African vocabulary is pervasive throughout the Cuban lexicon, in large part due to the growing popularity in *Santería*, which is an amalgam of African-based religions. Popularity in *Santería* has dramatically increased in the last twenty years due to changed government policy on religious freedom as well as increased profit in religion-based tourism. However, it is important to note that today the ancestors of slaves, just like all Cubans, are speaking a Cuban dialect of Spanish, similar to that of Puerto Rico. Remnants of Bozal Spanish would only be found, if it can be found at all, in very remote and isolated parts of the country. Thus, the Cuban reduplication, described in this paper, is spoken by all Cubans, urban and rural, and not just by descendents of Bozal Spanish speakers. Bozal

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Spanish would have simply served as the vehicle which transferred the construction to modern Cuban Spanish.

2. The Data

2.1. Possible Input

A small set of *disyllabic* Spanish verbs serve as input to the reduplicative construction. These include:

Verb	Stem		Reduplication	
(1) comer	come	‘eat’	come-come	‘an instance of lots of eating’
(2) tirar	tira	‘throw’	tira-tira	‘an instance of lots of throwing’
(3) cambiar	cambia	‘change’	cambia-cambia	‘an instance of lots of changing’
(4) correr	corre	‘run’	corre-corre	‘an instance of running around’
(5) chupar	chupa	‘suck’	chupa-chupa	‘an instance of lots of sucking’
(6) tocar	toca	‘touch’	toca-toca	‘an instance of lots of touching’
(7) halar	*hala	‘pull’	**hala-hala	‘an instance of lots of pulling’

*(pronounced [a.la] in regular form)
 **(pronounced [ha.la.ha.la] when reduplicated)

Table 1: Reduplicated Forms in Cuban Spanish

The reduplicated construction is syntactically treated as a noun, and, thus, allows adjectival modification and requires a determiner, just like a regular Spanish NP. The following sentences exemplify several uses of the reduplicated construction:

(8) En la casa de Juana mataron un puerco y
In the house of Jane they-killed a pig and
 hay tremendo **comecome**.
there-is tremendous eat-eat
 “At Jane’s house, they killed a pig, and there is a lot of eating going on.”

(9) Deja el **tocatoca** ese.
Quit the touch-touch that
 “Stop that constant touching!”

(10) Los niños en la calle tienen un
The children in the street have a
tiratira de madre.
throw-throw of mother
 “The children in the street are throwing something around like crazy.”

2.2. Impossible Input⁴

Each input is disyllabic.

Monosyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrasyllabic-plus inputs are rejected by native speakers, thus:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------|---|------------------------|
| (11) | va | ‘go’ | → | *va-va |
| (12) | camina | ‘walk’ | → | *camina-camina |
| (13) | desempedra | ‘remove rocks’ | → | *desempedra-desempedra |
| (14) | acumula | ‘accumulate’ | → | *acumula-acumula |

2.3. Other Reduplication in Cuba

Sound-imitation (onomatopoetic) reduplication often accompanies grammatical reduplication in language. This is the case here as well. The following data demonstrates a range of onomatopoetic expressions in Cuba:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| (15) | [ti.ki]-[ti.ki] | ‘sound of people talking’ |
| (16) | [tra.ka]-[tra.ka] | ‘sound of a mouse in a cupboard’ |
| (17) | [ku.hu]-[ku.hu] | ‘coughing’ (cf. <i>kusu-kusu</i> in Kikongo (Fehderau 1992)) |
| (18) | [ku.či]-[ku.či] | ‘making love; sound one makes towards a baby’ |

Again, even this type of reduplication adheres to the quadrasyllabic constraint on the output.

2.4. Representation of the Reduplicative Construction

The following diagram shows a static representation of the Cuban construction. The templatic output of the construction is quadrasyllabic, and the common semantic interpretation is some type of repetition of the reduplicated action. In certain contexts this repetition can be distributed among several participants as in (8), and in other contexts the action can be repeated by one participant as in (9).

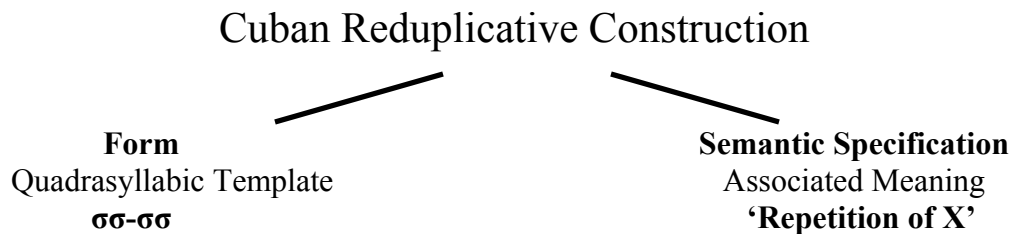


Diagram 1: Cuban Reduplication

⁴ All Spanish verb stems, regardless of length, are able to nominalize with the derivation suffix [-dera], i.e. *caminadera* ‘lots of walking’. Thus, non-disyllabic verb stems as well as disyllabic verb stems can nominalize in this standard way. Reduplication does not limit this type of semantic/syntactic derivation.

3. Where Did this Reduplication Come From?

As mentioned above, four African languages serve as possible sources for reduplication in Cuba. These languages are Kikongo (West Bantu), spoken in modern-day Angola, Fongbe (Kwa), spoken in modern-day Togo and Benin, Éfik (Kwa), spoken in modern-day South East Nigeria, and Yoruba (Yoruboid), spoken in modern-day South West Nigeria. Waves of importation of different potential substrate linguistic groups are represented in Table 2⁵.

<i>Groups in relative chronological order</i>	Number of Africans landed in Cuba during slave trade
Bantu	400,000
Ewe/Fon (Gbe, Kwa)	200,000
Ibo/Ibibio (Éfik)/Ijaw (Kwa)	240,000
Yoruba (Yoruboid, Benue Congo)	275,000
Others	185,000

Table 2: Estimated African Linguistic Populations Brought to Cuba

3.1. Kikongo

The first possible source of the Cuban reduplicative construction to consider is the West African Bantu language Kikongo. Kikongo is cited as the making the largest contribution of vocabulary to the Cuban Spanish lexicon among all the African languages formerly spoken by slaves bought from the West African trade settlements (Schwegler 2000, Acosta 2000). Schwegler (2000) even goes so far as to argue that Kikongo must have been a fluently-spoken language well into the 20th century (p.159).

Based on the abundance of Kikongo and other Bantu vocabulary within Cuban Spanish (up to 3,000 vocabulary items (Schwegler 2000)), one is forced to entertain the possibility that Cuban reduplication has its roots in Kikongo reduplication. Even in short dictionaries and grammars of Kikongo (Fehderau 1992, Tavares 1932), a large amount of lexical/derivational reduplication is listed. The following data exemplify this Kikongo reduplication within the lexicon.

Fehderau (1992) lists quite a few reduplicated lexical items, of which several examples are listed here:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (19) | kupu-kupu | ‘machete’ |
| (20) | kòì-kói / koyi-koyi | ‘laziness, weakness’ |
| (21) | kòso-kóso / kusu-kusu | ‘cough, tuberculosis’ |
| (22) | ma-fùlu-fùlu | ‘foam, suds, bubbles, lungs’ |
| (23) | mingi-mingi | ‘very many, very much’ |
| (24) | ntama-ntama | ‘very far away; a long time ago’ |

⁵ Table statistics acquired from <http://www.batadrums.com>

- | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| (25) | ntete-ntete | ‘at the very first, (intensifies <i>ntete</i> ‘first’) |
| (26) | pòto-póto | ‘mud, mire, slush, confusion, mix-up’ |
| (27) | pùsu-pùsu | ‘cart, pushcart, chariot’ |
| (28) | tàla-tála | ‘to stare, n. mirror, glass’ |

Generally, Kikongo exhibits full reduplication, with a high majority of inputs being disyllabic. Because these forms are lexical dictionary entries, the forms do not exhibit any type of semantic uniformity; however I have highlighted several forms, in boldface, which could be semantically linked to repetitive actions. Within available grammars, one does find the description of synchronic productive reduplication in Kikongo, which I will discuss in the following section.

3.1.2. Productive Reduplication in Kikongo

Data from Lourenco Tavares’ 1932 *Gramática Kikongo* (p.98-100) list several examples of productive derivational reduplication, which he labels as diminutive reduplication:

- | | | |
|------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (29) | iana-iana | ‘little boy/girl’ |
| (30) | muana-muana | ‘little son/daughter’ |

Bentley (1895) describes a second form of productive reduplication:

The more general idea imparted by the Reduplication is this: -that the action is or must be performed *as quickly as possible, for a short time only, or in a short time*, that is to say, *with the least possible of delay*; it is an impatient expression, indicative of the fact that until the action is completed and finished, there will be no peace of mind; it is the Urgent Form of the Verb (Bentley 1895:973).

