

DISCUSSING THE ALLEGED CREOLE ORIGIN OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE:
Targeted vs. Untargeted Syntactic Changes*

Fernando Tarallo (UNICAMP)

1. INTRODUCTION

Two steps must be obligatorily taken in the discussion about the possible creole origin of Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter BP): the retrieval of both its internal (linguistic) and external (social) history. The latter is often used as positive evidence in favor of the creole hypothesis; the former leaves no straightforward evidence, as this paper will demonstrate.

Attesting and/or alleging a creole origin for BP have been on a few linguists' agenda for quite some time now: from the pioneering work of Francisco Adolpho Coelho (1880, 1882, 1886) to, more recently, the thought-provoking work by Guy (1981a, 1981b). Coelho (1880), for instance, elegantly clusters BP with the Afro-Portuguese creoles, all of which are defined as dialects of European Portuguese (hereafter EP). Most particularly, on page 43, Coelho emphasizes the common features shared by BP and the creole dialects of Africa.

Diversas particularidades características dos dialectos crioulos repetem-se no Brasil; tal é a tendência para a supressão das formas do plural, manifestada aqui, que, quando se seguem artigo e substantivo, adjectivo e substantivo, etc., que deviam concordar, só um toma o sinal do plural. ¹

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In 1882 (Notas Complementares) and 1886 (Novas Notas Suplementares) the issue is more extensively treated. On the basis of work by other scholars, Coelho announces his own position: BP is no more degenerate than EP (1882, p.117): "... não se deve dizer que o brasileiro é um português degenerado e tende a formar um dialeto: degenerados são arbores, e arbores se estão corrompendo, cada um a seu modo talvez, mas corrompendo-se ou modificando-se"²) and is undergoing changes away from its original target (1886, p.173): "O mais notável é que muitos dos escritores, para não dizer todos os escritores, do Brasil não formam idéia clara e completa das diferenças que separam o português da antiga metrópole da linguagem do novo império"³).

Guy (1981a) discusses the issue of whether Popular BP has undergone historically motivated changes from Latin or, conversely, is the result of a pidgin language spoken by the African slaves brought to Brazil in the 1600s, a language that is now undergoing decreolization. In order to test the two hypotheses Guy dwells basically on two kinds of evidence: the social history of Brazil, and the linguistic makeup of BP as compared to pidgin language situations elsewhere where similar social circumstances obtained.

On the basis of the social history of Brazil Guy argues that "Brazil should be a pre-eminent candidate for creolization", thus claiming the absurdity of the non-creole hypothesis, "how could it possibly have avoided creolization?" (p.309). Thus, given that Brazil has had all the same elements that obtained in the formation of Haitian, Jamaican, and Guyanese creoles, Guy concludes that "... the social history of Brazil is exactly as it would have to be for the formation of a creole to have occurred" (p.312). Furthermore, he argues that it would be a much more puzzling matter if BP had not evolved from a former pidgin: "From the standpoint of social history, the burden of proof rests with the advocate of a natural linguistic evolution for Popular BP, rather than with the advocate of a creole origin" (p.313).

The linguistic evidence, however, seems to be more suggestive than decisive. It is drawn from his analysis of two phonological variables -deletion of final-s, and denasalization of final vowels-, and two morphosyntactic variables: Noun Phrase agreement (=NPA) and Subject-Verb agreement (=SVA). On the basis of these four variables Guy proposes to answer three questions:

1. Do the linguistic findings resulting from the analysis of these four variables match similar natural change processes (historically motivated) attested in the history of Portuguese in particular, and of Romance in general?
2. Do these variables behave as features of creole varieties of Portuguese and related language? or,
3. Could the behavior of these variables be viewed as "natural language-learning strategies?" (p.291)

The creole origin of BP would be ratified should the behavior of each one of the four variables be straightforward answers to question 2. The analysis of the phonological variables, however, showed them to be the results of historically motivated change processes, therefore, constituting evidence in favor of question 1. Guy noticed, however, that the rule of NPA and SVA were highly constrained by the salience of the segment in question, which, he argues, runs counter to the historical evolution of Portuguese from Latin. He therefore concludes that the morphological salience effect present in the two morphosyntactic rules is "...completely unprecedented in the history of Portuguese, and...in the history of any Romance language", and "from the creole origins perspective...these salience hierarchies would be entirely natural, even expected" (pp.295-6).

It Guy's analysis is correct, what kind of a creole speech community is Brazil? Most obviously, it is not a fort type of community in Bickerton's sense: the virtual substrate languages brought from Africa are no longer spoken. Brazil is neither an island type of creole community. It certainly meets some of the criteria used to define this second type of community, ie. it is physically removed from the places where the substrate languages were and still are spoken. It is certainly, though, not the case that Brazilian natives use a whole range of intermediate speech varieties, ie. that the ethno- and sociolinguistic situation in Brazil mirrors the one found in the Caribbean. Guy's analysis, however, presupposes the island type of speech community in the sense that Popular BP is equated with basilectal varieties of the language, and that the linguistic system spoken in Brazil is undergoing decreolization, that is: the forces which explain language change in Brazil are directed towards the target language: EP.

My intention in this paper is not to confirm or disconfirm Guy's analysis. Too much effort has already been put into understanding the typology of creole languages. No existing criteria, however, can alone solve the puzzle here, since so much about the external as well as the internal history of BP remains unknown. This paper is thus not one more exercise on creole typology; rather, on the basis of what is known to date about the internal history of BP, I intend to describe it as a mixed type of language: one which, absurdly, unexpectedly and strangely enough, shares properties with unrelated languages, whether creole or not, and is eventually changing away from its original superstrate: EP. Should then the creole hypothesis of BP remain on our agenda?

