

Demonstrative systems in Portuguese-based creoles: Some markedness considerations

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Demonstrative systems in contact

Does the encoding of deixis in demonstrative systems undergo contact-induced change?

- *Microcontact* project
- Diachrony
- **Creoles**

I.e. If a demonstrative system that encodes N deictic oppositions enters into contact with a demonstrative system that encodes M deictic oppositions, will it retain its N oppositions, shift towards M oppositions (lose or gain one), or none of the above?

My answer (but not today): ‘none of the above’.

(Change can occur in demonstrative systems in contact, but not necessarily towards M ; rather, similar to what we see in diachrony.)

Case study: Portuguese-based creoles

Today: Portuguese-based creoles.

Main focus:

- **contrastive description** of their demonstrative systems and of those of their lexifiers;
- semantic and morphological considerations;
- **featural description** of the attested morphological variation;
- thoughts on **markedness**.

Portuguese-based creoles



Source: APiCS, Michaelis et al. 2013.

Disclaimers

- Comparison (15th-17th c.): problem for creoles and their lexifiers alike.
- Also to consider for proper comparison: socio-historical background (relevance of extralinguistic factors, e.g. duration and intensity of contact).
- Nothing on the creolisation process & the definition of its outputs as (un)marked.

Roadmap

- Demonstratives
 - Background
 - Portuguese
- Portuguese-based creoles
 - Upper Guinea Creoles
 - Gulf of Guinea Creoles
 - Asian Creoles
 - Generalisations
 - A featural description
- Some markedness considerations
 - Which markedness?
 - Third factor-related markedness

Demonstratives

Exophoric demonstratives locate objects/areas in the external world w.r.t. **deictic centre**. According to the deictic centre(s):

speaker	hearer	other	→ Binary system, speaker-oriented
speaker	hearer	other	→ Binary system, participant-oriented
speaker	hearer	other	→ Ternary system
speaker	hearer	other	→ Unary system

questo	quello	→ Binary/speaker: Italian	
aquest	aquell	→ Binary/participant: Catalan	
custu	cussu	cullu	→ Ternary: some Sicilian varieties
ce			→ Unary: French

Assumptions:

- discourse participants as deictic centres: demonstratives systems are primarily defined by **person features**;
- demonstratives express a **spatial relation** to person, rather than person.

Assumption I

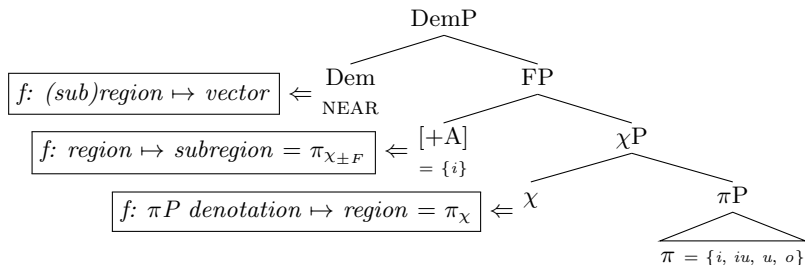
Discourse participants as deictic centres: demonstrative systems are **person-based** and primarily defined by **person features**.

- **Debate:** person-based *vs* distance-based demonstrative systems (Anderson & Keenan 1985; cf. also Diessel 1999);
- difference: in the **middle term** of ternary systems:
 - person-based systems, e.g. Portuguese: *esse* ‘that near you’;
 - distance-based systems, e.g. Spanish (under some accounts): *ese* ‘that at an intermediate distance’.
- Following Lander & Haegeman 2018: only person-based demonstrative systems (distance oppositions = modifications of an underlying person-based opposition).
- Two possible approaches:
 - (monovalent) **locative features**: [PROXIMAL], [MEDIAL], [DISTAL];
 - **person features**.
- *Contra* Lander & Haegeman 2016 & following a.o. Harbour 2016: person features.

Assumption II

Demonstratives express a **spatial relation** to person, not person.

- Consider: *eu* 'I' $\neq$ *esti* 'this', although both refer to 1.
- While personal pronouns refer to person, demonstrative forms refer to the space occupied by person:
 - My proposal: person features directly compose with π in personal pronouns, but do so indirectly in demonstrative forms: **intervention of a spatial head χ** that defines the **space of discourse**.



Person features: The system

Cf. Harbour 2016, with minor revisions.

- **Ontology** (i.e. discourse-related atoms): speaker = i , hearer = u , other = o .
- Accessed by the grammar *via* two binary features, $[\pm A]$ and $[\pm P]$, that can (successively) apply to the categorial head π :
 - **categorial head**: $\llbracket \pi \rrbracket = \{i_o, iu_o, u_o, o_o\}$
 - **two features**:
 - a. $\llbracket \text{Author} \rrbracket = \{i\} \rightarrow [A]$
 - b. $\llbracket \text{Participant} \rrbracket = \{i, iu, u\} \rightarrow [P]$
 - each feature **must** have either of **two values**:
 - a. + (action: disjoint addition)
 - b. – (action: joint subtraction)

Person features and demonstratives

The two features can (successively) compose with π , to partition it (on the bases of Harbour 2016):

		π		(Unary)
	$(+Participant(\pi))$		$(-Participant(\pi))$	(Binary/P)
	$(+Author(\pi))$		$(-Author(\pi))$	(Binary/A)
$(+Part(+Auth(\pi)))$		$(+Part(-Auth(\pi)))$	$(-Part(\pm Auth(\pi)))$	(Ternary)
$(+A(-P(\pi)))$	$(+A(+P(\pi)))$	$(-Auth(+Part(\pi)))$	$(-Auth(-Part(\pi)))$	(Quatern.)

Demonstratives: (successive) compositions with $(\chi(\pi))$:

		$(\chi(\pi))$		(Unary)
	$(+Participant(\chi(\pi)))$		$(-Participant(\chi(\pi)))$	(Binary/P)
	$(+Author(\chi(\pi)))$		$(-Author(\chi(\pi)))$	(Binary/A)
$(+Part(+Auth(\chi(\pi))))$		$(+Part(-Auth(\chi(\pi))))$	$(-Part(\pm Auth(\chi(\pi))))$	(Ternary)
$(+A(-P(\chi(\pi))))$	$(+A(+P(\chi(\pi))))$	$(-Auth(+Part(\chi(\pi))))$	$(-Auth(-Part(\chi(\pi))))$	(Quatern.)

Portuguese demonstrative systems

Present-day Portuguese: **ternary systems**:

		Near me (1)	Near you (2)	Far from us (3)
Dem.	M	este(s)	esse(s)	aquele(s)
	F	esta(s)	essa(s)	aquela(s)
	N	isto	isso	aquilo
Adv.	Punctual	aqui	aí	ali
	Areal	cá	—	lá

Sources: Ledgeway & Smith 2016, Teyssier 1981, a.o.

- **Features** (e.g.):
 $este \leftrightarrow (+Participant(+Author(\chi(\pi))))$
 $esse \leftrightarrow (+Participant(-Author(\chi(\pi))))$
 $aquele \leftrightarrow (-Participant(\pm Author(\chi(\pi))))$
- Cf. Jungbluth 2003 (& ff.) for a **different interpretation**: referents in the inside space (that of the conversation dyad/both participants) = *este*; referents in the outside space = *aquele*.

Portuguese demonstratives in diachrony I

Settlement & creolisation: mid-15th c. to 17th c.

- **15th c.:** Teyssier 1981 (*Crónica de D. Pedro*, Lopes)

		Near me (1)	Near you (2)	Far from us (3)
Dem.	M	este (marg. <i>aqueste</i>)	esse	aquel, aquele
Adv.	Punctual	aqui	—	ali
	Areal	cá	—	lá
	Allative?	—	—	aló

*Only SG.M forms reported here.

- ***Esse* is an innovation;** mostly anaphoric.
- **No ‘near you’ adverb**, although “Cette conclusion [...] reste provisoire et fragile. [...] Il est parfaitement possible que ce ‘saut’ [anaphoric *hi* > deictic (*a*)*hi*] se soit produit à l’époque de Fernão Lopes, et même avant, et que seul les limites de notre corpus nous aient empêché de le constater” (Teyssier 1981: 24).

Portuguese demonstratives in diachrony II

Settlement & creolisation: mid-15th c. to 17th c.

- **16th c.:** Teyssier 1981 (Portuguese works of Gil Vicente)

		Near me (1)	Near you (2)	Far from us (3)
Dem.	M	este (marg. <i>aqueste</i>)	esse (marg. <i>aquesse</i>)	aquele
Adv.	Punctual	aqui	aí < <i>ahi</i> >, hi	ali
	Areal	cá	—	lá

*Only SG.M forms reported here.

- ***Esse* is stably used as the second person demonstrative.**
- ***Aí* emerges:** the adverbial system parallels the nominal one. Mostly employed in the deictic function (while *hi*, when used as a free morpheme, partly retained the anaphoric function).