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (31) | Tunga | ‘to build’ | tunga-tunga | ‘to build quickly’ |
| (32) | Vova | ‘to speak’ | vova-vova | ‘to speak quickly’ |
| (33) | Sumba | ‘to buy’ | sumba-sumba | ‘to buy quickly’ |
| (34) | Lamba | ‘to cook’ | lamba-lamba | ‘to cook at once’ |

Both productive uses demonstrate, for the most part, a disyllabic template, yet the semantic function of this productive reduplication in no way entails the actual repetition of an action. Performing an action quickly does not entail repetition, and diminutivizing a noun doesn’t even involve an action at all.

However, historically, Kikongo may have had one more productive use of reduplication. Based on the following forms listed in the Bentley’s two dictionaries (1887; 1895), one can hypothesize a stage in Kikongo in which reduplication was a productive process, whose meaning was ‘REPETITION OF X’. One also notices in the following data that the reduplicated form tends to have nominalized semantics as well. This nominalized form seems to represent the majority of reduplicated lexical items listed in more modern dictionaries:

Reduplication in Cuban Spanish

- (35) a. benda 'v.i., to be crooked'
b. benda-benda 'v., to prevaricate; equivocate; be fickle; unreliable'
c. benda-benda 'n., prevarication, fickleness, unreliability'
- (36) a. tungununa 'v., to stare'
b. tuku-tuku 'n., a fixed stare'
- (37) a. sampuka 'v. to be wary; to look, glance around,
up, down; to be alert'
b. sàmpu-sàmpu 'n. apprehension of danger; an approach of something'
- (38) a. fuluka 'v.i., to overflow, boil up, boil over, flood.'
b. e-fulu-fulu 'n., bubbles'
- (39) a. fwa 'v., to be worth; cost'
b. fwa-fwa-la 'n., useless thing'

Likewise, evidence from the dictionary forms listed in Benley (1887) suggests the possibility that the productive use of the *repetitive suffix* could account for the non-productivity of reduplication to form the repetitive. Therefore, during the 15th and 16th century, one must entertain the possibility that Kikongo had productive reduplication to form a verbal and nominal repetitive⁶, whose productivity dropped out as the suffix took over.

3.2. Fongbe

Fongbe speakers would have accounted for a large percentage of Kwa speakers, who had great influence over the Bozal Spanish of the 19th century (McWhorter 2000: 21). Reduplication is documented in Gbe lects, and the phonetic shape of reduplicated forms varies greatly across Gbe lects, and even across Fongbe lects. The variants form a continuum. At one end, the form of the reduplicant is /Ci/ (or /Cu/ in a rounding context). At the other end of the continuum, the reduplicant is a perfect copy of the verbal base. This full reduplication occurs in lects including Gen, Aja, and Vhe (i.e. Ewe) lects as shown in the following examples (Lefebvre 2002; Ch. 8):

- (40) zεze < zè 'to split'
(41) gba-gba < gbá 'to build'
(42) xo-xo < xò 'to buy'
(43) kpaba-kpaba < kpábá 'to flatten'
(44) da-da < dà 'to prepare'
(45) wlan-wlan < wlán 'to write'

⁶ Furthermore, one nominal reduplicated construction with a possible direct link to Kikongo vocabulary is attested within the data for this paper: the Cuban saying *bele-bele*, a lexical item which indicates 'a fight between two people'. This construction is speculated to have come from the Kikongo word *mbele-mbele* 'a knife for each person' (Bentley 1887; Schwegler personal communication).

Reduplication in Fongbe is a very productive process, yielding different types of lexical items from a verbal base. Reduplication may derive nouns which denote the action, or the result of the action described by the verb, as shown (Lefebvre 2002; Ch 8):

- (46) wémâ ô wíwlán yíyá ó⁷ ACTION(/RESULT) NOUN
 book DEF RE.write rapid DEF
 ‘the rapid writing of the book’

Reduplication can also yield two other types of nominal forms: gerunds and nominalized VPs which appear in imperfective constructions (Lefebvre 2002):

- (47) a. Wémâ ô wíwlán yí tòn. GERUND
 book DEF RE.write go time
 ‘Writing the book took some time.’
 b. É dò yìyì wè. NOMINALIZED VP
 3sg be.at RE.leave POST
 ‘(S)he is leaving’

Nominalizing reduplication in Fongbe as described by Lefebvre (2002) shares similar syntactic properties with Cuban Spanish. In both languages, nominal reduplications and genuine NPs exhibit the same distribution: they both appear in argument position. In both languages, nominal reduplications share with NPs the standard NP word order in the language. And finally, in both languages, nominal reduplicated constructions may not be modified by an adverbial clause with a temporal interpretation or a causal interpretation.

3.3. Éfik

Éfik represents another branch of the Kwa language family. Speakers of this branch also comprise a significant proportion of speakers of what would have been late-stage Bozal Spanish.

3.3.1. Stative Reduplication in Éfik

In Éfik reduplication to form a stative reading, the first syllable of the base will reduplicate with the initial consonant and a harmonizing vowel. As shown in the following forms, verb stems which refer to entering into a state can be reduplicated to form a stative verb, to describe the resulting state of a transformational process (Welmers 1968: 141-144):

- (48) dóŋo⁸ ‘get sick’ dòdóŋo ‘be sick’
 (49) tyě ‘sit down’ tétyè ‘be seated’

⁷ The symbol [o] is standing in for IPA [ɔ].

⁸ The symbol [o] is substituting for IPA [ɔ].

Reduplication in Cuban Spanish

(50)	nă	‘lie down’	nana	‘be lying down’
(51)	dá	‘stand up’	dada	‘be standing’
(52)	bit	‘get wet’	bébit	‘be wet’

3.3.1. Emphatic Reduplication in Éfik

Also used productively, the verb in Éfik can reduplicate to draw emphasis to the action, to contrast the particular action from another action (i.e. for contrastive focus):

(53) *ɲkedèdép* byâ émi. *ɲkotógoto*. ‘I bought these yams. I didn’t *grow* them.’

3.4. Yoruba

The final language to be considered as a source for reduplication in Cuban Spanish is Yoruba. Yoruba, part of the Yoruboid family, accounts for the largest proportion of late-arrival slaves to the 19th century sugar plantations in Cuba. Yoruba is also a dominant source of ritualistic language in modern-day Santería on the island.

3.4.1. Relevant Reduplication –Gerundives

To form the reduplicant in Yoruba, the first syllable of the base is copied, and the vowel in the copied verb changes to the front, high [i] in all cases. In this type of reduplication in Yoruba, the verb is copied to form a gerund which is syntactically treated as a noun (Adewole 1997: 121-122):

(54)	lo ‘go’	lilo	‘the act of going’
(55)	mu ‘drink’	mímu	‘the act of drinking’

3.5. Summary

When searching for the source of a borrowed derivational construction, two factors must be considered. The corresponding construction in the source language should ideally match both the form, i.e. phonological template, of the construction in the target language, as well as the functional semantics of the construction in the target language (*for a detailed analysis of relexification see Lefebvre 1998*). These two factors logically fall out from the language learning situation. A native speaker of Language A will most likely apply a derivational construction like reduplication to words in Language B, which sound like the native words that input to the construction in question. In the case of Cuban reduplication, a speaker of an African language with disyllabic verbs that input into a reduplicated construction could quite easily have applied this construction to Spanish verbs which shared the same phonological template. Likewise, the original meaning of the African construction would be maintained; simply, the lexifier language to the construction would have changed.

Based, thus, on these two principles of phonological and semantic identity, Kikongo serves as the best source for a constructional calque. Éfik reduplication

does not seem to match in either form or function. Reduplication in Yoruba matches well in syntactic category, but does not seem to match well in form or semantics. Fongbe (Gbe) reduplication matches in syntax, but not in form (for all dialects) or semantic function. Further evidence against a possible Fongbe source is reduplication in Saramaccan. Extensive documentation shows that in Saramaccan, the Fongbe substrate can be linked to productive reduplication which forms attributive adjectives (Kramer 2002), but I have not found a nominalized repetitive reduplicated form in Saramaccan.

Even though languages from the Kwa family and Yoruba comprise a significant proportion of African vocabulary in Santeria, which has been very influential in the spread of African vocabulary to the general population, it was most likely that *early* Bozal Spanish exhibited the most restructuring of Peninsular Spanish. Kikongo speakers would have been the first Bozal Spanish speakers. Thus, the early presence of Kikongo speakers in Cuba matches up with the hypothesis that this construction is quite old. Further potential evidence towards an early date to the construction is the form [hala-hala] ‘pull-pull’, which is pronounced with a word-initial [h]; however, in modern Cuban Spanish the word-initial [h] has been lost throughout most of the island. This word-initial [h] dates back to Southern Spanish colonizers, and is preserved in the reduplicated form.

