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The Spanish Component in Lingua Franca¹

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The best-documented variety of Lingua Franca, the one spoken in Algiers just before the French colonization of Algeria, is comprised of three main Romance lexical components; in the order of numerical importance, these are Italian, Spanish and French. While it is agreed that the French component is the most recent one, the relationship between the Spanish and the Italian components has given rise to competing diachronic interpretations. This paper examines probable Spanish contributions to Algerine LF in the lexicon, copula and pronominal possession. It contributes to our understanding of the origins and evolution of Algerine LF, as revealed through language-internal analysis of its lexical and structural components.

Keywords: Language contact, contact languages, relexification, Maghreb, Mediterranean, Romance languages, Italian, French, Spanish, Lingua Franca

1. Diachronic layers in Lingua Franca

Lingua Franca (LF) is a Romance-based contact vernacular that was used for interethnic communication in the Mediterranean area until the late nineteenth century.² The earliest textual sample in what is believed to be LF is a jocular poem dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Grion 1890-1892). The most important document in the study of LF is a dictionary published anonymously in Marseilles and intended for the use of the French military in North Africa (Anonymous 1830). This publication, whose complete title is *Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers et d'un vocabulaire des mots arabes les plus usuels; à l'usage des Français en Afrique* (henceforth the *Dictionnaire*), reflects the variety of LF spoken in Algiers, capturing it in its structurally most consistent form.³ It also captures a variety of Algerine LF whose main lexical components are Italian, Spanish and French, in that order. The secondary lexical sources comprise Romance languages other than the three just named, as well as Arabic, Turkish, Greek and Latin, with an occasional word from additional sources (Cifoletti 2004: 57-75).

Among the main lexical components, the French is historically more recent than the Italian and Spanish. Apart from the known historical facts, this conclusion is suggested by language-internal evidence, namely the fact that the French words are adapted to the pre-established phonological and morphological patterns of LF. Examples of phonological adaptation are discussed by Cifoletti (1980: 17-21). Examples of morphological adaptation are shown in (1). As seen there, the French nouns are furnished with the LF gender markers *-a* and *-o*, the French

¹ I would like to thank Derek C. Carr and the reviewers of Language Ecology for their valuable comments and suggestions.

² This article uses the following abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ART = article, Cat. = Catalan, DOM = differential object marker, F and f. = feminine, Fr. = French, IMPF = imperfect, INF = infinitive, It. = Italian, LF = Lingua Franca, M and m. = masculine, PRES = present, PRET = preterit, Ptg. = Portuguese, S = singular, Sp. = Spanish, Ven. = Venetian.

³ “C’est surtout le petit mauresque qui se parle dans les villes maritimes de l’état d’Alger, que nous avons dû recueillir dans ce Dictionnaire . . . [It is primarily the petit mauresque (= another term for LF) spoken in the sea towns of the state of Algiers that we had to assemble in this Dictionary]” (Anonymous 1830).

infinitives acquire the LF infinitive endings *-ar* and *-ir*, and the French past participles take the LF past participle endings *-ato*, *-ito* and *-uto*. Each one of these LF grammatical markers is of Spanish, Italian or perhaps combined Hispano-Italian origin (see further discussion and examples in Schuchardt 1909: 41 and Cifoletti 1989: 87-88).

(1)	biéra ‘beer’	(< Fr. bière)
	bagueta ‘stick’	(< Fr. baguette)
	verro ‘glass’	(< Fr. verre)
	avalat ‘swallow’	(< Fr. avaler)
	avalato	(< Fr. avalé)
	cedar ‘give up’	(< Fr. céder)
	cédouto	(< Fr. cédé)
	composir ‘arrange’	(< Fr. composer)
	composito	(< Fr. composé)

The Italian lexical component is the most significant one numerically, comprising over half of the approximately 2,000 LF lexical items listed in the *Dictionnaire*. Cornelissen (1992) observes that only 60 of the Italianisms differ enough from written Italian to be identified as “informal”, “archaic” or “dialectal”.⁴ The “dialectal” forms are traceable to a number of Italo-Romance vernaculars, including Venetian, Ligurian and southern Italo-Romance (Cifoletti 1989: 64-65). The Spanish lexical component, although much less significant numerically, conspicuously includes both basic vocabulary items, such as selected kinship and body part terms, and “words of very general usage” (Schuchardt 1909: 41), among which are *adios* ‘farewell’, *nada* ‘nothing’, *bentana* ‘window’, *domingo* ‘Sunday’ and *dios* ‘God’. In many of its entries, the *Dictionnaire* provides both Italian- and Spanish-derived alternatives in LF.

The size of the Spanish lexical component in LF is subject to both regional and diachronic variation. The latter type of variation can be assessed with some precision only in our best-documented variety of LF, the one spoken in Algiers. For Algerine LF, we are fortunate to possess, in addition to Anonymous (1830), another substantial description with textual samples; published as Haedo (1612), its composition is believed to date from the late 1500s (Camamis 1977). According to Cornelissen (1992: 220), the combined LF textual samples in Haedo (1612) contain close to 100 different lexical items. He estimates that 39% of these may be traced back to more than one Romance language, 41% derive from Spanish, 17% derive from Italian, and 3% derive from Arabic and Turkish. By contrast, his calculations of the lexicon of Anonymous (1830) reveal that about 27% of the words exist in more than one Romance language, 58% are of Italo-Romance origin,⁵ 6% are Spanish, 4% French, and 3% Arabic; while the remaining 2% are composed of Turkish, Portuguese and Catalan words (Cornelissen 1992: 221, esp. fn. 1).

To place the quoted percentages of Spanish words in a proper context it is necessary briefly to mention the difference in the probable knowledge of Spanish on the part of the author of

⁴ “Von den ca. 2.000 Wörtern entstammt mehr als die Hälfte dem Italienischen und ist weitgehend identisch mit dem Schriftitalienischen des 17. und 18. Jhs. Unter den weit über tausend Italianismen entsprechen lediglich 60 Wörter nicht der neuitalienischen Schriftnorm, sondern sind als ‘familiär’, ‘archaisch’ oder ‘dialektal’ zu bezeichnen . . . [From about 2,000 words more than half come [from Italian and are largely identical with the written Italian of the 17th and 18th centuries. From among well over a thousand Italianisms a mere 60 words do not correspond to the modern Italian written norm but are to be described as ‘informal’, ‘archaic’ or ‘dialectal’].”

⁵ 55% are found in standard Italian while 3% are identified as “informal”, “archaic” or “dialectal” (Cornelissen 1992: 221).

Haedo (1612) on the one hand and compilers of Anonymous (1830) on the other. While the former work was authored by a Spanish speaker, the work published as Anonymous (1830) reveals limited knowledge of Spanish on the part of the compilers and/or informants, and no use of the Spanish orthographic conventions. Basing himself on the orthography and lexical composition of the *Dictionnaire*, Cifoletti (1989: 88-89) concludes that its compilers were likely to have been Marseilles natives, with good knowledge of Provençal, French and Italian and limited knowledge of Spanish.⁶ The latter fact follows not only from the modest number of the recorded Hispanisms but also from their phonetic shape, which suggests acquisition “attraverso la pronuncia degli arabofoni [through the pronunciation of Arabic speakers]” (88). However, even if the LF of Haedo (1612) and that of Anonymous (1830) were less than “typical” due to the first languages of their authors – the former being more heavily Hispanized and the latter more heavily Italianized than would have been typical for its period – the quoted percentages still point to the diminishing importance of Spanish and the growing importance of Italian in the lexical composition of Algerine LF between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The presence of Spanish and Italian components in the LF lexicon has prompted different diachronic interpretations. Schuchardt appears to interpret it as evidence of LF’s polygenesis, with the Spanish variety of LF developing later than and independently from the Italian one:

Just as Lingua Franca in the Eastern and Middle Mediterranean evolved out of Italian, so in the Western Mediterranean it evolved from Spanish, though at a later period. [...] The Lingua Franca with Spanish and Italian coloration blends them together with one another in different gradations so that perhaps only the western and eastern extremities are monochromatic. [...] The geographical mid-point of this essentially uniform Lingua Franca is formed by Algiers . . . (Schuchardt 1909: 34-35)

Alternative proposals, by Castellanos (2007) and Aslanov (2014), assume that LF developed in the Western Mediterranean, with the Iberian component historically preceding the Italian one. The two proposals differ in their details, including the precise linguistic base of the original LF. Castellanos (2007: 2) believes that LF originated between the 10th and 15th centuries as a result of the commercial expansion of the “Franks” in the Western Mediterranean which brought Romance language speakers into contact with North African Arabs and Berbers. In subsequent centuries, this contact language spread eastwards and was subjected to Italianization. Castellanos hypothesizes that the lexicon of the original LF was “bàsicament occitano-català i toscano-ligur (pisano-genovès) [basically Occitan-Catalan and Tuscan-Ligurian (Pisan-Genoese)]” (4), and sees the specific contribution of Occitan-Catalan to LF in certain lexical items, the noun suffixes *-on*, *-un*, *-dor* and the infinitives in *-ar*, *-ir* (5-6). Castellanos hypothesizes that Spanish could initially have influenced LF indirectly, by reinforcing certain Occitan-Catalan solutions such as the aforementioned infinitive endings in *-ar*, *-ir* and noun endings in *-on*, *-dor*, and sees the most significant direct Spanish influence on LF as taking place after the 15th and 16th centuries in Algiers and the territories west of it (5, fn. 8).

⁶ “. . . tutto sommato è più facile pensare che il *Dictionnaire* sia opera di marsigliesi, forse non espertissimi di francese letterario, che però potevano aver avuto dei contatti con italiani e aver acquisito qualche nozione della nostra lingua [all things considered, it is easier to think of the *Dictionnaire* as a work of Marseilles natives, perhaps not too expert in literary French but who could have had contact with Italians and acquired some basic knowledge of our language]” (Cifoletti 1989: 88-89). The informant whose idiolect of LF is reflected in the *Dictionnaire* is described as being “certamente più esperto d’italiano che di spagnolo [certainly more expert in Italian than in Spanish]” (89).

Aslanov (2014) assumes a different diachronic scenario. He observes that LF shares “many striking isoglosses with Portuguese” (123) and argues for the possible Portuguese nucleus in LF. This hypothesis is based on two structural developments that LF shares with Portuguese: extension of the copular uses of (*e*)*star* at the expense of *ser*, and development of periphrastic pronominal possessives. Aslanov hypothesizes that LF may have arisen as a Portuguese-based contact vernacular that was “originally used in Algarve or on the Portuguese-conquered Moroccan shores” (131) and was subsequently spread to the whole of Maghreb.

In spite of their divergent views regarding the earliest lexical/structural layer of LF, Castellanos and Aslanov agree in their assessment of LF as a product of contact that primarily involved different Romance vernaculars, built on an Iberian foundation. Aslanov (2014) sees the purpose of LF in aiding “communication between speakers of different Romance languages who had been brought into contact as a result of trade, war or captivity” (123), and its formation as an “attempt to find a lowest common denominator for Italo-Romance and Ibero-Romance languages” (132). He attributes elimination of the plural marking on LF nouns to the irreconcilable structural difference between the Ibero-Romance and Italo-Romance plural markers (*-s* and *-i*, respectively). For his part, Castellanos (2007) speaks of “[I]a neutralització interromànica [...] sobre la base dels rudiments de llatí medieval que eren utilitzats en el conjunt de la Romània, per a fer-se entendre els parlants de les diferents llengües filles del llatí, en llurs contactes mutus [inter-Romanic neutralization on the basis of the rudiments of Medieval Latin that speakers of different Romance languages used for making themselves understood in their mutual contacts]” (3). He sees inter-Romanic neutralization, among other features, in the absence in LF of the Gallo-Romance front rounded vowels. Reliance on their shared knowledge of Medieval Latin makes the creators of LF prefer “full” nominal forms (i.e. those that are closer to their Latin sources) to abbreviated ones. For example, the “full” forms *bono* ‘good’ and *vino* ‘wine’ are preferred to their truncated Catalan cognates *bo* and *vi*.

This paper advances the study of the Iberian contributions to LF by focusing on its Spanish component. It is organized as follows. Section 2 examines Spanish lexical contributions to LF. Sections 3 and 4 look, respectively, at the possible Spanish input in the evolution of the LF copula (*e*)*star* and of periphrastic pronominal possession. Section 5 provides a brief summary of the results.

2. Spanish lexical component

This section first looks at the Spanish lexical component in the 100- and 200-item Swadesh lists (sections 2.1 and 2.2) and then examines the Spanish lexical items outside the Swadesh lists (section 2.3) and the sources of the Spanish words (section 2.4). To streamline the exposition, the Swadesh lists themselves are provided in the Appendix, together with a description of how they were compiled.

2.1. 100-item Swadesh list

Given the closeness of many Spanish and Italian cognates, several decisions had to be made in assigning the LF words to one of these languages. First, since LF frequently degeminates Italian geminates, the origin of LF words like *séco* ‘dry’ was assumed to be uncertain since it can derive either from Sp. *seco* or from It. *secco* with degemination. Second, if the Italian and Spanish

cognates are identical except for non-diphthongization of the vowel, the word was assumed to derive from Italian. E.g., the source of LF *terra* ‘earth’ is assumed to be It. *terra* rather than Sp. *tierra*. Third, if the Italian and Spanish nouns are identical except for the final *-e*, the word with *-e* is assumed to derive from Italian. E.g., LF *cané* ‘dog’ is assumed to come from It. *cane* rather than Sp. *can*; conversely, LF *sol* ‘sun’ is assumed to derive from Sp. *sol* rather than It. *sole*. Finally, it should be stressed that the assumed Spanish etyma of some LF words in the Swadesh lists are identical in more than one Romance language; this concerns such items as *saber* ‘know’, which has an identical form in Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan and Occitan. In such cases, it is not claimed that the LF word actually derives from Spanish; it is merely assumed that the form of the LF word is compatible with the hypothesis of its Spanish origin (Castellanos 2007 adopts a similar procedure with respect to the proposed Occitan-Catalan origin of LF words).⁷ With these guidelines in place, an etymological analysis of the 100-item Swadesh list reveals the following five categories of words:

- (a) words of Italian origin
- (b) words of Spanish origin
- (c) words that could derive from either Italian or Spanish
- (d) Hispano-Italian etymological doublets
- (e) words that are not ascribable to either Italian or Spanish

The specific words are distributed by category as follows.