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Portuguese-based creoles

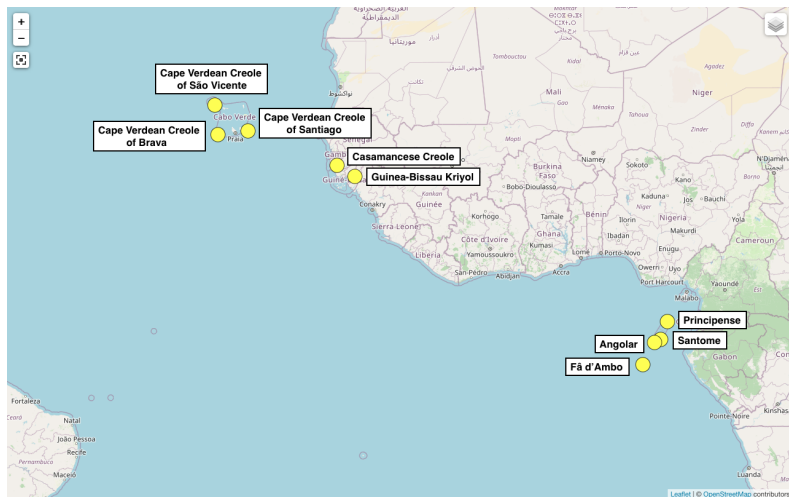
- **14 creoles**, formed from the very end of the **15th c. onwards** (generalised decline of Portuguese control: 17th c.).
- **Limit: lack of early data** (cf. Ladhams 2009); extended to some of the lexifiers.
- First linguistic descriptions: late 19th century (although these are claimed not to differ in the characteristic features w.r.t. the current varieties; Ladhams 2009).
- **Spatial adverbs**: not described in the APiCS.

Portuguese-based creoles



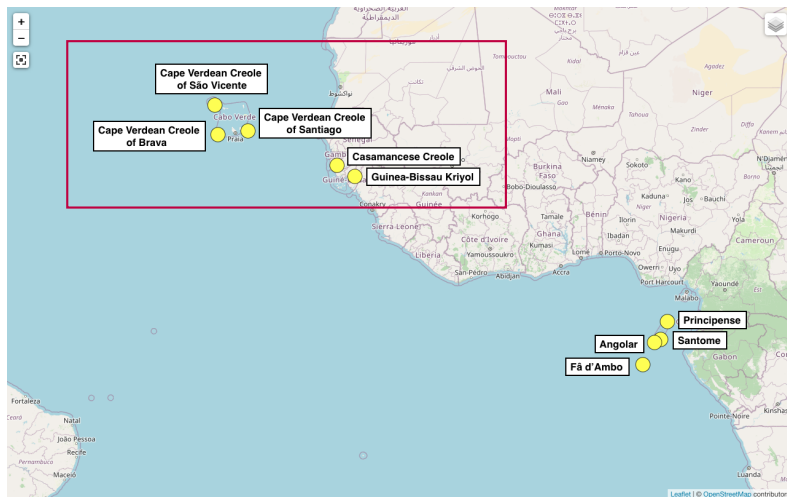
Source: APiCS.

West Africa Creoles



Source: APiCS.

Upper Guinea Creoles



Source: APiCS.

Sociohistorical context I (APiCS, Ladhams 2009)

Cape Verdean Creoles

- 1456-1460: discovery of the archipelago. Early settlement: **Santiago** and Fogo > 1472: cotton plantations, with slaves from Africa mainland (majority: **Wolof**).
- From the 1550s: economic & social crisis:
 - slaves from other areas: **Atlantic and Mande** languages;
 - decline in trade & no new slaves > emancipated slaves **left for other islands**: e.g. Brava 1573 (esp. from Fogo: 1680).
- São Vicente: first settlers (1795) from Fogo (Sotavento varieties). But: Portuguese influence & 1838: British coal companies (Mindelo) > busy Atlantic port.
- Santiago, Brava: **basilectal** varieties, São Vicente: **acrolectal** variety (although: cf. Baptista 2017).

Sociohistorical context II (APiCS, Ladhams 2009)

Guinea Creoles

- 1446: Portuguese explorers in Africa mainland.
- Guinea Creoles similar to the Cape Verdean ones:
 - Guinea Bissau Creole formed by white renegades **from Cape Verde**, mid to late 16th c.?
 - or pre-existent Portuguese *lingua franca*/pidgin?
- 1645: foundation of Ziguinchor (in an originally Nyun area): Casamancese Creole.
- **Differences** (mainly: Casamancese): **adstrate** influence (Nyun and more Manding varieties).

Demonstrative paradigms

	PROX	DIST
CVC/Santiago	es (... li), kel li	kel (... la)
CVC/Brava	es (... li), kel (... li)	kel (... la)
CVC/São Vicente	es (... li)	kel (... lá)
Guinea Bissau Kriyol	e(s) (... li)	ki(l) (... la)
Casamancese Creole	e(s) (... li)	e(s) /ke(l) (... la)

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- **Demonstrative-reinforcer construction** (and possible loss of deictic value): difference between CVC/Santiago and Brava (underspecified = original distal *kel*) and Casamancese Creole (underspecified = original proximal *e(s)*).
- *Este* or *esse*?

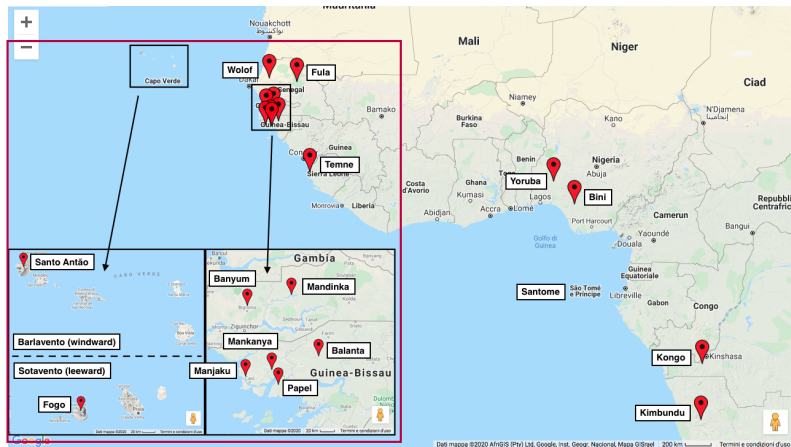
Adverbial paradigms

	PROX	DIST
CVC/Santiago	li	la
CVC/Brava	li	la, lago
CVC/São Vicente	li	lá
Guinea Bissau Kriyol	li	la
Casamancese Creole	<i>(a)li</i>	<i>la</i>

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- Adverbs: **variation in the distal form** (punctual *ali* ~ areal *lá*) **reanalysed as proximal/distal**.

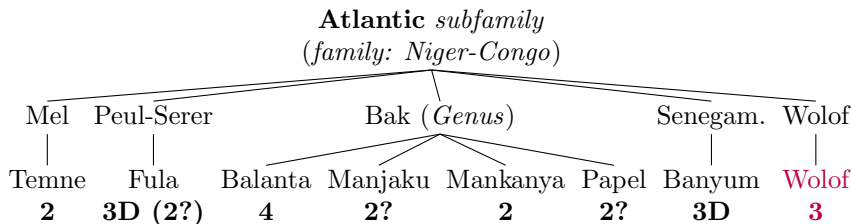
Other lexifiers of Upper Guinea Creoles



Sources: coordinates from WALS/Glottolog; map created with *maps.co*.

Other lexifiers of Upper Guinea Creoles

- Wolof & other **Atlantic** languages:



Sources: cf. Appendix, §2; for the genetic classification: Dryer 2013.

- **Mande** languages (Mandinka: **2**).

Gulf of Guinea Creoles



Source: APiCS.

Sociohistorical context (APiCS, Ladhams 2009)

- 1470: discovery of **São Tomé**. 1485: first settlement (permanent: 1493).
- Phase 1: homestead society, slaves from the Niger Delta (**Edoid**-speaking area; but also: **Defoid**/Yoruba & **Ijo**).
- Phase 2: from the 1510s: plantation society, slaves from the coast south to the Congo estuary (**Bantu**-speaking area; significant after 1520).
 - Slaves **redistributed to Príncipe and Annobon**.
 - **Angolar maroon community**: runaway slaves from the plantations, middle 16th c. (but cf. shipwreck hypothesis).
- 1472: discovery of Príncipe. 1500: first settlement.
- 1500 ca.: discovery of Annobon. 1543-1565: permanent settlement, but high isolation.

Sociohistorical context

Stronger substrate influence than in the Upper Guinea Creoles in all domains (lexicon, phonology, syntax). Development:

- development as **different languages**?
- genetic relation (< **proto-GGC**, ~ Santome)? (Hagemeijer 2011 and references therein for the debate)
- Cf. lexicon

Creole	Shared lex. w/ Santome	(Swadesh list lex.)
Angolar	67%	73%
Principense	88%	94%
Fa d'Ambô	82%	86%

Source: Hagemeijer 2011: 116.

More on the GCCs lexicon

Creole	Non-shared lex.	Original language
Santome	4.8%	Bantu: 81%
Angolar	46.3%	Bantu: 96%
Principense	4.8%	Edo: 76%
Fa d'Ambô	43.9%	Bantu: 67%

Sources: Ladhams 2012: 39, Hagemeijer 2009: 7.

Creole	Pg.	Non-Pg. →	Bantu	Edo	Yoruba	others
Santome	93%	7%	56%	35%	6%	3%
Angolar	82%	18%	92%	6%	2%	
Principense	93%	7%	23%	65%	10%	2%
Fa d'Ambô	90%	10%	52%	38%	6%	4%

Sources: Ladhams 2012: 38, Hagemeijer 2009: 7.

