FORMAL APPROACHES TO CREOLE STUDIES III

Lisboa
November 15-16, 2012

Organizing committee:
    Nélia Alexandre
    Fernanda Pratas
    Tjerk Hagemeijer

Author(s)	Jorge Rocha
Title	***The language of genes: the genetic structure of two creole archipelagos (São Tomé e Príncipe and Cape Verde)***

The archipelagos of São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde have strikingly similar patterns of human settlement: i) both groups of islands were discovered during the expansion of Portuguese maritime trade in the 15th century; ii) in both cases the islands were originally uninhabited and were colonized by European rulers and African slaves, involving the displacement of large number of individuals to new environments; and iii) the diversity of contributions to the peopling of the islands resulted in the emergence of creole languages with a Portuguese lexical basis. However, in spite of these similarities, the peopling processes of the two archipelagos led to quite different outcomes in the genetic and non-genetic dimensions of the human variation in their populations. In this talk, I will outline the major differences in the genetic structures of São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde and explore the historical factors that might have shaped these differences, and that can provide a framework for interpreting linguistic and cultural diversity in the two archipelagos.

Author(s)	Michel DeGraff
	(in collaboration with: Robert Berwick, MIT Electrical Engineering & Computer Science, & Trevor Bass, http://trevorbass.com)
Title	***Phylogenetic magic in Creolistics: Language acquisition, feature values and family values***

Creole languages have traditionally been excluded from the scope of the Comparative Method (Taylor 1956, Thomason & Kaufman 1998). Recent studies continue to claim that Creoles lie outside well-established language families, constituting an exceptional typology as the least complex human languages (Parkvall 2008, McWhorter 2011). Arguing for this exceptional status, Bakker, Daval-Markussen, Parkvall & Plag & 2011 ("B*&al")* and Daval-Markussen & Bakker 2012 ("D-M&B") apply novel phylogenetic tools (i.e., *SplitsTree* from Huson & Bryant 2006; cf. Dunn *et al* 2008) to look for "irrefutable" evidence that "Creoles are typologically distinct from non-Creoles." Similarly, recent studies have argued that Creole languages show various degrees of (local) simplicity due to their origins in "conventionalized interlanguages of an early stage" (Plag 2008a,b, 2009a,b).

We refute all these claims. Computational phylogenetic methods such as SplitsTree, as applied by B*&al* and D-M&B, do not, and cannot, reconstruct evolutionary history regarding Creole formation. Furthermore, we show that B*&al* and D-M&B's claims are undermined by several conceptual, methodological, statistical, logical and empirical flaws, including claims that contradict each other (logically or empirically) and claims that contradict well-documented linguistic facts about both Creoles and non-Creoles (cf. Fon Sing & Leoue 2012 for one previous critique of methodological and empirical failings in B*&al*). Then, we show that Creole languages do not, and could not, be taken to reflect "early interlanguage" properties as defined by Plag. As it turns out, some of these properties make such early interlanguages fundamentally unlike all natural languages, including Creoles (DeGraff 2009).

Given historical linguists' increasing use of computational phylogenetics and language-acquisition results, we conclude that such methods must be reviewed with great care, as we do here, before they are extrapolated to language change and language creation. Once the Comparative Method is adequately applied, Creole formation appears indistinguishable from language change (cf. Weinreich 1958, Posner 1985, Mufwene 2008). For example, Caribbean Creoles are genealogical descendants of their European "lexifier" languages, with Niger-Congo substrate influence which creates quasi-Sprachbund effects among Caribbean Creoles (Aboh & DeGraff, to appear).

More generally, our results should help establish the scope and limitations of extrapolating language-acquisition data and computational phylogenetics to historical linguistics, with an eye toward the improvement of such interdisciplinary methods.

| Author(s) | Ana R. Luís |
| Title | ***Multiple exponence in creole word formation: the doubling of the causative*** |

The term multiple exponence (ME) is applied to situations in which one feature (or bundle of features) is realized more than once within a single morphological word (Matthews 1972). One well-known example is the German past participle form *gesagt* 'said' (root *sag-*), in which both the prefix *ge-* and the suffix *-t* are needed to mark the past participle (Stump 2001)). Whereas ME is well-attested in inflectional morphology, more recent studies have shown that it can also be triggered by argument changing operations (Caballero & Harris 2012). In Rarámuri, for example, the verb form given in (1a) contains two causative makers but is semantically equivalent to the verb form in (1b) with only one causative marker (Caballero 2011).

Despite the attention given to ME cross-linguistically, very little is known about its presence in creole morphology. The goal of this paper will be to address this gap by examining the peculiar case of ME in Kriyol, the Portuguese-based creole spoken in Guiné Bissau. In this language, a reduplicated verb may be causativized through the multiple affixation of the causative marker. As shown in (2), the reduplicated verb takes two causative suffixes but expresses only one causer argument. This constitutes a clear case of ME given that there is no semantic equivalent to the multiple realization of the causative exponents. Most importantly however, unlike in Rarámuri, both causative suffixes must be phonologically exactly identical and cannot appear on the same stem.

Evidence showing that causativized reduplicated verbs constitute effectively one single morphological word is shown in (3), where the whole string has undergone passivization, bearing the word-final suffix *-du*. To the best of my knowledge there are no documented cases of this pattern of ME in word formation.

In this paper, I offer an analysis of ME in Kriyol within Construction Morphology (Booij 2010). This is a word-based theory which is designed to accommodate the interaction between morphological operations through the unification of construction schemas. We account for the interaction between reduplication and passivization through the unification of the schemas (4a) and (4b), thus capturing the fact that passivization is external to reduplication, as shown in (4c). As to the interaction between reduplication and causativization, closer observation reveals that the schema in (5b) – which correctly derives (non-reduplicated) causativized verbs - cannot unify with the general reduplication schema in (5a) to derive the causativized reduplicated verbs.

As shown in (5c), such unification would fail to account for the word-internal causative marker. The crucial question then is how to account for the multiple affixation of the causative markers in reduplicated verbs attested in (2).

Drawing on semantic evidence, we will argue that the causative markers are attached prior to reduplication. Significant support in favour of this view is provided by the fact that any semantic idiosyncrasy inherent to the (non-reduplicated) causative will invariably show up in the reduplicated causative form, while semantic idiosyncrasies in the reduplicated form will not. As shown in (6), the reduplicated causative form *kuri-nti kunri-nti* 'drive repeatedly' inherits the lexicalized meaning of *kuri-nti* 'drive' but not the transparent semantics of *kuri-kuri* 'run a lot'. Similarly, in (7), the reduplicated causative *kinti-si kinti-si* 'make very warm' inherits the transparent semantics of *kinti-si* 'make warm' but not the lexicalized meaning of *kinti-kinti* 'fast'. From this observation it follows

that the causative marking on reduplicated words in Kriyol is best viewed as resulting from the construction schema in (8) which assumes that the sub-constituents of the reduplicated (causativized) verb are causative verbs.

Data

(1)   a. ne mi mé -**r -ti** -ma orá
        1SGN 2SGA WIN -**CAUS -CAUS** -FUT.SG EV
        'I will make you win'
        b. ne mi mé -**r** -ma orá
        1SGN 2SGA WIN -**CAUS** -FUT.SG EV
        'I will make you win'

(2)   Djokin **ianda -nta ianda -ntá** Manel Bissau
        Djokin walk -CAUS walk -CAUS Manuel Bissau
        'Djokin made Manuel walked all over Bissau'

(3)   Manel **ianda -nta ianda -ntá** -du Bissau
        Manuel walk -CAUS walk -CAUS -PASS Bissau
        'Manuel was made to walk all over Bissau'

(4)   a. [[V]i [V]i] j = [RED i] j
        b. [[V] j -*du*] k = [PASS j] k
        c. [[V]i [V]i] j -du] k = [PASS [[RED i] j]] k

(5)   a. [[V]i [V]i] j = [RED i] j
        b. [[V] j -*nti*] m = [CAUSj] m
        c.* [[V]i [V]i] j -*nti*] m = [CAUS[[RED i] j]] m

(6)   a. **kuri-nti kuri-nti** 'drive repeatedly'
        b. **kuri-nti** 'drive'
        c. **kuri-kuri** 'run a lot'

(7)   a. **kinti-si kinti-si** 'make very warm'
        b. **kinti-si** 'make warm'
        c. **kinti-kinti** 'fast'

(8)   [[V]vcaus, i [V]vcaus, i] j = [RED i] j

References

Booij, Geert. 2010. *Construction morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caballero, Gabriela. 2011. Multiple Exponence and the phonology-morphology interface. In S. Lima, K. Mullin, & B. Smith (eds.). *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society 39*. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Caballero, Gabriela & Alice C. Harris (2012). A working typology of Multiple Exponence. In Ferenc Kiefer, Mária Ladányi & Péter Siptár (eds.). *Current Issues in Morphological Theory: (Ir)Regularity, Analogy and Frequency*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Matthews, Peter H. 1972. *Inflectional morphology: a theoretical study based on aspects of Latin verb conjugation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stump, Gregory. 2001. *Inflectional Morphology: A Theory of Paradigm Structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Author(s)	Ekaterina Bobyleva
Title	***Topicality effects on plural marking in creoles***

Creole languages often behave rather differently from their superstrates with regard to the marking of nouns for individuation and number. While in Germanic and Romance languages count nouns are always marked for number by means of plural markers and/or determiners, in creoles overt number marking is not required for singular or plural interpretation. Nouns can be used to refer to singular and plural individuals without being overtly marked for number, and number markers are not used categorically. The occurrence of overt plural marking is often governed by other factors, in addition to the plural semantics of the noun.