My own results on the spoken syntax of São Paulo Portuguese (Tarallo: 1983), together with the patterns of redundancy in creole languages, and in particular, pronominal redundancy in relative clauses attested in Tok Pisin, for instance, (Sankoff and Brown: 1976), led me to raise the issue of the origins of BP in 1983. I was convinced then that my results could not, and indeed should not, be sufficient for the question under investigation. I have changed my mind since then, however. The creole hypothesis of BP is no longer crucial, ie. creolization could well be placed as one of the processes of language contact that happened in colonial

Brazil. Creole or non-creole, BP is still amenable to interesting syntactic analyses which run counter to Guy's decreolization hypothesis. Still most important, the external history of BP is not so clear and transparent, as Guy points out. Indeed, from the standpoint of social history, the burden of proof rests with the advocate of a creole origin of BP, rather than with the advocate of a natural linguistic evolution for Popular BP. I, therefore, will leave the social history aside in this paper, and concentrate my efforts on laying out evidence that it would be indeed very unlikely and unnatural for EP and BP to meet again syntactically.

My main aims in this paper are twofold: on the one hand, to present two inter-related ongoing changes in BP while predicting the future directions they are likely to take, and in so doing to understand the contemporary grammar of an alleged creole language; and on the other, to present crucial evidence against the decreolization hypothesis. In order to accomplish that I will pursue the following line of argumentation: special attention will be devoted as to whether or not the syntactic makeup of BP today is a direct consequence from Latin (like EP), or, conversely, is due to the fact that in our national territory EP was mixed with African languages in the 1600s.

Before I go any further in this paper, let me state what I understand by syntactic changes with (or without) target. For the purposes of my discussion here, a targeted change is one that either is likely to reverse itself to the original target (EP) or one that has followed, ceteris paribus, similar paths as the changes undergone by the target itself. Guy's decreolization hypothesis mainly assumes the possibility of reversability of changes. An untargeted change, on the other hand, reinforces the drift and splits the two dialects apart. The possibility of a, let us say, syntactic merger between the two dialects is remote, but not impossible.

Untargeted changes may well have been caused by creolization of BP; as I shall demonstrate in the third section of this paper the similarities found in the anaphoric system of BP and other attested creoles could be used as positive evidence in favor of the creole hypothesis. But since so little about the social, external history of BP is known to date, the creole hypothesis can not be solved. Guy's decreolization hypothesis, however, presupposed a prior creolization of BP. On the basis of the contemporary syntactic makeup of BP, this paper will demonstrate that the syntactic changes under discussion are untargeted and that their possibility of reversal to EP (ie. of decreolizing) is far from remote.

The following section will briefly describe the linguistic facts to be discussed in the paper. Section 3 will compare the syntactic behavior of BP to a few creole languages. Finally, section 4 will present a portrait of the syntactic distance between BP and the target language, EP. I will be drawing my results and conclusions from the following sources: Coelho (1880, 1882, 1886); Guy (1981a, 1981b); Terrell (1981); Tarallo (1983); Galves (1983, 1984, 1986a, 1986b); Sankoff and Tarallo (1984), among others.

2. TWO SYNTACTIC FACTS OF MODERN SPOKEN BP

The syntactic features to be discussed fall within the general anaphoric system, both inside and outside relative clauses, as well as within and beyond the sentence level, ie. pronouns and anaphora as sentence and as discourse variables.

Tarallo (1983) investigates relativization strategies in BP as spoken in urban São Paulo. The analysis showed the existence of three different relative clause types:

1. The first type is at least superficially identical to the relative clauses found in the standard written language. In this type, illustrated in sentence (1) below, there is a gap in the relative clause in the original position of the wh-NP. It was thus referred to as the gap-leaving variant.

- (1) Tem as_i que (e_i) não estão nem aí, não é?
=There are those that (e) could not care less, right?

2. The second type found in the data involves no gap. Instead, the gap position is filled by a pronominal form co-referential with the head NP of the relative. Sentence (2) is an example of this type of relative which is referred to as the resumptive pronoun strategy.

- (2) Você acredita que um dia teve uma mulher_i que ela_i queria que a gente entrevistasse ela pelo interfone.
=You believe that one day there was a woman that she wanted us to interview her through the intercom.

The resumptive pronoun strategy occurs throughout the syntactic scale; the first type, in contrast, occurs only in subject and direct object positions. For the lower syntactic slots (ie. indirect objects, objects of preposition (obliques), and genitive) the standard grammar prescribes the use of piedpiped relatives, as exemplified in sentence (3).

- (3) E um deles foi esse fulano_i aí, com quem eu nunca tive aula.
=And one of them was this guy, with whom I never had a class.

As demonstrated by Tarallo (chapter 5), piedpiping does not occur in speech, ie. in the vernacular language either the resumptive pronoun strategy or the third type (to be introduced below) perform the syntactic role carried out in the standard written language by piedpiping.

3. The third type occurs only when the relativized NP is the object of a preposition. In this type, referred to as Prepositional-Phrase chopping, the governing preposition as well as the relativized NP are absent, ie. it is also a gap-leaving variant. Sentences (4) and (5) are non-standard versions of sentence (3) using the resumptive pronoun and the Prepositional-Phrase chopping strategies, respectively.