Demonstrative paradigms

	PROX	DIST
Santome	sɛ (<i>ku sa</i> (a)i), isɛ, isaki	sɛ (<i>ku sa</i> (a)la), isala
Angolar	e, dhe, the, isi-(dh)e	si, si-e, si-dhe, isi-dha dha, si-dha, isi-dha-dha
Principense	(i)sê	(i)xila
Fa d'Ambô	(i)sai	(i)sala

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- Neutralisation of deictic contrasts: etymologically **demonstrative-reinforcer constructions**.
- *Este* or *esse*?
- Angolar: discussion.
- **Additional forms** (left aside here, but cf. next slide): visibility & opposition presentative–absentive.

Visibility & presentative-absentive

- (1) *Santome* & *Principense*, ‘out of sight’:

N xi	ixi
‘that N out of sight’	‘that one out of sight’

- (2) *Fa d’Ambô*, **presentative** *vs* **absentative** demonstratives:

	PROX	DIST
Presentative	(i)sai	(i)sala
Absentative	(i)syi	(i)ski

Source: Post 2013.

- Santome *xi* is widely used to modify relative clauses.
- Principense *xi*, *ixi*, are only used anaphorically, not deictically.
- Presentative *vs* absentative functions: not explained, but from the examples in the corpus: absentative are anaphoric. (?)

Adverbial paradigms

	PROX	DIST
Santomé	(n)ai	(n)ala
Angolar	nge(e), aki, ai	nha nha, nhala, nhara, laya
Principense	(na, ni)	(lala)
Fa d'Ambô	— (DEM: (i)sai)	— (ADV: (i)sala)

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- Proximal demonstrative = **ai** (or variations; cf. also reinforcers, for demonstratives). Evidence that the medial demonstrative was well in use?
- Angolar: discussion.

Angolar

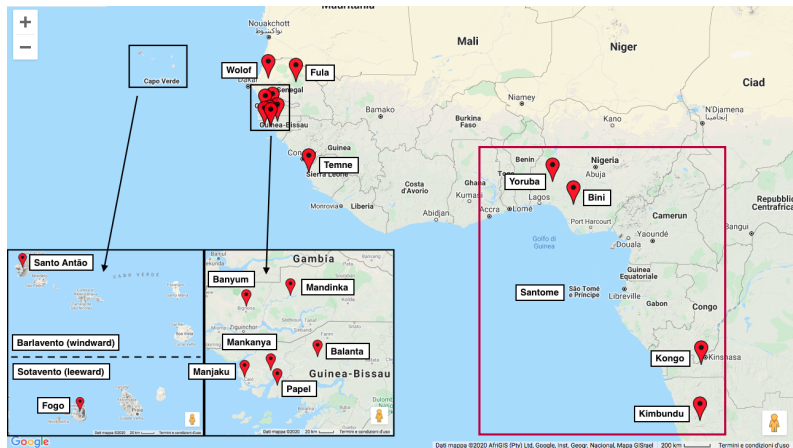
Reported to display a **3-way distance-based opposition** (w.r.t. the deictic *origo*):

PROX	MED	DIST
e, dhe, the, isi-(dh)e(-dhe) 'this'	si, si-e, si-dhe, isi-dha 'that (near)'	dha, si-dha, isi-dha-dha 'that (far)'
nge(e), aki, ai 'here'	nha 'there (near)'?	nha, nhala, nhara, laya 'there (far)'

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- The medial series **patterns with** both the proximal and the distal ones (DEM) / is identical to one of the distal forms (ADV).
- Angolar uses **reduplication** to refer to 'absolute proximity' (*dhe-dhe*) and 'absolute remoteness' (*dha-dha*).
- *the* < *se/sa* (cf. Appendix: §3).
- The forms *dhe* 'PROX' and *dha* 'DIST' **compose** with what looks like the underspecified demonstrative form of the other GGCs.

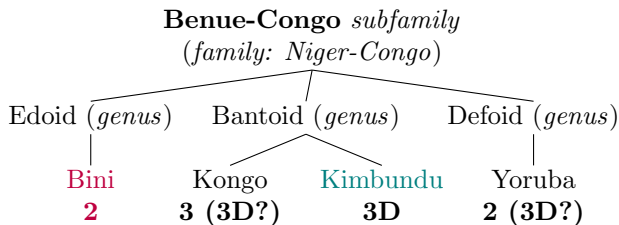
Other lexifiers of Gulf of Guinea Creoles



Sources: coordinates from WALS/Glottolog; map created with *maps.co*.

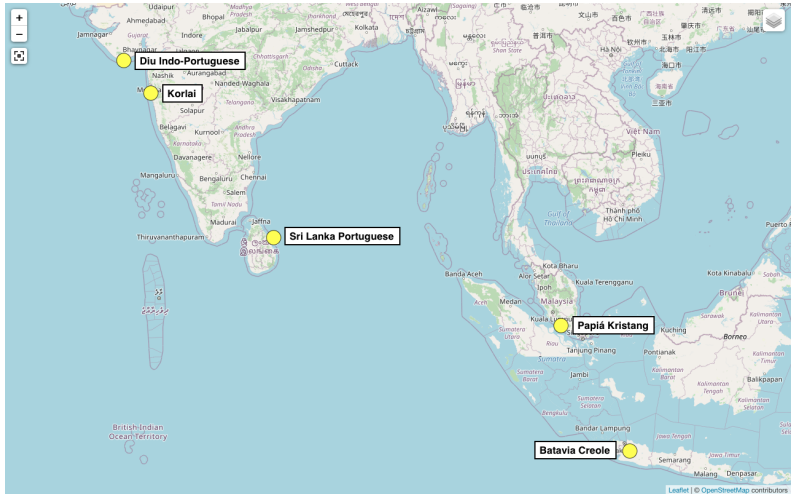
Other lexifiers of Gulf of Guinea Creoles

- **Primary Bini substrate** (Edoid), Central-Western Bantu adstrate (Hagemeijer 2011):



Sources: cf. Appendix: §2; for the genetic classification: Dryer 2013

Asian Creoles



Source: APiCS.

Sociohistorical context (APiCS, Ladhams 2009)

India

- Portuguese presence since the early 16th century: **mixed Catholic communities isolated** from the wider Indian society (religion) > creoles developed and were maintained as an identity symbol.
- Portuguese-based Creoles mentioned for at least **47 places**.
- **Gradual loss** of most Indian settlements → Creoles survive in Diu, Daman, Korlai, and Cochin.
 - Diu: 1535 = fortification; 17th century: decline → local creole circumscribed to the Diu-born Catholic population.
 - Chaul/Korlai: 1505; 1524 = fortification; 17th: decline & 1740: conquered by the Marathas → enclave in upper Korlai.
- **Descriptions based on acrolectal varieties**; exception: Clements 1996 on Korlai (basilectal variety shifted towards the Marathi adstrate, besides a ‘Parish Priest Register’, i.e. acrolectal variety).

Sociohistorical context (APiCS, Ladhams 2009)

- Sri Lanka: 1517-1658 (conquered by the Dutch; 1798: British). Creole Portuguese survived (also acquired by the Dutch settlers), esp. in the North-East of the island (Tamil).
 - Acrolectal variety described, but later research: basilectal variety shifting towards the **Tamil adstrate**.
- Malaysia (Malacca): 1511-1642 (conquered by the Dutch). Surviving Portuguese-Creole speaking Catholic community.
 - Papiá Kristang influenced by Portuguese foreigner talk & **Indo-Portuguese**; also local varieties & Asian ports: Malay, Cantonese, Dutch, Hindi, Hokkien, Konkani and Malayalam.
- Batavia (Jakarta): **never occupied by the Portuguese** (Dutch since 1618) → Portuguese-based Creole brought from abroad (slaves from South India, port connections: Malacca and Macao).
 - 17th c.: flourishing language (~ lingua franca within the Dutch East India Company area); second 18th c.: decline (extinct).

Demonstrative paradigms

	PROX	DIST
Diu Indo-Portuguese	es	ikəl
Korlai	ye	əkəl/akəl
Sri Lanka Portuguese	isti	aka
Papiá Kristang	isti/isi	aké
Batavia Creole	iste	akel

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- **Korlai prox *ye***: borrowed from Marathi *he* ‘this.N.SG’ (Clements 1996: 101).
- **Neutralisation** of deictic contrasts **in action** in Papiá Kristang.
- Diu Indo-Portuguese: *este* or *esse*?

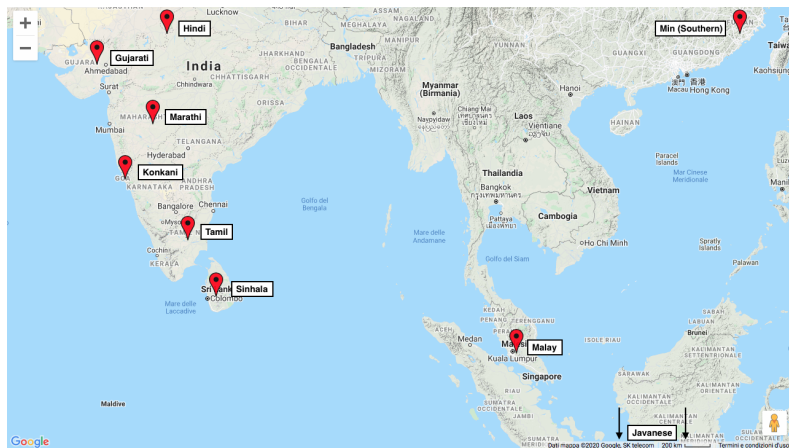
Adverbial paradigms

	PROX	DIST
Diu Indo-Portuguese	<i>aki</i>	<i>ali</i>
Korlai	aki	ali
Sri Lanka Portuguese	<i>akii</i>	<i>alaa</i>
Papiá Kristang	<i>akí</i>	<i>nalí</i>
Batavia Creole	<i>aki</i>	—

Sources: cf. Appendix: §1, 3.