- (a) The following 52 words are of Italian origin:

⁷ This observation also applies to some LF words derived from Italian. Specifically, the lack of diphthongization is shared by a number of Romance languages, including Catalan and Portuguese; non-diphthongization of the stressed vowel is also a feature of Judeo-Spanish, possibly resulting from Portuguese/Leonese influence (Penny 2000: 188; Derek C. Carr, p.c.). The impossibility of separating Italianisms from forms from one of these non-diphthongizing Iberian languages is well known to researchers of language contact (e.g. Minervini 2014: 73). Both reviewers also point out specific correspondences between selected LF items derivable from Spanish (or Italian) and their cognates in Genoese and/or Portuguese (e.g. *agoua* ‘water’, *amigo* ‘friend’, *nomé* ‘name’). A more thorough study of the lexical contributions of these languages to LF would be highly desirable.

mi ‘I’	albéro ‘tree’	lingoua ‘tongue’	nébia ‘cloud’
ti ‘you’	folia ‘leaf’	piedi ‘foot’	foumo ‘smoke’
noi ‘we’	scorsa ‘bark’	dginokio ‘knee’	fouogo ‘fire’
cosa ‘what’	sédar ‘sit’	ventro ‘belly’	bruchar ‘burn’
qouesto ‘this’	pellé ‘skin’	collo ‘neck’	rosso ‘red’
qouello ‘that’	osso ‘bone’	couoré ‘heart’	dgialo ‘yellow’
qui ‘who’	grasso ‘fat’	mangiar ‘eat’	bianco ‘white’
toutto ‘all’	ové ‘egg’	massar ‘kill’	noté ‘night’
doué ‘two’	piouma ‘feather’	stella ‘star’	caldo ‘hot’
loungo ‘long’	orékia ‘ear’	piové ‘rain’	frédo ‘cold’
picolo ‘small’	ockio ‘eye’	pietra ‘stone’	nouovo ‘new’
pechi ‘fish’	nadzo ‘nose’	sabia ‘sand’	bonou ‘good’
cané ‘dog’	denti ‘tooth’	terra ‘earth’	nomé ‘name’

The above list includes several items traceable to Venetian, including *mi* ‘I’, *ti* ‘you’ and *massar* ‘kill’ (Cifoletti 1991: 35). *Sédar* ‘sit’ is assumed to derive from It. *sedere*; *foumo* ‘smoke’ is assumed to derive from Italian rather than Judeo-Spanish (Penny 2000: 183).

(b) The following 8 words are of Spanish origin:

oumbré ‘man’	négro ‘black’
sangré ‘blood’	mirar ‘see’
agoua ‘water’	sabir ‘know’
sol ‘sun’	ablar ‘say’

LF *mirar* ‘see’ is assumed to derive from Sp. *mirar* rather than It. *mirare* because of the common semantic shift from ‘look at’ to ‘see’ in the Spanish verb (see Klee & Lynch 2009: 90 for American Spanish).

(c) The following 22 words could derive from either Italian or Spanish:

qué ‘what’	mano ‘hand’	morir ‘die’	louna ‘moon’
ouno ‘one’	séno ‘breast’	volar ‘fly’	montagnia
grandé ‘big’	intendir ‘hear’	caminar ‘walk’	‘mountain’
persona ‘person’	sentir ‘hear’	vénir ‘come’	verdé ‘green’
grano ‘seed’	bévir ‘drink’	stendir ‘lie’	séco ‘dry’
carne ‘flesh’	dormir ‘sleep’	donar ‘give’	

LF *bévir* could derive from Sp. *beber* or be analogically formed on the basis of It. *bevuto*.

(d) There are 6 etymological doublets:

no ~ non ‘not’
mouchous ~ molto ‘many’
mouchéra / moukera ~ dona ‘woman, wife’
cabessa ~ testa ‘head’

camino ~ strada ‘road’
inchito ~ pieno ‘full’

(e) The last group of 5 words is composed of possible hybrids, a Latinism and a LF innovation. The possible hybrids are *radiz* ‘root’ (Sp. *raíz*, It. *radice*), *natar* ‘swim’ (Sp. *nadar*, It. *nuotare*) and *roundo* (possibly from Fr. *rond* with the Sp. / It. masculine singular ending *-o*). The possible Latinism is *cinis* ‘ash’ (or at least it has been so analyzed by Schuchardt 1909: 42 and Cifoletti 2004: 58). *Forar* is one of the few attested LF neologisms. It is assumed to derive from language-internal reanalysis of Ven. *fora* ‘out, outside’ (It. *fuori*). Cifoletti (2004: 74) hypothesizes that *fora* was extracted from nautical expressions, such as *fora vela!*, in which it was mistakenly analyzed as an imperative rather than an adverb.

In summary, about 59% of the words in the 100-item Swadesh list are Italian, about 14% are Spanish, about 22% could derive from either source, and about 5% cannot be assigned to either Italian or Spanish.

2.2. 200-item Swadesh word list

The 200-item list is composed of the same word categories as the 100-item list.

(a) There are 97 words of Italian origin:

toutto ‘all’	pechi ‘fish’	vekio ‘old’	tré ‘three’
e ‘and’	chinqué ‘five’	altro ‘other’	legar ‘tie’
cosa ‘what’	fioré ‘flower’	dgiocar ‘play’	lingoua ‘tongue’
cativo ‘bad’	piedi ‘foot’	piové ‘rain’	denti ‘tooth’
scorsa ‘bark’	bonou ‘good’	rosso ‘red’	albéro ‘tree’
perké ‘why’	erba ‘grass’	dgiousto ‘right’	dgirar ‘turn’
ventro ‘belly’	couoré ‘heart’	corda ‘rope’	dgitar ‘throw’
soffiari ‘blow’	pésanti ‘heavy’	salé ‘salt’	doué ‘two’
osso ‘bone’	comé ‘how’	sabia ‘sand’	caldo ‘warm’
bruchar ‘burn’	caschar ‘hunt’	maré ‘sea’	noi ‘we’
nébia ‘cloud’	mi ‘I’	sédar ‘sit’	bagniar ‘wet’
frédo ‘cold’	sé ‘if’	pellé ‘skin’	ove ‘where’
dgiorno ‘day’	massar ‘kill’	picolo ‘small’	bianco ‘white’
sporco ‘dirty’	ridir ‘laugh’	foumo ‘smoke’	qui ‘who’
cané ‘dog’	folia ‘leaf’	lischio ‘smooth’	largo ‘wide’
orékia ‘ear’	sinistra ‘left’	serpenté ‘snake’	vento ‘wind’
terra ‘earth’	gamba ‘leg’	qoualqué ‘some’	dona ‘woman’
mangiar ‘eat’	loungo ‘long’	spartir ‘split’	bosco ‘woods’
ové ‘egg’	nomé ‘name’	stella ‘star’	vermé ‘worm’
ockio ‘eye’	stréto ‘narrow’	bastone ‘stick’	voi ‘ye’
caschar ‘fall, flow’	vichino ‘near’	pietra ‘stone’	ano ‘year’
lontano ‘far’	collo ‘neck’	dritto ‘straight’	dgialo ‘yellow’
grasso ‘fat’	nouovo ‘new’	grosso ‘thick’	
piouma ‘feather’	note ‘night’	qouesto ‘this’	
fouogo ‘fire’	nadzo ‘nose’	ti ‘you’	

Bagniar ‘wet’ and *largo* ‘wide’ are derived here from It. *bagnare* and *largo* rather than Sp. *bañar* and *largo* based on their meanings in LF.