(4) E um deles foi esse fulano_i aí, que eu nunca tive aula com ele.

=And one of them was this guy, that I never had a class with him.

(5) E um deles foi esse fulano_i aí, que eu nunca tive aula.
(com e)

=And one of them was this guy, that I never had a class.

One major issue addressed by Tarallo (1983) is the grammatical analysis of relativization in spoken BP, ie. whether movement or deletion. The standard language, as his arguments go, is most appropriately assigned a movement analysis, ie. the *wh*-phrase in the relative clause is moved into COMP position leaving behind a trace which is bound to the *wh* in COMP (Cf. Chomsky: 1977). In the spoken language, however, the non-occurrence of piedpiping made the evidence for a movement analysis very weak. Given that, only two possible analyses of the vernacular relative with a gap remained:

1. *Wh*-movement followed by deletion of *wh* in COMP⁴.
2. Gaps are derived by deletion of the resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. Under this second analysis deletion of the preposition in Prepositional-Phrase chopped relatives occurs not in COMP but in situ.

Tarallo argues in favor of the second analysis, stating that a deletion hypothesis of relativization in BP does not require postulating a new rule in the grammar in addition to the *wh*-movement rule, which is independently needed for questions. In fact, he draws his argument from the simple fact that in this dialect of Portuguese there is an independently needed rule of pro-drop. Furthermore, unlike the pro-drop rule in other Romance languages and dialects, including standard written Portuguese, the rule in spoken BP applies in all syntactic positions. And this brings us to the second syntactic fact of modern spoken BP: pronominalization.

Non-*wh* phrases in BP can also be either retained (pronominal anaphora) or deleted (zero anaphora) in main clauses and in subordinate other than relatives. That is, the behavior of non-*wh* phrases in speech is also a variable process whose

nature is, at least on the surface, similar to the variable filling of the gap in main clauses and in relatives. In sentence (6), for example, the speaker does not pronominalize the direct object NP in the second independent clause. Sentence (6) is thus an example of pronominal deletion (also known as zero anafora).

- (6) O café_i de lá é tão ruim. Eu não consegui tomar (e_i).
= The coffee there is so bad. I could not drink (e).

In sentence (7) the would be filled gap is inside a relative clause: the referent café is set as the head NP, but is not retained in the relative clause.

- (7) Eu não gosto daquele café_i de lá, que (e_i) tem um gosto horróroso.
= I don't like that coffee from there, that (e) has a horrible taste.

Thus, sentences (6) and (7) are examples of non-redundancy outside (6) and inside (7) relative clauses. Sentence (8) is an example of pronominal retention in main clauses; sentence (9) shows the same kind of phenomenon taking place inside a relative clause (ie. resumptive pronoun).

- (8) Eu tenho uma amiga_i. Ela_i é toda cheia de frescuras.
= I have a friend. She is very punctilious.

- (9) Aí esse rapaz aí que eu conheci ele , ele estava lá na festa também.
= Then this one guy there that I met him, he was there at the party too.

Sentence (8) shows thus that the referent amiga is kept in subject position in the following independent clause; sentence (9), on the other hand, shows that the head NP rapaz fills the direct object gap in the relative clause. Therefore, sentence (8) is an example of pronominal redundancy outside relatives, and sentence (9) exemplifies pronominal redundancy inside a relative clause.

These two syntactic facts of modern spoken BP, relativization and pronominalization, constitute the basis for the discussion to follow in sections 3 and 4. These two parts of the spoken grammar of modern BP, which Tarallo demonstrated to be inter-related, are in fact two examples of untargeted changes: the two of them alone split the two dialects of Portuguese far apart. Section 4 will elaborate on the issue of the syntactic distance between the two dialects.

3. ALLEGED VS. ATTESTED CREOLE LANGUAGES: SYNTACTIC SIMILARITIES

Resumptive pronouns have been reported for a variety of creoles (Sankoff and Brown: 1976 (1980); Dreyfuss: 1977, among others). Sankoff and Brown, for example, show that a place adverbial, the deitic *ia*, assumed a relativizing function in the history of Tok Pisin. Most interesting, this particle *ia* does not, as expected, mark case, and consequently behaves as an invariable complementizer. A high frequency of resumptive pronouns in the relative clause is then predicted as a way of establishing co-referentiality between the NP in the relative clause and the NP head in the matrix. Similarly, Dreyfuss reports that resumptive pronouns can be found in Haitian Creole, Sango and Sranan.

The positions in which resumptive pronouns occur, vary from creole to creole, but they are categorical in oblique and in genitive relatives. Sankoff and Brown schematize the two relativization strategies in Tok Pisin as follows:

- a. N that $\zeta(\dots\emptyset\dots)$
- b. N that $\zeta(\dots\text{Pro}\dots)$

In other words, a relativization strategy which involves a gap (variant (a)), and the resumptive pronoun usage in variant (b). Sankoff and Brown's results show that variant (b) is categorical in oblique relatives (ie. lower relativization sites); variant (a) is close to categorical in direct object relatives; subject relatives, however, favor (b) over (a), and form the most variable environment. Thus, "surface subject pronouns are more common in relative clauses than accusative pronouns"; and, "surface pronouns are obligatory in oblique cases" (Sankoff and Brown: 1980, p. 215).

