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## THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGES IN CONSTANT INTERACTION: THE CASE OF LONG-TIME BILINGUALISM BETWEEN ROMANCE VERNACULARS AND ROMANCE-BASED CREOLES

Scholarship holder: Dr. Miguel Gutiérrez Maté  
[miguel.gutierrez@fau.de](mailto:miguel.gutierrez@fau.de)

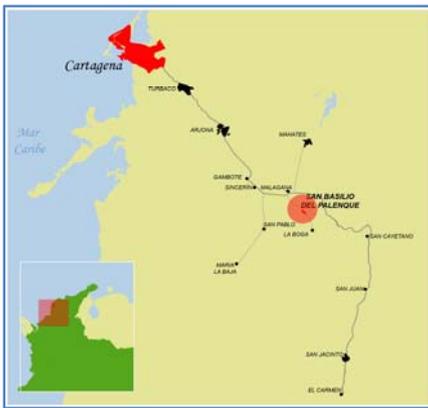
Mentors: Prof. Dr. Silke Jansen (Univ. of Erlangen-Nuremberg)  
Prof. Dr. Armin Schwegler (Univ. of California, Irvine)

**General criteria for a typology of bilingual communities:**

- Different social functions and status of the two languages
- Existence/effectiveness of educational programs in one or the other language
- Degree of intercomprehension between the two languages
- Degree of *objective specific affinity* (Cosieriu 1982:13)

**Characteristics of many creole communities:**

- The Creole language is under the pressure of the European language
- There are normally no educational programs in Creole (one exception is the community of San Basilio de Palenque, where teaching in Creole reflects an act of identity –barely marginal, in comparison with teaching in Spanish–)
- Long-time established bilingualism (sometimes for centuries): Spanish in SBP since the 18th century (Schwegler 2012), French in Haiti restricted to social *élites* but uninterruptedly present since the Colonial era (Thibault 2012)
- The Creole language is partially based on the European language (as a result of an abrupt linguistic change or *creolization* due to linguistic contact and incomplete input during language acquisition)



**Four kinds of diachronic processes (to be distinguished from the creolization process):**

- Internal changes in Romance vernaculars
- Internal changes in Creoles
- Contact-induced changes in vernaculars (or contact-induced retentions as compared to the standard Romance varieties)
- Contact-induced change in Creoles (sometimes with partial restructuring/decreolization)



### The case of the Spanish-based Creole Palenquero (and San Basilio de Palenque-Spanish)

*i* ('I') / from Spanish or from Kikongo  
*bo* ('you') / from Portuguese or from (Colonial Caribbean) Spanish  
*ele* ('he') / from Portuguese  
*suto* ('we') / from Spanish  
*enú* ('you PL') / from Kikongo  
*ané* ('they') / from Kikongo



*(a)ta* / from Spanish *está/estar* 'to be'  
TEMPUS/MODUS/ASPECT  
PROGRESSIV  
+  
*kanda* / from Spanish *cantar* 'to sing'  
INFINITIVE  
(unlike Spanish GERUND *cantando*)

### Example: Linguistic changes concerning the Spanish distinction /ɾ/ (flap) - /r/ (trill)

- In some vernacular varieties of SBP-Spanish:
  - velarization (found in other Hispanic and Romance varieties too)  
*/ɾ/-/r/ > /R/* → Sp. /a'rojo/ > SBP-Sp. /a'Rojɔ/ → INTERNAL CHANGE
  - convergence of /ɾ/ and /r/ into /ɾ/ (often due to linguistic contact)  
*/ɾ/-/r/ > /ɾ/* → Sp. /a'rojo/ > SBP-Sp. /a'rojɔ/ → INTERNAL OR CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE
  - lateralization of /ɾ/ (typical of Afro-Hispanic varieties: Lispi 2005)  
*/ɾ/ > /l/* → Sp. /ke'reɾ/ > SBP-Sp. /ke'le/ → CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE
- In Palenquero words of Spanish origin:
  - lateralization of both /ɾ/ and /r/ (not found in any Spanish variety)  
*/ɾ/ - /r/ > /l/* → Sp. /a'rojo/ > Pal. /'lojo/ → CREOLIZATION