(b) There are 15 words of Spanish origin:

oumbré ‘man’	aki ‘here’
mouchéra / moukera ‘wife’	cortar ‘cut’
mouchachou ‘child’	sabir ‘know’
sangré ‘blood’	frotar ‘rub, scrub’
agoua ‘water’	limpiar ‘rub, scrub, wash’
riou ‘river’	mirar ‘see’
sol ‘sun’	ablar ‘say’
négro ‘black’	

(c) 44 words can derive from either Italian or Spanish:

bestia ‘animal’	quarto ‘four’	stendir ‘lie’	dormir ‘sleep’
grande ‘big’	frouto ‘fruit’	vivir ‘live’	sentir ‘smell’
respirar ‘breathe’	donar ‘give’	louna ‘moon’	pensar ‘think’
vénir ‘come’	verdé ‘green’	madré ‘mother’	tornar ‘turn’
contar ‘count’	mano ‘hand’	mamma ‘mother’	caminar ‘walk’
morir ‘die’	ellou ‘he’	montagnia	qué ‘what’
bévir ‘drink’	intendir ‘hear’	‘mountain’	qouando ‘when’
séco ‘dry’	sentir ‘hear’	ouno ‘one’	secar ‘wipe’
padré ‘father’	tokkar ‘hit’	persona ‘person’	con ‘with’
poco ‘few’	ténir ‘hold’	tirar ‘pull’	
combattir ‘fight’	in ‘in’	cantar ‘sing’	
volar ‘fly’	lago ‘lake’	ciélo ‘sky’	

The origin of *ellou* ‘he’ is unclear; Schuchardt (1909) derives it “from Span. *él* or Ital. *egli*” (41) and Cifoletti (1989: 59) from old or dialectal Venetian.⁸

(d) There are 3 etymological doublets:

no ~ non ‘not’
mouchous ~ molto ‘many’
camino ~ strada ‘road’

(e) 12 words are not ascribable to either Italian or Spanish

These include the already familiar *cinis* ‘ash’, *radiz* ‘root’, *forar* ‘pull; stand’ and *natar* ‘swim’, which also appear in the 100-item list. The following are possible Hispano-Italian hybrids: *polvé* ‘dust’ (Sp. *polvo*, It. *polvere*), *poudrido* ‘rotten’ (Sp. *podrido*, It. *putrido*), *ténir paoura* ‘fear’ (Sp. *tener miedo*, It. *avere paura*). *Cousir* ‘sew’ is derivable from Cat. *cosir*. Two verbs appear to

⁸ Derek C. Carr (p.c.) also suggests Sp. *ello* ‘it’ as a possible source.

consist of French bases combined with the LF infinitive ending *-ar*: *poussar* ‘push’ (< Fr. *pousser*), *serrar* ‘squeeze’ (< Fr. *serrer*). *Là* ‘there’ may be of Italian or French origin. The source of *elli* ‘they’ is unclear.⁹

In summary, about 57% of the words in the 200-item Swadesh list are Italian, about 10% are Spanish, about 25% could derive from either language, and about 7% are from neither language. A comparison with the 100-item list shows that the latter contains more Spanish words overall and twice as many Hispano-Italian doublets (see Table 1). The fact that the more basic vocabulary list contains a larger Spanish component is compatible with a diachronic interpretation in which a Spanish-based contact vernacular is being gradually relexified with Italian lexical items, with the peripheral areas of the lexicon affected earlier than the core areas. This interpretation is confirmed by the percentage of Spanish words in the total number of lexical items in the *Dictionnaire*, which is 6% (Cornelissen 1992). The ongoing, gradual nature of the relexification process is emphasized by the presence of Hispano-Italian doublets. The minimal presence of non-Romance lexical items in both Swadesh lists confirms the established view of LF as primarily Romance-based.

TABLE 1
Swadesh list vocabulary in Lingua Franca

	100-item Swadesh list	200-item Swadesh list	<i>Dictionnaire</i> as a whole
Italian words	59%	57%	58%
Spanish words	14%	10%	6%
Spanish or Italian words	22%	25%	–
Hispano-Italian doublets	6 doublets	3 doublets	–
Words from other sources	5%	7%	–

It may be added, as a closing observation, that the comparatively low percentage of Spanish words in the *Dictionnaire* is at odds with the compilers’ statement, in the preface, that the LF of Algiers – in other words, the one being described in the *Dictionnaire* – is more heavily Hispanized than the one used in Tunis.¹⁰ Cifoletti (1989), who was the first to note this discrepancy, resolves it by assuming that the informant whose idiolect of LF is reflected in the *Dictionnaire* had limited knowledge of Spanish.¹¹ Though this may make the LF of the *Dictionnaire* atypical for Algiers as a whole, the informant’s (suspected) limited knowledge of

⁹ Derek C. Carr (p.c.) suggests that *elli* may be a pseudo-Italian plural of *ellou*; this would make it a LF innovation. A reviewer suggests Ptg. *eles* ‘they (m.)’ as a possible source for this pronoun, in light of its attested realization as [eli] in Afro-Hispanic speech.

¹⁰ “[...] le petit mauresque en usage à Tunis, n’est pas tout-à-fait le même que celui qu’on emploie à Alger; tirant beaucoup de l’italien dans la première de ces regencies, il se rapproche au contraire de l’espagnol dans celle d’Alger [the petit mauresque used in Tunis is not quite the same as the one used in Algiers; drawing heavily on Italian in the first of these regencies, it approaches Spanish in that of Algiers]”.

¹¹ “E’ possibile che la lingua franca che ci si presenta qui fosse quella che conosceva l’informatore (certamente più esperto d’italiano che di spagnolo), e che fosse tutto sommato accettabile ad Algeri, anche se in quella città era più diffusa una parlata ispanizzante [It is possible that the Lingua Franca presented here was the one known to the informant (who was certainly more expert in Italian than in Spanish) and which was on the whole acceptable in Algiers even if a Hispanized dialect was more widespread in that city]” (Cifoletti 1989: 89).

Spanish also provides some insurance that the Spanish words that did make it into the dictionary were not invented on the spot but were on the contrary firmly established in the LF lexicon.

2.3. Spanish words outside the Swadesh lists

Additional lexical items in the *Dictionnaire* not found in the Swadesh lists are derivable from Spanish. A representative list of such items is given below. Words such as *limoun* ‘lemon’ and *ounde* ‘where’ are assumed to reflect the raising of mid vowels typical of LF vocalism (Cifoletti 1991; Castellanos 2007).

mouchacha	‘girl, daughter’	domingo	‘Sunday’
amigo	‘friend’	escadra	‘squadron’
esbagniol	‘Spaniard’	scopéta	‘rifle, gun’
ladron	‘thief, rascal’	altessa	‘height’
scriban	‘secretary’	moundo	‘world’
cabra	‘goat’	locou	‘crazy’
bouriqua	‘donkey’	foundo	‘deep’
tartouga	‘turtle’	nada	‘nothing’
bakalaou	‘cod’	ounde	‘where’
ratoun	‘rat’	andar	‘go’
limoun	‘lemon’	pagar	‘pay’
saboun	‘soap’	rodar	‘roll, pack up’
sartan	‘frying pan’	escapar	‘escape’
bentana	‘window’	alsar	‘raise’
serradoura	‘lock’	sentar	‘sit down, live, stay’
pagnio	‘cloth’	quérir	‘ask, want’
plata	‘silver, metal’	rompir	‘break’
platzà	‘square’	poudir	‘be able’
paga	‘salary’	inchir	‘fill’
douros	‘piaster’	escondir	‘hide’
dios	‘God’	componir	‘prepare’
adios	‘goodbye’	respondir	‘answer’

Hispano-Italian doublets outside the Swadesh lists include the following pairs.¹²

figlio	mouchachou	‘son’
padron	maestro	‘owner’
bekiéré	tassa	‘cup’
scala	escala	‘ladder’
timone	timoun	‘helm, rudder’
pianto	lagrima	‘tear’

¹² The *Dictionnaire* gives both *figlio* and *mouchachou* as translations for ‘son’ (Fr. *fil(s)*), but only *mouchachou* as a translation for ‘child’ (Fr. *enfant*), which is the reason *figlio* was not included among the Swadesh list items. Similarly for the doublet *parlar* / *ablar*: the *Dictionnaire* lists both verbs as translations for ‘speak’ (Fr. *parler*), but only *ablar* as the translation for ‘say’ (Fr. *dire*).

parola	palabra	‘word’
piou	mas	‘more’
débole	flaco	‘weak’
largo	spacioso	‘spacious’
vouoto	basio	‘empty’
vouotar	basiar	‘to empty’
star	estar	‘be’
domandar	quérir	‘ask’
bassar	baschiar	‘lower’, ‘go down’
scaldar	escaldar	‘heat up’
parlar	ablar	‘speak’

