



DISENTANGLING SLA AND CREOLE GENESIS

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Grammaires Créoles: Structures formelles du langage

overview

1970s/80s Interlanguage and transfer in SLA & pidginization / creolization

1980s/90s Transfer in pidginization / creolization

1990s/2000s Interlanguage is back

Accounting for transfer without L2A

Reversing the direction: creolization as gradual basilectization

Final observations & concluding remarks



pidgin and creole languages arise in **multilingual** (and perhaps bilingual) contexts



their emergence involved (at least some) **naturalistic second language acquisition**



L2 learners construct learner grammars – which may be transient, but which are rule-governed; learner grammar is known as **interlanguage** (IL)



L2 learners' success differs greatly, and some reach a point where they fail to progress further – a phenomenon known as **fossilization**



importantly, L2 acquisition **does not result in pidgins or creoles**

Before we
begin:

Some
assumptions

1970s/80s

Interlanguage
and transfer

in SLA &
pidginization/
creolization

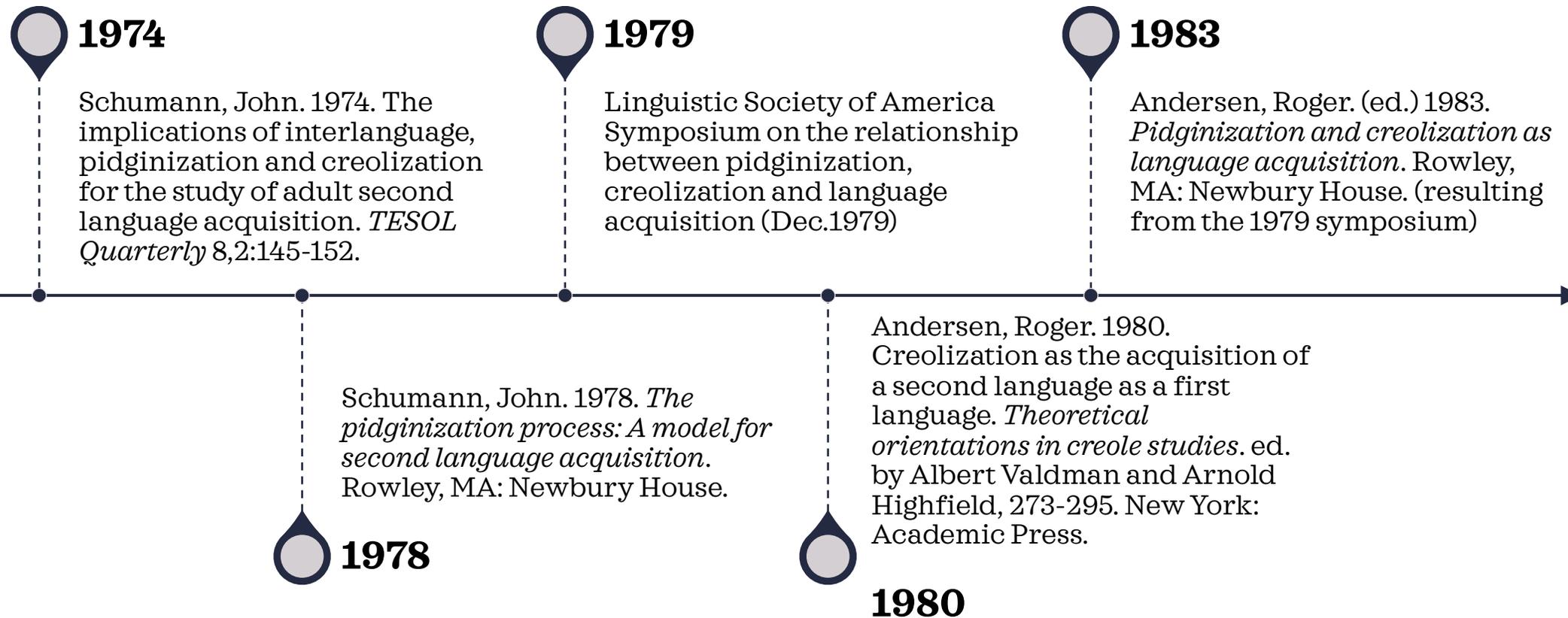
1970s

- creole studies as a “new” field
- SLA studies as “new” field

ideas shared across both fields

- the lexifier is a target language of L2A
- interlanguage construction & pidginization involve simplification
- transfer and fossilization
- creolization as expansion of interlanguage