It has been frequently observed in the literature that creoles tend to express plurality only in combination with definiteness. This is however not a universal creole feature. It can be rather viewed as characteristic of Atlantic Creoles such as Sranan, Jamaican, Haitian Lesser Antillean or Negerhollands, which use 3Pl pronoun- or demonstrative-derived forms as plural markers. In quite a few creoles, including, for instance, Krio, Belizean Creole, Tok Pisin, Berbice Dutch, Mauritian Creole Papiamentu, Cape Verdean Creole, Palenquero, and Diu Portuguese, plural marking is not categorically restricted to definite NPs.

In many creoles, the distribution of plural markers appears to be affected by other factors next to or instead of definiteness. These factors include the non-redundancy principle, specificity, animacy and subject vs. object position of the NP (e.g., Mühlhäusler 1981; Dijkhoff 1983; Singler 1991; Baptista 2001; Stewart 2006; Patrick 2009; Bobyleva 2011). The latter three factors all look suggestive of the fact that the choice of overt vs. zero plural marking may be determined by the topical status of an NP: topical NPs are always specific, often animate and they typically occur in the subject position in a sentence.

The present study proposes a systematic analysis of topicality effects on plural marking in creoles based on a balanced sample of 15 languages and attempts to assess the position of topicality in the hierarchy of factors which constraint the distribution of plural marking in creoles.

References

Baptista, Marlyse. 2003. Inflectional plural marking in creoles and pidgins: A comparative study. In Ingo Plag (ed.), *The Phonology and Morphology of Creole Languages*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 315-332.

Bobyleva, Ekaterina. 2011. Variable plural marking in Jamaican Patwa and Tok Pisin: A linguistic perspective. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique* 56(1): 37–60.

Dijkhoff, Martha. 1983. The process of pluralization in Papiamentu. In Lawrence Carrington (ed.), *Studies in Caribbean linguage*. St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society for Caribbean Linguistics. 217-229.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1981. The development of the category of number in Tok Pisin. In Pieter Muysken (ed.) *Generative studies on creole languages*. Dordrecht: Foris. 19-55.

Patrick, Peter L. 2009. Number marking in Jamaican Patwa. Paper read at the 8th Creolistics Workshop, Giessen.

Singler, John V. 1991. Social and linguistic constraints on plural marking in Liberian English. In Jenny Cheshire (ed.), *English around the world: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 544–562.

Stewart, Michelle M. 2006. Quantification in Jamaican Creole: The syntax and semantics of evri ('every') in interaction with indefiniteness. Doctoral dissertation, University of West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica.

Author(s)	Fabiola Henri & Olivier Bonami
Title	***Predicting article agglutination in Mauritian Creole***

Mauritian Creole nouns of French etymology frequently have a form analogous to a sequence of an article and a French noun, arguably as a result of a misinterpretation on the part of early speakers of word boundaries (Table 1). Earlier work has investigated whether the high prevalence of the phenomenon in MC compared to other French-based creoles can be traced back to Bantu inuence (Baker, 1984; Strandquist, 2003). Here we address a different issue: given that some, but not all nouns of French etymology have given rise to the phenomenon, what are the factors that favor or disfavor agglutination? We identify 5 factors that are likely to play a role, but neither of which categorically determines whether agglutination has occured or not; see Table 2[1]. We then proceed to a regression analysis to determine to what extent each factor is relevant. The analysis will apply to all nouns in (Carpooran, 2011)'s dictionary, and rely on phonological and statistical information on the French lexicon collected in the lexique.org database (New et al., 2007).

A separate but related issue is that of predicting which article is agglutinated. The presumption is that frequency of collocation in French is the main predictor. We will confirm this on the basis of collocational information on article+noun sequences compiled from 5 years of the newspaper *Le Monde*.

The first part of this study focusses on the existence of agglutination. In many cases though, agglutination is not mandatory, and the Mauritian noun has two variants, corresponding respectively to the bare French etymon and to a French article+etymon sequence (1). In the second part of this study, we investigate factors conditioning the use of each variant of alternating nouns. Native speaker intuitions seem to indicate that the agglutinated form is used when the noun forms a noun phrase on its own; whenever the noun is determined or modified, the bare form is preferred (2). However, judgements seems to be rather unreliable in this context. Because of this, we are currently conducting a study of the use of alternating nouns in a statistically significant word corpus of Maurician texts. Independently of this, we will conduct statistical analyses to investigate which factors make alternation more likely.

(1) a. Fr. baleine 'whale' > balenn / labalenn
     b. Fr. an 'year' > an / lan
     c. Fr acoutrement 'dress' > akoutreman / lakoutreman

(2) a. Lakize/*akize inn   leve.
     defendant   PERF stand_up
     'The defendant stood up.'
     b. Tou   akize/*lakize konsidere inosan   osi lontan ki   pa-'nn   prouv zot koupab.
     every defendant   consider innocent as long   that NEG-PERF prove 3SG guilty
     'A defendant is considered innocent until proven guilty.'
     c. Mo enn akize/*lakize.
     1SG IND defendant
     'I am a defendant.'

---

[1] Factors that are not easily collectable on a large scale, such as semantic type, are ignored in this study. However they are likely to correlate strongly with some of the factors we do examine.

d. Mo ordonn twa akiz   akize/*lakize la.
   1SG order   2SG accuse defendant   DEF
   'I order you to accuse the defendant.'

e. Mo prinsipal akize/*lakize dan kees la.
   1SG main   defendant   in case DEF
   'I'm the main defendant in this case.'

	French article	Mauritian noun	trans.	French noun
definite	M.SG *le*	ledo	back	le dos
	F.SG *la*	laplaz	beach	la plage
	SG *l'*	lespas	space	l'espace
	PL *les*	lizye	eye	les yeux
indefinite	SG *un/une*	nam	soul	une âme
	PL *des*	dizef	egg	des œufs
partitive	du	dipin	bread	du pain
	de l'	delwil	oil	de l'huile
plural	DEF *les* or IND *des*	zepis	spice	les/des épices

Table 1: Sample Mauritian agglutinating nouns and their French etymons

factor		agglutinating	nonagglutinating
Initial segment	V	accès 'access' > lakse	abcès 'abcess' > abse
	C	flore 'flora' > laflor	fleur 'flower' > fler
Syllable count	low	marche 'walk' > lamars	marche 'steps' > mars
	high	encadrement 'supervision' > lankadreman	égratignure 'scratch' > egratinir
First vowel	low	étoile 'star' > zetwal	casque 'helmet' > elmet
	front	instinct 'instinct' > linstin	innovation 'innivation > inovasion
	back	arrivée 'arrival' > larive	acteur 'actor' > akter
Gender	M	dos 'back' > ledo	cours 'course' > kour
	F	main 'hand' > lame	place 'seat' > plas
Frequency of noun			

Table 2: factors expected to influence agglutination

References

Baker, P. (1984). `Agglutinated french articles in creole french: Their evolutionary significance'. TeReo.

Carpooran, A. (2011). Diksioner Morisien. Sainte Croix (Mauritius): Koleksion Text Kreol, 2nd Edition.

New, B., Brysbaert, M., Veronis, J., and Pallier, C. (2007). `The use of film subtitles to estimate word frequencies'. Applied Psycholinguistics, 28:661-677.

Strandquist, R. E. (2003). Article Incorporation in Mauritian Creole, Master Thesis. Ph.D. thesis, University of Victoria.

Author(s)	Gabriel Araújo, Parth Bhatt & Tjerk Hagemeijer
Title	***Revisiting the liquid consonants in the Gulf of Guinea creoles***

This paper examines the phonological outcomes of Portuguese lexical items containing pre- or post-vocalic liquid consonants (laterals or rhotics) in Santome, Principense, Angolar and Fa d'Ambô, the four Portuguese-related Gulf of Guinea creoles (GGCs). The primary focus of this study will be on word-initial consonant + /l/ sequences in Santome, the historical continuation of the proto-language, and the corresponding forms in the other three GGCs, Angolar, Fa d'Ambô and Principense (data from Maurer 1995, 2009; Zamora 2010), which lack complex onsets.