4. The Possibility of a Different Origin for Cuban Reduplication

Having analyzed a possible substrate origin for Cuban reduplication, I would like to turn to another possible explanation for the existence of the construction. This explanation simply rests on the high degree of linguistic innovation found in Cuban Spanish and in language in general. Reduplication can be highly iconic, and examples of this iconicity are found throughout the Caribbean, not just in Cuba.

4.1. The Phenomenon of Reduplication within Caribbean Creoles

Derivational reduplication is abundantly represented in just about every major Caribbean creole. Kouwenberg & La Charité (2001) discuss the semantics of this phenomenon within eight major creoles of the Caribbean: Berbice Dutch Creole(BD), French Creole⁹(FR), Jamaican(JM), Ndjuka(ND), Negerhollands(NH), Papiamentu(PP), Saramaccan(SM), and Sranan(SR). In the following table, Kouwenberg & La Charité list just a few examples of the Caribbean reduplication. In this chart, one is able to observe how, quite similarly to Cuban reduplication, these examples of Caribbean creole reduplication exploit the common metonymic association between a reduplicated verb and an associated result, event, or instrument.

⁹ Denotes the French lexifier Creoles of the Caribbean.

Reduplication in Cuban Spanish

Lang.	Verb Base		“Deverbal Noun Reduplication” (K&L 76)	
BD	bain	‘to cover’	bain-bain	‘lid, cover’
JM	kriep	‘to scrape’	kriep-kriep	‘scrapings’
	ich	‘to itch’	ich-ich	‘dry rash’
ND	mói	‘to be nice’	mo-mói	‘pretty-thing, beautiful’
	fon	‘to beat’	fon-fon	‘(a) beating’
PP	chupa	‘to suck’	chupa-chupa	‘blood sucker’
	tembla	‘to shiver’	tembla-tembla	‘shivers’
SM	tai	‘to tie’	ta-tai	‘string’
	nai	‘to sew’	na-nai	‘needle’
SR	koti	‘to cut’	kot-koti	‘(a) slice’
	doro	‘to sieve’	doro-doro	‘(a) sieve, sifter’

Table 3: Reduplication in Caribbean Creoles

4.2. Innovation –The Cognitive Transparency Hypothesis

Cuban Spanish is not a creole language, but the environment in which African slaves brought to Cuba learned Spanish is just the same as the second-language-learning environment of other slave populated countries in which we do find modern-day creoles. Cuban Spanish is full of linguistic innovation, and reduplication, being so highly iconic, is the type of morphological form one would unsurprisingly find as a result of linguistic innovation. As shown in Table 3 above, reduplication, somewhat similar to Cuban reduplication, exists in most all major Atlantic creole languages.

Table 3 is not necessarily evidence for shared linguistic innovation within the Caribbean because, when researching creoles, one constantly faces the same problem: that each construction of each language has a possible origin in a number of different substrates or superstrates. The point I attempt to raise is simply that one should be careful to never rule out the possibility that certain constructions in language should not be traced back to language contact. These constructions may have no origin other than the creativity of the human brain.

5. Conclusion

A limited set of disyllabic verb stems input into a reduplicative construction in Cuban Spanish. The reduplicative construction is syntactically treated as a noun, and exhibits semantics of repetition. The construction’s origin may lie in African reduplication, and the four most influential substrate languages in Cuba: Kikongo, Fongbe, Éfik, and Yoruba have been investigated to see if their reduplicative constructions match the Cuban construction both phonologically as well as semantically. It has been shown that the most plausible African substrate to the Cuban construction is Kikongo, which exhibits both phonological and semantic similarity to the Cuban construction. The possibility that the Cuban construction is a result of linguistic innovation within Cuba has been raised, and analyzed with consideration to similar reduplication within Caribbean Creoles.

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Immigrant Russian: Factors in the restructuring of the aspectual system under attrition¹

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates the factors in the first language attrition of Russian aspect among immigrants. Pereltsvaig (2001, 2002) has proposed that the loss of aspect is governed by the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis: verbal aspectual morphology shifts to encode lexical rather than grammatical aspect. In this paper, I will consider two additional factors – statistical frequency in the speakers' first language (L1) and interference from their ambient second language (L2) – which are known to affect the course of the lexical attrition process. I will show that neither of these factors plays a significant role in the attrition of Russian aspect. Thus, the results of this study are negative, but the importance of these findings is in the indirect support they provide for the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis, as well as for a more complicated picture of first language attrition in general whereby various parts of the language system are vulnerable to influences of different factors. Finally, these results strongly suggest that aspect is a grammatical rather than lexical distinction in Russian (contra the position adopted by Maslov 1948, Isačenko 1960, inter alia).

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I provide the background information on Russian aspect and briefly review the previous findings regarding the loss of aspect by Russian immigrants. Section 3 examines the role that statistical frequency in L1 and influence of L2 play in lexical attrition. Sections 4 and 5 are concerned with the role that these factors play in the attrition of Russian aspect. In section 4, I consider the statistical frequency of aspectual forms in Russian, in section 5 – the potential transfer from the speakers dominant L2. In each of these sections, I will first outline the predictions of the two alternative hypotheses with respect to aspect under attrition, then analyze the available data to show that the hypothesis fails to account for it. The last section provides a summary of findings, and posits questions for future research.

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2. Background

2.1. Aspect in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR)

Before we embark on an exploration of aspect in Immigrant Russian, a few words must be said about aspect in CSR. This is meant as a very brief introduction to the basics of Russian aspect; for a detailed description of aspect in CSR see Forsyth (1970), and for more formal analyses of Russian aspect see Smith (1991) and Pereltsvaig (2002).

As is well-known, CSR distinguishes two morphological aspects: imperfective and perfective. This formal contrast appears in all finite and non-finite forms, including imperatives, infinitives, and participles. In addition to speakers' intuitions, one can rely on a battery of tests that distinguish the two aspects (cf. Smith 1991:338-340). The morphological patterns relating perfective and imperfective verbs are quite complex and will not be discussed here. Most verbs in Russian are said to form so-called aspectual pairs, which are verb pairs synonymous in all respects other than their morphological aspect. In practice, however, it is not always easy to determine which verbs are semantically identical except for their aspect. In this paper, whether or not two verbs should be considered an aspectual pair will be decided on the basis of speaker intuitions.

2.2. Previous Research on Attrition of Russian Aspect

Unfortunately, there is very little research on the attrition of aspect, let alone Russian aspect. Many studies of Russian immigrants' speech focus entirely on general psycho- and socio-linguistic aspects of language attrition; other studies investigate specific linguistic phenomena, but do not discuss aspect at all (e.g., Leisiö 2001). A pioneering work on the subject has been Polinsky (1994), abundant with data from American Russian and interesting generalizations. Specifically, Polinsky's data indicate that Russian immigrants make occasional mistakes in the use of aspectual forms: sometimes their choice of the aspectual form is consistent with that of monolingual speakers in Russia, whereas in other utterances their choice of aspectual forms is either odd or totally ungrammatical from the point of view of CSR. An example of correct use of aspect attested by the author is given in (1) below and examples of errors are given in (2) and (3).²

- (1) a. Immigrant Russian
oni **upali** v ljubov'
they fell.PERF in love
b. CSR
oni **vljubilis'**
they fell-in-love.PERF
'They fell in love.'

² Throughout this paper, *italics* indicate code-switching or code-mixing and verb forms of interest to the discussion are highlighted with **boldface**.

Immigrant Russian: Restructuring of the aspect

The main claim of Polinsky's paper is that speakers undergoing severe attrition use verbal aspectual morphology on a verb-by-verb basis rather than depending on the context and encode lexical aspectual notions such as telicity. This idea is further developed by Pereltsvaig (2001, 2002), who argues that verbal aspectual morphology in Immigrant Russian encodes neither the viewpoint aspect (in the sense of Smith 1991), nor telicity in the compositional sense. Rather, the morphology encodes a lexical aspectual property which she calls [\pm P] feature, namely, presence or absence of a bounded Path in the lexical meaning of the verb itself (the reader is referred to Pereltsvaig 2001, 2002 for a tests for the [\pm P] feature). Specifically, verbs that denote events with bounded Paths (typically, accomplishments and achievements) are retained in Immigrant Russian in the perfective form, whereas verbs that denote events without a Path or with a nonbounded Path are retained in the imperfective. Therefore, when lexical and viewpoint aspects do not coincide, Immigrant Russian speakers appear to make "mistakes" in their choice of the aspectual form. For instance, when an event denoted by [-P] verb is viewed "from outside", a Standard Russian speaker would chose a perfective verb, whereas an Immigrant Russian speaker uses the imperfective counterpart:

- (2) a. Immigrant Russian (context: describing a short visit to Princeton)
mne **nravilos'** v *Princeton*...
me.DAT liked.IMPF in Princeton
b. CSR
mne **ponravilos'** v *Prinstone*...
me.DAT liked.PERF in Princeton
'I liked it in Princeton ...'