Words of Spanish and Italian origin are also found side by side in multi-word LF neologisms, which freely combine words and morphemes from the two lexifiers. A selection of such forms is provided below.

agoua di salé	‘brine’	(Sp. agua; It. di, sale)
agoua di limoun	‘lemonade’	(Sp. agua, limón; It. di)
moukera del filio	‘daughter-in-law’	(Sp. mujer; It. figlio)
mouchou bello	‘magnificent’	(Sp. mucho; It. bello)
mouchou gratzia	‘I am much obliged to you’	(Sp. mucho; It. grazie)
mirar bonou	‘reflect’	(Sp. mirar; It. buono)
far amigo	‘reconcile’	(Sp. amigo; It. fare)

2.4. Sources of the Spanish words

The Spanish lexical component of LF is not uniform phonologically but seems to reflect either different periods of entry or different input dialects, or perhaps both. Thus, the *Dictionnaire*’s spelling <cabessa> ‘head’ for older Spanish <cabeça> indicates a source dialect in which the sibilant <ç> had a fricative pronunciation, [s]. Another contemporary source, Pananti (1817), records this word as <cavezza>, which points to an affricate [ts] pronunciation of <ç> in the source dialect.¹³ The affricate realization of <ç> precedes the fricative one historically, which may indicate different periods of entry for these variants. Alternatively, preservation of the affricate in <cavezza> may point to a more conservative input dialect, such as Judeo-Spanish. Similarly, the Spanish word for ‘woman’, *mujer*, shows up in the *Dictionnaire* as both <mouchéra> and <moukera>. Provided that <ch> is not an unusual orthographic choice for [k] or an attempt to spell [x] or [χ], the variant <mouchéra> reflects either the earlier or a more conservative realization of the medial consonant, phonetically [ʃ]. The variant <moukera> reflects the pronunciation of the same consonant after its retraction to a [x] or [χ]. Similar issues arise with respect to <baschiar> ‘go down’, which may derive either from older or dialectal realization of Sp. *bajar* or from Cat. *baixar* (see related observations in Schuchardt 1909: 44 and Cifoletti 1989: 65, 2004: 71).

¹³ The relevant portions of Pananti (1817) are reproduced in Cifoletti (2004: 242-246).

3. Copula (*e*)*star*¹⁴

According to the *Dictionnaire*, Algerine LF has a single copula, *star*, with a variant form *estar*.

- (2) a. *mi star contento mirar per ti.*
 1S be.INF delighted see DOM 2S
 ‘Je suis bien aise de vous voir.’
 ‘I am delighted to see you.’
 (Anonymous 1830: 93; Cifoletti 1980: 123)
- b. *estar di mi*
 be of 1S
 ‘il m’appartient’
 ‘it’s mine’
 (Cifoletti 1989: 105)

Although among LF’s main lexifiers the LF copula formally resembles both It. *stare* and Sp. *estar*, both of which have copular functions in the source languages, an argument can be made that the Spanish verb provides a more plausible starting point for the functional evolution of (*e*)*star* seen in LF.

Spanish has two copulas, *ser* (derived from Vulgar Latin **essere* ‘be’ and *sedere* ‘sit’) and *estar* (derived from *stare* ‘stand’). Each copula has both distinct and overlapping spheres of use. Only *ser* occurs with nominal complements and only *estar* with locative adverbial complements. With past participle and adjectival complements, the choice of a copula results in semantic differences (Pountain 1982: 139-141).

- (3) a. *Juan está enfermo.*
estar.PRES
 ‘Juan is ill.’
- a'. *Juan es enfermo.*
ser.PRES
 ‘Juan is an invalid.’
- b. *Las proposiciones estaban clavadas a la puerta (*por Lutero).*
estar.IMPF
 ‘The propositions were nailed to the door (*by Luther).’
- b'. *Las proposiciones fueron clavadas a la puerta (por Lutero).*
ser.PRET
 ‘The propositions were nailed to the door (by Luther).’
 (Pountain 1982: 140)

¹⁴ The issue of the origins of LF (*e*)*star* is also discussed in my paper “Lingua Franca between pidginization and koineization” (publication pending).

The diachronic development leading up to the synchronic situation seen in present-day Spanish consisted of gradual semantic bleaching of *stare* and its encroachment on the functional domains of **essere*. Although similar developments are found in other Romance languages, the degree of grammaticalization of *stare* has reached the most advanced stage in Spanish and Portuguese, with the contrast between the two copulas developed most consistently in Spanish (Pountain 1982: 139, 144). Catalan lags behind its Iberian neighbors in the degree of grammaticalization of *stare*; Pountain (1982: 157) speaks of a “later ‘drift’ of Catalan towards a Castilian-like situation”. In Italian and Romanian, in addition to some copular/auxiliary functions, *stare* has developed additional lexical meanings (such as ‘stay’, ‘live’ and/or ‘wait’). Only selected forms of *stare* survive in French, either in fixed expressions or as suppletive forms in the **essere* paradigm (Pountain 1982: 146-147).

The evolution of *stare* into the only copula in LF may be seen as taking to its logical conclusion the development that has its roots in Vulgar Latin, reaching different degrees of completion across the Romance domain. The development consisted of grammaticalization of *stare* and restriction of the functional domains of **essere*, a situation at present most fully developed in Spanish and Portuguese. In these languages, the descendants of *stare* are only partially grammaticalized and are in complementary distribution and/or competition with those of **essere*. The loss of **essere* in LF, which may be ascribed to the universals of foreigner talk and second language acquisition, has brought about full grammaticalization of *stare*. Since **essere* has been losing ground to *stare* in the evolution of Spanish and Portuguese, the complete grammaticalization of *stare* in LF may be seen as the logical end point of this evolution. A similar point is made by Aslanov (2014): “The generalization of *star* at the expenses [sic] of *ser* (Italian *essere*) is a way to systematize to the extreme a structural drift that appears only occasionally in Portuguese” (129).

The accelerating effect of language contact on this change is emphasized by Silva-Corvalán (1986). The focus of her study is the expansion of *estar* at the expense of *ser* in Los Angeles Spanish. Los Angeles Spanish, as used by the bilingual Mexican-American communities examined by Silva-Corvalán, is in a sociolinguistically subordinate position to English, and the study finds that the extension of *estar* to the contexts previously occupied by *ser* is directly related to the speakers’ degree of proficiency in Spanish. The role of language contact and lack of normative pressure in the conditioning and/or speeding up of this change are emphasized in the following passage:

The innovation examined here undoubtedly represents part of an evolutionary trend in Spanish and other Romance languages. Given such a situation, the result of language contact will be acceleration of the change. It may be argued that one further condition is necessary for this rapid diffusion, namely reduced access or lack of access to formal varieties of the language, as well as to those institutions which maintain conservative and prescriptive language norms. (Silva-Corvalán 1986: 603-604)

The same factors – language contact and lack of normative pressure – may also be assumed in the case of unrestricted expansion of (*e*)*star* to all copular domains in LF. The complete grammaticalization of (*e*)*star* in LF suggests that the starting point for this development is more likely to have been provided by a language or languages in which *stare* was already at least partially grammaticalized – Spanish and/or Portuguese – than by a language or languages in which it was used primarily as a lexical verb. The use of *estar* as the default copula in imitations

of Moorish speech on the sixteenth-century Spanish stage lends further plausibility to this hypothesis (Lipski 2002: 121-122).