e.g., Andersen, 1980, 1983; Meisel, 1977; Schumann, 1974, 1978; Valdman, 1980





John
Schumann,
Professor
Emeritus at
UCLA

views of the 1970s/1980s



Roger Andersen
(1940-2008),
former
Professor of
Applied
Linguistics at
UCLA

- “pidginization and creolization can serve as **models for the second language learning process**” (Schumann 1974: 147)
 - e.g., Alberto (L1 Spanish); his IL English shares properties with some English pidgins (preverbal *no*; questions w/o inversion; no auxiliaries or tense inflections; unmarked possessives)
- “second language acquisition research has as its goal a better understanding of **how humans recreate a linguistic system** from the input available during verbal interaction” (Andersen 1983:6)
- SLA is characterized as involving
 - creation of interlanguage – temporary, changing, but rule-governed
 - simplification, which is seen as evidence of pidginization
 - transfer, when the learner perceives “input in terms of certain aspects of the structure of the previously acquired language.” (*ibid.*:7)
- Pidginization & creolization are seen as L2A
 - **pidginization is L2A under conditions of restricted input, and social / psychological distance**
 - creolization is pidginization + creation of new form-meaning relationships

and then...

the fields of L2A studies and pidgin/creole studies went their respective ways

- SLA studies focused increasingly on universals of acquisition and on sociocultural and psychological factors

in pidgin & creole studies, assumptions about pidginization & creolization as L2A came under scrutiny

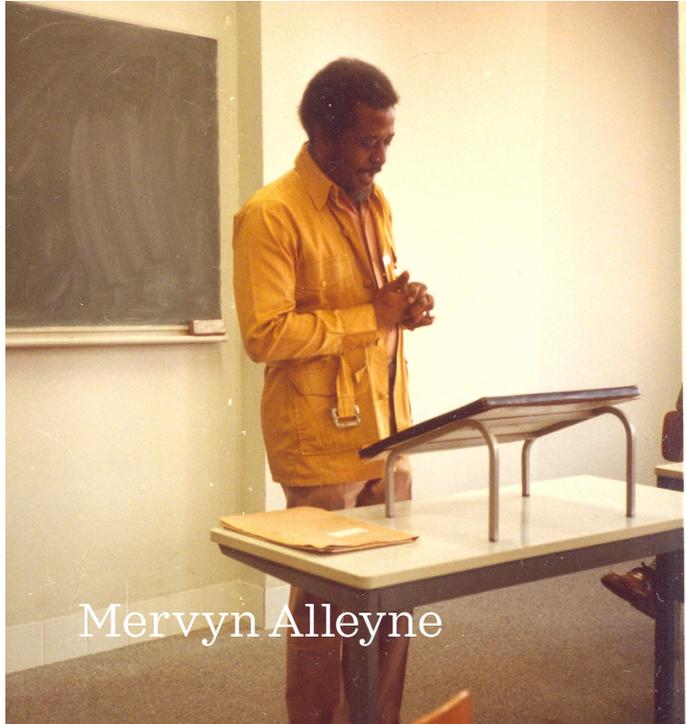
- the European lexifier as “target” language
 - implication that p/c languages have come about as failed attempts to acquire the target
 - a view of p/c languages as successful creations was put forward instead (e.g, Philip Baker’s Medium of Interethnic Communication)
- simplification
 - the presumption that the European lexifier sets a standard of comparison
 - the morphosyntactic independence of p/c languages from their lexifiers was asserted
- pidgins as precursors to creoles (the life-cycle model)
 - challenged by pidgins which are structurally elaborated and may be used community-wide
 - evidence of precursor pidgin stages for creole languages is mostly lacking

1980s/90s

Transfer in pidginization / creolization

transfer is central to creolists' substratist positions

- Mervyn Alleyne's "African continuities" and similar views held by John Holm and others
 - based on assumed pervasive similarities between creoles and a basically uniform grammar of West African languages
- Claire Lefebvre's relexification
 - a strong model which predicts one-to-one correspondence between creole grammatical structures and specific substrate languages
- the degree of transfer argued by these authors was not envisaged by students of SLA (at least not until the late 1990s)



Mervyn Alleyne



John Holm (and Herman Wekker seated)



Derek Bickerton



1985, the
“substrata vs.
universals”
conference at
University of
Amsterdam

Mervyn C. Alleyne (1933-2016, former Professor Emeritus at The UWI's Mona Campus)

1971 "Acculturation and the cultural matrix of creolization" (in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes, 169-186. Cambridge University Press)

1980 *Comparative Afro-American*. Ann Arbor: Karoma

- "I proposed that the emergence of so-called "creole" languages should be seen within the **framework of language and cultural change arising out of cultural contact** (...), rather than in terms of such notions as pidginization and creolization" (Alleyne 1980:16)
- "in the study of some Afro-American communities such as the Saramaka of Surinam, it is much more interesting to ask **how the original culture brought by the Africans from Africa came to be transformed** in the way it was among the Saramaka than to ask how European culture was transformed. And in considering the African contribution to Afro-American dialects, this will be our main focus." (ibid:139)
- "by **using African languages as our point of departure** we are better able to explain and account for the development of all Afro-American dialects than if we were to use English as our point of departure" (ibid:140)
- "When one compares the basic syntactic structure of Niger-Congo languages with that of Afro-American languages and dialects, the **larger unity encompassing both groups of languages** is clearly revealed at this level. This basic syntactic structure of Niger-Congo languages has **been transmitted to Afro-American dialects**" (ibid:147)