In his study of Santome, Ferraz (1987) describes the contexts in which liquids in the Portuguese etymon were deleted, maintained or metathesized (cf. examples in Tables 1, 2 and 3) and briefly compares these patterns to those found in the three sister creoles. Ferraz hypothesizes that the declustering patterns were a characteristic feature of the proto-language and that Santome developed the consonant+/l/ sequences at a later stage, subsequently to speciation of the proto-language. In a follow-up study, Rougé & Schang (2006) suggest that the liquid consonants were introduced due to the growing Portuguese presence from the mid-19th century on, during the coffee and cacao boom. It is crucial to note, however, that documents from that period written in Santome show that the consonant+/l/ sequences were already well established at that time (e.g. Negreiros 1895; Schuchardt 1882).

This paper takes an alternative approach and proposes that the liquid consonants were a feature of the proto-creole and thus did not need to be reintroduced. The main phonological evidence in favour of this proposal is the presence of cognate forms where one finds word-initial sequences of consonant+/l/ in Santome and word-initial sequences of a single consonant followed by a long vowel in the sister creoles, as shown in Table 2. This correlation is hard to explain if one claims that the liquids of the Portuguese etymons were systematically deleted in the proto-creole. Therefore we propose that the underlying sequences of liquid+vowel and vowel+liquid constitute the original pattern and that these sequences were reconfigured in Principense, Fa d'Ambô and Angolar, which underwent a process of basilectalization favoring syllable restructuring. Vowel length is thus analyzed as a direct consequence of syllabic restructuring in these languages caused by the fact that complex onsets are disallowed. Santome, on the other hand, arguably had better conditions to retain clusters, possibly due to stronger exposure to the Portuguese lexifier, where liquids are found almost exclusively in C_2 position in complex onsets.

In sum, it is argued that Santome favours faithfulness to the Portuguese input over markedness constraints on syllabic onsets and thus allows complex onsets. Principense, Fa d'Ambô and Angolar, however, tend to favour unmarked word-initial onsets and thus systematically restructure the underlying liquid into a long vowel in stressed syllables as shown in Table 2. The data in Table 3 further show that all four creoles disallow coda consonants and choose differing methods of restructuring segments found in this position (metathesis from the coda position in Santome, deletion in Angolar and Principense and either deletion or lengthening in Fa d'Ambô). It follows that stress and the feature [coronal] are relevant in the outcomes.

The differences found in the co-phonologies of the closely related Gulf of Guinea creoles are thus the result of the application of different constraints acting on the lexicon

that must have been largely determined by the respective linguistic ecologies these creoles developed in after they became autonomous languages.

Table 1. Coda deletion before [+coronal].

Santome	Angolar	Principense	Fa d'Ambô	Portuguese etymon	English
gasa	gasa	ngatha	gasa	garça	heron
petu	petu	petu	petu	perto	close by
poto	poto	poto	poto	porta	door

Table 2. C+/l/ in situ and long vowels.

Santome	Angolar	Principense	Fa d'Ambô	Portuguese etymon	English
blanku	baanku	baanku	baanku	branco	white
glêza	gêêza	ngeedha	gêêza	igreja	church
platu	paatu	paatu	paatu	prato	plate

Table 3. Restructuring before [-coronal] .

Santome	Angolar	Principense	Fa d'Ambô	Portuguese etymon	English
plôkô	pôkô	pôkô	pôjô	porco	pig
blaga	baga	baga	baaga	embargar	burst, destroy
klupa	kupa	kupa	kuupa	culpar	to blame

References

Ferraz, L.I. (1987). The liquid in the Gulf of Guinea creoles, *African Studies*, 46, 287-295.

Maurer, P. (1995). *L'Angolar: un créole afro-portugaise parlé à São Tomé*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Maurer, P. (2009). *Principense. Grammar, texts, and vocabulary of the Afro-Portuguese creole of the Island of Príncipe, Gulf of Guinea*. London: Battlebridge Publications

Negreiros, A.L. (1895). *Historia Ethnographica da ilha de S. Tomé*. Lisboa: 1895.

Rougé, J.-L. & E. Schang (2006). The origin of the liquid consonant in Saotomense Creole, In P. Bhatt & I. Plag (eds.) *The Structure of Creole Words*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Schuchardt, Hugo (1882). Ueber das Negerportugiesische von S. Thomé. *Sitzungsberichte Wien* 101. 889-917.

Zamora, Armando (2010). *Gramática descriptiva del fa d'ambô*. Barcelona: CEIBA Ediciones.

Author(s)	Helderyse Rendall, Fernanda Pratas & João Costa
Title	***Aspects of passives in Capeverdean***

Passive structures in Capeverdean have never before been extensively described. Veiga (1995:193) points out that, in the Santiago Island variety, there are two postverbal morphemes involved in the passive formation:: "du" and "-da". But the author also points out that this type of structures is not productive in this creole language. Lang (2002), Baptista (2002) and Pratas (2007) identify the same morphemes and argue for some hypotheses to account for some passive contexts. Lang (2002:107) also adds that the morpheme *-da* marks not only the passive voice of a sentence, but also an anterior time, and that, according to Paula de Brito (1967), it must have been the result of the contraction of *-duba*: passive morpheme plus anterior morpheme.

None of these works, however, describes the exact contexts where these constructions occur or the type of restrictions that prevent them from occuring in other contexts. Also, there has been virtually no discussion about the fact that the by-phrase is prohibited; this means that the crucial question of what happens to the active subject theta-role has been unanswered.

In this paper we present an extensive description of the Capeverdean passive constructions, including: (i) the meaning of the morphemes *-du* and *-da* (1); (ii) the properties of and restrictions to the passivization in ditransitive contexts (only in some cases may the indirect object be passivized) (2); (iii) the role of the other functional morphemes available in the language (they seem to mark tense, aspect and modality in passives, just as they do in active voice) (3); note that these temporal contributions are, in many languages, a responsability of auxiliaries; in Capeverdean, however, there is no auxiliary involved in the passive formation.

Furthermore, this full description will be accompanied by a detailed analysis of the most visible gramatical property of Capeverdean passives, which is the ungrammaticality of the by-phrase (4). We will pass in review the works by Borer (1998), Santos (1999), for Portuguese, and also by Goodall (1997), and we will finally propose an analysis of this phenomenon on the grounds of a lexical operation that has effects at the sintax/semantics interface, in the line of what has been proposed in Reinhart (1996). More specifi cally, we argue that the external theta-role has been saturated. This means, roughly, that it is not present at the syntax, but it still exists semantically. This is demonstrated by the fact that these passives may be modified by expressions of the 'on purpose' type (5), besides other properties that denote an agent.

(1) a. *Bolus   kumedu.*
    cake   eat:PASS
    'The cakes have been eaten.'
  b. *Bolus   kumeda.*
    cake   eat:PASS.PST
    'The cakes had been eaten.'
(2) a. *Djon dadu livru.*
    Djon give.PASS book
    'Djon has been given a book.'
  b. * *Mininu dadu katxor.*
    boy   give:PASS dog
    'The boy has been given a dog.'
(3) a. *Skola sata   pintadu.*

  school PROG paint:PASS
  'The school is being painted.'
 b. *Skola ta*   *pintadu.*
  school HAB/FUT paint:PASS
  'The school is painted (every year)'/'will be painted (tomorrow).'
(4) *Kel bolu kumedu / * pa Djon*
  DET cake eat:PASS PREP Djon.
  'The cake has been eaten by Djon.'
(5) *Karu riskadu di abuzu.*
  car scratch:PASS on purpose
  'The car has been scractched on purpose.'

References:

Baptista, Marlyse (2002) *The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole, the Sotavento varieties.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Borer, Hagit (1998) Deriving passive without theta roles. In S. Laponte, D. Brentari & P. Farrell (eds) *Morphology and Its Relation to Phonology and Syntax.* Stanford: CSLI.

Brito, A. de Paula. (1887) Dialectos crioulos portugueses. Apontamentos para a gramática do Crioulo que se fala na ilha de Santiago de Cabo Verde. Praia.

Goodall, Grant (1997). "θ-alignment and the by-phrase." *Chicago Linguistic Society 33, vol.1: The main session.* Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago. Pgs.129-139. 1997

Lang, Jurgen (2002). "Santiago e o seu crioulo: breve esboço da gramática do crioulo de Santiago *in Dicionário do Crioulo de Santiago* (Cabo Verde). *Com equivalentes em português e alemão.* Alemanha

Pratas, Fernanda. 2007.*Tense features and argument structure in Capeverdean predicates.* Doctoral dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Reinhart, Tanya (1996). *Syntactic effects of lexical operations: Reflexives and Unaccusatives, OTS working papers.*

Santos, Ana Lúcia. (2000). *O particípio absoluto em português e em outras línguas românicas.* Masters Dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa.

Veiga, Manuel (1995). *O Crioulo de Cabo Verde. Introdução à Gramática.* Praia: Instituto Caboverdiano do Livro e do Disco/Instituto Caboverdiano de Cultura.