- *-i*-series, with the exception of Sri Lanka Portuguese distal term.

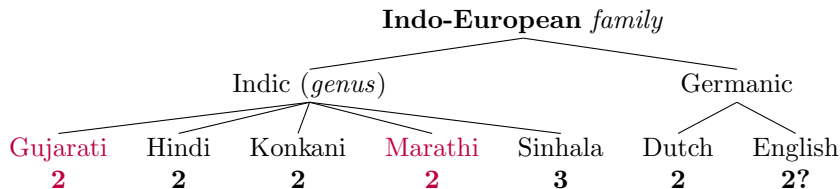
Other lexifiers of Asian Creoles



Sources: coordinates from WALS/Glottolog; map created with *maps.co*.

Other lexifiers of Asian Creoles

- **South Asian** languages (& Dutch, English):



Sources: cf. Appendix: §2; for the genetic classification: Dryer 2013.

- **Dravidian:** Tamil, **2**.
- **Austronesian:** Malay, **2/3**; Javanese, **3**.
- **Sino-Tibetan:** Southern Min, **2**.

Etymology

Creole demonstrative systems typically **retain the original Portuguese demonstrative lexical items**: consider the number of paradigmatic cells (#) discussed so far (2×13 [DEM] + 2×11 [ADV] + 6 [*Angolar*] = 54):

	#	Portuguese LI	Non-Portuguese LI
Demonstratives	29	28 [96.6%]	1 [Korlai]
Adverbs	25	25 [100%]	[1]*

*Angolar: *ngee* ‘here’ < *ngaa e* ‘this place’

- Missing information for Fa d’Ambô (but cf. reinforcers) and Batavia Creole adverbs.
- Angolar demonstratives: *dhe* and *dha*?

Semantics: demonstratives

Creole demonstrative systems systematically lost one of the three Portuguese forms: **new binary opposition** (speaker-oriented).

Creole	Contrasts	Lexifiers	Contrasts
		Portuguese	3
CVC/Santiago	2 (reinf)	Wolof (Temne, Mandinka)	3 (2)
CVC/Brava	2 (reinf)	Wolof (Temne, Mandinka)	3 (2)
CVC/São Vicente	2	CVC	2
Guinea Bissau Kr.	2	Wolof (Bak, Fula)	3 (4-2/3)
Casamancese Cr.	2 (reinf)	Wolof (Mandinka, Banyum)	3 (2/3)
Santome	2 (reinf)	Edo (Kikongo)	2 (3)
Angolar	3	Santome (Kimbundu)	2 (3)
Principense	2 (reinf)	Edo (Yoruba, Kikongo)	2 (2, 3)
Fa d'Ambô	2 (reinf)	Edo (Yoruba, Kikongo)	2 (2, 3)
Diu Indo-Pg.	2	Gujarati (English, Hindi, Konkani)	2 (2)
Korlai	2	Marathi	2
Sri Lanka Pg.	2	Tamil (Sinhala, (Dutch, English))	2 (3, (2))
Papiá Kristang	2	Malay (Southern Min)	2 (2)
Batavia Creole	2	Malay, Javanese (Dutch, Indo-Pg.)	2, 3 (2)

Semantics: adverbs

Creole demonstrative systems systematically lost one of the three Portuguese forms: **new binary opposition** (speaker-oriented).

Creole	Contrasts	Lexifiers	Contrasts
		Portuguese	3?
CVC/Santiago	2	Wolof (Temne, Mandinka)	3 (2)
CVC/Brava	2	Wolof (Temne, Mandinka)	3 (2)
CVC/São Vicente	2	Cape Verdean Creoles	2
Guinea Bissau Kr.	2	Wolof (Bak, Fula)	3 (4-2(?)/3)
Casamancese Cr.	2	Wolof (Mandinka, Banyum)	3 (2, ?)
Santome	2	Edo (Kikongo)	2 (3)
Angolar	3?	Santome (Kimbundu)	2 (3)
Principense	2	Edo (Yoruba, Kikongo)	2 (2, 3)
Fa d'Ambô	2	Edo (Yoruba, Kikongo)	2 (2, 3)
Diu Indo-Pg.	2	Gujarati (English, Hindi, Konkani)	2 (2)
Korlai	2	Marathi	2
Sri Lanka Pg.	2	Tamil (Sinhala, (Dutch, English))	2 (3, (2))
Papiá Kristang	2	Malay (Southern Min)	3 (2)
Batavia Creole	2	Malay, Javanese (Dutch, Indo-Pg.)	3 (2)

Morphology

The new speaker-oriented binary systems can have **different morphological sources** from within the Portuguese paradigms.

[P = proximal; M = medial; D = distal]

Creole	P-D	P/M-D	M-D	D-D	U+Adv
CVC/Santiago	✓ _{DEM}			✓ _{ADV}	(✓ _{DEM} D)
CVC/Brava	✓ _{DEM}			✓ _{ADV}	(✓ _{DEM} D)
CVC/São Vicente	✓ _{DEM}			✓ _{ADV}	
Guinea Bissau Kr.	✓ _{DEM}			✓ _{ADV}	
Casamancese Cr.	✓ _{DEM}			✓ _{ADV}	(✓ _{DEM} P)
Santome			✓ _{ADV}		✓ _{DEM} (P)
Angolar		✓ _{ADV} *			? _{DEM}
Principense		✓ _{ADV} ?			✓ _{DEM} (P)
<u>Fa d'Ambô</u>					✓ _{DEM} (P)
Diu Indo-Pg.	✓ _{ADV}		✓ _{DEM}		
Korlai	✓ _{DEM/ADV}				
Sri Lanka Pg.	✓ _{DEM/ADV}				
Papiá Kristang	✓ _{ADV}	✓ _{DEM}			
<u>Batavia Cr.</u>	✓ _{DEM}				

Roadmap

- Demonstratives

 - Background

 - Portuguese

- Portuguese-based creoles

 - Upper Guinea Creoles

 - Gulf of Guinea Creoles

 - Asian Creoles

 - Generalisations

 - A featural description

- Some markedness considerations

 - Which markedness?

 - Third factor-related markedness

How to capture variation

Uniform semantics but morphological variation: could either/both be induced by contact/creolisation process?

Consider that **similar developments** are attested in other contexts:

- preliminary analysis of Spanish-based and Bantu-based **creoles**;
- **microcontact**: reduction of original ternary systems most likely not due to contact. Hearer-related domain in ternary systems: MED $n=137/253$ (54.15%):

	Argentina	Brazil	Belgium/Canada	US
Heritage S.	14 $n=25$	–	4 $n=6$	8 $n=18$
<i>Émigré</i> S.	44 $n=82$	5 $n=15$	33 $n=58$	29 $n=40$

- diachrony.

Uniform description: in terms of person features.

Person features

Recall: person features $[\pm\text{Author}]$ & $[\pm\text{Participant}]$ and their compositions:

- **Ternary** systems:

- near me = $(+\text{Participant}(+\text{Author}(\chi(\pi))))$, e.g. modern Portuguese: *este*
- near you = $(+\text{Participant}(-\text{Author}(\chi(\pi))))$, e.g. modern Portuguese: *esse*
- far from us = $(-\text{Participant}(\pm\text{Author}(\chi(\pi))))$, e.g. modern Portuguese: *aquele*

- **Binary** systems (speaker-oriented):

- near me = $(+\text{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$, e.g. old Portuguese: *este/aqueste*
- far from me = $(-\text{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$, e.g. old Portuguese: *aquel/aquele*

- **Unary** systems (no deictic contrast encoded):

- DEM = $(\chi(\pi))$, e.g. modern French: *ce*

Featural reorganisation I

From ternary to binary systems: loss of $[\pm\text{Participant}] \rightarrow$ new distinction encoded solely by $[\pm\text{Author}]$:

‘near me’ $\rightarrow$ ‘near me’	$(+P(+A(\chi(\pi))))$	$\rightarrow$	$(+A(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. $\rightarrow$ Sri Lanka Pg.	<i>este, aqui</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>isti, akii</i>
‘near you’ $\rightarrow$ ‘ near you ’	$(+P(-A(\chi(\pi))))$	$\rightarrow$	$(-A(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. $\rightarrow$ Sri Lanka Pg.	<i>esse, aí</i>	$\rightarrow$	–
‘far from us’ $\rightarrow$ ‘near me’	$(-P(\pm A(\chi(\pi))))$	$\rightarrow$	$(-\textcolor{red}{A}(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. $\rightarrow$ Sri Lanka Pg.	<i>aquele, lá</i>	$\rightarrow$	<i>aka, alaa</i>

- Most represented option (12 paradigms [$n=26$]).
- **Loss of the hearer-related domain** (its morphology can be reanalysed, cf. below): it falls in the speaker-related domain or in the other-related one, depending on hearer’s position w.r.t. the speaker.