Conversely, when an event denoted by a [+P] verb is viewed "from inside", a Standard Russian speaker would chose an imperfective form, whereas an Immigrant Russian speaker uses a perfective.

- (3) a. Immigrant Russian
ja nikogda ne **pročital** ta kniga
I never not read.PERF that.NOM book.NOM
b. CSR
ja nikogda ne **čital** tu knigu
I never not read.IMPF that.ACC book.ACC
'I have never read that book.'

Needless to say, in many instances the two distinctions – Path and perfectivity – coincide and both varieties of Russian use the same form. In fact, it has been suggested in the literature (cf. Forsyth 1970, Comrie 1976) that (Standard) Russian, as well as scores of other languages, exhibits a distributional bias whereby telic (or [+P]) verbs tend to appear more often in the perfective, whereas

atelic (or [-P]) verbs tend to appear in the imperfective. The difference between CSR and Immigrant Russian can be seen as a matter of degree: while in Standard Russian the correlation between lexical and grammatical/morphological aspect is a tendency, in Immigrant Russian it is a rule. From this it follows that Immigrant Russian should exhibit frequency effects: the association between lexical and viewpoint aspects would be most pronounced for those [+P] verbs that are found more frequently in the perfective in CSR and for those [-P] verbs that are found more frequently in the imperfective in CSR. This is the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis, which I will examine in detail in section 4. Before we proceed to discuss attrition of aspect, let us consider the factors that affect lexical attrition in Immigrant Russian.

3. Lexical Attrition

Studies show that, as far as lexical attrition is concerned, both statistical frequency of lexical items in the speakers L1 and interference from their L2 determine in large part which words (and collocations) are retained and which ones are lost. In this paper, I will provide some illustrative examples from Immigrant Russian and other Immigrant Slavic languages, but the same phenomena have been attested in other immigrant languages, such as American Italian, American Swedish and American Norwegian, to name only a few.

First, consider statistical frequency of items in the speakers' L1. Polinsky (to appear) has studied lexical attrition of lexical categories (verbs, nouns, and adjectives) among Immigrant Russian speakers. She shows that for all three categories there is a correlation between statistical frequency in CSR (according to Brown 1996) and the retention of items under attrition (measured in the percentage of translation accuracy and reaction times): the higher the frequency the more likely the speakers to retain the item, and vice versa.

Now, let us consider the role of interference from the speakers' L2 in lexical attrition. It has been widely noted in the literature that bilingual speakers often transfer lexical information from one language to the other in the form of loanshifts, lexical or grammatical calques and collocations.

An example of a loanshift attested by the author of this paper is given in (6) below. Here, an Immigrant Russian speaker uses the diminutive form of *balon*, which in CSR means 'bottle, can' to refer to a balloon (in CSR, *vozdušnyj šarik*). The reason behind this loanshift is the obvious phonetic similarity between the "Russian" form /balon/ and the English word *balloon*. For examples of loanshifts in American Italian and American Norwegian, see Milani (1996) and Hjelde (1996), respectively.

- (6) ... kak balončik iz kotorogo vyšel vozdux
as balloon from which went-out air
'... as a flat balloon...' (CSR: balončik 'little bottle' 'balloon')

An illustrative example of a lexical calque/collocation in Immigrant Russian is given in (1) above; other typical examples include *imet' golovnuju bol'* (lit. 'have a headache' instead of the CSR *bolit golova* lit. 'aches the head'), *vzjat' avtobus* (lit. 'take a bus' instead of the CSR *poexat' na avtobuse* lit. 'go on a bus'), and many others. Like loanshifts, lexical calques have been attested for numerous immigrant languages; see Henzl (1981) for examples from American Polish and American Czech, and Milani (1996) for examples from American Italian.

Finally, not only the meaning, the collocational use and the phonological form are transferred from one language to another, but also the information about selectional restrictions a given item imposes on its complement. Particularly vulnerable to such transfer is selection of prepositions by governing verbs. In the illustrative example given below, the Immigrant Russian speaker uses the preposition *dlja* 'for' instead of *na* 'on', which is idiomatically used with this verb in CSR. Similar examples from American Swedish and American Polish are found in Klinborg (1999) and Henzl (1981), respectively.

- (4) *rabotal dlja CIA*
 worked for CIA
 'worked for CIA'

To recap, both statistical frequency of items in the speakers' L1 and the interference from their L2 has been shown to play a defining role in lexical attrition. In the remainder of this paper, I will show that these factors do not determine the choice of verbal aspectual forms in Immigrant Russian, thus suggesting that attrition of aspect does not fall under the more general heading of lexical attrition.

4. Statistical Frequency in L1

As discussed in the previous section, statistical frequency of items in the speakers' L1 plays a role in defining the course of lexical attrition. In this section, I discuss the role of statistical frequency in the attrition of aspect. A priori, it is not inconceivable to view the loss of certain aspectual verb forms in Immigrant Russian as part of a larger process of lexical attrition. Just as Immigrant Russian speakers lose certain nouns, adjectives, verbs, and prepositions (or just parts of lexical entries, such as encoding inherent case-assigning properties of verbs and prepositions), it is not implausible that they would also lose certain aspectual forms of verbs. In fact, this view would follow if one is to adopt the widely accepted (in Russian aspectological literature) view that the relation between aspectual forms of a verb is lexical in much the same way as the relation between synonymous verbs. For instance, Isačenko (1960), Maslov (1948), and others believe that the relation between the imperfective and perfective forms of 'read' – *čitat'* and *pročitat'* – is the same as between *xodit'* 'walk' and *marširovat'* 'march'. We can, thus, hypothesize that Immigrant Russian speakers retain statistically more frequent aspectual forms.

So what would the world be according to the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis? According to Comrie (1976:117), the perfective aspect is more statistically frequent overall in Standard Russian than the imperfective. However, the ratio of perfective and imperfective verbs changes depending on the tense and mood of the verb. For example, imperative forms are more frequently imperfective than perfective (57% vs. 43%, according to Steinfeldt 1963:26), whereas in the past tense and in the infinitive perfective verbs predominate (infinitive: 48% imperfective vs. 52% perfective; past tense: 34% imperfective vs. 66% perfective). Moreover, different aspectual pairs exhibit different patterns of frequency. Therefore, the only meaningful prediction that the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis can make with respect to L1 attrition is with reference to specific aspectual pairs: the member of a given aspectual pair which is more frequent statistically (in CSR) is retained in Immigrant Russian, whereas the less frequent member of the aspectual opposition is lost. In what follows, I will argue that this hypothesis is not borne out by the data.³

Let us first consider data that support the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis, that is aspectual pairs in which the more frequent member of the opposition is retained. For example, the perfective *vzjat'* 'take' is retained in the following example instead of the imperfective *brat'* 'take' (the form retained in Immigrant Russian is marked in the following tables with ✓). The perfective is also more frequent than the imperfective.

- (5) a. Immigrant Russian
 ty ne **voz'mi** ètot dish
 you not take.PERF this dish
 b. CSR
 ne **beri** èto bljudo
 not take.IMPF this dish
 'Don't take this dish.'

(6) Table 1. Statistical Frequency of perfective vs. imperfective 'take'

	✓ <i>vzjat'</i> (P)	<i>brat'</i> (I)
frequency (Steinfeldt 1963)	311	106
frequency (Sharoff 2002)	752.82	322.82
markedness (Brown 1996)	132	419

³ Throughout this paper, statistical frequency calculations are based on three frequency lists of CSR. Figures in both Steinfeldt (1963) and Sharoff (2002) represent the number of occurrences in the corpus (for Sharoff 2002 – per million words in the corpus). The figures in Brown (1996) are the rankings from the most frequent word of Russian (i.e., 1) to the 10,000th most frequent word.

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Similarly, sometimes it is the imperfective member of the aspectual opposition that is more frequent statistically and is also the one that is retained in American Russian. This is the case with the verb *nravit'sja/ponravit'sja* 'please' (cf. (2) above).

