Introduction

NORVAL SMITH

This special number of the Portuguese Journal of Linguistics contains six articles on various aspects of Portuguese-lexifier creole languages and other creole languages that have been significantly influenced by Portuguese. The languages covered are Sao Tomense, Cape Verdian Creole, Saramaccan, and Papiamentu. The topics addressed are equally varied, covering Tone and Accent, Syntax, and the Lexicon.

1. Introduction

This special number, *Creole Languages and Portuguese*, came about as the direct result of a special session on Portuguese creole languages that took place at a workshop on *Typologies of Tonal Systems* held in Cascais, Portugal in Spring 2004. This workshop took place under the aegis of the European Science Foundation (ESF) network on *Tone and Intonation in Europe*.

While only two of the speakers at the workshop have contributed a paper to this volume, all three languages dealt with there feature here: Saotomense, Saramaccan and Papiamentu. In addition, Cape Verdian Creole is treated.

The various theories of creolization, and also the question of a possible typological definition of creole languages, have remained very controversial for at least the last two decades, and the degree of controversy seems to be growing rather than declining. Creole languages develop in contexts of multilingualism. These contexts may have been provided by slavery or indentured labour in plantations, or by converts in mission stations, or other factors. Creolists emphasize variously the significance of the colonial languages (superstrates) in creole genesis, the significance of the original languages of

the first members of the new multilingual community (substrates), and the universal features of language, or various mixtures of these.

One new feature of much modern work on creole formation is an increased regard for the socio-historical context in which creolization took place. Where possible information regarding the social structures existing, and identifiable ethnic groups present, during the initial years of colonization is given an increasingly prominent place.

Portuguese-based, or Portuguese-influenced, creole languages have not received anything like the attention that has been paid in recent decades to English-based and French-based creole languages. This is unfortunate because it is a fact of life that Portuguese-based creole languages have been more threatened in their existence than those based on French and English during recent decades. They are also more varied in type than their French and English counterparts.

In recent years however modern descriptive work has been carried on an increasing number of Portuguese-based creoles (henceforth PC's). This applies both to those of the Atlantic region, and those of Asia, the two main areas where Portuguese-based creoles are to be found. Asian examples are the PC's of Sri Lanka, Malacca, Timor, Daman (India), and Korlai (India). Work is shortly going to start on the highly endangered PC of Diu (India). Other Asian PC's have been allowed to die out without the benefit of modern linguistic description. Various so-called Norteiro dialects of India (spoken in the Bombay area) died out during the first half of the 20th century. Other PC's that have disappeared in India last century were spoken in Mangalore, Calicut, Cochin, Nagappattinam, Madras, and Calcutta, among other places. However we do have a lot of earlier documentation of some of these now defunct creoles in the form of textual, lexical, and pre-scientific grammatical material. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that all these Asian PC's have a significnt degree of relationship with each other.

When we turn to the Atlantic area, however, we find a spottier picture. Much traditional grammatical work has been done on the Cape Verde creole varieties – Barlavento and Sotavento. Other areas have been only been subject to much study more recently, such as the four Gulf of Guinea PC's. We have to distinguish here among a number of creoles which seem superficially at least to be a lot more varied than their Asian counterparts. There are significant differences between the Sotavento and Barlavento dialects of Cape Verde. Guiné Kriyol of Guiné-Bissau and Senegal resembles Sotavento Cape Verdian in terms of phonology at least. The four Gulf of Guinea creoles fall into three rather different subgroups – Saotomense and Angolar together, Principense and Fa d'Ambu (Annobonense).

Two quite different cases are also represented in this journal issue. Papiamentu is an undoubtedly Iberian-based creole, spoken in the Dutch Antilles, but with a larger Spanish element and a smaller Portuguese element. Various theories have been proposed to account for this combination of elements. It

has often been considered that the Portuguese element represents an older stratum in the language, and that there was strong Spanish influence due to the presence of Venezuela just a few miles away. It must however be mentioned that during the documented history of Papiamentu, going back to the 18th century, there is no evidence of any major change of character in the language.