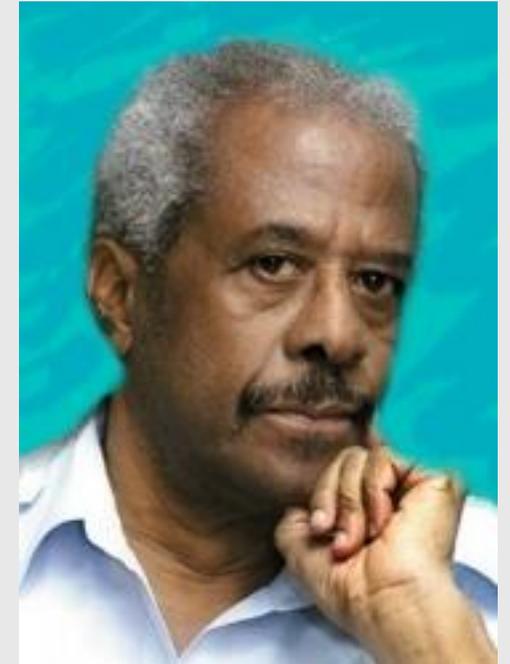


TABLE 1
Some Similarities of Afro-American Speech in Specific Lexical Bases

	English: Jamaican, Krio, Guyanese	Iberian: Papiamentu, Palenquero	French: Haitian, Lesser Antillean	Mixed: Sranan, Saramaccan
VERB: Completive aspect: 'I have sung'; 'I am sick'; 'I know'	<i>mi sing; mi siik</i> (but cf. <i>mi a smadi</i> 'I am somebody'); <i>mi nuo</i>	<i>mi à kantá; (mi ta malo), mi a sabé</i>	<i>mwē châte; mwē malad</i> (but cf. <i>mwē se mun</i> 'I am somebody'); <i>mwē sav</i>	<i>mi singi; mi siki</i> (but cf. <i>mi a suma</i> 'I am somebody'); <i>mi sabi</i>
Completive aspect reinforced by verb complement meaning 'finish'	<i>mi don sing; mi don siik; mi don nuo</i>	<i>mi a kantá kabá; mi a sabé kabá</i>	<i>mwē fin châte; mwē fin malad; mwē fin sav</i>	<i>mi singi kaba; mi siki kaba; mi sabi kaba</i>
Progressive aspect: 'I am singing'	<i>mi (d)a sing</i>	<i>mi ta kantá</i>	<i>mwē ape châte</i> or <i>mwē ka châte</i>	<i>mi e singi; mi ta singi (SM)</i>
Habitual aspect: 'I usually sing'	GY: same as progressive; JA: same as completive	Same as progressive	HA: same as completive; LA: same as progressive	Same as progressive
Conditional = Past + Future 'I would sing, if ...'	GY: <i>mi bin sa sing;</i> KR: <i>mi bin go sing</i>	PAP: <i>lo mi u kantá;</i> PAL: <i>mi tan ba kantá</i>	HA: <i>mwē te va châte;</i> LA: <i>mwē te kai châte</i>	<i>mi bin sa singi; mi bin (g)o singi (SM)</i>

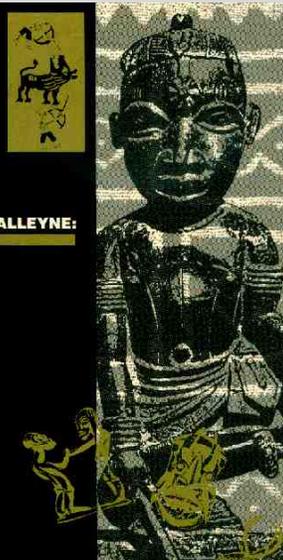
Comparative
AFRO-AMERICAN



Mervyn C. Alleyne

MERVYN ALLEYNE:

Roots of Jamaican Culture



West African Putative Cognates in Afro-American Dialects

	GU	SM	ND	SR	JA	KR	West African
at	<i>nə</i>	<i>(n)a</i>	<i>(n)a</i>	<i>(n)a</i>	<i>ina, (n)a</i>	<i>(n)a</i>	Igbo <i>ná</i>
cloud, dust		<i>bungi</i>	<i>buingi</i>				Congo <i>buungi</i>
earth		<i>dóti</i>	<i>doti</i>	<i>doti</i>	<i>doti</i>	<i>doti</i>	Twi <i>dote</i>
eat	<i>nyam</i>	<i>ñán</i>	<i>ñan</i>	<i>ñan</i>	<i>nyam</i>	<i>nyam</i>	Niger-Congo <i>yam</i>
father		<i>tatá</i>	<i>tatá</i>	<i>tatá</i>	<i>taata</i>		Niger-Congo <i>tata</i>
he		<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>			Niger-Congo <i>a</i>
hit				<i>fon</i>			Ijo <i>fam</i>
I		<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	Niger-Congo <i>mi, me</i>
me							Yoruba <i>be</i>
sad		<i>be</i>					Igbo <i>i</i>
thou		<i>i</i>		<i>i</i>			Igbo <i>unu</i>
we		<i>u</i>		<i>u(nu)</i>			Igbo <i>unu</i>
you	<i>un</i>	<i>ún(u)</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>un(u)</i>	<i>unu</i>	<i>unu</i>	Igbo <i>unu</i>
stab, pierce	<i>džuk</i>	<i>tjokó</i>		<i>tjuku</i>	<i>džuk</i>	<i>tšuk</i>	Fula <i>džuka</i>

The presence of preverbal *a* and copula *ta* contrasts with the absence of elements in the other languages – and is not discussed.

An uncomfortably wide range of potential substrate languages is apparently unproblematic for Alleyne.

The Construction and Representation of Race and Ethnicity in the Caribbean and the World



Syntaxe historique créole



**Creole genesis and the
acquisition of grammar**

The case of Haitian creole

CLAIRE LEFEBVRE



Claire Lefebvre
(Professor Emerita, UQAM)

relexification / relabeling

“a mental operation that consists in assigning a lexical entry of a given language, L1, a new label taken from another language, L2” (Lefebvre 2008:91). Lefebvre treats this as a type of transfer.

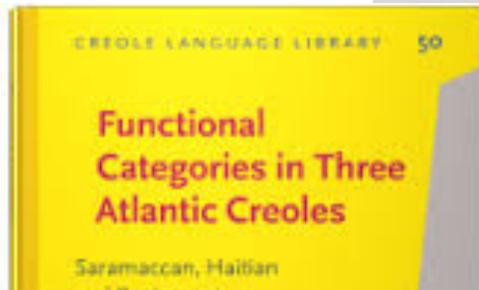
Fongbe lexical entry *hù*
‘to murder, mutilate’

+

French label *assassiner* + partially
overlapping semantics ‘to murder’



Haitin *ansansinen* + Fongbe
morphosyntactic and semantic
properties ‘to murder, mutilate’



Typological Studies in Language 95

Creoles,
their Substrates, and
Language Typology

edited by Claire Lefebvre

L2 Acquisition
and
Creole Genesis
Dialogues

DE GRUYTER

Claire Lefebvre, Anne-Marie Brousseau
**A GRAMMAR OF
FONGBE**

company

CLAIRE LEFEBVRE

**RELABELING
IN
LANGUAGE
GENESIS**

successful applications of the model illustrated here – but contrast with lack of correspondence in other areas of grammar

HAITIAN	FRENCH	FONGBE
<i>vyann</i> 'meat' 'edible animals' (complement of the verb 'to kill')	<i>viande</i> 'meat'	<i>làn</i> 'meat' 'edible animals' (complement of the verb 'to kill')
<i>dife</i> 'fire' 'brand'	(<i>du</i>) <i>feu</i> 'fire'	<i>myòn</i> 'fire' 'brand'
<i>tèt</i> 'head' 'roof'	<i>tête</i> 'head'	<i>tà</i> 'head' 'roof'
<i>kase</i> 'to slim down' 'to break'	<i>casser</i> 'to break'	(from Lefebvre 1998: 71) <i>gbà (-kpó)</i> 'to slim down' 'to break'
<i>kraze</i> 'to break to pieces' 'to break by spreading' 'to disperse'	<i>écraser</i> 'to destroy' 'to crush'	<i>kíjá</i> 'to break to pieces' 'to break by spreading' 'to disperse'
		(from Lefebvre 1999: 69–79)

FRENCH	HAITIAN/FONGBE
[+ definite] determiner	[+ definite] determiner
– pre-nominal	– post-nominal
– marked for gender and number	– unmarked for gender and number
– allomorphs: <i>le/la/les/l'</i>	– allomorphs: <i>la, a, an, nan, lan/ó, ón</i>
– anaphoric and cataphoric	– anaphoric
– partitive <i>du/des</i>	– no partitive forms
– obligatory with generic or mass nouns	– impossible with generic or mass nouns
– no bare NPs	– bare NPs
– *Det [relative clause] N	– N [relative clause] Det (=(71) in Lefebvre 2004: 90)

krab [*mwen* \emptyset] *sa a yo* HAITIAN
àsón [*nyè tòn*] *éls ó le* FONGBE
 crab me GEN DEM DEF PL
 'these/those crabs of mine' (in question/that we know of) (= (1) in Lefebvre 1998: 78)

wá *dě- è Jan wá ó, ...* FONGBE
 rive \emptyset Jan rive a, ... HAITIAN
 arrive OP John arrive DEF ...
 'The fact that John has arrived ...'