4. Pronominal possession¹⁵

The LF system of personal pronouns, as presented in the *Dictionnaire*, consists of the forms shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Lingua Franca personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>mi</i>	<i>noi</i>
2 nd person	<i>ti</i>	<i>voi</i>
3 rd person	<i>ellou</i> (m.) <i>ella</i> (f.)	<i>elli</i>

Other forms of personal pronouns that are found in the Romance lexifiers of LF, including other case, clitic and possessive forms, do not survive in LF. Their elimination, which may be attributed to the universals of foreigner talk and second language acquisition, has obliterated formal distinctions between subject, object and possessive pronouns. To compensate for the lack of these formal distinctions, LF has developed analytic means to signal these differences; in particular, it has developed a periphrastic means to express pronominal possession (illustrated in 4).

- (4) a. *commé star il fratello di ti?*
 how be.INF ART brother of 2s
 ‘Comment se porte votre frère?’
 ‘How is your brother?’
 (Anonymous 1830: 94; Cifoletti 1980: 124)
- b. *qouesto libro star di mi*
 this book be.INF of 1s
 ‘ce livre est mien’
 ‘This book is mine.’
 (Anonymous 1830: 49; Cifoletti 2004: 133).

The tendency toward analyticity is characteristic of the evolution of Romance languages from Latin. In pronouns, it is manifested in the loss of distinct case forms and reliance on word order and prepositions to express case relations. The analytic constructions were initially used as variants of the synthetic forms; for example, Cicero uses *litteras ad te mitto* ‘I am sending letters to you’ for *litteras tibi mitto* ‘I am sending you letters’ in his correspondence. The expression of nominal possession also went from synthetic to analytic. In Vulgar Latin, the synthetic means of

¹⁵ The issue of the origin of periphrastic pronominal possession in LF is also discussed in my paper “Lingua Franca between pidginization and koineization” (publication pending).

marking the possessor via the Genitive case, as in *fratris liber* ‘brother’s book’, was replaced with a more analytic construction using the preposition *de* and Ablative case of the possessor noun, as in *liber de fratre* ‘book of brother’ (Korletjanu 1974). Seen against this background, the loss of the possessive forms of pronouns and the development of an analytic way of expressing pronominal possession in LF may be viewed not only as related but also as continuous with the corresponding developments in the lexifiers. And though periphrastic pronominal possession is found in both main Romance lexifiers of LF, an argument can be made that the starting point for the development seen in LF is more likely to have been provided by Spanish.

Both Italian and Spanish use the descendants of Latin *de* to express possession when the possessor is a noun.

(5) a. *Il braccio di Gianni* (Italian)
 ART arm of Juan
 ‘Gianni’s arm’
 (Cinque 1996: 69)

b. *La casa de Juan es bonita.* (Spanish)
 ART house of Juan is beautiful
 ‘The house of Juan is beautiful.’
 (Orozco 2010: 191)

In both Italian and Spanish, this use is extended to cases when the possessor is a personal pronoun, thereby replacing the dedicated possessive form. In Italian, *di* is used with third person pronouns to disambiguate their gender reference (Rohlf’s 1968: 122; Cinque 1996: 73).

(6) a. *nella camera di lui*
 in.ART room of 3S.M
 ‘in his room’

b. *nella camera di lei*
 in.ART room of 3S.F
 ‘in her room’
 (Rohlf’s 1968: 122)

Periphrastic third person possessives also exist in Portuguese: *dele* ‘his’, *deles* ‘their (m.)’, *dela* ‘her’, *delas* ‘their (f.)’. In Spanish, the possessive construction with *de* can occur with any personal pronoun except for the first and second person singular (Orozco 2010: 192-193).

(7) la casa mía ‘my house’
 la casa tuya ‘your (sg.) house’
 la casa de Usted ‘your (sg.) house’
 la casa de él ‘his house’
 la casa de ella ‘her house’
 la casa de nosotros ‘our (m.) house’
 la casa de nosotras ‘our (f.) house’
 la casa de Ustedes ‘your (pl.) house’

la casa de ellos	‘their (m.) house’
la casa de ellas	‘their (f.) house’

In LF, the analytic possessive construction with *di* occurs with all personal pronouns. This development shows continuity with the corresponding developments in its Romance lexifiers. As in the case of the copula (*e*)*star*, the starting point for it is more likely to have been provided by Spanish, a language in which the domain of occurrence of the periphrastic possessive construction is wider than in the other Romance lexifiers of LF.

5. Conclusion

The vocabulary of Algerine LF, as presented in the *Dictionnaire*, includes three clearly identifiable Romance-language layers, Spanish, Italian and French. The French lexical layer is still slender at the stage of LF evolution captured by the *Dictionnaire*. This layer will grow over the course of the nineteenth century, with this growth reflected in the LF textual samples to be published subsequent to the *Dictionnaire* (Cifoletti 1989: 32-33, 1994). The French lexical items are not inserted into LF as discrete, unassimilated units; rather, they are adapted to the preexistent phonological and morphological structures of LF. The thin but pervasive Spanish layer, submerged under the massive Italian layer, appears to be the oldest of the three and includes some of the most basic vocabulary items. In addition, two specific structural developments in LF, the evolution of (*e*)*star* into the only copula and the development of periphrastic pronominal possession, are continuous with the corresponding developments in Spanish. A number of the Spanish words in LF are duplicated by their Italian synonyms, which suggests that at the time of the compilation of the *Dictionnaire* the process of relexification, or replacement of Spanish lexical items with Italian ones, was still in progress. The relative antiquity of the Spanish lexical component in Algerine LF is confirmed by a comparison of the LF lexicon in Haedo (1612) and Anonymous (1830), conducted by Cornelissen (1992), which showed a significant drop in the percentage of Spanish words over the elapsing two and a half centuries, from 41% in about 1580 to 6% in about 1830. The possibility that the Spanish component represents in fact the most ancient lexical and structural layer in Algerine LF is a subject for future research.

Appendix

Swadesh lists in Lingua Franca

a. Most LF words in the tables below come from the French-LF glossary, but one or two, like *combatir* ‘fight’, only appear in the dialogues. Some LF entries come from related entries in the *Dictionnaire*. For example, LF *altro* ‘other’ appears under the French-language entries *successivement* (rendered in LF as *ouno dopo l’altro* ‘one after another’) and *autrefois* (rendered as *altré volte* ‘other times’).

b. The LF entries are given in the orthography of the *Dictionnaire*. In order not to clutter the presentation, the spelling variants are provided only in a few relevant cases.

c. The column labeled “French” contains the French language equivalents of the Swadesh list items as they are given in the *Dictionnaire*. Only the masculine form is listed for the adjectives and only the infinitive form for the verbs.

d. The column labeled “Lingua Franca” gives the LF translations of the corresponding French-language entries. Where applicable, only the masculine form is listed for the adjectives, only the singular form for the nouns and only the infinitive form for the verbs.

e. The column labeled “English” provides the Swadesh list items in English (cited here after Campbell 2013: 449-451).

f. The columns labeled “Spanish” and “Italian”, rather than providing the appropriate translations of the Swadesh list items, provide the sources or cognates of the corresponding LF words. For example, the entries for the first and second person singular pronouns contain the oblique rather than the subject forms of these pronouns, and Sp. *tocar* / It. *toccare* are listed as corresponding to the LF entry for ‘hit’, which is *tokkar*. In the case of more than one possible equivalent in Italian or Spanish, only the cognate of the LF form has been listed, even if this is not the current term for the corresponding Swadesh list item. For example, the Spanish equivalents of LF ‘knee’, ‘long’ and ‘dog’ are listed as *hinojo*, *luengo* and *can* rather than as *rodilla*, *largo* and *perro*, respectively, and *ammazzare* rather than *uccidere* is listed as the Italian equivalent of LF ‘kill’. In the case of semantically related words, only the cognate of the LF word is listed, even if it is not the exact Swadesh list equivalent in the respective language. For example, the equivalent of ‘say’ in Spanish is given as *hablar* ‘speak’ rather than *decir* ‘say’ given that the corresponding LF word is *ablar*; similarly with the Spanish pair *mirar* ‘look at’ ~ *ver* ‘see’. If the source of the “Italian” form is an Italo-Romance vernacular other than Italian, the Italian cognate is listed instead. For example, *me* ‘I’, *te* ‘you’, *ammazzare* ‘kill’ and *fuori* ‘outside’ are used as stand-ins for their Venetian cognates, which are assumed to be the actual sources of the corresponding LF words.