Author(s)	Hugo Cardoso & Ana R. Luís
Title	*A Paradigm-Function approach to verbal inflection in Diu Indo-Portuguese*

The survival of inflectional morphology in creole languages has been a much heated debate in recent years and numerous studies have shown that creoles languages are not necessarily exempt from overt inflection (Plag 2008, Siegel 2004, Kihm 2003, 2010). Indo-Portuguese creoles, in particular, are known for showing an unusually high degree of retention of inflectional morphology (Clancy 1996, Clancy and Koontz-Garboden 2002, Luís 2008, 2011, Cardoso 2009). Despite such unique property, interesting differences can be found between, the various Indo-Portuguese varieties (see for example Clancy and Koontz-Garboden (2002) for a comparison between Korlai and Daman). In this paper, however, we will focus on Diu Indo-Portuguese (DIP). The main goal will be to examine the inflectional patterns contained in the verbal paradigms of DIP and provide an analysis within Paradigm-Function Morphology (Stump 2001).

As shown in (1), verbs in DIP take four inflected forms: an infinitive form, a non-past form, a past form and a participle form. One of the immediately striking properties of DIP is that, unlike Korlai Indo-Portuguese, the verbal paradigm retains a non-past (finite) form which differs from the remaining verb forms in significant ways: a) it is affix-less and b) word stress falls on (the last syllable of) the stem and, as a result of stress shift, c) it contains the low-open vowels [ɔ] (vs. [o]), [ɛ] (vs. [e]) and [a] (vs.[ɑ]). Its phonological shape can be traced back to the Portuguese 3sg Present Indicative stem, from which it appears to have been derived (Cardoso 2009). In analogy to Korlai Indo-Portuguese, however, verb forms don't take any agreement endings, suffix allomorphy is observed on the past markers -*o* and -*w,* and roots of Portuguese origin are organized into the conjugation classes -*a,* -*e* and -*i.*

Significant in DIP is the prevalence of stem allomorphy. Overall, the verbal paradigm of DIP comprises the following stems: i) the default stem (in -a, -e or -i), ii) the first conjugation stem for past forms, and iii) the 'derived' stem for non-past forms. Irregular verbs take suppletive stems for the non-past form and, in some cases, also for the past form, as shown in (2). This means that two further stems are present, namely iv) the non-past stem for verbs like *traze* 'bring' and *sa-í* 'leave', namely *trag* and *say*, respectively; and v) the stem for the past form of *traze* 'bring', namely *tros*. Such pervasive presence of stem allomorphy is typical of inflecting languages, although somewhat unexpected of creole languages.

We offer an inflectional analysis of the verbal paradigm of DIP, within the theory of Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump 2001), based on the distinction, developed by Aronoff (1994), between realization rules (i.e. rules encoding morphosyntactic features) and morphomic rules (i.e. rules expressing formal alternations), following previous proposals by Luís (2008, 2011). We start with the Paradigm Function (PF) in (3), whose crucial role is to derive each inflected form of a lexeme as a cell in that lexeme's paradigm. Next, we propose realization rules (RRI), as shown in (4), which realize tense endings, and we formulate the stem formation rules (RR0) given in (5). Stem-formation rules differ from realization-rules in that the former apply to the root, whereas the latter apply to the stem (Stump 2001). Stem-selection rules, as given in (6), differ from both because they directly associate a given stem with a particular set of morpho-syntactic features, prior to the application of any RR.

(1)

	Infinitive	Non-past	Past	Participle
Class 1 'say'	*fal-a*	*fal*	*fal-o*	*fal-a-d*
Class 2 'eat'	*kum-e*	*kɔm*	*kum-e-w*	*kum-i-d*
Class 3 'ask for'	*pid-í*	*Pɛd*	*pid-i-w*	*pid-i-d*

(2)

	Infinitive	Non-past	Past	Participle
Class 2 'trazer'	*traz-e*	*Trag*	*tros*	*traz-i-d*
Class 3 'sair'	*sa-í*	*Say*	*sa-í-w*	*sa-í-d*

(3) Paradigm Function for DIP: PF ($<X, \sigma>$) = def RRI (RR0 (X, σ >)) = def $<Y, \sigma>$

(4) Rule Block deriving tense features in DIP
  a. RRI_a, {Tense: past}, $V_{[Class\ 1]}$ ($<X, \sigma$ >) = def $<Xo,\sigma>$
  b. RRI_b, {Tense: past}, $V_{[Class\ 2,3]}$ ($<X, \sigma$ >) = def $<Xw,\sigma>$
  c. RRI_c, {Tense: participle}, V ($<X, \sigma>$) = def $<Xd,\sigma>$
  d. RRI_d, { }, V ($<X, \sigma>$) = def $<X,\sigma>$

(5) Stem-formation rules for regular verbs in DIP

  Where X is the root of the lexeme,
  a. The form of the unmarked stem is X.
  b. The form of the a-stem is Xa.
  c. The form of the e-stem is Xe.
  d. The form of the i-stem is Xi.
  e. Derived Stem of X is stressed on the last syllable.

(6) Stem-selection rules for regular verbs in DIP

  Where X is the root of the lexeme,
  a. $RR0_a$, {Tense: non-past } ($<X, \sigma>$) = def $<Y, \sigma>$, where Y is the Derived Stem of X.
  b. $RR0_b$, {Tense: past} $_{V[Class\ 1]}$ ($<X, \sigma>$) = def $<Y, \sigma>$, where Y is X.
  c. $RR0_c$, { }, $_{V[Class\ 1]}$ ($<X, \sigma$ >) = def $<Y, \sigma$ >, where Y is Xa.
  d. $RR0_d$, { }, $_{V[Class\ 2]}$, ($<X, \sigma$ >) = def $<Y, \sigma$ >, where Y is Xe.
  e. $RR0_f$, { }, $_{V[Class\ 3]}$;{Tense: completive}, $_{V[Class\ 2]}$, ($<X, \sigma$ >) = def $<Y, \sigma$ >, where Y is Xi.

References
Cardoso, Hugo. 2009. *The Indo-Portuguese language of Diu*. Utrecht: LOT.
Clements, J. Clancy. 1996. *The Genesis of a Language: The formation and development of Korlai Portuguese.* Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Clements, J. Clancy and Andrew Koontz-Garboden. 2002. "Two Indo-Portuguese Creoles in Contrast". *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 17:2. 191-236.
Luís, Ana R. 2011. Morphomic structure and loan-verb integration: evidence from lusophone creoles. In: Martin Maiden et al. (eds.) Morphological Autonomy: Perspectives from Romance Inflectional Morphology. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 235-254.
Luís, Ana R. 2008. Tense marking and inflectional morphology in indo-portuguese. In S. Michaelis (ed.). Roots of creole structures: Weighing the contribution of substrates and superstrates. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 83-121.
Stump, Gregory. 2001. *Inflectional Morphology: A Theory of Paradigm Structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Author(s)	Klaus Abels & Nélia Alexandre
Title	***Comparing comparatives: spelling out a new kind of preposition stranding***

Preposition stranding is a cross-linguistically rare phenomenon. It has sometimes been claimed that certain Creoles, such as Papiamentu, Santome, and Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), show preposition stranding under wh-movement. The question is not straightforward to answer, because the position immediately following the preposition is not, as would be expected for a position occupied by a copy of movement, empty in the putative preposition stranding structures, but is occupied by an element that looks like a pronoun, which has been analyzed as a spelled out trace by Muysken (1977, 1980) and Alexandre and Hagemeijer (2002), or as defective copy in Alexandre (2009), and as special morpheme to allow preposition stranding in Abels (2003). However, the fact that this morpheme is homophonous to a pronoun raises the possibility that we are dealing with a resumptive pronoun rather than a preposition stranding pattern. The question is of considerable theoretical interest: if the Creoles mentioned do allow preposition stranding, then the database of languages that allow it would be increased and diversified away from Germanic, which would allow correlating preposition stranding with other properties of the language more easily. In this talk we propose a novel argument against treating spelled out trace/defective copy as a resumptive.

In fact, Alexandre (2009) showed for CVC that in wh-questions and relative clauses defective copies are sensitive to long and successive-cyclic movement ((1)-(2)) and behave as syntactic variables (3), while resumptive pronouns are not ((4)-(6)). Notice also the lack of number agreement between the spelled out copy and its antecedent.

In this talk, we will take the properties of clausal comparatives in CVC (like (7)) to be a new argument for the distinction between resumptive pronouns and defective copies. Since at least Chomsky (1977) these constructions are standardly analyzed as involving null operator movement, because they involve a gap, they are possible long distance, and they obey standard island constraints. As shown in Abels (2003), even languages that have robust resumptive strategies with other wh-movement constructions such as Hebrew do not allow resumptive pronouns in comparatives (see (8)). It follows that there is no grammatical variant of (9), since the example requires either preposition stranding or resumption in a comparative, neither of which is possible.