As Alleyne did before, forms are presented as if equivalent—despite obvious contrasts, for instance between a postnominal multifunctional determiner in HC, and a prenominal, nonmultifunctional determiner in SA.

Table 1. Functional categories created by relabeling with the superstrate forms that have provided their labels

FC	Fongbe	EN/Port	SA	FR	HC	Port	PP
DEF	ɔ̀	<i>this</i>	<i>di(si)</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ele/es³</i>	<i>e</i>
Num	(<i>Ewe</i>) <i>wó</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>dée</i>	<i>eux</i>	<i>yo</i>	?	<i>nan</i>
DEM	<i>élò</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>disi</i>	<i>ça</i>	<i>sa</i>		
	<i>énè</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>celà</i>	<i>sila</i>		
LOC ADV = DEM	<i>dé</i>	<i>aqui</i>	<i>aki</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>visit</i>		
	<i>dòn</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>alá</i>	<i>l'autre bord</i>	<i>lótò</i>		
Conjunctions of NPS	<i>kpóqó</i>	<i>cum</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>collé avec</i>	<i>(kòl)ak</i>	<i>cum</i>	<i>ku</i>
	<i>bò</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>et puis</i>	<i>epi</i>		?
Complementizers subjunctive	<i>nú/ní</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>pour</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>pa</i>
	<i>dò</i>	<i>tell</i>	<i>táá</i>				
TMA markers	<i>kò</i>	<i>been</i>	<i>bì</i>	<i>été</i>	<i>te</i>		
	<i>ní</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>pour</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>pa</i>
	<i>dò...wè</i>	<i>esta</i>	<i>vta</i>	<i>après</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>esta</i>	<i>tá</i>

àsón dé
crab IND
'a crab'

FONGBE

yon krab
IND crab
'a crab'

HAITIAN

a. *krab yo*
crab PL
'the crabs'

b. *Yo pati.*
3pl leave
'They left.'

HAITIAN

(=4) in Lefebvre 2001)

c. *àsón lé*
crab PL
'the crabs'

d. *Yé yi.*
3pl leave
'They left.'

FONGBE

(=3) in Lefebvre 2001)

The Gbe and HC indefinite determiners do not correspond. The HC multifunctional 3pl/pl marker corresponds to separate forms in Gbe.

Lefebvre accounts for mismatches between Gbe and Haitian Creole by

- a lack of suitable French forms for relabeling
- the presence of speakers of other substrate languages, creating competing relexified (re-labeled) forms, followed by leveling
- processes of grammaticalization and reanalysis

1980s/90s

Transfer in pidginization / creolization

the need for differentiated transfer accounts

- “...the reluctance of substratophiles to provide evidence that the right speakers were in the right places at the right times for features to be transmitted.” (Bickerton 1984:183)
- this means: identifying speakers of substrate languages at relevant historical moments for specific territories
 - for Caribbean creoles, made possible by the database of the trans Atlantic slave trade (<https://www.slavevoyages.org>)
- to produce historically realistic accounts, this also means: detailed research on sociohistorical context and demographic context of creolization
 - for Caribbean creoles, notions such as “Event 1”, homestead society vs plantation society (*société d’habitation, société de plantation*)
- recognition that creole grammars are not as uniform as previously thought
 - and that each language has its individual emergence history

Bickerton, Derek. 1984. The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis. *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 7:2, 173-188.

differentiated
substrate
accounts:

the case of the
Surinam creoles
- a selection of
work in
sociohistory and
language history

- 1989.** *Syntactic developments in Sranan: Creolization as a gradual process*, Jacques Arends (PhD Dissertation).
- 1995.** *Grammaticalization in creoles: The development of determiners and relative clauses in Sranan*, Adrienne Bruyn (PhD Dissertation, published by IFOTT).
- 1995.** Demographic factors in the formation of Sranan, Jacques Arends. *The early stages of creolization*, ed. Jacques Arends, 233-285. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 1998.** *Substrate influence in the formation of the Surinamese plantation creole: a consideration of sociohistorical data and linguistic data from Ndyuka and Gbe*, Bettina Migge (PhD Dissertation).
- 1999.** Pernambuco to Suriname 1654-1665? The Jewish slave controversy, Norval Smith. *Spreading the word*, eds. Magnus Huber & Mikael Parkvall, 251-298. London: University of Westminster Press.
- 2001.** Social stratification and network relations in the formation of Sranan, Jacques Arends. *Creolization and contact*, eds. Norval Smith & Tonjes Veenstra, 291-308. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- 2001.** Voodoo chile: differential substrate effects in Saramaccan and Haitian, Norval Smith. *Creolization and contact*, eds. Norval Smith & Tonjes Veenstra, 42-80. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 2003.** *Creole formation as language contact: The case of the Suriname creoles*, Bettina Migge. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 2005.** The basic locative construction in Gbe languages and Surinamese creoles, James Essegbey. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 20:2, 228-267.
- 2006.** Complementation in Saramaccan and Gungbe: the case of C-type modal particles, Enoch Aboh. *NLLT* 24, 1-55.
- 2007.** Gbe and other West African sources of Suriname Creole semantic structures: implications for creole genesis, G.Huttar, J.Essegbey & F.Ameka. *JPCL* 22:1, 57-72.
- 2007.** Substrate influence in the emergence of the tense and aspect systems in the creoles of Suriname, Donald Winford & Bettina Migge. *JPCL* 22:1,73-99.
- 2007.** The Saramaccan implosives: Tools for linguistic archaeology? Norval Smith & Vinije Haabo. *JPCL* 22:1, 101-122.
- 2015.** *Surviving the Middle Passage: The West Africa-Surinam Sprachbund*, eds. Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith, Berlin:Walter De Gruyter.
- 2015.** *The emergence of hybrid grammars. Language contact and change*, Enoch Aboh. Cambridge University Press.
- 2017.** *Language and slavery. A social and linguistic history of the Suriname creoles*, Jacques Arends, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