TABLE 1
100-item Swadesh list in Lingua Franca

	Lingua Franca	French	Spanish	Italian	English
1	mi	moi	mí	me	I
2	ti	tu	ti	te	you
3	noi	nous	nosotros	noi	we
4	qouesto	ce, cela	este	questo	this
5	qouello	ceci, celui	aquel	quello	that
6	qui	qui	quién	chi	who
7	qué	quoi	qué	che	what
7a	cosa	que		cosa	
8	non	non		non	not
8a	no		no		
9	toutto	tout	todo	tutto	all
10	mouchous	plusieurs	muchos	molti	many
10a	molto	multitude			
11	ouno	un	uno	uno	one
12	doué	deux	dos	due	two
13	grandé	grand	grande	grande	big

14	loungo	long	luengo, largo	lungo	long
15	picolo	petit	pequeño	piccolo	small
16	mouchéra ~ moukera	femme	mujer		woman
16a	dona			donna	
17	oumbré	homme	hombre	uomo	man
18	persona	personne	persona	persona	person
19	pechi	poisson	pez	pesce	fish
20	--	--			bird
21	cané	chien	can	cane	dog
22	--	--			louse
23	albéro	arbre	árbol	albero	tree
24	grano	grain	grano	grano	seed
25	folia	feuille	hoja	foglia	leaf
26	radiz	racine	raíz	radice	root
27	scorsa	écorce	corteza	scorza	bark
28	pellé	peau	piel	pelle	skin
29	carné	viande	carne	carne	flesh
30	sangré	sang	sangre	sangue	blood
31	osso	os	hueso	osso	bone
32	grasso	graisse	grasa	grasso	fat
33	ové	oeuf	huevo	uovo	egg
34	--	--			horn
35	--	--			tail
36	piouma	plume	pluma	piuma	feather
37	--	--			hair
38	testa	tête		testa	head
38a	cabessa		cabeza		
39	orékia	oreille	oreja	orecchia	ear
40	ockio	oeil	ojo	occhio	eye
41	nadzo	nez	nariz	naso	nose
42	--	--			mouth
43	denti	dent	diente	dente	tooth
44	lingoua	langue	lengua	lingua	tongue
45	--	--			claw
46	piedi	pied	pie	piede	foot
47	dginokio	genou	hinojo	ginocchio	knee
48	mano	main	mano	mano	hand
40	ventro	ventre	ventre	ventre	belly
50	collo	col	cuello	collo	neck
51	séno	sein	seno	seno	breast
52	couoré	coeur	corazón	cuore	heart
53	--	--			liver
54	bévir	boire	beber	bere	drink
55	mangiar	manger	comer	mangiare	eat

56	--	--			bite
57	mirar	voir	mirar	vedere (mirare)	see
58	intendir	entendu (sic)	entender	intendere	hear
58 ^a	sentir		sentir	sentire	
59	sabir	savoir	saber	sapere	know
60	dormir	dormir	dormir	dormire	sleep
61	morir	mourir	morir	morire	die
62	massar	tuer	matar	ammazzare	kill
63	natar	nager	nadar	nuotare	swim
64	volar	voler	volar	volare	fly
65	caminar	marcher	caminar	camminare	walk
66	vénir	venir	venir	venire	come
67	(stendir)	(étendre)	(extender)	(stendere)	lie
68	sédar	asseoir		sedere	sit
69	forar	lever (se)	(fuera)	(fuori)	stand
70	donar	donner	donar	donare	give
71	ablar	dire	ablar	dire	say
72	sol	soleil	sol	sole	sun
73	louna	lune	luna	luna	moon
74	stella	étoile	estrella	stella	star
75	agoua	eau	agua	acqua	water
76	piové	pluie	llueve	piove	rain
77	pietra	pierre	piedra	pietra	stone
78	sabia	sable	arena	sabbia	sand
79	terra	terre	tierra	terra	earth
80	nébia	nuage	niebla	nebbia	cloud
81	foumo	fumée	humo	fumo	smoke
82	fouogo	feu	fuego	fuoco	fire
83	cinis	cendre	ceniza	cenere	ash
84	bruchar	brûler	quemar	bruciare	burn
85	camino	route	camino	strada	road
85a	strada				
86	montagnia	montagne	montaña	montagna	mountain
87	rosso	rouge	rojo	rosso	red
88	verdé	vert	verde	verde	green
89	dgialo	jaune	amarillo	giallo	yellow
90	bianco	blanc	blanco	bianco	white
91	négro	noir	negro	nero	black
92	noté	nuit	noche	notte	night
93	caldo	chaud	cálido	caldo	hot
94	frédo	froid	frío	freddo	cold
95	pieno	plein		pieno	full
95a	inchito		henchido		
96	nouovo	nouveau	nuevo	nuovo	new

97	bonou	bon	bueno	buono	good
98	roundo	rond	redondo	rotondo	round
99	séco	sec	seco	secco	dry
100	nomé	non (sic)	nombre	nome	name

TABLE 2
200-item Swadesh list in Lingua Franca

	LF	French	Spanish	Italian	English
1	toutto	tout	todo	tutto	all
2	e	et	y	e	and
3	bestia	bête	bestia	bestia	animal
4	cinis	cendre	ceniza	cenere	ash
5	--	--			at
6	--	--			back
7	cativo	mauvais	malo	cattivo	bad
8	scorsa	écorce	corteza	scorza	bark
9	perké	parce que	porque	perche	because
10	ventro	ventre	ventre	ventre	belly
11	grandé	grand	grande	grande	big
12	--	--			bird
13	--	--			bite
14	négro	noir	negro	nero	black
15	sangré	sang	sangre	sangue	blood
16	soffiar	souffler	soplar	soffiare	blow
17	osso	os	hueso	osso	bone
18	respirar	respirer	respirar	respirare	breathe
19	bruchar	brûler	quemar	bruciare	burn
20	mouchachou	enfant	niño	bambino	child
21	nébia	nuage	nieble	nebbia	cloud
22	frédo	froid	frío	freddo	cold
23	vénir	venir	venir	venire	come
24	contar	compter	contar	contare	count
25	cortar	couper	cortar	tagliare	cut
26	dgiorno	jour	día	giorno	day
27	morir	mourir	morir	morire	die
28	--	--			dig
29	sporco	sale	sucio	sporco	dirty
30	cané	chien	can	cane	dog
31	bévir	boire	beber	bere	drink
32	séco	sec	seco	secco	dry
33	--	--			dull
34	polvé	poussière	polvo	polvere	dust
35	orékia	oreille	oreja	orecchia	ear