Dreyfuss (1977, p. 170) reports that, like Tok Pisin, for Haitian Creole, Sango, and Sranan, resumptive pronouns are the only relativization strategy in oblique cases. In direct objects resumptive pronouns do not occur in Sranan and in Haitian Creole; in Sango, they alternate with the deletion process (ie. unfilled gap). In subject relatives, on the other hand, Haitian Creole shows case encoding on the relative marker, whereas Sango alternates between no case-marking on the relativizer and (+) or (-) resumptive pronoun; Sranan does not show either case-marking on relativizer or resumptive pronoun in subject relatives. Tok Pisin, as both Sankoff and Brown, and Dreyfuss demonstrate, shows obligatory use of resumptive pronouns in oblique relatives, and variability in subject and direct object relatives. Of the four creoles listed above, Haitian Creole is the only one that shows case encoding on the relative marker. In BP the relativizer has been reduced to the major subordinator in the language: the invariable complementizer *que*. Case-marking is more transparent in the piedpiped relatives; Tarallo's 1983 analysis shows, however, that piedpiping is almost non-existent in speech, and that the two competing relativization strategies -resumptive pronouns and Prepositional-Phrase chopping - are both deletion processes, ie. the relative clause is introduced by the

invariable complementizer que, and the variable - the co-referential NP- is deleted in situ (Prepositional-Phrase chopping or the gap-leaving variant), or is retained as a pronoun (resumptive pronoun).

The situation in spoken BP is thus very similar to the ones found in some attested creole languages. On the basis of these syntactic similarities, Sankoff and Tarallo (1984)⁵ proceeded to more extensively describe the syntactic systems of Tok Pisin and BP, two historically unrelated languages. Two main arguments explain the similarity found in the two languages: 1. The explanation of the similar relativization systems depends crucially on how the two languages handle anaphora in main clauses; and 2. The historical evolution (ie. the internal, linguistic history) of how the languages represent main clause arguments determines in large part the contemporary relative clause patterns.

In spoken BP the probability of a resumptive pronoun decreases from being very high for genitives, fairly high for indirect objects and obliques, somewhat lower for subjects and very low for direct objects, as shown in tables 1 and 2.

	N=RPs	N=clauses	%	PROB.
genitive	2	10	20.0%	.73
indirect object	4	29	13.8%	.70
oblique	10	128	7.8%	.55
subject	35	388	9.0%	.40
direct object	2	161	1.2%	.16

Table 1: Frequency and probability of resumptive pronoun usage in five syntactic environments for 20 middle- and upper-class Brazilian Portuguese speakers.

	N=RPs	N=clauses	%	PROB.
genitive	7	7	100.0%	1.00
indirect object	12	47	25.5%	.74
oblique	14	103	13.6%	.64
subject	68	604	11.3%	.34
direct object	8	223	3.6%	.28

Table 2: Frequency and probability of resumptive pronoun usage in five syntactic environments for 20 lower-class Brazilian Portuguese speakers.

The facts attested for redundancy within relative clauses in BP are mirrored in the Tok Pisin data collected and analyzed by Sankoff and Brown (1976) and

re-analyzed by Sankoff and Tarallo (1984), as the following table shows.

	N=RPs	N=clauses	%
genitive	2	2	100.0%
oblique	14	27	51.8%
subject	24	76	31.6%
direct object	3	22	13.6%

Table 3: Frequency of resumptive pronoun usage in four syntactic environments in Tok Pisin

The original hypothesis formulated by Sankoff and Brown (1976) about Tok Pisin was that the pattern of resumptive pronouns to be found in relatives was to be accounted for by whatever rules or processes were at work controlling the appearance or deletion of pronouns in all clause types in the language, rather than by any rules or processes specific to relativization⁶. This hypothesis is fully supported for BP, as demonstrated within the quantitative labovian paradigm by Tarallo (1983) as well as within the government and binding framework, as developed by Galves (1984).

In tables 1, 2 and 3 above a parallelism between the relativization systems in Tok Pisin and BP is drawn, showing that there is a hierarchy of syntactic functions and use of pronominal copy within the \bar{S} -level. Note that in both languages genitives favor resumptive pronouns and direct objects disfavor them. The same hierarchy can be attested when data from the two languages on pronominal retention vs. deletion in main clauses and in subordinates (other than relatives) are compared. Table 4 compares Tarallo's results on the distribution of pronouns in five clause types with some initial calculations made by Sankoff on the Tok Pisin data.

	BP		Tok Pisin ⁷	
	%	N	%	N
genitive	79.3%	58	-	-
indirect object	40.8%	142	-	-
oblique	36.1%	166	-	-
subject	65.6%	780	79.7%	380
direct object	18.2%	396	28.7%	80

Table 4: Pronominal retention in main and subordinate (non-relatiwe) clauses in BP and Tok Pisin

Table 4, then, confirms the first argument set forth by Sankoff and Tarallo, namely that similar relativization systems in BP and in Tok Pisin are determined by similar anaphoric processes in other parts of their grammar (ie. in main clauses). The second argument, however, calls for the internal history of each one of the systems: Do diachronic, longitudinal historical data from BP and Tok Pisin show some degree of reorganization in the representation of noun phrase arguments?

The main clause pronominal pattern in modern spoken BP is not the pattern found in the standard Portuguese grammar books. The historical data collected by Tarallo covering the BP grammar over the last 250 years showed that the reorganization has been massive. Particularly important is the reversal between subject and direct object positions by the second half of the 19th century. The curves underlying the sudden reverse between subjects and other arguments, continue into the current century, where subjects are represented by pronouns two-thirds of the time, and objects have decreased to only 1 in 5, with a corresponding dramatic decrease in obliques, as demonstrated in table 5.