a marked choice: the proximate demonstrative as relativizer

Modern Sranan *di* is a relativizer and conjunction; its emergence < *disi* ‘this’ < English ‘this’.

Sranan c. 1765):

- (1) ...da misi [**disi** libi na zy kerki] ...
DEF miss [REL live at side church]
‘..the young lady who lives next to the church...’
- (2) ary fadom trange [**disi** mi de na gron]
rain fall-down strong [when 1sg be at ground]
‘rain fell heavily when I was in the fields’
- (3) **di** ju brokko mi nefe...
since 2sg break 1sg nife
‘since you’ve broken my knife, ...’

In Ewegbe, “the proximal demonstrative *si(a)* has developed into a relative marker, **contra the typological preference for a non-proximate demonstrative**” (Bruyn 1995: 174, my emphasis)

Bruyn cites several other Gbe languages with similar patterns. She concludes:

“The short time that it took for Sranan *disi* ‘this’ to acquire a relativizing function as well as the temporal, causal and concessive meanings can be understood by assuming that speakers of Fon and Ewe, and maybe other Gbe languages (...), used *disi* ‘this’ in the same range of functions that the proximate demonstrative in their mother tongues could fulfill.” (*ibid.*)

Lessons from the Surinam case

- what can be learned from studying the trans Atlantic slave trade
 - early(ish) dominant presence of enslaved from particular ethnolinguistic groups can be established and linked to lexical contributions and substrate patterns in the creole languages; different groups may have exerted influence at different times
- what can be learned from studying plantation societies
 - stratification of plantation societies corresponds to different levels of access to speakers of the lexifier; Arends argues that black overseers, bilingual in the lexifier as well as the dominant substrate language, acted as linguistic role models
- what can be learned from detailed comparative studies of the grammar of creoles and substrates
 - distinctions emerge between clear cases of correspondence in the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of creole & substrate (e.g., relativizer *di*) vs. pattern copying (e.g., locative constructions, some reduplications) vs. innovation (e.g., some other reduplications)
 - processes of simplification and selection apply to substrate properties as they are integrated into emergent creole grammar

Table 3. The potential role of the factors of frequency, regularity, complexity, Locality, Discourse, and Semantic weight for the different grammatical components studied

	Frequency	Regularity	Complexity	Locality	Semantic weight	Result
Locative constructions	±	±	±	+	+	Patterning on general Gbe models rather than individual items
Lexical semantics & Argument Structure	-	-	±	+	±	Not on the whole Gbe, except for a reflex of the hypertransitivity phenomenon
Word classes	+	-	±	±	-	Only partly modelled on Gbe patterns,
Morphology	±	±	-	+	-	Gbe morphological pattern limited to one or two affixes
Reduplication	±	±	-	+	+	Gbe pattern productive only for adjectives
Syllabic phonology	+	+	-	+	-	Gbe patterning in monosyllables, more complex (including Kikongo) patterning in polysyllables
DP morpho-syntax and the Left periphery	+	+	+	±	±	Variable Gbe patterning
Complement	-	-	+	±	-	Only partly modelled on Gbe patterns

p.402 of:

Muysken, Pieter. 2015. Conclusion. *Surviving the Middle Passage: The West Africa-Surinam Sprachbund*, eds. Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith, 393-408. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.

requirements for credible substrate transfer accounts

sociohistorical

- the substrate language(s) have to be identified accurately
- the time period has to be right
- demographic and other conditions have to be right
- motivation has to be taken into account

linguistic

- a marked / crosslinguistically unusual patterns is a better candidate for a transfer account than an unmarked / common pattern
- transfer ranges from stronger (replication) to weaker (pattern copying with innovation)