(7) Table 2. Statistical Frequency of perfective vs. imperfective 'please'

	✓ <i>nravit'sja</i> (I)	<i>ponravit'sja</i> (P)
frequency (Steinfeldt 1963)	86	52
frequency (Sharoff 2002)	196.05	104.05
markedness (Brown 1996)	548	1897

Thus, both perfective and imperfective members of the aspectual oppositions may be retained when they are more frequent statistically. However, it is not always the case that the statistically more frequent member "wins". In particular, both perfective and imperfective forms may be retained when they are less frequent. For example, the perfective *pročitat'* 'read' is less frequent than the imperfective *čitat'* 'read', but it is the perfective that is retained (cf. (3) above).

(8) Table 3. Statistical Frequency of perfective vs. imperfective 'read'

	✓ <i>pročitat'</i> (P)	<i>čitat'</i> (I)
frequency (Steinfeldt 1963)	52	185
frequency (Sharoff 2002)	86.22	361.44
markedness (Brown 1996)	1584	230

The example below illustrates the situation where the imperfective member of the opposition is less frequent but is retained.

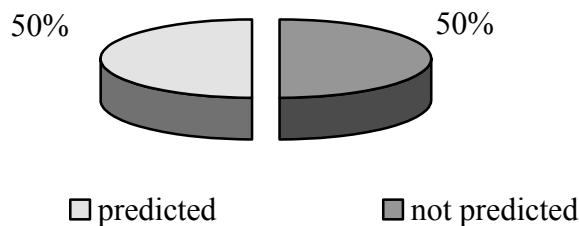
- (9) a. Immigrant Russian
 ja **pokazyvaju** tebja moja sobaka
 I show.IMPF you my dog
- b. CSR
 ja **pokažu** tebe svoju sobaku
 I will-show.PERF you self's dog
 'I am going to show you my dog.'

(10) Table 4. Statistical Frequency of perfective vs. imperfective ‘show’

	✓ <i>pokazyvat’</i> (I)	<i>pokazat’</i> (P)
frequency (Steinfeldt 1963)	85	131
frequency (Sharoff 2002)	162.41	261.16
markedness (Brown 1996)	556	316

To sum up, the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis cannot account for all the data. But how much of the data can it account for? An analysis of errors in the production corpus gives the following figures: the retention of the correct member of an aspectual opposition is predicted by frequency in only 50% of the pairs in my corpus. This is represented by the graph below.

(11)



Overall, the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis can account for half of the errors. Given only two possible choices (PERF vs. IMPF), this hypothesis appears to have as good a predictive power as flipping a coin. Thus, I conclude that statistical frequency does not play an important role in determining which aspectual forms are retained under attrition. In the next section, I will argue that interference from the speakers’ L2 does not play a role in the attrition of aspect either.

5. Interference from the speakers’ L2

A plausible explanation for the changes in the use of verbal aspectual forms in Immigrant Russian would be the interference from the speakers’ L2. According to this hypothesis, L1 attrition reduces to grammatical borrowing of constructions and phenomena found in the speakers’ L2. Again, this hypothesis is not a priori unreasonable since for many of the Immigrant Russian speakers their L2 is the dominant language. Moreover, it has been shown in the attrition literature that interference from the dominant language shapes various attrition phenomena. In addition to the above-mentioned interference in the lexical and phonetic domains (see section 3), various grammatical phenomena have been shown to be subject to interference. For instance, Leisiö (2001) examined interference from two contact languages – Finnish and Swedish – with respect to past participle constructions,

word order in noun phrases with a genitive and case assignment to subjects and objects in Finland Russian. Thus, it is not initially implausible to expect Immigrant Russian speakers to exhibit interference also in the domain of aspect. However, in what follows I show that this hypothesis is not borne out by the facts either.

So what would the world be like under the L2-Transfer Hypothesis? As far as American Russian is concerned, we would expect to see a system of aspectual marking very similar to what is found in English (I will return to the question of other immigrant varieties of Russian below). In English, grammatical aspect is marked through the opposition of what is traditionally called tenses: perfect and progressive. Note that lexical aspect is not marked in English either on the verb itself or through case marking on the direct object, as it is in some other languages (cf. Ramchand 1997, Kiparsky 1998, Svenonius 2001). Given the general similarities, the Interference Hypothesis predicts that American Russian speakers would assimilate perfective morphology to English perfect and imperfective morphology to English progressive. Since in English we find context-sensitive alternations (e.g., *has broken* vs. *is breaking*, or *has played* vs. *is playing*), the Interference Hypothesis predicts similar alternations in American Russian. However, this is not what we find. As has been mentioned in section 2.2. above, a given verb is typically retained in Immigrant Russian (including American Russian) only in one form, either perfective or imperfective. Thus, we do not find the expected context sensitive alternations.

A weaker version of the Interference Hypothesis predicts that American Russian speakers would transfer only one of the English aspects: either they would use the imperfective in the same way progressive is used in English or they would use the perfective in the same way that perfect is used in English. However, as I proceed to show immediately below, neither of these predictions is borne out.

Consider first the correlation between the Russian imperfective and the English progressive. Both can be used for ongoing dynamic events; however, the English progressive *-ing* cannot be used with stative verbs (hence, the ungrammaticality of **Peter is liking this Moroccan dish*). If American Russian used imperfective morphology in the same way English uses the progressive, we would expect to find no imperfective stative verbs in American Russian. However, the exact opposite is found in American Russian: stative verbs are retained exclusively in the imperfective (e.g., *nravit'sja* 'please' in (2) above). Hence, American Russian speakers do not assimilate the use of the imperfective morphology to that of the English progressive.

Now consider the putative correlation between the Russian perfective and the English perfect. The latter can be used to refer to the result state, as in *Barbara has painted her nails black*, which can be used to state that Barbara's nails are black. Thus, the following prediction emerges: American Russian speakers will use perfective to refer to the result state. Yet, again quite the opposite is true: American Russian speakers sometimes use stative imperfective forms (denoting

the result state of a dynamic event) instead of the perfective, which would be appropriate in the given context in CSR. For instance, in the example below the speaker describes his actions when invited for a job interview; instead of using the perfective forms *podstričsja* ‘get a haircut’ and *nadet* ‘put on’ denoting non-habitual completed events, the speaker uses stative verbs *nosit* ‘wear’ and *byt* ‘be’ denoting the result states of his actions.⁴ Thus, the putative correlation between the use of the perfective morphology and that of the English perfect is not found in American Russian.

- (12) a. Immigrant Russian
 ... i budu **nosit** korotkie volosy i ja **budu** s galstuk
 and will wear.IMPF short hair and I will-be with tie
- b. CSR
 ... ja **podstrigus** i **nadenu** galstuk
 I will-get-haircut-self.PERF and will-put-on.PERF tie
 ‘I will get a haircut and will put on a tie.’

Finally, let us consider the predictions of the Interference Hypothesis for the aspectual systems in other varieties of Immigrant Russian: we expect to see a different pattern in aspectual marking among speakers with a different ambient L2. However, this expectation is also not met. Unfortunately, little is known about the aspectual systems in Israeli or Finland Russian. But an interesting example of a speaker with a different dominant L2 is given in Zenskaya et al. (2001:248), who describe the speech of a Swedish-dominant German Russian speaker (AO). This speaker makes the same types of mistakes with the same types of verbs as American Russian speakers do.

- (13) a. Speaker AO [context: telling about one completed action]
 Ja **uveličivala** odnu fotografiju.
 I enlarged.IMPF one photo
- b. CSR
 Ja **uveličila** odnu fotografiju.
 I enlarged.PERF one photo
 ‘I enlarged one photo.’
- (14) a. Speaker AO [context: telling about her aunt’s ability to draw]
 Ona tože **narisovala** xorošo.
 she too drew.PERF well
- b. CSR
 Ona tože **risovala** xorošo.
 she too drew.IMPF well
 ‘She too drew well.’

⁴ The copula *byt* is morphologically perfective, but semantically stative (cf. Franks 1995).

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These mistakes can be compared to the very similar data from the American Russian corpus given below. ‘Enlarge’ is similar in its lexical semantics (except, of course, transitivity) to ‘grow’ and ‘draw’ – to ‘write’.

- (15) a. Immigrant Russian (American Russian corpus)
esli ty use natural fertilizers, i u tebja èti cvety **rastet**
if you use natural fertilizers and by you these flowers grow.IMPF
b. CSR
... èti cvety **vyrastut**
... these flowers grow.PERF
‘If you use natural fertilizers, these flowers will grow.’
- (16) a. Immigrant Russian (American Russian corpus)
ona naučila menja **napisat’**
she taught.PERF me to-write.PERF
b. CSR
ona naučila menja **pisat’**
she taught.PERF me to-write.IMPF
‘She taught me how to write.’