Featural reorganisation II

From ternary to (binary to) unary systems: additional loss of $[\pm\text{Author}]$ → loss of deictic contrasts on the demonstrative – expressed by the reinforcer:

‘near me’ → ‘DEM’	$(+P(+A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(\chi(\pi))$
Pg. → Santome	<i>este</i>	→	<i>sɛ/is- + li</i>
‘near you’ → ‘ near you ’	$(+P(-A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(\chi(\pi))$
Pg. → Santome	<i>esse</i>	→	–
‘far from us’ → ‘ far from us ’	$(-P(\pm A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(\chi(\pi))$
Pg. → Santome	<i>aquele</i>	→	– (<i>sɛ/is- + la</i>)

- 4 paradigms (and 3 optionally) [$n=26$].
- Is it really *este*? (& Casamancese, Principense, Fa d’Ambô).
- The original distal (*kel*) becomes the underspecified member: CVC/Santiago & Brava.

Featural reorganisation: Morphological mismatch I

Loss of $[\pm\text{Participant}]$, but **‘near me’** is expressed by the original **‘near you’** (original: $[-\text{Author}]$):

‘near me’ → ‘near me’	$(+P(+A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(+\text{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Diu Indo-Pg. & Santome	<i>este & aqui</i>	→	–
‘near you’ → ‘near me’	$(+P(-A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(+\text{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Diu Indo-Pg. & Santome	<i>esse & aí</i>	→	<i>es & (n)ai</i>
‘far from us’ → ‘far from me’	$(-P(\pm A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(-\text{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Diu Indo-Pg. & Santome	<i>aquele & alá</i>	→	<i>ikəl & (n)ala</i>

- 5 paradigms [$n=26$].
- Is it really *esse*?
- Ongoing (?): Papiá Kristang & Angolar: **optionality prox/med** to refer to ‘near me’:
capitalise on the **shared** $[+\text{Participant}]$, before it gets lost.

Featural reorganisation: Morphological mismatch II

Loss of $[\pm\text{Participant}]$, but **‘near me’ is expressed by one of the original ‘far from us’^s** (original: $[\pm\text{Author}]$):

‘near me’ → ‘ near me ’	$(+P(+A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(+Author(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Upper Guinea Creoles	<i>aqui</i>	→	–
‘near you’ → ‘ near you ’	$(+P(-A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(-Author(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Upper Guinea Creoles	<i>aí</i>	→	–
‘far from us’ → ‘near me’	$(-P(\pm A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(+\textcolor{red}{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Upper Guinea Creoles	<i>ali, lá</i>	→	<i>li</i>
‘far from us’ → ‘far from me’	$(-P(\pm A(\chi(\pi))))$	→	$(-\textcolor{red}{Author}(\chi(\pi)))$
Pg. → Upper Guinea Creoles	<i>ali, lá</i>	→	<i>la</i>

- 5 paradigms [$n=26$].
- Punctual *vs* areal reanalysed as $[\pm\text{Author}]$?

Recap

Demonstrative systems in Portuguese-based creoles:

- **lexically continue** the original Portuguese demonstrative paradigms;
- typically result from a **semantic reduction**: Portuguese's ternary deictic opposition gets reduced to a binary, speaker-oriented opposition: semantic **uniformity**;
- **morphological variation**.

Person features: **capture the process of semantic reduction**:

- reduction of ternary systems to binary ones;
- loss of the hearer-related domain (in this set of data).

Further, they are **not at odds with morphological variation**.

But **how to account** for the semantic reduction and the attested morphological variation?

Roadmap

- Demonstratives
 - Background
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 - A featural description
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 - Which markedness?
 - Third factor-related markedness

Markedness?

Markedness in general:

- “Significantly, a **two-degree demonstrative paradigm is considered more unmarked than one of three degrees**” (Clements 1996: 101, on the constitution of Korlai’s binary system).
- (Diachronic) **change** tends to bring about an overall **structural simplification/decrease in markedness** (cf. at least grammaticalisation) – not consistently though: trade-off between formal markedness and lexical/interface complexity & between syntax and the interfaces (Roberts & Roussou 2003, Roussou 2017).

Specifically for creoles:

- Bickerton & the **Language Bioprogram**: unmarked (or default) strategies made available by the human language capacity & simplicity in general: McWhorter 2001: *The world’s simplest grammars are creole grammars*.
- **Retention of the unmarked**: Uffmann 2003.

Haspelmath's classification & refutation (2006) I

“Against markedness and what to replace it with” (→ frequency of use, economy & pragmatic principles, category-specific factors):

TYPE OF MARKEDNESS	DOMAIN	SALIENT REPRESENTATIVE	WHAT TO REPLACE IT WITH	DISCUSSED HERE IN ...
1. Markedness as specification for a phonological distinction	phonemes	Trubetzkoy 1939	detailed phonetic and distributional description	section 2.1.1
2. Markedness as specification for a semantic distinction	lexical items, grammatical categories	Jakobson 1932	detailed semantic description and pragmatic analysis	section 5
3. Markedness as overt coding	morphosyntactic categories	(passim)	‘overt coding/zero coding’	section 4.3
4. Markedness as phonetic difficulty	phonological/phonetic categories	Hayes & Steriade 2004	detailed study of phonetic factors	section 6
5. Markedness as morphological difficulty/unnaturalness	morphological patterns	Dressler et al. 1987, Wurzel 1998	general principles of mental organization of words (especially frequency differences)	section 7
6. Markedness as conceptual difficulty	(grammatical) conceptual categories	Givón 1991, 1995	conceptual difficulty (sometimes due to rarity of occurrence)	section 4.4
7. Markedness as rarity in texts	any linguistic element or pattern	Greenberg 1966	‘rarity in texts’	section 4.2

(Source: Haspelmath 2006: 64)

Haspelmath's classification & refutal (2006) II

“Against markedness and what to replace it with” (→ frequency of use, economy & pragmatic principles, category-specific factors):

8. Markedness as rarity in the world	anything that people can perceive	(passim)	'rarity in the world'	section 4.2
9. Markedness as typological implication or cross-linguistic rarity	phonological categories, syntactic patterns	Jakobson 1941, 1963	'typological implication, cross-linguistic rarity'	section 6
10. Markedness as restricted distribution	phonological and grammatical categories, lexical items, syntactic patterns	(passim)	1. restricted distribution vs. unrestricted distribution 2. specifically defined distribution vs. default distribution	section 2.3.4
11. Markedness as deviation from default parameter setting	parametric options	Chomsky 1981	'deviation from default parameter setting'	section 2.3.5
12. Markedness as a multi-dimensional correlation	grammatical categories, lexical items (and perhaps phonological categories)	Greenberg 1966, Croft 1990	rarity/frequency in texts and its consequences	section 4.5

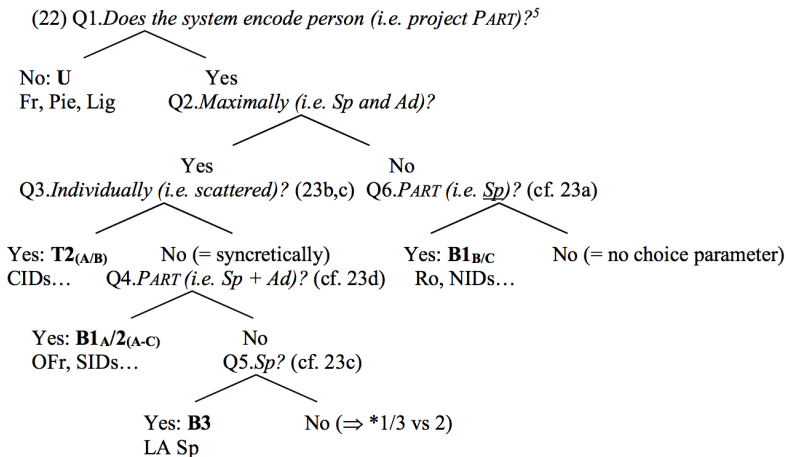
(Source: Haspelmath 2006: 65)

Which markedness for ternary demonstratives? I

- **Typological markedness** (typological implications, cross-linguistic rarity):
 - **IMPL I:** L has a 3-way deictic contrast in its demonstrative system(s) $\rightarrow$ L has a 2-way deictic contrast in its demonstrative system(s);
 - **IMPL II:** L has a ‘near you’ DEM $\rightarrow$ L has a ‘near me’/‘far from me’ DEM;
 - **WALS** (Diessel 2013): 88/234 languages (n.b. it also includes distance-based contrasts) = 37.61%
 - (**type-frequency** for the ‘near you’ demonstratives?)
- Markedness as **morphological difficulty**: cf. **transparency** (tendency for morphological paradigms to avoid homonymy): binary systems would be more marked (less transparent)

Which markedness for ternary demonstratives? II

Markedness as **deviation from default parameter setting**: cf. the parameter hierarchy for Romance demonstratives by Ledgeway (in press): 20:



Which markedness for the ‘near you’ demonstrative?

- **Semantic markedness:** the marked member of an opposition is semantically more specific than the unmarked member: the hearer-oriented form is more marked than the speaker-oriented one in **ternary systems with an inclusive first term** (cf. Ledgeway & Smith 2016: 882 and references therein):
 - e.g. *este* vs *ese* in Spanish (in Jungbluth’s conversation dyad approach);
 - but this is not the case for genuine ternary systems;
 - (& frequency considerations: cf. above).
- **Formal markedness:** markedness as overt coding/morphological complexity: sometimes the ‘near you’ demonstrative can be morphologically complex (see diachronic development).