Date	Subjects		Direct Objects		PPs	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
1725	23.3%	120	89.2%	93	96.5%	87
1775	26.6%	154	96.2%	53	98.9%	94
1825	16.4%	152	83.7%	43	91.3%	104
1875	32.7%	174	60.2%	98	72.9%	148
1982	65.6%	780	18.2%	396	44.8%	366

Table 5: Pronominal use in three clause types for main clauses between 1725 and 1982 in BP

For Tok Pisin, although the analysis of filled vs. non-filled NP arguments has only started, data on the rise of subject pronouns, as documented in Sankoff (1977), shows a striking parallel with the BP case. Table 6 presents the result for filled NP-subjects in Tok Pisin between 1885 and 1971.

Date	%	N
1885	0	124
1910	15.7%	51
1930's	37.5%	64
1971	79.7%	380

Table 6: Subject pronoun use in Tok Pisin between 1885 and 1971

Thus, tables 5 and 6 confirm the second argument put forth in Sankoff and Tarallo (1984): the internal history of each system alone explains the

restructuring in the representation of NP arguments in main clauses and in relatives in the contemporary grammars. Can we, therefore, on the basis of the syntactic similarities found between and attested creole language (Tok Pisin) and an alleged creole language (BP), advocate in favor of the creole hypothesis of the latter? Sankoff and Tarallo do not even raise the creolization issue in the 1984 paper; much to the contrary, as they write in the conclusion: "In many other regards, including facts closely related to those we have presented, the two languages differ. As in the rest of the contemporary Romance languages other than French, BP first and second person pronouns behave similarly to the third person ones. That is, whereas their Latin ancestor marked person in the verb morphology, the modern languages have all evolved personal pronouns and all except French still use subject pronouns variably. Tok Pisin, on the other hand, shows virtually compulsory use of first and second person pronouns, with no person or number marking encoded in the verb morphology. With respect to third persons, however, the two languages are remarkably similar. Subjects are usually expressed by pronouns, although they may be deleted, and objects are usually deleted, though they occasionally surface as pronouns, and this is true of all clause types in both languages. Pronominal usage in relative clauses thus appears to follow the general processes of anaphora in the language as a whole" (p. 11).

As I have argued throughout this paper, BP may have creolized at any one point of its history. Its modern syntactic makeup has many parallel aspects to the grammar of attested creoles. My point, again, is not to deny the possible creole history of BP. That could be done, if we knew more about the internal and the external history of the dialect used in Brazil. Considering, though, the contemporary state of the BP grammar, could we defend the creole origin of BP, assuming that, having been a creole, as Guy (1981a and 1981b) argues, the dialect is now decreolizing toward its original target: EP? The following section will demonstrate that this is not the case. The two dialects are, in fact, at such a syntactic distance, that it would be very unnatural if their ways crossed again.

4. EP vs. BP: SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES

For the discussion to follow let us isolate one of the many creole properties listed in Bickerton (1984, p. 19) which are claimed to be "...found in the most radical creoles and (...) shared to a diminishing extent by less radical creoles", namely property 4: "There are no subject-object asymmetries".

There is not, to my knowledge, any study dealing with grammatical differences between EP and BP within a quantitative framework. The analysis to be presented below thus can not be strictly compared to the one presented in the preceding section. For BP several studies following the quantitative paradigm are reported in the literature, covering a wide range of aspects of BP grammar: from phonology to syntax and discourse⁸. For EP, however, the analysis has undergone a

different approach. Galves work (especially, 1983 and 1984) provides us with extremely helpful insights into the syntactic differences between the two dialects. Her work follows the government and binding framework, as developed by Chomsky (1981 and 1982), but, although she herself does not deal with quantitative data, the results obtained from quantitative analyses of BP are decisively incorporated in her own analyses of the syntax of both dialects. Note, in particular, her 1984 article on filled vs. empty categories in BP which dwells on empirical data analyzed in Mollica (1977) and Tarallo (1983). Therefore, her results and proposals will be used in this part in a determining fashion.

But let us turn now to the creole property pointed out by Bickerton (1984): the subject-object symmetry vs. asymmetry. The comparison between Tok Pisin and BP in the previous section showed, among other things, that there is a clear-cut asymmetry between subject and object in the two languages. The filling vs. non-filling of NP arguments in subject and direct object positions, however, follow similar paths, i.e. subject arguments are filled more frequently than direct object ones. EP also shows asymmetry in the filling of the two argument positions. What, at first hand, splits the two dialects of Portuguese, is not only the asymmetry found in the two systems (both show asymmetry, and therefore could be equated in this part of the grammar, like BP and Tok Pisin), but the very fact that the filling vs. non-filling of the two argument positions are totally asymmetrical. Whereas BP favors the filling of subject position over direct objects, EP favors the retention of clitics (filled direct objects) over subjects. In other words, a question like (10) below in which two conversational topics are introduced at a time, one in subject and the other in direct object position, would be differently answered by speakers of the two dialects. The BP speaker would most probably retain a pronominal form in subject position and delete the object; conversely, the speaker of EP would most likely leave the subject empty and fill in the object position. Compare answers (11) and (12), respectively.

(10) Paulo viu Maria ontem?
=Did Paul see Mary yesterday?

(11) Sim, ele viu (e). SUBJECT FILLED/OBJECT EMPTY = BP
=Yes, he saw.

(12) Sim, (e) a viu. SUBJECT EMPTY/OBJECT FILLED = EP
=Yes, her saw.