To conclude, the Interference Hypothesis makes wrong predictions with respect to the aspectual marking in Immigrant Russian. As has been concluded at the end of the previous section, the Statistical Frequency Hypothesis does not much better than the L2-Transfer Hypothesis.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, I show that neither statistical frequency of aspectual forms in CSR nor interference from the speakers’ L2 play an important role in the attrition of aspect in Immigrant Russian. In this respect, attrition of aspect differs from lexical attrition, thus suggesting that aspect in Russian is a grammatical rather than lexical distinction.

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Immigrant Russian: Restructuring of the aspect

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Linguistic attitudes and emerging hyperdialectism in a diglossic setting: young Cypriot Greeks on their language

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1. Introduction

Cypriot is a south-eastern Greek dialect of the same group as the now practically obsolete dialect(s) of the islands of the Dodecanese. Cypriot is effectively the only surviving full-blown Greek dialect, with a sizeable body of about 600,000 speakers. Greek-speaking Cyprus displays classic diglossia in the Fergusonian sense, with Standard (mainland) Greek as the superposed (H) variety and a continuum of regional varieties and a metropolitan *koine* (L) constituting the naturally acquired Cypriot Greek. Standard Greek is used in education and in all public fora, while varieties of Cypriot are typically used in the private sphere. While arguments as to whether the diglossic situation in Greek-speaking Cyprus is shifting remain inconclusive, it seems to be the case that Cypriot Greek is undergoing heavy lexical loss, that Standard Greek is seeping into informal speech in the form of code-switching and lexical borrowing and that there is consequent emerging attrition of the dialect at the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. While Standard Greek is, expectedly, the variety associated with prestige, attitudes toward Cypriot Greek among its speakers are ambivalent, ranging from unadulterated admiration of its ‘linguistic purity’ to simultaneous dismissal of the prospect of granting it official status.

This paper is a report on two studies examining (i) the expression of language attitudes in school and university settings and (ii) the emergence of what I shall term Cypriot *hyperdialectism*, evidenced in young urban speech. The results of the first study attest an overall lack of prescriptive attitudes, with a few unexpected twists, as even the youngest participants produced surprisingly complex attitude statements in which the notion of appropriateness depending on situation replaced the more commonly held notion of linguistic ‘correctness’.

The preliminary findings from the second study point to diverging aspects of the negotiation of linguistic and cultural identity in this particular diglossic context. Current young urban speech exhibits features of hyperdialectism, realized as (a) construction of words and idiom chunks with exclusively Cypriot etymology and morphosyntax (b) re-introduction of practically obsolete dialectal

forms and (c) phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical adaptation of mainland Greek slang forms. Moreover, there is a marked trend towards (re)appropriation of dialectal forms employed mainly for satirical purposes in popular Cypriot sitcoms. The exploration of this aspect of young Cypriot speech revealed that hyperdialectism is perceived as the marker of ingroup solidarity *par excellence* in virtue of its function as a marker of exclusion from the mainstream; the preliminary findings thus confirm the politically ambivalent nature of the ‘popular’ and of the ‘subcultural’ as *loci* of endorsement of normative practices and of simultaneous linguistic and cultural resistance.

2. Confounding factors: language change and diglossia

2.1. Which Cypriot?

While the literature on Cypriot Greek acknowledges the existence of a continuum between regional ‘idioms’ and a metropolitan *koine* or urban Cypriot (Davy, Panayotou and Ioannou 1996, Newton 1972, 1983; Karyolemou & Pavlou 2001), any attempt at delimiting regional varieties and urban Cypriot must face the thorny problem of constant and rapid language shift; the preliminary categorizations in Newton 1972 are in need of re-examination in view of the drastic shrinking of the Greek-speaking area since the Turkish invasion of 1974,¹ the increased rates of internal migration, the expansion of the greater metropolitan area of Nicosia and increasing population mobility. In this light, Karyolemou and Pavlou mention the “homogenization of linguistic practices, a homogenization that is [...] more obvious in the speech of the generation born after 1974” (Karyolemou and Pavlou 2001: 111); one of the main findings in Karyolemou & Pavlou 2001 is that young speakers tend to recognize as salient features of the Cypriot dialect mostly phonological but also some morphological features belonging to urban Cypriot² rather than more marked features belonging to

¹ Residual bilingualism (Greek-Turkish) is estimated at a low 4% since the post-1974 segregation of the Greek- and Turkish-speaking populations (Scirha 1995).

² A brief taster of Cypriot Greek is provided below for purposes of exposition:

Phonetics/Phonology: Cypriot has variants [ʃ] [tʃ] [ʒ] [x] [f] [j] [ɟ] and [k]/[c] in lieu of Standard Greek [ç] [c] [z] [θ] [x], [χ], [dʒ], [j] respectively, e.g. Cypriot [ʃerin] but Standard Greek [çeri] ‘hand’, Cypriot [tʃe] but Standard Greek [ce] ‘and’, Cypriot [ʒumen] but Standard Greek [zume] ‘we live’, Cypriot (regional) [xalassa] but Standard Greek [θalasa] ‘sea’, Cypriot (regional) [foro] but Standard Greek [xoro] ‘I fit’, Cypriot [maʒa] but Standard Greek [maχa] ‘hair’, Cypriot (regional?) [ðo^βja] but Standard Greek [ðo^mdja] ‘teeth’, Cypriot [psarka] but Standard Greek [psarja] ‘fishes’. Cypriot also displays consonant gemination, e.g. [polla] but Standard Greek [pola] ‘many’, aspiration of stops, e.g. [kupp^ha] but Standard Greek [kupa] ‘cup’ and intervocalic fricative deletion e.g. [pein] but Standard Greek [peði] ‘child’. Voiceless stops are typically absent in Cypriot, e.g. [papas] but Standard Greek [babas] ‘dad’, except when preceded by a nasal, e.g. [to^m bapa] but Standard Greek [to^m baba] the dad-acc, etc.

regional varieties, which indirectly confirms their suggestion regarding the ongoing ‘homogenization’ of Cypriot.

Diglossia is arguably among the major factors inducing changes in the current state of the dialect. Irrespective of whether the definition of diglossia adopted is the narrower Fergusonian one (Ferguson 1959) or the broader one proposed in e.g. Fishman 1967, the fact remains that of the two varieties spoken in Cyprus, the superposed one, i.e. Standard Greek, is not naturally acquired but learned as a result of schooling, it is the variety used in education and in most public fora and formal settings, including political speeches and university lectures; it is the language of the press and of the media at large, with the exception of cartoons, satirical columns and popular television serials or sitcoms. Cypriot, be it some regional variety or the urban *koine*, is acquired naturally and it is used in informal interaction; attempts at codification and standardization, establishment of orthographic conventions and production of grammars and dictionaries remain random and unsystematic; while there is a sizeable body of poetry written in Cypriot, some of which is included in the school curriculum, the prospect of granting Cypriot official status or of using it in education invariably meets with unqualified resistance (Karyolemou 2001). Prescriptive attitudes in favor of Standard Greek expectedly abound (but see section 2.2 below).

What remains an open research issue is the establishment of the most theoretically interesting and meaningful correlation between the current state of Cypriot diglossia and the overall dynamics of language change that lead to language shift/‘homogenization’ of the type described in the previous paragraph. A related question is whether the Fergusonian postulate that diglossic situations

Morphology: There is an array of Cypriot morphological endings, e.g. [ex**us**in] but Standard Greek [ex**un**] have-3p, [estekuⁿ**dasin**] but Standard Greek [stek^o**dan**] stood-3p-imperf, [ner**on**] but Standard Greek [nero] water-s-nom/acc, [ner**uin**] but Standard Greek [ner**aci**] water-s-nom/acc-dimin, etc. Cypriot Greek lacks the overt morphological reflexes of present, past and future perfect tenses.

Syntax: Cypriot displays clitic-second (Tobler-Mussafia) effects, which Standard Greek does not, e.g.:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| (i) | tin iða
her-cl-acc saw-1s
‘I saw her’ | (Standard Greek) | iða tin
saw-1s her-cl-acc | (Cypriot) |
| (ii) | pos tin iðes?
how her-cl-acc saw-2s
‘How did you see her?’ | (Standard Greek) | in ⁿ dalos tin iðes?
how her-cl-acc saw-2s | (Cypriot) |

Vocabulary: There are substantial differences in the main bodies of Standard Greek and Cypriot, e.g. Cypriot [ðame] but Standard Greek [eðo] ‘here’, Cypriot [mappⁿa] but Standard Greek [bala] ‘ball’, Cypriot [pomilorin] but Standard Greek [domata] ‘tomato’, Cypriot [esso] but Standard Greek [spiti] ‘home’ etc.

which have remained stable for centuries may suddenly resolve themselves through the creation of a ‘mixed’ system has any relevance for Cypriot Greek today. In short, it remains to be determined to what extent and in what ways the attested influence from Standard Greek on Cypriot is a defining factor with regard to its current status, and what the precise features will be of the system that ongoing lexical, morphological and syntactic changes will eventually lead to;³ this involves the assumption that the stability of the disjunction between the two varieties will disappear, which is far from incontestable. Any attempt to touch upon this complex issue must take into account both the structural properties of the two competing systems and sociolinguistic parameters such as the relative prestige of each variety for particular groups of speakers and, perhaps more crucially, the intricate and often fast-shifting perceptions and interpretations of particular features of the system as markers or indices of social constructs as diverse as status, ethnicity, age, gender etc. With regard to the latter point, the literature on Cypriot contains a handful of illuminating works on speaker attitudes towards Cypriot diglossia which are briefly presented in the following section.