Back to the features

The many senses of markedness in Haspelmath 2006 do not capture the **asymmetries** between:

- **ternary and binary** demonstrative systems;
- **hearer-related** ('near you') domain and **speaker-/other-related** ones ('near me' & 'far from me/us').

In some cases: **at odds** with the asymmetries:

- transparency (binary less transparent than ternary);
- partly default parameter setting (binary and ternary: equally embedded);

Compatible with the asymmetries:

- partly: semantic and formal markedness (and only for the hearer-related one);
- **typological implications.**

Markedness and typological implications

Harbour 2011: **category-internal markedness**: co-occurrence is required within a morphosyntactic category (e.g.: dual must co-occur with singular).

- **Epiphenomenal**: derived naturally from the semantics of features and their composition.
- Cf. **dual** (with Harbour 2014's featural characterisation):
 - Binary systems: singular *vs* plural:
 - * Singular: (+atomic(P))
 - * Plural: (−atomic(P))
 - Ternary systems: singular *vs* plural *vs* dual:
 - * Singular: (+minimal(+atomic(P)))
 - * Dual: (+minimal(−atomic(P)))
 - * Plural: (−minimal(−atomic(P)))

→ The features required to characterise dual are used for singular and plural, at the same time.

A featural side-issue

This formulation allows Harbour to **dispense with** two more senses of markedness, related to features:

- **feature markedness** (cf. Noyer 2002, Harley & Ritter 2002): a lower feature can only be active within domain of L iff a higher feature is also active within that domain:
 - combinations of features restricted by filters/features organised in a geometry;
 - the **filters/geometry** are themselves in need of an explanation.
- **value markedness** (cf. a.o. Noyer 1992): given binary features, one of the two values of a feature (+/–) correlates with markedness (typical diagnostics: redundancy/neutralisation/zero exponence):
 - typically: + **is marked**, – **is unmarked**;
 - initial counter-evidence.

Extension to person

In the domain of **person** (except: INCL/EXCL): 3 paradigm cells **w/o implicational relations/asymmetries** (only discussed asymmetry: 1/2 *vs* 3 as ‘non-person’).

However, person in **demonstrative** systems: the hearer-related term must co-occur with the speaker- and the other-oriented terms.

- Clustering of ‘near me’ (1) & ‘far from me/us’ (3) *vs* ‘near you’ (2).
- ‘Near you’ (2) is somehow like dual: it is characterised by the same features required by ‘near me’ (1) & ‘far from me/us’ (3) $\therefore$ the derivation of 2 makes the system sufficient to also derive 1 and 3:
 - **Binary** systems: ‘near me’ (1) *vs* ‘far from me’ (non-1):
 - * ‘near me’ (1): (+Author($\chi(\pi)$))
 - * ‘far from me’ (non-1): (−Author($\chi(\pi)$))
 - **Ternary** systems: ‘near me’ (1) *vs* ‘near you’ (2) *vs* ‘far from us’ (3)
 - * ‘near me’ (1): (+Participant(+Author($\chi(\pi)$)))
 - * ‘near you’ (2): (+Participant(−Author($\chi(\pi)$)))
 - * ‘far from us’ (3): (−Participant($\pm$ Author($\chi(\pi)$)))

Proposal

Ternary demonstrative systems are marked because

- they contain a marked term (the hearer-related one)
- and, to include it, an additional feature ($[\pm\text{Participant}]$, besides $[\pm\text{Author}]$) is needed.

Proposal: **markedness correlates with:**

- the **amount of active features** needed to characterise a given system;
- the **values of those features**.

→ **Third factor-related** markedness.

Active features and ternary systems

Ternary systems > binary systems.

Complexity defined in terms of **description length** (Kolmogorov complexity): more complex descriptions contain more information:

- **ternary systems: two active features** ($[\pm\text{Author}]$, $[\pm\text{Participant}]$);
- **binary systems: one active feature** (in the cases presented today: $[\pm\text{Author}]$)

→ ternary systems are more **complex** than binary systems.

- **Implementation:** computational complexity of reiterated functional applications to $\pi \rightarrow$ in ternary systems, the latest person feature to compose with π can be delinked from it ($\neq$ binary systems).
- (Language-specific complexity tolerance threshold: variation, a.o.)

Value uniformity across features and ‘near you’

‘Near you’ > ‘~~near you~~’.

Uniform configurations are unmarked, non-uniform configurations are marked (in the spirit of Torcolacci 2017, building on Roberts & Holmberg 2010).

- ‘near me’ (1): uniform values across features:
(+Participant(+Author($\chi(\pi)$)))
- ‘far from us’ (3): (partially) uniform values across features: (−Participant($\pm$ Author($\chi(\pi)$)))
- ‘near you’ (2): non-uniform values across features:
(+Participant(−Author($\chi(\pi)$)))
 - **Implementation:** uniform values = iteration of one and the same operation (+ or −) on $\pi = [\pm\alpha(\pi)]$ vs non-uniform values = two different operations (+ and −, or − and +) on $\pi \neq [\pm\alpha(\pi)] \rightarrow$ increase in computational complexity.
 - **Another (?) way for ‘near you’ to be more marked.**

More on value uniformity across features

- **Originally value-uniform forms** are also preferred in the actual **morphological patterns** of reorganisation (i.e. which forms of the original (ternary) paradigm are kept).
 - The actual patterns of reorganisation **cannot** be plainly **predicted**: by hypothesis, $[\pm\text{Author}]$ and $[\pm\text{Participant}]$ are **equivalent operators** that act on a categorial head $\rightarrow$ there is no hierarchy that models their behaviour;
 - still, they can be **captured by features** (see above): the attested semantic shifts capitalise on shared features prior to delinking.
- **Beyond person**: we have quickly seen something similar in the **number domain** (cf. also the tendency to diachronic reduction: ternary number systems $>$ binary number systems):

Singular: $(+\text{minimal}(+\text{atomic}(\text{P}))) \rightarrow$ uniform values

Plural: $(-\text{minimal}(-\text{atomic}(\text{P}))) \rightarrow$ uniform values

Dual: $(+\text{minimal}(-\text{atomic}(\text{P}))) \rightarrow$ non-uniform values

(Dual $>$ ~~dual~~)

Conclusions

Demonstrative systems in Portuguese-based creoles:

- comprehensive description of the deictic distinctions;
- comparison with lexifiers (see more: appendix, 2/3);
- etymology, semantics, morphology;
- conclusion: **semantic uniformity** (reduction and loss of ‘near you’) *vs* **morphological variation**.

Patterns of change:

- **featural description**;
- compatible with diachronic data & other types of contact (microcontact, other creoles);
- **generalisation**: reduction ternary > binary & loss of ‘near you’ (besides morphological variation).

Why such patterns of change? **Markedness**:

- what is markedness/which type of markedness?
- a third-factor approach to markedness: **uniformity of feature values**.

Thank you! :)



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Appendix

1 Portuguese-based creoles

Language	Region	Other contributing lexifiers	Sources
Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago (30)	West Africa	Atlantic (Wolof, Temne) and Mande (Mandinka) languages	Lang 2013a,b
Cape Verdean Creole of Brava (31)	West Africa	Atlantic (Wolof, Temne) and Mande (Mandinka) languages	Baptista 2013a,b
Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente (32)	West Africa	Sotavento varieties of Cape Verdean Creole (esp.: Fogo, 18th c.); Barlavento varieties of Cape Verdean Creole (esp.: Santo Antão); (English)	Swolkien 2013a,b
Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (33)	West Africa	Balanta, Fula, Mandinga, Manjaku, Mankanya, Pepel	Intumbo et al. 2013a,b
Casamancese Creole (34)	West Africa	Mandinka (Manding, both substrate and adstrate), Wolof (substrate), Nyun (adstrate)	Biagui & Quint 2013a,b
Santome (35)	West Africa	mainly Edo and Kikongo	Hagemeijer 2013a,b
Angolar (36)	West Africa	Kimbundu, Santome	Maurer 2013a,b
Principense (37)	West Africa	Edo, Yoruba, Kikongo	Maurer 2013e,f
Fa d'Ambô (38)	West Africa	Edo, Yoruba, Kikongo	Post 2013a,b
Diu Indo-Portuguese (39)	South Asia	Gujarati (dominant), English, Hindi, Konkani	Cardoso 2013a,b
Korlai (40)	South Asia	Marathi	Clements 2013a,b
Sri Lanka Portuguese (41)	South Asia	Tamil, Sinhala, Dutch, English	Smith 2013a,b
Papiá Kristang (42)	Southeast Asia	Malay, Hokkien Chinese	Baxter 2013a,b
Batavia Creole (43)	Southeast Asia	Malay, Javanese, Dutch, Indo-Portuguese, South Asian Ls	Maurer 2013c,d