A second and more clearly mixed creole is Saramaccan, spoken in the former Dutch colony of Suriname. In this case the significant Portuguese element shares the lexicon with a larger English element. The explanation for this is once again controversial. This will be briefly addressed in the article by Smith & Cardoso in this issue.

I will now describe briefly the topics addressed in the various articles.

2. The articles

Jeff Good

Jeff Good's paper is directly related to his presentation at the above--mentioned workshop, and is entitled "Split prosody and creole simplicity: The case of Saramaccan". As we can see from the title the article has a double agenda. The "split prosody" part of the title refers to the unusual fact that Saramaccan possesses two word prosodic systems in parallel: a pitch accent system for the large amount of vocabulary that is derived from English, Portuguese and Dutch; and a tone system for words derived from Kikongo (Zaire) and Fongbe (Benin).

The vocabulary items of European origin have in principle the accent on the same syllable as they did in the language of origin. However, in Saramaccan the accent is indicated by a High tone, rather than by stress, other morae being toneless. These words also display other attributes of accent systems, namely the syncope of unaccented high vowels in rapid speech, and the lengthening of stressed vowels under emphasis (for this last cf. also Smith & Adamson (in press)).

The vocabulary items of African origin have every mora associated with either a High tone or a Low Tone. How this relates to the original tones in the source languages is not completely clear as far as Kikongo is concerned. None of the vowels in such words appears to be accented at all.

A notable feature of Saramaccan is the "plateauing" between high tones in certain phrasal structures. Toneless morae between two high tones are realised with high tones.

The question of creole "simplicity" is a thornier one. Good sets out to examine McWhorter's (2001) proposal that creoles possess simpler grammars than other languages. It is immediately clear that Saramaccan does not have a simple phonological inventory. Good claims that it is necessary to distinguish the two types of prosodically distinct words in the lexicon. This would form an additional complication.

The question of the typological identifiability of creoles adduced by McWhorter is also addressed here. Good suggests that split phonological systems of this type may be a feature of *contact* languages in general rather than creole languages.

Marvin Kramer

Marvin Kramer's article, "High tone spread in Saramaccan serial verb constructions", is also concerned with Saramaccan tonal behaviour, and in particular with Jeff Good's (2003) analysis of high tone spread in serial constructions as an instance of the same phrasal plateauing phenomenon referred to above. Good treats plateauing as leftward spread.

According to Kramer serial verb constructions can be seen as involving rightward spread of high tone without making use of any auxiliary hypotheses. So Good (2003) posits the insertion of floating high tone morphemes as affixes so as to allow leftward spread here too. The basis for this insertion is unclear however.

Kramer wants to see tone spread in serial constructions in terms of a substrate transfer of a rightward-spreading process in Fon, which requires a high tone at the right edge of the spreading domain, but not significantly at the left. The limit of spreading is a lexical Low tone which stops the process. In Fon this limit is provided by a voiced consonant, seen by some as a bearer of low tone. Serial verb constructions are a substrate feature, and Kramer wants to see rightward-spreading in the same light.

Silvia Kouwenberg

The article by Silvia Kouwenberg, "The Grammatical Function of Papiamentu Tone", claims that the primary function of Papiamentu tone is grammatical, and not either lexical or purely phonological as others have claimed.

Tone contrasts are severely restricted in major class lexical items in Papiamentu. They are in fact restricted to disyllabic words lacking a second syllable coda. There are about 250 examples contrasting LH and HL tone patterns. Nearly all of these involve a categorial contrast between verb and noun. This makes the notion of an underlying *lexical* tone contrast a highly suspicious one.

In nearly all Papiamentu lexical items a High tone coincides with the position of the main stress, with the exception of the the above-mentioned verbs with penultimate stress but final High tone. Preceding syllables may be alternating high and low tones, or be all low, depending on the speaker.