Sentences (11) and (12) alone show a dramatic syntactic distance between BP and EP. The drift between the two dialects, however, becomes even more transparent when one seeks a syntactic understanding of the difference between the two systems. And that is precisely what Galves does in two separate, though related,

articles: in (1983) the author attempts to account for the difference between the interpretation of subject pronouns in the two dialects; the (1984) article brings out the syntactic arguments which explain the different behavior of filled vs. empty objects. In what follows I will sort out and list Galves' major conclusions on the two issues.

Filled vs. empty subjects:

1. The third person singular subject pronoun ele is emphatic in EP, ie. it behaves like lui in French; In BP ele does not play any contrastive role, behaving like il in French.

2. BP is heavily marked by the use of a resumptive pronoun in main clauses, unlike EP, as exemplified in (13) and (14).

(13) BP: Os linguistas eles são chatos.
=The linguists they are boring.

(14) EP: Os linguistas são chatos.
=The linguists are boring.

The resumptive pronoun eles in (13), being (+pronominal) and (-anaphor), in order to be interpretable as such, must obey Chomsky's binding condition (B), according to which "a pronominal NP must be free in its governing category if it has one". According to Galves, (15) below, the derivation of (13) through topicalization (Cf. Chomsky: 1977) could be a solution, but then the obligatory co-reference is blocked, and has to be resolved through a rule of predication, notably a discourse rule in Chomsky's sense (1977).

(15) \bar{S} TOP (os linguistas) \bar{S} COMP () S (eles...)

3. In BP relatives are derived without movement, unlike EP. In this particular case, there is no need to invoke a \bar{S} node, unlike (15), for the NP head outside the relative and the resumptive pronoun inside the relative do not fall within the same S, thereby obeying the binding condition (B), but the predication rule comes in handy again in order to establish the obligatory co-reference between them.

4. The heart of the problem lies in the different nature of INFL in the two dialects. According to Galves, there is an ever increasing impoverishment of INFL in BP: that is, BP is less of a pro-drop language than EP. As independent

motivation for the process of non-pro dropping being undergone by BP, Galves cites the ever more rare use of inflectional infinitives, and the use of the third person singular without lexical subject to express generality and indeterminacy. The possibility of subject-verb inversion is, however, still present in the system. On the basis of these facts, Galves proposes the following base rules for the derivation of canonical sentences in the two dialects:

Filled subjects: (16) BP: S → NP (ele) VP
INFL

(17) EP: S → NP (pro) VP
INFL

Empty Subjects: (18) BP: S → (PRO) (PRO) VP
NP INFL

(19) EP: S → () (pro) VP
NP INFL

That is, INFL in EP functions as a pronoun; as a full pronoun in (19), pro is generated with a referential index. In BP INFL has no reference; instead, two PROs are governed mutually, and each one is bound to the other; they are free and do not have a referential index; their interpretation is, therefore, arbitrary. Again, a predication rule will guarantee that the referential indices of mutually governed NPs are interpreted as identical. In (17) the situation is just like (19): the predication rule will establish the identity of indices between NP and INFL. In (16) PRO is no longer an option under INFL, unlike (18): it would violate the binding condition (A) since it is governed by a referential NP in subject position, and BP does not seem to interpret INFL as a referential element. Thus, a sentence like (20; (6) in Galves (1983)) would have no determinate reference in BP; in EP an empty subject is likely to retrieve its reference from discourse, ie. it would not be generic.

(20) Diz que Reagan vai mudar de estratégia.
=Say that Reagan is going to change his strategy.

On the other hand, a slight alteration of the predication rule gives Galves the possibility of extending her analysis of main clauses to the presence of ele in INFL in relative clauses as well: "given the configuration \widehat{NP}^X the referential index of a pronoun dominated by X is interpreted as identical to the referential index of NP" (p. 7).

- (24) Encontrei ele ontem. (Galves' sentence (9))
 =(I) met him yesterday.

3. In BP, like in Chinese (Cf. Huang: 1984), empty categories in direct object position can not be bound to a NP within the same S, unlike empty categories in subject position.

- (25) João; disse que (e); viu Pedro. (Galves' sentence (11))
 =John; said that (e); saw Peter.

- (26) *João; disse que Pedro viu (e). (Galves' sentence (12))
 =John; said that Peter saw (e).

The empty category in (26) can be interpreted, however, when it is bound to a NP in discourse, ie. its reference must be the discourse topic, as illustrated in sentence (27) below

- (27) Paulo, João disse que Pedro encontrou (e) ontem. (Galves' (17))
 =Paul, John said that Peter met (e) yesterday.

As Galves explains (1984, p. 113), a discourse topic in BP can directly bind an empty category in direct object position. The languages that do not allow such empty categories fill in the object position with either a tonic pronoun (eg. English) or a clitic pronoun (eg. EP), as in (28).

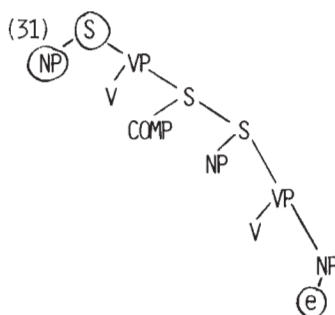
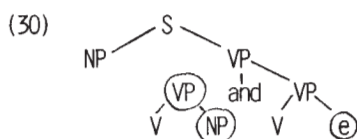
- (28) EP: João; disse que Pedro o viu.
 =John; said that Peter saw him.