2 Demonstrative systems: Other contributing lexifiers

Language	Genus	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Creoles (#)
AUSTRONESIAN			
Javanese	Javanese	3-way contrast: <i>iki</i> ‘this (in the vicinity of speaker)’ & <i>kene</i> ‘here by the speaker’ ~ <i>iku</i> ‘that (connected with the hearer)’ & <i>kono</i> ‘there by the hearer’ ~ <i>kae</i> ‘that (far)’ & <i>kana</i> ‘there far’ (Uhlenbeck 1978: 222-243)	43
Malay	Malayo-Sumbawan	2-way contrast: <i>ini</i> ‘this near’ ~ <i>itu</i> ‘that distant’ (Winstedt 1913: 116) & 3-way contrast: <i>di-sini</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>di-situ</i> ‘there (near you)’ ~ <i>di-sana</i> ‘there’	42, 43
DRAVIDIAN			
Tamil	Southern Dravidian	2-way contrast: <i>inta/itu</i> ‘this’ & <i>inkee</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>anta/atu</i> ‘that’ & <i>anku</i> ‘there’ (Lehmann 1993: 92, 101, 104; cf. also Herring 1994: 247)	41
INDO-EUROPEAN			
Dutch	Germanic	2-way contrast: <i>deze</i> & <i>hier</i> ~ <i>die</i> & <i>daar</i> ?	41, 43
English	Germanic	2-way contrast: <i>this</i> & <i>here</i> ~ <i>that</i> & <i>there</i> { 3-way contrast? : ~ <i>yon</i> & <i>yonder</i> }	(32), 39, 41
Gujarati	Indic	2-way contrast: <i>a</i> ‘this’ & <i>əhiN/əhyyaN</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>peN</i> ‘that’ & <i>tyaN</i> ‘there’ [& neutral: <i>(t)e</i> = anaphoric] (Cardona 1965: 108-110, 222-225; cf. also Tisdall 1892: 43, 78 (& additional <i>olyo</i> ‘that’, p. 43??))	39

*Citation forms: sg.m, default case morphology, class I (for Bantu languages). For the genealogical classification, see Dryer 2013.

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Language	Genus	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Creoles (#)
Hindi	Indic	2-way contrast: <i>yah</i> ‘proximate’ & <i>yaha</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>vah</i> ‘remote’ (Shapiro 2003: 292; cf. also McGregor 1995: 12 (WALS))	5, 39
Konkani	Indic	2-way contrast: <i>yh̄ṣ̄/yṣ̄</i> ‘proximate/near speaker’ & <i>angā</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>tṣ̄</i> ‘remote, at a distance from the speaker’ & <i>thangā</i> ‘there’ (Rajathi 1976: 64, 115; cf. also Almeida 1985: 150, 162-163)	39
Marathi	Indic	2-way contrast: <i>hā</i> ‘this, proximal’ & <i>yethe</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>to</i> ‘that, distal’ & <i>tethe</i> ‘there’ (Dhongde & Wali 2009: 51, 105; cf. also Pandharipande 1997: 370, 376 (WALS))	40
Sinhala	Indic	3-way contrast: <i>mee</i> ‘proximal to the speaker’ & <i>mehee</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>oyə</i> ‘proximal to the hearer’ & <i>ohee</i> ‘there’ ~ <i>arə</i> ‘distal’ <i>arəhe</i> ‘there’ [& neutral: <i>ee</i> ‘anaphoric’, <i>chee</i> ‘there, anaphoric’ (Gair & Paolillo 1997: 19)	41

MANDE

Mandinka/ <i>Manding(a)</i>	Western Mande	2-way contrast: <i>nying</i> (<i>ñiŋ</i>) ‘this’ & <i>jang</i> (<i>jaŋ</i>) ‘here’ ~ <i>wo</i> (<i>woo</i>) ‘that’ & <i>jee</i> (<i>woto</i>) ‘there’ (Gamble 1987: 2, 38; cf. also MacBrair 1837: 13, 27)	30, 31, 33, 34
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NIGER-CONGO, *Atlantic*

* Balanta	<i>Atlantic</i> Bak	— 4-way contrast: <i>-ɔ</i> ‘(this) close to the speaker’ & <i>hámb-ɔ</i> ‘(here [i.e. this place]) close to the speaker’ ~ <i>-ɛ</i> ‘(that) close to the addressee’ & <i>hámb-ɛ</i> ‘(there) close to the addressee’ ~ <i>-é-lè</i> ‘(that) far from the speech act participants’ & <i>hámb-é-lè</i> ‘(there) far from the speech act participants’ ~ <i>é-léen</i> ‘(that) far from the speech act participants’ & <i>hámb-é-léen</i> ‘(there) far from the speech act participants’ [& <i>-a</i> ‘non visible’] (<i>Ganja dialect</i> ; Creissels (to appear): 15; cf. also Creissels & Biaye 2016: §3.6, 231-232)	(30, 31) 33
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*Citation forms: sg.M, default case morphology, class I (for Bantu languages). For the genealogical classification, see Dryer 2013.

Language	Genus	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Creoles (#)
Manjaku	Bak	2-way contrast ² : <i>bik-i</i> ‘these’ ~ <i>buk-un</i> ‘those’ (Sapir 1971: 81 fn. 4)	33
Mankanya	Bak	2-way contrast : (CL-) <i>i/mõnč</i> ‘this’ & <i>d-ko d-i</i> ‘here’ (lit. ‘this place’) ~ <i>i kuŋ/(CL-)</i> <i>uŋ/mõnčõn</i> ‘that’ & <i>d-ko d-uŋ</i> ‘there’ (lit. ‘that place’) (Trifković 1969: 81-85)	33
Papel/ <i>Pepel</i>	Bak	2-way contrast ² : <i>(b)ɔk-i</i> ‘these’ ~ <i>(b)ɔk-un</i> ‘those’ (Sapir 1971: 81 fn. 4)	33
Temne	Mel	2-way contrast : <i>ɔw-e</i> ‘this (close to the speaker)’ & <i>nɔ</i> ‘here (no specific place)’ / <i>rɛ</i> ‘here (specific place)’ ~ <i>ɔw-ʌŋ</i> ‘that (farther away from the speaker)’ & <i>ro</i> ‘there (no specific place)’ / <i>ri</i> ‘there (specific place)’ [ɔ -class (SG); same suffixes - <i>e</i> ~ - <i>ʌŋ</i> for all other classes] (Kamarah 2007: 81-83, 88-89, 139)	30, 31
Fula	Peul-Serer	3-way contrast [D] : class root ‘this’ (e.g. <i>o</i>) & <i>do</i> ‘here’ ~ class root- <i>n</i> ‘that (at some distance)’ (e.g. <i>on</i>) & <i>don</i> ‘there (at some distance)’ ~ class root- <i>o</i> ‘that (far away)’ (e.g. <i>oo</i>) & <i>doo/ton</i> ‘there (far away)’ (Westermann 1909: 220-223, 245); or 2-way contrast : <i>ngee/ngeedoo/ngeddon</i> ‘this (near-deictic)’ & <i>doo</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>ngeya/ngetton</i> ‘that (far-deictic)’ & <i>ton</i> ‘there’ (McIntosh 1982: 65)	33
Banyum/ <i>Nyun</i>	Senegambian	3-way contrast [D] : AGR-(N)-AGR ‘proximal’ (e.g. <i>ba-m-ba</i> , <i>si-si</i>) ~ AGR-(N)-AGR- <i>V:ŋ</i> ‘distal’ (e.g. <i>ba-m-ba-aŋ</i> , <i>si-se-eŋ</i>) ~ AGR- <i>ŋ V:n</i> ‘distal’ (e.g. <i>ba-ŋaan</i> , <i>si-ŋeen</i>) [& anaphoric: AGR- <i>mër</i> (e.g. <i>bě-mër</i> , <i>si-mër</i> ; short form: AGR- <i>m</i> , e.g. <i>ba-m</i> , <i>si-m</i>)] (Cobbinah (to appear): 22)	34
Wolof	Wolof	3-way contrast : <i>-ii/-ile</i> ‘this (close to the speaker)’ & <i>fii</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>-uu/-ule</i> ‘this (close to the addressee?)’ & <i>fuu</i> ‘here (close to the addressee? cf. complex forms <i>foofuu/fule</i> ‘there (close to you)’ ~ <i>-ee/-ale</i> ‘that (far)’ & <i>fee</i> ‘there’ (Diagne 1971: 79-85, 136)	30, 31, 34
NIGER-CONGO, <i>Benue-Congo</i>			
Kimbundu	Bantoid	3-way contrast [D] : <i>iú/ió</i> ‘this’ & <i>-u/-a-</i> ‘here’ (e.g. <i>mumu</i>) ~ & <i>ó</i> ‘that (not far)’ & <i>-o-</i> ‘there (not far)’ (e.g. <i>momo</i>) ~ <i>uná/iuná</i> ‘that (yonder)’ & <i>-ná</i> ‘there (yonder)’ (e.g. <i>muná</i>) (Chatelain 1889: 27, 66-67; Batalha 1891: 36-37; but cf. also Augusto 2016: 169 for a person-based description)	36