1990s/2000s Interlanguage is back

- long/short verb forms in Louisianais and Morisyen
 - Becker & Veenstra (2003) argue that the long/short verb contrasts find their origins in verb variation in the “Basic Variety” (BV)
 - BV is an interlanguage stage which has no inflections, reduced pronoun systems, simple negation systems, few grammatical forms, etc. (Klein and Perdue 1997). In an ESF-funded longitudinal study of naturalistic SLA, around a third of speakers did not progress past the BV.
- Ingo Plag, in 4 columns published in JPCL 2008 & 2009 explores the explanatory power of the **Interlanguage hypothesis**: Creoles are conventionalized interlanguages of an early stage.
 - Plag draws on Pienemann’s Processability Theory.
 - He notes that creoles “seem to display almost exclusively structures for which no information exchange between constituents is necessary” (2008: 125)

Table 1. Multigenerational scenario of creole genesis

Generation	Language distribution
G1	L1 Ancestral language(s) L2 Basic variety (and other approximations of the target language)
G2	L1 Ancestral language(s) L1 (Post-)basic variety
G3	L1 (Post-)basic variety [L2 Ancestral language(s)]

(7) Processing procedures for English (source: Pienemann 2000)

Stage	Processing procedure	L2 processing	morphology	syntax
1	word/ lemma	words	invariant forms	single constituent
2	category procedure	lexical morphemes possessive pronouns	plural on nouns	canonical order
3	phrasal procedure	intra-phrasal information exchange	NP agreement Neg+V	ADV, <i>do</i> -fronting topicalization
4	S-procedure/ word order rules	inter-phrasal information exchange		Y/N inversion, copula inversion
5	S-procedure/ word order rules	inter-phrasal information exchange	SV agreement (3sg -s)	Aux/ <i>do</i> 2nd
6	subordinate clause procedure	main and subordinate clauses		cancel inversion

Mauritian Creole

- (1) a. *Kifer to lizie gayar pe ferme?*
why 2SG eye lively ASP close
'Why are your lively eyes closing?'
(Dev Virasawmy, Montagn Morn; Henri 2010: 1)
- b. *Ki ferm mo nam dan enn prizon.*
that close 1SG soul LOC DET prison
'That closes my soul in a prison.'
(Dev Virasawmy, Balad San Patri; Henri 2010: 1)

Makwe (P20)

- (4) a. DJ *A-ní-yúuma|.*
1SM-PFV.DJ-buy
'She has bought.'
- b. CJ *A-yum-ite vítáabu|.*
1SM-buy-PFV.CJ 8.books
'She has bought books.'
(Devos 2008: 217)

Mauritian Creole¹

- (2) a. LF *Mo pe māze.*
1SG ASP eat
'I'm eating.'
- b. SF *Mo pe māz dipen.*
1SG ASP eat bread
'I am eating bread.'

1990s/2000s

Interlanguage is back – though with little SLA

- Crucially, both Veenstra and Plag argue that past the earliest stages of SLA, there are other stages of development.
- “Target shift” (Baker 1990) signals the second stage. “At this stage, processes of SLA, first language acquisition and dialect leveling may all be going on at the same time.” (Plag 2009:119)
- Van der Wal & Veenstra (2015) argue that the Morisyen contrast is patterned on the Bantu substrate and emerged in the post-BV stage.

Baker P. 1990. Guest column: Off target? *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 5,107–119.

Plag, Ingo. 2009. Creoles as interlanguages: Phonology. *JPCL* 24:1, 119-138.

Van der Wal, Jenneke & Tonjes Veenstra. 2015. The long and short of verb alternations in Mauritian Creole and Bantu languages. *Folia Linguistica* 49:1, 85-116.

Siegel's (2008) "strategic SLA" as an alternative to "imperfect SLA"

- "strategic" SLA suggests that native-like proficiency is not a relevant target; this is strongly relatable to motivation (e.g., Singler 2008)
- Siegel's model involves (1) a pool of variants including lexifier varieties, IL and pidgin varieties; (2) leveling which eliminates some of the variants. Some of the retained variants may be those that resulted from transfer.
- "Thus, in P/C genesis, substrate features enter via individual L2 versions (...) **and not directly from the substrate languages themselves**" (p. 199). Saliency and congruence determine whether substrate features have somewhere to transfer to and enter the pool of variants, while frequency (based on the number or proportion of speakers that share it) determines their final selection.