Syntactically, this means that for direct objects there is in BP a closer relationship between the clause and the discourse, ie. in this particular case, BP is more discourse-oriented, and EP is more sentence-oriented.

4. On the basis of these differences, Galves concludes that the empty category in direct object position in BP is a variable in Chomsky's sense (1982, p. 34), ie. a category is a variable if it is in an A-position and is locally \bar{A} -bound". As the binding conditions are regulated by the notion of government, sentence (29; Galves' (22)) which could run counter to the topic/variable analysis for BP (sentences 25 through 27 above), is demonstrated to have a different derivation from (26), thus reinforcing the analysis through government and binding.

- (29) Eles fabricaram camisetas e venderam (e) no Brasil inteiro.
 =They made T-shirts and sold (e) all over Brazil.

sentences (26) and (29) are diagrammed in (31) and (30) respectively



That is, in (31) the first branching node dominating NP (João) also c-commands the variable (e) and the resulting binding condition is of the A-type, blocking the interpretation topic/variable. In (30), however, the binding condition between topic and variable is permitted precisely because there is no c-command relation between the two. This phenomenon, "típico do Português do Brasil" (= typical of BP; Galves; p. 117), calls for an expansion of Chomsky's notion of binding, as in (32; Galves' condition (28)) below.

- (32) An argument position X can \bar{A} -bind another argument position Y in a clause iff X does not c-command Y.

5. One last point deserves mention: the nominative, subject pronoun ele (which we saw under INFL in the previous sub-section of this paper) occupying the direct object position. According to Galves' analysis, in EP (and by extension, the other Romance languages and dialects, except BP) the object position is not bound by an argument position, thereby motivating the presence of a clitic pronoun which, in turn, from a non-argument position, binds the empty object position. In BP, contrariwise, the possibility of \bar{A} -binding (topic/variable) explains the occurrence of ele in direct object position. Thus, the object position in BP, whether empty or filled in by ele, is explained by the same binding principle.

All in all again, Galves' analysis of the object position in the two dialects leaves room for a radically different interpretation of their syntaxes. The syntax of EP in this case is configurationally-inward, tighter, and more sentence-oriented; the syntax of BP, on the other hand, is configurationally-outward, looser and more discourse-oriented. Thus, considering the left and the right-hand sides of the verb in both dialects, we see that the organization is totally different, confirming the fact that the syntactic distance between them is hardly dismissable.

(33)	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT
	BP= filled by <u>ele</u> under INFL (ie. interpreta- tion within or beyond the sentence-level)		empty category <u>ele</u> *clitic pronoun ie. binding through discourse
	-----		-----
	EP= empty (ie. interpre- tation beyond the sen- tence level, in discourse)		*empty category * <u>ele</u> clitic pronoun ie. binding within S

5. AND AT LAST...

Throughout this paper I have emphasized, over and over, how little we know about the social history of BP. In the concluding remarks to the paper, however, I do not want to leave history aside, not the history of BP, but the very, external history of the field of pidgin and creole studies. To that end I believe it is high time we start looking, with more detail and appreciation, to Coelho's views on creolization vs. dialect-formation. I was truly surprised not to find any mention of Coelho's work in Guy's dissertation. That was indeed unfortunate! Had Guy but superficially touched Coelho's work, his own work, and particularly his chapter 7 (1981a) on the possible creole origin of BP, would have been totally different.

Exactly a hundred years have passed since Coelho's last great contribution to the then beginning field. Already in 1886, Coelho himself recognized that his work was not being properly appreciated nor acknowledged (p. 234, "Como disse acima, até entre nós se fala já de dialectos crioulos, e, conquanto, por via de regra não se mencione o meu nome, servem-se do que eu fiz, aproveitam os meus extractos sem dizer nada, reproduzem a terminologia que adoptei, significando assim que os frutos da minha investigação se tornaram bem comum"; my own emphasis⁹). Now, in 1986, I want to do him justice, and justice can be easily done by simply enumerating a few ideas he had about BP, ie. what happened to EP outside of Portugal?

First and foremost, although Coelho, as I quoted in the introduction to the current paper, groups BP with Afro-Portuguese creoles in his first article (1880), his work as a whole (1880, 1882, 1886) is not intended primarily to be a general statement on creole dialects and languages only (ie. on creolization itself), but rather on the general state of the Romance languages outside of Europe (Cf. 1882, p. 109, and 1886, p. 153). Thus, Brazil is seen as a vast and fertile field for the alteration of EP (Cf. 1880, p. 37. "O Brasil com as suas 873.000 milhas quadradas, povoadas, é verdade, por enquanto apenas por uns 10 milhões de habitantes, oferece um campo vasto à alteração do português (...)).¹⁰ BP is then the result of the

alteration of EP in contact (and this word is crucial here) with different ethnic groups and different languages, a situation that not necessarily led to creolization, but simply to dialect-differentiation (Cf. 1886, p. 160: "(...) as línguas africanas ainda chamam a atenção e não sei se diga por baixo, se por cima de tudo isto, aparece a linguagem peculiar dos cidadãos brasileiros, o dialecto brasileiro, se assim lhe quer chamar, o português alterado no Brasil pela acção de causas tão complicadas como são a mistura étnica, o contacto com línguas diversas que persistem ou desaparecem (como é o caso com os dialectos do elemento negro da população)...").¹¹