2.2. Attitudes towards Cypriot diglossia

The names by which Standard and Cypriot Greek are known in Cyprus at first blush point to overtly prescriptive views. Cypriot is collectively known as *xorkatika* ‘peasant-speak’, and is moreover typically characterized as *vareta* ‘heavy’. Standard Greek is called *kalamaristika* ‘inkwell-speak’; as *kalamaras* ‘inkwell’ is the derogatory term for a Greek from the mainland,

³ That heavy lexical borrowing from Standard Greek as well as code-switching or code-mixing take place is undeniable, as is the fact that Cypriot is undergoing lexical loss. Phonetic changes in the Cypriot *koine* include (a) replacement of voiceless stops with the corresponding prenasalized voiced ones, e.g. [ᵐbaᵐbas] ‘dad’, [ᵑgafa] ‘gaffe’ (Arvaniti 2002), (b) emergence of [nasal+voiceless stop] clusters, e.g. [mpultoza] ‘bulldozer’, [konta] ‘near’ (Tsiplakou in prep.), (c) increase in ‘spontaneous gemination’, e.g. [pollis] ‘much’, [poθθen] ‘whence’ (Newton 1983). Morphological changes include the introduction of present, past and future perfect tense in the system of Cypriot, e.g.:

(iii) eʃis ti ði?

have-2s her-cl-acc seen
‘Have you seen her?’

(data from Tsiplakou in prep.)

Syntactic changes include the emerging non-robustness of clitic-second effects in the syntax (Tsiplakou in prep.), e.g.:

(iv) inⁿdalos lalun to, to scillaki?

how call-3p it-cl-acc the doggie-acc
‘How do they call it, the doggie?’

(data from Tsiplakou in prep.)

All the above phenomena can be treated as instances of ‘attrition’ broadly defined to include systematic change (Tsiplakou in prep.).

kalamaristika at times acquires a negative flavor, while the verb *kalamarizo* ‘[attempt to] speak like an inkwell’ has mostly pejorative connotations, which are in stark contrast with the higher prestige that the superposed variety generally enjoys.

Existing studies of attitudes towards Cypriot diglossia proffer a range of explanations for this split in attitudes. Pavlou 1999 shows that prescriptive attitudes start at kindergarten, and he correlates bias towards Standard Greek with the children’s socioeconomic status, while Sciriha 1995 and, partly, Papadakis forthcoming link positive attitudes towards Cypriot with the endorsement of an exclusively Cypriot identity. Papapavlou 1998 conducted an experimental investigation into Cypriot university students’ attitudes towards both Standard Greek and Cypriot Greek using the matched-guise technique. The results indicated that the subjects on the whole had more positive feelings towards Standard Greek than towards Cypriot, as those speakers thought of as native speakers of Standard Greek were characterized as more attractive, more ambitious, more intelligent, more educated, more interesting, more modern, more dependable and more pleasant than the speakers in the Cypriot guise; speakers of Standard Greek were however characterized as less sincere, less kind, less friendly and, surprisingly, less humorous than speakers of Cypriot. Papapavlou 1998 relates these characterizations to the increased prestige of Standard Greek, which is enhanced by Cypriot language policies, but also with ambivalent attitudes toward the Cypriot dialect as a marker of a Cypriot ethnic identity, while negative evaluations of speakers of Standard Greek, especially with regard to the traits of sincerity and friendliness, are attributed to the Cypriot speakers’ high esteem of Standard Greek speakers’ proficiency in the Greek language.⁴

3. The present research

In the context described above, the first part of the present research seeks to establish whether attitudes towards diglossia among the young remain by and large prescriptive or not and whether variation in attitudes depends on age, gender, exposure to education or other parameters such as young speakers’ awareness of and attitudes towards notions such as linguistic appropriateness depending on situation of use. The second part of the research is an exploration of *hyperdialectism* in young Cypriot speech; an attempt is made to define the phenomenon and to determine the linguistic implications of this purportedly exclusively ‘young’ linguistic practice. The expectation is that correlations between the findings from the two studies will yield some insight both into the state of Cypriot diglossia today and into aspects of the dynamics of language change.

⁴ A plethora of comments by (older) informants presented in Papadakis forthcoming offers confirmation of this view. Below is a typical example:

(v) pu nafis e^mbistosinin se kalamara, manam mu... tfini kserusin na milun, tfile i ylossa tus...
‘How can you trust an inkwell, love... they know how to speak, their tongue rolls...’

3.1. Study I: language attitudes among young speakers of Cypriot Greek

The subjects of the first study were 199 young speakers of Cypriot Greek from the wider Nicosia region; 65 of the participants were junior high school students aged 12 to 15, 56 were senior high school students aged 15 to 18 and 78 were university students aged 18 to 24; 124 of the participants were female and 75 were male.⁵ A questionnaire containing eighteen questions, some of which were subsequently grouped into overarching variables (see 3.1.1. below), aimed to gauge the participants' perceptions and evaluations of their own linguistic production, that of their peers and that of their instructors, their attitudes toward Standard and Cypriot Greek and their perceptions regarding the use of Standard or Cypriot Greek depending on situation. The questionnaire was supplemented by personal interviews, data from which cannot be presented here due to space limitations.

3.1.1. Breakdown and discussion

The preliminary breakdown and analysis of results presented below does not include differences in responses depending on gender except when variables are grouped together; the more detailed breakdown into the three age groups examined is also not presented. The tables present participant responses in percentages. Statistical significance is indicated where it occurs.

(1) *On the 'superiority'/'inferiority' of Cypriot*

Compared to Standard Greek, I think Cypriot is	superior	inferior	equal
TOTAL	8.6%	30.8%	60.6%

(2) *Which is the 'richer' variety*

Compared to Standard Greek, I think Cypriot is	richer	less rich	equally rich
TOTAL	14.8%	40.3%	44.9%

(3) *Which is the 'more friendly' variety*

Compared to Standard Greek, I think Cypriot is	more friendly	less friendly	equally friendly
TOTAL	34.4%	25.6%	40%

⁵ A limitation of this study is its restriction to the wider metropolitan area and the lack of reference to the participants' socio-economic status; however, the three junior and senior high schools selected for the purposes of the study are most probably representative of socio-economic stratification in the region.

(4) *Grouping together of results in (1)-(3) and mean scores*

Status of Cypriot	MEAN SCORE*
MALE	1.77
FEMALE	1.74
TOTAL	1.75

*Differences between means are not statistically significant for this variable.

The preliminary analysis of the first three variables suggests that participant attitudes on the whole do not seem to be informed by prescriptive notions regarding the superiority of the superposed variety; if anything, the mean scores (average 1.75 out of a maximum of 3) indicate a slight bias towards Cypriot.⁶

(5) *Self-evaluation of proficiency in spoken Standard Greek*

My spoken Standard Greek is	excellent	very good	fair
TOTAL	40.2%	56.3%	3.5%

(6) *Self- evaluation of proficiency in written Standard Greek*

My written Standard Greek is	excellent	very good	fair
TOTAL	39.4%	52.5%	8.1%

(7) *Self- evaluation of proficiency in spoken Cypriot*

My spoken Cypriot is	excellent	very good	fair
TOTAL	56.1%	32.8%	11.1%

(8) *Evaluation of spoken Cypriot in comparison with older speakers*

In comparison with older speakers, my spoken Cypriot is	equally good	worse	better
TOTAL	39.8%	58.2%	2%

⁶ Out of the three variables examined in (1)-(3), Cypriot ranks much higher than Standard Greek with regard to the property of ‘friendliness’, a finding which confirms the results in Papapavlou 1998.

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(9) *Groupings of results in (5)-(7) and mean scores*

Proficiency in Standard Greek	MEAN SCORE*
MALE	2.25
FEMALE	2.39
TOTAL	2.34
Proficiency in Cypriot	
MALE	1.99
FEMALE	1.90
TOTAL	1.94

*Differences between means are not statistically significant for all variables. Variable ‘knowledge of Greek’ approaches statistical significance ($p = .062$).