The underived disyllabic verbs get their stress on the penultimate syllable due to foot-formation rules, as do nearly all disyllabic words, according to Kouwenberg.

Tjerk Hagemeijer

Tjerk Hagemeijer's paper, "Going in the clause: *ba* and *be* in Santome", deals with the main Gulf of Guinea Portuguese-lexifier creole spoken on that island.

Santome has two forms for the verb 'to go'. No other verb in the language has this property. According to Hagemeijer *ba* is probably derived from *be*, which is the expected Santome development of the Portuguese *vai* 'he/she/it goes', followed by the preposition *a* 'to(wards)', i.e. *be+a > ba*. Verbs of motion followed by *a* express goal-arguments in Portuguese, explaining why *ba* is always transitive in Santome.

He is basically in agreement with the proposal of Becker & Veenstra (2003) that the distribution of the two variants is that *be* selects adjuncts, while *ba* selects arguments.

His conclusion is that the lexical entry for 'to go' contains both *be* and *ba*, but that *be* is the underlying verb, and that *ba* is derived morphologically when the verb is adjacent to a goal argument.

Marlyse Baptista

The paper by Marlyse Baptista, "A Cross-linguistic Comparison of Copular Predication: Some Basic Assumptions Revisited", studies the syntax of copular predication in the various varieties of Cape Verde Creole in the light the typology of copula constructions in general.

In CV Creole nominal, adjectival and prepositional predicates may be introduced by the copula *e*. The behaviour and optionality of this copula is shown to be influenced by factors such as negation, tense, pronominal cliticization, and the nature of the predicate. This form is shown to have both nominal and verbal properties. It is in fact homophonous with the 3rd person singular pronominal clitic.

A theoretical analysis explaining the dual behaviour of this copula is then presented. This is followed by an analysis of the occurrence of copulaless predicates.

A typological overview of copula constructions in creole and non-creole languages reveals that the same conditions are relevant for the occurrence and non-occurrence of the copula as in Cape Verdian.

Norval Smith & Hugo Cardoso

Smith & Cardoso have two main aims in this article, entitled "A new look at the Portuguese element in Saramaccan". Saramaccan itself can be regarded as a mixed creole, and in this respect can be compared with other such cases, like Berbice Dutch. The Portuguese element in Saramaccan is the source of much controversy, in the sense that its presence has to be explained.

For this reason it is necessary to identify what is and what is not Portuguese, and this is the authors' first concern. Many mis-identifications have been made in the past, both in the identification of non-Portuguese lexical items as

being of Portuguese origin, and vice versa. Theoretical positions may well be constructed on statistical arguments concerning the origins of the lexicon, so that more certainty is required on this point.

Secondly the authors provide various counts of the proportions of English- and Portuguese-derived words in terms of word-categories. They conclude that a form of Sranan (the creole language of the coastal plantations) was probably partially relexified by a Portuguese creole, possibly brought there from Pernambuco in Brazil.

3. Final remarks

The three phonological articles, on the prosodic phenomena of tone and accent, are all to some extent involved in controversy. Good's and Kramer's articles both make reference to McWhorter's attempts to define creole languages in typological, and not just in sociohistorical terms. Kramers' and Kouwenberg's articles suggest new analyses of phenomena analysed otherwise by other authors.

The study of creole syntax in terms of modern syntactic theory is less widespread. Neither of the two articles included here is likely to suggest however that creole languages are much simpler than any other languages.

The contribution of the articles by Good and Smith & Cardoso on Saramaccan both suggest that that language is properly regarded as a mixed language. The striking feature is that the elements in the mixture are not parallel.

None of these articles on creoles is concerned to any extent with the socio--historical matrix of creolization. Each of them however contains linguistic facts, in greater or lesser amounts, that have to be taken into account in the formation of sociohistorical scenarios of creolization.

References

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