Secondly, even after the fall of the Portuguese empire (1822), Brazil continued under the domain of the literary tradition of Portugal. Thus, in the written language (Cf. 1880, p. 37) Portuguese remained extremely close to Brazil. The proximity in the written language could perhaps justify Guy's thinking. His decreolization hypothesis, however, puts forth that spoken (as opposed to written) BP is slowly returning to its original target. Coelho (1882, p. 119) already alluded then to the natural (and even expected) fact that after EP had been brought to Brazil in the 1600's, the two dialects went on different, separate directions: "Como as línguas são organismos que se desenvolvem e transformam, esse facto foi-se dando no Brasil e em Portugal ao mesmo tempo, isto é, tanto aqui como lá a língua se foi desenvolvendo, ou alterando, como quiserem".¹²

And thirdly, Coelho invokes in the 1886 monograph the urgent need for extensive studies of BP. On page 161 Coelho writes that the attested evidence for BP as a true creole only shows lexical influence, ie. a lot would have to be done to gather evidence that the negro influence on BP had gone beyond the lexicon and reached the configuration of its grammar. In 1981 Guy raises the issue again, claiming that the morphosyntactic variables he studied would finally solve the issue (not at all completely, but he certainly tries to make a good case of it). The results presented in sections 3 and 4 of this paper demonstrate, however, that the argument can go either way. Galves' work, for example, provides us with results that, at least on the syntactical level, the case for a dialect merger is beyond any hope.

Let us consider again, for a quick look, the subject-object asymmetry in the two dialects: What would it take for BP to decreolize towards EP? No more, no less than the following: BP would have to turn itself inside out and upside down, literally. Subjects would have to start being phonologically null again (that is, BP would have to start re-gaining its lost pro drop characteristics) while objects would have to start receiving clitic pronouns again. In the case of subjects BP grammar would have to leave its syntactic configuration and start being more discourse-oriented; with regard to objects, the discourse variable would have to be replaced by a more syntactic orientation in its derivation. Even if that could possibly be the case, ie. if the position as well as the weight of either the syntax or the discourse of a language could be naturally and easily reversed, then would the phonology of BP make room for such dramatic changes? That is, would the stress and the rhythmic patterns of BP favor deletion of surface subject pronouns, or even more unlikely,

transform the tonic form of the nominative pronoun ele used in object position (in accusative function) into a clitic pronoun?

The historical data on BP presented in section 3 (Cf. Table 5) showed that the reversal in the asymmetrical position of subjects and objects was very slow; at least a century was necessary for the change to take place (1875-1982). If creolization had happened in Brazil, would it have taken over 350 years for some symmetry between subject and object positions to have occurred (according to Table 5, only after 1875 there must have been a period when subjects and objects showed some degree of balance in terms of frequency of filled vs. empty categories)? And even if that had been the case, and decreolization had started (let us say around 1885), why would BP have started changing in the opposite direction from EP?

To conclude: the continuous and long-standing presence of Portuguese literary tradition in Brazil and the rigidity of the standard written language have kept the two dialects very close all these centuries. The spoken grammars of each dialect, however, have taken separate ways. We have been working towards a better understanding of how different the two spoken grammars are. Should then the creole issue of the alleged creole origin of BP still be on our agenda a 100 years from now?

NOTES

1. Several characteristics of creole dialects can be found in Brazil; such is the tendency to delete plural markers, as it is the case here, according to which Art. + Noun, Adjective + Noun, etc, which should all agree, only one is marked for plural. (my own free translation)
2. ...it should not be said that Brazilian is a degenerate Portuguese and tends to form a dialect; both are degenerate, and both are deteriorating, each one in its own way, perhaps, but deteriorating themselves and modifying themselves. (my own free translation)
3. It is most remarkable that many writers, not to say all of them, from Brazil have no clear idea of the differences that set apart European Portuguese from BP. (my own free Translation)
4. Wheeler (1982) attempts to account for Prepositional-Phrase chopped relatives under the first analysis, assuming that the preposition is deleted in COMP.
5. Sankoff and Tarallo (1984) is part of a much larger project, the point of which is more typological than language-specific, more historical than sociolinguistic in nature. It is designed to cover a wide range of languages, historically related and/or unrelated. The main point of the project is to draw typological observations on the relationship between relativization and anaphora.

6. Cf. Sankoff and Brown (1976/1980, p. 215): "the fact that very few accusative pronouns show up in relatives is not chiefly the result of any rule specific to relativization". (emphasis added)
7. A clear distinction between obliques and indirect objects in Tok Pisin awaits a definitive analysis of the complement structure of verbs, this being the reason why only data on subjects and direct objects were included in this table.
8. See among others: Braga (1977); Lemle & Naro (1977); Naro (1981); Naro & Lemle (1976); Votre (1978), etc.
9. As stated above, even among us one talks about creole dialects, and, although my name is not usually mentioned, people make use of what I wrote, they take advantage of my writings without mentioning anything, my own terminology is reproduced, thus implying that what I have accomplished in the field has spread out. (my own free translation)
10. Brazil with its 873.000 square miles, inhabited by only (until now) 10 million people, provides a vast field for the alteration of Portuguese (my own free translation)
11. (...) the African languages still call people's attention, and I do not know if I should say on top of or below that there comes the peculiar language of the Brazilian citizens, the Brazilian dialect, you name it, ie. the Portuguese language which was altered in Brazil due to reasons so complicated as the ethnic mixture, the contact with various languages which remain or disappear (as it is the case of the dialects spoken by the negros...), (my own free translation)
12. As languages are bodies that grow and change, this also happened in Brazil and in Portugal simultaneously, ie. the spoken language started changing here and there, as you like it. (my own free translation)

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