The CVC data in (10) show that resumptive pronouns behave like Hebrew resumptive pronouns in that they are impossible in comparatives. However, the crucial test case is the (non-agreeing) defective copy (see (11a) and contrast it with the impossible empty copy in (11b)).

Examples:

(1) *[Ki librus]$_i$ ki papia d'[el]$_i$ é difisi?   <u>Nominative island</u>
     which books that talk of.3SG be difficult

(2) *[Ki mininas]$_i$ ki Djon ka sabe [pamodi]$_j$ ki Zé ta studa ku-[el]$_i$ [~~pamodi~~]$_j$? <u>Wh-island</u>
     which girls that Djon NEG know why that Zé IPFV study with-3SG

(3) [Ki mudjeris]$_i$ ki Djon atxa un omi ki papia ku-[el]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ sen e konxe pg_i]?
     which women that Djon find(PFV) a man that talk(PFV) with-3SG without 3SG know

(4) [Ki librus]$_i$ ki papia d'[es]$_i$ é difisi?   <u>Nominative island</u>
     which books that talk of.3PL be difficult

(5) [Ki mininas]$_i$ ki Djon ka sabe [pamodi]$_j$ ki Zé ta studa ku-[es]$_i$ [~~pamodi~~]$_j$? <u>Wh-island</u>
     which girls that Djon NEG know why that Zé IPFV study with-3PL

(6) *[Ki mudjeris]$_i$ ki Djon atxa un omi ki papia ku-[es]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ sen e konxe pg_i]?
     which women that Djon find(PFV) a man that talk(PFV) with-3PL without 3SG know

(7) Djon skrebe mas [librus]$_i$ di ki dja bu le [~~librus~~]$_i$.
     Djon write(PFV) more books of that already 2SG read(PFV)

(8) Dani kara yoter sfarim me-asher Yosi kara (*otam)   <u>Hebrew</u>
     Dani read more books than-that Yosi read 3PL

(9) Dani diber al yoter sfarim me-asher Yosi diber {*al /*aleyhem}
     Dani talk(PFV) about more books than-that Yosi talk(PFV) about / about.3PL

(10) *Djon skrebe mas [librus]$_i$ ki dja bu obi papia d'[es]$_i$.
      Djon write(PFV) more books that already 2SG hear(PFV) talk of.3PL

(11)a. Djon skrebe mas [librus]$_i$ ki dja bu obi papia d'[el]$_i$.
      Djon write(PFV) more books that already 2SG hear(PFV) talk of.3SG
     b.*Djon skrebe mas [librus]$_i$ ki dja bu obi papia d'[--]$_i$.
      Djon write(PFV) more books that already 2SG hear(PFV) talk of

Author(s)	Márcia Santos Duarte de Oliveira, Flaviane Fernandes Svartman & Francisco João Lopes
Title	***Cleft structures in Cape Verdean and Brazilian vernacular Portuguese: a comparative study***

In the present work we undertake a comparison between the Cape Verdean language (CCV) and Brazilian vernacular Portuguese (PVB) having the cleft structures as the linguistic theme. In the case of CCV, the comparison is with the Creole of São Nicolau Island (CSN), which is part of the group called Barlavento (windward) – see Quint (2000: 9). With respect to PVB, we focus on data from the Southeast region (speakers of Sao Paulo).

Among scholars, in general, it is assumed that every cleft structure contains a relative – see, Braga, Kato & Mioto (2009: 283). In other words, it is proposed that the head of the complementizer phrase – CP – (as 'que' in Portuguese) is a relative pronoun. In this work, we follow a different direction, taking the approach of Modesto (2001) and ratified in Mioto & Negrão (2007) that 'not all cleft structures do contain a relative'.

Lopes (2012) follows the proposal of Modesto (2001) and Mioto & Negrão (2007) applying it to the CSN. However, Lopes (2012) goes beyond. In his study on relative constructions in this dialect of CCV, he explains the ambiguity in sentences like (2), applying syntax/phonology interface tests. For such, Lopes (2012) orients in the study of Fernandes (2007) on informational focus in the subject position in Brazilian and European Portuguese. See the sentence in (2):

(2) **É un moss k'ben d'Brazil aont** *"It was a boy that came from Brazil yesterday"*

In CSN, (2) is an ambiguous sentence: it can be: 1. *a cleft structure* – with a focus reading on 'um moço' – **k'** is head of the focus phrase – FocP; 2. *a copulative structure* – **k'** is a relative complementizer. The 'specificational' interpretation of a cleft in (2) occurs, according Lopes (2012: Chap. 6), from a sentence-context as:

(3) **Kin k'ben d'Brazil aont?** – "*Who came from Brazil yesterday?*"

It is also attested a 'non-specificational' interpretation for the sentence (2), above. For this interpretation in (2), Lopes (2012: Chap. 6) presents a context-question as in:

(4) **Kin k'purguntó-b pa mi?** "*Who did inquire you about me?*"

Lopes supports both interpretations for sentence (2) CSN, cleft and copulative, by analyzing the different prosodic structures associated with each one. On the one hand, the interpretation of the statement (2) as a cleft, as can be confirmed by the observation of Figure 1, there is a prominent peak in the intonation curve associated with the cleft subject (focused element), followed by downward and constant movement of the curve. On the other hand, the interpretation of sentence (2) as a copulative, as can be attested by the observation of Figure 2, the intonational curve shows no prominent intonation peak associated with a specific element of the sentence, but has regular movements of rising and decreases. The different prosodic structures associated with each of the possible interpretations for the sentence (2) are prosodic evidences that each of the interpretations is associated with a different syntactic structure.

Based on the prosodic analysis presented above for different interpretations associated with the sentence (2) of CCV, we will investigate if, also in PVB, different prosodic structures are found to be associated with different semantic interpretations for a sentence like (2) for this Portuguese variant.
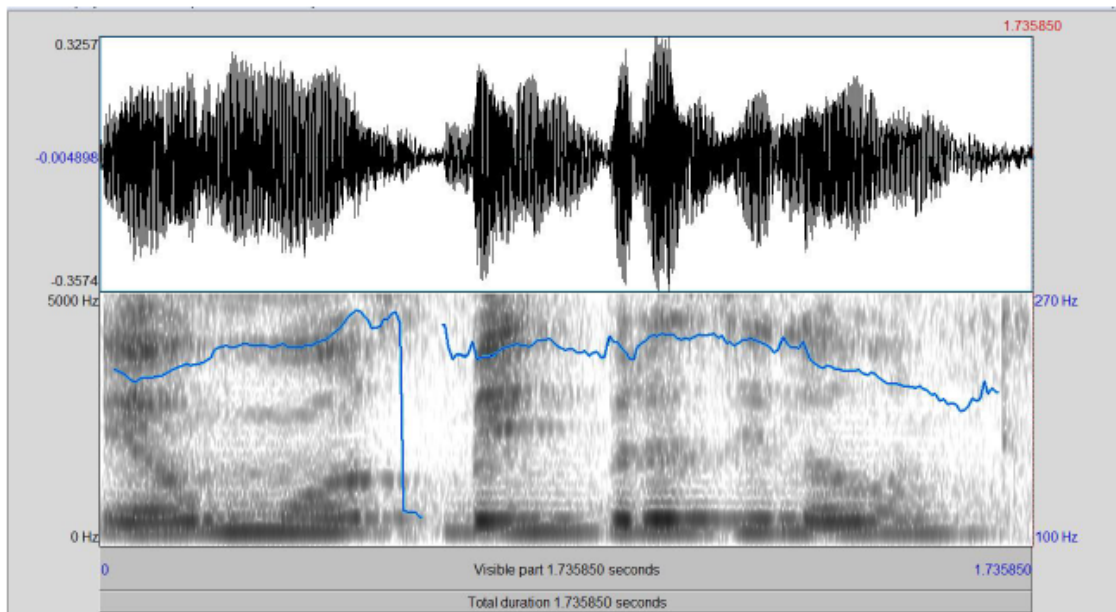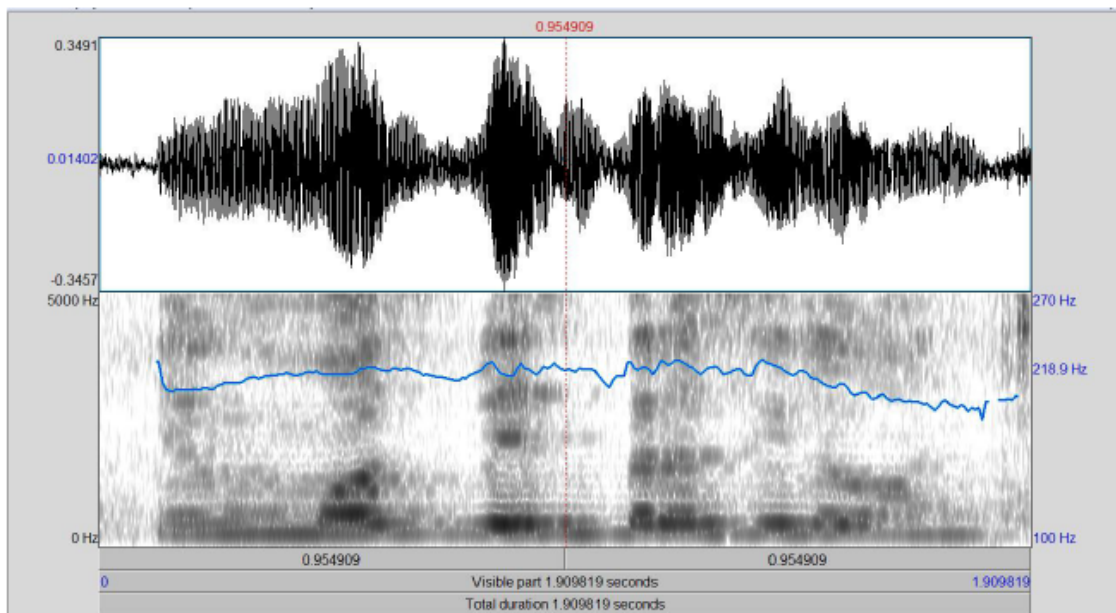