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Language	Genus	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Creoles (#)
Kongo/ <i>Kikongo</i>	Bantoid	3-way contrast: <i>eki</i> ‘this’ & <i>oku</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>ekio</i> ‘that (where you are)’ & <i>oko</i> ‘there (where you are)’ ~ <i>ekina</i> ‘that (remote from both)’ & <i>kuna</i> ‘there (remote from both)’ (Bentley 1895: 585; cf. also de Clercq 1921: 28, 62 for Kiyombe (dems: <i>au</i> ~ <i>ou</i> ~ <i>uina</i> ; advs: <i>aku</i> ~ <i>oku</i> ~ <i>kuna</i>); Tavares 1915: 41, 75 for Kisolongo (dems: <i>oiu</i> ~ <i>oie</i> ~ <i>ona/oiuna</i> ; advs: <i>ku</i> ~ <i>okue</i> ~ <i>kuna</i>), who describe distance-based demonstrative systems)	35, 37, 38
Yoruba	Defoid	2-way contrast: <i>iyí/èyí</i> ‘this’ & <i>nihiyi</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>iyen/eyini/(e)nì/nâ</i> ‘that’ & <i>nibè</i> ‘there’ (Awobuluyi 1978: 34 (via WALS) and Crowther 1852: 16, 31); or 3-way contrast [D]: <i>yí</i> ‘this’ ~ <i>yen</i> ‘that’ ~ <i>nì</i> ‘that (remote)’ (Bamgboṣe 1966: 112)	37, 38
Bini/ <i>Edo</i>	Edoid	2-way contrast: <i>(ɔ)na/ónàn</i> ‘this’ & <i>emwan</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>(ɔ)nì/ónin</i> ‘that’ & <i>eṣa/odo</i> ‘(over) there’ (Wescott 1962: 31; cf. also: Ero 2003: 19, 39, Agheyisi 1986, <i>s.v.</i>)	35, 37, 38
SINO-TIBETAN			
Min (Southern)/ <i>Hokkien</i>	Chinese	2-way contrast: <i>tsi</i> ² ‘this’ ~ <i>hur</i> ² ‘that’ (16/17th c.: Lien 2014; cf. also Klöter 2011: 194-197, 240-241 for another 17th c. variety and Chen 2020 (ch. 5) for a modern variety)	42
OTHER			
Barlavento CVC	Pg.-based creoles	2-way contrast: <i>es</i> ‘this’ & <i>eki</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>kel/ekel</i> ‘that’ & <i>la</i> ‘there’ (<i>Santo Antão</i> : Veiga 1982 77, 79, 92)	32
Indo-Portuguese	Pg.-based cr., #39-41	2-way contrast: 39 = Diu Indo-Portuguese (<i>es</i> & <i>aki</i> ~ <i>ikəl</i> & <i>ali</i>), 40 = Korlai (<i>ye</i> & <i>aki</i> ~ <i>əkə(l)/akə(l)</i> & <i>ali</i>), 41 = Sri Lanka Portuguese (<i>isti</i> & <i>akii</i> ~ <i>aka</i> & <i>alaa</i>) ~ <i>aké</i> & <i>nali</i>); cf. Appendix: §3	43

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Language	Genus	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Creoles (#)
Santomé	Pg.-based creole, #35	2-way contrast: <i>se</i> ((<i>ku sa (a)i</i>)/ <i>ise/isaki</i> & (<i>n</i>) <i>ai</i> ~ <i>se</i> (<i>ku sa (a)la</i>)/ <i>isala</i> & (<i>n</i>) <i>ala</i> (& <i>-xi/xi</i> ‘out of sight’); cf. Appendix: §3	36
Sotavento CVC	Pg.-based creoles	2-way contrast: <i>es</i> (... <i>li</i>)/ <i>kel</i> (... <i>li</i>) ‘this’ & <i>li</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>kel</i> (... <i>la</i>) ‘that’ & <i>la</i> ‘there’ (Baptista 2002: 57-59; cf. also Tavares Lopes 2014: 58, Veiga 1982: 108, 111, 129 for the Fogo variety and Tavares Moreira 2014: 155 for the Maio variety; and cf. #30-31: Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago and Brava (Appendix: §3))	32
South Asian Ls		i.e. Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Nuristani, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (Munda), Tibeto-Burnam, Turkic languages, plus Isolates	43

3 Portuguese-based creoles: Demonstrative systems

Creole	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Deictic contrasts in lexifiers
CVC/Santiago (30)	2-way contrast: <i>es</i> (... <i>li</i>)/ <i>kel li</i> ‘this (... here)/that here’ & <i>li</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>kel</i> (... <i>la</i>) ‘that (... there)’ & <i>la</i> ‘there’	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Wolof; 2-way contrast: Mandinka, Temne
CVC/Brava (31)	2-way contrast: <i>es</i> (... <i>li</i>)/ <i>kel</i> (... <i>li</i>) ‘this (... here)’ & <i>li</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>kel</i> (... <i>la</i>) ‘that (... there)’ & <i>la/lago</i> ‘there’	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Wolof; 2-way contrast: Mandinka, Temne
CVC/São Vicente (32)	2-way contrast: <i>es</i> (... <i>li</i>) ‘this (... here)’ & <i>li</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>kel</i> (... <i>lá</i>) ‘that (... there)’ & <i>lá</i> ‘there’; cf. also Swolkien 2015: 116-118	3-way contrast: Portuguese; 2-way contrast: Barlavento/Sotavento CVCs, (English)
Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (33)	2-way contrast: <i>e(s)</i> (... <i>li</i>) ‘this (... here)’ & <i>li</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>ki(l)</i> (... <i>la</i>) ‘that (... there)’ & <i>la</i> ‘there’ (Kihm 1994: 75, 140-141)	3-way contrast: Portuguese; 2-way contrast: Mandinka, Manjaku , Mankanya, Papel ; 4-way contrast: Balanta
Casamancese Creole (34)	2-way contrast: <i>e(s)</i> (... <i>li</i>) ‘this (... here)’ & (<i>a</i>) <i>li</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>e(s)/ke(l)</i> (... <i>la</i>) ‘that (... there)’ & <i>la</i> ‘there’	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Banyum, Wolof; 2-way contrast: Mandinka

*Citation forms: sg.m, default case morphology. Source = APiCS (cf. §1/reff.), unless otherwise specified.

Creole	Deictic contrasts in demonstratives*	Deictic contrasts in lexifiers
Santome (35)	2-way contrast: <i>sɛ</i> ((<i>ku sa (a)i</i>)/ <i>isɛ/isaki</i> ‘DEM (... here) → this’ & (<i>n</i>) <i>ai</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>sɛ</i> (<i>ku sa (a)la</i>)/ <i>isala</i> ‘DEM (... there) → that’ & (<i>n</i>) <i>ala</i> ‘there’ (& <i>-xi/ixi</i> ‘that/those out of sight’) (cf. also Ferraz 1979: 73-74)	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Kongo; 2-way contrast: Bini
Angolar (36)	3-way contrast: <i>e/dhe/dhe-dhe/the/isi-e/isi-dhe</i> ‘this (proximal)’ & <i>nge/aki/ai</i> ‘here’ { <i>nge(e)</i> < <i>ngaa e</i> ‘this place’} ~ <i>si/si-e/si-dhe/isi-dha</i> ‘that (not far away)’ & <i>nha</i> ‘there (not far away)’; <i>dha/dha-dha/si-dha/isi-dha-dha</i> ‘that (far away)’ & <i>nha/nhala/nhara/laya</i> ‘there (far away)’ (Maurer 1995: 41-44, 63, 121; Lorenzino 1998: 139-141, 201)	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Kimbundu; 2-way contrast: <i>Santome</i>
Principense (37)	2-way contrast: (<i>i</i>) <i>sê</i> ‘this’ & <i>na/ni</i> ‘here’ ~ (<i>i</i>) <i>xila</i> ‘that’ & <i>lala</i> ‘there’ (& (<i>i</i>) <i>xi</i> ‘anaphoric/out of sight’)	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Kongo; 2-way contrast: Bini, Yoruba (?)
Fa d’Ambô (38)	2-way contrast: (<i>i</i>) <i>sai</i> ‘this’ ~ (<i>i</i>) <i>sala</i> ‘that’ (presentative series); (<i>i</i>) <i>syi</i> ‘this’ ~ (<i>i</i>) <i>ski</i> ‘that’ (absentative series = anaphoric?)	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Kongo; 2-way contrast: Bini, Yoruba (?)
Diu Indo-Portuguese (39)	2-way contrast: <i>es</i> ‘this’ & <i>aki</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>ikəl</i> ‘that’ & <i>ali</i> ‘there’	3-way contrast: Portuguese; 2-way contrast: English, Gujarati, Hindi, Konkani
Korlai (40)	2-way contrast: <i>ye</i> ‘this’ & <i>aki</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>əkə(l)/akə(l)</i> ‘that’ & <i>ali</i> ‘there’ (Clements 1996: 101, 250-251, 254)	3-way contrast: Portuguese; 2-way contrast: Marathi
Sri Lanka Portuguese (41)	2-way contrast: <i>isti</i> ‘this’ & <i>akii</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>aka</i> ‘that’ & <i>alaa</i> ‘there’	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Sinhala; 2-way contrast: Tamil, Dutch, English
Papiá Kristang (42)	2-way contrast: <i>isti/isi</i> ‘this’ & <i>akí</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>aké</i> ‘that’ & <i>nalí</i> ‘there’	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Malay (ADV); 2-way contrast: Malay (DEM), Southern Min
Batavia Creole (43)	2-way contrast: <i>iste</i> ‘this’ & <i>aki</i> ‘here’ ~ <i>akel</i> ‘that’	3-way contrast: Portuguese, Javanese, Malay (ADV); 2-way contrast: Dutch, Malay (DEM), <i>Indo-Portuguese</i> ; South Asian languages

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