Accounting for transfer
without L2A

Siegel, Jeff. 2008. Pidgins/creoles and second language acquisition. *Handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, eds. Silvia Kouwenberg & John V. Singler, 189-218. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.



functional transfer in creole languages:

a grammatical function originating in the substrate is assigned to a lexifier form

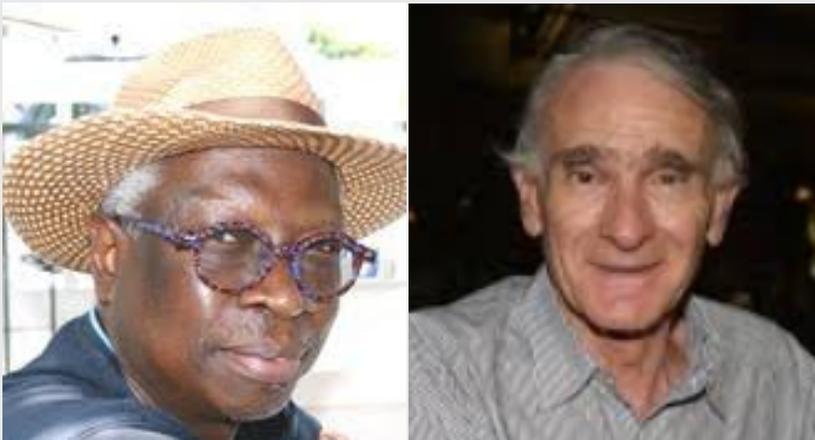
- Siegel notes that detailed descriptions of IL varieties have provided evidence of simplification, but **not** of transfer – incl. the ESF study
- in SLA, evidence for functional transfer is found only in second language **use** – a transient phenomenon where L2 learners compensate for inadequate L2 knowledge under communicative pressure
- in creolization, “transfer from an L1 to an L2 tends to occur when speakers are expanding their use of the L2 into wider contexts” (p.151)
- “Therefore, according to the ‘**Shifter Principle**’, the substrate languages whose speakers first shift to the expanding pidgin are most likely to provide features that get transferred and enter the pool of variants, and thus the most likely to influence the structure of the creole” (ibid.)
- This allows for substantial substrate influence at a time much later than the establishment of the societies in which creole languages developed – **and, crucially, after (strategic) L2A has ended**

Accounting for transfer without L2A

Siegel, Jeff. 2008. *The emergence of pidgin & creole languages*. Oxford University Press.

Reversing the
direction:

L2A in creolization
as gradual
basilectization



The approximations model (Chaudenson, Mufwene)

- reliant on the homestead/plantation periodization
- beginning with an advanced interlanguage variety of the lexifier language acquired by Africans in the homestead period, the creole comes about by progressive and cumulative restructuring of the lexifier language
- what of contexts without a clear homestead phase (e.g., Jamaica)? or with a homestead phase but extremely divergent creole (e.g. Berbice Dutch)?

Levels of access to superstrate speakers and degrees of language learning of the superstrate by substrate speakers

- Singler (2008, p. 344) reminds us that “language is not simply about communication; it is also about identity and membership” and that “[i]n the circumstances of race-based enslavement on the plantation, the notion that everyone wanted to talk as white as possible is, to say the least, improbable.”

The problem of functional transfer

- not a part of “normal” SLA
- it is hard to find a place for functional transfer in models that consider creoles the outcome of cycles of (imperfect) replication of the lexifier

Chaudenson Robert. 1992. *Des îles, des hommes, des langues*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Mufwene Salikoko. 2001. *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Mufwene Salikoko. 2008. *Language evolution: contact, competition and change*. London/New York: Continuum.

Singler, John V. 2008. The sociohistorical context of creole genesis. *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, eds. Silvia Kouwenberg & John V. Singler, 332–358. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

final observations

relexification / relabeling: vindicated by the ‘full transfer/full access’ model? (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996)

- evidence of *exact* replication of substrate patterns in the phonology, morphology, and syntactic structure of creole languages is rare; instead, we see many *inexact* resemblances

L2 acquisition cannot account for creoles’ morphosyntactic expansion with evidence of functional transfer

- creole languages followed a path of “expansion without a target,” “not by acquiring [analytic or synthetic] grammatical morphemes from the L2, but rather by creating new grammatical morphemes—usually by giving grammatical functions to existing lexical items in individuals’ interlanguages or the restricted pidgin. . . . These functions are most often based on those of grammatical morphemes in the L1” (Siegel et al. 2014, p. 76)

in multigenerational accounts, both adult second language *use* (instead of, or alongside second language *acquisition*) and nativization may have contributed to innovation and stabilization

- the Shifter Principle predicts that functional transfer (and other forms of substrate transfer) most likely occurs at the time of target shift - when SLA of the European lexifier is no longer relevant

Schwartz, B.D. & R.A. Sprouse. 1996. L2 cognitive states and the full transfer/full access model. *Second Language Research* 12, 40-72.

Siegel, Jeff, Szmrecsanyi B, Kortmann B. 2014. Measuring analyticity and syntheticity in creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 29, 49-85

concluding remarks

SLA does not produce pidgins or creoles

- L2A is a qualitatively different process
- the further L2A progresses, the less evidence there is for L1 transfer even in L2 use

In creolization

- lexical and functional forms of the superstrate in some instance appear without much of their semantic and morphosyntactic properties
- L1 transfer takes place beyond initial L2 acquisition
- L1 transfer includes functional transfer