Figure 1

Figure 2

The Gloss for sentence (2)

(2)   É un moss k'ben d'Brazil aont

É	un	moss	k'	ben	d'	Brazil	aont
COP	DET	boy	COMP	come-PFV	from	Brazil	yesterday

"It was a boy that came from Brazil yesterday"

18

Author(s)	Marleen van de Vate & Tonjes Veenstra
Title	***On the finite/non-finite distinction in Saramaccan***

Mufwene and Dijkhoff (1989) claim that since finiteness is a purely morphological distinction and creole languages are morphological poor, these languages do not exhibit the finite vs. non-finite distinction. Furthermore, Byrne (1987) claims that in Saramaccan all clauses are finite and that the language lacks complementizers. More recent work on Saramaccan (Damonte 2002; Aboh 2006; Lefebvre and Loranger 2006, 2008; Veenstra 1996, 2008) has clearly demon- strated that the language has (at least) two complementizers: indicative/declarative *táa* and the subjunctive/irrealis *fu*, as exemplified in (1) and (2) respectively.

Clauses embedded under complementizer *táa* are all finite and are, therefore, left aside in this paper. Although, the syntactic distribution of *fu* has been discussed in the literature (see Byrne 1987; Damonte 2002; Aboh 2006; Lefebvre and Loranger 2006), the interpretation of *fu*-clauses has received much less attention. This paper, therefore, focuses on the status of clauses embedded under complementizer *fu*, and aims to determine whether these are finite or non-finite. By adopting Klein's (1998; 2006; 2009) definition of finiteness i.e. a finite verb carries the features Assertion and Topic Time, we demonstrate that clauses embedded under *fu* lack the features Assertion and Topic Time and, hence, we argue that they are non-finite.

As for the syntactic position of *fu* as a complementizer, there are two existing proposals in the literature. Both proposals assume a cartographic approach to the C-Domain (in the sense of Rizzi 1997). Damonte (2002) argues that *fu* is base-generated in the lower C-domain, occupying the Fin-position. Aboh (2006), on the other hand, claims that there are two *fu's* in Saramaccan: *fu* as a 'deontic modal particle' is situated in the Fin-position, whereas the 'irrealis complementizer' *fu* occupies the Force-position. We follow Damontes (2002) analysis in positing that there is only one complementizer *fu*, but argue that it is base-generated in a position between the Force- and Fin-position. The evidence comes primarily from the distribution of Topics and Foci in the left periphery. Aboh (2006) observes that focused elements can precede as well as follow complementizer *fu* (cf. 3). Although Aboh notes that two of his consultants consider (3a) marginal and prefer (3b), our consultants also allow for both orders.We take this to mean that *fu* is not base-generated in the lowest position in the C- domain. This tallies nicely with Van de Vate's (2011) proposal that it is the situation pronominal *bi*, which establishes an Anchor Time, that occupies the lowest C-position. In the proposals of both Damonte and Aboh, this lowest position is the Fin-head. We want to maintain the analysis that *fu* is situated in some Fin-related position. We, therefore, propose to split up the Fin-position. The two Fin-positions in our proposal have different properties. The lower Fin-position is (directly) anchored to TP (in the sense of Bianchi 2003; Giorgi 2006). In this position, the situation pronominal *bi* is merged. The higher Fin-position, on the other hand, is a non-anchoring position where irrealis complementizer *fu* is situated. In between these two Fin-positions, focused elements can occur, just as between the higher Fin-position and the Force-position. We argue that this calls for a richer lower C-Domain than previously assumed in the literature.

Examples and References

(1)   Mi sísa píki mi dyusnu de **táa** dí gaanmá kó.
       1SG sister tell me just.now there TAA DET Granman come
       'My sister has told me just now that the Granman has arrived'.

(2)   Mi ké **fu** i gó.
       1SG want FU 2SG go
       'I want you to go'.

(3)   a.   Amato ke fu [a mátu] Ajawa kísi dí ogífou.   (Aboh 2006: 35)
             A want FU LOC jungle Ajawa catch DET owl
             'Amato wants Ajawa to catch the owl IN THE JUNGLE'
       b.   Amato ke [a mátu] fu Ajawa kísi dí ogífou.   (Aboh, 2006, 35)
             A want LOC jungle FU A catch DET owl
             'Amato wants Ajawa to catch the owl IN THE JUNGLE'.

Aboh, Enoch. 2006. Complementation in Saramaccan and Gungbe: The case of C-type particles. *NLLT* 24: 1–55. **Bianchi**, Valentina. 2003. On finiteness as logophoric anchoring. In *Temps et point de vue*, edited by Jacqueline Gúeron & Liliane Tasmowski, 213–246. Universite Paris X, Nanterre. **Byrne**, Francis. 1987. *Grammatical relations in a radical creole*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. **Damonte**, Federico. 2002. The complementizer layer in Saramaccan. In *Current Issues in Generative Grammar. 10th Colloquium on Generative Grammar, Selected Papers*, edited by M Leonetti, O. Fernadez Soriano, & V. Escandell Vidal, pp. 31–50. Universidad Alcala de Henares, Alcala de Henares. **Giorgi**, Alessandra. 2006. From temporal anchoring to long distance anaphors. *NLLT* 24: 1009–1047. **Klein**, Wolfgang. 1998. Assertion and finiteness. In *Issues in the theory of language acquisition*, edited by N. Dittmar and Z. Penner, 225–245. Peter Lang, Bern. **Klein**, Wolfgang. 2006. On finiteness. In *Semantics in acquisition*, edited by Veerle van Geenhoven, 245–272. Springer, Dordrecht. **Klein**, Wolfgang. 2009. Finiteness, Universal Grammar and the Language Faculty. In *Crosslinguistic approaches to the psychology of language: Research in the tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*, edited by J. Guo, et al, 333–344. Psychology Press, New York. **Lefebvre**, Claire & Virginie Loranger. 2006. On the properties of Saramaccan FU: Synchronic and diachronic perspectives. *JPCL* 21: 275–335. **Lefebvre**, Claire & Virginie Loranger. 2008. A synchronic and diachronic account of the multifunctionality of Saramaccan táa. *Linguistics* 46: 1167–1228. **Mufwene**, Salikoko & Marta Dijkhoff. 1989. On the so-called 'infinitive' in Atlantic Creoles. *Lingua* 77: 297–330. **Rizzi**, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*, edited by Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Kluwer Academic Publishers, The Netherlands. **van de Vate**, Marleen. 2011. Tense, Aspect and Modality in a radical creole: The case of Saamáka. Ph.D. thesis, University of Tromsø. **Veenstra**, Tonjes. 1996. *Serial verbs in Saramaccan. Predication and creole genesis.* Holland Academic, Den Haag. **Veenstra**, Tonjes. 2008. Relexification and reconstitution of predicate classes: The case of sentence-embedding. Paper presented at Syntax under lexical rule, ZAS, Berlin.

Author(s)	Miki Obata, Marlyse Baptista & Samuel Epstein
Title	***On the timing of subject raising: evidence from Haitian Creole, Cape Verdean Creole, Kilega and English***

The Minimalist postulation of a rule-based derivational approach (contra the "rule free" representation based GB theory; Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986) allows not only for possible explanations of representationally defined syntactic principles/relations, but also for deeper UG-independent explanation via third factor principles (Chomsky 1965, p.59, 2005). With the return to partially ordered rule application (derivational approach), the question is whether parameters might concern the relative ordering of rule application. If so, this would be much in the spirit of the standard theory of (partially ordered) transformations and Huang's (1982) work seeking ultimately to universalize the set of humanly possible syntactic rules: Move alpha while attributing variation between I-languages to the timing of GB Move alpha; that operation applies before or after reaching levels of representation such as PF/SS. In contrast, in Minimalism, there is no S-structure but transformational rules and rule application are reinstituted, albeit in the highly restricted forms of Merge and Agree while the third factor principle "The No Tampering Condition" (the cycle, informally) partially determines the order of rule application.