The tables above contain some rather striking results, as they indicate *increased confidence* regarding the participants’ competence in Standard Greek, a result which is rendered more surprising by the fact that the speakers do not seem to perceive major differences in the level of their written and their spoken Greek. It is even more astonishing that subjects rank their proficiency in Standard Greek as higher than their proficiency in Cypriot.⁷

(10) *Perceptions regarding the use of Cypriot or Standard Greek in informal interaction*

At home or with friends I speak	Cypriot	Greek	both/depends
TOTAL	46.7%	5.5%	47.7%

(11) *Use of Cypriot or Standard Greek at school or university*

At school or university I speak	Cypriot	Greek	both/depends
TOTAL	11.1%	33.7%	55.3%

(12) *Attitudes towards use of Standard Greek in informal interaction*

If a Cypriot spoke Standard Greek in informal interaction	I would think they were joking	I would think they were showing off	I wouldn’t mind
TOTAL	50.3%	23.4%	26.4%

⁷ In the more detailed breakdown of results per age group not presented here it becomes evident that older participants rank their proficiency in Standard Greek higher than younger ones, a fact which could be related to the larger number of years spent in education.

(13) *Attitudes towards use of Cypriot by instructors*

If an instructor spoke Cypriot in class, I'd	think they were joking	think their Greek isn't adequate	like it
TOTAL	16.8%	22.0%	61.3%

While (12) and (13) can be interpreted as indications that appropriateness depending on situation and communicative import often takes precedence over 'correctness', the results in (10) and (11) can be shown to make sense when interpreted in conjunction with the results in (9). What appears to be at least partly unexpected is both the largeness and the parity of the percentages under 'both/depends' in (10) and (11). Comments from interviews revealed that this result in fact refers to the participants' belief that they code-switch between Standard Greek and Cypriot in both formal and informal interaction, depending on 'what they want to say'. The reference to code-switching may be viewed as containing a covert admission of lack of confidence in the subjects' competence in one or both varieties, or it may be seen as the exact opposite, i.e. as a statement to the effect that the speakers consider themselves equally proficient in both varieties and that they have full control of the process of switching. The latter interpretation suggests itself more strongly in view of the results in (9) above.⁸

Overall, the preliminary results presented here indicate that there is a definite trend towards the disappearance of prescriptive attitudes either way, as evidenced by the minimal expression of negative attitudes towards both Standard Greek and Cypriot Greek, that the notion of appropriateness depending on situation replaces the more commonly-held notion of linguistic 'correctness' and that these attitudes may well correlate with the subjects' increased confidence regarding their proficiency in Standard Greek.

3.2. Study II: emerging hyperdialectism in young Cypriot speech

3.2.1. Working hypothesis, methodology and results

The working hypothesis is that informal young Cypriot speech exhibits distinct features of *hyperdialectism*, realized as construction of new words and idiom chunks with exclusively Cypriot etymology and morphosyntax, re-introduction of practically obsolete dialectal forms, phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical adaptation of mainland Greek slang forms and a distinct trend towards reappropriation and recontextualization of dialectal forms employed mainly for satirical purposes in popular Cypriot sitcoms. This phenomenon appears to be

⁸A relevant comment by a participant is particularly illuminating:

(vi) I don't understand why I should have an 'inferiority complex'. I'm equally good at both *dialects*. I use whichever I like whenever it suits, sometimes both.

(M., 21, undergraduate, emphasis added)

concurrent with a recent significant increase in the use of Cypriot in the media.⁹ It is clear that, depending on both the definition of the phenomenon and the delimitation of the situations in which it occurs, hyperdialectism may be used as an indicator of language shift.

An initial corpus of 400 words and phrases was collected through loose participant observation of the informal interaction of four young ingroups. The corpus was subsequently distributed to 100 subjects whose ages ranged from 13 to 65; the participants aged 30 and over were asked to indicate which of these expressions they would use with their peers, which expressions they thought were used exclusively by younger speakers and which expressions they thought belonged to an older stage of Cypriot. The participants aged 13-30 were asked to indicate which of these expressions they would use exclusively with their peers, which expressions they thought were used by both older and younger speakers and which expressions they thought belonged to an older stage of Cypriot, and they were further asked to indicate which of these were nonetheless used by themselves and their peers. Participants were undecided for about 100 of the expressions; with regard to the distribution of the remaining 300-odd expressions, the analysis indicated that about 10% of those thought by the older group as belonging to the main body of informal Cypriot were considered to be exclusively young ingroup language and/or ‘slang’ by the younger group, while another slightly larger set of expressions was considered dated or obsolete. Interestingly, around 13% of the expressions that both groups marked as dated or obsolete were reported as having made a comeback in young speech. Most of these expressions were characterized as *polla xorkatika* ‘excessively peasant’ but participants reported that they use them [jia to^m bajaman tus], ‘for fun’ and they also consistently characterized them as ‘slang’. The ongoing expansion of the corpus and a pending new study involving twice the number of participants is expected to sharpen these results, in which, however, one of the facets of hyperdialectism, i.e. the reintroduction and reappropriation of older dialectal forms emerges distinctly.

The examples from the corpus provided below are divided in the three main categories introduced above, i.e. reappropriation, adaptation of Standard Greek forms and new formations:

Reintroduction of practically obsolete dialectal forms: [vitʃas tin] ‘hit it’; [vrikse] ‘shut up’; [eʃi kuspon is to mitseron] ‘there is a shovel in the Mitseron mine’, i.e. ‘run for your money’; [tsakrizo] ‘crack’, ‘upset’; [zavalle mu] ‘poor you’; [karkantuθca] ‘stuff and nonsense’ etc.

Phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical adaptation of Standard Greek slang forms: [ðulefcis me] ‘you ’re having me on’, SG [me ðulevis]; [pallutʃa] ‘tough’, SG [paluci]; [evapsammen din] ‘we’re in trouble’, SG [ti vapsame].

⁹ There is significant gradation in the type of Cypriot used in the media, with popular sitcoms favoring a purportedly ‘constructed’, ‘exaggeratedly peasant’ Cypriot.

New formations with Cypriot etymology and morphosyntax: [katse ti^m mapp^han xame] ‘cut the crap’, [pao me ta taʃa]/[pao triftos] ‘I’m worn out’, [tʃi pu to tʃi] ‘far out’; [fatʃimenos] ‘thunderbolted’; [fak^ha mu keⁿdron] ‘it gets on my nerves’.

3.2.2. Discussion

The data raise a number of interesting questions, which can only be tentatively answered at this juncture. Firstly, what are the reasons for the emergence of young hyperdialectism? Secondly, what induces the interpretation of hyperdialectal forms as ‘slang’? Thirdly, what is the precise nature of the relationship between young hyperdialectism and the current status of diglossia in Cyprus? Finally, should this type of hyperdialectism be expected to have an impact on language shift?

With regard to the first question, young speakers themselves often suggest influence from the popular media, especially sitcoms, as an explanation. The dialect is indeed allocated an increasingly larger space in the current Cypriot mediascape, which grants it visibility and some kind of legitimization in the public sphere; however, the typical political ambivalence of the popular is still at work, as the legitimization of the dialect is often undermined by its use for satirical purposes. Moreover, it must be assumed that the ‘traffic’ between the language of the popular media and actual linguistic practices is two-way and hence that the language of the media reflects and enhances such practices, the motivations behind which may require an alternative explanation.

The identification of hyperdialectal forms with ‘slang’ by young speakers in conjunction with their attitudes towards diglossia may pave the way towards an alternative account of the emergence of hyperdialectism. The 200-odd young speakers of the first study presented in this paper seem to have abstracted away from standard prescriptive attitudes towards both Standard and Cypriot Greek, and moreover their confidence regarding their competence in Standard Greek is high. The argument might then be put forward that in the consciousness of younger speakers the dialect is imbued not only with the more traditional and onerous symbolic function of representing a Cypriot identity, but also with the alternative symbolic function of constructing facets of a non-adult, non-mainstream, ‘subcultural’ identity. The characterization of hyperdialectal forms as ‘slang’ can then be accounted for, as ‘slang’ is by definition a marker of ingroup solidarity *par excellence* in virtue of its marginalizing role, of its function as a marker of exclusion from the mainstream.¹⁰

Whether young hyperdialectism of this type will have an impact on language shift remains unclear. At first blush it may be construed as a *locus* of linguistic

¹⁰ In this sense, the use of the term ‘slang’ by participants in the second study may be a misnomer, albeit a very informative one with regard to the nature of the relevant linguistic and cultural practices. I am very grateful to Andreas Papapavlou for sharing his thoughts and intuitions on this matter with me.

resistance in the face of the homogenization of Cypriot, but the temporal and contained nature of the phenomenon makes the need for a longitudinal study imperative before any definitive conclusions can be drawn.

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