36	terra	terre	tierra	terra	earth
37	mangiar	manger	comer	mangiare	eat
38	ové	oeuf	huevo	uovo	egg
39	ockio	oeil	ojo	occhio	eye
40	casçar	tomber	caer	cascare	fall
41	lontano	loin	lejos	lontano	far
42	grasso	graisse	grasa	grasso	fat
43	padré	père	padre	padre	father
44	ténir paoura	effrayé	tener miedo	avere paura	fear
45	piouma	plume	pluma	piuma	feather
46	poco	peu	poco	poco	few
47	combatir	se battre	combatir	combattere	fight
48	fouogo	feu	fuego	fuoco	fire
49	pechi	poisson	pez	pesce	fish
50	chingoué	cinq	cinco	cinque	five
51	--	--			float
52	casçar				flow ¹⁶
53	fioré	fleur	flor	fiore	flower
54	volar	voler	volar	volare	fly
55	--	--			fog ¹⁷
56	piedi	pied	pie	piede	foot
57	quatro	quatre	cuatro	quattro	four
58	--	--			freeze
59	frouto	fruit	fruto	frutto	fruit
60	donar	donner	donar	donare	give
61	bonou	bon	bueno	buono	good
62	gerba ~ erba	herbe	hierba	erba	grass
63	verdé	vert	verde	verde	green
64	--	--			guts
65	--	--			hair
66	mano	main	mano	mano	hand
67	ellou ~ ello	lui, il	él	lui, egli	he
68	testa	tête		testa	head
68 ^a	cabessa		cabeza		
69	intendir	entendu (sic)	entender	intendere	hear
69 ^a	sentir		sentir	sentire	
70	couoré	coeur	corazón	cuore	heart
71	pésanti	lourd	pesado	pesante	heavy
72	aki	ici	aquí	qui	here
73	tokkar	frapper	tocar	toccare	hit
74	ténir	tenir	tener	tenere	hold
74a	gantar				

¹⁶ See the entry “fall”.

¹⁷ See the entry “cloud”.

75	come	comment	como	come	how
76	caschar	chasser	cazar	cacciare	hunt
77	--	--			husband
78	mi	moi	mí	me	I
79	--	--			ice
80	sé	si	si	se	if
81	in	dans, chez, à	en	in	in
82	massar	tuer	matar	ammazzare	kill
83	sabir	savoir	saber	sapere	know
84	lago	lac	lago	lago	lake
85	ridir	rire	reír	ridere	laugh
86	folia	feuille	hoja	foglia	leaf
87	sinistra	gauche	izquierda	sinistra	left
88	gamba	jambe	pierna	gamba	leg
89	(stendir)	(étendre)	(extender)	(stendere)	lie
90	vivir	vivre	vivir	vivere	live
91	--	--			liver
92	loungo	long	luengo	lungo	long
93	--	--			louse
94	oumbré	homme	hombre	uomo	man
95	mouchous	plusieurs	muchos		many
95a	molto			molti	
96	louna	lune	luna	luna	moon
97	madré	mère	madre	madre	mother
97a	mamma		mamá	mamma	
98	montagnia	montagne	montaña	montagna	mountain
99	--	--			mouth
100	nomé	non (sic)	nombre	nome	name
101	stréto	étroit	estrecho	stretto	narrow
102	vichino	proche	cerca	vicino	near
103	collo	col	cuello	collo	neck
104	nouovo	nouveau	nuevo	nuovo	new
105	noté	nuit	noche	notte	night
106	nadzo	nez	nariz	naso	nose
107	non	non		non	not
107a	no		no		
108	vekio	vieux	viejo	vecchio	old
109	ouno	un	uno	uno	one
110	altro	successivement	otro	altro	other
111	persona	personne	persona	persona	person
112	dgiocar	jouer	jugar	giocare	play
113	tirar	tirer	tirar	tirare	pull
113a	forar				
114	poussar	pousser	empujar	spingere	push
115	piové	pluie	llueve	piove	rain

116	rosso	rouge	rojo	rosso	red
117	dgiousto	juste	justo	giusto	right
118					right ¹⁸
119	riou	ruisseau	río	fiume	river
120	camino	route	camino		road
120a	strada			strada	
121	radiz	racine	raíz	radice	root
122	corda	corde	cuerda	corda	rope
123	poudrido	pourri	podrido	putrido	rotten
124	frotar	frotter	frotar	strofinare	rub
124a	limpiar		limpiar		
125	salé	sel	sal	sale	salt
126	sabia	sable	arena	sabbia	sand
127	ablar	dire	hablar	dire	say
128	--	--			scratch
129	maré	mer	mar	mare	sea
130	mirar	voir	mirar	vedere	see
131	--	--			seed
132	cousir	coudre	coser	cucire	sew
133	--	--			sharp
134	--	--			short
135	cantar	chanter	cantar	cantare	sing
136	sédar	asseoir	sentarse	sedere	sit
137	pellé	peau	piel	pelle	skin
138	ciélo	ciel	cielo	cielo	sky
139	dormir	dormir	dormir	dormire	sleep
140	picolo	petit	pequeño	piccolo	small
141	sentir	sentir	sentir	sentire	smell
142	foumo	fumée	humo	fumo	smoke
143	lischio	uni	liso	liscio	smooth
144	serpenté	serpent	serpiente	serpente	snake
145	--	--			snow
146	qoualqué	quelque	algunos	qualche	some
147	--	--			spit
148	spartir	partager	partir	spartire	split
149	serrar	serrer	apretar	spremere	squeeze
150	toccar con yatagan	sabrer			stab ¹⁹
151	forar	lever (se)	(fuera)	(fuori)	stand
152	stella	étoile	estrella	stella	star
153	bastone	bâton	bastón	bastone	stick
154	pietra	pierre	pedra	pietra	stone

¹⁸ See the entry “straight”.

¹⁹ See the entry “hit”.

155	dritto	droit	derecho	diritto	straight
156	--	--			suck
157	sol	soleil	sol	sole	sun
158	--	--			swell ²⁰
159	natar	nager	nadar	nuotare	swim
160	--	--			tail
161	qouello	ceci, celui	aquei	quello	that
162	là	là	ahi	la	there
163	elli	ils	ellos	loro	they
164	grosso	épais	grueso	grosso	thick
165	--	--			thin
166	pensar	penser	pensar	pensare	think
167	qouesto	ce, cela	este	questo	this
168	ti	tu	ti	te	you
169	tré	trois	tres	tre	three
170	dgitar	jeter	tirar, echar	gettare	throw
171	légar	amarrer, attacher	ligar	legare	tie
172	lingoua	langue	lengua	lingua	tongue
173	denti	dent	diente	dente	tooth
174	albéro	arbre	árbol	albero	tree
175	tornar	tourner	tornar	tornare	turn
175a	dgirar		girar	girare	
176	doué	deux	dos	due	two
177	--	--			vomit
178	caminar	marcher	caminar	camminare	walk
179	caldo	chaud	cálido	caldo	warm
180	limpiar	laver	limpiar	lavare	wash
181	agoua	eau	agua	acqua	water
182	noi	nous	nosotros	noi	we
183	bagniar	mouiller	bañar	bagnare	wet
184	qué	quoi	qué	che	what
184a	cosa	que		cosa	
185	qouando	quand	cuando	quando	when
186	ove	où	donde	dove	where
187	bianco	blanc	blanco	bianco	white
188	qui	qui	quién	chi	who
189	largo	large	ancho	largo	wide
190	mouchéra ~ moukera	femme	mujer	moglie	wife
191	vento	vent	viento	vento	wind
192	--	--			wing

²⁰ The *Dictionnaire*'s entry for Fr. *gonfler* 'swell' is suspected to be a typo (Cifoletti 1989: 110). The nearest entry to 'swell' is *empli*, translated into LF as *piéno*, *inchito* (< It. *pieno*, Sp. *henchido*).

193	secar	essuyer	secar	seccare	wipe
194	con	avec	con	con	with
195	dona	femme	mujer	donna	woman
196	bosco	forêt	bosque	bosco	woods
197	vermé	ver	gusano	verme	worm
198	voi	vous	vosotros	voi	ye
199	ano	an, année	año	anno	year
200	dgialo	jaune	amarillo	giallo	yellow

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