In this paper, we reconcile these two approaches and provide an argument that parametrization consistent with the Minimalist program might indeed continue this analytical tradition concerning variations in the timing of application of universal operations. In the particular case we examine, we argue that the relative timing of (i) Agree and (ii) Internal Merge, is parameterized. We focus specifically on the relative timing of phi-feature agreement probing by C and the raising of the subject (external argument) from specvP to SpecTP. Assuming both the rules of Internal Merge, and Complementizer agreement, we argue that the relative timing of subject raising, and Complementizer agreement is parameterized, following incidentally the lead of a suggestion made in Chomsky (2008: 59). We presume that relative ordering must satisfy third factor demands of computational efficiency (see Chomsky 1991).

To illustrate our point, we propose that parameterization between Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) and Haitian Creole (HC), and between Kilega and English, provides evidence for and a generalization of Chomsky's conjecture regarding variation of rule ordering. We specifically concentrate on complementizer agreement in CVC and HC and liken C's search for T in English inversion (Chomsky, 2010) to C's search for a phi agreeing goal. In CVC, the complementizer *ki* can be realized in both subject and object extraction (*kenhi **ki** odja Paula* 'who saw Paula' and *kuze **ki** nhos odja* 'what did you see') where as in HC, the complementizer *ki* may only be realized in cases of subject extraction (*kilès **ki** te wè Mari* 'who saw Marie' versus * *kilès **ki** Mari te wè*? 'who did Mari see'. Only '*Kiles Mari te we*' without *ki* is acceptable). Assuming that *ki* is a reflex of C-agreement, we propose that the relative timing of C agreement and subject raising is parameterized between CVC and HC: the subject in HC is raised to SpecTP <u>before </u>C minimally searches and enters into phi-agreement, while the subject in CVC is raised to SpecTP <u>after</u> C minimally searches and enters into phi-agreement, much like the English C minimally searches and attracts T before the subject raises, as Chomsky 2010 argues. If on track, then rule ordering in a derivational system can indeed be at least one locus of parameterization, but only when the alternate rule orders each constitute an equally optimal satisfaction of the interface

conditions. Thus at least some parameterization is reduced to third factor optionality, and is therefore eliminated from UG.

Author(s)	Muhsina Alleesaib
Title	*Adjective reduplication in Mauritian : a pragmatic approach*

This study is concerned with the interpretion of adjectives that undergo total reduplication, as illustrated in (1a-b).

(1) a. Sa   tifi   la   **meg.**
         DEM girl DET thin
         'This girl is thin.'

     b. Sa   tifi   la   **meg-meg.**
         DEM girl DET thin-thin
         'This girl is kinda thin.'

The effect of total reduplication (henceforth, TR) on Mauritian adjectives is argued to be a type of expressive content, similar to the effect of TR in Hindi-Urdu as informally described by Montaut (2007). Under this view, TR is not an instance of degree modification. It is instead related to thte subjective and spontaneous appreciation of the speaker.

I argue that TR has to do with the strength of the speaker's commitment with respect to the existence of a situation (Davis, Potts, Speas 2007): a statement containing TR is weaker than one containing the simple form. For instance, in a context where teenage girls are being auditioned as prospective models and judges are looking for thin girls, if a girl X is described as **meg** (1a), she satisfies the judges' criteria, but not if she is described as **meg-meg** (1b). In other words, the speaker wishes to convey that the girl being described fails to correspond to the speaker's expectations of the 'thin' category.

Evidence that no specific value is denoted by the reduplicated adjective and that it is instead a form of subjective assessment comes its inability to be embedded in the antecedent of a conditional (cf. Faller 2006), as illustrated by the infelicity of (2).

(2) #Si   tifi   la   meg-meg,
     if   girl det   thin-thin

     li   ena   sans   gagn konkour   la.
     3SG   have chance   win   competition   DET

     # 'If the girl is kinda thin, she has a chance at winning the competition.'

Under this account, TR has the same effect as epistemic modals in other languages. Under the scale developed by Davis et al. (2007) to measure the state of a speaker's assertion, every context has a quality threshold between 0 and 1 (0 = disbelieve, uncommitted, strongly suspect, 1 = believe). I claim that TR contributes to changing the contextual threshold. TR does not change the strength of the statement 'X is thin': the threshold for its validity is lowered.

Selected references:

Davis C., Potts C. & Speas M.,The pragmatic values of evidential sentences, In Masayuki Gibson and Tova Friedman, eds., *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory 17*, 71-88. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.

Faller, M. (2006) Evidentiality and epistemic modality at the semantics/pragmatics interface, Unpublished Manuscript, The University of Manchester.

Montaut, A. Formes et valeurs de la réduplication en hindi/ourdou, *Faits de Langues* 29 (La Réduplication).

Author(s)	Nélia Alexandre, Ana Lúcia Santos & Inês Duarte
Title	***Personal infinitives and the status of Capeverdean as a partial null subject language***

Capeverdean has either been considered a null subject language (NSL) (cf. Baptista 2002) or a 'semi-pro-drop language', in Costa & Pratas' 2008 words, or even a partial NSL (Alexandre 2009, following Holmberg, Nayudy & Sheehan 2009, for Brazilian Portuguese, Finnish and Marathi). The partial NSL status is justified since Capeverdean displays some properties of NSL, namely expletive null subjects (1-2) and subject-verb inversion (3), but it disallows referential null subjects (4). However, the (partial) NSL status of Capeverdean has not yet been completely established, since Baptista (2002), Costa & Pratas (2008) and Alexandre (2009) have built their proposals on criteria exclusively based on finite clauses, a fact due to the insufficient criteria used to determine finiteness in this language.

In this talk, we aim at revisiting the NSL parameter in Capeverdean, taking into account data from non-finite clauses, in order to (i) establish criteria for (non-)finitehood, and (ii) to capitalize on personal infinitives in Capeverdean as an additional criterion for its partial NSL status.

We will argue that in Capeverdean the presence of an overt subject cannot be taken as a criterion for identifying a finite clause, since the language allows personal infinitives (5-6), as expected in NSLs, such as Spanish (Mensching 2000; Sitaridou 2002) or Brazilian Portuguese (Pires 2002). Therefore, a non-finite clause can be tracked down only by the absence of the imperfective aspectual marker *ta* (Alexandre, Gonçalves & Pratas 2010) not giving rise to a perfective reading, independently from the presence of an overt subject (5-7).

We further argue that the distribution of personal infinitives in Capeverdean matches the distribution of the same structure in other languages and confirms the partition between obligatory and non-obligatory control contexts put forward by Landau (2000) and argued for European Portuguese by Duarte, Gonçalves & Santos (2012): personal infinitives are possible in non-obligatory control contexts (adjunct and subject non-finite clauses – see (5-6)), but they are banned from obligatory control contexts (complement non-finite clauses – see 7).

This work thus contributes to the discussion concerning the Null Subject Parameter (Holmberg 2010), namely by highlighting predictions of a partial-NSL status for the set of possibilities in non-finite domains.

Examples:

(1) Djon atxa   ma es   anu [SBJ --] **txobe** txeu pa tudu kau.   <u>Expletive null subject</u>
    Djon think(IPFV) that this year   rain   very for every place

(2) [SBJ --] Ta   parse ma   Maria e   bunita.
           IPFV   seem   that Maria be pretty

(3) a. Undi ki   [V more] [SBJ un santxu]?   <u>Sbj-V inversion (unaccusative, copula, passive)</u>
       where that die(PFV)   a   monkey
    b. Na Portugal [V sta] [SBJ nha fidju-femia].
       in Portugal be   my   son-female
    c. Dipos di un sumana di buska,   [V atxadu] [SBJ un mos] na kebra kanela.
       after of a   week   of searching find.PASS   a   boy   in break shin

(4) a. *(N) ta   kanta sabi.   <u>referential null subject</u>
       1SG IPFV   sing   well
    b. Djon fla   ma *(e) ta   bai skola.
       Djon say(PFV) that 1SG IPFV   go school

(5) Ka   sta dretu (bu) kume aros ku   mo.
    NEG be right 2SG eat   rice with hand

(6) Kes mudjeris kunpra   malta pa (e) bebe   manhan.
    the   women   buy(PFV) beer   for 3SG drink tomorrow

(7) a. Djon kre   (*el) badja sabi.
       Djon want(IPFV) 3SG dance well
    b. Kes mininus purmeti   (*es) ba kasa.
       the boys   promise(PFV) 3PL go home

Author(s)	Uli Sauerland & Tonjes Veenstra
Title	**_Structural Differences Among Bare Complements: Evidence from Bislama._**

Causative and perception verb constructions are frequently assumed to have the same syntactic structures in English (see e.g. Hornstein 2008). In this paper, we present novel evidence from Bislama that show that the construction must have different structures in Bislama despite it resulting in the same word order as in English. We furthermore argue that the different structures in Bislama are unlikely to be a different parametric choice from English, but rather that the structures differ in European languages too, but independent factors render them indistinguishable. In this way, data from a typologically unrelated language decides between two conceivable analysis of English, as in (1). Pretheoretically, we call the NP that determines the subject referent of the infinitive (*him* in (1)) the shared argument (SA). We propose that while the SA occupies the infinitives subject position in the causative, the perception verb involves object control (2).

Bislama, the national language of Vanuatu, is an English based Oceanic creole language (Crowley 2004). Bislama exhibits subject verb-agreement in the form of the 'Predicate Marker' in a preverbal auxiliary position (Meyerhoff 2000). Agreement is possible even with non-finite verbs (cf. Raposo 1987 for European Portuguese), as causative and perception verbs take agreeing infinitival complements as shown in (3). We refer to these as infinitivals for three reasons: (i) the lack of the complementizer se; (ii) the possibility of wide scope of nomo ('only') in the b) readings of (3), which is impossible when a complementizer is present; (iii) the impossibility of having opposing time adverbials in the construction, as the contrast between (3c) and (3d) shows (Bislama data from own fieldwork):

Despite their surface similarity, we argue that the SAs of causatives and perception verbs differ in two ways: binding of reflexive SAs and reconstruction of indefinite SAs into the infinitive clause. **Reflexives**: The suffix wan combined with a pronoun can either mark reflexivity or mean by him/herself. Reflexives are generally restricted to strict clause-mates. The reflexive interpretation of man is not available with causatives (4a), but possible with perception verbs (4b) (as long as there is no complementizer as in (4c)).

Subject scope: Subjects quantified by evri can take scope below clause-mate negation in a finite clause (5a) and in a causative (5b). But, with a perception verb narrow scope below negation is blocked (5c). A similar contrast between causatives and perception verbs holds for the the scope of the generic indefinite wan man and negation (6).

Proposal: We propose that Bislama non-finite complements exhibit a structural difference between perception verb complements and causatives like Italian, where the two structures differ with respect to word order (Guasti 1993). We further propose that Bislama causatives have an ECM-type structure where the SA is really the infinitival subject and raises to object position. Bislama perception verbs on the other hand we propose involve an object control structure, where the overt SA is the object of the perception verb.

Transitivity marking in Bislama provides additional evidence for our proposal (7). *Luk* ('see') is among the Bislama verbs exhibiting transitivity marking by the suffix *-im*. With a finite complement, transitivity marking is ungrammatical, while non-finite complements optionally allows transitivity marking. However, the evidence for object control is independent of the occurrence transitivity marking. Furthermore, *haren* ('hear/feel') doesn't exhibit transitivity marking (the form **har* is unattested).

The Bislama data thus show that there are languages where causatives and perception words have the same word-order and case properties, but nevertheless have different structures. Given that the evidence is for the different structures is primarily drawn from

interpretation, we furthermore propose that the structural difference between causation and perception must derive from the conceptual level. This argument entails that, for English too, causation and perception should have different structures contra for example Hornstein (2008).

Examples and references

(1) a. analytic causative: She made him run to the store.
     b. perception verb: She saw/heard him run to the store.

(2) a. ECM-structure: She made [him run to the store]
     b. object control: She saw/heard him [PRO run to the store]

(3) a. *tufela i mekem tufela nomo i laf.*
         3dual 3 make 3.dual only 3 laugh
         a) 'They made only each other laugh.' / b) 'They only made each other laugh.'
     b. *mi luk man ia nomo i stilim banana.*
         1sing see man there only 3 steal banana
         a) 'I saw only that man steal bananas' / b) 'I only saw that man steal bananas.'
     c. *yestedei mi harim **se** man ia i toktok long redio tumora.*
         yesterday 1sing hear that man there 3 speak on radio tomorrow
     d. **yestedei mi harim man ia i toktok long redio tumora.*
         yesterday 1sing hear man there 3 speak on radio tomorrow

(4) a. *Mi mekem mi-wan mi faitim fulap men*
         1sing made 1sing-Refl 1sing fight many men. [p.]
         'I prepared so that I alone would fight several men'
     b. *Mi haren mi-wan mi toktok long redio*
         1sing hear 1sing-Refl 1sing talk on radio. [p. 105]
         'I hear myself talk on the radio.'
     c. *Mi haren se mi-wan mi toktok long redio.*
         1sing hear that 1sing-Refl 1sing talk on radio. [p. 105]
         'I hear that I by myself talk on the radio.'

(5) a. *evri man blong vilij ia oli no kam helpem mi.*
         every man of the village there 3pl neg come help 1sing
         'Not every man in the village came to help me.'
     b. man ia i mekem everi pikinini i no kakae.
         man there 3 make every child 3 not eat.
         'That man made not every child eat.' / 'That man made not every child eat.'
     c. mi lukim evri man i no swim.
         1sing see every man 3 not swim. [p. 91]
         'I see that everybody isn't swimming.'/*'I see that not everybody is swimming.'

(6) a. Woman ia i mekem wan man i no kakae
         woman there 3 make one man 3 not eat [p. 105]
         'This woman made sure that nobody eats.'/'This woman made sure that one man wouldn't eat.'
     b. Woman ia i lukim wan man i no kakae
         woman there 3 see one man 3 not eat [p. 105]
         'This woman saw one man not eat.' /*'This woman saw that nobody ate.'

(7)   *Mi luk/*lukim se wan man i kam.*
                1sing see-trans comp one man 3sing come [p.97]

References:

Crowley, T. 2004. *Bislama reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press.
Guasti, M. T. 1993. *Causative and perception verbs*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.
Hornstein, N. 2008. On Control. In *Minimalist Syntax* (R. Hendrick, Ed.), Oxford: Blackwell.
Meyerhoff, M. 2000. *Constraints on null subjects in Bislama*. Canberra : Pacific Linguistics.
Raposo, E. 1987. Case Theory and Infl-to-Comp: the Inflected Infinitive in European Portuguese *LI* 18.1, 85-109.

Author(s)	Yolanda Rivera Castillo
Title	***Prenasalized stops in Saramaccan and the NOCODA constraint***

Coda consonants are rare or practically absent in Modern Saramaccan (Rountree, 1972; Aceto 1996; Bakker, Smith, & Veenstra, 1995). A phonological and phonetic analysis of nasal vowels and vowel nasalization in this language show that coda nasals are not present in word final position. Additionally, previous phonological analyses indicate that prenasalized stops in word-internal position are distinctive, since there is evidence of minimal pairs (Good, p. 18, ms.):

(1) hanga, 'hang' vs. haga, 'pellets'

A phonetic analysis of word-internal nasal+stop sequences [such as "ng" in (1)] suggests that nasals in these groups do not constitute codas of preceding syllables. This analysis supports a description of word-internal nasal+stop sequences as phonological units, aligning the nasal with the onset, not the coda position. We ground our phonetic analysis on Maddiesson and Ladefoged's (1993) claim that the duration of voiced consonants intervocalically matches the duration of prenasalized stops in the same position; and on differences in periodicity readings for word-final and word-internal nasal features. Previous studies have analyzed prenasalized stops. Voorhoeve describes these as fortis nasals (1959: 440) but the phonetic score shows the presence of a voiced stop. Although there is an alternation between prenasalized stops and plain nasals, there is no such alternation between prenasalized stops and stops, as in other languages (Piggott 2003; Malone 2010). This suggests that the nasal element is the primary one. Our analysis follows previous studies of phonological units with two articulations, where one feature is primary (such as [+strident] for affricates) (Jacobson, Fant, & Halle, 1952; Clements, 1999).

The phonetic analysis is, therefore, consistent with a phonological analysis in which this language syllable structure respects a highly ranked constraint: NoCoda. The description of prenasalized stops as single consonants provides a unified description for the distribution of nasals in this language. It also provides arguments against the claim that Saramaccan dislikes onsets of decreasing sonority (Alber and Plag, 1999). Prenasalized stops occur in word-initial, and word-medial position, as in other languages. Given the fact that only 12% (Maddiesson, 1991) of the word languages have prenasalized consonants, among which most are African languages, the presence of prenasalized stops and coarticulated stops in this language shows a significant influence of the substrate. Moreover, it indicates that Saramaccan, besides its CV and V syllable structure (Klein 2006), admits a great number of possible units in onset position, challenging proposals that count positions (C &V) in lieu of melodies when determining typological classifications. Finally, this study provides a basis for the analysis of other Creoles with prenasalized stops (Klein, 2006) (Palenquero, Sango, Shaba, Swahili, Angolar, Kriyol), and their particular constraint ranking.